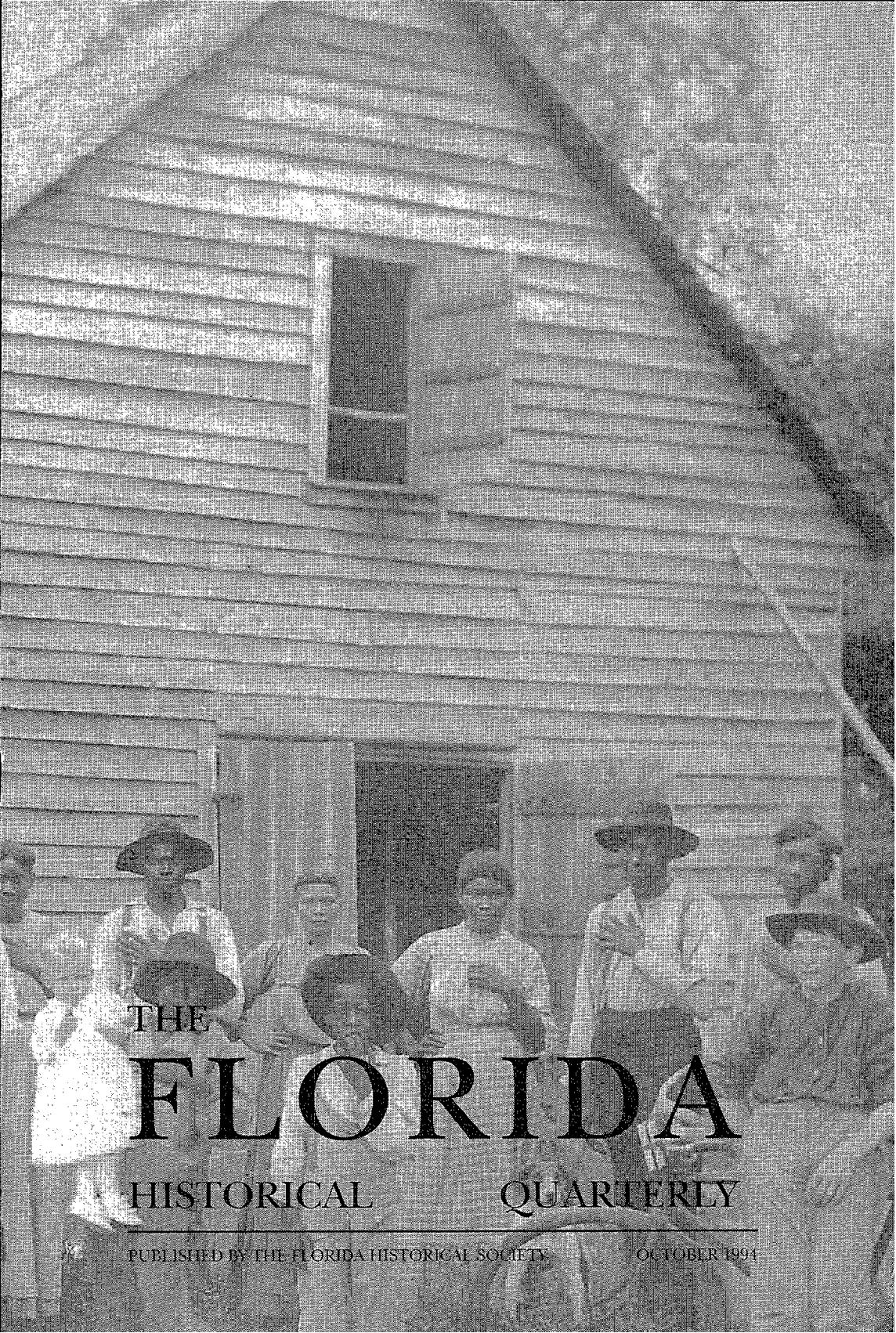

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COVER

Magnus Delacy Peavy of Havana, Florida, stands with his farm hands in front of a tobacco barn, C. 1910s. *Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COLOR MATTERS: THE CREATION OF THE SARA LEE DOLL

by GORDON PATTERSON

"It had begun with Christmas," declared Claudia, Toni Morrison's narrator in her novel *The Bluest Eye.* "The big, the special, the loving gift was always a big, blue-eyed, Baby Doll. From the clucking sounds of adults I knew that the doll represented what they thought was my fondest wish. I was bemused with the thing itself, and the way it looked. What was I supposed to do with it?"[1] Through much of the twentieth century, generations of African-American children experienced the full force of this fictional character's dilemma. Their skin color posed a barrier between their self-image and the image of innumerable blue-eyed, yellow-haired, pink-skinned dolls. In Morrison's novel, Claudia reacted by declaring that she did not love babies and did not want to grow up and be a mother. Later, she struck out. She destroyed the white dolls. "But the dismembering of dolls," she relates, "was not the true horror. The truly horrifying thing was the transference of the same impulses to little white girls. The indifference with which I could have axed them was shaken only by my desire to do so. To discover what eluded me: the secret of the magic they weaved on others. What made people look at them and say, 'Awwwww,' but not for me?"[2]

Twenty-two years before Morrison wrote her fictional account of a black girl's childhood, Sara Lee Creech, a white woman, stopped at the post office in Belle Glade, Florida, one day in December 1948. Returning to her car, Creech noticed two black children playing dolls in the back seat of a Buick. The little girls were playing with white dolls. It was wrong, she thought, that black child-

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1. Toni Morrison, *The Bluest Eye* (New York, 1970), 19-20.
2. Ibid., 22.

Maxeda von Hesse (left) and Sara Creech hold a Sara Lee Doll. *Photograph Courtesy Sara Creech, Lake Worth, Florida.*

ren did not have quality colored dolls to play with. Later she phoned her friend Maxeda von Hesse in New York and asked if she would help create an African-American doll that would represent the beauty and diversity of black children.[3]

Neither woman knew anything about dolls nor the toy industry. Creech supported herself through a flower shop and an insurance agency. Nevertheless, in 1948 the women set out to create an "anthropologically correct" black doll.[4] Three years later Eleanor Roosevelt gave a reception for their creation, the Sara Lee Doll. Ralph Bunche, Walter White, Jackie Robinson, Winthrop Rockefeller, David Rockefeller, and Bernard Baruch were among the guests.[5] Sears and Roebuck introduced the Sara Lee Doll in its 1951 Christmas catalogue. "This Christmas," a reporter wrote in the January 1952 edition of *Ebony* magazine, "a half million little girls of many races found under their Christmas trees some of the most beautiful Negro dolls America has ever produced. A transfor-

3. Interview with Sara Creech, May 10, 1993, notes in author's possession.
4. Mind over Matter," *Time,* November 5, 1951, 45.
5. Interview with Sara Creech, May 10, 1993.

mation has taken place in toyland and new colored dolls with delicate features, lighter skin, and modish clothes are being introduced in the world of childhood fantasy where always before the Negro doll was presented as a ridiculous, calico-garmented, handkerchief-headed servant."[6]

Issues of race, color, commercialism, and popular culture converge in the story of the Sara Lee Doll, which grew out of a woman's desire to forge an interracial alliance. In 1949 Creech enlisted the support of prominent African Americans and white liberals. These reformers shared a commitment to fighting prejudice. The Sara Lee Doll's supporters worked for two years to create positive, nonstereotyped toys for both black and white children. In 1951 the Ideal Toy Company manufactured the Sara Lee Doll. Ultimately, however, color and commercialism proved insurmountable obstacles to realizing their objective.

Sara Creech began to work in the women's and interracial movements in the mid 1930s in Lake Worth. In 1941 she moved inland to Belle Glade. While in Lake Worth, Creech had joined the local Business and Professional Women's Club (BPWC). Shortly after her arrival in the Glades, she organized a new BPWC chapter. In 1946 she was elected second vice president of the state BPWC, and a year later she was elected president of the state federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

Creech's involvement in the BPWC put her in contact with Edna Giles Fuller, a past leader of the association, who had founded Florida's first Inter-Racial Council in Orlando. Creech believed that Belle Glade needed such a group. Since 1944 four men (two whites and two blacks) in Belle Glade had met informally to discuss community issues. In 1947 these men asked Creech to join them. She suggested that they pattern their efforts after Fuller's model. On April 4, 1948, the Belle Glade Inter-Racial Council held its first regular meeting.

Creech's work on the Inter-Racial Council soon eclipsed her BPWC activities. Daily contact with the black and migrant communities strengthened her conviction that change was necessary. Louise Taylor, wife of one of the council's founders, was Creech's friend. In the weeks before Christmas 1948, Taylor described to Creech the challenges she faced raising her three children. "I had

6. "Modern Designs: Manufacturers Find Trends More Realistic," *Ebony* (January 1952), 46.

never thought about it," Creech remembered. "I had never thought about a black child needing a black doll to play with."[7]

The sight of the two black girls playing with white dolls in the back of the Buick was Creech's epiphany. That evening Creech did two things. She told her mother about her idea of making a quality black doll. Her mother responded: "Sara, you know absolutely nothing about manufacturing. I don't see how you can finance it. But I can see the importance of it. If you want to try it, I'll back you in whatever you do."[8] It was then that Creech called her friend Maxeda von Hesse in New York and succeeded in gaining her support. Von Hesse would find an artist to sculpt the doll's head; Creech would use her contacts to develop the doll's concept.[9]

Over the next two years Creech became an expert on the history of colored dolls. The 1950 patent application for the Sara Lee Doll documents her study. Creech's research demonstrated that the typical nineteenth- and twentieth-century African-American doll was a stereotyped Mammy or Pickaninny doll that presented African Americans as objects of comedy or ridicule. Creech believed that race prejudice was transmitted to children through dolls and games. In 1929 sociologist Bruno Lasker cited an article in the *Children's Encyclopedia* entitled "Favorite Garden Games" as evidence of the "negative educational by-product" of such playthings. The game in question was called Aunt Sally. "Aunt Sally is a black doll. She wears a white cap on her head and a white cape on her shoulders, and carries a pipe loosely in her mouth. Her body is only a stick with a pointed end, and when this is pushed into the ground she is ready for the fun to begin. The players stand at a distance of some yards and, each in turn, throw at the pipe with a number of short, stout sticks. Those who knock it out of her mouth the greatest number of times win the game, but those who cannot aim straight must not be surprised if Aunt Sally seems to smile at them."[10]

Creech learned that there had been earlier attempts to provide alternatives to Aunt Sally and other "coon dancer[s]" dolls.[11] At the turn of the century some black church leaders, recognizing the ed-

7. Interview with Sara Creech, May 10, 1993.
8. Ibid.
9. Maxeda von Hesse, "Notes from Mrs. Roosevelt's Tea," typescript, October 1952, Creech Papers, in possession of Sara Creech, Lake Worth, Florida.
10. Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children* (New York, 1924), 220.
11. Ibid., 220-21.

ucational role of dolls, resolved to break the stereotypes and market quality dolls. Dr. R. H. Boyd, a leader of the Nashville-based National Baptist Publishing House, traveled to Europe to convince German toy manufacturers to produce a nonstereotyped black doll. The toy makers initially resisted Boyd's proposal. Apparently, they believed that there was no market for the realistic doll. Boyd persisted, sending scores of photographs of African Americans to the companies. Eventually, Boyd succeeded in getting the doll manufactured, and they were sold in black churches until the beginning of World War I.[12] After the war, an African-American company, the leaders of whom followed Marcus Garvey, resumed importing the German bisque dolls. They hoped to use black dolls to develop children's race consciousness.[13]

Presumably, most American toy companies were not interested in producing realistic black dolls. The few companies that did produce colored dolls followed the P & M Doll Company's lead and painted white dolls "chocolate brown."[14] P & M's success with its colored Daisy Doll led the company to introduce the Topsy doll. "Topsy," however, was criticized because of its stereotypical "black face, banjo eyes, and three little pigtails."[15] Simultaneously, Aunt Jemima Mills marketed a line of stereotyped dolls based on Aunt Jemima and Uncle Mose.[16] Thus, until the 1930s most American toy manufacturers produced colored dolls that caricatured African Americans as "mammies" and "coon dancers."[17] In 1931 the Allied-Grand Doll Manufacturing Company expanded the procedure of painting white dolls brown and advertising them as "Negroid."[18]

World War II had a tremendous impact on the toy industry. The end of the war marked the beginning of the baby boom. Toy manufacturers expanded production to keep pace with the new families. Returning African-American servicemen and women resisted Jim Crowism in the workplace and the playground. In 1948 the Terri Lee Corporation introduced its teenaged Patti-Jo Doll,

12. W. D. Weatherford, *The Negro from Africa to America* (New York, 1924), 427.
13. Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children,* 220.
14. "Negro Dolls Popular with the Public Since Birth in 1919," *Ebony* (January 1952), 49.
15. Ibid.
16. "Black Dolls: 1840-1990," 4, typescript for exhibit at Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, February 1-April 7, 1991.
17. Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children,* 221.
18. "Negro Dolls Popular with the Public," 49.

which cost $15.95. The light-skinned Patti-Jo and her boyfriend, Benji, were among the first new offerings. A year later the Sun Rubber Company marketed an Amosandra doll. It was a spin-off of the popular Amos 'n Andy radio show. And in 1950 Allied Grand introduced a Jackie Robinson doll.

Sara Creech's research into these early dolls led her to the conclusion that parents who wished to purchase a colored baby doll for their children had two choices: They could buy either a grotesquely stereotyped doll or a white doll that had been shaded brown. She did not want to produce a teenage, glamorous doll like Patti-Jo or to pattern her doll after a national figure like Jackie Robinson. Rather she wanted to create a doll that would "reflect their [African-American children's] own attractiveness." She reasoned that "in the game of Make-Believe-Grown-Ups, how much more normal and healthy would be their play if they learned from their dolls a wholesome self-respect and appreciation for their own heritage."[19] Like R. H. Boyd a half-century earlier, Creech wanted her doll to bear a realistic likeness to American blacks. Her goal was to create dolls that would capture "the simplicity and natural dignity of the finest type of our colored children."[20]

By early January 1949 the doll project was taking shape. Maxeda von Hesse had enlisted Sheila Burlingame to join the project and sculpt the heads. She was the sculptor of the *Negro Boy Praying,* which the St. Louis Urban League had placed before its headquarters.

Burlingame outlined her requirements: she needed pictures of African-American children and head measurements. Creech accumulated more than 500 pictures, and Burlingame selected a handful of pictures in order to prepare sketches. Creech and von Hesse needed to find a toy company willing to take a risk on the doll.[21]

While in New York City in August 1949 at the invitation of Maxeda von Hesse and her mother, the von Hesses introduced Creech to Eleanor Roosevelt. The elder von Hesse had served as Eleanor Roosevelt's speech coach. They invited Creech to a reception honoring Mrs. Roosevelt. Creech also learned that her friend, Zora Neale Hurston, was in New York, and she told the writer about

19. Hesse, "Notes from Mrs. Roosevelt's Tea."
20. Sara Creech, Maxeda von Hesse, and Sheila Burlingame, "The Story of How the Sara Lee Doll Came to Be," 3, typescript, Creech Papers.
21. Ibid., 2-3.

the doll. Hurston liked the idea and promised to work on the project when she returned to Florida. Hurston planned to move to Belle Glade.[22] Creech knew that the task of persuading a manufacturer to produce the doll would be easier if she could show that the doll had support in the black community.

When Creech returned to Belle Glade in September 1949, she had two goals: to obtain a copyright for the doll and to locate a willing toy manufacturer. Establishing legal protection for the doll proved easy. Finding a toy company willing to commit itself to manufacturing the doll proved more difficult.[23]

Hurston played an important role in rallying support for the project. She arrived in Belle Glade the next spring, and she and Creech met virtually every evening at Creech's home. Creech remembers that during this period she began to doubt that the doll would ever become a reality. One day while she and Hurston were painting Creech's house, she told Hurston about her misgivings. "Sara," Hurston probed, "have you thought this over? Have you given it your full attention? Do you think that you are right in what you are doing?" Creech answered, "Zora, from everything I can lay my hands on, I believe a quality doll should be produced." Hurston declared, "Well, go ahead. Don't go ring 'in no backin' bells."[24]

Hurston planned a strategy for winning support in the black community. While Creech focused her efforts on getting the doll manufactured, Hurston thought it essential that African-American leaders contribute to the project. She supplied Creech with letters of introduction to individuals in Atlanta, Washington, and New York.

Creech left Belle Glade in June 1950; her first stop was Atlanta. She had appointments with Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., leader of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and president of Morris Brown College; President Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College; and President Rufus Clement of Atlanta University A meeting was arranged with Harley Kimmel, the southern merchandise manager for Sears and Roebuck, who had access to leading toy manufacturers.

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22. Interview with Sara Creech, May 10, 1993.
23. Interview with Sara Creech, October 8, 1993, notes in author's possession.
24. Ibid. This expression comes from Hurston's experiences collecting folklore in railroad camps. When locomotives were put into reverse, a bell rang to warn workers. Hurston used the phrase to mean, "Don't retreat, don't look back, go ahead with your business." See Interview with Sara Creech, December 4, 1993, notes in author's possession.

Kimmel liked the project and promised to pass the idea up the Sears chain of command. Dr. Mays wrote directly to General Robert Wood, chief executive officer at Sears, encouraging him to back the project.[25] Bishop Wright recalled his efforts fifty years earlier when he had helped R. H. Boyd import dolls from Germany. He believed that the country was ready for a quality colored doll. Mays and Bishop Wright also endorsed the project, and President Clement recommended that Creech discuss the proposal with Professor Helen Whiting, who taught early child education at Atlanta University.[26]

Whiting talked about skin color; she believed that the doll's acceptance in black families hinged on the color issue. She cautioned that the doll should not be too dark. An acceptable skin color, one that did not validate any shade as "true" or "desirable" for African Americans, was needed.[27]

Creech had not recognized the importance of the color issue. Her idea was to manufacture a quality doll and to ensure that it reflected black children as they were. Whiting raised an issue that Creech had overlooked. No single color was representative for all blacks. If the dolls were to depict what Hurston called "the beauty and character, the good features of a black child," then they must affirm the diversity of African Americans.[28] Creech believed that the solution to the problem was to create a family of dolls that displayed the diversity of the African-American community. There could be a baby doll, brother doll, sister doll, and a little Miss doll. Each would represent a different skin color and hair type. This would protect the dolls from the charge that they represented a stereotyped view of African Americans. In November 1950 Benjamin Mays reinforced Creech's belief in the need for more than one doll. He wrote that the roots of prejudice resided in what "we learn unconsciously." He reminded Creech that it was crucial that the doll not simply replace old stereotypes with new prejudices. He also suggested that all four models be put on the market simultaneously.[29]

25. Sara Creech to Benjamin Mays, October 23, 1951, Creech Papers.
26. Creech, et. al., "Story of How the Sara Lee Doll Came to Be," 5.
27. Telephone interview with Sara Creech, June 8, 1994, notes in author's possession.
28. Zora Neale Hurston to Creech, June 29, 1950, Creech Papers.
29. Mays to Creech, November 9, 1950, Creech Papers.

Sara Creech received an encouraging letter from Hurston. "The thing that pleased me the most, Miss Creech," Hurston wrote, "was that you a White girl, should have seen into our hearts so clearly, and sought to meet our longing for understanding of us as we really are, and not as some would have us."[30] Hurston told Creech to contact Georgia Douglas Johnson, the black poet, and President Mordecai Johnson of Howard University. Through Georgia Douglas Johnson, Creech met many black intellectuals.[31] Winning Mordecai Johnson's support was crucial, as he was a leader in Washington's black community. He arranged for Creech to meet Lois Jones, professor of design in Howard's art department. Jones made charcoal sketches of each head and four water colors of the sister doll. She made only minor changes to Burlingame's original conception but recommended changing the hair styles– adding braids to the sister doll– and modifying the facial expressions slightly.

In New York during July and August 1950 Creech and von Hesse rallied support for the doll. James Hubert, a leader in the Urban League, gave them guidance in learning about the toy industry. He arranged a tour of the Ideal Toy Company's Jamaica, New York, plant for Creech and von Hesse.[32]

The summer had produced impressive results. The doll was under copyright, and important black leaders had indicated sup port for the project. The most important backer, however, was Eleanor Roosevelt. The former First Lady invited Creech and von Hesse to visit her at her Val-Kill cottage. They used the August 1950 meeting to outline their plans for the doll. "I was so interested to see the Negro dolls you are proposing to manufacture," Mrs. Roosevelt wrote after their interview. "I like them particularly because they can be made and sold on an equal basis with white dolls. There is nothing to be ashamed of. They are attractive and reproduced well with careful study of the anthropological background of the race. I think they are a lesson in equality for little children and we will find that many a child will cherish a charming black doll as

30. Hurston to Creech, June 29, 1950.
31. Thirty years earlier Hurston had spent many evenings at Georgia Douglas Johnson's halfway house taking part in "marathon literary discussions." See Robert E. Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography* (Urbana, 1977), 19.
32. Creech, et. al., "Story of How the Sara Lee Doll Came to Be," 5.

easily as it will a charming white doll."[33] Mrs. Roosevelt wrote a letter of introduction for Creech and von Hesse to Ralph Bunche requesting that he advise them on the doll project.[34]

Creech returned to Belle Glade in September. There was nothing to do but wait. Harley Kimmel promised to keep her informed about his efforts to find a toy manufacturer. Maxeda von Hesse used a fall vacation to come to Belle Glade. While they were meeting, Creech received a letter from Kimmel. He wrote that he had succeeded in interesting one of Sears's purchasing directors in the doll. He asked Creech to meet in New York in mid January 1951 with Lothar Kiesow, from Sears, and David Rosenstein, president of the Ideal Toy Company.[35]

Ideal was the largest manufacturer of dolls in the world at this time. Founded at the turn of the century by Morris Michtom, creator of the Teddy Bear, Ideal had remained a family-run business. Benjamin Michtom, Morris Michtom's son, and Abe Katz, the founder's nephew, controlled the company. David Rosenstein served as company president. Rosenstein became the doll's champion at Ideal. He had a long record of involvement in social issues. Michtom and Katz were skeptical of the proposed doll and felt that Rosenstein was letting his social conscience cloud his business sense.[36]

Creech returned to Belle Glade in high spirits after her meeting with Rosenstein. On February 4, 1951, she and Hurston reported on the project to members of the Belle Glade Inter-Racial Council. She also informed the group that she had invited Mordecai Johnson to come and address the council. Johnson spoke at the Methodist church, and afterwards he and Creech discussed the doll project.[37]

When Johnson returned to Washington, he wrote to David Rosenstein and outlined the reasons why manufacturing the doll was good business. "It is my opinion that this project is timely, that it is an admirable conception, and that it is capable of wide and rewarding commercial success," he wrote.[38] Johnson underscored the

33. Eleanor Roosevelt to Creech, August 8, 1850, Creech Papers.
34. Creech, et. al., "Story of How the Sara Lee Dolls Came to Be," 5.
35. Ibid., 6.
36. Telephone interview with Miriam Gittelson (personal secretary to David Rosenstein), November 1, 1993, notes in author's possession.
37. Interview with Sara Creech, October 23, 1993.
38. Mordecai Johnson to David Rosenstein, February 21, 1951, Creech Papers.

significance he attached to the project. He believed that the doll could be a powerful educational tool. Black Americans were a neglected group of consumers. If Ideal took the lead in the campaign against prejudice in toys, the company would "win many, many new customer friends." This was precisely what company officials needed to hear.

Johnson realized that the campaign against racial discrimination was at a turning point. Lawyers from the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund were preparing for a trial in Clarendon County, South Carolina. This case would lead to the Supreme Court's decision three years later in *Brown v. Board of Education.* Dolls played a crucial role in this process. Johnson knew that Kenneth and Maime Clark had used dolls in their research into black children's self-esteem. In 1939 the Clarks had purchased four dolls; all were identical except that two were colored brown. The Clarks' findings indicated that by the time African-American children reached nursery school, they had internalized many of society's prejudices about race. In a series of articles, the Clarks reported that children viewed colored dolls as inferior simply because they were colored.[39]

Robert Carter and Thurgood Marshall called Kenneth Clark as an expert witness on the effects of segregation on black children in the Claredon County case. He testified that the children that he had examined demonstrated "an unmistakable preference for the white doll and a rejection of the brown doll." By as early as three years of age black children "suffered from self-rejection" brought on by a "corrosive awareness of color."[40]

Like many educators, Creech believed that the battle against prejudice and self-hatred had to begin in the nursery. With only white dolls and playthings, black children were more likely than whites to feel inferior. Creech considered her doll a progressive step. She believed that quality dolls, based on realistic portrayals of black children, would improve the image of African Americans for both whites and blacks.

President Charles Johnson of Fisk University supported this conclusion. He informed Creech that he "liked the general idea [of the dolls] and thought it would be an excellent thing to have them put into production," Like Benjamin Mays, Johnson advised that the four dolls be manufactured simultaneously. This would of-

39. Kenneth Clark to author, May 26, 1994, in author's possession.
40. Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice* (New York, 1976), 318.

fer consumers a wider choice, and it would "remove any doubts which might arise regarding the possibility of creating a stereotype of Negro characteristics."[41]

Charles Johnson asked Beryl Shelton, director of the nursery school at Fisk, to "show the [sketches of the] dolls to a group of the children and some of the adults working with the children, and to compile the record of spontaneous reactions." Shelton showed twenty children (sixteen black and four white) the portfolio of pictures that Creech had developed. The children were enthusiastic. "No mention," Shelton noted, "was made of the fact that these were Negro dolls."[42]

The adults in Shelton's study identified the issue to which Charles Johnson had called attention in his letter to Creech. A single black doll contained the potential of becoming a "stereotype of Negro characteristics."[43] That is why Johnson advised that the four dolls be sold simultaneously. Independently, Benjamin Mays and Mordecai Johnson had reached the same conclusion. The key to the project's success lay in the dolls' ability to portray the diversity of black Americans.

Ideal's President David Rosenstein agreed. He had spent much of his life fighting poverty and prejudice. He tried to make his business an instrument of social change. He argued that the "toy world [was] indeed the whole world in miniature." The problem was that his partners were not social reformers. Rosenstein tried to convince them. He drew on the report of the Mid-Century White House Conference on Youth, where Kenneth Clark had presented his findings.[44] Michtom and Katz, however, did not think the Sara Lee Doll made good business sense, and they put the project "on the back burner."[45]

Rosenstein persisted. He asked Charlotte Klein, a public relations consultant, to help him. Klein remembers that during one of their periodic planning sessions she asked Ben Michtom which

41. Charles Johnson to Creech, February 6, 1951, Creech Papers.
42. Beryl Shelton, "The Sara Lee Dolls: Summary of Spontaneous Impressions of 20 Children and 10 Adults at Fisk University Nursery School," 6, typescript, Creech Papers.
43. Johnson to Creech, February 6, 1951.
44. Kenneth Clark, *Prejudice and Your Child* (Boston, 1955). Clark published an expanded version of the material that he presented in the White House conference in this book.
45. Telephone interview with Charlotte Klein, October 13, 1993, notes in author's possession.

new products were coming up. Rosenstein seized the opportunity to make another pitch for the Sara Lee Doll. When Klein told Michtom and Katz that she thought the idea had commercial potential, they agreed to allow her to run a marketability study. She reported that "the Negro doll would make news for the company and outlined some publicity possibilities." It was decided that a few prototypes should be produced.[46]

Klein tested the doll herself. She boarded a New York subway train carrying the doll and noted passenger reactions. A young black woman approached her and asked, "Is this doll going to be sold?. . . It's the wrong color," the black woman declared. "It's too gray. That's the color of a dead baby."[47] Klein realized that Ideal needed expert advice in choosing the doll's color.

Ideal's delays frustrated Creech and von Hesse. Creech left the January 1951 meeting with Rosenstein convinced that the doll would soon be in production. Nine months passed and nothing had happened. In September Creech learned of Klein's impromptu market test and the color fiasco. She told Rosenstein that she wanted to come to New York, and Rosenstein arranged to pay her expenses for two weeks.[48] Creech arrived early in October. Two major obstacles blocked Ideal's production of the doll. Creech had to find a way to convince Michtom and Katz that the doll would make "news" for Ideal, and she had to find a solution to the color problem that Charlotte Klein had discovered on her subway ride. Creech and von Hesse had two weeks to come up with a solution.

Eleanor Roosevelt saved the Sara Lee Doll. On October 15, 1951, she invited Creech and von Hesse to visit her at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York. Creech outlined what had transpired since their last meeting, including the support of black leaders and Klein's experiences on the subway train. Mrs. Roosevelt offered to hold a reception for the doll. Black and white leaders would be invited to a tea and would be asked to serve as a "color jury" for the doll. The reception would have to take place within ten days, since Mrs. Roosevelt was leaving for Paris shortly. The tea was scheduled for October 22.[49]

46. Charlotte Klein to author, October 25, 1993, in author's possession.
47. Telephone interview with Charlotte Klein, October 13, 1993.
48. Creech to Harley Kimmel, November 5, 1951, Creech Papers.
49. Interview with Sara Creech, May 10, 1993.

Bernard Baruch, Eleanor Roosevelt, theatric producer John Golden, and Dr. James Hubert of the New York Urban League at Mrs. Roosevelt's "color jury," October 22, 195 1. *Photograph courtesy Sara Creech.*

Mrs. Roosevelt asked the women to prepare a guest list by the next morning. It read like a who's who of African-American leaders. The final list included Charles Johnson, Mordecai Johnson, R. R. Wright, Jr., Helen Whiting, Lois Jones, Sadie Delaney, Benjamin Mays, Ralph Bunche, Walter White, Mary McLeod Bethune, James Hubert, Lester Granger, Jackie Robinson, Earl Brown, and Zora Neale Hurston.[50] They phoned David Rosenstein and told him about the reception. Rosenstein promised to mobilize his forces. He pledged that Ideal would have the models ready by Monday. Charlotte Klein went to work notifying the media.

At five o'clock on October 22 Mrs. Roosevelt welcomed her guests and presented the "new colored doll, made by the Ideal Toy Corporation."[51] Roosevelt introduced Creech, von Hesse, and Rosenstein and outlined the "jury's" task. Members of the "color jury" were to examine the prototypes and select the color that they

50. "Guest List for Mrs. Roosevelt's Tea," typescript, Creech Papers.
51. Watertown, NY, *Times,* October 24, 1951.

judged appropriate for the first Sara Lee Doll. "There were twelve to fifteen people in the room," Charlotte Klein remembers. "The dolls were displayed. There was lots of discussion. People would pass by each and discuss it in detail. I remember overhearing people say, 'Do you think this hits the mark.' They came up with a medium brown. No one wanted to make the doll too light. They fixed on a medium color."[52]

The reception persuaded Ideal's directors to authorize the doll's production. They knew that the press would give the Sara Lee Doll extensive coverage. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* ran a full-page story on the doll. *Time, Newsweek, Life Magazine, Ebony,* and *Independent Woman* also published stories.[53]

Initial sales were encouraging. Lothar Kiesow arranged for the doll to appear in Sears's 1951 Christmas catalogue. Large department stores in New York like Gimbel's and Abraham and Straus ran advertisements for the doll. David Rosenstein, who had just returned from Europe, was ecstatic. "It's high time," he declared in a press release "[that] there were [sic] a quality Negro doll which would give Negro children a new respect for their heritage and would give White children a new respect for the Negro."[54]

Rosenstein's and Creech's hopes for the doll's commercial success faded when high sales failed to materialize; however, they continued to believe in the doll as an educational tool. Miriam Gittelson, Rosenstein's secretary, succeeded in persuading the New York City public schools to purchase several hundred dolls annually for three years. The New York public school system was the single largest purchaser of the doll.[55]

There were several reasons for the doll's commercial failure. Color was central. First, there was a technical problem. In July 1951 Ideal introduced "Vinylite Magic Skin." Vinyl in the early 1950s was an unstable material. The secret to the Sara Lee Doll's "magic skin" lay in mixing plasticizers with synthetic resins. This gave the doll's

52. Telephone interview with Charlotte Klein, October 13, 1993.
53. Ibid.; St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 11, 1951; "Mind Over Matter," 5; "In Passing," *Newsweek,* November 5, 1951, 48; "Doll for Negro Children: New Toy Which is Anthropologically Correct Fills an Old Need," *Life,* December 17, 1951, 61-62; "Modern Designs," 46-48; Gertrude Penrose, "Mission of a Doll," *Independent Women* (December 1951), 350-51.
54. "Realistic Negro Dolls to Combat Racial Prejudice in Youngsters," typescript of press release from Edward Gottlieb & Associates, n.d., Creech Papers.
55. Telephone interview with Miriam Gittelson, November 1, 1993.

skin softness. Katz and his chemical engineers discovered that over time the plasticizers seeped out of the vinyl. This caused the doll to harden, the skin to change color, and the doll's clothes to absorb the vinyl's dye.[56]

Second, Creech's desire to produce an anthropologically correct, quality black doll was impossible, as no one could define precisely what Zora Neale Hurston or anyone else meant by "anthropologically correct." Creech had set herself an impossible task. There is no such thing as an anthropologically correct black or white child. Years later Kenneth Clark identified this problem when he observed: "The serious research to correct the racial stereotyping and create the 'anthropological [sic] correct' doll is in itself an interesting concept. As if all black children look alike any more than all white children do. But the idea of providing a Negro child with other than a white doll was an advanced perception in the 1940s."[57]

What Creech, von Hesse, and Burlingame had intended to do was to create a doll that would depict black children with love and respect. This was a laudable objective. The questions raised about the doll's skin color, however, pointed to the fundamental contradictions involved in the project.

Ideal's officers ultimately sabotaged the Sara Lee Doll when they blocked production of Sara Lee's brother and sisters. Michtom and Katz let their commercial sense guide them. They did not share Rosenstein's and Creech's vision of toys as agents of social change. While the Ideal Company's interest in the doll peaked with Mrs. Roosevelt's tea, Creech considered the affair just a beginning. The day following the tea Creech wrote to the black educator Sadie Peterson Delaney, "Tomorrow I am working with them [Ideal] on additional models to follow this first one."[58] Creech also wrote to Benjamin Mays: "Today we had a conference with our manufacturer and he wants to have a little booklet printed to attach to each doll. It will contain a short history of the development of the doll and the purpose of the doll . . . to put into the hands of all children regardless of race a lovable Negro doll as fine and attractive as to quality and workmanship as any white doll."[59] Creech asked

56. Judith Izen, *Collector's Guide to Ideal Dolls* (Paducah, KY, 1994), 8.
57. Kenneth Clark to author, June 16, 1994, in author's possession.
58. Creech to Sadie Peterson Delaney, October 23, 1951, Creech Papers.
59. Creech to Mays, October 23, 1951.

A publicity photograph used in the Ideal Toy Company's marketing campaign. *Photograph courtesy Sara Creech.*

Delaney, Mays, Ralph Bunche, Eleanor Roosevelt, and others to contribute to the booklet.

Creech's relations with Ideal began to cool. She and von Hesse worried that Ideal's advertising director might misuse the materials they had prepared for the booklet. "Maybe we're over cautious,"

Creech declared, "but to be sure as possible that the material available to us is properly used, we are checking every bit of it . . . also, all of the publicity."[60]

Creech was right to be concerned. She and Michtom had already quarreled over Ideal's publicity campaign. Michtom had decided to use his own press agent. Creech was furious when the agent distributed an error-filled press statement. Michtom agreed that all releases would henceforth be cleared by Creech for accuracy. Three days later, however, Creech discovered that Michtom had authorized another batch of misleading press bulletins. She demanded a meeting with Michtom to set matters right, but she discovered she had nothing "to fall back on."[61] There was no contract with Ideal. After Mrs. Roosevelt's tea the doll had been rushed into production. Creech had no objections; she did not want Ideal to stop the forward momentum. She did, however, want an agreement that protected the doll's integrity. Creech hired a lawyer, Oliver Titcomb, to represent her interests, but he did not have much luck with Ideal's management.[62]

Late in 1952 a contract was signed, but by then Creech felt that Ideal had betrayed the project.[63] Commercialism had won out. Except for Rosenstein, Ideal's directors considered the doll a marketing gimmick. After the fanfare generated by Mrs. Roosevelt's tea, Ideal had no incentive to expand the project. Klein was instructed to curtail the publicity campaign, and the company abandoned the idea of including an educational booklet with the doll. In 1952 Ideal decided not to expand the Sara Lee line. Michtom and Katz favored other projects. In the comic strips, Ann Howe had married Joe Palooka. A *New Yorker Magazine* reporter asked Klein if anything was to be expected from Ideal. "Mr. Michtom will see to that," Klein responded.[64] The Joan Palooka Doll was born in 1953.

Ideal stopped producing the Sara Lee Doll in 1953. Sara Creech returned to Belle Glade to organize the first stage of a ten-year campaign to meet the day care and educational needs of migrant workers. Abe Kent, who was in charge of marketing at Ideal in the 1950s, recalled: "The summer of 1951 saw the introduction

60. Creech to Harley Kimmel, November 5, 1951.
61. Ibid.
62. Oliver S. Titcomb to Creech, March 27, 1952, Creech Papers.
63. Interview with Sara Creech, May 10, 1993.
64. Izen, *Collector's Guide to Ideal Dolls,* 22.

of the Bonny Braids doll. It was a fabulous success. Sara Lee didn't make it. I guess that tells you a great deal about how things go."[65] It would be another decade and a half before another toy manufacturer produced a quality African-American doll.

Despite the commercial failure of the Sara Lee Doll, Sara Creech's social consciousness and activism did not wane. She played a central role in the 1950s and 1960s in the struggle to provide day care for migrant workers. Her efforts led to the creation of the Wee Care Child Development Center in Belle Glade. In 1965 she testified before the White House Conference on Day Care. Although illness compelled her to leave Belle Glade in 1974 for the coastal climate of Lake Worth, her new home provided the opportunity to fulfill a dream of attending college. She enrolled in Palm Beach Community College and subsequently worked as a computer operator at the college until her retirement in 1985. Sara Creech remains active in efforts to forge interracial alliances.

65. Telephone interview with Abe Kent, November 1, 1993, notes in author's possession.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER HARRY T. MOORE AND THE KU KLUX KLAN IN FLORIDA

by JAMES C. CLARK

On Christmas night 1951 Harry Tyson Moore became the first civil rights leader assassinated in the United States when a bomb placed beneath the bedroom of his small frame home in Mims, Florida, exploded. It killed Moore and his wife Harriett. For many years Moore had been an ambitious fighter for civil rights in Florida. He led the first effort in Florida to achieve equal pay for black teachers, organized the state's first black voter registration drives, established the first state conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and spoke up when law enforcement officials murdered or assaulted blacks in Florida. He was a quiet man whose calls for blacks to unite to secure their rights began in the 1930s.[1] Even in death, at the age of forty-six, he would have a profound impact on civil rights. His murder touched off a massive investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation that led to indictments and spotlighted the influence and activities of the Ku Klux Klan in Florida.

Some studies date the origins of the civil rights movement to 1954 when the United States Supreme Court handed down *Brown v. Board of Education* overturning the doctrine of separate but equal, or to 1955 when the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott began. More recent studies, however, have identified civil rights activity beginning in the 1920s and the 1930s and still others trace its origins to World War II. Steven F. Lawson wrote that "scholars are beginning to reexamine the ideological roots of the freedom struggle,

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1. Moore was born in Houston, Florida, a small community near Live Oak, in 1905. His father died when he was ten years old, and Moore was raised by his mother, Rosa, and several aunts. He attended schools in Daytona and Jacksonville before graduating from Florida Memorial High School in Live Oak in 1925. He was a bright student-nicknamed "Doc" because of his ability in science and math– and he became a teacher. Moore taught briefly in Houston. He moved to Brevard County in 1925, and, to supplement his income, he sold insurance for Atlanta Life.

exploring the legal, theological, and political legacies left by leaders and organizations of the 1930s and 1940s."[2]

Moore's involvement in civil rights paralleled the early growth of the movement. A neighbor, Crandall Warren, gave Moore information about the NAACP in 1934, and, from his home in Mims, Moore organized the Brevard County Branch of the NAACP and was selected its first president.[3] Almost immediately the Brevard chapter drew attention. The NAACP magazine *The Crisis* noted that the chapter "aided its neighboring branches in such cases as need whole-hearted cooperation. In Volusia Co., a colored boy said to have killed a white woman was taken from his county cell to the death cell at Raiford, Florida, and, with aid from the local branches, ours included, the sentence was commuted, for further investigation."[4]

Although Moore had a reputation as a quiet and shy man who seldom laughed, it is said that he possessed "the tenacity of a bulldog."[5] One of Moore's first efforts was to challenge the inequity in pay between white and black teachers. Moore was employed as a teacher and principal at the black elementary school in Mims, and he could see how unfair the system was to black students and teachers. Moore was also active in the Florida State Teacher's Association (FSTA)– the black counterpart to the white Florida Education Association– and was elected president of District Four. The fact that white teachers in some counties were paid more than twice that of blacks increasingly troubled Moore. "Is it fair for county school officials to pay Negro teachers several hundred dollars less than they pay white teachers with the same training and experience?"[6] Although the state appropriated $800 per year for each teacher, with the county expected to add more, Brevard County did not even pay black teachers the $800. Moore wrote that teachers and principals

2. Steven F. Lawson, "Freedom Then, Freedom Now: The Historiography of the Civil Eights Movement." *American Historical Review* 96 (April 1991), 456-71, quote on 457.
3. Caroline Poore, "Striking the First Blow: Harry T. Moore and the Fight for Black Equality in Florida" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1992), 22.
4. *The Crisis* 42 (January 1935), 28.
5. Poore, "Striking the First Blow," 24-25.
6. Harry T. Moore, "An Open Letter to Florida Negro Citizens," January 10, 1948, group 2, box 35, NAACP Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, DC (hereinafter, NAACP Papers).

received less than $100 per month for an eight-month term. It was about half of what white teachers received[7].

Like other southern states, Florida's race relations operated under the doctrine of separate but equal. In theory black students were supposed to receive an equal education, but in practice their buildings, books, and buses were greatly inferior to those of white students. In many rural areas the school calendar was shorter so that blacks could spend time working in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons. In March 1938 John Gilbert, Moore's fellow principal in Brevard County, brought the first suit in Florida to obtain equal pay for black teachers. Although the suit was filed as *Gilbert v. Board of Public Instruction of Brevard County, Florida,* Moore was equally involved, raising money and securing legal advice with the help of the NAACP.[8]

The suit brought Moore into contact with Thurgood Marshall, then a young NAACP attorney. Marshall visited Brevard County at least once to meet with Gilbert and Moore in 1937. But there were problems with the case. S. D. McGill, the Florida attorney hired to help represent Gilbert, wrote Marshall: "I have been in conference several times with a committee of teachers in regards to the case and while they appear to be real anxious to get some court action going, they are unwilling to have their names connected with it in such a way that it will attract the attention of their several school boards. Most of them are afraid of losing their positions in the school system."[9] Their concerns were justified; the Brevard County school board fired Gilbert for bringing the lawsuit.[10] The Florida Supreme Court refused to hear Gilbert's case, holding that he had no standing since he was no longer employed by the school system. Gilbert's and Moore's efforts, however, encouraged other black teachers to sue for equal pay. Vernon McDaniel, a black teacher in Escambia County, filed one such suit in 1941. A federal judge ruled in favor of McDaniel, but before he issued his decree, the school board in Escambia County agreed to equalize salaries in exchange

7. H. T. Moore to Walter White, August 2, 1937, pt. 3, ser. A, The Campaign for Educational Equality, 1913-1950, *Papers oft he NAACP,* roll 9, 694-96.
8. Gilbert Porter and Leedell Neyland, *History of the Florida State Teachers Association* (Washington, 1977), 66-67.
9. S. D. McGill to Thurgood Marshall, November 5, 1937, pt. 3, ser. A, *Papers of the NAACP,* roll 9, 728-29.
10. Press release from NAACP, nd., pt. 4, The Voting Rights Campaign, 1916-1950, *Papers of the NAACP,* roll 6, 802.

for McDaniel withdrawing his suit.[11] By 1950 black teachers were earning 86 percent of the salaries of white teachers in Florida.[12]

Moore also focused his attention on two other major issues: violence against blacks and voting rights. He wrote that blacks "complain bitterly about the injustices that we suffer in this country. We bemoan the inequalities in educational opportunity, the segregation, police brutality, lynching, and other evils that are heaped upon Negro citizens; but so few of us are willing to take positive action for the alleviation of these conditions. Mere talk will not suffice. If we are to receive the proper respect from those who govern us, we must exercise some voice in their election."[13]

Moore realized that the Brevard County chapter of the NAACP, even with its more than 400 members, could not provide an adequate base to accomplish his goals. He believed the NAACP would be more effective in Florida if it were organized into a single, state-wide unit. The NAACP was loosely organized, consisting of branches operating under the national office in New York. In the late 1930s Moore recommended that the Florida chapters organize into a state conference, but it was not until 1941 that he was allowed to form the first NAACP state conference in the country. Moore was elected the first president.[14]

Three years later, in 1944 the United States Supreme Court ruled in *Smith v. Allwright* that blacks could not be prohibited from participating in Democratic party primary elections. Southern blacks had been allowed to vote in general elections, but, in an era when the Republican party was almost nonexistent in the South, that right was nearly worthless. All of the major decisions were made in the Democratic primary– a whites-only election process. During the 1948 campaign, which featured significant elections for governor and president, Moore wrote to NAACP members: "Do not be misled. The Democratic primary is THE ELECTION in Florida."[15] Moore pushed for increased black voter registration, and in 1945 he formed the Progressive Voters League (PVL) in Florida. PVL chapters had been organized in a number of southern states

11. Porter and Neyland, *History of the Florida Teachers Association*, 67.
12. Robert A. Margo, *Race and Schooling in the South, 1880-1950: An Economic History* (Chicago, 1990), 54.
13. Moore to Florida State Teacher's Association, n.d., William Gray Papers, Florida A&M University Black Archives, Tallahassee, FL (hereinafter, Gray Papers).
14. *The Crisis* 59 (February 1952), 75.
15. Moore, "Open Letter to Florida Negro Citizens, January 10, 1948."

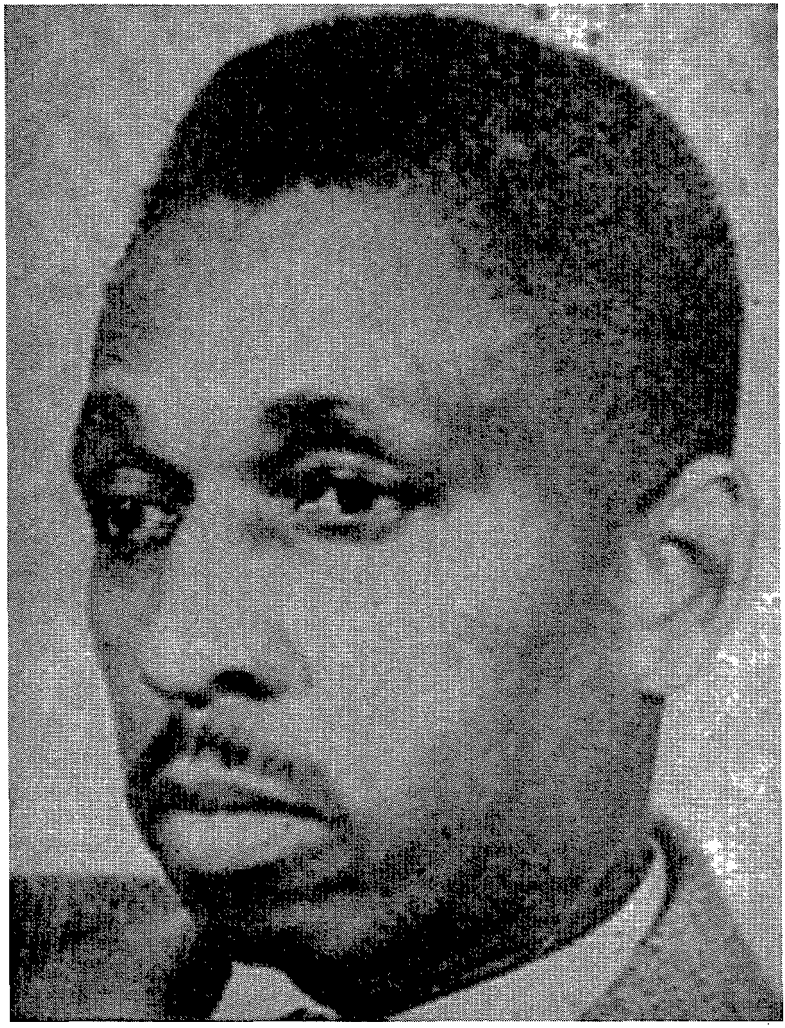
to encourage black voter registration. While the NAACP actively registered voters, it attempted to be nonpartisan. The national organization sought influence through lobbying both parties for civil rights legislation in Washington and through legal action to overturn discriminatory laws. Moore took a more activist view, however, and wanted the PVL not only to register voters, but also to endorse candidates and to take stands on major political issues, primarily related to civil rights.

Moore's campaign coincided with the end of World War II as thousands of black soldiers returned to the South after experiencing greater freedom in the North and overseas. Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier wrote that during and especially after the war, "The Negro was no longer willing to accept discrimination in employment and in housing without protest."[16] Moore mobilized this anger in his crusade for racial equality.

On November 15, 1945, Moore issued a call for action in Florida: "Who are more directly responsible for the inequalities in educational opportunities, the lynchings, the police brutality, and other injustices suffered by Negroes, our state and county officials or the Administration in Washington? All of these evils can be traced directly to the prejudiced attitude of local officials. . . . The fact is that practically every city, county, and state official in Florida is selected in the Democratic Primaries. In order to help select these officials, Negroes must vote in the Democratic Primaries."[17]

Under the slogan "A Voteless Citizen is a Voiceless Citizen," Moore launched one of the most ambitious registration campaigns in the South.[18] In 1944 approximately 20,000 blacks were registered in Florida, about 5.5 percent of those eligible. Two years after the Supreme Court ruling, the number of blacks registered to vote had more than doubled to 48,157. In 1950 there were 116,145 Florida blacks registered to vote,, or 31.7 percent of those eligible.[19] The percentage was more than 50 percent higher than other southern

16. E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States,* rev. ed. (New York, 1957), 682.
17. Harry T. Moore to Progressive Voters League members, November 15, 1945, pt. 4, *Papers of the NAACP,* roll 6, 992-93.
18. Report of Agent Tobias E. Matthews, Jr., February 11, 1952, file 44-4118, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, DC (hereinafter, FBI Records). All subsequent references to the FBI Records are taken from file 44-4118.
19. H. D. Price, *The Negro and Southern Politics: A Chapter of Florida History* (New York, 1957), 33.



Harry Tyson Moore. *Photograph courtesy the author.*

states.[20] Not only were the state NAACP and the PVL successful in leading the campaign to register blacks, they were able to register impressive numbers of voters in rural areas where intimidation by

20. Numan V. Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950 s* (Baton Rouge, 1969), 8.

whites was greatest. And by 1950 more than 50 percent of the blacks in Moore's largely rural home county had registered.[21]

In a 1946 letter to PVL members, Moore wrote that it was time for black voters "to make their power felt."[22] To Democratic candidates he wrote, "We seek merely the fundamental rights of American citizenship, equality of opportunities, equal protection of the law, justice in the courts, and free participation in the affairs of our government." He asked Florida congressmen for their views on issues such as antilynching legislation.[23] North Florida Congressman Joe Hendricks wrote, "I deeply abhor lynching and will never take part in one regardless of the circumstances" but added that he would not support antilynching legislation.[24] Although the poll tax was a major issue for blacks in other southern states, it had been repealed in Florida in 1937.

The PVL held rallies to support the 1950 reelection campaign of U.S. Senator Claude Pepper. Although Pepper lost, league endorsements were helpful in electing some local white candidates. In most elections the PVL merely endorsed the lesser of two evils, but increasingly politicians agreed to meet with PVL members to discuss their agenda. In Brevard County Moore's efforts led to the appointment of the first black deputy sheriff in 1950 who could arrest both whites and blacks.[25] There were a few black police officers and deputies employed in Florida, but they were assigned only to patrol black neighborhoods and could arrest only blacks.

Moore's involvement in politics once again brought him into contact with Thurgood Marshall, this time in the fight over voter registration. He wrote to Marshall, "I regret to say that we have been blocked in our efforts to register as Democrats for the state and county primaries."[26] Marshall referred the matter to the Department of Justice, but Theron L. Caudle, an assistant attorney general, said that because of a lack of witnesses and other prob-

21. Price, *Negro and Southern Politics,* 45.
22. Moore to Progressive Voters League members, n.d., Gray Papers.
23. The NAACP first proposed federal antilynching legislation in 1919. In 1921 the first bill was introduced in Congress to make lynching a federal crime. The bill passed the House by a wide margin, but in the Senate Southerners were able to block it through a filibuster. There were attempts nearly every year for the next two decades to pass antilynching laws, but they always failed.
24. Moore to candidates, April 12, 1946, Gray Papers.
25. Steven F. Lawson, *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944-1969* (New York, 1976), 132.
26. Moore to Thurgood Marshall, April 23, 1946, group 2, box 35, NAACP Papers.

lems– primarily technical– the government would not pursue Moore's complaints.[27] Although Moore was instrumental in increasing black voter registration, election officials refused to allow Moore to register.[28]

Moore's civil rights activity in Florida led to personal retribution. In 1946 Moore and his wife were fired from their teaching positions in Mims because of Moore's active role in the NAACP and PVL.[29] Mrs. Moore had not been active in her husband's civil rights work but was fired in an effort to get the two to leave the county. Because of his leadership role in the NAACP and his work in the movement to secure equal pay for black teachers, it would have been extremely difficult for him to find another teaching position. Instead, Moore was named to the newly created post of state NAACP executive director, a full-time, paid position. As state director he was to establish new chapters, enlist members, and coordinate the activities of the chapters. He was to be paid from dues raised in Florida and report to the state board, not the national NAACP.

The push for equality, led by Moore and the NAACP, brought a violent reaction in Florida. In December 1951 Miami witnessed a series of attacks against a black apartment complex, a synagogue, and a church.[30] But the greatest violence came in central Florida, an area that depended upon the citrus industry and that needed black labor in the groves. The Ku Klux Klan was especially active in the major citrus-producing areas.[31] The Klan operated without the interference of police– and often with their assistance– to carry out violence against blacks. Moore called on Florida governors to remove those officers he believed responsible for crimes against blacks: "It was the sheriff of Madison County who permitted the lynching of Jesse James Payne in 1945. It was a Suwannee County constable who made a Negro prisoner jump into the river at Branford two years ago. It was the sheriff of Gadsden County who carried Leroy Bradwell, Negro veteran of Midway, away from his mother's home one night in January 1946. Bradwell's people have

27. Theron L. Caudle to M. W. Perry, December 5, 1946, pt. 4, *Papers of the NAACP,* roll 6, 919-20.
28. Moore to M. W. Perry, January 21, 1947, pt. 4, *Papers of the NAACP,* roll 6, 925-26.
29. Statement of Damon Huntzler, December 27, 1951, FBI Records.
30. *Pittsburgh Courier,* December 28, 1951.
31. See Jerrell H. Shofner, "Communists, Klansmen, and the CIO in the Florida Citrus Industry," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 71 (January 1993), 300-09.

not seen him or heard from him since that night."[32] But Moore's demands for state investigations of the cases were ignored.

With Moore's assistance, one case drew national attention. Moore became active in what was known as the Groveland rape case. Many people, including NAACP Executive Director Walter White, believed Moore's murder was a result of his role in raising money for the defense of the Groveland defendants.[33]

The case began early on the morning of July 16, 1949, when four black men– Samuel Shepherd, Walter Irvin, Charles Greenlee, and Ernest Thomas– were accused of raping Norma Padgett, a white woman, and assaulting her husband in the Lake County community of Groveland.[34] Greenlee, Irvin, and Shepherd were quickly arrested. Thomas fled and after a week of eluding police was shot and killed in a wooded area in north Florida, about 200 miles from where the search began.[35] The rape charge brought hundreds of Klansmen to Groveland demanding that the prisoners be lynched. Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall refused to turn them over, and the mob went on a rampage, setting fire to five black homes and shooting into others. All blacks around Groveland were forced to flee. The National Guard was called in to halt the violence.[36]

Greenlee, Irvin, and Shepherd were convicted despite questionable evidence. Irvin and Shepherd were sentenced to death, Greenlee to life in prison. Moore raised money to hire defense attorneys, wrote letters to public officials, and campaigned throughout the state on behalf of the men. He also pushed the NAACP to provide legal and financial support for the defendants.[37]

In 1951 the United States Supreme Court overturned the Irvin and Shepherd convictions and ordered new trials. The court ruled that the defendants had not received a fair hearing because of extensive pretrial publicity, including the release of their alleged confessions, though none of which were admitted into evidence. Greenlee did not appeal his conviction, fearing he would receive the death penalty in a new trial.[38]

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32. Moore, "An Open Letter to Florida Negro Citizens," January 10, 1948.
33. *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 5, 1952.
34. Steven F. Lawson, David R. Colburn, and Darryl Paulson, "Groveland: Florida's Little Scottsboro," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (July 1986), 1.
35. Ibid., 4.
36. Statement of Ira B. Hall, May 10, 1952, FBI Records.
37. FBI Miami to J. Edgar Hoover, February 28, 1952, FBI Records.
38. Lawson, et. al., "Groveland: Florida's Little Scottsboro," 10.

The court ordered a new hearing in Lake County. Moore sent a letter to Florida Governor Fuller Warren urging that the state not turn the men over to Sheriff McCall. In November 1951 McCall drove to the prison and brought the two prisoners back. He claimed that during the return trip the two manacled men tried to overpower him, and he was forced to shoot. He killed Shepherd and seriously wounded Irvin, who later claimed that the men had been shot in cold blood.[39] Moore called on Governor Warren to remove McCall, but his request was ignored.

As Moore became more active in civil rights in Florida, he became increasingly controversial within the NAACP. He was far better at campaigning for causes than directing the organization. His administration of the NAACP was disorganized, and membership in Florida declined from 8,872 in 1948 to 2,300 members in 1950. The Florida NAACP was nearly $2,300 in debt, almost exactly the amount owed to Moore in back salary.[40] Moore claimed that it was not his fault that membership had fallen. He believed an increase in annual dues from one dollar to two dollars had discouraged membership.[41] The dues increase did have a negative impact on membership, but the organization was also losing members throughout the South because of increased opposition from whites. Many southern political leaders, in particular, condemned the NAACP as a radical, procommunist organization. Blacks who joined the NAACP risked violence or loss of their jobs.

In 1950 the national NAACP began a movement to oust Moore as executive director. Gloster Current, national director of branches for the NAACP, led the drive. He wrote, "I am convinced that Mr. Moore, while he is well-intentioned and interested in our work, is not doing as much as could be done to revive the work in that state."[42] Also, Moore's involvement in the PVL bothered Current and Walter White. Moore wrote letters using both his NAACP and PVL titles. As early as 1947 Current wrote: "May I suggest that in the future, you not sign your name as representing both the NAACP and the Progressive Voters' League of Florida, Inc. on the same communication. A separate communication might better be

39. Ibid., 19.
40. Lucille Black to Daniel E. Byrd, November 21, 1950, group 2, box 35, NAACP Papers.
41. Report of Agent Tobias E. Matthews, Jr., February 11, 1952.
42. Gloster B. Current to Lucille Black, May 17, 1950, group 2, box C221, NAACP Papers.

sent from each organization. Otherwise, the impression may get out that the two organizations are interlocking."[43]

During September 1950 the national organization devised a plan to force Moore out. Daniel E. Byrd, the NAACP field secretary, wrote that he was going to Florida to do a "hatchetjob" on Moore.[44] In November the national leaders thought they had an agreement for Moore to resign the following March, but in April 1951 Current wrote, "Harry Moore was to have resigned in March but at this late date you can see Moore is still trying to hold on."[45]

Moore knew there was a plan to oust him, but there was little he could do about it.[46] In November 1951, just one month before his murder, Moore was removed as executive director during the state convention at Daytona Beach. Moore wrote: "In some respects this meeting was about the worst we have had. Really it was not a State meeting, because the National officers came in and took over."[47]

As Christmas 1951 approached Moore was out of work, and the state NAACP owed him nearly a year's salary. But he was still a symbol of protest throughout the state. Moore and his family spent Christmas Day at the home of Moore's brother-in-law, Arnold Simms, about 600 yards from the Moores' home. Another brother-in-law, George Simms, who had recently returned from military duty in Korea, was also present.[48]

Around 9:00 P.M., Moore, his wife, his daughter Anna, and his mother Rosa returned home. Harriett Moore went to her bedroom in the northeast corner of the house. Anna was in the living room reading and then went to her room. Harry and Rosa talked about the family for awhile, and then around ten o'clock Moore and his mother went to their bedrooms. About 10:15 P.M., Harry Moore got into bed next to his wife. Five minutes later the bomb exploded. Harry died soon after he arrived at the hospital, and Harriett died

43. Gloster B. Current to Moore, July 3, 1947, 2, box 35, NAACP Papers.
44. Daniel E. Byrd to Lucille Black, September 29, 1950, group 2, box 35, NAACP Papers.
45. Gloster B. Current to Ruby Hurley, April 18, 1951, group 2, box C221, NAACP Papers.
46. FBI interview with the Rev. K. S. Johnson, December 29, 1951, FBI Records.
47. Ibid.
48. Report of Agent Tobias E. Matthews, Jr., February 11, 1952.

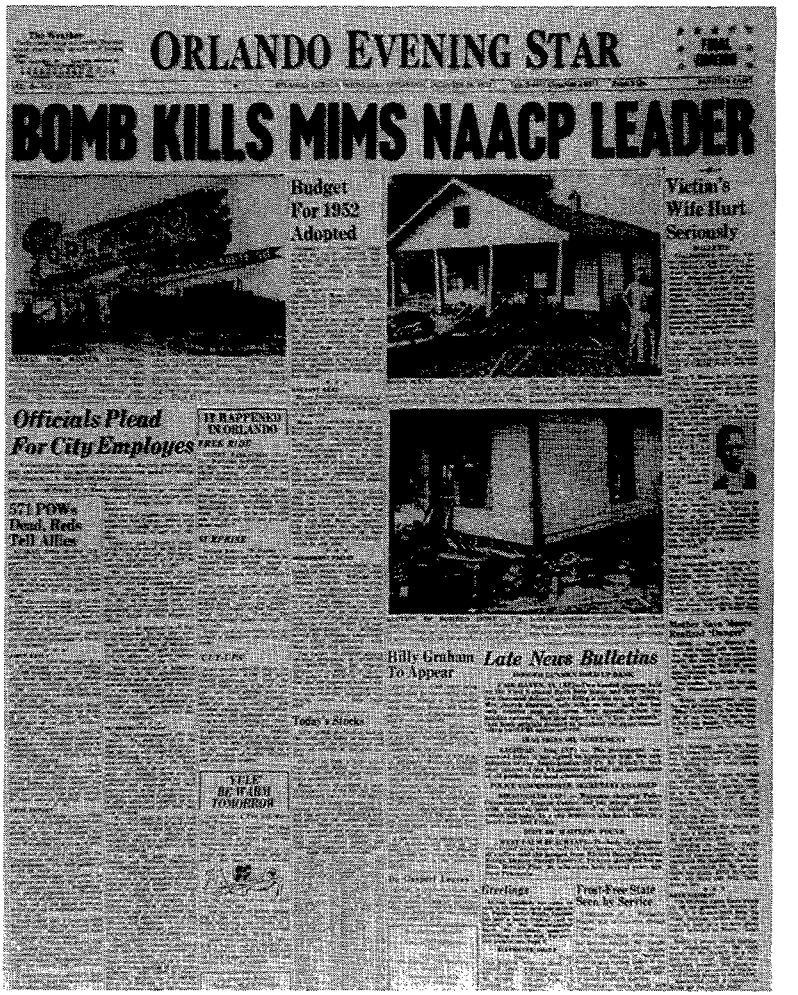
on January 3, 1952. Rosa and Anna Moore were not injured.[49] The Moore home was nearly demolished.

On the morning of December 26 Brevard County Sheriff H. T. Williams called Federal Bureau of Investigation Special Agent Ed Duff in Daytona Beach and requested FBI assistance.[50] Williams supervised a small department and was not prepared to conduct a major criminal investigation. On December 29, 1951, United States Attorney General Howard McGrath ordered a full investigation, saying that the question of jurisdiction would be determined later.[51]

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, later an opponent of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and the civil rights movement, committed the full resources of the bureau to investigate the killings. On one memo Hoover scrawled, "Give very prompt & thorough attention."[52] At one time as many as twenty agents worked full time on the case. The bureau took over a small motel in Mims as a command headquarters, and Hoover was kept advised of the case almost daily. Hoover's interest may have been a result of pressure from the Truman administration. The case received worldwide attention, and Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the NAACP, asked President Truman to "invoke all the powers of the federal government to the end that Harry T. Moore may vindicate in death those principles and practices he sought in life."[53]

From the beginning there were questions about the FBI's jurisdiction in the Moore killings. Murder was not a federal crime, and in 1951 there was no civil rights violation involved in his death.[54] All the federal government could do was file perjury charges if anyone made false statements under oath during the investigation. For members of the Klan it created an unusual situation. They could

49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Howard McGrath to J. Edgar Hoover, December 29, 1951, FBI Records.
52. Hoover note, January 8, 1952, FBI Records.
53. NAACP news release, January 3, 1952, box 10, file 10, Workers Defense League Papers, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI.
54. William C. Berman, *The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration* (Columbus, 1970), 448-49. Title 18 of the United States Criminal Code contained three sections that could be used to prosecute civil rights violators. Section 51 was designed to protect individuals against state interference with laws passed by the federal government. Section 52 allowed the federal government to become involved if state officials deprived individuals of their rights through willful misuse of their powers. Section 441 applied only to antipeonage cases.



ORLANDO EVENING STAR

BOMB KILLS MIMS NAACP LEADER

Budget For 1952 Adopted

Victim's Wife Hurt Seriously

Officials Plead For City Employes

IT HAPPENED IN ORLANDO

571 POWs Dead, Reds Tell Allies

Billy Graham To Appear

Late News Bulletins

Today's Stocks

TUE BE IT ABH TOMORROW

Greetings

Free-Free State Seen by Service

Orlando Evening Star, December 26, 1951, telling of Harry T. Moore's death. *Photograph courtesy the author.*

admit to crimes covered by state jurisdiction and know that they would not be charged with a federal crime, but if they lied about their activities, they could be charged with perjury.[55]

55. FBI Miami to Hoover, March 22, 1952, FBI Records.

At first the investigation focused on Brevard County. FBI agents questioned everyone who lived within two miles of Moore's home; they checked local motels, hotels, trailer camps, and a small airport in nearby Titusville. One of the FBI's routine checks led to the Mims Confectionery Store where agents learned that several months earlier two white men had entered the store and asked where the "rich Professor Moore lived." One man said they were looking for the "Professor Moore that doesn't have to work and just travels around and has money." O. K. Washington, who knew Moore, was in the store at the time and gave agents a detailed description of the two men. He claimed one wore a cowboy hat and boots, the other a red baseball cap.[56]

Agents sent the descriptions to informants throughout Florida. In Orange County, located just north of Brevard County, one informant said the descriptions matched two members of the Ku Klux Klan– Earl Brooklyn, who frequently wore a red cap, and Tillman H. Belvin, who often wore cowboy boots and hat.[57] Washington was shown pictures of numerous Klansmen and he identified a photograph of Brooklyn, although he said he could not testify under oath that it was indeed Brooklyn in the photograph. He did not pick out Belvin's picture.[58]

Believing they had a lead in Moore's murder, FBI agents widened their investigation into Orange County, a largely rural area with a population of about 100,000. Its economy was based primarily on citrus and the processing plants that turned the fruit into juice. The county contained active Klan chapters in Orlando, Winter Garden, and Apopka, which FBI informants had infiltrated.[59]

On January 18, 1952, the FBI questioned Brooklyn at its office in Orlando. At first he denied belonging to the Klan, but under intense questioning he admitted membership. He said he had not been active in the Klan in more than a year and denied any involvement in the Moore killings.[60] Brooklyn had lived in Orange County for most of his life and worked as a driver for a cement company. A Klan member told agents that Brooklyn had been active in Klan violence, had a reputation of being difficult to control, and was

56. Ibid., January 8, 1952, FBI Records.
57. Statement of confidential informant T-4, January 4, 5, 1952, FBI Records.
58. FBI Miami to Hoover, January 8, 1952, FBI Records.
59. Hoover to FBI Miami, March 15, 1952, FBI Records.
60. Statement of Earl Brooklyn, January 18, 1952, FBI Records.

moody and unpredictable.[61] Belvin was interviewed on March 25, 1952, and admitted joining the Klan in the 1930s but denied involvement in the Moore murders. He told agents he was dying of cancer and wanted to tell the truth.[62] The two men gave statements about where they were on Christmas Day, but their stories contained contradictions.

The most significant information came from an informant who told agents that months before the murder Brooklyn had displayed a drawing showing the location of the Moore home. The informant stated that Brooklyn had shown the drawing to other Klansmen after a meeting and had asked for assistance in staking out the Moore home. The agents were skeptical and asked the informant to reconstruct Brooklyn's map from memory. He accurately drew a diagram of the house, including Moore's bedroom, front door, and a railroad track located near the house. A second informant said he also had heard Brooklyn discussing Moore but assumed it was part of a plan to beat the civil rights leader.[63] Agents were convinced that Belvin and Brooklyn had played a role in the bombing, and on January 28, 1952, Hoover ordered Brooklyn, Belvin, and several other Klansmen placed under surveillance.[64]

During the course of the investigation, agents learned the details of dozens of crimes committed by Orange County Klansmen. They uncovered a pattern of Klan violence that included murders, beatings, and terror of both blacks and whites, primarily in the Winter Garden and Apopka areas. Each of the three Klan chapters in the county had a "wrecking crew" made up of members who carried out attacks on Klan targets. The wrecking crew took victims for a "ride," at which time they were warned, beaten, and sometimes murdered.

Within three months FBI agents documented numerous crimes. Although many Klansmen refused to talk, others gave extensive details about the offenses in which they and other Klansmen had been involved. Agents also found citizens who reported crimes that authorities had ignored, and they learned that several ranking government officials were also members of the Klan. William Dunnaway, police chief of Apopka– the Klan center in Orange

61. Statement of Carl E. Parker, January 15, 1952, FBI Records.
62. FBI Miami to Hoover, March 25, 1952, FBI Records.
63. Statement of confidential informant T-5, January 4, 5, 1952, FBI Records.
64. Hoover to FBI Miami, January 28, 1952, FBI Records.

County– admitted that he was a Klansman. John Talton, an Orange County commissioner; Charles E. Limpus, clerk of the Orange County Criminal Court; Earl Y. Harpole, city manager of Winter Park; and Orange County Sheriff Dave Starr were also identified as Klansmen.[65]

Even though the FBI heard details of other crimes, as a federal agency it had no jurisdiction over these activities. FBI agents believed, however, they were getting close to finding Moore's killers. A telegram from an agent in Orlando to FBI headquarters on January 24, 1952, indicates that agents thought they were having success. "Nervousness and dissension created by instant [current] investigation resulted in call of special meeting of select group from Winter Garden and Orlando Klans. . . . Other contacts indicate investigation and interviews now in progress have created dissension among Klans causing members to question loyalty of other members."[66]

Joe N. Cox of Winter Park, an organizer of the Orlando Klan chapter, became anxious when interviewed in his home on March 10, 1952, and admitted being a member of the Klan. He said he had not been active for several years and had no knowledge of recent Klan activity. Cox told agents his Klan oath did not allow him to say anything more.[67] Cox was interviewed again on March 29, and agents said he was visibly nervous. He kept asking FBI agents Robert Nischwitz and Robert Sunkel about the evidence they had gathered and wanted to know if it would stand up in court. The following day Cox committed suicide in his backyard.[68]

On August 25, 1952, T. H. Belvin died of cancer, and on December 25, exactly one year after Moore's murder, Earl Brooklyn died.[69] With the bureau's leading suspects now dead, agents decided to concentrate on lesser charges against the Klansmen, including perjury and filing false information on government employment applications.[70]

A grand jury in Miami began hearing testimony on October 6, 1952, and on June 3, 1953, returned indictments against six members of the Orange County Klan. The six, T. J. McMennamy, Will-

65. Statement of informant T-l, March 22, 1952, FBI Records.
66. FBI Miami to Hoover, January 24, 1952, FBI Records.
67. Statement of Joe N. Cox, March 10, 1952, FBI Records.
68. Ibid.
69. FBI Miami to Hoover, December 29, 1952, FBI Records.
70. Ibid., February 10, 1952, FBI Records.

iam Bogar, Harvey Reisner, Ernest Glen Morton, Robert L. Judah, and Emmet Hart, Sr., were indicted for giving false testimony in connection with the beating of Orange County union organizer Albert Boynkin.

On December 30, 1953, the government's case collapsed when Federal Judge George W. Whitehurst dismissed the perjury indictments. As the government had feared from the beginning, the problem was jurisdiction. Whitehurst ruled that the federal government lacked jurisdiction, and therefore even if Klansmen had lied, they could not be charged with perjury. The government appealed but lost.[71]

In 1978 Ed Spivey of Winter Park called the Brevard County sheriff's office and said he wanted to talk about the murder of Harry T. Moore. Spivey had been a Klansman and was linked to Klan violence, although he was not questioned in the Moore case. Two officers were sent to interview Spivey at his Winter Park home. Spivey had been drinking heavily and his conversation was rambling and difficult to understand. At times he broke down and began to cry.[72] Spivey said Joe Cox, the Klansman who committed suicide, had admitted killing Moore for $5,000. Spivey said he asked Cox who had paid the $5,000, but Cox would not say.[73]

Two things about Moore remain unknown: the names of his killers and what further role he might have played in the civil rights movement if he had not been murdered. Could he have become a national civil rights leader or would his removal from his NAACP post have ended any subsequent involvement in the movement?

No one emerged to take over Moore's leadership role in Florida. With the help of moderate Governor LeRoy Collins, Florida avoided the violence and confrontation that marked attempts at integration in most southern states. FBI infiltration of the Klan brought a sharp decline in Klan violence in central Florida. But Florida lacked the civil rights activity that might have brought about quicker integration. Blacks held a successful bus boycott in Tallahassee in 1956, but an attempt by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to integrate facilities in St. Augustine in 1963-1964, was met with violent opposition.

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71. *Miami News*, December 30, 1953.

72. Statement of Ed Spivey, January 19, 1978, Records of Seminole-Brevard State Attorneys Office, Rockledge, FL.

73. Ibid.

Moore remained largely forgotten until the 1990s. A new investigation into Moore's death by the Florida Department of Law Enforcement in 1991 failed to turn up new information about the murder, but it did draw attention to Moore's civil rights activities and has gained for him the recognition he deserved. A county office building in Brevard County has been named for Moore, and the county has held ceremonies to honor the fallen civil rights leader.

HARMON MURRAY: BLACK DESPERADO IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY FLORIDA

by BILLY JAYNES CHANDLER

North Florida was far from the Wild West, but for a time in the late nineteenth century it ceded little in the notoriety of its outlaws to that famous region. If Harmon Murray, leader of the "north Florida gang," has not taken his place in history alongside Billy the Kid or Jesse James, it was hardly his fault. Though he was soon forgotten, at the time of his death in late summer 1891 Murray's name was known throughout the state and beyond. The reasons for Murray's quick rise to fame had much to do with his skill, courage, and sheer audacity. But his notoriety rested also on the color of his skin. Harmon Murray was a black man in the nineteenth-century American South.

The new generation of African Americans growing into adulthood during this period had little or no direct contact with slavery. To white people these young blacks did not exhibit the deference and fear that had been so much a part of the behavior of their parents. Rising crime, attributed to young blacks, especially alarmed whites. While black crime commonly was directed against other blacks, the image of the black criminal– brazenly armed with razor, knife, and revolver and contemptuous of authority– struck fear among whites.

The desire to control blacks led southern leaders to enact statutes on vagrancy, contract evasion, and convict leasing in the late 1880s and 1890s. More frighteningly, the number of lynchings peaked in this period. The story of Harmon Murray illustrates several of the major patterns of violence in the New South.[1]

Billy Jaynes Chandler recently retired as professor of history, Texas A&M University-Kingsville. The author wishes to thank Neill Macaulay, Paul J. Vanderwood, Shirley A. Lane, Mary Grace Stephens, and the staff of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History for their support.

1. For a description of the wider southern setting in which Murray lived see Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South* (New York, 1984), 185-265; and Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York, 1992), 132-59. On the black outlaw and his image see Frederick William Turner III, "Badmen, Black and White:

Murray's career in crime was centered in and around Alachua County, located in the north central part of Florida. Its county seat, Gainesville, ranked as Florida's fourth-largest city, surpassed only by Jacksonville, Pensacola, and Key West. More cotton was shipped from Gainesville during the 1880s than from any other Florida city. By this time, however, cotton had become the black farmer's crop; more aggressive white farmers were turning to vegetables and tropical fruits for their livelihood.[2]

Blacks made up over one-half of the population of Alachua County after the Civil War, and they participated in the affairs of the whole community. Their political power declined after 1876 when support for Federal troops was withdrawn, but the county's black Republicans in the 1880s– described on occasion by their white opponents as political "demons"– remained a visible contingent.[3] In 1890, before the final onset of legal segregation and nearly total disfranchisement, a black delegate to the county's Republican convention proclaimed boldly: "The white folks used to own the negroes, but in 25 years the negroes will own the whites."[4] Harmon Murray's career as a brigand occurred during this period of racial transition in Florida.

Murray was born c. 1869 at Long Pond in Marion County, just across the border from Alachua County.[5] His maternal grandparents were among Gainesville's most respected blacks. Young Harmon attended Union Academy, the black school established in Gainesville by the Freedmen's Bureau at the end of the war. As his classmates remembered him, he already possessed some of

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The Continity of American Folk Traditions" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1965), 325-451; Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977), 407-20; and John W. Roberts, *From Trickster to Badman: The Black Folk Hero in Slavery and Freedom* (Philadelphia, 1989), 171-219.

2. Jess G. Davis, *History of Alachua County, 1824-1969* (n. p., 1969), pt. II, 69, pt. IV, 20.
3. Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893* (Gainesville, 1976), 42.
4. Gainesville *Sun,* August 21, 1890.
5. The following sketch of Murray's life (prior to his notoriety) is based, unless otherwise noted, on an extract from the Gainesville *Sun,* September 5, 1892, reporting the Bell interview, reprinted in Davis, *History of Alachua County,* pt. I, 52-53. The factual basis of Murray's life, as presented in this article, is the Florida press, especially the Gainesville newspapers. The white-run Florida press did not tell Murray's story with a consistently high level of impartiality; thus, a degree of skepticism in their reporting is warranted.

the characteristics that seem to typify delinquents. Headstrong and quarrelsome, he ran away from home when he was about twelve years of age, apparently to Georgia where he may have had relatives. He supposedly spent his teenage years there. Legend indicates that he killed his first victim in Georgia along the Satilla River, in the southeastern part of the state, but little is known with any certainty of his whereabouts and activities during these years.[6]

Sometime in 1888, at the age of nineteen or twenty, Murray returned to Alachua County. He was described as having a light complexion and a smooth face. He was five-feet-seven-inches tall and weighed about 145 muscular pounds. Murray was erect of carriage and, as he demonstrated many times, fleet of foot. He went to work for Hyman Pinkoson in Gainesville and soon fell into trouble, charged with stealing his employer's horse. Murray contended that he was falsely accused because he took the horse only to visit his girlfriend who lived a few miles out of town in Arredondo. He claimed he intended to return the animal to Pinkoson that night and that he was on his way back to town when he learned that a posse was out looking for him. In any case, he left the horse at a friend's house and tried to get away, but he quickly was arrested.

Murray was held in the Alachua County jail for the next several months since there was no fall term of the circuit court in 1888, probably due to a yellow fever epidemic. He was tried in Gainesville on May 14, 1889, and found guilty.[7] The sentence of two years in the state penitentiary for what he claimed was a minor transgression seemed harsh to young Murray.

Life on the prison turpentine farm to which Murray eventually was sent was grim and brutal, and he soon was planning to escape with a band of fellow prisoners. Sometime in early 1890 Murray and his cohort hatched a plan. He concealed an axe blade under his shirt and carried it into the bunkhouse. Muffled by the sounds of the ruckus that his bunkmates created one night, Murray pried a board loose from the floor. After midnight he and eight others escaped. The group included, in part, two blacks– Tony Champion and Alexander Henderson– and an Irishman, Mike Kelly. The escapees first scattered to confuse and elude their pursuers, but at

6. The Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, May 17, 1891, carried the allegation of Murray's crime in Georgia.
7. Alachua County Circuit Court Records, Full Term 1877-1905, Alachua County Courthouse, Gainesville, entry on Murray's case dated May 14, 1889.

least five of them, including Murray, later came together in Tampa. Murray secured work at a hotel and appeared to be living peacefully, but word soon spread that he was part of a band committing robberies in the city. In mid to late 1890 he returned to the Gainesville area.[8]

Early in 1891 a local newspaper reported that "deeds of such a blood-curdling character as to seriously alarm the whole people of the community" began to occur in and near Gainesville.[9] An assassination attempt was made on a Gainesville citizen, and a gunsmith shop was robbed and set ablaze. On February 16 and 17 the city was attacked. On the first night marauders shot up the courthouse square and chased policemen from the streets. They fired into the home of a doctor, who narrowly escaped death. His silk hat hanging on the hallway rack was shot full of holes, valuable vases were shattered, and his family terrorized. The attackers broke a large plate-glass window in the front of G. K Broome's store and pillaged the premises. All but one of the gang members was black, and Harmon Murray served as leader. Information on the band was furnished by L. T. Timmons, a black private detective known as the "Blue Shirt Boy," whom Dr. Bracey had hired to track down the burglars of his gunsmith shop. In his quest Timmons acquired an informant, Alexander Henderson, who was one of Murray's fellow fugitives from the prison turpentine farm.

Following the night's rampage Henderson told Timmons that the band planned an attack the next night at Millard Station, located on the railroad track just southeast of Gainesville. Their target was a storekeeper, Thomas B. McPherson, on whom Murray partly blamed his 1889 conviction. Timmons immediately set a trap. He told Henderson to lure the gang to a house of prostitution near the Gainesville depot on their way to Millard Station. He also received the cooperation of the sheriff in organizing a posse, which would wait in hiding for the brigands.

The officers had a long night's vigil. The bandits ignored whatever Henderson had told them and went to Millard Station as planned. When two of the men tried to break into McPherson's store, the owner heard them, sprang from his bed, and grabbed his gun. The bandits withdrew, but not far. About ten minutes later

8. Gainesville *Sun,* September 5, 1891.
9. The following description of events is taken from the Gainesville *Sun,* February 19, 1891.

McPherson saw his barn burst into flames. Fire destroyed the structure, corn and hay, and a colt. Sometime later the gang returned and fatally shot McPherson, who was watching the fire.

Meanwhile, the Gainesville posse waited near the house where the bandits had been expected. Near 4:00 A.M. they finally arrived. When the sheriff ordered them to drop their guns and put up their hands, the desperadoes answered with a fierce barrage. White band member Mike Kelly stood on the porch of the house and "defiantly emptied the chambers of his two revolvers" at the lawmen. One of the brigands, Tony Champion, was badly hit in the leg and easily captured. Kelly and Murray got away.

On the same night, Gainesville's Dennis House also went up in flames. A "commodious" lodging and boarding establishment, it was owned by Leonard G. Dennis, a white, Massachusetts-born "carpetbagger," reputed to be the political boss of Alachua County. Dennis was an associate of Josiah Walls, Florida's leading black politician during Reconstruction. The burning of the Dennis House was regarded as the work of Murray and his gang.

Mike Kelly soon was captured– taken by a posse as he walked along a swamp trail outside of Gainesville near Rochelle. When he arrived in Gainesville by train, an angry crowd waited with rope in hand. Only with considerable effort did authorities lodge him in the jail with Tony Champion.[10]

An "onlooker" described what happened next: A crowd estimated at 200 to 300 went to the jail about 10:00 P.M., overpowered the guards, and took the two prisoners. The lynching party traveled approximately one-half mile to "the old Savage lot" where participants hanged Champion and Kelly from two trees. Both men were given a chance to "make their peace with God" before nooses encircled their necks. Before leaving in small groups, the men swore each other to secrecy. The onlooker noted that the lynch mob included whites and blacks.

The next morning streams of people came to view the bodies still suspended from the trees. Tony Champion was a local man. One of the viewers was his father, and he described his son as a "disobedient and unruly boy" who had run away from home seven years earlier. Young Champion, during the short time he was held in jail, had talked about his five-year prison sentence in Orlando

10. Ibid.

for thefts committed in nearby Sanford. In prison he had met the other future members of the gang and had escaped with them. The leaders of the band, he said, were Murray and Kelly, At his execution Champion with great fervor confessed his wrongdoings. Asked about killing McPherson, he stated that he, Kelly, and Murray were all participants.

Mike Kelly offered no prayers and "died game." He said only that he soon would meet his maker and asked that his body not be shot after hanging. Kelly's arrest and lynching attracted widespread attention, if for no other reason than that he was a white man in an otherwise black band. But his identification as a foreign-born Irishman heightened interest in his story. While in jail in Gainesville, he talked about his past. Born Michael Kierens in London, he was a seaman by trade. He served a prison sentence for burglary in Pensacola. He had joined the Murray band only the previous Saturday, but others contradicted this claim.[11]

Other variations of Kelly's story quickly appeared in the press. One report indicated: "Two scoundrels of a widely different type were launched into eternity by the vigilantes of Gainesville last Tuesday night. . . . One was a brutalized ruffian, ignorant, savage, bestial; the other a *chevalier d'industrie,* a man who regarded murder as a fine art, fraud as a profession, and who hid beneath the deep depravity of his later years the polish of a man of the world and the attainments of a scholar. One was reared in the gutter; the other had worn the gown of a collegian in a great institution across the sea. Strange that they should both swing at last from nearly the same limb!"[12]

The newspaper account further claimed that Kelly, tall and slender, sporting a red beard and a "face that would have passed for thoughtful had it not been for a certain wild alertness about his eyes," was really Michael Aries Hurley. He allegedly was born of "gentlefolk" in the north of Ireland and educated in a Jesuit college on the Isle of Jersey where he excelled in classical languages. While in prison in Florida, he still wore around his neck a gold medal that he had won for an essay on papal succession. Intended for the priesthood, he ran away to sea instead. He eventually turned up penniless in the United States, joined the army, fought Indians in the West, and deserted to become a logger in Wisconsin.

11. Ibid.
12. Gainesville *Sun,* February 26, 1891.

He committed a masked robbery and escaped in a two-horse sleigh, was caught and sent to prison, escaped again, and was waylaid and left for dead by a Scandinavian lumberman whom he later tracked down in Manitoba to murder with an axe. Thereafter, he spent a brief interlude as the organist in a Louisville, Kentucky, church. He also spent time shanghaiing sailors in New York and finally drifted southward to Florida where he fell into the company of Murray.[13] Ultimately, he died hanging from a live oak tree in Gainesville.

The notoriety of Mike Kelly and the Gainesville events enhanced the reputation of Murray. Authorities attributed forty crimes in more than a dozen counties to him.[14] Some of these incidents may have been the work of others, but Murray was to leave little doubt about his lawless ways.

"Shot by a Black Fiend" read a *Florida Times-Union* headline on May 17, 1891. Murray had killed Deputy Sheriff Joe Robinson the previous day at Fernandina where one of Murray's sisters lived. Early in the morning a posse organized by Nassau County Sheriff O'Neil surrounded a dwelling on 10th Street where the bandit was allegedly hiding. As the group encircled the house, Murray shot Robinson as he passed in front of a window. The deputy died twenty minutes later. Murray also lightly wounded Fernandina Chief of Police James Higginbotham. Jumping through a window, Murray fired his Winchester rifle and escaped into the nearby woods. Soon a large posse was in pursuit.

Just where Murray went is unclear. The last reliable witness, a black man who encountered Murray departing from the site of the shooting, confirmed a rumor that the bandit had been lightly hit in the wrist and scalp. One rumor placed him near Callahan, some miles to the west of Fernandina.[15]

Murray next appeared in Bradford County where he shot and killed D. L. Alvarez, the city marshal of Starke, and a black barber named Prince Albert. The shootings occurred just after dark on May 30, about two miles outside of Starke. It appears that Alvarez had been informed of Murray's whereabouts by Prince Albert, who told him that he had just shaved a "darkey" who he knew was Murray.

13. Kelly likely invented this story while in prison.
14. Gainesville *Sun,* February 26, 1891; Jacksonville *Florida Times Union,* February 22, 1891.
15. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union,* May 17, 19, 1891.

Alvarez hastily raised a posse of five men and followed Albert to the house where Murray was to spend the night. Emboldened by the posse's presence, Albert went into the house and out onto a small veranda in the back where he told Murray that he had come to arrest him. During the ensuing scuffle Murray reached for his Winchester and shot Alvarez in the stomach. The posse opened fire. By the time the shooting stopped, Albert was dying, Alvarez was dead from a bullet that had entered near his right eye, and Harmon Murray had shot his way free again.

As news of the marshal's death spread through the small town and surrounding area, emotions reached fever pitch. The forty-seven-year-old Alvarez, a member of a large and influential family, had connections throughout the county; and he had left a wife and seven children.[16] Adding to local anger, this was Bradford County's second loss of a lawman to a black criminal in less than two years. The previous year the "notorious" black "gambler and desperado" Frank Forster slew Sheriff H. W. Epperson in nearby Lake Butler. Forster, who boasted of having killed two men in the southern part of the state, had pistols strapped to his sides and a Winchester in his lap when the sheriff and his posse surprised him. As Epperson announced his arrest, Forster, the quick-witted gambler, grabbed the sheriffs pistol and shot him twice before fleeing under a hail of fire. Epperson had become sheriff after the incumbent, his father, was killed under similar circumstances near Valdosta, Georgia, four years earlier.[17]

During the succeeding few weeks, Murray moved around. After the Starke incident he went into hiding on Pumpkin Patch Island in Santa Fe Lake, northeast of Gainesville. He was next reported in Melrose, asking a black man for directions to Interlachen in Putnam County along a route that would avoid the homes of whites. Lawmen in Putnam County tracked him to Lake Grandin, near which he broke into a railroad commissary. Soon thereafter he was back on Pumpkin Patch Island, and when Sheriff Fennel of Alachua County led a force to investigate, they found a recently vacated camp. He was next seen near Green Cove Springs on the St. Johns River, miles from Gainesville. There, a posse was again in pursuit. Soon he returned to Putnam County, running from a 100-man search party. Many believed that his capture was

16. Gainesville *Sun,* June 1, 1891, reported the killing of Alvarez.
17. Starke *Bradford County Telegraph,* January 24, 31, 1891.

imminent. Murray announced that he would turn himself in after killing two more men. One of the remaining tasks of his vendetta was a "Mr. Flewellen," who, he charged, was one of those responsible for the lynching of his "pals" a few months earlier. According to a black man with whom Murray talked in the Hammock Ridge area near Gainesville, the bandit set out to waylay Flewellen, but the man warned him and thus saved Flewellen's life.[18]

In mid June Florida Governor Francis P. Fleming authorized a reward of $250 for Murray's capture. The Gainesville *Sun* complained that the offer was late. Alachua County commissioners, it noted, already had asked for a reward after Murray killed his first man.[19]

The cunning, daring, and deadly Harmon Murray, with a reward on his head and posses on his trail, had achieved statewide notoriety. Notwithstanding, one enterprising and well-known Gainesville citizen, Postmaster James Bell, hoped to meet him face to face for an interview. When this offer was conveyed to him, Murray understandably was wary, but his suspicions soon were allayed. The postmaster was an appointee of Republican President Benjamin Harrison and, as such, had friendly relations with area blacks, some of whom helped him make contact with the bandit. There was also an offer of money to make the meeting worth Murray's while– money that came not only from Bell but also from others hoping that the interview could be sold for profit.

The postmaster and the brigand met in a black Baptist church in northeast Gainesville on August 5, 1891. Several of his confederates accompanied Murray. Much of the surviving information about Murray comes from what he told Bell that night. He admitted some of the killings but blamed the McPherson murder entirely on Kelly and Champion. He readily confessed to slaying his former associate Alexander Henderson in High Springs. Ever since Henderson informed to the police, Murray had borne a deep grudge. Moreover, he wanted the cost of betrayal to be known.[20]

The evident ease with which Murray could move– even into Gainesville– impelled authorities, now under heavy criticism, to

18. Gainesville *Sun,* June 12, 1891; *Alachua Gazette,* July 2, 1891.
19. Gainesville *Sun,* June 18, 1891; Minutes of the Alachua County Board of Commissioners, May 6, 1891, Office of the County Board of Commissioners, Gainesville.
20. On the Bell interview see also the *Alachua Gazette,* August 6, 1891.

increase their efforts to capture him. They maintained that his survival outside the law rested on the support he was receiving from fellow blacks.[21] Accordingly, they intensified their harassment and surveillance of persons thought to be his supporters. In one instance, Sheriff Fennel took a posse of seven men to Orange Heights where Murray had whipped a black man who disobeyed him. Although they did not find Murray, they forced several of his friends to lead them to the home of Andy Ford, who helped Murray in the assault. The sheriff found Ford hiding under a bed. Following his arrest and incarceration in Gainesville, Ford admitted his guilt. The Gainesville press concluded, "By the time five or six of these miserable scoundrels who are aiding Murray are put in the penitentiary things will begin to get more settled and secure."[22]

Some county residents were not content to let matters rest with authorities. On August 24, three days after his arrest, a lynch mob suspended Andy Ford from the same limb used to hang Tony Champion. The lynching allegedly occurred so quietly that people who lived nearby claimed they heard nothing. Authorities believed the lynch mob, some twenty or thirty in number, came from outside the city. One member tricked the jailer into opening the jail, claiming that he had brought prisoners from High Springs to be locked up. Once in, he overpowered the jailer and took Ford.[23]

There is little doubt that the Alachua County lynch mobs really wanted Murray. When Murray died, however, he was not hanging by his neck from an oak tree. Authorities ultimately devised a two-pronged strategy to kill him. Believing that the outlaw relied on support among fellow blacks to elude capture, law officers resolved to put pressure on the rural black community. The campaign of harassment reputedly reduced "the whole county to a state of terror" and diminished support for the bandit.[24] On a second front, various officials joined forces to increase the reward for Murray. Governor Fleming authorized the state's contribution, the Alachua County government offered $500, and the county sheriff matched that amount. Several Starke citizens and Gainesville residents sub-

21. A letter from an Alachua County resident published in the Gainesville *Sun,* August 26, 1891, emphasized that Murray's large network of kinfolk and friends made his capture difficult.
22. Gainesville *Sun,* August 23, 1891.
23. Ibid., August 26, 1891.
24. *New York Daily Tribune,* September 6, 1891.

scribed several hundred dollars more. The rewards ultimately totaled close to $1,500.[25]

A young black named Elbert Hardy attended a Gainesville rally against Murray and conceived of a plan to collect the reward. He lived in the Long Pond area, the place of Murray's birth and present residence of three of the desperado's brothers. Hardy saw the bandit often, and Murray trusted him as a neighbor and fellow black. Hardy's chance came the night of September 3 when Murray asked him to come to nearby Archer because he wanted to "kill some crackers." Murray was in a dangerous, angry mood and threatened to kill some of his relatives. He mistrusted everybody, including his "own damned Daddy."

When Hardy told Murray he had no gun, the pair collected a double-barrel shotgun from Hardy's brother-in-law. On the way to Archer, Murray carelessly took the lead. Within moments Hardy emptied both barrels into the back of his companion's head at close range. Murray dropped without a word. Hardy rushed back to tell his brother-in-law what he had done, and together they went to Archer to report the event. They returned, picked up the body, and brought it into town where an excited crowd of blacks and whites looked on. The dead bandit had on his person a stolen watch, his Winchester, a pistol, and 142 rounds of ammunition in his cartridge belt.

News of Murray's death soon reached Gainesville, and information that the body would arrive on the morning train spread like wildfire. A crowd of hundreds, "in the white heat of excitement," gathered at the station; as the train slowed down coming into town, both blacks and whites struggled to jump aboard to see the body. When the pandemonium had subsided sufficiently, the body was placed on the courthouse lawn. Sheriff Fennel led the hero of the hour, Elbert Hardy, to the courthouse steps. Following his introduction to the crowd amid loud cheering, the seventeen-year-old youth told how he had slain the notorious outlaw. After Hardy's remarks, the sheriff announced that Murray's body would be embalmed and placed on public exhibition for three or four days.[26]

25. Minutes of the Alachua County Board of Commissioners, May 6, September 1, 7, 1891; Gainesville *Sun*, September 30, 1891.
26. See Gainesville *Sun* and Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, September 5, 1891.

Commentary on the significance of Murray necessarily includes, among other matters, his varied and complex relationships with other blacks. Not all members of his race supported him, and many who gave him aid did so out of fear. Black mothers used his name to threaten their errant children. If they were bad, the young ones were told, Murray would get them.[27] Such a practice lends credence to Lawrence Levine's argument about blacks' images of their outlaws. Levine contends that the major element was danger. Blacks tended not to sentimentalize their outlaws but rather to see them realistically as just bad. The legendary Stagolee, for instance, was bad, as was Railroad Bill, the 1890s train robber in southern Alabama. The original image was that of the badman; generations that had not known him added alleged generous qualities later.[28]

Another scholar of African-American hero-creation patterns argues convincingly that all segments of the African-American community did not see black outlaws in the same way.[29] Those who aspired to middle-class status saw little in bandits that was admirable, and much to fear. In their view outlaws dishonored the race and violated the Christian values that the middle class professed. For them Murray was an embarrassment. Among lower-class blacks, on the other hand, there well may have existed some admiration for Murray– his attacks on whites and appropriation of their wealth. Yet few saw his path as one that they would choose to follow.

Still, to the population, Murray's qualities as a bandit early set him apart from the common sort. People saw him as "cunning like a fox and fleet as a deer." His outdoor skills were equal to the "woods-craft . . . of an Indian." He built a support network among people of his race who were "bitterly" and "persistently" determined that he not be caught. In a land where guns were highly valued, his marksmanship was "splendid" and employed with a startling fearlessness and daring.[30] He was so fearsome a man that one suspects few whites ever called him "boy," although they used much harsher epithets to describe him. And, even at the last, authorities unwittingly accorded him honor by failing to capture or

27. Gainesville *Sun,* June 12, 1891.
28. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness,* 410-11; A. J. Wright, "Railroad Bill, A Fallen Star in Alabama," *Quarterly of the National Association and Center for Outlaw and Lawman History* 10 (Spring 1986), 16. On the Stagolee stories see Turner, "Badmen, Black and White," 365-77.
29. Roberts, *From Trickster to Badman,* 171-219.
30. Gainesville *Sun,* August 26, 1891.

kill him "in a fair fight." As in the case of so many other bandit heroes, they had to buy Murray's life from someone else.[31]

The national press also recognized Murray's exceptional nature when they reported his death. The *New York Times* called him "a noted desperado," and the *Atlanta Constitution* referred to him as "the notorious colored outlaw."[32] But it was the *New York Daily Tribune* that carried the longest and most appealing account of the life and death of this young black Florida outlaw.[33] His story, the *Tribune* thought, challenged "comparison with that of any desperado in our history. The story of Jesse James and his gang of thieving cutthroats seems vulgar and commonplace beside that of the solitary negro boy." A long story in the *Tribune* boldly portrayed Murray as an avenger: "Murray was undoubtedly a bad boy– or man, for he had just about reached the age of manhood. Who made him bad is a moot question. His undisputed history begins with his being, as not only he but others believed, unduly punished for some fault. He felt that sterner judgment was meted out to him because he was a negro than would have been meted out to a white man offending. He saw, moreover, acts of gross iniquity heaped upon the people of his race, all about him. These things enraged him, and he rashly resolved to become an avenger of the wrongs of his people. So he became an outlaw."

The *Tribune* reported Murray's honesty, cleverness, and love of justice in order to enhance his image further. In one story he appeared suddenly and well armed at a black church supper that advertised a full meal for a quarter. When the nervous servers, perhaps hoping to hasten his departure, gave him smaller portions than he deemed just, he demanded more food. Their reaction was to offer him his money back and beg him to leave. Angered, he fired two shots into the ground. When the whole crowd fled, Murray ate his fill. Before leaving he added another quarter to the collection pot.

A second story told of a man who offered fifty dollars to see Murray so, he said, that he could shoot him. Murray heard of the boast and confronted the fellow. "Now you see me, don't you?" he

31. Kent L. Steckmesser, "Robin Hood and the American Outlaw: A Note on History and Folklore," *Journal of American Folklore* 79 (1966), 348-55, outlines the characteristics of the bandit hero legend.
32. *New York Times* and *Atlanta Constitution,* September 5, 1891.
33. *New York Daily Tribune,* September 6, 1891.

asked, then demanded the sum offered. He got his money and left the braggart unharmed. A similar tale told of Murray going to a store to purchase cartridges. The storekeeper recognized him and tried to get to his own gun. Murray beat him to the draw, forced him to hand over the cartridges, and retrieved the money he had placed on the counter for payment: "If you had sold them to me like a gentleman, I should have paid you for them," Murray exclaimed, "but you've acted so mean that, curse you, you shan't have a cent."[34]

A final episode in the *Tribune* related Murray's reaction upon hearing that a black woman had been badly mistreated by a white man. Her "transgression" was to ask that he pay the wages he owed her. When the bandit swore publicly to kill the white man, he left the area and did not return, or, at least, not until Murray had died.

The source of the *Tribune*'s stories is not stated. It appears that no other press reports carried them or similar accounts. In the Florida papers journalists emphasized Murray's fearsome qualities— not whatever good ones he may have exhibited. In view of white fears that he would become a hero to blacks, the press could not have been expected to describe any of his good qualities.

The *Tribune*'s depiction of Murray was overdrawn and, at best, true only in part. Even if he were not totally depraved, which Florida newspapers grudgingly admitted, he was more of a common badman than the *Tribune* allowed.[35] But descriptions of Harmon Murray as an avenger parallel many of the views of English historian Eric Hobsbawm. In his book *Bandits,* he wrote of a particular class of outlaw that he called social bandits.[36] Avengers were among them, but the purer type comprised noble robbers. These were peasant outlaws who were admired, supported, and protected by fellow peasants and, as in the legend of Robin Hood, shared their loot. What united bandits and peasants was a kind of class consciousness in opposition to the landlords and governmental authorities that oppressed them. The avenging bandits, as distinct from the noble robbers, were notable not so much for their generosity as for their terrible acts of retribution against their oppressors. Vengeance motivated their actions.

34. Ibid.
35. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union,* September 5, 1891.
36. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (New York, 1969), especially, 41-69.

Hobsbawm's hypothesis has not been widely applied to American conditions. Perhaps its theoretical framework, so heavily resting on peasantry and class struggle, has restricted its use. Classic banditry in America occurred west of the Mississippi most often in the late nineteenth century where neither a peasantry nor a class struggle in any clearly delineated way existed. A notable exception to the sparse use of Hobsbawm's arguments is the analysis of postbellum Missouri outlaws, especially the James Gang. Some historians agree that the actions and admiration they aroused were a type of social protest or resistance. Yet speculation on the motives of Jesse James and his cohorts does not shed much light on Murray, whose life circumstances were very different from theirs.[37]

In the sense that Murray fell into a transient class of young males tied by race and kinship to the South's rural and often landless black population, he closely approximated the attributes of a peasant.[38] Certainly it is also possible to view his violence against the lives and property of prosperous whites as resistance to oppression and to imagine that his fellow blacks felt satisfaction from these attacks. Thus a depiction of Murray as a social bandit– a voice of primitive protest– has some attraction. But not enough is known about Murray's motivations to justify firm conclusions. To interpret his rather common crimes– albeit often committed with an uncommon flair– as peasant resistance and to lionize him even as a subconscious freedom fighter in the struggle for African-American liberation strains credibility.

If Hobsbawm's concept of social banditry does not readily accommodate Murray, where does he fit within the overall history of banditry? Any effort to answer this question must deal with his uniqueness as a prominent black bandit in the late nineteenth-century South. In contrast to the same period in the American West– which furnishes a sufficient number of outlaws on which to generalize– the South had few, and fewer still were black. Among Mur-

37. The standard work on Jesse James is William A. Settle, Jr., *Jesse James Was His Name* (Columbia, MO, 1966). Scholars who have used Hobsbawm's ideas in their interpretations of James and his cohorts include Richard White, "Outlaw Gangs of the Middle Border: American Social Bandits," *Western Historical Quarterly* 12 (October 1981), 387-408; David Thelen, *Paths of Resistance: Tradition and Dignity in Industrializing Missouri* (New York, 1986), 70-77; Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York, 1989), 260-63, 268; and Paul Kooistra, *Criminals as Heroes: Structure, Power & Identity* (Bowling Green, OH, 1989), 43-73.

38. Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, 33-35.

ray's fellow black criminals, only Morris "Railroad Bill" Slater, south Alabama's train robber and desperado, stands in his class. This paucity seems to limit African-American banditry in the South as a general subject of study and renders moot the question of constructing a model to explain Murray's behavior.[39]

What is left, then, is a black outlaw in Florida who is historically important less as a representative of a significant type than as almost one of a kind— interesting and deserving of attention in his own right. His story has the drama, danger, suspense, and bravery that usually attracts broad and seemingly instinctive appeal. His career also calls to mind a time in America when white antagonism toward blacks was perhaps at its worst. Whatever he was, for better or worse, Harmon Murray deserves to be remembered in Florida history.

39. This, the writer's conclusion, is based on the African-American outlaws found in Turner, "Badmen, Black and White," 325-451; Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness,* 407-20; Roberts, *From Trickster to Badman,* 171-219; and Ayers *Vengeance and Justice,* 223-55. The black criminals described in these works, other than Railroad Bill, had little or nothing in character or actions to set them apart from the common sort. None of the authors apparently knew of Murray.

RINGING UP A SCHOOL: MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE'S IMPACT ON DAYTONA

by AUDREY THOMAS MCCLUSKEY

The limited scholarly attention given to Mary McLeod Bethune has focused either on her pioneering efforts to integrate the federal bureaucracy during the presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt or on her equally trailblazing work in the black women's club movement.[1] To be sure, historians have recognized Bethune as one of this country's most important educators, but this critical aspect of her career remains imperfectly understood. This is especially true of the school that she founded for women in 1904, which became the coeducational liberal arts institution Bethune-Cookman College.

Bethune's work as a young, audacious African-American woman, determined to bring education to rural, economically impoverished black girls and their families, was in step with the efforts of national black leaders such as Booker T. Washington. Her early emphasis on domestic science and skills suited to the existing labor market reveals Washington's influence on her. Although she broadened her view of the purpose of education, she once stated that the Tuskegee Institute president's writings were "a second Bi-

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1. B. Joyce Ross, "Mary McLeod Bethune and the Administration of the National Youth Administration: A Case Study of Power Relationships in the Black Cabinet of Franklin Delano Roosevelt," *Journal of Negro History* 40 (January 1975), 1-28: Elaine M. Smith, "Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Youth Administration," in *Clio Was a Woman: Studies in the History of American Women*, ed. Mabel E. Deutrich and Virginia C. Purdy (Washington, 1980), 149-77. Since there is, to date, no scholarly biography of Bethune, these two articles provide the most complete account of her years as a Washington bureaucrat and presidential adviser. Elizabeth Lindsay Davis's *Lifting As They Climb* (Washington, 1933), a nonscholarly collage of official documents and commentaries, shows Bethune's impact on the NYA. Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex In America* (New York, 1984), portrays Bethune as a conciliatory administrator whose passion for improving the lot of black people, especially women, guided her organizational and political activities.

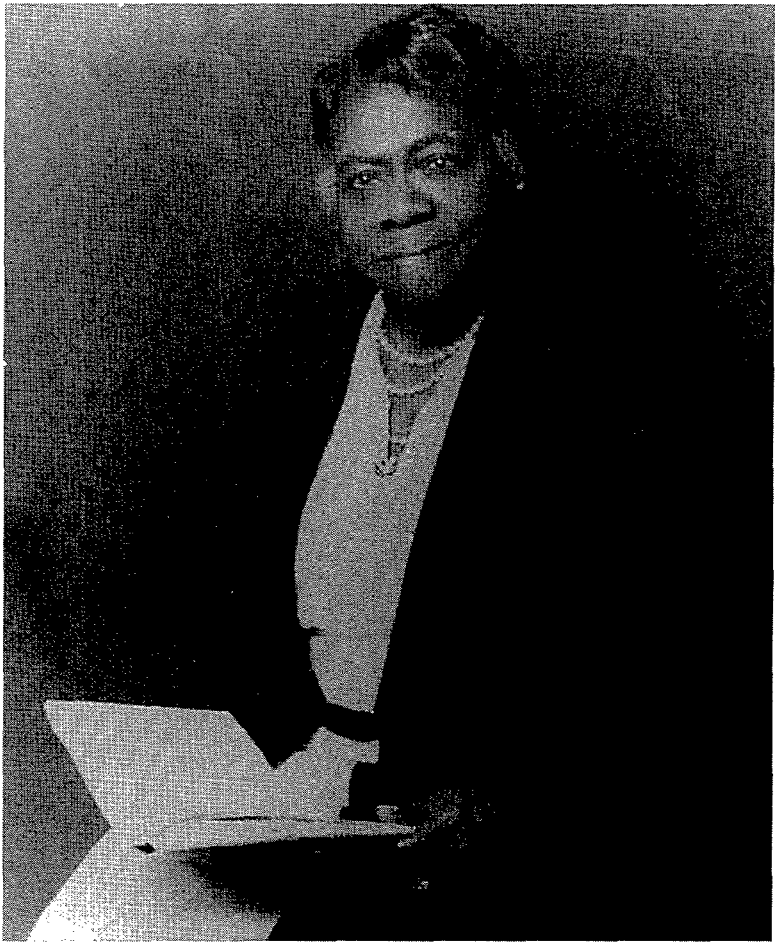
ble to me."[2] When she opened her school in Daytona, she followed his exhortation to blacks to "cast down your buckets" where you are.[3]

Her initiatives in Florida also place her within the broad spectrum of the racial uplift ideology that so engaged educated African Americans during the early 1900s. For black women of the middle class, the fervor to uplift was infused with a desire to enhance the image of their sex. Bethune and her counterparts in the growing black women's club movement– women's club president Mary Church Terrell, school founders Nannie Burroughs and Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and others– wanted to acquit black women of the scurrilous charge of immorality that resulted from their sexual exploitation as slaves. School founders such as Bethune sought to provide black girls with "usable" skills that would help them meet financial obligations to their families while rebutting charges of immorality.

When Mary McLeod Bethune moved to Daytona in 1904 at the age of twenty-nine to open the Daytona Literary and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls, she vowed to do "the greatest good for the greatest number."[14] Having failed earlier in a similar effort in the nearby town of Palatka, the economic promise Daytona offered attracted her to the town. The lack of financial resources in Palatka made her aware that more than passion and commitment were required to build a school. The flock of wealthy Northerners who wanted to spend their winters in the little village where "the tepid and saline waters make bathing a luxury at any season" was an important consideration in her move.[5]

A new railroad, the Florida East Coast Railway, also attracted Bethune to the Daytona area. She knew that Henry Flagler had constructed a line extending through Daytona to Miami. A railroad promised economic prosperity, and that prospect also lured black workers and their families. "Those children need a real school, and

2. Mary McLeod Bethune, "Faith That Moved a Dump Heap," in *Who: The Magazine about People* (June 1941), also in Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Amistad Research Center, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana (hereinafter, MMBP, ARC).
3. This sentence is a key line in Washington's famous Atlanta Compromise speech of 1895, which called for black self-help as a way to encourage racial harmony in the racially polarized South.
4. Bethune, "Faith That Moved a Dump Heap," 34.
5. Helen W. Ludlow. "The Bethune School," *The Southern Workman* 41 (March 1912), 144-54, quote on 144.



Mary McLeod Bethune. *Photograph reproduced from Patricia and Fred McKissack, Mary McLeod Bethune (Chicago, 1992.)*

I have come to serve them," Bethune said.[6] Conditions in the area ignited her passion for uplift: "I found dense ignorance and meager educational facilities and racial prejudice of the most violent type."[7]

6. Interview with Mary McLeod Bethune, n.d., Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Bethune-Cookman College Archives, Daytona Beach, Florida (hereinafter, MMBP, BCCA)
7. Bethune, "Faith That Moved a Dump Heap," 34.

As a native of the South, Bethune had witnessed the psychological and physical devastation of racial violence near her home in Mayesville, South Carolina. She had also lived in Concord, North Carolina, where she attended the all-female Scotia Seminary, a school that prepared black girls to be teachers and skilled service workers. Her formal education ended after a two-year stint at the evangelical Moody Bible Institute in Chicago where she constituted one half of the black student population. A teaching apprenticeship under Lucy Craft Laney, founder of Haines Institute in Augusta, Georgia, persuaded her that teaching, not missionary work in Africa, was her calling. Bethune later praised Laney and acknowledged the instrumental role she played in her decision to focus on the plight of black females.[8] Her experience among whites convinced her that there were alternatives to racial hatred and violence. This confluence of circumstances underwrote Bethune's attempt to found a school in the heart of the small Florida town of Daytona.

At the turn of the century, when Bethune arrived in Daytona, the black population lived in a closely confined section of town devoid of street lights, sidewalks, and basic sanitation facilities.[9] Schooling for black children was rudimentary and haphazard. Throughout the state, public support for black schools lagged far behind that of whites. Black students received fewer instructional hours, and the condition of most black schools was described in the 1912 state of Florida biennial report on public instruction as "dilapidated." Black teachers earned less than white teachers, and only about 60 percent of black children ever enrolled in school. The state spent $11.50 a year for the education of each white child but only $2.64 per black child.[10] In counties with black schools the curriculum stressed manual or industrial education, reputedly for its value in producing a dependable and pliant work force.[11] By 1904 the town of Daytona had no viable school system for blacks.

8. In several of her speeches Bethune referred to Laney as a "pioneer" and a "trailblazer" in the struggle of black women.
9. Ludlow, "Bethune School," 144.
10. State of Florida, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Tallahassee, 1912), 22.
11. August Meier, "The Vogue of Industrial Education," *The Midwest Journal* 7 (Spring 1955), 250.

There was one kindergarten that had been started by a black woman with the support of white club women.[12]

Support from white club women was also instrumental in Bethune's success. Dora Maley, a prominent local citizen and member of the exclusive Palmetto Women's Club, reported that she was the first to assist Bethune by "emptying out the contents of [her] change purse" after a chance meeting in a grocery store. Maley was so impressed with Bethune's plans to start a school that she took the news to her fellow club members. She also convinced her brother-in-law to allow Bethune to use, rent-free, one of the shacks that he owned in the black section of town.[13] Bethune wooed other members of the white establishment in Daytona by asking influential citizens to serve on her board of trustees. Her efforts were generally met with a favorable response from local officials. The mayor of Daytona, in a 1931 letter, praised Bethune's work as "outstanding" and urged "public spirited men and women" to assist her.[14] The Ku Klux Klan took exception, however, and marched on her school in 1920.[15]

Despite the presence of the Klan and strict segregation, Daytona had a reputation for being relatively tolerant on race issues. Unlike many towns in the deep South, the early white settlers of Volusia County were mostly Northerners– many from states with strong abolitionist traditions, such as Ohio and New York– who brought with them more moderate racial views. The city founder, Matthius Day, Jr., was a transplanted Ohioan.[16] Former slaves also settled in the area, attracted by the promise of free homesteads in exchange for work at a lumber company that had ties with the Freedmen's Bureau. When the company failed, a significant number of blacks stayed in the area, working in a variety of jobs, including farming and semiskilled labor. Resourceful and ambitious, some of the black settlers were also Civil War veterans.

12. Dora E. Maley to unknown, March 17, 1955, letter on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Bethune-Cookman College, Mary McLeod Bethune file, Halifax Historical Society, Daytona Beach, Florida.
13. This version of events is contradicted by Bethune, who stated in an undated interview that a man named John Williams owned the house she occupied. See Interview with Bethune, n.d., MMBP, BCCA.
14. B. B. Baguette to B. N. Loving (Bethune's personal secretary), November 24, 1931, MMBP, ABC.
15. "Personal Impressions of A Great Woman by One of Her Students," undated manuscript, MMBP, BCCA.
16. T. E. Fitzgerald, *Volusia County, Past and Present* (Daytona Beach, 1937), 99-100.

Yet Daytona was no oasis of positive race relations. By the early 1900s there was an influx of native white Southerners who brought with them a more virulent form of racism. Blacks were banned from the beaches, and racial laws now entered the city codes. Although African Americans labored as service workers for the new, sprawling, tourist-linked ocean front developments, well into the 1950s laws required black servants to be "back to the West side of the [Halifax] River by sunset."[17]

The developing tourist industry and new railroad encouraged continuing immigration of both white and black laborers at the turn of the century. Competition for jobs increased, causing further racial polarization. Daytona grew steadily, from a population of 1,690 in 1900 to over 3,500 ten years later.[18] Blacks comprised over 50 percent of that number. Whites responded to this changing demography by fortifying racial boundaries. When Bethune arrived in 1904, segregation was an entrenched reality. Nevertheless, the city developed a progressive image. Blacks could vote in Daytona while many other southern cities were erecting elaborate schemes of disfranchisement.

Bethune's efforts to found the institution that was to become Bethune-Cookman College thus took place in a distinctive community, the nature of which is suggested by a variety of anecdotes about the school's origin.[19] In addition to several versions of the story about the $1.50 that Bethune reportedly used to launch her dream, folklore has it that a local minister gave Bethune an old fire engine bell and told her to "go ring up you a school."[20] This bestowed a spiritual as well as communal blessing on her endeavor. Another version holds that Bethune approached John Williams, a carpenter and one of the few black property owners in the area, with her plan to turn his small two-story frame house into a school. At first he was reluctant: "I'm not thinking about turning my house into a school house!" By the time Bethune finished her talk about

17. Untitled, uncatalogued manuscript, MMBP, BCCA.
18. Fitzgerald, *Volusia County, Past and Present,* 191.
19. In 1923, under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Bethune school merged with Cookman Institute of Jacksonville to become the coeducational Bethune-Cookman Collegiate Institute. The all-male Cookman Institute was founded in 1872 and named for Alfred Cookman, a white minister from New Jersey. See Sheila Y. Flemming, "Bethune-Cookman College," in *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia,* ed. Darlene Clark Hine (Brooklyn, 1993), I, 127-28.
20. Untitled, undated document, MMBP, BCCA.

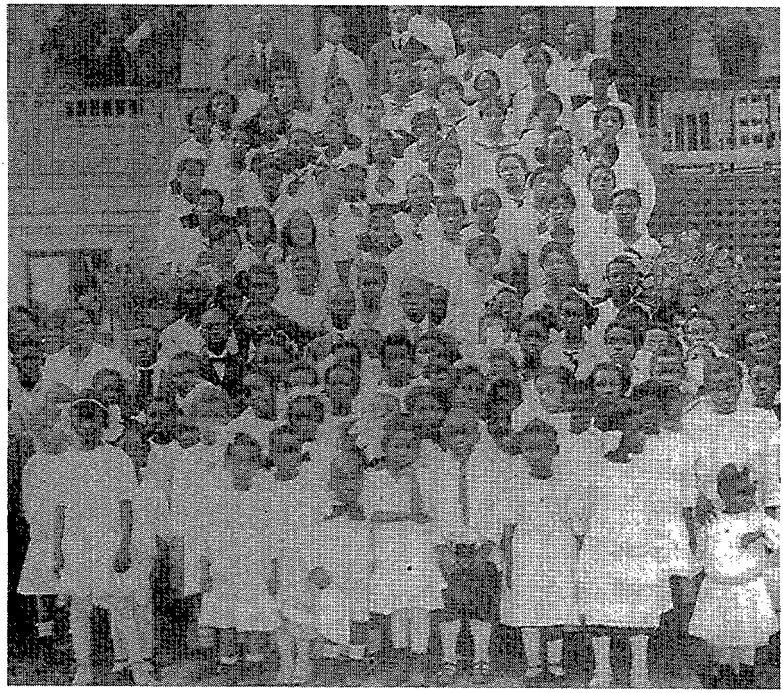
being partners in a "new adventure for our people," Williams supposedly agreed to rent the house to her for eleven dollars per month.[21]

The first class of six students– five girls aged six through twelve and Bethune's five-year-old son Albertus– began classes on October 4, 1904. Bethune welcomed each girl with a cheerful greeting: "Come in, little girl, we've been expecting you. I hope you'll be happy with us."[22] The original name of the school, The Daytona Literary and Industrial Institute, denoted the dual purpose that Bethune envisioned: to teach both academic and practical skills to black girls. The long title was soon shortened by community residents, who simply called it "The School" or "The Bethune School." Bethune charged a tuition of fifty cents per week for those who could pay. The families of those who could not offered food and services in exchange for tuition. She accepted chickens, eggs, and produce as payment.[23] Extant records dating from 1906 show that Bethune used a ledger to record all income and expenses. In the tuition column many students appeared in a nonpay status.[24] With this flexible policy, enrollment tripled within months.

Bethune's zeal to succeed was legendary: "We burned logs and used charred splinters as pencils, and mashed elderberries for ink. I begged strangers for a broom, a lamp, a bit of cretonne to put around the packing case which served as my desk. I haunted the city dump and trash piles behind hotels, retrieving discarded linen and kitchenware, cracked dishes, broken chairs, pieces of old lumber. Everything was scoured and mended. This was part of the training– to salvage, to reconstruct, to make bricks without straw."[25] She envisioned a setting in which students and teachers worked side by side building a purposeful, self-sufficient community. Together they made almost all of their essentials, including brooms, rugs, mattresses, and writing materials.[26]

The school soon outgrew its cramped space, and Bethune looked to buy land to erect a larger building. The only property

21. Interview with Bethune, n.d., MMBP, BCCA; Rackham Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune: A Biography* (New York, 1964), 58.
22. Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune,* 59.
23. Bethune, "Faith That Moved a Dump Heap," 34.
24. Record Book of the Bethune School, 1906, MMBP, BCCA.
25. Ibid.
26. Florence L. Roane, "A Cultural History of Professional Teacher Training at Bethune-Cookman College" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1985), 44.



Bethune and her staff and students on the steps of Faith Hall after Daytona Institute become coeducational. *Photograph reproduced from Patricia and Fred McKissack, Mary McLeod Bethune (Chicago, 1992.)*

that she could afford was a garbage dump called "Hell's Hole." To the deeply religious Bethune, this was her inspiration, "to plunge into creating something from nothing."[27] She bought the land for $250, giving the owner $5 down in small change, which she had raised by selling homemade ice cream and sweet potato pies. When she delivered the payment wrapped in a handkerchief, Bethune probably recalled a recurring dream in which Booker T. Washington handed her a diamond– also wrapped in a handkerchief– and told her to "go build [you] a school."[28] The actual building began before she knew where she would get the money to finish it. When it was completed, the four-story, forty-by-forty-foot frame house was

27. Ibid.
28. Interview of Bethune by Charles S. Johnson, n.d., Oral History Project on Black leaders, MMBP, BCCA.

appropriately named "Faith Hall." It had been built almost entirely with surplus supplies and volunteer labor.[29]

Bethune initially was responsible for every aspect of the school's operation. She taught all the grade levels and managed the school and all of its outreach and fund raising projects. With increased enrollment, several new teachers joined the staff and were paid between fifteen and thirty dollars a month plus board. Bethune, realizing that her chief assets were her administrative and fund raising skills, sought out experienced teachers. "I need strong women to help me realize this vision."[30]

One such woman was Frances Keyser, a graduate of Hunter College in New York City and supervisor of the White Rose Mission for delinquent girls in that city. In 1909 she arrived in Daytona and took over the entire educational program of the school, freeing Bethune to concentrate on administrative and fund raising matters. A recipient of the first prize in French at Hunter and a skilled literary critic (to whom Paul Laurence Dunbar submitted his poems for prepublication critique), Keyser's educational programs earned the school its good reputation and state accreditation. Bethune also hired Portia Smiley, a graduate of Hampton Institute and the Pratt Institute of New York, to supervise the domestic science program. Smiley, who had practical nursing skills, was described as "an artist" in domestic science and crafts.[31]

Because of her ability to articulate her vision to others, Bethune attracted a contingent of highly qualified and very dedicated black women teachers who often accepted lower pay in order to join the Bethune "family." With such teachers the school developed a curriculum that reflected the dual traditions of vocationalism and liberalism in black education. Many of the teachers whom Bethune recruited spent their entire careers with her and remained on in the campus community after they retired.

The Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School became the clearest articulation of Bethune's educational philosophy. She followed Booker T. Washington's lead in stressing vocationalism, but her curriculum also reflected her beliefs about the uplifting role of black women as embodiments of morality, service, and self-reliance. At the opening of the school she an-

29. Ibid.
30. Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune,* 102.
31. Ibid., 108.

nounced: "This is a new kind of school. I'm going to teach my girls crafts and homemaking. I'm going to teach them to earn a living. They will be trained in head, hand, and heart. Their heads to think, their hands to work, and their hearts to have faith."[32]

Initially, the curriculum offered courses in the domestic sciences. These included sewing, cooking, handicrafts, music, poultry raising, rug weaving, chair caning, and broom making. Academic subjects, such as reading, writing, and mathematics, were also taught along with mandatory Bible study. Early criticism from some blacks, who felt that teaching housekeeping and domestic science prepared the girls for a menial, segregated labor force, dissipated as the curriculum expanded to offer more business and liberal arts courses. As school enrollment increased, Bethune became a leading spokesperson for black political and economic opportunities in Daytona and throughout the segregated South. In a stinging indictment of the evils of segregation in the late 1920s Bethune argued that these practices also hurt whites: "The South has definitely committed itself to the task of keeping the Negro in his place. That place by all accepted teaching and belief is and must be for all time an inferior one. To keep [Negroes] inferior they must be huddled in segregated ghettoes without drainage, light, pavement, or modern sanitary convenience. They must be denied justice and the right to make a decent living. They must be insulted and bullied and mobbed, discriminated against in public places and denied access to parks and recreational centers. In dollars and cents the cost of this system is tremendous to the Commonwealth which sponsors it."[33]

In Bethune's view, the reality of these conditions made it necessary for black females to support themselves while they simultaneously strove toward better opportunities. Education, she believed, had a dual purpose— survival and uplift. In the early 1900s industrial education and domestic science meant self-sufficiency, but academic and cultural education were also necessary. In her view the two were "concomitant to a better way of living."[34] Her education at Scotia Seminary had impressed her with

32. Walter Russell Bowie, *Women Of Light* (New York, 1963), 123.
33. Mary McLeod Bethune, "The High Cost of Keeping the Negro Inferior," MMBP, ARC.
34. Mary McLeod Bethune, "Present-Day Task For Women in the Field of Business," MMBP. ARC.

the possibilities for merging both the academic and vocational aspects of learning and for forging a disciplined community of teachers and students working together for the common good.

"Of what use . . . is an educational system," Bethune asked, "that does not have its roots in the life and needs of the people?"[35] From her vantage point those needs centered around the ability to earn a living and help maintain a family. Black females in particular had "special needs" for education and training because of their pivotal economic and social roles in the family. Bethune, who subscribed to Victorian notions of women as agents for moral change, targeted girls because they would be able to instill the notion of moral and spiritual uplift in their families while also earning a living. The "wasteful habits" present in many black homes weighed heavily on black girls. One study of living standards in Negro homes reported: "Sanitary provisions are wholly lacking in many rural homes. Dug wells are used and are often left open and unprotected. Women carry the water long distances. Habits of living are not such as to insure good health. Preventable sickness abounds. . . . Old fashioned superstitions are still followed. . . . Infant mortality is very high. . . . There is but little variety in the diet . . . nor is the food prepared with care– cooking is frequently badly done, starches are too often underdone, and frying is the method of cooking most universally employed. Wasteful habits in handling food prevail. Meals are irregularly served, members of a family being allowed to eat whenever and wherever they please."[36]

Her curriculum represented a response both to these conditions and to middle-class mores, such as eating meals at a set time. A national report issued in 1923 put the burden of counteracting "the evil effects of present conditions" on the shoulders of females.[37] The report concluded that "it is imperative that Negro girls be trained in good-health habits, in wise expenditure of money, in economical use of products . . . [and taught how] to exercise good taste in dress and house furnishings, [that] they may help to make the home both healthful and attractive and to bring the family to a more efficient and happy life."[38]

35. Ludlow, "Bethune School," 153.
36. Carrie Alberta Lyford, *A Study of Home-Economics Education in Teacher-Training Institutions for Negroes* (New York, 1923; reprint ed., New York, 1969), 3.
37. Ibid., 6.
38. Ibid.

Bethune, like other black women educators of her day, touted the value of domestic science for black girls as the best way to improve the family. She once stated: "The education of the Negro girl must embrace a larger appreciation for good citizenship in the home. Our girls must be taught cleanliness, beauty and thoughtfulness and their application in making home life possible. For the proper home life provides the proper atmosphere for life everywhere else."[39] In addition to improving the general welfare and stability of the black home, this brand of middle-class conformity emerged as a prerequisite for the full participation of black women in public life and for their recognition as worthy women.

The outreach programs of the school, patterned after those of her mentors Lucy Laney and Booker T. Washington, provided the black community with tangible benefits. There were workshops for the area's farmers which introduced them to modern farming methods, public bazaars to display and sell student projects, and a community center and reading room. Beginning in 1911 Bethune took her staff and students to area turpentine camps to offer both Sunday school classes and lessons in hygiene, health, and sanitary food preparation. Bethune believed that workers' shanties were breeding grounds for "drunkenness, ribaldry and immorality."[40] Both the black and white communities praised her missionary work in the camps. The following year, 1912, Bethune enlisted one of her trustees to donate the funds to build a YMCA near the campus, which could be used as a recreational outlet for area youth. She also established a summer school and playground for black children.

Also in 1912 she spearheaded the fund raising and building of the first hospital for black people south of St. Augustine.[41] McLeod Hospital, like most of her other endeavors, grew out of a pressing necessity. When one of her students became critically ill with appendicitis, she begged a white physician to admit her to the all-white hospital. Bethune later appeared at the door of the hospital, but a nurse ordered her to the back. "I thrust her aside and found my little girl segregated in a corner of the porch behind the

39. Mary McLeod Bethune, "A Philosophy of Education for Negro Girls," MMBP, ARC.
40. Catherine Owens Peare, *Mary McLeod Bethune* (New York, 1951), 112.
41. Clara Stillman, "A Tourist in Florida," *The* Crisis, February 22, 1924, 173.

kitchen. Even my toes clenched with rage," she later recalled.[42] This encounter led to a fund drive that built a hospital and started a training program for nurses at the school.

For her hospital project Bethune secured donations from industrialist Andrew Carnegie and other affluent whites who vacationed or resided in Daytona. To the best of their ability, members of the Daytona black community also supported the hospital. The result was a "well-appointed" twenty-six-bed hospital and a nurses training program that maintained an interracial staff of doctors and medical personnel.[43]

After a thirteen-month training course, nurses went into the city to provide health services to the black community. Between 1917-1918 nurses visited 230 patients. Another 530 patients received treatment at the dispensary, a large number of whom could not pay the nominal fee.[44] The elderly, sick children, and young mothers were specially targeted for health services. The hospital remained in operation for twenty years, until August 1, 1930, when the county hospital system absorbed the hospital.[45] In 1912 Bethune started an outreach program for black children in a nearby turpentine camp. The children had little opportunity for any type of schooling, and Bethune hoped to improve unhealthy conditions in the camps by conducting special mission services on the campgrounds.

The school also operated a profitable farm that supplied needed food and sold any surplus to the public. The farm became an important source of revenue. A visitor to the school observed a "splendid patch" of strawberries and asked if they were for the students or to sell. Bethune's reply was to the point: "We never eat a quart when we can get fifty cents for them."[46]

Having limited financial resources, Bethune clearly needed community support from blacks as well as whites for her ambitious programs. From all indications black support helped her during the early years. Bethune was welcomed at black churches and allowed to take up collections for the school. "The School" became a

42. Gerda Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York, 1973), 142.
43. Peare, *Mary McLeod Bethune,* 115.
44. Clement Richardson, *The National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race* (Montgomery, 1919), I, 379.
45. Sadie Iola Daniel, *Women Builders,* rev. ed. (Washington, 1970), 100.
46. Benjamin Brawley, *Negro Builders and Heroes* (Chapel Hill, 1974), 286.

source of pride for community members, and they supported it through frequent fund raising activities. Chicken supper sales were a favorite and frequent fund raising event. Supporters often identified specific needs for these occasions, such as paying a teacher's salary or meeting an overdue bill.[47] The list of volunteers from the community continued to grow. Construction workers, fund raisers, ministers who taught the Bible course, and others gave hundreds of volunteer hours to the school. Community members were also the principal consumers for the school's developing commercial enterprises, such as farm produce, home crafts, and clothes from the dressmaking department.

Bethune enlisted prominent white and black residents to serve on her board of trustees, and she maximized these connections by also establishing an advisory board that included the wives of many wealthy winter residents. These women were very effective in raising money and sponsoring special programs and projects on behalf of the school. Bethune's frequent speaking engagements to upper-class white women's groups, such as the Palmetto Club, appealed to their sense of noblesse oblige because she emphasized the virtues of cleanliness, hard work, and moral living, which many whites thought the black populace lacked. Bethune, who viewed alcohol as a threat to family life and black progress, founded a campus chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Many of the school's Sunday afternoon programs ended with the WCTU pledge sung in unison by the girls: "God helping me, I promise not to buy, sell, drink, or give, alcoholic liquors while I live."[48]

Among blacks, Bethune's stock continued to rise. Her support for the development of black-owned businesses and the granting of contracts for work at the school to black firms and workers added to her stature. In speeches to black groups, she urged them to patronize black-owned establishments.[49] She encouraged blacks to vote in county elections, which precipitated the 1920 visit from the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan attempted to silence Bethune and to intimidate potential black voters by marching onto campus in full regalia. In response, she met them at the front of the campus "with

47. "Personal Impressions of A Great Woman by One of Her Students."
48. Ludlow, "Bethune School," 147.
49. Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune,* 269.

arms folded and head held high."[50] The frustrated marchers soon left, and the next morning Bethune led a group of blacks to the polls. Polling officials forced the blacks to wait in line the entire day in hopes that they would get tired and go home. Bethune reported, "They kept us waiting all day, but we voted."[51]

The ballot to Bethune was a means of fostering change. In 1948 she, along with the new president of Bethune-Cookman College, urged the faculty and students to get involved in the campaign of George Engram, a black businessman running for a seat on the city council. Although he lost the election to a white politician, this activism inspired other efforts by blacks to organize for economic and political improvements.[52]

Many white moderates supported Bethune and her work, particularly the school. She admitted that she did her "best missionary work among the prominent winter visitors to Florida."[53] She scanned the society pages of the newspaper for notices of newly arrived visitors in Daytona and invited them to visit the school. She recruited her board of trustees in a similar manner. The board included James N. Gamble of Procter and Gamble, who became board president and a lifelong supporter; John D. Rockefeller; and Samuel White, founder of the White Sewing Machine company. Her access to wealthy Northerners such as Rockefeller and Gamble added to her clout among city leaders.

From the beginning, one of her most effective methods of garnering supporters was to distribute leaflets to visitors describing the school's goals. Drawing upon her skills as a missionary, she stood on street corners in the business district and stopped anyone inclined to listen to her message. Soon after the school started, she began making fund raising trips to the North, speaking to both black and white groups. In 1909 she attended a National Association of Colored Women's (NACW) convention in Hampton, Virginia, where she asked permission to address the delegates.[54] Bethune made such an impression that the club women took up a collection for her school. Fifteen years later Bethune became pres-

50. "Personal Impressions of A Great Woman by One of Her Students."
51. Peare, *Mary McLeod Bethune,* 137.
52. *Daytona Beach Evening News,* June 7, 1988.
53. Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America,* 140.
54. Giddings, *Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America,* 200.

ident of the NACW. Her advocacy on behalf of black women motivated the founding of the National Council of Negro Women in 1935 with an agenda that included better wages and working conditions, equal educational opportunities for black females, and greater political and economic strength for black women via the ballot box.

Within a few years of her arrival in Daytona, Bethune had become an important catalyst for racial tolerance in the community. Her Sunday afternoon chapel programs were described as "an oasis of integration." The chapel was the only place in town where seating was not segregated according to race. She diplomatically guided whites to their seats, exclaiming how pleased she was to have them present. Before they realized it, they were sitting next to blacks. Bethune's involvement in economic ventures with black businessmen, her advocacy of black business ownership, and her diplomacy with whites prompted comparisons with Booker T. Washington. The most notable example of her entrepreneurial spirit was Bethune-Volusia, Inc., which was founded in 1948 and spearheaded by Bethune and businessman George Engram. Their intent was to "establish a Negro beach community . . . owned and controlled by blacks and available to them for construction of homes and recreational facilities."[55] The project allowed blacks to use the beaches, many for the first time.

Bethune's success in Daytona was due to her ability to garner support from large numbers of whites and blacks. Her message of self-help and education appealed, for different reasons, to both groups. Blacks understood her message to mean economic and social empowerment through education and hard work. Most whites did not perceive a threat to their hegemony in helping blacks achieve the kind of practical education and moral values that Bethune espoused. These attitudes helped to ease troubled race relations. Eleanor Roosevelt's visit to the campus in 1940, however, made some city fathers nervous. The First Lady's decision to stay in Bethune's residence on campus rather than at one of the expensive whites-only hotels confirmed her reputation for "race-mixing." Bethune helped to avert a potentially ugly situation when she arranged for a state police escort after city police refused to

55. Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune,* 269; *Daytona Evening News,* August 28, 1949.

accompany Mrs. Roosevelt to the college. Unfortunately, the visit had no effect on segregation laws in the city. Daytona continued to segregate until well after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[56]

Daytona's image for racial tolerance was a factor in 1948 when Brooklyn Dodger owner Branch Rickey selected the city for Jackie Robinson's debut in the first integrated major league baseball game in modern history. Rickey asked black politician Joe Harris and Bethune to serve as Robinson's hosts. Although city officials promised their "wholehearted co-operation," Robinson's scheduled appearance outraged many whites. Black people throughout the area, including Bethune, enthusiastically supported the black ball player. Ultimately, favorable national attention to the debut created goodwill between both races in Daytona.[57]

The city was the launching pad for Bethune's growing national prominence as a spokeswoman for racial justice and uplift. By becoming increasingly involved in the national debate on race and education, she expanded her contacts and was able to enlist the support of a national constituency of prominent Americans. The school, although never sufficiently endowed, survived and even prospered. She earned a reputation as a consensus builder by voicing the concerns of a diverse constituency– the black underclass, blacks with middle-class aspirations, and a segment of the white citizenry. Her emphasis on practical skills and moral development appealed to a large segment of middle-cIass blacks as well as both white liberals and conservatives.

America soon took notice. President Roosevelt often sought her advice on racial matters and in 1935 appointed her to head the Negro Division of the National Youth Administration. Bethune's ascendancy to national prominence showcased her skills as an administrator and diplomat– a woman whose interracial reformist tactics and programs were in step with national opinion makers in black and white America. There were other black leaders who articulated more militant and innovative views, but it was Bethune's

56. J. Irving E. Scott, *The Education of Blacks in Florida* (Philadelphia, 1974), 108.
57. Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and his Legacy* (New York, 1983), 104-05.

ability to appeal to people from various factions and ideological positions that ensured her legacy as an institution builder.

The white establishment in Daytona was sometimes uncomfortable with the attention that followed Bethune, especially when it focused the spotlight on their segregationist practices. They, nevertheless, must have felt some reluctant pride in the fact that their most celebrated citizen— a black woman— had rung up a school in their midst and, in doing so, had bestowed a stature on their community far greater than the town founders could have imagined.

REVIEW ESSAY

Challenging the Masters: Recent Studies on Slavery and Freedom

by CHRISTOPHER MORRIS[1]

Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave: Mechanisms of Control and Strategies of Resistance in Antebellum South Carolina. By Norrece T. Jones, Jr. (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1990. viii, 331 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00.)

Sweet Chariot: Slave Family and Household Structure in Nineteenth-Century Louisiana. By Ann Patton Malone. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. xiv, 369 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, figures, maps, illustrations, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas. Edited by Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993. viii, 388 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, notes, contributors, index. $49.50, cloth; $17.95, paper.)

Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Series I, Volume 3: The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Lower South. Edited by Ira Berlin, Thavolia Glymph, Steven F. Miller, Joseph P. Reidy, Leslie S. Rowland, and Julie Saville. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. xxxvii, 937 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, editorial method, symbols and abbreviations, index. $54.50.)

Historians are now seriously reconsidering the interpretation of American slavery that emerged following the great burst of scholarly energy devoted to the subject nearly two decades ago. Some are doing so by illuminating in great detail crucial aspects of

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the institution previously given scant attention. Others are forthrightly challenging older characterizations of slavery and ambitiously proposing new and sweeping alternatives.

Norrece T. Jones is among the latter. Historians, he argues, too often examine the system created by masters but ignore the slaves. Conversely, others study how slaves dealt with that system but place the masters in the background. Slavery, asserts Jones, if properly understood "as a state of war," must like any war be considered within a context encompassing both combatants. *Born a Child of Freedom* explores for South Carolina the dynamic interrelationship between the slaves' struggle for freedom and the masters' struggle "to capture the very souls of slaves" (p. 12).

Jones is at his best when discussing the slave family, which both sheltered slaves from the worst effects of bondage and yet added to the masters' power. The threat of sale was a powerful weapon in the arsenal of slaveowners. Writes Jones, "African-Americans' family ties guaranteed and protected the property interest of the ruling class" (p. 62). Similarly, when slaves succeeded in acquiring some time of their own to hunt, fish, raise and market garden crops so as to provide for their families, masters responded by cutting back on provisions and incorporating the slaves' economy into the system. Consequently, the internal economy gave the slaves more space of their own but also worked, like families, "to draw blacks closer to the Peculiar Institution" (p. 66). Even religion, though slaves rejected the preaching of whites, provided hope for delivery and a hereafter, thereby serving the earthly interests of masters. This was a war that only the masters could win.

Born a Child of Freedom provides a useful correction to a generation of scholarship that taught us what African Americans were able to accomplish during bondage, but which sometimes seemed to forget the cruel reality of slavery. Specifically, Jones addresses his book to the work of Eugene D. Genovese and the notion that the slaveholder's ideology of paternalism mediated and softened relations between masters and bondspeople. Masters, Jones argues, sought only to further their own interests, which meant winning the war against the slaves, who for their part never internalized notions of paternalism but instead fashioned their own revolutionary tradition. Paternalism, if it existed at all, was a sham.

Jones's forthright assault on Genovese's thesis of paternalism weakens an otherwise outstanding volume. His criticisms have all been made before, so they have the effect of prematurely dating

the book. It is ironic, moreover, given Jones's endeavor to place masters and slaves within a single context, that he should challenge the scholar who more than anyone else has done precisely that. Most regrettably, the revisionist allows the older historian to set the terms of the debate. Genovese sees a paternalistic compromise between masters and slaves; Jones sees war. "Every mode of behavior antithetical to the ideal type desired and promoted by planters was encouraged and advanced by blacks after hours" (p. 82). Yet all too often the slaves' behavior ultimately served the interests of the masters, though the slaves continued their actions nonetheless. This was a strange war indeed. Similarly, though Jones discusses at some length divisions within the slave ranks, by and large he argues that slaves presented a united front. But his evidence hints at deeper divisions, between men and women and between individuals and the group. He notes, for example, that large muscles may have indicated a man's ability to complete assigned tasks quickly enough to permit him to pursue his own interests "and that ability may very well have raised a man's eligibility in the eyes of women" (p. 95). Here are the makings of a new and subtle reinterpretation of slavery, but Jones, his sights set on Genovese, does not pursue it.

Jones's approach to the documentary evidence of slavery is, not surprisingly, reminiscent of the scholars whose work he seeks to revise. He draws largely from an impressionistic reading of well-worked manuscripts. A new understanding of slavery, however, may well come from innovative research among previously unused sources. Ann Patton Malone's *Sweet Chariot* represents one of the first published, quantitative studies of slave family and household structure for the antebellum period. Drawing largely from probate records compiled between 1810 and 1865, in particular from Louisiana estate inventories, partitions, and conveyances, she has reconstructed the family units of 155 slave plantation communities. Analysis of that data leads her to several significant and even startling conclusions.

Remarkably, 73 percent of the slaves in Malone's sample lived in households that included at least one parent with children. Only 48.7 percent, however, lived in two-parent households. As Malone demonstrates in a careful look at three plantations, sudden and forced relocations, price booms and busts, and the death of a master followed by the conveyance of slaves to heirs regularly shattered African-American households. Yet, there emerged a household life cycle similar to that found among free rural populations, with a

tendency over time toward nuclear families. With precision not usually found in histories of American slavery, Malone details how slave families were assaulted and how they endured.

Historians have long assumed that the physical demands of cutting sugar cane encouraged among masters in Louisiana's lower parishes a preference for slave men in their late teens and twenties, with predictable consequences for slave family life. In one of her most significant discoveries, however, Malone finds that although sugar plantations did indeed have high concentrations of single male households, new cotton plantations along the Mississippi River also had large numbers of solitaires, both male and female. Indeed, she concludes that "work in sugar production did not foster greater instability and disorganization in slave household composition than did labor in cotton-producing parishes" (p. 60). The crucial variable it would appear was not the particular crop but the intensity with which it was raised.

Another significant finding by Malone concerns family structure and size of slaveholding. In general, solitaires were fewer and nuclear families more common only on the very largest plantations, those with 100 or more slaves. Otherwise there was little difference in household patterns among slaveholdings of one to ninety-nine people. Historians typically classify slaveholdings of twenty or more as "plantations," which in light of this study is a meaningless categorization for any discussion of slave family and household arrangements.

There are problems with Malone's analysis. Her definition of household is imprecise, and muddled all the more because she uses it interchangeably with family. More troubling, she cannot really know what the groupings of slaves in the probate inventories she examined indicate, who created them— masters or slaves— and why. Also, she does not discuss marriages between men and women who resided on different plantations, but presumes without investigation that they were rare. If southern Louisiana plantations were exceptionally isolated, which may well have been the case, then Malone's presumption may be correct. If not, she has ignored or misclassified an untold number of families.

Malone investigates one dimension of the slave experience: family structure. The authors of *Cultivation and Culture* focus on another: the slaves' struggle to possess their own labor. Slaves toiled in two economies, Berlin and Morgan state in the introduction to the volume. On one hand, the internal economy of the slaves, which

flourished around their gardens and markets, provided slaves with a sense of independence in addition to the material necessities for existence often denied them by masters. It was a family affair that created the basis of a gender division of labor and enabled parents to provide for children, whose labor in turn proved essential to the family's endeavor. On the other hand, the masters' economy demanded that slaves labor not for themselves and their families but for their owners. Thus, the two economies served competing interests, providing the basis for continual conflict and struggle. Masters may have incorporated the slaves' economy into their own, nevertheless, having done so they always worked to contain it against the slaves who sought to expand it.

The volume's real value lies in the essays, which are generally more sophisticated and subtle than the introduction suggests. There are eleven in all, based on original research presented at a 1989 conference at the University of Maryland. Upon close reading they began to read alike, but that at least had the effect of reinforcing one of the book's main themes– the close comparability of slavery around the Caribbean and the United States. The subtitle of the volume, by the way, is misleading. Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking regions are not covered– except for brief mentions of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Dominica– and so the book does not really discuss "slave life in the Americas." Still, the collective breadth of the essays is impressive, although Florida historians will regret the absence of an essay on their state. The clear patterns that emerge from the papers help to destroy what remains of the assumption, once widely held by scholars, that slavery in the United States differed fundamentally in quality and character from slavery elsewhere in the Americas. For example, slave gardens and markets– known to have been a vital part of the Caribbean, particularly in Jamaica– were, we now know, very important in the United States as well.

Around the Caribbean and across the lower South, these essays show, slave labor and economy varied not according to national borders, but with crop, geography, demography, technology, knowledge, and skills of slaves and masters, all of which changed over time. On pioneer plantations in peripheral regions slaves worked closer to whites and were thus more familiar with masters and masters with them. Routines were irregular, more unsettled, providing more latitude for slaves who worked at a variety of tasks besides planting. But work tended to be extremely arduous, espe-

cially the tasks of draining, clearing, breaking new soil, and constructing buildings. In contrast, slaves in older plantation regions labored in a more hierarchical and structured environment, at a greater distance from whites. From Guadeloupe to Mississippi, booms and busts in the staples market meant intensification of production and greater oppression of slaves. Only during periods of economic stability were slaves able to reclaim some of their own labor. In sugar-producing regions, though men outnumbered women, proportionately more women than men worked in field gangs, largely because of the nonfield tasks– skilled work in particular– masters gave to men. (What, if anything, this may have meant for the Louisiana slave families Malone studied in her book one can only suppose.)

The contest over control of African-American labor did not end with emancipation, as Ira Berlin and his associate editors point out in the introduction to volume three of *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation,* drawn from the collections of the National Archives. The Union army, which initially saw the people who flocked to their lines as a burden and considered having them transported to the North, away from the arena of war, soon had them performing menial labor, waiting on officers, and, when demand for soldiers outstripped the supply of white volunteers, carrying rifles and marching into battle. "Loyal" southern landowners and northern investors who leased abandoned plantations sought them as cotton planters and pickers. Republican politicians, abolitionists, and missionaries wanted the chance to put them to work for wages and thereby "teach" them to live on their own. The freed people themselves had their own plans. They fought at every opportunity for independence, secured preferably through a freehold large enough to enable them to provide for their own subsistence. The struggle to control African-American labor varied from region to region, but everywhere it amounted to nothing less than a contest over the meaning of freedom. Did it mean the right to live as an independent producer or the right to work for a wage? Fundamentally, the Civil War and emancipation extended to southern blacks a contest that in the United States began with the development of capitalism in the North.

By 1865 nearly 300,000 former slaves had worked in the lower South in some officially sanctioned labor arrangement, the vast majority of them for wages. Emancipation, in other words, meant the passage of slaves "into the American working class as property-

less, unfranchised free laborers" (p. 83). Was this freedom? The answer to that question, of course, depends on one's point of view. Now many points of view are easily accessible in this and other volumes of *Freedom*.

REVIEW ESSAY

Southern Justice Alabama Style

by STETSON KENNEDY[1]

Outside Agitator: Jon Daniels and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama. By Charles W. Eagles. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. xiii, 335 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. $45.00, cloth; $19.95, paper.)

This is a tale of two men, one of whom fires a shotgun into the face of the other. And thereby hangs a tale of two Americas, one of which just had to go.

So, sad to say, *Outside Agitator* by Ole Miss professor Charles Eagles is not historical fiction, but history itself– the rather recent history of the 1960s of which some human rights issues are with us today.

To those of us who have been around for awhile, the storyline is old hat, being just one more variation on the stock theme "southern justice" that has been playing on the world circuit for centuries. These staged productions are no less stylized than Peking opera, and the audience always knows precisely what is going to happen next, from first curtain to last. The players need no rehearsals. They know their lines to perfection and perform like somnambulists. Even if the unexpected happens, they know just how to handle it.

In this *Outside Agitator* rendition, a young New England Episcopalian seminarian, Jonathan Daniels, feels called to join forces with the freedom marchers down South. After marching behind Martin Luther King, Jr., from Selma to Montgomery, and painfully integrating St. Paul's Church in Selma, Daniels plugs into SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) and enters 80-percent-black Lowndes County to register voters.

1. Stetson Kennedy is the author of numerous books and articles on southern and Florida history. He lives in Jacksonville, Florida.

Jailed for demonstrating without a permit, upon his release he goes to The Cash Store to buy a soda pop, only to meet his nemesis in the person of good ole boy Tom Coleman, who was standing in the door with a shotgun. Tom shoots Jon in the face, killing him instantly, and his companion, the Chicago Catholic Reverend Richard Morrisroe, in the back as he runs.

It is scarcely necessary to inform the gentle reader of all that ensued, for everything went strictly in accordance with the familiar scenario. It took only six weeks, from shot to verdict, for a jury to find Tom not guilty of anything, much to the delight of the audience, which included such notables as the Klan's Imperial Wizard Robert Sheldon and Grand Dragon Robert Creel.

One might well wonder where the FBI was in all of this. Hoover's G-Men were right there on stage, playing their usual hands-off role. Despite the fact that Tom Coleman carried an "honorary" deputy's badge and card, and the sheriff having told the media that Tom killed Jon "in the line of duty," the FBI had no difficulty deciding that the homicide was not committed "under cloak of authority" and was therefore none of their business. Thus local lynch law was left free to run its course.

There is an old southern folksong which sums it up very nicely: "When a white man kills a Negro, They hardly carries it to court; When a Negro kills a white man, They hangs him like a goat!"

To be sure, Jonathan Daniels was not black— this was a case of white-on-white homicide. But Jon identified himself with blacks in more ways than one. As we old-timers know, it was considered as dangerous to be a "Negro-lover" as to be the real thing. Any white, insider or outsider, who championed equal rights for blacks automatically qualified as a likely candidate for lynching. But an even more cogent reason why Jon was killed and Tom acquitted was that Jon was said to have kissed a black colleague, Ruby Sales, on the mouth and in public.

To fracture the South's Jim Crow laws was bad enough in the eyes of the white community, but when they discovered that Jon broke one of their most sacred taboos, ordinary capital punishment seemed too good for him. Jon Daniels had to be blown away in accordance with the same logic that put to the torch the M.O.V.E. headquarters in Philadelphia and the Branch Davidians in Waco, of which both were said not to use toilets. You may burn the flag in America, but if you defecate upon the ground you are considered a subhuman who ought to burn.

As for Tom Coleman, he never spent a day in jail nor stopped shooting doves and playing dominoes with the courthouse gang. The Reverend Morrisroe survived, and the name of Jonathan Daniels was added to the Episcopal Calendar of Lesser Feasts.

The good that martyrs do sometimes lives after them, intangible though it sometimes seems. One tangible outcome of Jon's sacrifice was the election of an inside black agitator, John Hulett, as sheriff of Lowndes County. Tom still hangs out at the courthouse, but he'll be damned if he'll call Hulett "Mister!"

History teaches us that agitators, inside or out, often achieve martyrdom, like the itinerant carpenter of Galilee who went about the countryside agitating against rich money-changers and all sorts of vipers.

Lest anyone take umbrage at the use of the word "agitator" in this context, we need to remind ourselves that this is but one of a multitude of labels that have been misdefined for us, with a view to rendering us incapable of independent thought. Perhaps "activist" would be a better choice (they haven't managed to poison that one, yet).

Another martyr to the cause– much closer to us in time and space– was Florida NAACP leader Harry Moore, who was blown up with his wife as they retired on Christmas night in 1951, their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary. Moore's mother begged him to quit the NAACP, but he replied, "All progress comes through sacrifice." His wife's last words on her deathbed in Sanford were, "We did what we could. Others must carry on."

Far from being outside agitators, the Moores were insiders– native Floridians to the backbone. I too was born here, and contributed my share of agitating. And the only reasons I can figure for my still being here is that there was no place to deport me and no lion's den handy.

The point of all this is, of course, that the reader of *Outside Agitator* should not jump to the conclusion that only the outside ones get it in the neck, or that as "intruders" they deserve what they get.

We are much indebted to Professor Eagles for providing us and posterity with many missing pieces to the jigsaw puzzle that was the sixties, although the picture remains far from complete. His scholarship is thorough, and in his eagerness to appear objective he states and restates both sides almost to excess.

Time and again when some time-honored cliche of southern (not to say American) racism cropped up out of quotations in his

text, I reached for my branding iron; but before I could apply it, up popped some of the favorite phrases of us rights advocates. It could be that Charles Eagles, like George Orwell, will be claimed by both camps.

Be that as it may, his *Outside Agitator,* by detailing the societal forces that brought Jon Daniels to his fateful confrontation with Tom Coleman in the portal of The Cash Store– for all the world like Paris and Achilles before the gates of Troy– gives us meaningful insights into the epic struggle of America with herself.

For us to have fought the American Revolution against British colonial rule, the Civil War against chattel slavery, World War I "to make the world safe for democracy," and World War II for the "four freedoms" for all the world would have made no sense had we let it go at that. Jim Crow apartheid and white rule had to be overcome if America was to fulfill her pledge of liberty and justice for all.

It took a great deal of selfless agitation– black and white, inside and out– to accomplish that.

BOOK REVIEWS

Prehistoric Peoples of South Florida. By William E. McGoun. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. vii, 140 pp. Introduction, figures, tables, bibliography, index. $19.95, paper.)

Over the last twenty-five years there has been a flurry of archaeological research conducted in south Florida. Much of this research has been specialized in nature or, instead, narrowly focused on a single topic. This has had the effect of limiting access to the archaeology of this region. This is no longer a problem with the publication of William E. McGoun's *Prehistoric Peoples of South Florida,* a book which "is designed to be a scholarly dissertation for the specialist and a book that will be of interest to the lay public." To this end he has exceeded remarkably well: This book synthesizes all of the archaeological research into a very readable, concise summary of the prehistory of south Florida. However, this work is not merely a summary or review of previous research. It includes an important original contribution to Calusa political interactions with the Spanish.

In the introduction the author outlines the theoretical perspective he will use, opting for a culture historical approach, one which chronicles the events and changes in south Florida archaeology in terms of projectile point and ceramic styles. He also sees cultural continuity and tradition as a major theme in the prehistory of the area, repeatedly providing examples throughout the text. The culture areas within south Florida are mapped, and an archaeological chronology of the region is provided along with a discussion of some technical terms and how they will be used throughout the text. Unfortunately, he has reversed the definition of stage and period, but this is of little concern in the text. The first chapter provides an outstanding discussion of the Calusa and their interactions with the Spanish and other groups in south Florida. This is not merely a rehash of previous discussions but instead represents an original treatment and, in point of fact, is for me the strong point of the book. This is not to underplay the quality of the rest, but as a specialist in the area I found the discussion of the Calusa political activities extremely important. However, this chapter does have a

shortcoming. Although there is a map locating the protohistoric period sites, there is no map showing the locations of the various groups discussed in the text. This is not really a problem for the specialist, but it would have been a useful addition for the lay public.

The next chapter provides an excellent discussion, in historical fashion, of the discovery of Paleoindian occupation in Florida. I particularly liked the inclusion of the controversy over the antiquity of the Vero and Melbourne fossils and how more recent finds relate to this problem. An overview of Archaic occupation in south Florida in the third chapter includes a very useful discussion of reasons for the paucity of sites in the area, a function of archaeological invisibility, not just a lack of population. I particularly like the way the author reminds the reader of how different the landscape and shoreline of south Florida were during this time period. There is a useful discussion of the role of external contacts in shaping the cultures of south Florida during the Late Archaic and a conclusion that they were minimal, one with which I concur with. Chapter 4 introduces the cultural changes that appeared around 500 B.C. to include the Glades series ceramics and the earthwork developments seen in the interior, the significance of maize agriculture to south Florida, and the relationship of interior sites to the southwest coast. There is some unnecessary confusion here about classifying interior sites as Calusa. During the ethnohistoric period these interior groups were under the political control of the Calusa but were known as Mayaimi and were indeed probably culturally distinct. The penultimate chapter discusses the development of political complexity which is identified with the Calusa on the southwest Florida coast, the appearance of distinct regional styles of ceramic traditions, settlement and subsistence patterns, the cultural significance and chronological context of ceremonial artifacts found in south Florida, and political and trade ties within south Florida. The final chapter discusses the fate of the peoples of south Florida.

What impresses me about this book is how much factual information, presented in such a readable style, is packed into such a compact work. Each chapter is thoroughly researched with all of the opinions and interpretations comprehensively covered and, more importantly, accurately presented. The prehistory is discussed within the context of the dynamic environmental change that occurred in south Florida. This book is the best introduction to the archaeology of south Florida and is a must read for anyone

interested in the archaeology or ethnohistory of this area. Also, it is an excellent text for historians and a public interested in the prehistory of Florida who do not want to wade through a technical work. McGoun has written a masterful book which will appeal to a wide audience and provide an excellent understanding of the archaeology of south Florida.

University of Houston RANDOLPH J. WIDMER

Juan Ponce de León, King Ferdinand, and the Fountain of Youth. By Anthony Q. Devereux. (Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company, 1993. xiii, 216 pp. Preface, abbreviations, illustrations, maps, epilogue, bibliography, index. $24.00.)

This book is "the first biography of Juan Ponce de León in English" (jacket cover). It begins with a brief discussion of the uncertain circumstances surrounding his birth, continues with his experiences in the West Indies beginning in 1502, reviews his explorations of Florida in 1513 and 1521 (including his search for the Fountain of Youth), and concludes with his death in 1521 and the efforts since then to create a Fountain of Youth. The main subtext is the relationships between Juan Ponce, King Ferdinand, and the Spanish court.

This biography is unabashedly pro-Juan Ponce. In his book *The Early Spanish Main* (University of California Press, 1966), Carl Sauer wrote that the motivation for Juan Ponce's expedition to Florida was that he had been kicked out of Puerto Rico for taking more than was his due. Devereux provides a contrasting viewpoint– a point of view that depicts Juan Ponce as a solid, upright citizen who was wrongly persecuted. His persecution derived in large measure from the political struggles between King Ferdinand and the descendants of Queen Isabela, who died in 1504. Being loyal to the king, Juan Ponce's fortunes fluctuated as oversight for the Indies passed back and forth between the king's and the queen's descendants. By focusing on a single individual, this book brings to light the complexities of communication between Spain and the Indies, the political machinations on both sides of the Atlantic, and the anarchy that prevailed in the Spanish conquest of the Indies.

It is clear that this book was a labor of love. However, sometimes a good editor is better than love. This is one of those times. While Devereux is to be commended for his extensive use of original sources, he is not selective enough with regard to the materials he includes. Furthermore, it is not always clear why certain information is important. The chronological organization of the text is broken by long tangential discussions, and the logic of particular arguments is unclear. As a result, the book is very difficult to read.

Despite problems of presentation, the book is a wealth of interesting information. There is a very good review of aspects of relations between the Spanish and Native Tainos, which demonstrates that these societies could peacefully coexist. Unlike other European New World colonies, food supplies were not scarce on Puerto Rico in the early years when Juan Ponce was captain general of the colony. The Tainos did not rebel until after Juan Ponce was replaced by Don Cristobal de Sotomayor. Moreover, the review of Juan Ponce's taxes provides an excellent accounting of the profits that a successful Spanish colonist could derive from his encomienda. Devereux also delves into the waters of rejuvenation. He notes that there were actually two independent Fountain of Youth stories (one Indian, one Eurasian), and he speculates that the crown supported Juan Ponce's search for the fountain because King Ferdinand was desperate to have a son by his second wife, Queen Germaine, a quest at which the king was not successful.

Although the book suffers from problems of organization and presentation, the hard-working reader will be rewarded with a wealth of interesting information about the life of Juan Ponce de León, about early Spanish relations with the Native Tainos, and about efforts to find the legendary waters of rejuvenation.

Florida Museum of Natural History WILLIAM F. KEEGAN
Gainesville, Florida

Arrowheads and Spear Points in the Prehistoric Southeast: A Guide to Understanding Cultural Artifacts. By Linda Crawford Culberson. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993. 119 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, glossary, appendices, bibliography, index. $29.50, cloth; $12.95, paper.)

This book has two titles and attempts to be two books. On the one hand, it is a manual for identifying stone projectile points (arrowheads and spear points), while on the other, it tries to place these artifacts within a culture-historical context. The intended audience is interested nonprofessionals who have collected (fortuitously or otherwise) prehistoric artifacts and who wish to understand the people and cultures that produced them. By integrating projectile point descriptions into a conventional culture history of the southeastern U.S., the reader is made to appreciate artifacts as sources of information rather than mere curios. To squeeze blood from a stone is no easy task, and the author is to be credited for a reasonably successful effort.

The book begins with a chapter on basic archaeological principles. Specialized concepts are defined, and methods used to classify artifacts and date archaeological sites are discussed. The explanations are accurate, concise, and free of professional jargon. Chapter 2 covers the current debate on the origins of the first Americans. Competing theories and multidisciplinary efforts to test them are presented simply and clearly. The remaining four chapters contain summaries of current knowledge regarding native lifeways in each of the major cultural periods recognized by southeastern archaeologists: Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian. Typical examples of the most common projectile points are illustrated and described, as are other components of prehistoric material culture. Stylistic and functional variability in artifacts through time are used as a way of illustrating how people adapt their technology in response to environmental change. In the process, the reader is provided with an explanation for why culture itself changes and evolves. The final section includes a glossary, a bibliography, and three appendices. One of these consists of a list of all the state archaeologists in the Southeast, presumably to encourage proper recording of archaeological sites once they are found.

There are only a few criticisms, While typographical errors are infrequent, the placement of the middle Woodland at 5000 B.C.

(p. 59) will surely raise a few eyebrows. The publication dates of several authors' works are consistently misprinted and do not match those in the bibliography, making it difficult to run down an interesting title. The artifact illustrations are well done, but the written descriptions are too brief to provide much assistance in identifying specific specimens. The emphasis is on ideal types with little consideration of the sources of typological variation. The effects of resharpening and recycling on tool morphology, for example, are barely discussed. As a result, serious use of the book for identification purposes is inhibited.

Although the culture-historical summaries are adequate, they do not always reflect current thinking. A single example will illustrate my point. An outdated view of cultural evolution leads to statements, such as the one on page fifty-one, in which Archaic populations are characterized as "increasingly territorial." Territoriality among hunter-gatherers is an adaptation to environmental conditions that may or may not be present in specific circumstances. By extending the generality to all Archaic groups, territoriality is portrayed as one step in an inevitable march towards cultural complexity. Such a view obscures cultural variability and misrepresents the evolutionary process.

These deficiencies do not negate the book's strong points. There is a need for intelligent, nontechnical books on archaeology and prehistory that are palatable to the tastes of the general public. While the book's information value is limited for anyone with more than a passing interest in the subject, it is a good primer for those who are just beginning to cultivate such an interest.

Piper Archaeological Research ROBERT J. AUSTIN
St. Petersburg

To the Golden Cities: Pursuing the American Jewish Dream in Miami and L.A. By Deborah Dash Moore. (New York: Free Press, 1994. x, 358 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, photographs, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. $22.95.)

Whether you're going to heaven or hell, according to southern folk wisdom, you still have to change planes in Atlanta– the not-quite undisputed capital of the New South. But if you are a Jew seeking paradise on earth, Deborah Dash Moore writes, the major

cities have been located elsewhere in the Sunbelt: Miami for those coming from the Northeast, Los Angeles for those also living in the Midwest. Those metropolises have admittedly remained considerably east of Eden, nor have they exempted their residents from the assorted pressures that the American way of life has imposed. But so magnetic has been this urban pull– attracting well over a million migrants and their progeny (about a fifth of American Jewry), and so seismic has been the shift from the Snowbelt of the earliest generations, that a prophet might assert: where Los Angeles and Miami are now, there the dominant impulses of communal life will be. To recount this transplantation would thus make a decisive contribution to an understanding of the contemporary Jewish experience and should interest the student of postwar Florida as well. But it is faint praise to hail *To the Golden Cities* as the best social history of Miami Jewry, since it is also the *only* serious history of that community.

Deborah Dash Moore's book highlights the similarities rather than the differences between a multiethnic southern city vulnerable to hurricanes and a much larger multiethnic western city vulnerable to nearly every other natural catastrophe. Such isomorphism may make little sense, for example, to southern regionalists, who would have put her sun-tanned settlers in the high cotton. But her approach is compelling when framed within Jewish history, which discloses a continuous sense of peoplehood and of minority status– attributes that have persisted, despite the corrosions of assimilation. The acids of Americanization have been especially powerful in these two sunbelt cities, which after all promised newcomers escape into fantasylands of leisure, comfort, and freedom. There, happiness could be more easily pursued and moral rules more readily suspended; and religion itself might become, like goods sold in international airports, duty-free. But Professor Moore's Jews are less party animals than they are builders of communal institutions, which managed to be sustained far removed in time and place from the more-austere world of our fathers and mothers. Her book traces the establishment of synagogues, the maintenance of liberal political strategies, the limited liaisons with other ethnic groups, the struggle against rather mild forms of anti-Semitism, the growth of rabbinical seminaries and of a religious retreat in southern California, and the orchestration of passionate philanthropic support for Israel. The research apparatus of *To the*

Golden Cities is admirable, its prose and formal design are clear and unobtrusive, and its tone is rather consistently upbeat.

But Moore's account of these institutional arrangements does not break dramatically with the patterns detected in other communities further north, and her portraits of rabbis, clubwomen, businessmen, apparatchiks, and visionaries hardly seem unfamiliar. Perhaps the effect of the Sunbelt setting– once the charms of the climate (and the benefits of air conditioning) are acknowledged– counts for less than the dynamic of American Jewish history itself. *To the Golden Cities* constitutes a rather modest environmental impact statement. Miami and Los Angeles are not, after all, unique fulfillments of the American (Jewish) Dream, but variations upon it, in which a sense of place has yielded to displacement and in which opportunities for upward as well as spatial mobility often threaten the stability and security of identity itself.

Brandeis University STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789: Volume 20, March 13-September 30, 1783. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerald W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1993. xxx, 791 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, index. $39.00.)

The letters of delegates of the Continental Congress immediately following negotiation of the Peace of Paris reveal deep and pervasive uncertainty about the durability of the republican experiment. Those troubled by the peace terms feared for the safety of the republic; those supportive of the pact feared the destabilizing effects of partisanship over foreign policy. "The separate and secret manner in which our Ministers had proceeded with respect to France & . . . the British Ministers," James Madison observed dryly, "affected different members of Congress differently." Several features of the treaty and its negotiation troubled some of the delegates. American envoys John Jay and Benjamin Franklin had become openly suspicious of the French and disregarded congressional instructions to clear all their actions with the French. Francophiles in Congress considered their actions treachery. On top of that, the humiliating provision that Congress would recommend restitution of confiscated estates "had the appearance of sacrificing

the dignity of Congress to the pride of the British king." The relegation of the Florida-U.S. border to a separate article, so that Britain might pursue retention of the Floridas in negotiations with Spain, seemed a dangerous ploy. But Stephen Higginson feared that "we have a junto here so completely enlisted in the French service and so closely attached to them by some invisible tie" who were incapable of detecting the French plan "to prevent our forming any commercial connection with any European power, other than Spain and Sweden– these courts being entirely under the French management. . . . Shall we give ourselves up to the Devil in this manner? Shall we neglect to avail ourselves of the advantages within our reach?"

The "Junto" of unhappy legislators, of whom Madison and Higginson wrote, apparently did not put their discontents in writing. Pro-British nationalists felt confident of the logic of their position and considered the written word to be the appropriate vehicle for vindicating national interest; pro-French opposition delegates, anxious about the loss of American virtue and fearful of Old World diplomatic intrigue, sought allies and confirmation through face-to-face communication.

But these letters do not leave the reader with only one side of the story. Because they were articulate, congressional nationalists left a vivid account of their understanding of the debate and intriguing clues about the state of mind of their opponents. Hamilton agonized over "the intemperate proceedings among people in [New York]." People simply could not understand, Hamilton complained, that British officials considered the "treaty as immediately obligatory," and they seemed unable to appreciate that Britain's "disposition to conciliate this country will outweigh the resentments which a breach of our engagements [continued confiscation of loyalist property] is likely to inspire." But British retention of forts on United States territory, Hamilton warned, placed the new nation in peril, so just as the British needed for the peace settlement to stick, so even more did Americans: "Let the case be stated fairly: Great Britain and America are two independent nations at war– the former in possession of considerable posts and districts of territory belonging to the latter– and also of the means of obstructing certain commercial advantages."

For Hamilton, that diplomatic challenge was the nation's first order of business. "Severity" toward former loyalists, whose talents and energies the nation would need, would be a self-defeating

course of action. If we fill Nova Scotia with embittered refugees, Hamilton asked, how will we then compete with Britain's Canadian colonies for a share of the North Atlantic fishing industry? "The question," he told New York Governor George Clinton, "is important to the interests of the state." Hamilton spoke what Isaac Kramnick calls "new language of statecraft"– the self-confident articulation of the rational purposes of the state which American nationalists acquired from European civil servants and which they imbued with republican civic discipline. In the tense months in mid-1783– before the Peace of Paris had been ratified or New York City had been evacuated by the British– that language carried a self-confidence barely masking nervous exhilaration.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro ROBERT M. CALHOON

John Quincy Adams &American Global Empire. By William Earl Weeks. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992. ix, 238 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, epilogue, notes, selected bibliography, index. $29.00.)

William Earl Weeks's *John Quincy Adams & American Global Empire* concentrates on the first two years of John Quincy Adams's tenure as secretary of state and his greatest diplomatic achievement– the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819. This book is, however, far more than a summary of the negotiations between Adams and the Spanish minister to the United States, Don Luís de Onís. Weeks's portrayal of Adams provides valuable insight into the character of this future president and the time period in which he lived.

Weeks describes Adams as a tragic figure caught in the transition from the Revolutionary era, which emphasized the importance of republican virtue for American public servants, and a time when blatant political ambition and intrigue became the norm. Despite Adams's familial influence, education, and experience, the exigencies of domestic and foreign affairs repeatedly forced him to repudiate republican values. Although Weeks offers several examples to substantiate this assertion, the two most convincing are Adams's Erving dispatch, in which he defends Andrew Jackson's invasion of Florida, and Adams's letters published under the pseudonym "Phocion" in Washington D.C.'s *National Intelligencer.*

On both occasions, according to Weeks, Adams willingly lied, distorted the truth, and suppressed factual information to achieve his nation's foreign policy goals and to further his own political ambition. Weeks describes the Erving letter as "propaganda, designed to create a perception of reality wholly in conflict with fact" (p. 145). While Adams, thus, revealed his "undeniable ambition," entries in his diary indicate that these actions caused him considerable anguish. As Weeks concludes, "Adams fretted that his success as a statesman . . . was being attained at the cost of his personal integrity" (p. 170).

On balance, Weeks is complimentary of John Quincy Adams, whom he characterizes as "the greatest secretary of state in American history," and the Transcontinental Treaty, which he presents as "the first determined step in the creation of an American global empire" (p. 1). Weeks reminds the reader that the significance of the Adams-Onís Treaty was not the acquisition of the Floridas but rather the determination of a boundary between United States and Spanish territory that extended from the Gulf of Mexico all the way to the Pacific Ocean. It was Adams's ability to strengthen the American claim along the northwest coast that established the United States as a continental power and secured a base on the Pacific for the subsequent creation of an American global empire.

In his epilogue, Weeks briefly surveys Adams's return to governmental service in the 1830s and 1840s as a member of the House of Representatives. During that period Adams disavowed almost all of the policies he had advocated and implemented as secretary of state. This was most evident in his rejection of much of President James K. Polk's foreign policy. Ironically, according to Weeks, manifest destiny of the 1840s "was essentially the continuation, both in tactics and aims, of Adams's aggressive diplomacy of a quarter-century earlier" (p. 197).

John Quincy Adams & American Global Empire is a valuable addition to the literature on antebellum foreign relations. It is based on an impressive number of primary and secondary sources, including governmental and private correspondence from both England and Spain. This international perspective is essential as it places the Spanish-American crisis in its proper context. One cannot understand the Spanish position during these negotiations without knowing Spain's relations with other European powers and her concern over the status of her colonial empire in the New World. A

series of maps helps the reader visualize the various boundary proposals and counter proposals offered by Adams and Onís.

Oklahoma State University RICHARD C. ROHRS

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume 21, January-June 1845. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993. xix, 648 pp. Preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. $49.95.)

This twenty-first volume of Calhoun papers is the fourth that deals with Calhoun's one-year stint as secretary of state by appointment of President John Tyler. Only about one-half of this volume, however, relates to the last three months in which he was at the State Department.

During this year the most important issues that Calhoun addressed were those related to the annexation of Texas and the proposed annexation of Oregon. The Texas treaty had gone down to defeat in the Senate, but he and the president accomplished annexation by joint resolution of both houses of Congress. Oregon remained an unsettled affair when the Tyler administration ended. Calhoun gave himself great credit for having managed the Texas affair and dismissed the likelihood of its leading to war with Mexico. In May 1845 he told a correspondent that war with Britain was more likely, because of differences over the disposition of Oregon (p. 528).

In February President-elect James K. Polk had told Calhoun that he would not be continued in the State Department, but he asked him to become United States minister in London. Calhoun declined the appointment and at the time put a cheerful face on things and expressed no disappointment. Yet as weeks passed, policy decisions and appointments made by Polk led Calhoun to write to his daughter, Anna Maria Clemson, that he could not have stayed in the Polk cabinet had he been asked "without coming at once to an open rupture with the administration under unfavorable circumstances" (p. 424). To R. M. T. Hunter he wrote more explicitly that he was not asked to stay at State because "I stood in the way of the restoration of the old [Andrew] Jackson Regime, both as to individuals & policy" (p. 449).

The editor of this volume notes that Florida was admitted to the Union on March 3 and that Andrew Jackson died on June 8, 1845, but the documents herein contain no reaction from Calhoun to either event, save a note that Florida would provide two more United States senators to favor the antitariff principles of international free trade (p. 470). In general, Florida matters occupy very little space in this volume. Calhoun's animosity to the British antislavery movement surfaced again in documents concerning the refusal of a Bahamian court to extradite runaway slaves charged with murder and robbery in Florida (pp. 217- 21, 262-63). In another document Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury dismissed St. Andrews Bay as a likely site for a navy base but suggested a survey of the Atlantic coast of Florida for a suitable location for a base and shipyard (p. 393). Toward the end of the volume is a letter from William P. DuVal reporting the electoral overthrow of the Whig party in Florida, expressing his surprise that Calhoun was not retained in the State Department, and hoping that Calhoun would return to the Senate (pp. 600-01). Numbers of other correspondents expressed dismay that he was not continued and urged his return to the Senate, including Daniel Huger who would in November resign his own seat to make way for Calhoun's return (pp. 443-44).

Though this volume is not of critical importance for historians writing Florida history, this series continues to be of great value for the study and writing of United States history. High editorial and publication standards continue to be upheld.

University of Florida HERBERT J. DOHERTY

Benevolence Among Slaveholders: Assisting the Poor in Charleston, 1670-1860. By Barbara L. Bellows. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993. xvii, 217 pp. Preface, illustrations, photographs, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

As the homeless population grows in America's cities and with little scholarship on the South's urban poor and their relationship with the civic elite, this is a timely book.

In Charleston the motivations for public and private charity evolved over time. During the colonial period the vestrymen of St. Phillip's Church established a precedent for benevolence that

lasted for over 150 years. Recognizing that the social order depended on the unity of all whites in a town with a black-slave majority, they offered assistance to those indigents who exhibited appropriate humility. This benevolent paternalism, which linked private interests to public acts, manifested itself in the founding of the Female Domestic Missionary Society, the city's poorhouse, and the Charleston Orphan House.

When the rise of abolitionism and the increasing number of foreign immigrants threatened the traditional social, political, and economic relations based on caste and class, the civic elite turned to "pragmatic humanitarianism" (p. 108), which promoted the interests of white hirelings over African Americans. The patriarchs of the community used the Orphan House to educate and to inculcate moral and religious principles as well as class deference and racial superiority.

In the late 1850s Charlestonians inaugurated a plan of school reform that provided an educational system for all whites and reinforced racial unity. But Charlestonians were becoming divided between reformers who sought a national identity and accommodation with the growing white laboring class and conservatives who wished to reduce free blacks to servitude and to limit immigrants to a marginal existence. Even the reformers realized that only the preservation of slavery could perpetuate a democracy of white men. In the final analysis the reformers found it impossible to reconcile liberalism on behalf of the poor with their "peculiar institution."

With the rise of capitalism, Charleston responded like northern cities to the plight of the poor: the idle and unemployed should be confined to the workhouse breaking rocks, and the indigent should learn to help themselves. As unemployment, domestic violence, poverty, alcoholism, crime, and disease increased in the cities, Charleston, like other urban centers, expanded welfare services. But what distinguished Charleston's approach to assisting poor whites was the presence of large numbers of slaves.

Professor Bellows rejects "social control" theory as a motivation of the civic elite, since Charleston's middle class had no desire to coerce the poor but rather wished to get them off the dole. Yet she writes that in Charleston "inclinations persisted to use benevolence and charity as social controls" (p. 106). And the children in the Orphan House provided the city's patriarchs "a mighty lever over the personal morality of poor parents" (p. 121). But Bellows does ad-

mit that the civic elite were driven by "multiple imperatives of good works, political strategy, and tradition" (p. 134).

Despite the author's ambiguity over what motivated Charleston's civic elite to assist the poor, this is an important book. The attitudes of antebellum Charleston's middle class toward the indigent persist; the provisions they made for providing housing for the homeless and ill deserve consideration today. Bellows also provides a revealing look at the dark side of life at the bottom of urban southern society, especially among the women who were most frequently "beaten, battered, and broken by poverty" (p. 88). Charleston's unskilled poor whites fell into a cycle of poverty which they were unable to escape because of too few economic opportunities. The poor— black and white— still face the same problems.

In sum, this book is an excellent starting point for further investigation of life at the bottom of the South's urban centers and the motivations of the civic elite in assisting indigent whites. It is highly recommended for students of southern history and America's social welfare system.

Georgia Southern University WALTER J. FRASER, JR.

An Evening When Alone: Four Journals of Single Women in the South. Edited by Michael O'Brien. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993. xvi. 460 pp. Preface, introductions, editorial notes, photographs, genealogical charts, notes, index. $35.00.)

An Evening When Alone is a significant contribution to antebellum southern history. It is the first volume of a series sponsored by the Southern Texts Society which will publish manuscript or rare printed materials relevant to southern cultural history. Michael O'Brien presents four rare journals of single women in the South in the period between 1827-1867. In addition, he provides a splendid introduction, editorial, genealogical charts, and notes to make this volume an exemplary work of its kind.

Scholarship in southern women's history is beginning to flourish. Anne Firor Scott's book *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* was the major pioneering work in the field, followed by the excellent works by Gerda Lerner, Jacqueline Jones, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Paula Giddings, Catherine Clinton, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Carl Degler, Darlene Clark Hine, Bonnie Thornton Dill,

and Patricia Hill Collins. Biographies of southern suffragists have also begun to appear, but virtually no attention has been paid to single women in the South. Lee Virginia Chambers-Schiller's book *Liberty, a Better Husband: Single Wornen In America– the Generation of 1780-1840* is one of the first interpretive works to address single women as a group. Thus, *An Evening When Alone* provides a rare glimpse into the lives of four very different single women. As O'Brien reminds us, single women, including widows and young unmarried women made up half of the adult white female population in Charleston in 1848. Figures are not available for the whole South, but O'Brien claims that it is reasonable to assume that before 1860 about one-fifth to one-quarter of all adult white southern women were unmarried for life (pp. 1-2).

The first diarist in this volume is Elizabeth Ruffin of Evergreen plantation in Virginia, whose two journals of 1827 convey a keen awareness of the reader. Eventually Elizabeth married her cousin Harrison Henry Cocke, a sailor and commodore who was often away on naval cruises in the Mediterranean or around Latin America. Elizabeth Ruffin's first journal begins on February 4, 1827, a day before her twentieth birthday when she lived on the Evergreen plantation, and her second journal chronicles her trip during July-September 1827 to northern resorts. She expresses her frustrations over her dependence on men on February 11, 1827: "Oh! the disadvantages we labor under, in not possessing the agreeable independence with the men; 'tis shameful, that all the superiority, authority and freedom in all things should by partial nature all be thrown in their scale; 'tis bad to be a woman in some things, but preferable in others, 'tho you may crow over me, and glory in the unlimited sphere of your actions and operations, I envy you not and would not change with you today (pp. 60-61)." Elizabeth Ruffin experienced the death of two of her six children and eventually contracted tuberculosis in 1849.

The next journal takes the reader to Selma plantation during 1835-1837. The identity of the author, a governess, is uncertain. She was in her early thirties and was beginning an independent career on a Mississippi plantation near Natchez. The plantation was owned and administered by a woman. The major theme of this journal is loneliness. The author writes in December 1836, "I can say that lonely I have been, lonely am I, and lonely I am likely to be for five months to come" (p. 130). She had come from Pittsburgh where she had been in love with a man, referred to as the

"Shadow," who had rejected her. Much of her journal pertains to her trying to regain her equilibrium after suffering bitter disappointment in love. She includes passionate, doleful poems in her journal, some in French, about her lost love.

The next journals were composed by Jane Caroline North of South Carolina between 1851-1852. North was a high society belle whose journals take the reader through Virginia and New York resorts, Boston, and Canada. She records her many flirtations, keeps track of compliments, and rates her suitors. When one young man, Stricker Coles, becomes quite ardent, she retreats. He says, "You know I love you Miss Carey you know your power." At this point she writes, "I thought it time to stop" (p. 169). She ended up marrying Charles Lockhart Pettigrew, her cousin, and having eight children.

By far the longest and most revealing journals are those of Ann Lewis Hardeman. Hardeman's journals comprise over half the volume. Hardeman struggles to raise her dead sister's six children within an extended family near Jackson, Mississippi. Her journals span the years from 1850-1867. Of the four women, Hardeman was least aware of possible future readers. She was deeply religious and suffered greatly from the deaths of her sister, her mother, and two of the children in the Civil War. One sees none of the wit of the belle or the erudition of the Selma diarist; Hardeman's only reading is the Bible. However, her journals provide a poignant view of an aging woman on the homefront during the Civil War.

Taken together one cannot generalize about the experiences of all single women in the antebellum South. However, certain themes emerge from the four women's journals, including an acceptance of the institution of slavery, a persistent sense of ennui among the more wealthy women, and the poor health of all four of the women. Whether married or single all of the women cared for children. These journals are tantalizing because of what the diarists say and don't say, raising many questions for future researchers. One is reminded of Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's brilliant study of the diary of a midwife in *The Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812.* Perhaps one of the women represented in this volume will attract the attention of other imaginative scholars.

An Evening When Alone should be of interest to scholars, students, and a general reading audience. The introduction is written in an engaging fashion, gives valuable biographical information regarding the four women, and places their journals in a larger his-

torical context. The addition of a preface containing biographical information before each of the journals would have added significantly to the volume. Overall *An Evening When Alone* conveys a fascinating glimpse into the intimate sphere and minds of four women in the antebellum South and enhances our knowledge of both southern women's history and the intellectual and cultural history of the South.

Eckerd College CAROLYN JOHNSTON

The Second Day at Gettysburg: Essays on Confederate and Union Leadership. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1993. xi, 210 pp. Introduction, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliographic essay, contributors. $24.00, cloth; $14.00, paper.)

These essays were presented at a 1991 conference at the Mont Alto Campus of Pennsylvania State University. (Papers from the 1990 conference, published as *The First Day at Gettysburg,* were reviewed in the April 1993 *Florida Historical Quarterly.)*

On July 1, 1863, Confederate and Federal troops blundered into each other west and north of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. After several hours of hard fighting, Union forces gave way and retreated to a very strong position on the hills and ridges to the south. There reinforcements joined them, and there on July 2 the Rebels attacked them. Both sides suffered heavy losses, but the Yankees held. The July 2 fighting produced several quarrels about the conduct of the battle, and for 130 years supporters and critics of this and that general have argued over their man's role in the battle.

These essays are based on thorough research in the vast Gettysburg literature, but they vary considerably in length and range in subject matter from a general at the head of an army down to the level of a division commander. None of them deal with the 700 or so Florida troops who took part in the battle or with the generals who commanded them.

Gary Gallagher takes on those who criticize Robert E. Lee for committing his army to an offensive battle, especially those who ascribe Lee's decision to assorted subconscious or psychological factors. Gallagher makes a strong case that while Lee's decision to fight offensively may have been wrong, it was not unreasonable or irrational.

Bob Krick flays Lee's ranking subordinate Lieutenant General James Longstreet who disagreed with his commander's approach and who, therefore, withheld his full cooperation. Longstreet has been both condemned and praised over the years, and Krick comes down squarely on the side of those who believe that, at least for July 2, the condemnation is fully warranted.

The three remaining essays deal with Federal generals. Glenn Robertson explores the role of Major General Daniel E. Sickles, whose decision to move his corps to an advanced position led to its being shattered by a Confederate attack. Robertson defends Sickles's decision but correctly faults his failure (refusal?) to coordinate his move with other units. It was the lack of concerted action that led to the destruction of Sickles's command.

Will Greene offers a detailed look at the role of Major General Henry Slocum and the XII Corps, The essay is too long (forty-nine pages of text; twelve pages of notes), over footnoted, and too concerned with low-level tactical details to fit into the theme of the book. Slocum and other XII Corps generals simply get lost in the minutiae. (As a detailed narrative of the corps's operations on July 2, the essay is fine.)

Scott Hartwig's account of Brigadier General John C. Caldwell's role sometimes borders on too detailed. Fortunately, however, Hartwig veers back to give a well-done evaluation of a division commander and his chief subordinates. At times Hartwig ventures beyond the events of July 2 to offer useful insights into the way a Civil War general had to manage a command in battle.

The essays by Gallagher and Krick, which deal with the overall conduct of the battle will probably be of greater interest to most readers than will the other, more specialized, accounts.

Decatur, Georgia RICHARD M. MCMURRY

The Civil War Reminiscences of Major Silas T. Grisamore C.S.A. Edited by Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993. xviii, 227 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, maps, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

"Uncle Silas," the pseudonym of Silas T. Grisamore, wrote a series of articles for the Louisiana *Weekly Thibodaux Sentinel,* from December 1867 through April 1871, relating his experiences with the

18th Louisiana Infantry Regiment. As acting quartermaster, he directed his regiment's wagons on the march to Shiloh. Leaving the train, he joined his company in the battle and on the second day became acting company commander after his captain and the other lieutenants were wounded. During the retreat to Corinth he commanded his own men and the remnants of another company. But most of Grisamore's reminiscences deal with his duties as company, regiment, and finally brigade quartermaster.

Editor Bergeron notes in his preface that, in some instances, he moved material originally out of sequence to a more sequential position in Grisamore's reminiscences. The editor's endeavor was successful, for the narrative flows smoothly. Yet Bergeron provides an inordinate number of footnotes which distract the reader from Grisamore's story. For example, twenty-three of chapter one's 100 footnotes and thirty-six of chapter five's 122 footnotes cite the full names of men mentioned in Grisamore's text. Surely complete names, when known, could be provided in the index so as to reduce the interruptions to a reader concentrating on the text. Or again, chapter one's footnotes 40, 41, and 42 are from the same paragraph and cite the same source; could not they be merged into a single footnote? Finally, when Grisamore's dates are vague or incorrect, as in chapter three's footnote 2, could not brackets be inserted in the text to provide the correct date to relieve the reader from another interruption?

Although not Florida history, this is an interesting book about two aspects of the Civil War that are seldom studied: the role of a quartermaster in the field, and the Trans-Mississippi Department in southwest Louisiana. Grisamore wrote with humor, and his tongue-in-cheek comments about fellow officers demonstrate his ability to see through their charades. But basically he told of his trials, as the war continued, to locate the ever-diminishing stock of forage, sustenance, and military supplies needed to wage war.

One interesting anecdote told of the conclusion of the war. While encamped at Mansfield in the northern part of the state, daily news of the military disasters in the east reached the men. The troops, seeing little future for themselves, began to desert in increasing numbers, which burgeoned drastically when hundreds of Louisiana and Texas soldiers, paroled by the Federal cis-Mississippi armies began drifting through on their way home. When the news of General Robert E. Lee's surrender finally reached camp on April 20, 1865, all sense of organization evaporated.

Grisamore, who with his train was separated from his regiment, told of the almost universal pillage as departing soldiers confiscated all government property they could take. He had several hired wagons and civilian teamsters with him, but they were too few to protect their wagons and baggage during the 400-mile trip home. However, the nearby 26th Regiment had two companies recruited from south Louisiana. Grisamore joined forces with these men, and together the two groups headed south. Throughout the homeward journey he had to apply his wartime skills to find forage and sustenance for his men.

Major Grisamore's reminiscences do not offer any strategic impact nor any significant thesis on the war. "Uncle Silas" just recalled memories of his service to the Confederacy, which make enjoyable reading.

Jacksonville University GEORGE E. BUKER, EMERITUS

Black Belt Scalawag: Charles Hays and the Southern Republicans in the Era of Reconstruction. By William Warren Rogers, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993. xiv, 179 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. $32.50.)

Three decades ago Allen Trelease rhetorically asked in the *Journal of Southern History*, "Who Were the Scalawags?" While other facets of Reconstruction-era history have been revised drastically in the years since, Trelease's question in great part has gone unanswered. Instead, consideration has continued to focus on white Conservatives and Carpetbaggers, with some– though not much– attention paid to the South's black leadership. The neglect has been so complete that, until publication of William Warren Rogers, Jr.'s, *Black Belt Scalawag*, we have possessed no monograph-length biography of a Deep South Radical. Fortunately, Rogers's pioneering effort, though perhaps dealing with an untypical Scalawag, provides us with a solid foundation upon which to begin building a better understanding of the roles and contributions of these men.

Rogers's subject, Charles Hays, seemingly was an unlikely candidate for the Scalawag mantle. Son of a pioneering Alabama planter family, he possessed over 100 slaves at the time of secession and served as an officer in the Confederate army. Unlike many of

his contemporaries, though, he accepted defeat, looked to the future, and blamed the Conservatives or Democrats "for not recognizing that 'the past is gone' " (p. 27).

Hays's Republican leanings emerged only with Congressional Reconstruction, and, even then, they were not set in concrete. He served in the Alabama constitutional convention and as a state senator, but his steps were cautious ones full of sympathy for his fellow defeated white Southerners. He refused, for example, to support legislation creating a black militia or attacking the Ku Klux Klan. His moderation continued to set the pattern for his legislative actions after his election to Congress in 1869 from the state's predominantly black Fourth District.

Since Hays came late to his Unionism and Republicanism, he only slowly grasped the threat posed by Conservative opposition to the freedmen and their white allies. But social ostracism and, more importantly, terror and violent partisanship opened his eyes, and by 1874 he had emerged as a full-blown Radical. In Congress he strongly supported enforcement acts and the Civil Rights Act of 1875, while he denounced Alabama terror in the celebrated and controversial Hays-Hawley letter published September 15, 1874, in the *Hartford* [CT] *Daily Courant.*

Hays, the Radical, desired only what to him was the simplest of things. "What we want," he told the House of Representatives, "is a fair chance to express ourselves at the ballot box" (p. 123). The chance already had been missed, however, as Congress adopted the more-passive stance that Hays recently had abandoned. Democrats triumphed in 1874 Alabama state elections. Hays, faced with financial problems, scandal, political weariness, and a new gerrymandered district, chose not to run for reelection in 1876. He died of Bright's disease three years later.

Rogers, while evidencing sympathy for his subject, explores the personal and political problems that beset this Deep South Scalawag as he watched his world disintegrate around him. Hays was "flawed," the author concludes but was not "the charlatan his political enemies described" (p. 138). Hays's commitment to the freedmen was genuine, and his devotion to them grew with time. In return, they never wavered in their support of this former Confederate slaveholder.

Black Belt Scalawag is a well researched and tightly written biography that makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the South during Reconstruction. As anyone who has worked on

the Scalawags readily will admit, original source materials are few and hard to come by. Because of this problem, there are gaps in Hays's story. This reviewer would have appreciated, for instance, an in depth treatment of the black leadership behind Hays. Nonetheless, Rogers has proven to us that, in good part, the obscurity of sources can be overcome and that the veil of obscurity that has lain over the Scalawags for over a century still can be lifted.

Florida A&M University CANTER BROWN, JR.

Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930. By W. Fitzhugh Brundage. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press,. 1993. xii, 375 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, figures, epilogue, appendices, notes, index. $39.95, cloth; $14.95, paper.)

Lynching in the New South is probably the finest, most detailed, richly complex, and sophisticated study of lynching in the region that has ever been published. In a particularly insightful analysis, W. Fitzhugh Brundage goes over the peaks (1880s and 1890s) and valleys (the twentieth century, especially since the 1920s) of lynchings during the course of half a century. By using Georgia and Virginia as representative extremes of greater and lesser violence, he shows how local traditions, socio-economic factors, and political values combined first to perpetuate, and later to undermine, one of the most horrific crimes associated with American "justice." In so doing, he reaches beyond, and modifies, many of the conclusions of the acknowledged major work in the field, Arthur Raper's *The Tragedy of Lynching.* Although Brundage agrees with Raper's conclusions that rural poverty, ignorance, and drunkenness often went hand-in-hand with many of the lynchings, he also shows that traditions, regional variations, and evolving socio-economic practices must be taken into consideration when studying the subject.

In an extremely detailed– and by the nature of the subject, gruesome– narrative, Brundage shows how enormous socio-economic frustrations and transformations in the South during the Gilded Age led to the highest numbers of lynchings ever recorded in this country. An overwhelming number of the victims were blacks who had, or who had been perceived to have, committed brutal crimes. Nonetheless, whites, in lesser numbers of course, charged with transgressing community mores were also strung up.

In Virginia, struggling to move from an agricultural to a more varied and industrial economy, conservative politicians, spokespersons, and newspaper editors combined with a peculiar sense of noblesse oblige to all but eliminate lynchings as a form of social control by the beginning of the twentieth century. In Georgia, on the other hand, especially in the Cotton Belt where staple crop agriculture and rigidly demarcated lines separated blacks and whites, as well as in the southernmost counties which were moving into a more agricultural economy, violence became an integral part of social control and labor relations.

Brundage's narrative contains more details than most readers may wish to follow, and his graphic examples of bodily mutilations, burnings, and lynchings reveal a level of brutality that is well known generally but absolutely stomach churning in their specifics. He is also quite good at analyzing how the political responses of the conservatives and elitists in Virginia were able to suppress lynching in Virginia by the early twentieth century while the protesters in Georgia, at first more halfhearted than ferocious, proved ineffectual until several decades later. A stronger and more entrenched political culture in Georgia, weak leaders, and deep-seated traditions in that state necessitated much greater efforts for change. After three decades of evolving protests, however, led by members of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and some church congregations and ministers that began to speak out on the evils of lynchings, change began to occur by the 1920s. The influence of the NAACP speaking out and seeking federal enforcement of a weak civil rights law that had been passed a half-century earlier must also be acknowledged. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, New Deal agricultural policies forced the break up of old plantation agriculture, resulted in an exodus of tenants from the land, and stimulated the movement of hundreds of thousands of blacks to the North, thereby severely changing the socioeconomic conditions that allowed lynching to flourish.

Although there is nothing specifically about Florida in this volume, it is nonetheless well worth-reading for an insight into one of the South's most barbarous traditions.

University of Arizona LEONARD DINNERSTEIN

The New Woman in Alabama: Social Reforms and Suffrage, 1890-1920. By Mary Martha Thomas. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992. viii, 269 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

This book, Mary Martha Thomas's *The New Woman in Alabama,* marks an interesting and important juncture in the field of U.S. women's history– a juncture characterized by a (finally!) irrepressible, although still not fully articulated, awareness on the part of white feminists that the existing historiography on women's reform movements inadequately addresses issues of race. To its credit, *The New Woman in Alabama* recontextualizes the debates over woman suffrage in such a way as to show how "the driving force behind the first stage of the suffrage campaign in the South was not a desire for women's rights . . . [but] a desire to guarantee white supremacy" (p. 121). Thus, Thomas informs us, Alabama suffragist leader Pattie Jacobs, knowing that many of her state's legislators feared that a federal woman suffrage amendment would reopen questions of black suffrage, white supremacy, and states' rights, framed her support of a federal amendment in the following way: "If this amendment is adopted it in no wise regulates or interferes with any existing qualification (except sex). . . . It is a fallacy to contend that to prohibit discrimination on account of sex would involve the race problem" (p. 177). As Thomas realizes, many whites, Northerners as well as Southerners, believed that the votes of white women might be used to counter the black vote, and some white leaders, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, made no bones about mobilizing support for woman suffrage on such overtly racist grounds. Although Thomas is mostly concerned with demonstrating that her Alabama suffragists refrained from such explicitly racist arguments, the important point to grasp is that the history of woman suffrage (and women's social reform movements more generally) cannot be considered apart from questions of race– and not just in the South, but throughout the country as a whole.

To my disappointment, Thomas does not use this insight to challenge our understanding of national or northern progressivism. Instead her intent is to prove that Alabama women had a progressive movement too. To this end, Thomas treats a broad range of reform activities, grouping them in nine chapters according to their institutional form: temperance unions (1880s); white women's clubs (1890s); black women's clubs (1890s); movement to

abolish child labor (1900-1920); white suffrage movement (1890-1920, four chapters); and a final chapter entitled "Alabama Women in the 1920s." Unfortunately, this organizational scheme does not permit Thomas to make exciting use of her research, although she has turned up many new and interesting details about important Alabama reformers, including Julia Tutwiler, Martha Spencer, Elizabeth Johnston, Lura Craighead, Lillian Orr, Nellie Murdock, Lillian Bowron, Ellen Hildreth, Pattie Jacobs, Margaret Murray Washington, and Adela Hunt Logan. For the most part, however, this book marshals its evidence to reinforce a reigning paradigm in U.S. women's history. These Alabama "New Women," Thomas argues, "followed in the footsteps of women nationwide," helping to create an ideology of "municipal housekeeping" that enabled them to gain access to political life without seeming to abandon or contradict their domestic values (pp. 4-5, 219). Thomas carefully positions herself within this paradigm, citing influential historiography from the 1970s and 1980s including Ellen DuBois's "The Radicalism of Woman Suffrage" (1975) and *Feminism and Suffrage* (1978); Karen Blair's *The Club Woman as Feminist* (1980); Ruth Bordin's *Woman and Temperance* (1981); Paula Giddings's *When and Where I Enter* (1984); and Nancy F. Cott's *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (1987). However, Thomas does not draw upon Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's *Within the Plantation Household (1988),* Hazel Carby's *Reconstructing Womanhood* (1987), or Lori Ginzberg's *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (1990), works that might have enabled a more critical reading of northern "progressive" reform.

Readers desiring the kind of detailed documentation that Thomas offers will find this book useful, but those looking for a revised understanding of women's progressivism may find this book disappointing. Despite its own evidence to the contrary, *The New Woman in Alabama* reiterates the dominant framework into which most historians have cast women's reform– a framework that mistakenly tends to speak in universalizing terms of "women's" reform movements and to characterize them as interracial in their potential appeal, if not in their actual composition.

University of Florida LOUISE M. NEWMAN

Howard Kester and the Struggle for Social Justice in the South, 1904-1977. By Robert F. Martin. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991. xv, 200 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $27.50.)

Throughout his career as an activist and teacher, Howard Kester saw himself fundamentally as a prophet, calling on the people of the South to recognize their social responsibilities. A Christian whose faith led him to fight for the region's downtrodden, he "prodded the conscience of the South" (p. 162). Chiefly active from the 1920s through the 1950s, Kester embraced a host of liberal causes. He investigated lynchings for the NAACP, worked with the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and called for interracial student and religious cooperation through such organizations as the YMCA and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Born and educated in Virginia, Kester early on began his quest for "a meaningful way to serve both his region and his God" (p. 4).

Kester's "pilgrimage" took him from "conservative Christian paternalism, to evangelical liberalism, to neoorthodox Christian socialism, and finally to an ill-defined religious liberalism" (p. 1). Conventionally reckoned, Kester's career was not marked by success. Not gifted as an organizer, he found it difficult to work in harness with others. Prophets, Robert Martin reminds us, can be tenacious in their convictions. The last decades of Kester's life were increasingly frustrating, as the South changed in ways he seemed unable to grasp. Martin argues, however, that Kester merits our attention as a man whose vision of interracial accord helped lay the foundation for future reformers.

The core of this biography is Kester's struggle to place his battles for social justice within a Christian framework; real reform, he believed, must address "the needs of both the spirit and the body" (p. 117). Frustrated with the plight of Arkansas sharecroppers and Tennessee miners, Kester was, for a time, attracted to socialism, running for Congress from Tennessee on the Socialist ticket in 1932. But Kester soon began to drift away from materialistic explanations of the South's problems. To Kester, society was an organic community; education and religion were the tools to change the hearts and social order of the region. No permanent reform could occur without "a spirit of Christian fraternity which transcended racial or class distinctions" (p. 160). To a later generation, Kester's ideas often seemed naive and outdated. In Martin's poignant ac-

count, Kester was a man who believed that souls rather than the class struggle should be the battleground for southern reformers.

Generally convincing and genuinely engaging, the biography could nevertheless have been a stronger work. With only 162 pages of text, Martin is sometimes unable to develop his arguments fully. Often, he relies too uncritically on Kester's own accounts and recollections of events, leaving one to wonder how others viewed them. And at times Martin drifts into the biographer's danger of letting the subject's vocabulary and analysis become his or her own. No "life and times" biography, this brief study will leave many readers wishing for a broader treatment of the context of Kester's work, given the important people and organizations with whom he worked– Reinhold Neibuhr, Alva Taylor and H. L. Mitchell among them.

In this, the first biography of Kester, Robert Martin expands our knowledge of liberal southern Protestantism and the problem of social change in the twentieth-century South. Without a doubt, this book ought to be read widely and pondered by students of southern religion and those interested in the roots of the civil rights movement. While Kester left no powerful institutional or intellectual legacy, one finishes the book unwilling to term him a failure. If this first volume in Virginia's "Minds of the New South" series is an indication of the thoughtfully chosen and well-done biographies it is to feature, students of the South have good reason to welcome its appearance.

University of Chicago TRENT A. WATTS

Feminine Sense in Southern Memoir: Smith, Glasgow, Welty, Hellman, Porter, and Hurston. By Will Brantley. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993. xii, 293 pp. Introduction, coda, notes, works cited, index. $35.00.)

In *Feminine Sense in Southern Memoir* Will Brantley analyzes the work of Lillian Smith, Ellen Glasgow, Eudora Welty, Lillian Hellman, Katherine Anne Porter, and Zora Neale Hurston in order "to situate these authors within a context of southern feminism and the more inclusive discourse of modern American liberalism." Additionally, he writes, "I illustrate the importance of ethics– of ideas imagined and realized– in their self-portraits" (p. x).

Brantley carefully draws a distinction between these women "who in their self-writing . . . suggest a tradition of liberalism and dissent" and the more dominant Agrarian movement (p. 5). The (predominantly male) Agrarians, he says, "in their devotion to a way of life rooted in myth, and in their refusal or seeming inability to confront the very real problems of racism– and sexism– in the South . . . represent one of the most clearly articulated movements in American conservatism" (p. 8).

Surveying recent studies of southern intellectual history by Richard Gray, Michael O'Brien, Richard King, and others, Brantley concludes that although these "literary critics and intellectual historians continue to undermine the value of limited definitions and discrete boundaries," they "still choose to focus overwhelmingly on the literature and intellectual life of southern white men. The southern woman of letters remains a marginal or shadowy presence in most attempts to understand, redefine, or theorize the Southern Renaissance" (pp. 8, 14).

In spite of the fact that southern women have produced many works of self-literature (autobiographies, journals, and memoirs, for example), Brantley concludes that "with the single exception of Caroline Gordon, southern women were not part of the institutionalization of criticism that received its leading impetus from southern male writers during the midpart of this century" (p. 29).

In his chapter on Lillian Smith, Brantley focuses on *Killers of the Dream,* which he describes as a confessional tract. Comparing her to W. J. Cash, Brantley says that "Smith viewed the mind of the South as something that could be explored even if it had failed to explore itself" (p. 50). In her exploration of the painful choices to be made as a member of a privileged class in the segregated South, Smith described what it was like to challenge the assumptions based on tradition held by most of her peers. As an adult, argues Brantley, Smith realized that the work of the Agrarians "had in the minds of many critics expressed the only important intellectual movement to emerge from the modern South," and she despaired of the influence of the Agrarian philosophy "that purported to confront the social needs of men and women and yet ignored the very real problems of race" (pp. 69, 71).

Brantley next compares Glasgow's *The Sheltered Life* and Welty's *One Writer's Beginnings.* Like Smith, he concludes, these two writers have "delineated the distinguishing features of a sheltered upbringing at a time when a southern woman's role was clearly proscribed

for her" (p. *87).* One of the real strengths of Brantley's chapter on Glasgow and Welty is his argument that Glasgow's autobiography has received little treatment "as a text itself" (p. 90). *The Woman Within,* "in its concern with the process of its own making. . . prefigures a major trend in postmodern literature: the tendency to make the act of creating the work an important subject of the work itself (p. 94). For those readers (including this reviewer) who have tended to dismiss this work as a self-pitying account, Brantley counters that *The Woman Within* is not simply Glasgow's account of "victimization," for "implicit in her search for art is the awareness that language is means to empowerment for the rebel within" (p. 96).

Although Welty's *One Writer's Beginnings* places more emphasis on the positive, nurturing aspects of a sheltered childhood, Brantley makes a good case for comparing her autobiographical writing with that of Glasgow. Their final purposes, he argues, are the same: "Each writer demonstrates, to use Welty's terms, that 'all serious daring starts from within' and that the product of this daring is the 'solitary core' of their identity" (p. 111).

The weakest chapter in Brantley's work treats Hellman and Porter. Although he convincingly argues that both writers were drawn in their autobiographical writing "to one important theme– the dangers of a passive collusion with evil" (p. 133), illustrated for Hellman in the McCarthy hearings and for Porter in the Sacco-Vanzetti trial and execution, Brantley stumbles into an extended and sometimes confusing discussion of the differences between memoir and autobiography as he contrasts the work of Hellman and Porter with the works previously discussed. He concludes, "The self a memoir describes may be no less whole than that of autobiography; what is generally missing from the memoir is an attempt to trace the stages in the growth of the memorialist's sense of self" (p. 142). This seems based less on his definition of the memoir than on his lack of confidence in the two writers, for he acknowledges that as a memorialist neither Hellman nor Porter "was apparently capable of complete honesty about her own past" (p. 141).

Interestingly, in his chapter on Hurston, Brantley is less critical about a writer's accuracy in self-writing: "Whatever the inconsistencies in her vision, the fact remains that Hurston defines herself within a system of ethics that transcends nation, class, and– above all else– race" (p. 225).

Brantley is not the first to note the inconsistencies in Hurston's account of her life in *Dust Trucks on a Road.* What is probably most important is the angle of his analysis of her autobiography, in which he argues that Hurston's "insistence on her own individuality" is more important than accuracy of biographical data. Hurston's work, Brantley asserts, "bears more resemblance to *The Women Within* or *One Writer's Beginnings* than to the autobiographies of African-American men such as Frederick Douglass or Richard Wright" in its attention to the exploration of self (p. 187).

Feminine Sense in Southern Memoir is an important book for directing attention at the often marginalized texts of women writers. Brantley makes a convincing case for a body of literature, often slighted, that provides a counter to the primacy of the Agrarians in southern intellectual history. Brantley concludes, "The value Glasgow places on the inner life and its relation to the outer world is another expression of the link between the writers and the self-reflexive texts I have discussed– another echo of Eudora Welty's insistence . . . that 'all serious daring starts from within'" (p. 246). In the final analysis, these are not regional but universal concerns that characterize the works of the writers treated here.

Florida State University ANNE ROWE

The Coast: A Journey Down the Atlantic Coast. By Joseph J. Thorndike. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. xix, 233 pp. Introduction, illustrations, bibliography. $19.95.)

When Joseph J. Thorndike, a founding editor of *American Heritage,* moved to Cape Cod several years ago, he decided to walk around the shore of the Cape to see how conditions had changed since Thoreau made the trip in 1849 and to see what problems beset the coast. That short trip led to his determination to explore the Atlantic coast from Quoddy Head, Maine, to Key West, Florida, an exploration that resulted in this book.

Even though Thorndike made this trip over several years and visited different spots during special times, for example South Carolina after Hurricane Hugo and Florida in winter, he presents his trip in geographical order from north to south and in a continuous description. The change of seasons may not be chronologi-

cally correct from chapter to chapter, but the north-to-south order works well.

As he heads south, Thorndike points out the great natural beauty of the coast and its geologic diversity, but he also presents the area through the eyes of artists like Winslow Homer, writers like Henry David Thoreau, and naturalists like William Bartram. This book is not a "gee, look at that beautiful sunset" kind of encomium that ignores the beer cans on the beach, but rather a well-balanced appreciation of the shore's natural beauty, the many problems of pollution that threaten that beauty, and speculation on what the future may hold for each area.

Because over 90 percent of the shore is privately owned, Thorndike does not give a mile-by-mile itinerary. In fact, he doesn't always stick to the ocean, as for example when he traces Bartram's Florida trip up the St. Johns River. The intermingling of history with current events works well, as for example when he includes the witchcraft trials of Salem and George Bush's denunciation of Boston Harbor in the 1988 presidential campaign.

The Florida section, which takes up one-fifth of the book, describes the main parts of the coast: St. Augustine (with a skeptical look at where Ponce de Leon supposedly landed), Daytona Beach, Cape Canaveral (with a hypothetical bird's-eye view of a sanderling flying north), the Treasure Coast, Palm Beach (and its emphasis on protocol), Fort Lauderdale, Miami, and the Keys.

Typical of Thorndike's casual, engaging style is this description of Fort Lauderdale: "Driving down the east coast of Florida, you have the feeling that you are passing through a land close to the border to unreality. This is not what we think of as a normal place where people work for a living (though of course most of the permanent residents do, or else the place would stop running). It is the disproportionate number of golfers, sportfishermen, shoppers, and miscellaneous idlers that create the ambience of a never-never land where Adam's curse has been repealed" (p. 212).

The use of local residents as guides, including naturalists and historians, adds an authenticity and expertise lacking from I-made-the-trip-all-by-myself travelogues. A park ranger in Maine, a fisherman in Massachusetts, a Coast Guard officer in Virginia, and a mayor in South Carolina feel strongly about their particular areas and have solutions– some unpopular with officialdom or other neighbors– that give a different perspective to the problems. He

also intersperses selections from poetry, old journals, and novels that vary the style nicely.

This is a well-written travelogue that one can easily read in one long evening in the comfort of one's home or, preferably, by the Atlantic itself. It gives a balanced overall view of how fragile the whole coast is and how different the environmental problems are from Maine to Florida.

University of Florida KEVIN M. MCCARTHY

BOOK NOTES

New in paperback from the University Press of Florida is *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeast Georgia during the Historic Period,* edited by Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor. Originally published in 1978, the volume includes essays on the Spanish-Indian relationship from 1500 to 1763, the Calusa, Tocobaga Indians and the Safety Harbor culture, patterns of acculturation and change among the Western and Eastern Timucua, Guale Indians and the impact of the Spanish mission effort, ethnoarchaeology of the Florida Seminole, and the University of Florida's oral history project with Indian tribes. *Tacachale* can be ordered for $18.95 from the press, 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611-2079.

Florida Stories: Tales from the Tropics, edited by John and Kirsten Miller, comprises twenty essays, stories, and poems from some of the country's most renowned writers. Common to the selections is the tropical attraction, entrepreneurial optimism, Latin flavor, and vitality of Florida. Readers will discover a land of paradox where paradise and desert, fantasy and reality are opposite sides of the same coin. Naturalist John James Audubon tells of the "Death of a Pirate," Nathaniel Hawthorne writes of "Ponce de Leon's Fountain of Youth," Dave Barry recounts a hilarious version of a visit to Disney World, Zora Neale Hurston describes her birthplace, and Isaac Bashevis Singer reveals the thoughts of a lonely retiree in Miami. Order *Florida Stories* from Chronicle Books, 275 Fifth Street, San Francisco, CA 94103 for $10.95.

Florida Pathfinders, edited by Lewis N. Wynne and James J. Horgan, explores the achievements of nine individuals who helped shape the history and development of Florida. The contributing authors– Tracy Revels, Emily Adams Perry, Paul S. George, Gordon Patterson, Joe Knetsch, Joe Ackerman, James Covington, Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., and Patti Bartlett– examine a diverse group of "pathfinders," from robber baron Ed Ball, whose empire encompassed duPont, the St. Joe Paper Company, and a chain of national banks, to Marion Isadore Manley, a pioneer among women archi-

tects in Florida. Paul George's essay "William M. Burdine: Pioneering Miami Merchant and Civic Leader" focuses on the dry goods pioneer's initial endeavors, which eventually led to a chain of forty-four department stores. Joe Knetsch reviews the life of U.S. Surveyor General John Westcott in "A Finder of Many Paths: John Westcott and the Internal Development of Florida." This book offers an insightful and well-rounded retrospective into the history-making processes of Florida. It is available from St. Leo College Press, P. O. Box 2304, St. Leo, FL 33574 for $15.95.

For the first time all twenty-three short stories of one of Florida's most beloved storytellers have been gathered together in a single volume. *Short Stories by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings,* edited by Rodger L. Tarr, features the hilarious tale "Benny and the Bird Dogs," the autobiographical story "A Mother in Mannville," and the O. Henry Memorial Prize-winning "Gal Young Un." Rawlings is perhaps best known for her 1939 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, *The Yearling,* about the life of a Florida Cracker, and the 1942 series of autobiographical vignettes, *Cross Creek.* But her talent for writing detailed, humorous, and insightful narratives is brought into greater focus in this complete edition. The reader is able to follow Rawlings's development as an author, beginning with her first short story published in 1931, "Cracker Chidlings," which was written three years after she moved to the backwoods of north central Florida. These stories reflect both Rawlings's personal growth and perceptions of Florida blacks and Crackers living in the early twentieth century. The book is available from the University Press of Florida, 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611 for $44.95, cloth; $24.95, paper.

"Few Americans know that United States history began in the Charlotte Harbor area," authors Lindsey Williams and U. S. Cleveland note in their recent volume, *Our Fascinating Past, Charlotte Harbor: The Early Years.* Covering a lengthy historical period– from Ponce de Leon's visit to southwest Florida in 1513 to the "last pioneers" in 1905-1920– the volume discusses the importance of the area to Indians, Spanish explorers, mariners, farmers, and American settlers. A substantial book at over 400 pages of text, the authors have interwoven an engaging narrative with interesting stories and enumerable illustrations and photographs. Order this

Charlotte Harbor Area Historical Society publication from Lindsey W. Williams, P. O. Box 2390, Port Charlotte, FL 33949 for $13.95.

Cuidad de Cigars: West Tampa, by Armando Mendez and published by the Florida Historical Society, tells the story of the dreamers and financiers whose vision and hard work built West Tampa. Men like George N. Benjamin, Hugh Campbell Macfarlane, Alonzo Charles Clewis, and John H. Drew transformed the swampy area into Florida's fifth-largest city and a major cigar manufacturing area at the turn of the century. Mendez writes of these men, their successors, and the innumerable men and women who worked in the city's tobacco industry. It is a story of wealthy entrepreneurs, common workers, and recent immigrants struggling to adjust to life in America. A concise narrative, short histories of various community leaders and cigar companies, and a list of West Tampa political leaders from 1895 to 1924 make Mendez's account an important contribution to Florida history. *Cuidad de Cigars* can be ordered from the Florida Historical Society, P. O. 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197 for $12.95.

Brian R. Rucker has written *Brick Road to Boom Town: The Story of Santa Rosa County's 'Old Brick Road,'* published by Patagonia Press. This pamphlet describes the six-mile brick roadway that extended east from Milton. Built between 1919 and 1921 and known variously as State Road No. 1, Old Spanish Trail, or Old Highway 90, the route was the first modern highway constructed in the Florida panhandle and constituted an important transportation and communication link between west Florida and the rest of the state. The booklet sells for $5.50 plus $1.35 shipping and handling and can be ordered from Patagonia Press, P. O. Box 284, Bagdad, FL 32530.

La Viece Smallwood, a feature writer for the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* has brought together a three-volume set on the early settlers of Baker County. *Once Upon a Lifetime,* vols. I and II, include previously published and original interviews and stories of individuals and their families and ancestors in Macclenny, Sanderson, Olustee, and Taylor. The third book, *Baker's Dozen,* comprises thirteen oral interviews featuring the pioneering lifestyles of area residents. The two volumes of *Once Upon a Lifetime* sell for $12 each, and *Baker's Dozen* is $15. Shipping and handling for the set of

three is $5. For more information or to order contact La Viece Smallwood, Route 1 Box 543, Macclenny, FL 32063.

Generations in Black and White, edited by Rudolph P. Byrd, captures both the photographic brilliance of Carl Van Vechten and the achievements of African Americans in the twentieth century. This book illustrates Van Vechten's admiration for African-American culture. The striking collection includes the portraits of well-known artists, performers, sports heroes, and educators, such as W. E. B. DuBois, Lena Horne, James Earl Jones, Zora Neale Hurston, and Joe Louis. A brief but informative biographical summary accompanies each photo. *Generations in Black and White* may be ordered from the University of Georgia Press, 330 Research Drive, Athens, GA 30602 for $29.95.

Doris L. Rich's *Queen Bess* traces the daring life of America's first black woman aviator, Bessie Coleman. In 1921 Coleman earned her international pilot's license in France, as no American flight school would accept African-American students. Coleman was a born daredevil and pursued her dream of aviation by performing in flying circuses, exhibition flights, and air shows. She encouraged opportunities for blacks in tours around the country, including schools, theaters, and churches in cities such as Jacksonville, Tampa, St. Petersburg, and Orlando. Along with descriptions of the pilot's persistent struggle to obtain funding and publicity for her exploits, the author also emphasizes the brash ambition that eventually led to Coleman's death in a 1926 air show test flight. This book is available from Smithsonian Institution Press, 470 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 7100, Washington, DC 20560 for $18.95.

A Confederate Nurse: The Diary of Ada W. Bacot, 1860-1863, edited by Jean V. Berlin and published by the University of South Carolina Press, is an effective portrayal of an inexorably devoted Confederate nurse. Widowed and childless, Bacot's ardent patriotism induced her to leave her South Carolina plantation and care for wounded Confederate soldiers in Charlottesville, Virginia. Her daily entries tell of the Confederate pride that inspired many southern women and provides a personal, sweeping analysis of Confederate medical policy. Bacot manages to convey a much deeper message, however. Adeptly woven into the daily events, pleasures, and hardships of her life are the issues facing most

southern white women throughout the nineteenth century: the strong yearning for financial and social autonomy, the inner battle between nationalism and fervent loyalty to one's state, and the growing irresolution concerning the institution of slavery. *A Confederate Nurse* is available from University of South Carolina Press, 1716 College Street, Columbia, SC 29208 for $29.95. [Reviewed by Genevre T. Ferrero, Miami, Florida.]

HISTORY NEWS

Awards and Honors

The Association to Preserve the Eatonville Community has received a Cultural Olympiad regional humanities award from the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games. The award acknowledges the quality of the town's humanities program since the Zora Neale Hurston Festival began there in 1990. Located about ten miles northeast of Orlando, Eatonville is the oldest incorporated municipality in America established by African Americans and maintains a hundred-year heritage of black civic leadership. The Zora Neale Hurston National Museum of Fine Arts, which focuses on African-American and African-Caribbean Florida artists, is open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. Monday through Friday. Tours of Eatonville can be arranged for groups. For more information call (407) 647-3307.

James Long has won the 1994 John M. Collier Award from the Forest History Society. Long is an investigative reporter for the Portland *Oregonian*. His "Of Grants and Greed," published in the paper on May 23, 1993, explains how nineteenth-century railroad land grants were important to today's forest economy of the Pacific Northwest.

Photographer and instructor Peter Schreyer is the winner of the 1994 Rhea Marsh/Dorothy Lockhart Smith Winter Park Research Contest. His project "Winter Park's Westside: A Living History of Places and People" will be a photographic record of places and people accompanied by a descriptive text. Mr. Schreyer's goal is to produce thirty to forty black-and-white photographs of the community. The formal presentation of his work will be in January 1995 at the Winter Park Public Library, 460 East New England Avenue, Winter Park, FL 32789.

Meetings

The ninth biennial Southern Labor Studies Conference will meet at the University of Texas at Austin in October 1995. The pro-

gram's theme is "Labor Before and After Free Trade," although papers are invited on all aspects of North American and Latin American labor studies. Proposals for sessions and individual papers are requested by December 31, 1994. Write or call Dr. Jonathan C. Brown, Institute of Latin American Studies, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX 78712; (512) 471-5551.

The tenth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, "Complicating Categories: Women, Gender, and Difference," will be held June 7-9, 1995, at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Please submit proposals in triplicate by February 1, 1995, to Dr. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Afro-American Studies Department, Harvard University, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138.

The 1995 annual meeting of the Oral History Association will be held October 19-22 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The theme is "Reflections in Oral History Research." The association invites scholars and practitioners from a range of fields and disciplines to submit proposals for individual papers, panels, round tables, workshops, and entire sessions. The deadline for submissions is December 15, 1994. Contact Dr. Michael A. Gordon, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P. O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201; (414) 229-4319.

The Southern American Studies Association is soliciting papers on the topic "Cultural Counterpoint: American Themes and Improvisation" for a conference to be held March 30-April 2, 1995, in Clearwater, Florida. Papers may address any facet of American culture: architecture, art, education, ethnicity, history, literature, material culture, music, photography, politics, popular media, regionalism, social movements, or women's studies. Proposals for complete sessions, workshops, round table discussions, and individual fifteen-minute papers are welcome. The deadline for sub mission is October 10, 1994. Send proposals to Professor Ruth A. Banes, vice president, Southern American Studies Association, c/o University of South Florida Division of Conferences and Institutes, 4202 E. Fowler Avenue, MGY 153, Tampa, FL 33620-6600. For further information call (813) 974-5731 or fax (813) 974-5421.

The Conference on the History of Women Religious is sponsoring a conference called "Beyond Convent Walls: Religious Women in Historical Context" at Cardinal Stritch College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 18-21, 1995. The conference will explore the history of women religious through comparative and historical contexts. Sessions can deal with topics which include ethnicity, education, relations with Church hierarchy, or basic spiritual tradition and orientation. Complete panels are encouraged, but individual papers will also be considered. Please submit four copies of the proposal by October 15, 1994, including the panel title, title and one-page abstract of each paper, a one-page vita for each participant, and a stamped self-addressed postcard for return on receipt of packet to Conference on the History of Women Religious, Department of History, Cardinal Stritch College, Milwaukee, WI 53217-3985.

News

Over thirty boxes containing remnants of several south Florida civilizations, some dating back 3,000 years, have been given to the Graves Museum of Archaeology and Natural History in Dania. The materials, comprising dozens of artifacts from an Indian village and burial mound, were excavated from the Margate-Blount site in the far northwest corner of unincorporated Broward County. The current excavation has sampled only 1 percent of the site but promises to provide significant insight into the early peoples of south Florida. The Graves Museum exhibits include the Tequesta Indians, marine archaeology, the pre-Hispanic Americas, and Florida geology. The museum is located at 481 South Federal Highway in Dania.

The Historical Museum of Southern Florida announces the opening of a new exhibit, "The Great Ships: Ocean Liners & Cruise Ships," which will explore Miami's maritime history and the vessels that have been a part of the cruise passenger and cargo industries. The exhibition will feature rare and antique models, paintings, and memorabilia from the 2,000-piece Gottlieb collection. Dr. Richard Gottlieb will serve as guest curator. "Great Ships: Ocean Liners & Cruise Ships," will run from February 17-June 7, 1995, at the museum, Metro-Dade Cultural Center, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami, FL 33130; (305) 375-1492.

Florida Funding Publications, Inc., has recently published the eighth edition of *A Guide to Florida State Programs,* containing over 180 grant programs available to nonprofit organizations, educational institutions, government entities, and individuals in Florida. This directory provides the only comprehensive listing of state and federal funding programs administered by the state of Florida. Each program profile includes a description, eligibility information, types of assistance, deadlines, funding availability, and more. Copies of *A Guide to Florida State Programs* are available for $80.00 at 9350 South Dixie Highway, Suite 1560, Miami, FL 33156; (305) 670-2203.

The United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, has opened a new interpretive hiking trail in the Osceola National Forest. The trail winds through pines and hardwoods, eventually finding its way to a boardwalk which crosses a swamp and ends on the edge of a lake. The walk takes visitors back 130 years to discover what logging and steam-powered railways were like in their heyday. Park employees cut and built the railroad ties and reconstructed the tramway with original track from the 1890s. Here, on the edge of Ocean Pond, John Russell and Isaac Eppinger built and operated a saw mill at the turn of the century. For additional information on this historic and scenic locale, contact the Osceola National Forest, P. O. Box 70, Olustee, FL 32072; (904) 752-2577.

A new comprehensive book catalog for genealogists, combining listings of several publishers, has been announced by Blairs' Book Service. Blairs' represents some twenty-five major publishers of genealogy and history books, plus a number of individual authors and societies. Their newly revised catalog describes some eighty books currently offered by seven publishers. The book seller is also offering specialized combined catalogs on Maryland, Texas, and Virginia. Each catalog sells for $2.00 but is free to libraries requesting single copies. For more information contact Blairs' Book Service, Route 2, Box 186A, Woodstock, VA 22664-9542.

Eliot Kleinberg, of the *Palm Beach Post,* is currently assembling a book on baseball in Florida and is looking for photographs suitable for inclusion. Please contact Mr. Kleinberg at Casa Floridiana, 6173 Woodbury Road, Boca Raton, FL 33433-3617.

The Manatee Heritage Association will celebrate Heritage Days, March 17-26, 1995. This ten-day celebration includes walking and bicycle tours, historic boat trips, train rides, open houses, living history reenactments, and quilt and flower shows. These activities are held throughout the county's many historic communities. The 1995 theme of this annual celebration is "A Salute to 150 Years of Florida Statehood." For more information or to receive a brochure about Manatee Heritage Days, write or call the association, 1405 4th Avenue West, Bradenton, FL 34205; (813) 741-4070.

Grants

The University of Kentucky announces the Martin Luther King, Jr., Prize for Research in African-American History, in the amount of $500, to be awarded biennially to an article published in the preceding two years. The next award will be made in February 1995. Scholarly articles in the field of African-American history published in the calendar years 1993 and 1994 are eligible. Submissions and nominations are invited, and the deadline is December 31, 1994. Send three copies of the submission to Martin Luther King, Jr., Prize Committee, Department of History, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY 40506-0027.

ANNUAL MEETING

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINETY-SECOND MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION WORKSHOP 1994

Sheraton Harborside Hotel
Fort Myers, Florida

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 19

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

Session 1: *National Register Nominations: A General Plan*

Chair: Emily A. Perry, associate director, Florida Historical Society

Session 2: *Making Do in a Small Museum*

Chair: Richard Beattie, Fort Myers Historical Museum

Session 3: *Historic Preservation: Yes or No?*

Chair: Fred Gaske, Florida Bureau of Historic Preservation

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SESSIONS

Session 1: *Ethnic Pathfinders*

Chair: Sandra Johnson, Pensacola Historical Society
Panel: Michelle Brown, Florida State University, "African-American Property Owners in Pensacola"; L. Glenn Westfall, Florida Junior College System, "Guerillmo Sorondo and Paulina Pedroso: Black Cubans"; and Larry Odzak, University of Florida, "Seamen-Laborers of the Gulf: The Working Culture of Florida's Spongers."

Session 2: *Law, Labor, and Justice*

Chair: William W. Rogers, Florida State University

Panel: James M. Denham, Florida Southern College, "Trials and Tribulations of Antebellum Lawmen in Florida"; Jeffrey A. Drobney, University of West Virginia, "Lumbermen and Log Sawyers: Florida's Lumbering Heritage"; Miller H. Karnes, University of Illinois, "Reconstruction and the Origins of the Convict Lease System in Florida"; and Pamela N. Gibson, Holmes Beach, "'Sin City,' Moonshine, Whiskey, and Divorce in Old Manatee County."

Session 3: *Florida: Photographic Views*

Chair: Robert E. Snyder, University of South Florida

Panel: Anne S. McCanless, University of South Florida, "Dan Sanborn: Lakeland's First Newspaper Photographer"; and Mary Beth Mobley, Hillsborough Community College," Nature Through the Lens: Plant City's Gladys Jeffcoat."

Session *4: Koreshan Unity and Utopianism*

Chair: Jo Bigelow, Koreshan Unity Foundation

Panel: Lyn Rainard, Tidewater Community College, "Cyrus Teed, Alchemist"; Jane Hogg, Koreshan Unity Historic Site, "Women's Role at the Unity"; and Gerard Wertkin, Museum of American Folk Art, "The Shakers and the Koreshans."

Friday, May 20

Session 5: *De Soto and De León*

Chair: Eliot Kleinberg, *Palm Beach Post*

Panel: Lindsey Williams, Punta Gorda, "Landing Places of de Soto and de León"; Douglas T. Peck, Bradenton, "De Leon's Doomed Encounter with Carlos, King of the Calusa"; and Anthony Q. Devereux, Pawley's Island, South Carolina, "De León's Two Voyages to Florida's West Coast."

Session 6: *A Female Perspective*

Chair: Leland Hawes, *Tampa Tribune*
Panel: Jake T. Glisson, Cross Creek, "Marjorie Rawlings's Cross Creek"; Helen Landers, Broward County Historical Commission, "Broward County's Women Pathfinders"; and Adonnica L. Toler, Florida State University, "The Angel of Mercy: Eartha M. M. White."

Session 7: *Florida: Eclectic Views*

Chair: William S. Coker, University of West Florida
Panel: Hampton Dunn, immediate past president, Florida Historical Society, "David Levy Yulee: Florida's First Senator"; George Gutierrez, Palm Harbor, "Poetic Tribute to Hernando de Soto"; and Edward A. Mueller, Jacksonville, "Steamship Lines in Florida."

Session 8: *Our Archaeological Pioneers*

Chair: Bonnie McEwan, director, San Luis Mission
Panel: Brent R. Weisman, Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, "Goggin and Griffin: The Glory Years of the 1940s"; and Patricia Griffin, St. Augustine Historical Society, "Missions and Mills: John Griffin and the Making of a Historical Archaeologist."

Session 9: *Florida Authors*

Chair: Kevin McCarthy, University of Florida
Panel: Stuart McIver, Lighthouse Point, "Hemingway's Key West"; and Anne Peyton, Florida Atlantic University, "Writing on Florida Women Writers."

Session 10: *Entrepreneurs and Innovators*

Chair: Gary Mormino, University of South Florida
Panel: Paul S. George, Miami-Dade Community College, "William Burdine: Department Store Pioneer"; and William Marina, Florida Atlantic University, "H. Wayne Huisenga and the 'New' Entrepreneurship: Issues for the Next Century."

Session 11: *Florida's Native Americans*

Chair: Raymond O. Arsenault, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg

Panel: William D. Straight, Miami, "Jacob Ernst Brecht: Missionary, Physician, and Friend to the Seminoles"; and Patsy West, Seminole-Miccosukee Photographic Archives, "W. Stanley Hanson, M.D.: White Medicine Man and the Big Cypress Seminoles."

Session 12: *Zora's Florida*

Chair: Stetson Kennedy, Jacksonville

Panel: Barbara Speisman, Florida A&M University, "Zora Neale Hurston: Southern Roots"; Karen Lucas, Florida Atlantic University, "The SaraLee Doll: Race, Dolls, and the Civil Rights Movement"; and Gordon Patterson, Florida Institute of Technology, "A Model for the Nation: Florida's Sara Lee Creech."

Session 13: *Radicals and Reformers*

Chair: J. Larry Durrence, Tallahassee

Panel: Sarah H. Brown, Atlanta, "Pensacola's Coe: A Southern Libertarian and 'Subversion' in the Sunshine State"; Brad Paul, Georgia State University, "Radical Movements in Florida: A. J. Pettigrew"; and Caroline Emmons, Florida State University, "The NAACP and the Johns Committee."

Session 14: *Unearthing Pensacola*

Chair: Thomas Muir, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board

Panel: Sandra Johnson, Pensacola Historical Society, "Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Voyages of the Explorers and Settlers of Pensacola Bay"; Judith Bense, University of West Florida, "Archaeology of the British Fort"; and William S. Coker, University of West Florida, "British Engineers and British Forts."

Session 15: *Famous Floridians*

Chair: James Schnur, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg

Panel: Tracy Revels, Wofford College, "Ed Ball and Confusion to the Enemy"; Ernest Jernigan, Central Florida Community College, "LeRoy Collins Revisited"; and Olav Thulesius, Sweden, "Thomas Edison."

Session 16: *Black Floridians*

Chair: Maxine Jones, Florida State University
Panel: Irvin D. Solomon, Edison Community College, "The Very *Beau Ideal* of Black Soldiery: The 2nd U.S. Colored Troops in South Florida"; Sue Searcy Goldman, Heritage Park, "Baskins-Danville: An African-American Community in Transition"; and Canter Brown, Jr., Florida State University, "George Washington Witherspoon: Black Political Leadership in the Post-Reconstruction Era."

Session 17: *Roads, Roofs, and Architecture*

Chair: Emily A. Perry, Florida Historical Society
Panel: Walt Marder, Florida Department of State, "Daniel Burch, John Bellamy, and the Territorial Florida Roads"; and Steven B. Rogers, Washington, DC, "The Academician and the Architect: Ludd Spivey, Frank Lloyd Wright, and the Creation of a Florida Architecture."

Session 18: *North Florida African-Americans*

Chair: Joe M. Richardson, Florida State University
Panel: Edward Keuchel, Florida State University, "Sister Mary Ann: Jacksonville's Angel of Mercy"; Gregory Padgett, Eckerd College, "Reverend C. K Steele of Tallahassee"; and Roderick D. Waters, Florida State University, "Dr. William B. Sawyer: A Pioneer of Miami's 'Colored Town.'"

Session 19: *Mary M. Bethune and Daytona*

Chair: Jan Godown, Ormond Beach
Panel: Leonard Lempel, Bethune-Cookman College, "African-American Political Participation in Old Daytona, 1876-1930"; Elaine M. Smith, Alabama State Univer-

sity, "Mary McLeod Bethune: Making An Impression on Daytona, 1904-1923"; and Christopher Linsin, Florida State University, "Something More Than A Creed: Mary McLeod Bethune's Aim of Integrated Autonomy."

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BANQUET

Presiding: Dr. David R. Colburn, president

Presentation of Awards

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History
presented to Jeffrey A. Drobney, West Virginia University

Rembert W. Patrick Book Award
presented to Jerald T. Milanich, University of Florida
and Charles Hudson, University of Georgia

Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award
presented to Kevin McCarthy, University of Florida
and Maxine D. Jones, Florida State University

LeRoy Collins Prize
presented to Heather McClenahan, University of South Florida

Caroline Mays Brevard Prize
presented to Richard England, University of South Florida

Fredrick Cubberly Prize
presented to Flordeliza Abad, Pensacola High School
and Ken Rettig, Pensacola High School

Golden Quill Awards
presented to Eliot Kleinberg, Palm Beach *Post*
Florida Trust for Historic Preservation, *Florida Heritage*
Ironwood Productions, *Florida History in Song*

Saturday, May 2 1

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

Session 20: *Trade and Development*

Chair: Edward Keuchel, Florida State University

Panel: Joe Knetsch, Bureau of Survey and Mapping, "Indian Trade, Indian Removal, and the Drainage of the Everglades: John Darling and Southern Florida"; Anne Gometz, Strozier Library, Florida State University, "James Burgess: A Life in Creek Country"; and Cecile-Marie Sastre, Florida State University, "Moses E. Levy: Trade and Development in Central Florida."

Session 21: *Early Floridians*

Chair: Lindsey Williams, Punta Gorda

Panel: Michael J. McNally, SJ, "Father Philippe de Carriere: Jesuit Pioneer on the West Coast"; Francis Commiskey, Fort Myers Historical Museum, "Pre-Columbian America and the Myth of a Utopian Society"; and J. Allison DeFoor II, Tavernier, "Odet Philippe at Tampa Bay."

Session 22: *Music, Music, Music*

Chair: Hampton Dunn, immediate past president, Florida Historical Society

Panel: Vic Knight, Delray Beach, "Reviving the Big Bands in Florida: A Pioneer's Story."

Session 23: *Florida in the Civil War*

Chair: Eric Jarvis, King's College

Panel: Bonita Deacon, University of North Florida, "Unionists in Clay County, Florida"; and Grace Erhart, Naples, "Union Strategy and the Naval Blockade at Charlotte Harbor."

Session 24: *Visitors-Observers of Note*

Chair: Patsy West, Seminole-Miccosukee Photographic Archives

Panel: Al and Shirley Bowers, Pablo Beach, "The McKinney-Hall Portraits of Seminole Indians"; and Charlotte Porter, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville, "The Gold Guide: Herbert S. Zim and Nature Readers."

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

MAY 19, 1994

The semiannual meeting of the officers and board of directors of the Florida Historical Society convened at 2:10 P.M. at the Sheraton Harborside Hotel, Fort Myers, May 19, 1994, by David R. Colburn, president. Those attending were Raymond O. Arsenault, Patricia Bartlett, Canter Brown, Jr., Hampton Dunn, Jane Dysart, Jan F. Godown, Milton Jones, Joe Knetsch, Marinus H. Latour, Stuart B. McIver, Thomas Muir, Susan R. Parker, Gordon Patterson, Daniel L. Schafer, Jerrell H. Shofner, Rebecca A. Smith, Cynthia Putnam Trefelner, Patsy West, and Lindsey Williams. Also present was Executive Director Lewis N. Wynne and *Florida Historical Quarterly* assistant editor Mark I. Greenberg. The minutes of the January 29, 1994, meeting were approved with minor corrections.

Marinus Latour presented the library committee report. He reminded those present that at the January meeting the board authorized the deaccessioning and sale of the Bard painting in order to obtain funds for the preservation and care of the Society's collections. The executive committee approved the sale for $60,000, and it was sold in May 1994. The painting will be on display at the State Street Museum in New York. Mr. Latour also reported that the committee reviewed the collections manual, which had been revised and distributed in November 1993, and found it satisfactory.

Dr. Latour gave the report for the Roesch House architectural and restoration committee. The successful bidder for the restoration of the house as headquarters for the Society was Aedile Contractors of Cocoa, with a bid of $64,484. A building permit was issued on April 1, and work began April 4. Emily Perry reported on the status of the job. Work completed includes: second floor stabilized; foundation pier replaced; all windows removed, sanded, panes glazed, and broken panes replaced; doors removed and sanded, rotten floor boards replaced; hardware cleaned and restored; water main tapped and meter installed; sewer line installed from the main to the house; rough electrical, plumbing, and framing completed, structure built in attic to house upstairs air conditioning; duct work completed; trees trimmed for electrical and

telephone lines; trees removed for new sidewalk and driveway; and the exterior paint removed.

Society members and the Brevard County community have supported the project in a variety of ways. Society member Doug Armstrong cleaned, repaired, and restored the hardware (door hinges and locks, etc.). Landscape architect Loren Rapport designed a landscape plan for the Roesch House. The local representative of Sherwin-Williams donated interior and exterior paint. The Indian River Anthropological Society excavated a cistern located on the property. Artifacts from the dig include bottles and a hand-crank from a Model A Ford. They will be displayed at the house. Ms. Perry noted that some expenses will not be covered by grants, including permits, fees, and deposits ($4,732.50), and work related to landscaping, changes to meet building codes, and unforeseen problems (approximately $16,000). According to Dr. Wynne the Society anticipated in its budgeting that some unknown expenses would arise and that grants include a 10 percent "askable" for use at the end of the project. President Colburn thanked Ms. Perry for her presence on-site and work for the restoration.

Dr. Colburn announced that *Florida Historical Quarterly* editor George Pozzetta suffered a stroke and the prognosis for recovery remains unknown. Mark Greenberg presented the *Florida Historical Quarterly* report. Dr. Pozzetta had planned the next several issues of the journal, and a disruption of publication is not expected. The October issue articles will relate to race relations in Florida. Dr. Colburn and Dr. Proctor offered their support to Mr. Greenberg until either Dr. Pozzetta resumes the editorship or other arrangements are made. A motion was made and approved to convey the Society's sympathy to Dr. Pozzetta and his family and to express appreciation to Mark Greenberg for his efforts on behalf of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.*

Dr. Colburn presented the report of the Florida 150th anniversary committee. The state of Florida has created a Florida Sesquicentennial Commission in the Department of State to be organized by George Percy. Dr. Colburn will be a member of the commission. The Jacksonville Sesquicentennial Committee has scheduled a meeting for June 6 to plan cooperative, state-wide events. Senator Bob Graham has approached the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives to schedule activities to commemorate the sesquicentennial. George Percy is interested in a number of public programs. Dr. Colburn reported that the

Florida Humanities Council has expressed an interest in working with the Society to develop thirty-second-to-one-minute media spots highlighting the history of Florida.

The Society will convene in Tallahassee for its 1995 annual meeting, which will have a sesquicentennial theme. Joe Knetsch announced some of the plans for the 1995 meeting. Several organizations have volunteered to serve as sponsors, and tours are being planned. The meeting dates and hotel have not yet been selected. Nick Wynne reported that the Florida History Fair has expressed an interest in meeting jointly with the Society.

Dr. Jane Dysart, chair of the nominations committee, presented the following slate: president, Marinus H. Latour; president-elect, J. Larry Durrence; vice president, Joe Knetsch; secretary, Patricia Bartlett; board members, Jenifer Marx, Patrick D. Smith, Thomas Muir, Larry E. Rivers, Maxine D. Jones, José Fernández, Robert A. Taylor, Joe A. Ackerman, Jr., James M. Roth, James M. Denham. There followed a discussion of the nominations and the nominations process, particularly methods of communication among committee members and board members. A motion was made and approved, with one abstention, to accept the slate.

Dr. Wynne presented the executive director's report. During the past four months, the Roesch House restoration has been the major activity. He is exploring the possible acquisition of property in Eau Gallie for housing the Society library. Judge James Knott is donating $10,000, either for the library or the Roesch House.

Membership brochures have been mailed to minority groups and to various organizations in Eau Gallie. Board members are also recruiting new members. Dr. Wynne asked for mailing lists for membership recruitment. Dr. Colburn encouraged members to distribute membership brochures when speaking to groups throughout the state. Dr. Wynne suggested that each board member set a goal of recruiting five new members in the coming year. Dr. Wynne asked all board members to promote subscriptions to *Journeys for the Junior Historian.* Dr. Wynne also announced that the Society, with the approval of the publications committee, facilitated the publication of a history of the cigar industry. The publication was underwritten, and the Society will receive any profits. Proceeds will be used for local history publications, The policy and procedures for approval of publications were briefly discussed.

Dr. Colburn announced that Ann Henderson, director of the Florida Humanities Council, will be the banquet speaker.

Those present applauded outgoing President Colburn.

The meeting adjourned at 3:30 P.M.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING

MAY 21, 1994

The meeting was called to order at 8:45 A.M. at the Sheraton Harborside Hotel, Fort Myers, May 21, 1994, by David R. Colburn, president.

Nominations committee chair Jane Dysart presented the following slate of officers and board members: president, Marinus H. Latour, president-elect; J. Larry Durrence; vice president, Joe Knetsch; secretary, Patricia Bartlett; board members, Jenifer Marx, Patrick D. Smith, Thomas Muir, Larry E. Rivers, Maxine D. Jones, José Fernández, Robert A. Taylor, Joe A. Ackerman, Jr., James M. Roth, James M. Denham. A motion was made and approved to elect the slate.

Dr. Joe Knetsch submitted the following resolution:

"Whereas, the mission and function of the Florida Historical Society is to research and share the enjoyment of our common heritage with all Floridians, and

"Whereas, the citizens of Florida and the Florida Historical Society have benefited greatly from the fruits of the labors of many members, teachers, and researchers, and

"Whereas, the toil and labor of many have aided the Florida Historical Society in attempting to achieve its mission and function of spreading the knowledge of Florida's history and heritage,

"Therefore, Be It Resolved, that the following members and outstanding citizens of Florida have contributed greatly to the expansion and enjoyment of the knowledge of Florida history and their departure from this life has left a deeply felt void in the hearts and souls of those who remain:

"Laura Elizabeth "Betty" Bruce, Glenn Dill, Herbert J. "Jack" Doherty, Jr., John W. Griffin, Anthony "Tony" Pizzo, E. A. "Frog" Smith, and R. R. Templeton." A motion was made and approved to adopt the resolution. Copies of the resolution will be sent to the families of the deceased.

Dr. Colburn reported that editor of the *Florida Historical Quurterly* George Pozzetta had died the previous day. A motion was made and approved to prepare and send a resolution to his wife and family in appreciation of his service to the Society.

Joe Knetsch moved that a resolution be prepared and sent concerning the impending closure of the Fort Myers Historical Museum and in support of attempts to secure continued funding for the museum. The motion was approved.

Dr. Knetsch is chairman of the local arrangements committee for the 1995 annual meeting in Tallahassee. The Tallahassee Museum of History and Science will host one session. Organizations sponsoring the meeting include the Tallahassee Historical Society, the Florida Heritage Foundation, and the Greater Tallahassee Historic Preservation Board. Tours and walking tours are being planned.

President Colburn recognized Jean McNeary, who will coordinate the Cubberly Prize and serve on the sesquicentennial committee.

Dr. Colburn thanked board members for serving with him, and he thanked Nick Wynne for his work. He turned the meeting over to incoming president Marinus Latour. Dr. Latour thanked Dr. Colburn for his efforts. He has asked Dr. Colburn to continue his leadership on the sesquicentennial efforts. He thanked Emily Perry for her work on the restoration of the Roesch House.

Eliot Kleinberg informed those attending that the morning newspaper had reported that the oldest house in Fort Myers had been razed. He suggested that societies "put a spin" on local events and situations for journalists and newspapers. Those present discussed the razing and the suggestion.

The meeting was adjourned at 9:05 A.M.

TREASURER'S REPORT

January 1, 1993-December 31, 1993

Current Assets:	
Checking Account– Society..	$ 45,285
Checking Account– Confederation	516
Special Account– Interest Bearing	19,005
Dean Witter Investments	44,853
Mid-South Investment	180
Inventory	$ 25,727
Total Current Assets	135,566
Fixed Assets:	
Office Equipment	10,776
Furniture & Fixtures	3,690
Accumulated Depreciation	(11,630)
Total Fixed Assets	2,836
TOTAL ASSETS	138,402
Current Liabilities:	
Accounts Payable	3,636
Total Current Liabilities	3,636
Long-Term Liabilities:	
U.S.F. Long-Term debt	4,756
Total Long-Term Liabilities . .	4,756
TOTAL LIABILITIES	8,392
Fund Balance:	
Fund Balances	52,706
Excess (deficit) for year	77,304
Total Fund Balance	130,010
TOTAL LIABILITIES & FUND BALANCE	138,402
Revenues:	
Membership Income	46,274
Quarterly Income	4,316
Annual Meeting Income	7,472
Annual Meeting Misc. Income	500
Annual Meeting N.A.M. Tour	165
Annual Meeting Fort Pickens Tour	210
Annual Meeting Walking Tour	90
Florida Portrait Book Sales	717
Florida Portrait Royalties	528
Proceedings Book Sales	270
Dividend Income	1,178
Collection Presentation Income	85
Roesch Pres Grant S3066 Income..	18,734
Grant S3066 Interest Income	29
Roesch Pres Grant S4019 Income	2,122
Grant S4019 Interest Income	10
Lowry Grant Income	13,822
Colonial Document Grant Income	1,200

Income– Research	59
Income– Publication Sales	285
Income– Annual Appeal	9,665
Income– Contrib. to Publishing	475
Income– US .F. for Services	3,750
Income– Melbourne Endowment	100,000
Miscellaneous Income	67
TOTAL REVENUES	222,023

Expenses:

Mem. Recr. & Retent. Printing Exp.	$ 1,452
Mem. Recr. & Retent. Postage Exp.	354
Quarterly Expenses	14,106
Society Report Expenses	5,963
Journeys Expenses	3,946
Journeys – Editor's Stipend	500
Annual Meeting Expenses	7,795
Proceedings Expenses	1,081
Award Expenses	1,906
Collection Preservation Expenses	8,722
Melbourne Endowment Expenses	8,640
Roesch Pres. Grant Expenses	1,890
Lowry Grant Expenses	7,648
Annual Appeal Expenses	347
Board of Directors' Expenses	363
Executive Director's Expenses	1,184
Exec. Dir. Expenses– Melbourne	655
Associate Director's Expenses	1,512
Golden Quill Award Expenses	125
Office Exp.– Salary– Exec. Dir.	33,000
Office Exp.– Salary– Assoc. Dir.	8,324
Office Exp.– Payroll Taxes	3,361
Office Exp.– Unempl. Taxes	34
Office Exp.– Medical Insurance	3,479
Office Exp.– Retire. Exec. Dir.	2,000
Office Exp.– Retire. Assoc. Dir.	500
Office Exp.– Clerical Salary	700
Office Exp.– Other	23,768
Depreciation Expense	1,364
TOTAL EXPENSES	144,719
NET INCOME	77,304

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1994		
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	Louisville, KY
1995		
Jan. 5-8	American Historical Association	Chicago, IL
Feb. 6-12	Florida Archaeology Week	
March 30-April 2	Organization of American Historians	Washington, DC
May 18	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Tallahassee, FL
May 18-21	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 93RD MEETING	Tallahassee, FL
June 7-9	Berkshire Conference on the History of Women	Chapel Hill, NC
June 11-15	National History Day	College Park, MD
Sept. 7-9	American Association for State and Local History	Saratoga Spgs., NY
Oct. 19-22	Oral History Association	Milwaukee, WI

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University Station, Gainesville, FL 32604

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10. Owner *(If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereafter the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) (Do Not Leave Blank.)*

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
Florida Historical Society	P.O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197

11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities. If none, check here. ☐ None

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
None	

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☒ Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months
☐ Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months
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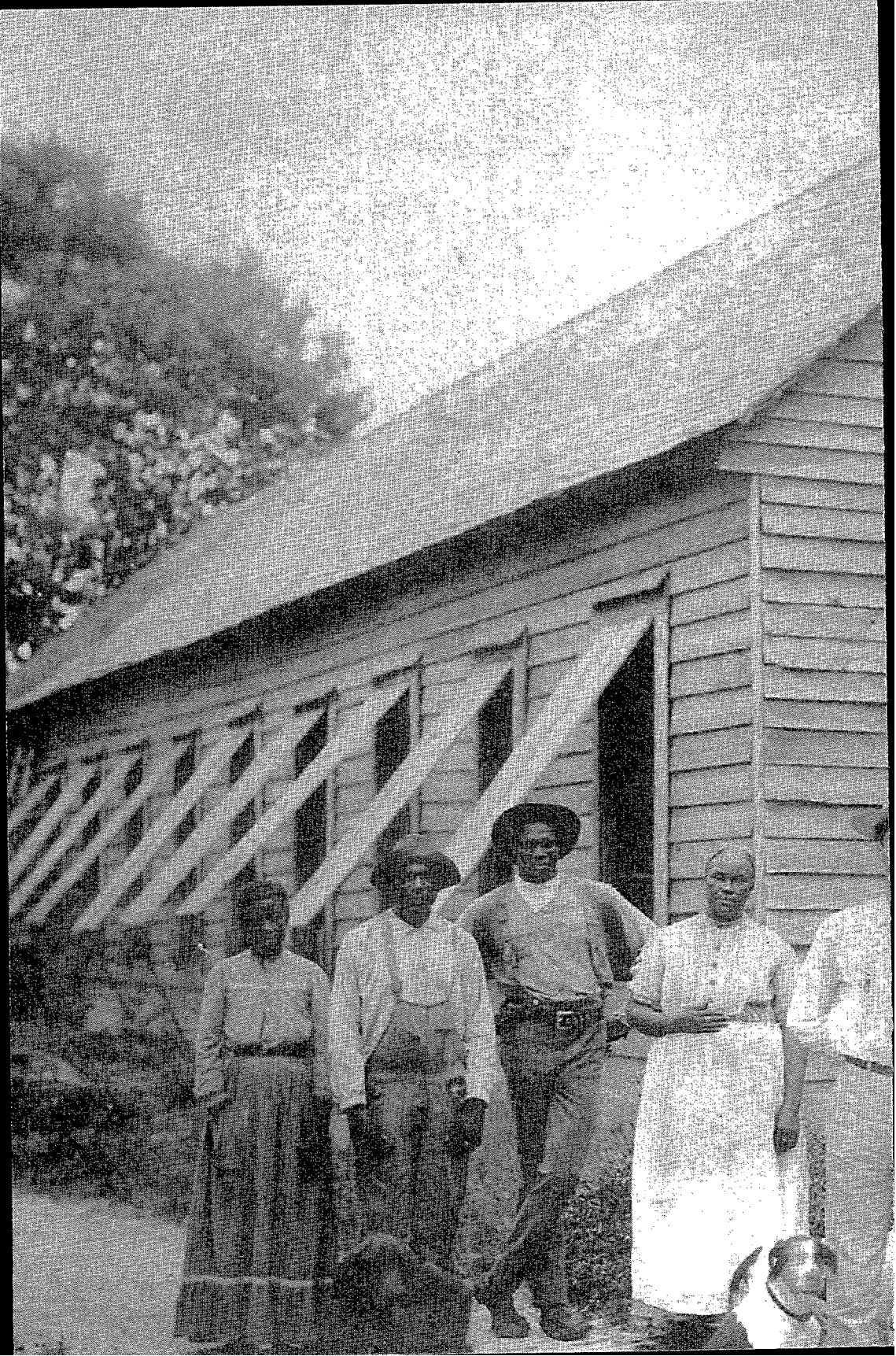
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