



THE
FLORIDA
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COVER

A young Samuel Proctor stands with his father in their grocery store on Myrtle Avenue in Jacksonville, c. early 1920s. Mrs. Proctor looks on from behind the cash register. Jack and Celia Proctor's family-run establishment was typical of small neighborhood stores throughout the South.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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This special issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is dedicated to Samuel Proctor, editor, 1963-1993.

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

AFTER thirty years of service Dr. Samuel Proctor stepped down from the editorship of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* in June 1993. This event marked a special point not only in his long and distinguished career but also in the history of the Florida Historical Society. Accordingly, this issue of the *Quarterly* is dedicated to Samuel Proctor—“Sam” to his many friends—and to the many years that he has faithfully and effectively guided the journal's fortunes.

In addition to making formal announcement of this issue's special purpose, this short foreword provides an opportunity to acquaint readers with the many steps involved in editing a state historical journal. Such a recounting can more clearly illuminate the nature of Sam's editorship over the past three decades. Most readers understandably know little of the inner workings of publishing ventures. Even authors who publish regularly in journals do not always appreciate the many steps that go into editing a quality scholarly journal. And under Sam Proctor's leadership the *Florida Historical Quarterly* has been noted for its high standards and editorial excellence.

The editor of a state historical journal is required to fill many roles, a number of which have little to do with the actual business of producing journal issues. The editor must be a promoter and spokesman for state history, continually prodding and cajoling interested people to explore the many unexamined aspects of the state's past. Sam's relentless and good-natured badgering of prospective authors (“When will I have the article on my desk?”) was legendary. This practice not only encouraged aspiring authors but also ensured the continued flow of quality writing into the journal's offices. Sam knew that, rain or shine, the need to publish four issues each year was always present, and deadlines ever loomed on the horizon.

Any journal serving a state as large and diverse as Florida is guaranteed to have a broad range of articles coming to its offices. Indeed, all kinds of submissions arrive at the editor's desk, requiring judgment and not inconsiderable tact in framing appropriate responses. Oftentimes, submissions require substantial work before they are able to reach the printed state. Sam's ability to

recognize the outlines of a potentially valuable article in a mass of undigested material was well known, as was his facility to work with authors and convince them of the necessity for revisions. The latter is a delicate art that not everyone masters. Authors differ widely in their willingness to accept comment and criticisms, no matter how carefully couched or delicately phrased. In these dealings, Sam's editorial thick skin and reserves of patience were handy attributes.

A particular hallmark of the *Quarterly* has been the quality and quantity of its book reviews. Sam was able to develop an extraordinary network of professional reviewers from around the country. This enabled him to supply readers with comprehensive insight into Florida history and the history of the South generally. Thus the journal has provided a means to understand developments in the state on a much wider stage. Longtime readers of the journal are well aware of these facts, but what is perhaps less well known is the amount of work needed to build, operate, and sustain such a system. Most journals have an assistant editor assigned solely to oversee book reviews because of the large amount of correspondence and detail work required to order volumes, select and assign them to reviewers, monitor completion, and ensure quality. This has never been the case with the *Quarterly* since Sam has accomplished all of this work with only the help of a half-time graduate assistant.

Sam has also found time in the midst of these many activities to write the Book Notes and History News sections of every issue during his tenure as editor. Designed to provide readers with as full a reporting of history-related activities in the state as possible, these tasks also required substantial correspondence, editorial time, and attention to detail. The same can be said of the need to find, select, and print appropriate photographs that accompany articles and grace the front covers of journal issues; respond to requests for reprint permissions; answer general questions on Florida history, editorial policies, and research techniques; and plan special issues.

The journal also fills a role in graduate student training. Graduate student assistants have worked with all phases of journal production, receiving in the process invaluable instruction in their craft as professional historians. Over the course of his editorship Sam has trained and supervised seventeen graduate

editorial assistants, imparting to them invaluable experience in journal editing and marking their early careers in special ways.

A measure of Sam Proctor's ability to master these diverse demands is evidenced in the numbers. Since Sam became editor in 1963 he has overseen the production of thirty-one volumes of the journal, which have encompassed 123 separate numbers. Included in these volumes are 575 individual articles, 2,026 book reviews, and 1,587 book notes. The total number of pages involved in this massive effort amount to 15,795. Simply to list the totals of articles, issues, and pages gives an impressive insight into the work accomplished, but it is incomplete. Not a few of the journal issues have been special publications focusing attention on important themes and events, and each has imposed its own set of production and editing problems.

The contents of this dedicatory issue have special relevance to Sam Proctor's career as editor of the *Quarterly*. The three research articles appearing within are written by former students (Canter Brown, Steven Kerber, and Peter Klingman) who worked under Sam in their degree programs and served as editorial assistants at the journal. Thus all three encountered Sam in his roles as editor and graduate mentor. Reflecting their historical training received under Sam, each has written about aspects of Florida political history, engaging themes that have long interested their advisor. Also contributing to this issue are longtime colleagues and friends at the University of Florida who have worked with Sam in many different contexts. Dr. Michael Gannon has supplied a personal sketch of Sam's career, and Dr. David Colburn has contributed a substantial review essay, which Sam commissioned as one of his last acts as editor.

In closing, this special dedicatory issue formally recognizes that the pages of the *Quarterly* have benefitted immensely from Sam's diligence and professionalism over the past thirty years. Now that he is moving into a well-deserved retirement, all readers of the journal join together to thank him for his many contributions and to wish him a happy and productive future.

George E. Pozzetta

SAMUEL PROCTOR
EDITOR, *FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*
1963-1993: A TRIBUTE

by MICHAEL GANNON

IN any enumeration of American historians of Florida who have significantly advanced the craft and expanded the field, one would name George Rainsford Fairbanks (1820-1906), our state's first serious historian in the English language and charter member of the Historical Society of Florida in 1856; Thomas Buckingham Smith (1810-1871), first American scholar to collect and copy documentary materials for the history of Florida from archives in Spain; Woodbury Lowery (1853- 1906), whose two volumes, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States*,¹ first placed Florida historiography on a professional footing and established standards of research and citation that impress even today; Philip Keyes Yonge (1850-1934) and his son Julien C. Yonge (1879-1962), who assembled the first large collection of Florida books and manuscripts— eventually to form the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History— in their home at Pensacola; James Alexander Robertson (1873-1939), editor, translator, and executive secretary of the Florida State Historical Society, in Deland, who oversaw the publication of nine handsome volumes in which he presented the work of such scholars as Jeannette Thurber Connor and Herbert Ingram Priestley; and Rembert W. Patrick, who succeeded Julien C. Yonge as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* in 1955-1962 and, in addition to his own several books in the field, served as general editor of the twelve volumes that made up the Florida Facsimile & Reprint Series during the quadricentennial years, 1964-1965.

Michael Gannon is distinguished service professor of history, University of Florida.

1. Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, Florida, 1562-1574* (New York, 1905); *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561* (New York, 1911).

Other individual scholars, writers, and teachers who contributed to the development of Florida history as a discipline might be named in the period prior to the quadricentennial, but not all, it could be argued, had the same seminal and nurturing influence on the field as those named above. Not all have had the same opportunity to elevate the position of Florida history to a new level of scholarly respectability. Nor have all had the same success in championing Florida history to a point where it confounded those more precious of our colleagues who would denigrate state and local studies as a lesser form of history.

Add now to that distinguished roster the name Samuel Proctor: author, classroom teacher, dissertation director, conference organizer and lecturer, facsimile series editor, oral history pioneer, and, perhaps most notable, editor since 1963 of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, a position from which he retired in June 1993.

Sam has had his greatest impact as patron and inspirational leader of Florida historical studies—“igniter” as he likes to say. Who among us who raise pens or touch keyboards in service to Florida history has not known his guidance, his encouragement, his persuasion, perhaps even his goading? For this he has been thanked in innumerable books and in the twenty-odd dissertations and theses that he has directed, not to mention in the correspondence he has received from scores of authors whom he brought to print in the *Quarterly*. And where that journal is concerned, let us be candid. How many of us have been saved from an error of fact, a typo, or an infelicitous expression by his judicious pencil? Our number is legion. Ave Proctor, we who were about to err salute you!

While it may have been the *Quarterly*, now rightly regarded as one of the finest state historical publications in the country, where Sam especially imprinted his signature, one should not forget that he was always preeminently and purposefully a teacher. In 1993 he closed out an undergraduate classroom career that began in 1946 when, fresh from wartime service and armed with a master of arts degree, he joined the faculty of the American Institutions program at Gainesville.

From 1949 to the early 1970s he taught Florida history to a not always eagerly predisposed roomful of students, excepting, of course, the occasional Bob Graham who coveted what Sam knew about Florida’s governors and senators. It must be said as

well that many students, who in the beginning had no special interest in the subject, under Sam's tutelage became enthusiasts and veritable experts in the field, as attested to by irritated student car mates on vacation drives home through assorted historic regions.

From 1971 to 1993 he also taught the history of the South and in that course, too, prepared thousands of students who entered graduate school, business, or the professions to understand the background of a region in which most would build their lives.

In 1967, intrigued by the fact that numerous important Florida political figures were still alive, unlike former Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward (1857-1910) on whom he wrote a splendid book reprinted this year² and for whose life and administration he had to depend exclusively on documentation, Sam took an interest in preserving their recollections on electronic tape. To that end he attended that year a pioneer oral history conference at Columbia University where, over the course of three or four days, he rubbed shoulders with many like-minded scholars and publishers, including such notables as Allan Nevins and Alfred A. Knopf. A professional association developed from that conference, and Sam became one of its charter members.

Back at Gainesville, in an office supplied by the library and with a "home-made" tape recorder supplied by University technicians, Sam recorded his first oral history interview with Marna Brady, former World War II Marine Corps major and first dean of women at UF, which had become coeducational in 1947. Sam realized that what he got on tape from Brady went substantially beyond what existed in manuscripts and printed sources—"added leaves to the tree," as he put it. He then embarked on a carefully prepared series of interviews with UF-related persons that took him to 1971.

In that year the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project commissioned Sam to undertake an oral history of the Seminole people of Florida. With assistance from history chair John K. Mahon, anthropology chair Charles H. Fairbanks, and an-

2. Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, 1950; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1993).

thropology graduate student Charles Hoffman, Sam drew up a five-year plan and a budget of \$240,000. Subsequently, he and Mahon established a Center for the Study of Southeastern Indians, and, with Duke Foundation support, the two expanded the oral history project to include the various Indian groups that lived south of Virginia and east of the Mississippi. The result to date is 800 Native American interviews, preserved on tape and transcribed on paper.

At the conclusion of the Duke project, Sam concentrated his oral history resources on Florida figures in government, business, education, philanthropy, religion, and civil rights. At the date of this writing, his more than 3,000 taped and transcribed interviews of all kinds form the largest oral history collection in the South and one of the major collections in the country. The Oral History Program is located in the Florida Museum of Natural History, where Sam became curator of history in 1975 and where he continues to direct the project.

Thanks to Sam's research, UF was able to celebrate its centennial in 1953. Through catalogs, correspondence, and pictures, together with interviews, he was able to trace the University's origins to the East Florida Seminary—founded at Ocala in 1853 and relocated to Gainesville in 1853-1905—and to other parent institutions east of the Suwannee River: Florida Agricultural College in Lake City, South Florida Military College in Bartow, and St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School. His resulting collection of documents, which included papers of Gilbert Dennis Kingsbury, first principal of the East Florida Seminary, enabled Sam both to establish the first UF institutional archive and to write his doctoral dissertation, "The University of Florida, Its Early Years" (1958). University of Florida President J. Hillis Miller appointed him university historian, a position he still holds.

In the late 1960s Sam and UF historic preservation architect Blair Reeves helped organize a state-wide review committee for the National Register of Historic Places and served as its first two members. Later, Sam and Reeves, joined by preservation law expert Roy Hunt from the Law School, worked to save the original but deteriorating collegiate Gothic buildings of UF's central campus from the wrecker's ball: Anderson, Peabody, Floyd, and Flint halls. They were helped both by the 1973-1974 recession, when money for demolition and new construction was

in short supply, and by legislative neglect. When, earlier, the University Auditorium was scheduled for demolition, it was Sam who wrote a history of the building that enabled President Stephen C. O'Connell to save the structure, which in reconditioned form, is now the gem of the campus.

Appointed by Governor Claude Kirk and reappointed by Governor Reubin Askew, Sam served as chair of the Publications Committee of the State of Florida Bicentennial Commission in 1976 and the years preceding. With funds made available by the state (from horse racing receipts), Sam was able to produce, as general editor, twenty-five facsimile volumes (the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series, published by the University Press of Florida) which covered the entire history of the state. A specialist wrote an introduction (and index if one was lacking) for each volume. Sam's committee commissioned J. Leitch Wright, of Florida State University, to research and write *Florida in the American Revolution*, published in 1975,³ and encouraged counties to compile and to write their histories; six did so. The committee also sponsored, and Sam organized, five Bicentennial conferences, all the proceedings from which were published. Overall, in a Bicentennial that became characterized nationally by a lot of kitsch, waste, and political posturing, Florida's observance exhibited a considerable dignity and left a lasting contribution, thanks in great part to Sam's committee.

Many other achievements mark Sam's career, too numerous to be listed in this appreciation, but one should not overlook his co-founding in 1979— with Dr. Terry McCoy, currently director of the Center for Latin American Studies at UF, and Michael Gannon— of the Spain-Florida Alliance (Alianza España-Florida), which makes possible each year the academic exchange of faculty members and graduate students as well as biennial conferences that alternate between Gainesville and cities in Spain. Also noteworthy is his long-time support of the Center for Jewish Studies at UF, for which he has raised a quarter of a million dollars; his presidency of the Southern Jewish Historical Society and his service on a number of national committees of the American Jewish Historical Society; his establishment in the University of Florida Foundation of the Samuel Proctor Fellows Endowment

3. J. Leitch Wright, *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville, 1975).

for graduate students in history, three family scholarships in the Spessard Holland Law Center, one scholarship in the Department of History, and the Samuel Proctor Teaching Award, endowed by former student Perry Franklin of Tampa; his service as chair of numerous UF committees; his appointment as the University's second distinguished service professor; and his reception in 1986 of UF's Distinguished Alumnus Award.

Members of the Florida Historical Society know Sam primarily as editor of the *Quarterly*, and it is his retirement from that position that prompts this recital of his other, multiple contributions to the people of Florida. Thus members of the Society may see Sam's service as editor against the rich and varied background of his general career accomplishments and understand how privileged the Society has been to have such a person at the helm of its professional journal.

Add to that success story his many fine personal qualities that have identified him as a Gentleman of the Old School and have endeared him to us all— his generous spirit, his concern for others, his chivalry, his irrepressible good humor, his kindly wit, and his best of all attributes: his devoted wife, Bessie.

For all that he is and all that he has done, we pay him heartfelt thanks. Those who work in the vineyard of Florida history will always take pride that we labor alongside Samuel Proctor.

CARPETBAGGER INTRIGUES, BLACK LEADERSHIP, AND A SOUTHERN LOYALIST TRIUMPH: FLORIDA'S GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION OF 1872

by CANTER BROWN, JR.

CARPETBAGGER reputations suffered greatly for most of the century following the end of Reconstruction. Within the past few decades, however, historians have reexamined the careers of many of these individuals and discovered that they made more positive contributions to southern life than previously thought.¹ On the regional level this trend was exemplified by the 1988 publication of Richard N. Current's *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers: A Reinterpretation*. In Florida, revisionist study was launched in the 1960s and 1970s when Joe M. Richardson and Jerrell H. Shofner offered new and comprehensive treatments of the period.² Sarah Whitmer Foster and John T. Foster, Jr., among others, have furthered these efforts by focusing upon the achievements of ministers and adherents of the Northern Methodist Church and of teachers and social activists such as Chloe Merrick.³

Canter Brown, Jr., is a doctoral candidate, Department of History, Florida State University, and adjunct instructor, Department of History and Political Science, Florida A&M University. He is writing a biography of Florida governor Ossian Bingley Hart and a study of the state's black political leadership in the post-Civil War era.

1. Richard Nelson Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers: A Reinterpretation* (New York, 1988). See also Eric Foner, *Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (New York, 1988).
2. Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965; reprint ed., Tampa, 1973); Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974).
3. John T. Foster, Jr., Herbert B. Whitmer, Jr., and Sarah W. Foster, "Tourism Was Not the Only Purpose: Jacksonville Republicans and Newark's *Sentinel of Freedom*," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63 (January 1985), 318-24; John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah W. Foster, "John Sanford Swaim: A Life at the Beginning of Modern Florida," *Methodist History* 26 (July 1988), 229-40; John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah Whitmer Foster, "The Last Shall Be First: Northern Methodists in Reconstruction Jacksonville," *Florida Historical*



Governor Harrison Reed. Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

These studies have improved the carpetbaggers' image and undermined tales of "grotesque carnival[s] of corruption," but in some instances the point has been taken too far.⁴ Current's depiction of Florida governor Harrison Reed as an exemplar of maligned but basically honest and consistently well-intentioned political leadership is an example. During Reed's lifetime his reputation even among fellow Republicans included charges of mismanagement and corruption. T. Thomas Fortune, New York editor and son of Representative Emanuel Fortune, voiced the sentiments of many Florida blacks on the governor's qualities. "Gov. Reed never has succeeded at anything but getting himself, his friends and the Republican party in trouble," Fortune asserted in 1883, "[He] never did anything well in his life."⁵ Of northern-born leadership generally, he added, "The black voters of Florida and of all the South were true to the carpet-baggers and the national Republican machine, but the carpet-baggers, like true rogues, were true only to themselves."⁶

Fortune's animosity may be difficult to understand for persons aware that, for most of Reed's administration, his strongest and most reliable support came from black leaders. Reasons for this alienation relate directly to the policies pursued by Reed and other Florida carpetbaggers. Consideration of the events leading up to the 1872 gubernatorial election permits examination of these courses of conduct and affords a mirror against which Reed's reputation and those of other prominent carpet-baggers may be assessed.

Reed's 1872 political problems were grounded in events occurring in the first months of his administration. The overwhelming majority of the state's Republican voters consisted of blacks, although between 1,500 and 3,000 southern Loyalists and 400 to 500 "Northern men" also supported the party.⁷ Still, Reed

Quarterly 70 (January 1992), 265-80; and Sarah Whitmer Foster and John T. Foster, Jr., "Chloe Merrick Reed: Freedom's First Lady," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 71 (January 1993), 279-99.

4. Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, foreword.

5. *New York Globe*, May 12, 1883.

6. *New York Freeman*, February 13, 1886.

7. William Watson Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1964) 479n; Patricia P. Clark, "Florida, 'Our Own Italy': James F. B. Marshall's Post-Civil War Letters to Edward Everett Hale," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59 (July 1980), 53-71.

quickly appealed to white conservatives for support by appointing secessionists to key state and local offices, vetoing a civil rights bill, and subsequently revoking executive appointments for some black and southern Loyalist legislators who challenged his actions. "There are certain elements in the Republican party whose interests have not been subserved— who have not been treated with proper consideration," charged a Tampa man. "I refer to the colored people and what is known as the Southern Loyalists."⁸ Thereafter, Reed's policies tilted back and forth between white conservatives and Republicans according to his political needs.⁹

Factionalism within the carpetbag community contributed to the see-saw nature of Reed's policies. Within a few months of the 1868 advent of Republican rule, it had split into two camps. One, dependent upon the governor's powers of appointment, was centered upon Reed. The second—known as the Osborn Ring— consisted primarily of federal officeholders obligated to carpetbag United States Senator Thomas W. Osborn and his followers. The large block of southern Loyalist voters, informally led by Associate Supreme Court Justice Ossian Bingley Hart, complicated the situation. Membership of the various factions overlapped at times and could be quite volatile.¹⁰

The interplay among these factions and between the party and its Conservative or Democratic opposition on several occasions resulted in attempts to impeach Reed. One effort in 1870 was especially important. The Osborn Ring moved against Reed partly from the senator's frustration over Reed's veto of financial schemes and partly from resentments by Osborn ally and fellow carpetbagger William J. Purman at the governor's refusal to provide assistance in fighting widespread and increasingly violent attacks against Republicans. Their allegations charged that Reed had been corruptly involved with various railroad backers, including former Democratic United States Senator David Levy Yulee, North Carolina entrepreneur George W. Swepson, and

8. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 196-204; *New York Times*, August 13, 1868; *Tampa Florida Peninsular*, August 27, 1868.

9. See Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 196.

10. See *Ibid.*; John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida After the Close of the Civil War* (Jacksonville, 1888; reprint ed., Kennesaw, GA, 1959); and Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*.



United States Senator Thomas Ward Osborn. *Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*



Governor Ossian Bingley Hart. *Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

Swepson's associate and Reed's friend former Union General Milton S. Littlefield.¹¹

Impeachment maneuverings proved complex and personal. House Speaker and Osborn Ring member Marcellus Stearns led the pro-impeachment forces, but black and Loyalist leaders supportive of the governor beat them back. Reportedly, a liberal distribution of railroad funds ensured the outcome. Perhaps more significantly, the truce arrived at between the Reed and Osborn men seemingly anticipated the governor's approval of massive state land grants to internal improvement companies controlled by Osborn, Reed, Purman, Stearns, and other carpet-baggers. Osborn's Great Southern Railway, intended as a line down the interior of the Florida peninsula, constituted one of the larger projects.¹²

Popular indignation at apparent corruption surrounding the land-grant schemes was exacerbated in May 1870 when Reed convened a special session of the legislature to aid Swepson's and Littlefield's interests and, thereafter, transferred to them \$4,000,000 in bonds. By summer's end even many northern-born citizens were disgusted with the avaricious scramble. "Taxes are getting to be enormous," wrote one such man, "and all to enrich a lot of thieves who for the sake of office call themselves Republicans."¹³ Added a Jacksonville resident, "Reed is already reaping the reward of his corruption and his thievings. He . . . is held in utter contempt by men of every party, class or color."¹⁴

The public uproar jeopardized Republican prospects in the November 1870 elections. Black leaders particularly were

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11. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 211-12; *Tampa Sunland Tribune*, April 5, October 30, November 27, 1879. The April 5, 1879, reference is found in a clipping in box 38, David Levy Yulee Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
 12. *Savannah Daily Republican*, March 11, 1870; *Laws of Florida* (1870), 54-58; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, April 15, 29, 1871.
 13. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 212-13, 247; Jonathan Daniels, *Prince of Carpet-baggers* (Philadelphia, 1958), 87-92, 250-51; *Savannah Morning News*, March 8, 10, 1870; *Savannah Daily Republican*, June 7, 9, 1870; and Ambrose B. Hart to "My dear Bro. Ed," September 2, 1870, Ambrose B. Hart Letters, P. K. Yonge Library.
 14. *Savannah Morning News*, October 11, 1870. For more on Swepson and Littlefield, see Paul E. Fenlon, "The Notorious Swepson-Littlefield Fraud: Railroad Financing in Florida, 1868- 1871," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 32 (April 1954), 231-61.

alarmed, and at the state party convention in August an independent block of their delegates coalesced around African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church elder and state senator Charles H. Pearce. They exerted their influence against Osborn- and Purman-backed candidates and threw the congressional nomination to black state senator Josiah Walls of Alachua County. They also influenced the nomination of southern Loyalist Samuel T. Day to fill a lieutenant governor's office vacancy. The two Republicans faced, respectively, Democrats Silas Niblack and William D. Bloxham.¹⁵

The campaign was marked by violence and fraud, and the outcome found Republicans with a slim legislative majority. Walls and Day claimed victory, but the Democrats refused to concede and contested both elections. Osborn Ring men, likely in response to Pearce's August opposition to their candidates, thereafter filed charges against the senator for bribery during the 1870 impeachment fight. He was convicted, but, through Day's intercession, a Ring attempt to strip him of his senate seat was diverted. Pearce appealed his conviction to the supreme court.¹⁶

Also in the election's aftermath, Reed made good on a commitment to Yulee. In return for Yulee's January anti-impeachment efforts, the governor arranged for the state not to defend against a federal court suit by investor Francis Vose, who feared that his state-backed bonds would never be repaid in light of the 1870 land giveaways. Vose, in December 1870, obtained by default an injunction against transfer of state lands except for cash, which frustrated proposed internal improvement schemes in favor of Yulee's existing railroad interests.¹⁷

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15. Peter D. Klingman, *Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction* (Gainesville, 1976), 33-36.
 16. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 214-16; Dorothy Dodd, "'Bishop' Pearce and the Reconstruction of Leon County," *Apalachee* (1946), 9-10.
 17. "Copy of Record in the Supreme Court of the County and State of New York, *Francis Vose, Plaintiff vs. The Florida Railroad Company, David L. Yulee, Edward N. Dickerson, Marshall O. Roberts, and Isaac K. Roberts*," 23, 28, in case file, "*Francis Vose, Plaintiff vs. David L. Yulee, Defendant*," A416, Common Law Case Files, U.S. Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York, NA-Northeast Region, Bayonne, NJ; Francis Vose to D. S. Walker, May 20, 1868, and "Notice of Motion for Injunction, *Francis Vose vs. Harrison Reed, et. al., Trustees, Int. Imp. Fund*," in Papers and Documents Relating to the Suit of *Francis Vose v. Trustees I. I. Fund*, Land Records and Titles Section, Florida Department of Natural Resources, Tallahassee; Tampa *Sunland Tribune*, July 10, 1879; and Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 13, 1870.

The narrow 1870 election results temporarily quelled political warfare between the Reed and Osborn factions. The peace exploded in May 1871, though, when, in violation of the Vose injunction, Reed prompted Internal Improvement Trust Fund trustees to deed most of the state's public lands to Littlefield in return for a promise of future payments of about \$400,000 and completion of a rail line from Quincy to Mobile, Alabama. One Democratic editor labeled the arrangement "the crowning act of fraud."¹⁸ Osborn and his allies realized with indignation the transfer's impact on their own schemes, while Yulee felt betrayed as well. Black leaders, already angered at Osborn by the Ring's attack upon Pearce, saw the Littlefield sale as a last straw against Reed. They had patiently waited for the governor to honor his commitments to them. Instead he had kept them from enacting a civil rights law; had given them few major appointments while courting the "vilest and bitterest rebels"; had permitted the prosecution of their leader Pearce; and—importantly for some—had excluded them from participation in the internal improvement land grants. In these circumstances all factions fell to feuding.¹⁹ By December a gleeful Democrat reported, "The carpet-bag dynasty of Florida is crumbling."²⁰

As the 1872 legislative session approached, Osborn and his allies increasingly desired Reed's impeachment. The fact that the senator's term of office would expire in March 1873 was of immediate concern, and Osborn needed control of the executive department's powers to ensure election of a friendly governor and a compliant legislative majority. In early January he gathered his leading supporters at Jacksonville to chart their course. Among them, interestingly, was Littlefield. Why the governor's patron joined with Osborn is unknown, although a legislator later claimed that his price was "two millions more of railroad bonds."²¹ At the meeting several Ring members offered themselves as Reed's successor. Stearns was considered, but the house speaker was "found wanting in political strength." Eventually,

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18. Daniels, *Prince of Carpetbaggers*, 268-72; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 11, 1879; Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 149-50.
 19. *Savannah Morning News*, September 29, 1871; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 26, 1871; *Savannah Daily Republican*, July 14, 1871.
 20. *Savannah Morning News*, December 8, 1871.
 21. *Savannah Daily Republican*, January 12, 1872; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 142.

the decision went to former Lieutenant Governor William H. Gleason.²²

Their candidate agreed upon, the Ring men set their impeachment plan in motion. When the legislature met a few days later, Stearns and Purman worked the Republican membership for impeachment commitments. The speaker also approached former Governor David S. Walker for Democratic support. Walker, in turn, organized "a movement of the Conservative element of both parties."²³ During the second week of January they secured passage of resolutions "declaring gigantic frauds to have been committed in diversion of the proceeds of bonds issued . . . to the J., P. & M. Railroad," barring the Governor from issuing new bonds, and establishing an investigative committee.²⁴ The panel's report charged Reed with illegal activities involving Littlefield, Yulee, and others. On February 10 the house impeached the governor for, as a correspondent noted, "high crimes and misdemeanors, in the overissue of bonds, embezzlement of the public funds, bribery, and corruption in office." Reed was suspended pending senate trial.²⁵

The house action surprised some senate Democrats. "Everyone outside the Assembly, except Governor Walker, regrets impeachment and considers it a blow to our prospects," reported an "astonished" Senator George P. Raney.²⁶ In the circumstances Hillsborough County's John A. Henderson led the Democrats in pushing for a senate recess. Two Republicans, Pearce and carpetbagger Liberty Billings, supported the effort.²⁷ Although the recess permitted Democrats time to consider their

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22. *Savannah Morning News*, December 8, 1871; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, December 12, 1908.
 23. Wallace, *Carpetsbag Rule*, 143; John Tyler, Jr., to Thomas W. Osborn, March 18, 1872, Department of the Treasury, Applications for Positions as Internal Revenue Collectors & Assessors, box 2, entry 258, "Florida," RG 56, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; W. W. Van Ness to Henry S. Sanford, January 12, 1872, Henry Shelton Sanford Papers, General H. S. Sanford Memorial Library, Sanford, Florida (microfilm available at P. K. Yonge Library).
 24. Wallace, *Carpetsbag Rule*, 154; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 219.
 25. Wallace, *Carpetsbag Rule*, 159-66; *Savannah Daily Republican*, February 14, 1872.
 26. G. P. Raney to E. M. L'Engle, February 8, 1872, E. M. L'Engle Papers, folder 61, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
 27. *Savannah Daily Republican*, February 13, 1872.

options, the party's senators could not agree. Some supported impeachment as long as references to Yulee were dropped. Others wanted adjournment without a trial. Under that plan Lieutenant Governor Day, a Ring opponent, would become acting governor, and more time would be afforded to consider the desirability of a trial. The latter option prevailed. On February 13 Day proclaimed himself governor, and a bipartisan coalition elected Billings president pro tempore of the senate. Three Democrats then joined seven Republicans to force adjournment.²⁸

This political gamesmanship sundered the Republican party, and the damage by no means was limited to the Reed and Osborn split. At a "boisterous and stormy" caucus held at Tallahassee on January 11, Purman and Pearce faced off. Purman attacked Pearce's ambition for higher office, asserting that the senator had "a diarrhoea for Congress." Pearce countered. "This was the signal," a report declared, "for an onslaught on Purman, and it is said that Pearce and others literally 'chewed' the Senator from Jackson up."²⁹ Then, the senate under Billings's leadership defeated yet another attempt to pass a civil rights act. When it did, black house member Daniel McNinnis of Jacksonville offered a resolution condemning Billings and other carpetbaggers. "We, the colored members, and those who honestly sympathize with us," the measure read, "do unhesitatingly repudiate such friendship, and do now and henceforth withdraw from and decline from ever affiliating with, politically, or to aid in electing any such man or men who have so basely misrepresented our people." Stearns ruled the resolution out of order, but the point was made. That the sentiment applied to Reed, as well as other carpetbaggers, was clarified when the governor's long-time house defender, AME minister John R. Scott of Jacksonville, voted for impeachment.³⁰

These disruptions led to more political intrigue in subsequent months as candidates quickly prepared for the governor's race. Perhaps the first candidate was Stearns, although the *St. Augustine Examiner* promoted Florida's former military governor John T.

28. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 220-21; Raney to L'Engle, February 8, 1872; *Savannah Daily Republican*, February 14, 1872.

29. *Savannah Morning News*, January 19, 1872.

30. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 154, 159.

Sprague for the post. Meanwhile Republicans gathered in every county to elect delegates to a party convention, which, in turn, would choose delegates to the national Republican convention. By the first of April, a trend was discernable. "Nearly every county convention that has been held," one report noted, "[has] utterly repudiated the Osborn ring."³¹

At this juncture Reed, who had retired to Jacksonville to await developments, stepped back upon the political stage. His chance came when Day traveled to Jacksonville preliminary to the party convention. "Now it seems that Governor Reed, up to within a day or two past, has been 'lying low and chewing poke root,'" a Tallahassee man explained on April 8, "when to the great astonishment of Day and his myrmidons, the old Governor put in appearance [at Tallahassee], and to-day resumed the office of chief magistrate."³² After issuing a proclamation declaring Day's acts illegal and void, Reed returned to Jacksonville where he proposed to Day that they submit the issue to the state supreme court. Day ignored the offer, but Reed petitioned the court nonetheless.³³

The party convention opened on April 10, and Reed's actions were the foremost topic of conversation. "Had a thunderbolt from heaven fallen in their midst, or an immense bombshell exploded at their feet," remarked an observer, "greater consternation could not have been manifested than was apparent."³⁴ Reed's grasp for power had shocked Ring adherents, but black delegates led by Pearce and Scott saw a window of opportunity. They seized control of the convention organization and used the assembly as a forum for denouncing carpetbaggers in general and for asserting their political power at Ring expense. For example, Leon County's John W. Wyatt delivered "the worst scoring for their thievish villainy [the carpetbaggers] ever received." Others followed, and by evening "the Convention was apparently at a white heat."³⁵

31. *Savannah Morning News*, March 2, 1872; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 26, 1872; *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, April 2, 1872.

32. *Savannah Morning News*, April 11, 1872.

33. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 634-35.

34. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 20, 1872.

35. *Savannah Daily Republican*, April 12, 1872; *Savannah Morning News*, April 12, 1872.

After the session's adjournment the turmoil moved into Jacksonville hotels, boarding houses, and homes. Osborn delegates worked through the night attempting to secure votes. When the convention met the next day "in wildest confusion," however, Scott upset their arrangements by demanding open voting. At that moment Purman decided to separate his political fortunes from those of his fellow carpetbaggers. He made "a vigorous, telling speech in which he gave his brother carpet-baggers a severe castigation, declaring their conduct all 'd- d foolishness,' and in which [he] avowed himself on the side of fair play." Gleason, forsaking his own alliance with Osborn, followed. In opposition to Ring demands for written balloting, he led the fight for voice voting. The motion carried "by a heavy vote."³⁶

Balloting for delegates proved as tumultuous as had the preceding debates. Sixteen whites and eight blacks were nominated for the six positions. Josiah Walls easily won the first vote. Although Pearce and Scott failed to be elected, their ally Josiah H. Armstrong was successful. Osborn and Stearns were not nominated, Purman received no votes, and Ring member Horatio Jenkins lost in a lopsided tally. The results overall were a major setback for the Ring. "The event showed," a correspondent commented, "the complete discomfiture of the infamous coalition that has done so much to disrupt the party."³⁷

The selections proved as discomfiting to southern Loyalists and their leader Justice Hart as to Ring members. An anti-Osborn man, Hiram W. Potter, was nominated for the sixth seat. The Ring thereupon attempted to co-opt Loyalist support against the black insurgency by nominating Hart. "Sensing . . . the struggle was to be a test of the real strength of 'the Ring' in the party," an onlooker declared, "the colored delegates . . . resolved to combine upon Mr. Potter and assure his election, demonstrating the overthrow of the power of 'the Ring.'"³⁸ As another man remarked, "This result was very unsatisfactory to the Southern Loyalists who were eager for Judge Hart."³⁹

36. *Savannah Morning News*, April 13, 1872.

37. *Ibid.*; Richardson, *Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida*, 193-94; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, April 20, 1872.

38. Jacksonville *Florida Union*, quoted in *Tallahassee Sentinel*, April 20, 1872.

39. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, April 20, 1872.

The political drama continued after the convention's adjournment. Its scene shifted to Tallahassee where the supreme court undertook to decide three matters of political importance, including Reed's petition against Day. Excitement filled the air as the politically involved crowded the capital city. Among the whispered possibilities was a report that "martial law is to be declared."⁴⁰

The full court met on April 17 and first heard Pearce's appeal of his bribery conviction. A unanimous panel, considering only a narrow legal point, upheld the lower court. The same day Acting Governor Day, apprehensive of the court's judgment in his dispute with Reed, called a special legislative session to try the governor. When the senate met, Pearce claimed his seat. Reed's friend Chief Justice Edwin M. Randall reacted angrily. Hart then defended Pearce. "A rather heated controversy" ensued, but Hart's argument influenced Randall.⁴¹ The senate expelled Pearce, but the chief justice joined the same day with Hart and other members of the state's pardoning board to grant Pearce "a full pardon."⁴²

The court on April 23 moved to consideration of Reed's petition. The previous day the legislature had failed to muster a quorum to convene its session. Day believed that Randall and Democrat James D. Westcott would rule against him, and so he anxiously awaited the arrival of friendly legislators. Tensions ran so high that one local man believed, "We are on the edge of civil war."⁴³ Arguments in the controversy consumed two days, and, when the court announced that it would render its decision the following week, speculation abounded. On April 29 the chambers again were crowded. "Day haunted the hall with muffled step and anxious visage," while a confident Reed "so certain that the result would be in his favor . . . had gone to Jacksonville."⁴⁴ The court's decision came as a shock to the governor.

40. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, April 17, 1872; *Savannah Daily Republican*, April 20, 1872.

41. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, April 18, 20, 1872; Dodd, " 'Bishop' Pearce," 10; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 185; *Savannah Daily Republican*, May 1, 1872.

42. Dodd, " 'Bishop' Pearce," 10; *Savannah Daily Republican*, May 5, 1872.

43. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, April 20, May 4, 1872.

44. *Savannah Morning News*, April 28, 1872; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 184, 188; *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, May 4, 1872.

Westcott read an opinion, apparently written by Hart, in which the two justices denied that the court had jurisdiction. Randall dissented, but the majority had handed Day a victory.⁴⁵

Having won in the supreme court, Day and his supporters realized that, by convening the legislature, they had seriously erred. With the assembly in Tallahassee, Reed could force a senate trial and potentially obtain an acquittal. Osborn and Purman men fought for an adjournment to forestall the problem, but pro-Reed senators led by Democrats Henderson and John L. Crawford overcame their efforts. On May 6 Reed was acquitted, but the result emphasized anew divisions within both parties. Six Democrats and four Republicans sided with the governor; three Democrats and four Republicans opposed him.⁴⁶

Resolution of the impeachment controversy in Reed's favor broke the state's political stalemate and seemed to bode well for the governor. "The impeachers have slunk away and hid themselves," a commentator remarked, "while everybody is enthusiastic for Reed." Within a day, calm had been restored. "Everything has quieted down," the commentator added, "and the impeachers seem inclined to accept the situation."⁴⁷ Having been tested severely by the previous month's events, the supreme court recessed for three weeks.⁴⁸

When the court met again on May 28, the state still was recovering from the recent political explosions. A kind of lassitude even among the politically aware led to little expectation of important court decisions during the few remaining days of the term. On May 30, however, the panel scheduled arguments on Democrat Bloxham's claim to the position of lieutenant governor. The following morning Randall delivered a unanimous opinion declaring Bloxham the winner over Day by forty-five votes. "This decision rather took the community by surprise," a correspondent noted, "as it was not supposed that the case could be even submitted so soon."⁴⁹

45. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 221-22; *Savannah Morning News*, May 3, 1872; *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, May 4, 1872.

46. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 222.

47. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, May 5, 1872.

48. Minutes of the Florida Supreme Court, vol. "October Term 1868-January Term 1878," 281-82, Florida Supreme Court, Tallahassee.

49. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, June 8, 1872.

The pro-Bloxham opinion was not the only important court decision rendered during the week. "Last Saturday," a Jacksonville man explained, "Judge [Philip] Fraser, of the United States District Court, threw a bombshell into the gypsies' camp of the largest dimensions and the most explosive qualities."⁵⁰ What Fraser did was to lose patience with the Internal Improvement Fund trustees in the matter of the Vose injunction. Their continuing refusal to abide by federal court orders prompted Fraser to appoint a receiver for the fund, thus taking away the governor's control of revenues from state land sales. The judge also ordered the trustees' arrest, pending the court's hearing of contempt charges in December. Each of the officials, including the governor, was required to post a \$5,000 bond.⁵¹

Unaware of Fraser's ruling and buoyed by his impeachment victory, Reed had decided to attack his enemies head on. He planned to demand that President Ulysses S. Grant remove Ring members from their federal offices. With Democratic support he fully expected to secure election over Osborn as United States senator during the 1873 legislative session. Accordingly, he traveled to Jacksonville to raise money to finance a trip to Washington. Instead, he was greeted with Fraser's order. Its implications were so politically profound that Reed was unable to borrow travel money even by mortgaging his home. Instead, he simply dispatched a letter to the president demanding the removal of "thieves and villains," including Marshal Sherman Conant, District Attorney Horatio Bisbee, Surveyor General Stearns, Revenue Collector Jenkins, and Revenue Assessor Purman.⁵²

As Reed launched his campaign against Osborn, the senator escalated the conflict. He had suffered political setbacks during the year, but on June 4 he achieved a major victory. That day Grant approved an Osborn bill to grant right-of-way through public lands for the Great Southern Railway. The measure required, though, that the route be settled within one year, an impossibility if the Vose injunction continued in force.⁵³ Osborn

50. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, June 9, 1872.

51. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, June 8, 1872; *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, June 9, 1872.

52. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, June 9, 16, 1872.

53. *United States Statutes at Large*, XVII (1872), 224-25.

thus urgently needed a governor who could and would satisfy the Vose claim.

With the governor announcing his senate intentions and Osborn finding added reasons to force Reed from office, the 1872 governor's race loomed as a complicated and wide-open affair. In these circumstances prospective candidates continued to surface. "[State Treasurer Simon P.] Conover is working hard for nomination of Gov.," recorded a Republican in late June. "Gen. John T. Sprague wants it & from what I can learn, it does not make much difference whether it comes from Demos or Repubs— Hart is spoken of by some. Day is not mentioned. Bisbee has a good many admirers— so we go." The man continued, "Reed says he will defeat any of the Ring even if he has to go for a Democrat."⁵⁴

The *Pensacola Weekly Express* in June started a movement to draft Justice Hart. It proclaimed, "The Southern loyalists must have a showing this fall."⁵⁵ At first the jurist's chances were discounted. "The Hart will be driven to his covert before the Convention meets," one man forecast.⁵⁶ His support soon broadened, however. He was backed by the *Gainesville Independent* and the *Key West Dispatch* in mid July, and, by month's end, he was considered one of three leading candidates. The reasons had to do with events occurring in Live Oak and Tallahassee.⁵⁷

"Bishop" Pearce had been removed from the state senate, but his influence among black Methodists remained strong. At this time he had achieved a personal goal by the construction of a "college for the education of colored ministers."⁵⁸ Dedication ceremonies for Brown's Theological Institute were held at Live Oak on July 4. Pearce, perhaps in gratitude for Hart's defense of the senator two months earlier, invited the supreme court justice as an honored guest. "Every carpet-bagger and politician of any prominence whatever was present," noted an attendee, "and the swarms of negroes blocking up the streets attested the impressiveness of the occasion."⁵⁹ According further honor,

54. J. C. Greeley to Henry S. Sanford, June 22, 1872, Sanford Papers.

55. *Pensacola Weekly Express*, quoted in *Savannah Morning News*, June 28, 1872.

56. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, July 12, 1872.

57. *Ibid.*; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, July 30, 1872.

58. *Philadelphia Times*, December 1, 1883.

59. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, July 6, 1872; *Philadelphia Times*, December 1, 1883.

Pearce invited Hart to speak immediately after his own remarks. "The Judge made a brief speech," an account read, "in which he returned thanks for the honor conferred on him and touched upon educational matters."⁶⁰

The display of friendship between Pearce and Hart foretold the potential of a political alliance. Already, the three principal contenders for the Republican gubernatorial nomination were emerging. Bitter memories of past wrongs barred Pearce from backing Stearns—the man eventually settled upon as the Ring candidate. On the other hand Conover, a carpetbagger of good reputation, enjoyed, as a Democrat put it, "in a great degree the support of the colored and mottled element."⁶¹ Pearce was among his supporters, but they were challenged for control of Leon County's convention delegation by Reed-ally Edmund C. Weeks. A party meeting in late July grew so violent that the city marshal dispersed the gathering. Both groups eventually sent delegations, but Conover's failure to control his base of support had weakened his candidacy. Pearce and his followers faced the possibility of needing another man to support.⁶²

Meanwhile Democrats anticipated a resumption of state government control. Their titular leader, Lieutenant Governor Bloxham, was poised for the race, and, under the guidance of Chairman David S. Walker, the party organized. One Democrat voiced the feelings of many party members. "The true men of the State have stood shoulder to shoulder through it all," he wrote in July, "and have treated with equal disdain the threats and the bribes of their oppressors, so that the Conservative party of Florida is stronger to-day than ever before."⁶³

The Republicans met first, in the Hall of Representatives at the state capitol on August 7. Osborn and Conant had set up headquarters the previous day at the City Hotel. "The delegates were taken one by one by the hand by Conant," one report noted, "and led into the Senator's sanctum, where they were indoctrinated in his policy, and gently admonished as to their duty in the premises."⁶⁴ The lobbying efforts, whether from the

60. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, July 6, 1872.

61. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, July 23, August 3, 1872.

62. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, July 30, August 6, 1872; *Savannah Morning News*, July 26, 1872.

63. *Savannah Morning News*, June 12, July 9, 1872.

64. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, August 10, 1872.

strength of Osborn's arguments or the generosity of his purse, initially appeared highly successful, a fact that riled the state treasurer. "Mr. Conover refused to allow his name to go before the convention," an onlooker explained, "being satisfied that the whole thing was a 'put up job,' and that only one of Osborne's tools would be allowed a showing."⁶⁵

Conover's fears seemed justified on the convention's first day. Despite floor fights led by Scott and other black leaders, Ring members carried early votes on organization and credentials. They attempted to deny the Conover-Pearce delegation any seats, but "in the interest of peace and harmony" they permitted both Leon factions to take part. Furious at what he took as an affront, Pearce and his Leon associates withdrew. The session ended, however, with a strong challenge to Ring control. James T. Magbee, a Loyalist with close ties to Hart, nominated Pearce for permanent chairman. The Osborn forces had settled upon AME minister and politician Robert Meacham as their man, but Magbee's action disrupted the plans amidst "much confusion." The Ring's temporary chairman quickly adjourned the session despite protestations by black leader David Montgomery.⁶⁶

Osborn's men once again worked through the night to garner support, and they utilized tools that had worked effectively over the previous five years. "Money was used lavishly by the ring, with whisky to back it up," recalled black legislator John Wallace, "and the average colored brother, who was of course now hungry, must be abundantly fed at once or his vote would be cast against the ring."⁶⁷ Had Osborn paid closer attention to the demands of legislators such as Pearce, Scott, and Montgomery, he might have understood that many blacks had determined to change state government and their role in it. The senator failed to heed the warnings, however, and he was about to pay the price.

When the convention opened on its second day, the Ring succeeded in electing Meacham as chairman. That the selection had stemmed more from Meacham's popularity than from Os-

65. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, August 14, 1872.

66. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 13, 1872; Canter Brown, Jr., "Where are now the hopes I cherished?" *The Life and Times of Robert Meacham*, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (July 1990), 20-21.

67. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 2 14.

born's strength soon became evident when Scott blocked Ring efforts to appoint a platform committee. "An intense feeling against Stearns and other members of the ring" pervaded the atmosphere, and the Osborn allies found "their hands full running to and fro" attempting to hold their delegates in line.⁶⁸

At the time gubernatorial nominations commenced, the insurgent black leaders had yet to unite behind a candidate. Conover refused to allow his name to be presented, and Montgomery named Reed instead. Scott then put forward W. T. Garvin of Duval County, and a Ring official nominated Stearns. Only then did black Hillsborough County delegate Peter W. Bryant place Hart's name in contention. Several others followed. An informal ballot found Stearns leading with forty-four votes, Hart second with thirty-two, and Reed trailing with thirteen. The vote showed Hart with surprising strength among blacks. "The colored brother . . .," Wallace acknowledged, "was deserting [the Ring's] standard in large numbers and joining the anti-ring element."⁶⁹ Most of the other candidates withdrew after the informal poll, and a formal vote was taken. The outcome revealed Hart and Stearns virtually tied, but Ring officials—panicked by Hart's increasing black support—recorded a higher total for Stearns. One Leon County delegate then announced that the county's six-and-one-half votes had switched to the Ring man, and Meacham declared Stearns nominated.⁷⁰

The attempt "to count Stearns in" provoked pandemonium in the hall. "Many of the Hart men, mostly colored, became frantic," reported an observer. "They rushed about the room, mounted chairs, tables, desks, and everything else that would elevate them, and yelled, and bawled, and shouted, and swore they would not submit to such a nomination; they wanted Hart and intended to have him." The protesters were led by Scott and Josiah Armstrong, "who invited every dissatisfied delegate to leave the Convention . . . [to] form one of their own and nominate the people's man." His chances of election disappear-

68. Ibid.; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 13, 1872; Tallahassee *Sentinel*, August 10, 1872.

69. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 13, 1872; Peter W. Bryant biographical materials, collection of Julius J. Gordon, Tampa; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 214.

70. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 13, 1872.

ing, Stearns took the floor and withdrew. Purman moved Hart's nomination by acclamation, and the motion carried. In the excitement, another delegate urged that Stearns be rewarded "for his noble act of withdrawal" with the lieutenant governor nomination. Scott attempted to deflect the proposal, but in the excitement his candidate declined, and Stearns's selection was ratified.⁷¹

The Hart nomination was greeted by most active Republicans with relief and enthusiasm. "Despite the direct defection from the Democratic ranks which results from the personal popularity of Judge Hart," observed one Republican editor, "there will be a still greater one on account of the intense hatred of the people of the . . . 'ring.'" He added, "Judge Hart will also call out a large vote from among the old Whig and Union men who have taken no part in politics since the close of the war."⁷² In a state in which totals of white Democratic and black Republican voters virtually were the same, Hart's appeal to Loyalists and pre-war Unionists offered hopes of victory. Many potential backers lived in south Florida where the nominee had resided from 1843 to 1865, and Hart's popularity in Key West and among area cattlemen and cowhunters appeared key to the election. "There are strong hopes of securing, for the first time in the history of the State," wrote a local man, "Southern Florida for the Republican party." He added, "This is the stronghold of the enemy."⁷³

The relief felt by many Republicans was not shared by all. Nationally, the numbers of party members alienated by the Grant administration were so great that a third party movement had blossomed. Composed, as Eric Foner described, of "reformers, free traders, antislavery veterans . . . , and a considerable body of men who 'had been turned out of office or expected to get in,'" the movement coalesced as the Liberal Republican party. *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley emerged as its presidential candidate.⁷⁴

The national split was mirrored in Florida, and on August 14 a convention of the disaffected met at Jacksonville. Prominent

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1872.

73. Washington [DC] *Daily Morning Chronicle*, August 8, 1872.

74. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 301-02.

in its deliberations were some southern Loyalists. Others also toyed with the movement. "In the crowd, quite a number of Republicans are comingled, many with hearts warm and earnest in the cause of reform . . .," a correspondent reported, "while others, not exactly committed, are here to make their auguries as to the prospects of the new born party." Reed, Purman, Conover, and Walls were among them.⁷⁵

The Liberal Republicans, despite their enthusiasm, represented so few voters that the party declined to nominate a state ticket. Rather, the delegates endorsed the Democratic slate which a separate Jacksonville meeting had just chosen. To no one's surprise, that party had opted for Bloxham as its gubernatorial candidate. For lieutenant governor, the nod had gone to former Confederate Brigadier General Robert Bullock. Florida had received a second seat in Congress after the 1870 census, and the Democrats selected Charles W. Jones and Silas Niblack to oppose Republicans Purman and Walls.⁷⁶

The political marriage of Democrats and Liberal Republicans was not as strange as it might seem. The national Democratic party had endorsed Greeley, and Bloxham Democrats made every effort to moderate the state party's image. Fifteen blacks attended their convention, and one was named a vice president. Bloxham himself disclaimed the importance of party, declaring that he would not be "the governor of a *party*, but of the *people*."⁷⁷ He argued that he wanted to bring all responsible factions together. "The men who followed with honor the banner of the Lost Cause," he proclaimed, "unite this evening with those who, with equal heroism, were led to victory under the Star Spangled Banner, and now cordially 'clasp hands across the bloody chasm.'" His goals, Bloxham insisted, were to deliver the state from "the hands of wicked, designing men" and "to assert the equal political rights of all men of every color and condition and [to] see to it that they are ever preserved inviolate."⁷⁸

75. *Savannah Daily Republican*, August 16, 1872.

76. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 20, 1872; *Savannah Daily Republican*, August 17, 1872; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, August 24, 1872.

77. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 280-81; *Savannah Daily Republican*, August 17, 1872; Ruby Leach Carson, "William Dunnington Bloxham, Florida's Two-Term Governor" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1945), 76.

78. Carson, "Bloxham," 76-77.

Bloxham and Hart launched their campaigns at opposite ends of the state. The Republican began with a 2,000-man torch-light rally at Jacksonville on August 23. The occasion solemnized a political marriage between blacks and southern Loyalists who supported Hart and carpetbag leaders who were fighting for their political lives. Osborn, Reed, Purman, Stearns, Pearce, Scott, Montgomery, and others appeared and spoke. "Taken as a whole," bragged a party newspaper, "the affair was in point of numbers and enthusiasm, one of the grandest that has ever been seen in Florida."⁷⁹

The commencement of the Democratic campaign was not so auspicious. After the Jacksonville Republican rally an observer had asserted, "Democrats who witnessed it acknowledge that it is not within the power of the Democratic party of this State to get up such a manifestation of interest in the success of their candidates, no matter how much labor and zeal might be expended."⁸⁰ Along with weakness in the larger towns, chance also was a factor. When Bloxham held his first major appearance, in politically volatile Key West, the accidental discharge of a pistol caused a near riot, with spectators fleeing to cries of "Murder! 'O Hell!' 'I'm cut' 'Somebody shot me!'"⁸¹

Style also hampered the Democrats. An Orlando Bloxham supporter recorded his impressions. "His manner is not that of a practised speaker," he wrote, "but rather of the philomaths and college societies. He looks, indeed like a recent graduate with a year's practice in the law upon it." He continued, "He was so careful to explain that he would be statistically dull that his explanation was duller than the statistics. Then, after he had refreshed us with figures, he was apologetically dull again, especially in anecdote."⁸² Some of Bloxham's supporters also harmed the ticket. "These indecent and blatant politicians went all over the State," remembered John Wallace, "not canvassing for votes, but denouncing 'niggers.'"⁸³

79. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, August 31, September 7, 1872; *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, September 4, 1872.

80. *Ibid.*

81. Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and The New* (St. Augustine, 1912; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1973), 135.

82. *Cincinnati Commercial*, October 14, 1872.

83. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 216.

Despite these problems the Democrats waxed enthusiastic about their chances. The Liberal Republicans were with them, as were some other Republican leaders. Conover's newspaper, the *Lake City Herald*, endorsed Bloxham and stated of the Republican regulars, "Every man who loves his country and State will fight them to the death."⁸⁴ Reed made some appearances for the Republican ticket, but he also aided the Democrats. He placed supervision of voting and counting of returns, for instance, in Democratic hands in many key counties.⁸⁵ Many Republicans charged that the governor's actions had ulterior motives behind them. "Reed has asserted that he would use his power, to elect Bloxham, if it was necessary to *secure him a Senatorship*," stated Horatio Bisbee, "and he is . . . with the democrats to do this."⁸⁶ The governor also undercut Republican power to suppress election-related violence and fraud by demanding removal of District Attorney Bisbee and Marshal Conant. The effort eventually failed after intervention by Hart, Meacham, and other party leaders.⁸⁷

Just as Bloxham found some surprising allies, the Republican candidate too benefitted from support from former political opponents. Day, whom Hart had helped remove as lieutenant governor, canvassed for his "old personal friend" and fellow Loyalist.⁸⁸ Democratic judge William Archer Cocke, fired by Reed in the aftermath of an 1868 impeachment attempt, wrote "a series of letters" to newspapers endorsing Hart.⁸⁹ More importantly, black leaders such as Pearce, Walls, Scott, Meacham, Montgomery, McInnis, Armstrong, and Duval County's William Bradwell organized and orated on his behalf. At stake for these

84. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, October 26, 1872; *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, September 4, 1872.

85. Jerrell H. Shofner, *History of Jefferson County* (Tallahassee, 1976), 318; Jerrell H. Shofner, *Jackson County, Florida—A History* (Marianna, 1985), 299; *Savannah Morning News*, September 28, October 11, 24, 1872.

86. Horatio Bisbee, Jr., to Henry S. Sanford, October 7, 1872, Sanford Papers.

87. W. E. Chandler to "the President," September 24, 1872, O. B. Hart to U. S. Grant, October 9, 1872, William P. Dockray to Grant, October 6, 1872, and Robert Meacham to Grant, October 7, 1872, in Department of Justice, Records Relating to the Appointment of Federal Judges, Marshals, and Attorneys, 1853-1901, entry 350, box 212, RG 60, National Archives.

88. *New York Sun*, March 17, 1873.

89. *Savannah Morning News*, October 19, 1872.

men was real political power as opposed to political impotence. "If Bloxham is elected," Congressman Walls declared to one black audience, "it means the practical disfranchisement of the colored man." He added: "I would rather be defeated myself than see any one of the State ticket defeated. . . . It is your duty to support them as you do me, and it will be your fault if they are not elected."⁹⁰

The electoral campaign stirred the state. "Just now," a Jacksonville man reported in October, "politics is an all-absorbing theme to the exclusion of everything else."⁹¹ With the gubernatorial race so closely contested, Hart and Bloxham spent most of September and early October crisscrossing south Florida. The weather was poor, however, and the demands of travel in the underdeveloped and sparsely populated peninsula were great. Soon Bloxham, Bullock, Niblack, and Hart were ill with fevers. By early October Hart had to cancel several remaining stops on the tour and return home.⁹²

Hart arrived at his Jacksonville residence on October 9 "jaded and weary" but optimistic. "There are encouraging indications that our ticket in all of the counties will receive a larger vote than formerly," he recorded. "Democrats as well as republicans, who are electioneering for us, are very sanguine." He added a distressing note, however. "I am anxious to go [to west Florida]," he declared, "but have now an attack of pneumonia."⁹³ Within days word circulated that the illness "will forbid him taking any further part for the present in the canvass." Hart remained at home through election day.⁹⁴

Given their high expectations of victory, the final election results shocked Democrats. Most polls were peaceful and turnout ran high. Over 33,000 men voted in the gubernatorial race, exceeding totals in the last statewide election—the violent 1870 contests—by 8,000. Bloxham received about 3,500 more votes

90. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, September 21, 1872.

91. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, October 20, 1872.

92. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, September 10, 17, October 1, 15, 1872; *Cincinnati Commercial*, October 14, 1872; *Savannah Morning News*, October 1, 18, 1872; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, October 12, 1872.

93. O. B. Hart to H. S. Sanford, October 12, 1872, Sanford Papers.

94. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, October 12, 26, 1872; *Savannah Morning News*, October 22, 1872.

than he had in 1870, but Hart surpassed Day's total by 5,000. Most of the difference came from middle and north Florida's predominantly black counties. In Leon, Pearce's forces added almost 900 votes; in Jefferson, Meacham turned out an additional 861; and, in Duval County, Bradwell, Scott, and McInnis increased the tally by almost 600.⁹⁵ In the peninsula the day was "rainy, raw and disagreeable," a circumstance that Bloxham later blamed for his loss.⁹⁶ The Republicans gained strength in most of the area, adding 152 votes in Hillsborough alone. Only in Monroe did Bloxham fare relatively better, a fact resulting from the displeasure of Cuban voters over Grant administration policies.⁹⁷

Although the 1872 elections were a triumph for Hart and other Republicans, the results were not known for weeks. Because of the order in which returns filtered in, the outcome first appeared in Bloxham's favor. In late November the Democrat traveled to Washington as governor-elect while a still-ailing Hart remained at Jacksonville. Charges of fraud circulated as votes were counted, but even Democratic editor Charles Dyke later acknowledged that the election had been a fair one. By mid-December Hart's victory was clear, however, and the state began to prepare for a southern Loyalist administration.⁹⁸

In 1872 Florida black and southern Loyalist leaders, distressed at broken promises, carpetbag mismanagement, and corruption, combined to oust Governor Harrison Reed from power. Their candidate, Ossian B. Hart, succeeded to the executive office on January 7, 1873. Within weeks Reed's fellow carpetbagger, Thomas W. Osborn, had been denied reelection to the

95. "The Florida Election [1872].— Official State Canvass" in Election Returns (1862-87), vol. 1, 70, RG 156, series 1258, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 27, 1870; *Savannah Daily News and Herald*, June 23, 1868; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, June 18, 1868.

96. *Cincinnati Commercial*, December 5, 1872; *Makers of America, Florida Edition*, 4 vols. (Atlanta, 1909), I, 111.

97. "The Florida Election [1872].— Official State Canvass"; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 27, 1870; *New York Daily Tribune*, October 16, 1872.

98. Washington [DC] *Daily Morning Chronicle*, November 7, 1872; *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1872; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 220; *Savannah Morning News*, December 21, 1872; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, December 7, 1872; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 3, 1881; *Savannah Daily Republican*, December 14, 1872.

United States Senate, and Reeds senatorial ambitions had been blunted. In those early weeks Governor Hart likely took pleasure in distinguishing himself from his predecessor by the simple act of signing his first new law. It was entitled, "An Act to Protect all Citizens of the State of Florida in their Civil Rights and to Furnish the Means for their Vindication."⁹⁹

The events of 1872 and early 1873 present a poor image indeed of many of the state's leading carpetbag politicians. Rather, what emerges is a picture of self interest, duplicity, and, for Reed and Osborn, an apparent lack of real principle or sense of greater purpose. That is not to say, as Current, Richardson, Shofner, and the Fosters have pointed out, that many carpetbaggers did not make substantial and enduring contributions to the state. That would seem now beyond question. Nor is it meant to assert that Reed, Osborn, or their associates held entirely dishonorable intentions. Instead, they merely were individuals—like some leading Democrats— who were willing to compromise the integrity of the political process for their own ends, arguably believing all the while that what they were doing served some ultimately desirable end. But does a man such as Reed deserve reassessment as either honest or well intentioned? Certainly a good part of Florida's black, southern Loyalist, and even carpetbag populations did not think him well meaning in 1872, and there seems little reason to believe so now. If anyone's role is to be examined and reassessed in a positive manner, it is those blacks and southern Loyalists who, in 1872, turned away from what they perceived as corruption and demanded a government at once more representative and more honest.

99. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 7, 1873; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 288-90; *Laws of Florida* (1873), 25-26.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN FLORIDA, 1911-1912

by STEPHEN KERBER

ON April 13, 1911, Representative Thomas F. West of Santa Rosa County introduced a joint resolution in Florida's House of Representatives intended to amend the state constitution.¹ West's proposal, designated as House Joint Resolution (HJR) 222, called for the adoption of two popular progressive-era reforms, the initiative and the referendum.² Although strenuously opposed by a conservative minority in both legislative houses, HJR 222 achieved the necessary votes to gain passage with relative ease. The strongest opposition to these two innovations in direct democracy manifested itself several months later, during the summer and fall of 1912, when influential reactionaries successfully instituted legal proceedings to prevent the proposed amendment from appearing on the general election ballot.

During the era prior to World War I, progressive political reformers in many American states advocated the initiative, referendum, and recall as alternative means to provide for broader and more effective expression of the popular will. The initiative gave voters the power to pass laws or to propose constitutional amendments independent of the state legislature. The referendum permitted the voters to veto any law passed by the legislature to which they objected, and the recall empowered the electorate to remove an unpopular official prior to the end of a term. Typically, the mechanics of each procedure involved collecting signatures from a suitable number of qualified voters, filing these

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1. Florida *House Journal*, 1911, 283.
2. See West's comments regarding his proposal in the *Pensacola Journal*, April 9, May 14, 1911.

petitions, verifying the names upon them, and finally holding an election.³

In 1898 South Dakota became the first state to adopt the initiative and referendum. By 1911 ten other states— Arkansas, Colorado, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Utah— had followed suit. Before the end of the year, Arizona, California, and New Mexico also adopted the measures.⁴ This pattern revealed that those states that had adopted the initiative and referendum were almost all located west of the Mississippi River. More significantly, no lower South state had as yet voted for the reforms.⁵

According to Dewey W. Grantham, historian of progressivism in the South, “a desire to expand the regulatory function of the state in behalf of economic opportunity and to apply more effective social controls in the interest of an orderly and cohesive community” constituted a major motivating factor for southern progressives. The disfranchisement of African Americans, the movement to regulate railroads and other corporations, the campaign for a more effective penal system, and the prohibition crusade served as vivid examples of the progressive impulse for regulatory reform. Grantham also believes that proposals to introduce “the initiative, referendum, and other forms of direct democracy made relatively little progress” in the South.⁶

Why was this so? Grantham concludes that there existed “strong opposition to the initiative and referendum on the ground that the system was an instrument of radicalism.” Some contemporary critics believed, or at least warned, that establishing the initiative and referendum might lead to “an avalanche” of direct legislation by voters. Grantham’s analysis suggests that the disinclination of southern legislators to adopt these reform measures reflected a triumph of the impulse to control the political process over altruistic impulses within progressivism. The

3. Benjamin Parke Dewitt, *The Progressive Movement: A Non-partisan, Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics* (New York, 1915), 213-43.

4. Illinois Legislative Reference Bureau, *Constitutional Convention Bulletins* (Springfield, 1920), no. 2, 81-82.

5. *Ibid.*, 82. In 1914 Mississippi adopted the measures.

6. Dewey W. Grantham, *Southern Progressivism, The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville, 1983), 111, 121.

complex history of HJR 222 provides an illuminating test case for Grantham's argument.⁷

The West resolution went initially to the committee on constitutional amendments which reported the bill back without a recommendation on April 20, 1911.⁸ On May 12 Representative J. P. Lamb of Suwannee County successfully moved to amend upward from 10 to 20 percent the number of signatures required to propose legislation or to call for a referendum. Lamb also persuaded his colleagues to increase from 15 to 25 percent the number of voter signatures necessary to initiate constitutional amendments. After making these alterations, the house then sent the amended resolution to its committee on engrossed bills so that its form might be perfected before third reading.⁹

The same day, committee chairman Robert A. Gray, a representative from Gadsden County, reported back that the resolution had been correctly engrossed.¹⁰ The following week the house took up consideration of HJR 222 once again. A roll call vote on passage provided a favorable margin of thirteen votes, but the resulting thirty-seven-to-twenty-four tally meant that the measure had failed to receive the three-fifths majority required for all constitutional changes.¹¹ Despite this setback, support for the reforms continued to build. Clay County representative J. Slater Smith soon moved to reconsider HJR 222, and his motion prevailed by a forty-two-to-sixteen count on May 18.¹²

With this step taken, the house then considered the legislation once again. The second time around HJR 222 passed the house by a vote of forty-five to seventeen and achieved the necessary three-fifths level.¹³ Representative West then proceeded to have the rules waived and have the resolution officially transmitted to the senate.¹⁴

The upper chamber received notification regarding HJR 222 from J. G. Kellum, house clerk, on May 22. According to senate

7. *Ibid.*, 121-23, 111-59.

8. *Florida House Journal*, 1911, 283, 496.

9. *Ibid.*, 1279-80. The Jacksonville *Metropolis*, October 12, 1912, described the increased requirements as excessive.

10. *Florida House Journal*, 1911, 1333.

11. *Ibid.*, 1362.

12. *Ibid.*, 1504-05.

13. *Ibid.*, 1507-08.

14. *Ibid.*

procedure the resolution was read for the first time by its title only and then placed upon the calendar of bills awaiting a second reading.¹⁵ Just two days later, on May 24, Senator W. H. H. McLeod of Jasper moved that HJR 222 be substituted for Senate Joint Resolution 216, another proposed constitutional amendment he had introduced earlier.¹⁶ The senate agreed to McLeod's motion.¹⁷

Following the second reading of HJR 222, McLeod asked that the rules be waived and that the substitute legislation be read for the third time and put upon final passage. By a fifteen-to-four vote the senate agreed to this plan; and, after listening to the third reading, the members faced the key roll call vote.¹⁸

Nineteen senators, including President Frederick P. Cone of Columbia County— a future governor— voted in favor of the West resolution. Only five voted in opposition.¹⁹ Having obtained a three-fifths majority of all senate members, the resolution had passed with surprising ease. Under its rules the senate next ordered news of the measure's passage to be duly dispatched to the House of Representatives.²⁰

The resolution calling for the initiative and referendum seemingly had been accepted by the legislature in rather routine fashion, albeit rather late in the two-month session, and it now only remained for the voters of the state to express their judgment in the November 1912 general election. Florida stood poised to be the first southern state to adopt these widely heralded innovations in direct democracy. What appeared a routine scenario, however, failed to materialize.

Following conclusion of the roll call vote, Senator William Walton Flournoy of DeFuniak Springs rose to explain the reasoning behind his opposition to HJR 222. Flournoy asserted that the resolution violated both the state and federal constitutions. He insisted that it ignored the checks and balances vital to the maintenance of sound, republican government. He stated, "Such

15. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1911, 1185-88.

16. *Ibid.*, 1250, 410, 633.

17. *Ibid.*, 1250.

18. *Ibid.*, 1250-53.

19. *Ibid.*, 1253.

20. *Ibid.*

direct rule of the people in all matters of government, as comprehended within this resolution, is neither desirable nor practicable."²¹ Senator John B. Johnson of Live Oak joined Flournoy in condemning the resolution. "There is entirely too much red tape in" it, he warned. "This amendment will only bring about confusion."²²

One day later confusion did indeed follow. Senator H. H. McCreary of Gainesville, who on Wednesday had voted for passage, on Thursday made a motion to reconsider the resolution.²³ The press of business typical of the final days of the session kept McCreary from calling up this motion to reconsider until the evening session of Friday, May 26. During the lively debate triggered by this parliamentary move, the chair asked the senate to advise him as to whether a simple majority of senators or a larger majority would be necessary to recall the measure. The senators voted that a simple majority would be sufficient for such action, and they then voted to request the house to return the suddenly controversial resolution.²⁴ The house complied with this unusual request the following day.²⁵

Sharp disagreements characterized subsequent senate discussion on the matter. When senators assembled on the next Monday, May 29, J. E. Calkins of Fernandina contended that the senate could not reconsider HJR 222 since it had already passed. His motion to table the reconsideration failed.²⁶ Members then voted sixteen to thirteen to reconsider the previous affirmative vote.²⁷ Furthermore, at the request of Senator Flournoy they made this anticipated reconsideration a special order of business for the next morning.²⁸

But when the senate reconvened on May 30, a vote on reconsideration of passage never took place. The last act in this convoluted drama came when Senator Calkins moved that further consideration of the motion to reconsider passage of the resolu-

21. *Ibid.*, 1253-55; Tallahassee *Weekly True Democrat*, July 7, 1911; *Pensacola Journal*, February 11, 1912.

22. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1911, 1255; Tallahassee *Weekly True Democrat*, July 7, 1911.

23. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1911, 1337.

24. *Ibid.*, 1422-24.

25. *Ibid.*, 1529.

26. *Ibid.*, 1497.

27. *Ibid.*, 1497-98.

28. *Ibid.*, 1498.

tion be deferred. The senate acquiesced and took no further action on the initiative and referendum legislation.²⁹

Why did this dramatic overnight turnabout take place? No absolute certainty is possible, but extreme conservatives clearly distrusted any disturbance of the political status quo and likely attempted to frighten lukewarm supporters of HJR 222 with the “revolutionary” potential of the measure. More particularly, these naysayers probably warned colleagues that passage of an initiative and referendum amendment would lead directly to reapportionment of the legislature.³⁰ The influential Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* actually predicted on May 29 that adoption of the West resolution could lead to reapportionment, which would be very beneficial for Duval County.³¹ But legislators from the panhandle region and the northern counties— those settled prior to the Civil War— were not eager to lose influence through fair and timely reapportionment to the growing metropolitan areas of Jacksonville and Tampa, nor to huge, fertile, newly settled south Florida counties such as Polk and Orange.

During the progress of HJR 222 through the legislature, state newspapers neither covered it carefully nor reported any great popular interest in the issue. This was not uncommon. Florida publishers and editors of this era devoted much more ink to their own political preferences, especially to favorite candidates during campaigns, than they did to thoughtful analysis of issues or to the legislature’s daily activities. Due in large part to a dearth of nonpartisan analytical coverage, few people outside of Tallahassee knew that complications had attended the resolution’s journey. In fact, the behavior of the senate had been so odd that some experienced observers evidently left Tallahassee at the conclusion of the session feeling confident that HJR 222 had passed, while others felt equally sure that it had died in the senate.³²

29. *Ibid.*, 1548.

30. They may also have played upon fears of capital removal. *Fort Myers Weekly Press*, October 24, 1912. Senator Lewis Zim had introduced two bills in 1911 calling for relocation of the capital to his hometown of St. Augustine. Ric A. Kabat, “Albert W. Gilchrist: Florida’s Progressive Governor” (master’s thesis, Florida State University, 1987), 145-46.

31. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 29, 1911.

32. For example, in summing up the accomplishments of the 1911 session for its readers, the *Pensacola Journal* included mention of the passage of the initiative and referendum amendment. *Pensacola Journal*, June 4, 1911.

Although 1912 was an election year, the West resolution did not become an issue in the Democratic gubernatorial primary contest. Instead, disagreements over how best to use the labor of state convicts held center stage. This state of affairs ended abruptly during the summer and autumn of 1912 when supporters of the resolution sought to have it voted upon by the people, and outraged opponents rallied against it for a second time.³³ Conservatives were horrified when Secretary of State H. Clay Crawford interpreted the senate vote of May 24, 1911, as having clearly and legally approved the measure. Accordingly, Crawford started the normal process of advertising the proposed amendment in the newspapers of the state and of furnishing copies of the document to county commissioners. Attorney General Park Trammell, who had emerged as a leading exponent of Broward progressivism and who won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination during the April 1912 primary, strongly encouraged the secretary of state in his interpretation of events.³⁴

Trammell held that "the action of the people upon an amendment is the most important feature connected therewith." He insisted during newspaper interviews that "no harm can come from allowing the people to express themselves at the polls as to whether or not they wish to change their State Constitution." He explained that he had "considered the legislature record as

33. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, August 30, 1912.

34. *ibid.* Trammell's attitude toward the question of whether or not HJR 222 had passed the legislature evidently changed prior to the ensuing court struggle. On April 19, 1912, he responded to a question from C. P. Diamond of Gainesville by stating that "the resolution was recalled from the Governor's office before it was signed and died on the Senate Calendar." Trammell replied to an intimation that he was somehow trying to prevent the amendment from going on the ballot by explaining, "I gave the amendment my support when it was pending . . . and would myself very much like to see the amendment submitted in the November Election if it can be done legally." Although HJR 222 "was never certified to, deposited with or filed with the Secretary of State by the offices of the Legislature," Trammell intended "at an early date to look into the question" and then inform the secretary of state "as to his authority to submit the said House Resolution No. 222." Trammell to C. P. Diamond, April 19, 1912, Trammell to J. S. Maxwell, May 23, 1912, General Correspondence, 1881-1913, vol. 11, carton 11, ser. 628, RG 650, Florida State Archives, R. A. Gray Building, Tallahassee. See also, Stephen Kerber, "Park Trammell of Florida: A Political Biography" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1979).

an entirety” and concluded that, having been once passed, the resolution should go before the voters.³⁵

Reactionary forces included Governor Albert W. Gilchrist, who reportedly took a leading behind-the-scenes role during May 1911 and attempted to bring about a reversal of the favorable senate vote.³⁶ Whether Gilchrist was motivated entirely by philosophical opposition to reapportionment or by other factors is unclear. He may have objected to a clause in the West proposal that would have required both legislative houses to hold formal roll call votes of public record rather than anonymous voice votes for passage of all bills and joint resolutions.³⁷ Gilchrist may also have resented that any laws passed through use of the initiative would have been immune from his gubernatorial veto.³⁸ Whatever his reasons, the governor played a pivotal role in obstructing the initiative and referendum by lending his name and prestige of his office to the opposition.

On September 21 Gilchrist made known his intention to ask the Florida Supreme Court for its advice.³⁹ Ordinarily he would have sought counsel from the attorney general, but in this instance Trammell simply would not tell the governor what he wanted to hear. Gilchrist voiced suspicions to reporters that the West resolution had not been passed properly, and he maintained that these suspicions required him to refuse to countersign the state warrants paying for the publication of the proposed amendment.⁴⁰ His ploy to solicit an advisory opinion from the court favorable to his reasoning fell flat, however, when the justices quickly sidestepped the request. On September 24 four of the five justices (one being absent) declined to give an advisory

35. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, September 3, 1912.

36. *Pensacola Journal*, May 30, 1911. For background on Gilchrist's life and political career, see Kabat, "Albert W. Gilchrist." Unfortunately, this well-documented biography presents an incomplete version of the HJR 222 controversy; see especially, pp. 151-53.

37. *Florida House Journal*, 1911, 1505-07.

38. *Ibid.* Gilchrist was a popular but rather eccentric bachelor with a "tendency to try to be all things to all people." Despite being a West Point-educated engineer and surveyor with "no formal legal training, Gilchrist read some law and considered himself a lay expert." This know-it-all attitude, plus his practical experience as a state legislator, may possibly have strengthened Gilchrist's resolve to oppose Crawford and Trammell. Kabat, "Albert W. Gilchrist" 100 133.

39. *Pensacola Journal*, September 22, 1912.

40. *Ibid.*, September 25, 1912.

opinion, explaining that the governor's responsibility to sign such a warrant was not a constitutional issue.⁴¹

The persistent Gilchrist next evidently invited Crawford and Trammell to a personal conference with Senator D. A. Finlayson and himself on October 1, at which time the governor suggested that Crawford agree to a "friendly" law suit. Such a suit might force the court to address the governor's criticism and to rule whether the resolution had been passed properly in all respects. Two days after this meeting Trammell released to the press a copy of his written advice to Crawford on Gilchrist's suggestion.⁴²

Trammell formally advised Crawford not to agree to a friendly suit designed to settle the question prior to the election. The attorney general held that litigation to determine if the legislature had passed the resolution properly could just as well be brought following the election if the validity of passage constituted the real issue. Instead, Trammell suggested that those who were pushing the suit simply meant to prevent the public from having the chance to speak at the ballot box.⁴³

Having failed to obtain Crawford's cooperation, Gilchrist on October 4 instituted a suit in the circuit court of Leon County.⁴⁴ He requested a restraining order from the court to prevent Crawford from continuing to advertise the proposal. Significantly, Senators John B. Johnson, William W. Flournoy, and D. A. Finlayson, plus their fellow attorney T. L. Clarke, represented the governor in the action.⁴⁵ These gentlemen wrote to Crawford on the same day, once more requesting him to waive all rules of practice in order to expedite a hearing on the case. Trammell instantly responded that their real aim was "to get the courts to kill the amendment" and "thereby deprive the voters of the opportunity of either approving or rejecting it at the polls."⁴⁶

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., October 4, 1912.

43. Ibid.; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, October 4, 1912.

44. *Pensacola Journal*, October 5, 1912.

45. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, October 8, 1912. An article in *Dixie*, October 12, 1912, Jacksonville's reformist newspaper, labelled Clarke and Johnson as railroad lawyers and thereby, by implication, as sworn enemies of progressivism. It identified Clarke as "often the attorney of the Seaboard Air Line" railroad and Johnson as an attorney for the Atlantic Coast Line.

46. *Pensacola Journal*, October 6, 1912; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, October 8, 1912.

Judge John W. Malone heard arguments in the case on October 9. After listening to the presentation of the governor's attorneys and to the attorney general's contention that the resolution had passed properly in both chambers and that the alleged failure of the bill to be properly signed by the legislative officers and forwarded to the secretary of state constituted only an insignificant clerical error, the judge issued the restraining order.⁴⁷ For his part, Gilchrist fired a verbal shot at Trammell.⁴⁸

In a published letter the governor stated that unnamed "responsible citizens" had petitioned him to seek the advice of the Florida Supreme Court about the proposed amendment and subsequently to sue the secretary of state. He denied having begun the controversy himself. Since the attorney general was "disqualified," Gilchrist explained he had appointed prominent attorneys to represent him. These men were volunteers who were serving the governor without cost to the taxpayers.

Gilchrist further charged that when Trammell had issued a public statement in July 1912 giving an opinion that the initiative and referendum proposal had passed, he had intentionally suppressed several important page references from the house and senate journals inconvenient to his reasoning. "When he published his communication of July," said the governor, "I agreed with him on the face of his opinion assuming he had correctly stated the facts." But, he continued, when "my attention was invited to the fact that the record . . . had been suppressed, I then became of the opinion that such proposed amendment had not passed the legislature."⁴⁹

Unwilling to surrender, on October 11 Crawford appealed Judge Malone's ruling to the Florida Supreme Court with the support of the attorney general. The court agreed to hear the matter on Tuesday, October 15.⁵⁰ On that date oral arguments were offered to the justices throughout a long session which lasted nearly seven hours. Trammell began the presentations

47. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, October 11, 1912; *Pensacola Journal*, October 11, 1912. Trammell's brother and fellow-attorney Worth assisted him in presenting the case. *Pensacola Journal*, October 12, 1912.

48. *Pensacola Journal*, October 10, 1912.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*, October 12, 13, 15, 1912.

and later summed up after Finlayson, Clarke, and Flournoy had spoken. Trammell argued that the West resolution had legally passed as soon as each house had adopted it by the necessary majority, and he suggested that the senate had not actually reconsidered its vote, nor could it possibly reconsider a proposed constitutional amendment without a three-fifths majority.⁵¹ The filing of written briefs in the case was not completed until the following afternoon.⁵²

Trammell also chose October 15 to release an open letter defending himself against critical remarks by Senator John B. Johnson. In it he explained that he had never intended in his original letter of advice to Crawford "to set out word for word the journal entries upon the proposed amendment." "My failure to make reference to an entry which I regarded under the law as of no effect whatever, was not an attempt on my part to suppress the entry," he maintained. In fact, he said that Johnson and his associates had done the very same thing while arguing the governor's case before Judge Malone.⁵³

On October 19 a divided high court ruled against Crawford by a vote of three to two.⁵⁴ Chief Justice James R. Whitfield, in his written majority opinion of October 23, 1912, stated that the "failure of the Legislature to have authenticated by the signatures of its constitutional officers, and to have filed with the Secretary of State in the usual way, House Joint Resolution No. 222 is evidence that the two Houses did not regard the resolution as having been finally 'agreed to.'" He also concluded that the senate was entitled to reconsider HJR 222 even after having passed the proposed amendment.⁵⁵ Justices R. Fenwick Taylor and William A. Hacker concurred with Whitfield.

Justice Robert S. Cockrell, writing in dissent for himself and Justice Thomas M. Shackelford, suggested that the courts had

51. *Ibid.*, October 16, 1912.

52. *Ibid.*, October 17, 1912.

53. *Ibid.*, October 16, 1912.

54. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1912.

55. *Crawford v. Gilchrist, Cases Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Florida During the June Term, 1912*, vol. LXIV, 41-64 (64 Fla. 41); *Southern Reporter*, vol. 59, August 3-December 21, 1912, 963-71 (59 So. 963). The original records of the case before the Florida Supreme Court are preserved as file FD42W3, carton 92, ser. 49, RG 1100, Florida State Archives.

56. 64 Fla. 41, 62; 59 So. 963, 970.

no right to interfere in the "formative period of legislation" and could easily have acted after the election. He also pointed out that "the real object of this bill is to have us stop the county commissioners from printing the amendments upon the ballot," and yet the commissioners might easily obtain copies of the amendment from the legislative journals.⁵⁷ Cockrell also drew an analogy between the initiative and referendum proposal and the amendments added to the federal Constitution during the Civil War period. As he phrased it, "When a state legislature once approved them, it could not rescind its action, even before the proposed amendment had been ratified by a sufficient number of states to become part of the Constitution."⁵⁸

Many Florida newspapermen who chose to comment on the high court's decision called it appropriate. The *Miami Herald* denied that a plot had existed to prevent the people from being allowed to vote on establishing the initiative and the referendum. Rather, it concluded, the courts and the people had been compelled "to observe the lawful forms prescribed by the constitution, and for this the cause of good government is to be congratulated."⁵⁹ The *Ocala Banner* gleefully chronicled the destruction of HJR 222 by the court. Its editor, Frank Harris, compared the proposal to Reconstruction legislation and branded it as "radical" and "socialistic."⁶⁰

Not all editors regarded the initiative and referendum as devilish concoctions. The Jacksonville *Metropolis* deplored the governor's role in the entire affair and castigated Gilchrist as a "Buttinsky."⁶¹ "'Moses' Gilchrist," the paper charged, had "protected" the people from voting and deciding the matter for themselves.⁶² The *Ocala Evening Star* heaped praise upon Attorney General Trammell for having been "morally right" on the issue, even if he had been "technically wrong" in the court's view.⁶³

57. 64 Fla. 41, 62-64; 59 So. 963, 970-71.

58. Ibid.

59. *Miami Herald*, October 21, 1912.

60. *Ocala Banner*, November 1, 1912. The *Banner* also indicated that prominent conservative Peter O. Knight opposed the initiative and referendum. *Ocala Banner*, October 25, 1912.

61. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, October 19, 1912.

62. Ibid., October 21, 1912.

63. *Ocala Evening Star*, October 21, 1912.

That Trammell had been justified in his reasoning throughout the affair was proven by the split decision of the supreme court, maintained the *Pensacola Journal*, and it forecast that the initiative and referendum would fare better in the next legislature.⁶⁴

Without question, both houses of the 1911 legislature did pass the West resolution during the normal course of business. Immediately after the senate vote, however, diehard opponents of the initiative and referendum proposal sought to sabotage it by awakening fears of legislative reapportionment. Senators Flournoy and Johnson, who voted against it, and Senator Finlayson, who did not vote, conspired to fight against the resolution by resorting to parliamentary tricks and legal technicalities. They joined together to manipulate Governor Gilchrist and to represent him in the subsequent legal proceedings. Their public concerted behavior is evidence of extraordinary conservative opposition to these simple democratic measures and to potential political changes such as reapportionment or capital removal.

That Gilchrist either allowed himself to be duped by these clever men into supporting their position, or else truly shared their distaste for the initiative and referendum, casts considerable doubt on his credentials as a progressive Democrat.⁶⁵ Perhaps Gilchrist should be classified as one of those ambivalent progressives described by Dewey Grantham who feared the possible full consequences of genuine direct democracy. Although Attorney General Trammell had already won the Democratic primary for governor before the court controversy and thus had little to fear by taking a strong political stand, he displayed most un-

64. *Pensacola Journal*, October 20, 1912. See also commentaries reprinted from various papers in the *Pensacola Journal*, October 13, 15, 1912.

65. The *Bradenton Herald* called Gilchrist "the standpat Republican governor, an alleged Democrat, who was the chief conspirator" in the plot against HJR 222. *Bradenton Herald*, quoted in Jacksonville *Dixie*, November 9, 1912. In contrast, the *DeLand Record* reasoned that Trammell ran ahead of the Democratic ticket at the fall general election because of his stand on HJR 222. *DeLand Record*, quoted in Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, November 29, 1912. Gilchrist wrote to the attorney general after the November election asking whether he should sign the warrants paying for publication of the West amendment prior to the court's decision. Trammell courteously replied in the affirmative. The letter is preserved among the Attorney General Opinions, 1859-1913. See Trammell to Gilchrist, November 12, 1912, vol. 4, carton 4, ser. 632, RG 650, Florida State Archives.

characteristic determination in pushing Crawford to place the amendment before the voters. The shrewdest campaigner of his era, Trammell obviously believed that most Florida Democrats favored progressive issues. His political judgement prompted the attorney general to bring forth a legal justification for placing the proposed amendment on the ballot.⁶⁶

66. The text of the West resolution is to be found in the Florida *House Journal*, 1911, 1505-07.

AGAINST CORRUPTION: FRED KARL AND THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON SUSPENSIONS AND REMOVALS, 1968-1974

by PETER D. KLINGMAN

SUSPENDING or removing public officials from office at any level of government and at any point in time always has provided cause for serious concern. Impeachments, suspensions, and removals of municipal, county, or federal officers cause two major constitutional issues to surface which must be resolved to the populace's satisfaction. The first is the right of citizens, through the electoral process, to be guaranteed their legitimate representation and to remain the ultimate judge of all elected officials' tenure in office. Even today, as term limitations are debated, perhaps leading to another constitutional amendment, this republican cornerstone remains fundamental. The basic public right to keep a publicly elected official in office until voted out historically underscored arguments against draconian measures in suspension or removal cases.

The second major issue in these cases is that the power to remove or suspend should not be used without substantive legal cause. No matter whether that power lies in a chief executive, a senate trial, or a legislative vote, the responsibility to use it for legal purposes is paramount. As a consequence, defining legal as opposed to political motivations for any suspension or removal action has always been the most difficult and controversial task in either judicial or quasi-judicial hearings.

No period in Florida history illustrates these quandaries better than the years immediately following the inception of the Florida Constitution as revised in 1968.¹ Nor has any person in

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1. There were a number of political imbroglios and scandals during Florida's Reconstruction era, including two impeachment proceedings against Governor Harrison Reed, charges filed against Judge James T. Magbee of Tampa, and the expulsion of Senator (Bishop) Charles Pearce of Leon

Florida history played a more significant role in ensuring the successful resolution of the inherent conflicts behind the suspension and removal of public officials than Fred B. Karl, first as chair of the Florida Senate's Select Committee on Suspensions and Removals from 1968 to 1972 and then, upon his retirement from the state senate, as special master with identical responsibility.

By focusing on how Fred Karl and the Florida Senate handled several highly publicized and controversial suspension cases, insight into these governmental controversies can be gained. Four particular cases form the core of this analysis. They are appropriate because of their high interest level and because they deal with significant legal and political issues in Florida history. Taken



Fred Karl addresses colleagues in the Florida Senate, c. 1970. *Photograph courtesy Fred Karl.*

County. To review the political history of this period, see William Watson Davis *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1964); and Jerrell Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974). To review the legal and constitutional aspects, see Frederick B. Karl and Marguerite Davis, "Impeachment in Florida," *Florida State University Law Review* 6 (no. 1), 2-61.

together they illustrate the seriousness with which Fred Karl and his Select Committee on Suspensions and Removals took their charge to protect all parties involved via the right to due process and fair play. They also provide the reader with a clear sense of the ethical commitments made by the Florida Senate and Senator Karl's committee which ensured that the governor's power to suspend be restrained wisely and well.

Under the constitution of 1885 the Florida Senate in matters of suspensions and removals was, as Senator Mallory Horne stated, "extraordinarily weak."² The governor's power to suspend officials was embedded in the 1885 constitution as a major executive power, but there were no provisions made for either pre-suspension hearings or judicial or quasi-judicial reviews by the Florida Senate in a prompt and expeditious manner. The 1885 document merely provided that the "cause of suspension shall be communicated to the officer suspended and to the Senate at its next session."³

This constitutionally loose statement meant that the senate could delay or avoid action on alleged or proven corruption by public officials. As a result, reelected suspended officials often returned automatically to office in the event that the senate failed to act in the session following an executive suspension. Other weaknesses in the suspensions and removals process also inhibited effective senatorial review of a governor's power to suspend. The Florida Supreme Court interpreted the 1885 constitution in several cases to allow only the suspension of a public official for misconduct in his/her current term of office. Unless the offending public official continued misbehavior first begun in a prior term, no governor could subsequently enforce, nor could the Florida Senate uphold, discipline for these offenses. Reappointment or reelection to the same office was ruled "a condonation of known prior offenses."⁴

The Florida Supreme Court did decide one case apparently to the contrary. Governor Spessard Holland, on November 6, 1942, suspended Russell F. Hand from his seat on the Dade

2. *The Miami Herald*, November 22, 1972.

3. *Florida Constitution* (1885) Article IV.

4. William M. Barr and Frederick B. Karl, "Executive Suspension and Removal of Public Officers Under the 1968 Florida Constitution," *University of Florida Law Review* 23 (Summer 1971), 641.

County Board of Public Instruction, appointing another man to his place. Hand was first suspended by Governor Holland in September 1942, and the senate upheld his executive action in May 1943. In the meantime, Hand won reelection for another term in the November 1942 campaign. Holland refused to confer his commission, writing to Hand, "It is my distinct feeling that your gross misconduct while serving as a member of that Board *during your previous term* and for which I suspended you from office on September 21, 1942, has destroyed the confidence of a majority of people of Dade County in your integrity and moral character."⁵

The Florida Supreme Court upheld Holland's action in 1944, partially revising long-standing tradition against suspensions for prior-term offenses. Thereafter, Florida law recognized suspensions not only for a sitting official's present term but also for the preceding term.⁶

The 1968 constitution not only triggered action on these issues of delay and prior-term offenses, but, more importantly, it required the practice of due process hearings for suspended officials. By directing the senate to act "in proceedings prescribed by law," the 1968 constitution broadly defined Senator Karl's major tasks: to create new procedures where none before existed; to apply new interpretations and applications protecting Florida citizens in their right to legitimate representation; to protect public officials in their right to maintain a vested interest in their office; to conduct investigations openly and fairly instead of behind closed doors in executive sessions; in short, to ensure that the governor's almost unlimited power to suspend any official was used for its constitutionally intended purposes.⁷

There was much reason in 1968 to be concerned. Claude R. Kirk, Jr., sat in the governor's chair. A larger-than-life mix of ego, flamboyance, eccentricity, and political persona, Governor Kirk used his power of suspension and removal for political purposes, ousting Democratic officeholders without adequate

5. "Authority to Suspend Public Officials For Offenses Occurring During a Prior Term of Office," Administrative Files, box A-L, Frederick B. Karl Executive Suspensions Papers (hereinafter, Karl Papers). These papers are the personal possession of Senator Karl and are on loan to the author.

6. Ibid. See also *Florida Statutes*, Sec. 932.06.

7. *Florida Constitution* (1968), Article IV.

evidence or just cause. In the wake of his two-year attempt to become the Republican vice-presidential candidate, which he began almost immediately after his inauguration, Kirk believed his chances for a second gubernatorial term in serious jeopardy. He had become the target of a Democratic-controlled state legislature and cabinet. Even Kirk's Republican supporters had grown tired of his spending habits, political theatrics, and high-profile lifestyle.⁸

The power to suspend and remove officials became one method by which Governor Kirk tried to cement his incumbency. Having wasted nearly all his political capital on the ill-fated vice-presidential effort, Kirk focused his mid-term political goals on Florida. With his love of a good political fight, he clashed with the Florida Legislature on the matter of suspensions and removals of Democratic officeholders. Quickly, the governor ran headlong into Fred Karl and his select committee of the senate.

Fred Karl was the antithesis of Claude Kirk. By 1968 he already had become a powerful political force in Florida, having served four terms in the house and run as a gubernatorial candidate himself in 1964. Karl's reputation for personal integrity, faith in good government, and political skill was firmly established, and it moved him into the Florida Senate in November 1968. Interestingly, his opponent in the fourteenth district was incumbent senator Ralph Clayton, who had handled all previous suspensions and removals, dispatching them as Governor Kirk wished. Karl defeated Clayton handily, with Kirk staying out of their race.⁹

Between July 1968 and February 1969, Governor Kirk issued a total of twenty-two executive suspension orders. All were aimed at Democratic officeholders. It fell to Fred Karl and his committee to review each one and reject or uphold the governor's actions. Because of the extraordinary number, the senate met in

8. Peter D. Klingman, *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1970* (Gainesville, 1984), 169-89.

9. Before his campaign against Clayton, Karl had managed to extract a commitment from Governor Kirk to stay out of this particular campaign. The Volusia County Democratic Executive Committee, however, refused to support Karl against Clayton because Clayton controlled the "old boy" process of removing officials for Kirk. Conversation with Fred Karl, Tampa, Florida, June 10, 1991.

a historic special session, beginning on February 17, 1969, to deal with them. It was the first occasion on which one body of the Florida Legislature met in special session without the other.¹⁰

Senate president John Mathews had appointed Karl to chair the Select Committee on Suspensions and Removals on January 18, 1969, within hours of his own election as leader of the senate. The appointment was, Senator Mathews felt, "an opportunity to show the wisdom of the framers of the new Constitution in allowing the Senate to consider these quasi-legislative matters at a time other than during a regular session."¹¹ It also provided Fred Karl an opportunity to show Governor Kirk that the power to suspend and remove officials was to be monitored closely.

The select committee was composed during the special session of strong and experienced senators from across Florida: Robert Haverfield of Miami, Warren Henderson of Sarasota, David Lane of Fort Lauderdale, Joseph McClain, Jr., of Tampa, Jerry Thomas of Riviera Beach, and J. H. (Jim) Williams of Ocala. Committee members included a future supreme court justice (Karl), a law school dean (McClain), a future district court of appeals judge (Haverfield), a future senate president (Thomas), and a lieutenant governor (Williams).¹²

The special session devoted much attention to the governor's suspension of the Taylor County Board of County Commissioners. Governor Kirk had twice before suspended the board on the recommendation of a local grand jury. The case before the Karl committee sharply etched the political controversies that always surrounded executive suspensions. The local grand jury had charged the suspended commissioners with misuse of county funds and equipment but chose not to indict the board. The governor cited the grand jury report as the prime cause for the commissioners' removal.¹³ The final decision as to whether they were to be removed rested with the Karl committee and the Florida Senate in that first special session.

10. "Proclamation to Honorable Members of the Florida Senate," Administrative Files, box A-L, Karl Papers.

11. John E. Mathews, Jr., to Karl, January 28, 1969, Administrative Files, box A-L, Karl Papers.

12. Ibid.

13. *Tallahassee Democrat*, January 26, 1969; "Hearing Agenda," Senate Select Committee on Executive Suspensions, February 10, 1969, Taylor County Hearing, Closed Files, box T, Karl Papers.

The turmoil in Taylor County revolved around the proposed construction of a new courthouse. The suspended commissioners wanted the old courthouse in Perry torn down and a new building erected on the downtown site. The Kirk-appointed replacement commissioners wanted to construct the new courthouse near the jail, away from the center of Perry. Legal suits tumbled out of Taylor County over contracts, construction orders, and work stoppages. Circuit court judge Sam Smith of Lake City added considerable fuel to the fire by ruling first that the Kirk-appointed commissioners had a legal right to let a contract for construction to begin on the courthouse, but he later ruled that suspension of the elected commissioners was invalid. After Smith's second ruling, Governor Kirk again suspended the old board, alleging improper use of funds and violation of competitive bidding laws.¹⁴

During the special session Gerald Mager, legal counsel to Governor Kirk, argued the case before the Karl committee. The committee reported its findings to the full senate, and that body voted to overturn the governor's suspension orders.¹⁵ The Karl committee reached two conclusions in their review of the case: (1) the suspensions were politically inspired rather than legally justified, and (2) Mager's argument was unsatisfactory, poorly presented, and of questionable legality.¹⁶

Governor Kirk's reaction was predictable. He was, he said, "baffled" by the senate vote to overturn his suspension orders: "Quite frankly, I don't know how to suspend anybody now." Rather than confront Fred Karl, his select committee, or the senate, or provoke a constitutional crisis by resuspending the original commissioners a third time, Kirk lashed out at senate president John Mathews. The governor believed Mathews was a potential gubernatorial opponent in 1970 and was using the suspensions as a campaign issue.¹⁷

14. Ibid.

15. *Florida Senate Journal*, Special Session, 1969.

16. Ibid; conversation with Fred Karl, June 10, 1991. Karl's private belief, not spelled out in the committee's report and unprovable, is that Kirk intended these to be the first of a wave of anti-Democratic suspensions that would help his 1970 reelection campaign.

17. *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 21, 1969.

In 1972 senate president Mallory Horne appointed Karl as a special hearing master in cases of suspended public officials. Horne explained that he had been unable to form a new senate select committee or find another chairman with Karl's reputation for integrity. "The only alternative," Horne said to his senate colleagues, "is for five or seven of you to commit your entire senatorial service to being a lawyer and a judge. I haven't been able to find any of you who would be willing to do that."¹⁸ Even Dempsey Barron, chairman of the Senate Rules Committee which authorized the rule change to permit Fred Karl to continue as a special master, agreed "this is a far better way to go about the unpleasant business of removing officials who are suspended."¹⁹ Karl received \$500 a month as a retainer, developed a procedures manual for all suspension hearings, and submitted a budget for the committee's work. The total committee budget for 1972 was \$25,000. Karl observed: "Obviously, if there are no suspensions none of the money will be used. Equally obvious is the fact that if there are a large number of suspensions and extensive committee meetings and a special session is necessary, the request will be inadequate and will have to be supplemented."²⁰

With these changes in place, the senate's role in executive suspension cases changed dramatically from closed door silence to open door, fully public activity. However well the new procedures worked, the issues of suspending public officials nonetheless continued to invoke great controversy and interest.

When Sheriff L. O. Davis of St. Johns County was suspended in April 1970 following an indictment by a St. Johns County grand jury for accepting a bribe, the case created immediate controversy. Davis was accused of taking payments from a bolita operator named Floyd Boatwright so that he could continue to operate illegal gambling in the county.²¹ The fact that Boatwright had been murdered added drama to the case.

18. *Palm Beach Post*, November 22, 1972.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Karl to L. K. Ireland, Jr., Budget and Financial Statements, Administrative Files, box A-L, Karl Papers.' Ireland was the chief fiscal analyst for the Florida Senate.

21. *Florida Times Union*, October 16, 1970.

Davis's criminal trial lasted four days in October. After only seven minutes of deliberation the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. The trial hinged on the accusation that Davis accepted \$200 from Warnock Tedder, a Boatwright associate, on the morning of April 15, 1969. Witnesses refuted the claims, placing Sheriff Davis in attendance at a funeral that morning and, therefore, not in his office to receive the alleged bribe. Most of the state's case against the sheriff was circumstantial, and even the state attorney, Stephen Boyles, asked the jury to acquit the sheriff "if there is any doubt about the state suppressing any evidence or a conspiracy to convict him."²²

Although Sheriff Davis likely expected to be reinstated after his acquittal, shortly after the trial's conclusion he was suspended on charges that he had permitted widespread gambling, bolita, and prostitution in St. Johns County. Less than one month later the Karl committee convened in Tallahassee to hear evidence on the expanded charges.²³

The Davis case was, Karl concluded in his report to senate president Jerry Thomas, "an incredible paradox."²⁴ Many county residents testified in person or wrote letters defending Davis and/or attacking the senate select committee for placing the sheriff in double jeopardy. Even the jury members who had heard the evidence in Davis's original trial were opposed to the Karl committee's involvement: "Having heard complete testimony, over 3 1/2 days, it is our feeling that the State presented virtually no evidence worthy of belief. For this reason we reached our verdict in seven minutes. . . . The state appears to us to be placing an accused in double jeopardy and reflecting upon our integrity as jurors."²⁵

To some who testified in person before the Karl committee and to many who took the time to write, Sheriff L. O. Davis was a respected member of his community, responsive to the citizens of St. Johns County, and above reproach. Six-times elected since 1948, his supporters recommended Davis for effective law enforcement, his work with youth, leadership during the St. Augus-

22. *Ibid.*

23. Karl to Senator Jerry Thomas, November 16, 1970, L. O. Davis Hearings, Closed Files, box D, Karl Papers.

24. *Ibid.*

25. "Unsigned Motion For Particulars," box D, Karl Papers.

tine riots of the 1960s and for his cooperation with law enforcement agencies. One woman wrote the committee: "L. O. is the sort of man who gives up much of his free time to make other people a little happier. At Christmas time he plays Santa Claus for numerous schools, orphanages, etc."²⁶ Others testified both for and against Sheriff Davis, but the Karl committee felt the preponderance of evidence weighed heavily against the sheriff's case.

Davis did not appear before the Karl committee, although his attorney entered a transcript of his earlier testimony in the initial criminal trial. In that transcript Davis denied all accusations. In a press release, however, he thanked his many friends and supporters for standing with him against "a personal vendetta based on some motive other than a desire for justice under our laws. . . . The matter has now been taken from the hands of the people of St. Johns County and rests with the Florida Senate."²⁷ The entire senate upheld the Karl committee's recommendation to remove him. Davis was permanently removed from office on November 16, 1970.²⁸ The L. O. Davis case illustrates the Karl committee's commitment to operate independently in reviewing and assessing criminal activity, despite the jury's acquittal and a preponderance of heavily weighted public opinion opposing his removal.

On the other hand, the 1970 case against Jim Fair, suspended as Hillsborough County's supervisor of elections, demonstrates the committee's ability to judge competence in performance despite less criminality than the St. Johns County case and, more crucially, despite the appearance that Florida's political establishment was punishing a well known and extremely popular anti-establishment figure.

Jim Fair's biggest "crime" was to be elected to political office, a position for which he was completely unmatched. He was an Annapolis graduate, a war hero, and a member of one of Tampa's most prominent families. Yet, instead of pursuing the opportunities that this background afforded him, Fair changed his name, grew a beard and pigtail, and became a "successful" political hippie in the 1960s. He railed against big government,

26. Virginia Sterchi Prosser to Karl, November 8, 1970, box D, Karl Papers.

27. "L. O. Davis Press Release," box D, Karl Papers.

28. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1970.

utility companies, the law fraternity that profited from them, and all others who could not agree that he was either “sterling” or “fair.”²⁹

The grand jury investigating the case against Fair threatened to indict him on criminal charges unless Governor Kirk suspended him and the Florida Senate removed him. The grand jury demanded that Fair be charged with malfeasance, neglect of duty, and incompetence. On April 16, 1970, the governor suspended him, and the issue was referred to the Committee on Suspensions and Removals.³⁰

Fair’s defense was to paint himself as the victim of political circumstance rather than the subject of incompetence. “Just because a man is different in his ways or in his style, is not grounds for his removal,” Fair’s American Civil Liberties Union lawyer told the Karl committee.³¹ On the other side, state attorney Joe Spicola, Jr., prosecuting for Governor Kirk, summed up Fair’s behavior as supervisor of elections thus: “Public officials have gone to prison for less than Mr. Fair has done. Those are clear violations of the law— it’s a misdemeanor, not a felony, but it carries a one-year penalty.”³² Fair sat through the hearings before the committee but did not testify in his own defense on the advice of his counsel. He did say to a reporter, however, that he wanted to testify in order “to tell the Senate about those bums in Tampa.”³³ His written statement entered before the Karl committee stated simply, “I have done no wrong.”³⁴

Evidence before the committee suggested that Jim Fair was guilty of more than vocal opposition to the political establishment. First, Fair was charged with failing to maintain proper voter registration rolls. Mrs. Bessie LoScalzo, a twenty-year employee of the office testified before the Karl committee that the process of maintaining voter registration rolls was mishandled

29. *Tampa Tribune*, June 14, 1991; conversation with attorney John Lawson, Tampa, Florida, April 15, 1992. Mr. Lawson married into the Farrior family.

30. “Order of Suspension,” April 16, 1970, Jim Fair Hearings, Closed Files, box F, Karl Papers.

31. Summation of Norman Siegal, Jim Fair Hearing Transcript, 802, Closed Files, box F, Karl Papers.

32. Summation of Joseph Spicola, Jim Fair Hearing Transcript, 793.

33. *St. Petersburg Times*, July 2, 1970.

34. Untitled Statement of Jim Fair, July 8, 1970, Jim Fair Hearings.

by Fair.³⁵ In January 1970 she indicated that Fair sent out twenty-five purge cards, the method by which his office kept voter registration records current and accurate, "in an attempt to comply with the law to have some mailed out."³⁶ Fair brought in part-time help to sort out the mess, but, according to LoScalzo, "there was just confusion, nobody knew what they were doing, who was coming, who was going."³⁷ Mrs. LoScalzo also testified that Fair was personally abusive and that he kept a special file marked "S" in which he placed pictures of nude men and women. All of the employees had access to the cabinet in which that file was kept.³⁸

Several people who testified before the Karl committee witnessed Jim Fair fire the five permanent employees. Johnny King and David Bolton, students at the University of South Florida while employed part time by Fair, testified that Fair called a press conference, and all employees attended. Fair berated the women for disloyalty to their country, and he fired them. Both men testified that, in their opinion, the fired employees were competent and that the firing was unjustified.³⁹ The civil service commission later agreed, and the five were reinstated.

Thomas McBride and others testified to extensive typing and copying of law suits filed by Fair that had nothing to do with his duties as supervisor of elections, including a case against a man who had been bitten by Jim Fair's dog. Others told of an attorney who worked frequently in Fair's office on these law suits. The attorney, several witnesses indicated, was not on the payroll, frequently was intoxicated, and drank alcohol in Fair's private office.⁴⁰

Fair had his defenders who refuted much of the evidence. Margot Holmburg, for example, testified that she never saw

35. Testimony of Bessie LoScalzo, Jim Fair Hearing Transcript, Direct Examination, 778-79.

36. *Ibid.*, 779.

37. *Ibid.*, 782.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Testimony of Johnny King, Jim Fair Hearing Transcript, Direct Examination, 105-13; testimony of David Bolton, Jim Fair Hearing Transcript, 122-27.

40. Testimony of Thomas McBride, Jim Fair Hearing Transcript, 156. See also testimonies of Richard Walker, Benjamin Rosenberg, Frances Crawford, 202-53.

alcohol, lewd pictures, and that morale in the supervisor's office was high. "I have never worked in a place that had more spirit in getting the job done."⁴¹ Robert Betancourt testified that the five women Fair fired were guilty of "constant backbiting." "They would call him queer, you know, because of his long hair . . . and it just seemed to me that they were constantly trying to get in the way of Mr. Fair."⁴²

There were other issues, many of them dealing with purchasing violations, unrelated travel, and conflict of interest. This last charge was based on the fact that the supervisor's office had purchased a few items from the Sterling Exchange, a private company owned and operated by Jim Fair. The items included several dictionaries and an encyclopedia.⁴³

The Karl committee delivered its report to the Florida Senate on July 8, 1970. Senator Karl recognized the very real dilemmas the case against Jim Fair had created: "I think it is appropriate to say that the committee did not make its decision and does not make its recommendation to you on the basis that Mr. Fair hired young people inexperienced to work in his office. Certainly, our recommendation is not made on what anybody wore or how they acted in the office or their attitude or anything like that. . . . It is important to make clear that while his goals may have been commendable . . . those motives and those actions on his part do not constitute a license to do business on his terms and in violations of the laws and the rules and the procedures."⁴⁴

Jim Fair's case put the Karl committee squarely in the middle of the establishment/anti-establishment debate of the 1960s and early 1970s. The entire testimony revealed an office in chaos, poorly managed, and incapable of performing its constitutional function. And, despite public perception that Jim Fair's well-documented, "anti-establishment" positions were the reason behind his dismissal, the bottom line was that he did not measure up to the needs of the people he was elected to serve. Certainly, Jim Fair was no criminal; however, neither was he capable of

41. Testimony of Margot Holmburg, Jim Fair Hearing Transcript, Direct Examination, 615.

42. Testimony of Robert Mathew Betancourt, Jr., Redirect Examination, Jim Fair Hearing Transcript, 637.

43. "Order of Suspension," Report of the Grand Jury, II, A., April 16, 1970, Jim Fair Hearings.

44. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1970.

running an elections office, an integral part of a democratic society. Jim Fair was unceremoniously removed by the Florida Senate on grounds of general incompetence.

If the Jim Fair hearing proved that the Karl committee could remain aloof from charges of bias against a suspended official's character traits or beliefs, the suspension of three Holmes County commissioners in 1973 illustrated another concern equally difficult to gauge. In this case the select committee had to guard against public perceptions that it had become an alternative to the recall process when elected officials failed to measure up to an electorate's subjective performance standards. Additionally in this case, acting stupidly was, in and of itself, also ruled out by the Karl committee as sufficient grounds for removal.

Recalling local officials under the Florida constitution is a matter reserved to local electorates. The procedures typically are strict and deliberately difficult to set successfully in motion. Drafters of the state constitution reasoned that it must be so if voters are to maintain the right to keep officials in office between elections and if officials are to remain protected from arbitrary removal. Fred Karl's concern that this process not become a political weapon surfaced originally when Governor Kirk used his executive power to suspend more liberally than his predecessors.⁴⁵ The Holmes County case illustrated how Fred Karl approached the recall issue.

In the spring of 1973 Governor Reubin Askew suspended three members of the five-member Holmes County commission following two presentments by the county grand jury.⁴⁶ Two commissioners, Tamphus Messer and Jimmy Josey, had been elected in November 1972, while the third suspended official, James King, had served one two-year term and had been reelected. The specific charges against the three were numerous and serious, but it was the grand jury's conclusion, cited in the governor's suspension order, that was far more shocking: "For all practical purposes, effective, productive government in Holmes County has ceased."⁴⁷ The suspension order charged

45. Conversation with Fred Karl, June 10, 1991.

46. "Executive Order of Suspension," nos. 73-32, 73-33, 73-34, Holmes County Commissioners Hearing, Closed Files, box J-L, Karl Papers.

47. *Ibid.*

Messer, Josey, and King with numerous misfeasance and neglect of duty violations, including noncooperation with other county and regional agencies, violations of the Sunshine Law (conducting public business without proper public notice), failure to comply with judicial mandates, and illegally firing the Holmes County attorney who himself was an elected official.⁴⁸

The issues in this suspension case were far more complex than either the governor's suspension order or the grand jury's presentments indicated. In 1973 Holmes County was, and remains today, one of the smallest rural counties in Florida's panhandle. Influential local citizens, who were always white and from agricultural backgrounds, controlled county government.

With King's election to the Holmes County commission in 1970, however— followed by those of Josey and Messer in 1972— “business as usual” became highly unusual overnight. The three commissioners campaigned and were elected on promises to “reform” county government's traditional ways of doing things. Fred Karl and the select committee discovered that an intense confrontation between old and new political forces brought government in Holmes County to a near standstill from November 1972 to June 1973, when Askew suspended the three commissioners.

A crisis had been created which the Karl committee was asked to solve by “recalling” the three commissioners. The grand jury solely blamed the suspended officials without taking into account the factionalism that their election engendered. What the grand jury failed to perceive is that the clash between reform and traditional forces produced a situation in which fault lay on both sides, much of it the result of political maneuvering. A review of the transcripts in the three-day hearing held by the Karl committee reveals this clearly. One issue raised in the hearings showed the dilemma the Karl committee confronted. The issue concerned road graders. In rural counties in the 1970s paved roads were at a minimum, and torrential rains etched deep ruts and created impassable quagmires. Road graders thus were absolutely necessary to allow residents to use the roads.

On November 20, 1972, the last commission meeting before Messer and Josey joined King, the board signed a contract with

48. *Ibid.*

the Burford Equipment Company of Bonifay for two new Caterpillar road graders. Two existing road graders were to be traded as a down payment. At the end of three years, and in consideration of a payment of \$1.00, title would be given over to Holmes County.⁴⁹

The day after the contract was signed the new commissioners visited James Rials, salesman for the Burford Equipment Company who had negotiated the arrangement with the old commission. Rials testified that the visitors handed him a letter demanding that he take back the new road graders. The new commissioners, according to Rials, wanted the arrangement rescinded.⁵⁰

Rials and the old commission believed they had signed a lease-purchase agreement. The new commissioners believed they had a rental agreement that could be voided when the equipment was returned.⁵¹ By June 1973, when the three members were suspended by Askew, the dispute had not been resolved, and a legal suit had been filed against the equipment company.

The new commissioners decided not to use the new graders until the dispute was settled. What made that decision so problematic was that the old graders had already been taken in by the equipment company, and the company was unwilling to return them for the county's use. This outcome left Holmes County unable to grade its dirt roads.

Karl and his committee had to determine who was guilty of misfeasance. They eventually concluded, quite apart from the governor's suspension order or the presentments from the local grand jury, that both sides were equally culpable for different reasons. The old commission signed the agreement on November 20. But the new graders were delivered, the transcripts revealed, the previous week. Not only was this clearly a misfeasance but at the time the new graders were delivered the old graders were taken away. Compounding this situation was the fact that the bidding process on the graders was tainted. Jack Faircloth, clerk

49. Testimony of James E. Rials, Direct Examination, Holmes County Commissioners Hearing Transcript, 23, Closed Files, box J-L, Karl Papers.

50. *Ibid.*, 24-25.

51. Testimony of Jimmy Josey, Direct Examination, 753, Testimony of Tamphus Messer, Direct Examination, 841, Testimony of James Hulen King, Direct Examination, 869, Holmes County Commissioners Hearing Transcript.

of the court, testified before the Karl committee that he accidentally had opened a sealed bid prior to the scheduled time. Rather than halt the process, Faircloth merely resealed the envelope, a violation of standard competitive bidding practices. Finally, the winning Burford bid was not the lowest received. The old commission simply decided they liked Caterpillar equipment and selected it.⁵²

Both attorneys, W. Paul Thompson for the suspendees and Robert Mounts for the governor, endeavored to illustrate that their respective clients were acting in the best interest of Holmes County. Neither side was, as the Karl committee discovered. If the commissioners were acting to reform Holmes County government, they nonetheless contributed to the stalemate. And if the clerk, sheriff, and remaining members of the commission were angry over the tactics of the three officials, they, too, were guilty of creating difficulties. Meanwhile, the dirt roads in Holmes County went ungraded.

Violations of the Sunshine Law charged against the three suspended officials raised a number of questions stretching beyond Holmes County. At the time of the Karl committee hearing, neither the courts nor the attorney general had yet ruled whether a violation of the Sunshine Law was grounds for suspension and removal.

In November 1973, months after the hearings were concluded but before his final recommendations were due, Fred Karl expressed his concern over this issue. In letters addressed to both Mounts and Thompson, Karl conceded that the Sunshine Law violations were going to be a part of his report to the senate. "It may be," he wrote, "that the Senate in making its final decision in this case will wish to establish a precedent, one way or the other, on this question."⁵³ He asked both attorneys for their views.

Each of the three suspended commissioners was charged identically with three violations of the Sunshine Law. The first took place during the first meeting of the newly elected county

52. Testimony of Jack Faircloth, Cross Examination, 891, Direct Examination, 881-84, Holmes County Commissioners Hearing Transcript.

53. Karl to Robert Mounts, November 5, 1973, Karl to W. Paul Thompson, November 5, 1973, Holmes County Commissioners Hearing.

commission on November 21, 1972. All three had been present the day before when, at the final meeting of the old commission, Burford's bid was accepted even though it was \$20,000 more than the lowest. Josey, Messer, and King announced at that meeting that they would meet the next day to rescind the action, but Mounts pointed out to Karl that no meeting was regularly scheduled. Also no attempt was made to notify the press, and the new commissioners took other official actions during the meeting.⁵⁴ Thompson, on the other hand, agreed in a letter to Karl that "no effort was made by the Board to exclude any member of the public from any of the discussions and deliberations which took place on November 21st."⁵⁵

The second violation allegedly occurred on Saturday, December 12, 1972. Jack Faircloth testified that he was at home working when he was notified of a commission meeting to be held only a half-hour hence.⁵⁶ Addison Drummond, the county attorney, testified that he heard about it as a "street rumor."⁵⁷ The meeting was never properly advertised, nor did the suspended officials claim it was prompted by any emergency. Thompson argued that it was a continuation of the regularly scheduled December 4 commission meeting at which Drummond, an elected official himself, was fired as county attorney.⁵⁸

The last violation occurred on November 29, 1972. The three commissioners assembled at the county's equipment barn and fired James Betherford, the road foreman. Not until January 6, 1973, did the official meeting minutes include a report of this action. To Mounts, this was "irresponsible, improper, and wholly illegal."⁵⁹ Even Thompson agreed that "calling this a meeting would be stretching the imagination, however, even if it was certainly public."⁶⁰

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54. Mounts to Karl, January 8, 1974, Holmes County Commissioners Hearing.
 55. W. Paul Thompson to Karl, November 15, 1973, Holmes County Commissioners Hearing.
 56. Testimony of Jack Faircloth, Direct Examination, Holmes County Commissioners Hearing Transcript, 19 1.
 57. Testimony of Addison Drummond, Direct Examination, 230, Holmes County Commissioners Hearing Transcript.
 58. Thompson to Karl, November 15, 1973.
 59. Mounts to Karl, January 8, 1974.
 60. Thompson to Karl, November 15, 1973.

Robert Mounts summarized to Karl the governor's larger concerns about the Sunshine Law which the Holmes County case raised: "Even though no criminal prosecution has resulted from these facts, it is the Governor's position that the case presents a unique opportunity for at least one House of the Florida Legislature to clearly express its legislative intent as to the enforcement of the *Sunshine Law*. While it is obvious that state attorneys have been reluctant to prosecute violations of the statute where there has been no express physical exclusion of the public by words or other announcement, it is also clear that the suspension power of the Governor is an appropriate remedy for guaranteeing the enforcement of this statute and other statutes which affect the official duties of public officers."⁶¹

On January 27, 1974, Fred Karl reported his committee's findings to the Florida Senate. Despite the grand jury's demand that the three commissioners be removed, the committee determined, and the senate agreed, that they should be reinstated in their offices. His summation letter to senate president Mallory Horne clearly defined the guiding principle that acting ineptly was not in itself grounds for dismissal: "There can be little doubt that Mr. King, Mr. Josey, and Mr. Messer were inexperienced, uninformed, and inept. They obviously attempted to wrest control of the county from those who had held it so long. . . . But they were duly elected by the people of Holmes County and the Senate has traditionally refused to second guess the judgement of the voters. The question is not whether they should have been elected, but rather have they been guilty of one or more of the offenses contained in the Constitution."⁶²

In concluding that these men should not be removed, Karl pointed to the key issues: "They met resistance at every turn. Communications were at an all time low. But the record does not prove any unlawful act nor that the three suspended officials were the sole cause of the emergency that was created."⁶³ The Karl committee determined that they were three men who clashed with Holmes County's traditional political processes. The Florida Senate reinstated the three men.

61. Mounts to Karl, January 8, 1974.

62. Karl to Senator Mallory Horne, January 27, 1974, Holmes County Hearings.

63. Ibid.

The political sovereignty of the State of Florida can be defined in numerous ways. The power of the governor to suspend public officials in the sixty-seven counties and hundreds of cities that comprise the state is a critical component of this sovereignty. Fred Karl clearly believed that, among the threads that bind Floridians to each other, the constitutional authority of Florida governors to oversee the performance and functions of all public officials was, and still is, one of the keys to state government. In 1971, while still chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Suspensions and Removals, Karl wrote, "In a real sense, the structure and operation of state and local government in Florida is largely determined by the way in which the power in the state is distributed among its public officers, the manner in which this power is exercised, and the extent to which such officers are made subject to external authority."⁶⁴ The governor's power to suspend public officials was the "external authority" that helped cohere Florida.

The Karl committee's work and Fred Karl's personal role in establishing the new procedures and processes under the 1968 constitution were a critical part of the political reforms that swept Florida and the nation in the 1970s. The new Florida Sunshine Law came into being and the Judicial Qualifications Commission became strengthened. And, of course, the post-Watergate reforms transformed American politics, including Florida. Fred Karl's contributions to ethical and legal governmental practices need to be measured against this backdrop of change and reform. He accomplished three especially important tasks. First, he fashioned an entirely new process for dealing with corruption in public office. Second, he implemented a new and vital piece of the 1968 constitution. Finally, and of the utmost importance, he created in his senatorial colleagues a much greater sensitivity to the public interest in public corruption and how it was handled, indeed a high-water mark in the Florida legislature's concern for ethical practices.

Each of the cases presented above were selected from the fifty-two over which Fred Karl presided as chairman and special master. Although each is of individual interest, taken collectively

64. Barr and Karl, "Executive Suspension and Removal of Public Officers Under the 1968 Constitution," 635.

they demonstrate how Fred Karl and the senate committee proceeded with their work to protect both officials and voters. Beginning with Governor Askew and with each governor since, the work started by the Karl committee has undergone changes. Governor Askew and his successors were more conservative in their exercise of the power to suspend and remove public officials. Today Florida governors commonly refuse to suspend public officials unless they have already been criminally indicted. The assumption is that Florida's other post-1968 governmental reforms provide reasonable alternatives to suspension hearings in dealing with government corruption.⁶⁵ Whether or not these later safeguards are as effective as the Karl hearings is for the citizens of Florida to decide-and for the public officials who hold elective office.

Fred Karl, himself a Florida legislator, took much of the "back-room" politics out of a controversial legislative process and inserted due process and a judicial quality in its place. Prior to Karl's tenure, the process generally was a private matter in the Florida Senate, sometimes protective of corrupt officials, and, at the very least, loose enough to allow the senate to look the other way when charges of corruption were filed. The Karl hearings firmly and forever influenced all levels of Florida government. Few can argue that this was not a change for the better.

65. These reforms include the Sunshine Law, new state audit practices, and the state ethics commission.

REVIEW ESSAY

Reexamining the Early Career and Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr.: Volume I of the *King Papers*

by DAVID R. COLBURN

The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., Volume I: Called to Serve, January 1929-June 1951. Edited by Clayborne Carson, Ralph E. Luker, and Penny A. Russell. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. xxiii, 484 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, chronology, photographs, editorial principles and practices, list of abbreviations, calendar of documents, index. \$35.00.)

Few figures in American history have inspired such an extraordinary amount of historical and biographical literature as Martin Luther King, Jr. Since his death in 1968, innumerable books have been written about King specifically or about his role in the civil rights movement. Four years ago David Garrow edited a series of eighteen volumes on King and the civil rights movement.¹ This past year witnessed the much anticipated publication of the first volume of a projected fourteen volumes of *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

What is it about King's life that continues to spark such widespread popular interest and historical revisionism? On a personal level there is the image of a man who was at once larger than life: who was portrayed as having communed with God, walked in the wilderness, and challenged the country to live up to the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence. The image of King as both martyr and national icon has, in fact, been pro-

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1. David J. Garrow, ed., *Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Civil Rights Movement*, 18 vols. (Brooklyn, 1989).

moted by many of his closest advisors, including his widow, Coretta Scott King.²

On another level stood King the man who succumbed to the frailties of life by engaging in sexual affairs and plagiarism. He was at once one of us and yet he also inspired our dreams and aspirations for a better world. Among many citizens too he continues to stir strong emotions. Many African Americans and whites believe that there would not have been a civil rights reform movement without him, and others still begrudge his message and denounce him personally. Much like Abraham Lincoln's life, King's continues to inspire a variety of human emotions, generate particular cultural assumptions, and foster reflection on the fundamental values that define American society.

These factors help explain the continuing public fascination with him. But what about historians? Scholars have been more interested in the man than in the myth, and yet they also find it difficult to ignore the mythical aspects of King's persona. Many writing about King today are part of the generation that took part in and witnessed the overthrow of segregation. For some of these writers the history of King's life has been a way to remedy the inequities of the past and to promote further racial reform in American society. It is as a consequence of such scholarship that Adam Fairclough writes bluntly that "balanced and objective assessments of King have always been difficult to find." He adds that "with the exception of David L. Lewis, King biographers have ill-served their subject."³ Scholars too then have experienced difficulty in moving beyond the image of King as icon.

The analysis of historians has also been influenced by King's efforts to resolve what Gunnar Myrdal called the "dilemma" of American society—the existence of slavery and segregation amidst the great democratic experiment for over 200 years.⁴ The struggle of African Americans for equal rights went to the very essence of American society, and the way in which Americans of all types responded to the resolution of this dilemma continues

2. Coretta Scott King, *My Life with Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 1969).

3. Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens, 1987), 3.

4. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1944).

to be a central concern of historians. More narrowly, historians are still trying to come to terms with the ramifications of the civil rights movement and the ways in which King shaped and, in turn, was shaped by the movement.

A number of scholars have been particularly interested in the evolution of King's own thinking and the ways in which his views changed as the central goals of the civil rights movement were achieved. The movement was much larger than Martin Luther King, Jr., as a number of local studies have pointed out, but his pivotal role in national and regional developments makes his own thinking and leadership of fundamental importance.⁵ For scholars, then, and indeed for all groups interested in King and the civil rights movement, publication of the *King Papers* holds considerable importance.

Students of the civil rights movement and the career of Martin Luther King as well as the general public will not be disappointed in this first volume of *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* The edition encompasses the first twenty-two years of King's life, through the completion of his graduate program at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, in May 1951 and before the commencement of his Ph.D. program at Boston University. In the process, it provides readers with insight into the personal, religious, and intellectual development of King. The volume does a very good job of decoupling the real King from the myths that surround him and from the later civil rights period that so dominates our understanding of him.

The editors have included a representative number of King's extant writings during this period of his life and have provided extensive footnotes and marginalia to clarify various events and names for the reader. They have also provided a calendar of King documents and a personal chronology of King and his family. This calendar extends back to 1810 and one of his maternal great grandfathers and from that point forward to June

5. See William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York, 1981); Robert J. Norrell, *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Civil Rights Movement in Tuskegee* (New York, 1985); David Colburn, *Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine, Florida, 1877-1980* (New York, 1985); and J. Mills Thornton, "Challenge and Response in the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-1956," in *The Walking City: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-1956*, ed. David J. Garrow (Brooklyn, 1989), 323-79.

1951 and his father's benediction at the NAACP's annual convention in Atlanta. In between there is a very helpful outline of King's first twenty-two years. To facilitate clarity for readers, the editors have detailed their editorial principles and practices and explained abbreviations. The editorial practices are clear cut throughout and serve to enhance the reader's ability to understand this period of King's life.

In preparing this and subsequent volumes, Editors Clayborne Carson, Ralph Luker, and Penny Russell faced extraordinary pressures in meeting the demands of King's many audiences. Public expectations for this volume are very high, yet, to the credit of the editors, they have not let this influence their decisions about what to include, exclude, or edit in the collection of early King papers.

Of particular merit is the extended introductory essay by Carson which is at once balanced and insightful. He has not hesitated to offer his own interpretation of King's early career where appropriate, as when he asserts that King's "basic identity remained rooted in Baptist church traditions that were intertwined with his family's history" (p. 1) or "that his basic religious and social views were decisively shaped, not by his academic training, but by his formative experiences" (pp. 53-54). Beyond these particular insights, Carson provides readers with an intelligent analysis of King's early career that places in context much of what follows in his personal papers.

Those interested in obtaining a more complete picture of King's life and times than is available in this first volume should begin with one of the two monumental, largely biographical, accounts of King: David Garrow's *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* or Taylor Branch's *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*. Both books received the Pulitzer Prize, and they provide an exhaustive treatment of King's life and times.

In many ways this first volume could well be the most important and revealing of all because the entries are clearly authored by King and because he had no other agenda (such as civil rights reform) in communicating with family and friends and in writing his school papers. Much of King's later work is very difficult to unravel. As Adam Fairclough has observed, King's later "books, articles and speeches were partly or wholly 'ghosted,' and it is not always easy to determine what King did write." David Garrow

shares Fairclough's view and adds that "King's thinking must be based on wide-ranging usage of his hundreds of unpublished sermons and speeches, materials that paint a far more dependable picture of King's beliefs than the heavily edited and ghost-written works that were published in book or magazine form under King's name during his lifetime." Many of King's writings during the Montgomery period and after were also framed within a civil rights context in which King wrote for a particular audience or sought to convey a certain message. Fairclough has also pointed out that, during the post-Montgomery period, King "did not live in an intellectual vacuum; he had a wider circle of friends, colleagues and advisors with whom he debated tactics and strategy."⁶ For these reasons the papers in this first volume have special importance because they provide readers with a view of the young King, the intellectually maturing King, and the King as yet unadorned by the mantle of civil rights leadership.

What we also see in this first volume is King in his formative years, at a point in time when many of his ideas were first taking shape. It is through this volume that one begins to understand why King came to have such broad appeal. As Rosemary Reuther observed over two decades ago, King's thinking had much in common with an "ideology shared by Americans; a combination of prophetic Christianity and the American civic creed."⁷ This understanding of the philosophical and cultural ideals of American society enabled King to communicate so effectively with Americans from all backgrounds.

Although King's ideology would serve him well in speaking to whites and blacks, readers will note especially in this first volume that King's life was rooted in a very close, extended black family of middle-class means, in a life within the southern black Baptist church, in a black community in a deep South city where racial moderation generally predominated but where racial insults and violence were familiar realities, and in a liberal academic

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6. Adam Fairclough, "Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Quest for Nonviolent Social Change," *Phylon* 47 (Spring 1986), 3; David J. Garrow, "The Intellectual Development of Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Influences and Commentaries," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 40 (January 1986), 5.
 7. Rosemary R. Reuther, "The Relevance of Martin Luther King for Today," in *Essays in Honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. John H. Cartwright (London, 1971), 3.

and intellectual environment at Morehouse College and subsequently at Crozer Theological Seminary. In one of his essays in the seminary, King described the importance of a nurturing family life, which conditioned him to be optimistic about human nature (pp. 359-63). He was also very much a part of southern society, and his views as a black Southerner were initially shaped by this culture. This was not yet the man whose own world view bridged lines of communication between blacks and whites and who inspired a generation of black and white folk to join him in the struggle for civil rights reform. But this volume reveals King gradually becoming a man who could move comfortably from the black community to the white and back again, and whose intellectual development was rooted almost exclusively in western ideas— ideas he would eventually incorporate in challenging the dogma of segregation.

One of the central themes of this first volume is the primacy of religion in the evolution of King's thinking. Writers like Walter Muelder have argued persuasively that the principal influences on King's theological and philosophical thought were "that he was born in a Christian home, reared in Christian colleges and seminaries, became a Christian minister, married a Christian woman, established a Christian home, and in the darkest hours of life was sustained by Christian faith and love."⁸

Few would take issue with Muelder, but King's religious life involved more than being a Christian, as Carson comments in his introductory essay. King grew up in a black southern Baptist tradition, and it is that tradition and its influence on King's world view that remained undeveloped in the work of Muelder and many other religious scholars. Although Robert M. Franklin acknowledged that King was first and foremost a Christian pastor, he noted that King "was a pastor who felt compelled to serve in an oppressed community." Franklin added that "King was the product of a black theology of hope" and "as a pastor he affirmed the revolutionary potential of the gospel and the churches." It was this world view that enabled King to be so successful, accord-

8. Walter G. Muelder, "Philosophical and Theological Influences in the Thought and Action of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Debate and Understanding* 1 (1977), 179.

ing to Franklin, and that "made it a compelling attractive possibility to other oppressed persons."⁹

Other scholars have echoed Franklin and highlighted the influence of the southern black Baptist church on him and on the movement. Lewis Baldwin wrote that "King thought of himself above all as a Christian preacher with deep roots in the southern black Baptist Church." In an article in *Ebony* in 1965, King himself commented, "I am fundamentally a clergyman, a Baptist preacher."¹⁰ Like Franklin, James Cone rooted King's theology and his activism in the black church's liberating message of the Gospel and in the oppression of black people. Cone stated further that "in moments of crisis when despair was about to destroy the possibility of making a new future for the poor, King turned to the faith contained in the tradition of the black church."¹¹ Beyond King individually, sociologist Aldon Morris has argued that the black church as an institution provided both the leadership and the organizational structure for the early civil rights struggle.¹²

Although most students now recognize that the southern black Baptist church played a central role in King's social, religious, and intellectual development, remarkably little has been written about the church. Moreover, where King is concerned, we know precious little about how the church's teachings influenced him. In this first volume of King's papers, Carson links King closely to the black Baptist tradition but is unable to provide much additional information to lift the veil on this part of King's life and on his social relationship with the Baptist church. Unfortunately, there are very few King papers that depict the influence of the church.

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9. Robert M. Franklin, Jr., "Martin Luther King, Jr., As Pastor," *Iliff Review* 42 (1985), 4; Franklin, "An Ethic of Hope: The Moral Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 40 (January 1986), 49.
 10. Lewis V. Baldwin, "The Minister as Preacher, Pastor, and Prophet: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *American Baptist Quarterly* 7 (June 1988), 41. The quote from *Ebony* appears in the same article and on the same page.
 11. James H. Cone, "Martin Luther King, Jr., Black Theology-Black Church," *Theology Today* 41 (January 1984), 413.
 12. Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York, 1984).

Clarified in the volume is King's experience with racism and how it shaped him. Early biographies of King have made much of the fact that he encountered racism at an early age and sufficiently, if not repeatedly, to be forever influenced by the episodes. King underscored his first encounter when he wrote in *Stride Toward Freedom* that he remembered feeling discrimination around the age of four when a white neighbor refused to allow her children, who happened to be among King's closest friends, to play with him any longer.¹³

In these papers King expresses his views on southern race relations in a letter to his father and in subsequent correspondence to the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. During the summer following his junior year in high school, King worked with Morehouse College students on a tobacco farm in Connecticut. He wrote his father about the absence of segregation in the North and the open contact between blacks and whites. "On our way here," he wrote, "we saw some things I had never anticipated to see. After we passed Washington the [sic] was no discrimination at all [sic] the white people here are very nice. We go to any place we want to and sit any where we want to" (p. 112). Racism was thus something that he was just beginning to understand, and the trip north gave him a context and comparative perspective for evaluating segregation. During the summer following his sophomore year at Morehouse College, King articulated his views further in a letter to the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. He explained to whites in the region: "We aren't eager to marry white girls, and we would like to have our own girls left alone by both white toughs and white aristocrats. We want and are entitled to the basic rights and opportunities of American citizens" (p. 121).

Upon graduating from high school, King followed his father's wishes and attended Morehouse College, which served as one of the nation's centers of learning for young black men. The impact of the Morehouse years on King's intellectual development has been debated by scholars, and it remains unresolved by this volume. David Garrow was among the first to argue that

13. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York, 1958). Also see David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Leadership Christian Conference* (New York, 1986), 33.

the impact of Benjamin Mays, Morehouse president, and religion professor George D. Kelsey on the young King has been overstated. Garrow pointed out that King was a marginal student at Morehouse and that faculty members regarded him as an under achiever. He was known principally because of the prominence of his father in the Atlanta community. Only Kelsey seemed to appreciate King's potential when he wrote in a letter to Crozer that "his ability exceeds his record at Morehouse."¹⁴

There is little light shed on King's years at Morehouse in this first volume of papers, and what there is seems to uphold Garrow's interpretation. Yet, there is also the clear implication that this was a young man whose personal and intellectual maturity were evolving rapidly toward the end of his student days at Morehouse. Historians would be unwise to assume that little occurred during King's years at the school. Kelsey clearly recognized King's development, even if Mays was not so sure. How to come to terms with King's experiences in these years will not be easy, however, since the written record reveals very little. Oral interviews of schoolmates and teachers clearly will count a great deal in this assessment.

When King matriculated at Crozer, he became part of a small religious community steeped in liberal thinking from the president through the faculty. Taylor Branch described Crozer as being at a critical point in its own history when King arrived in the fall of 1949. With the institution at financial risk, the trustees asserted that liberalism was the source of its small enrollment and its financial insecurity, but President Edward Aubrey and the faculty fought back and sought to preserve its liberal heritage by expanding the incoming class with an unprecedented number of black students. Whether it was pressure on the faculty and president to succeed or a deep-seated belief in liberal religious thought among the Crozer faculty, the seminary's academic approach, according to Branch, involved tearing "down the students' religious belief system and . . . building a body of religious knowledge as rationally as possible," much like a military boot camp.¹⁵

14. Garrow, "The Intellectual Development of Martin Luther King, Jr.," 7. Also see Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 37-38.

15. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* (New York, 1988), 70-73.

King entered this environment rather poorly prepared for its academic rigors, but he worked hard, and, with the aid of small classes and a dedicated faculty, his intellectual abilities matured rapidly. This first volume includes a number of King's research papers at Crozer, and they give evidence of his seriousness as a student and his emerging intellectual sophistication. Scholars are divided over the nature and the extent of the influences on King during these years, but this volume does underscore the central role played by Professor George Davis in King's education. David Garrow noted that King scholars have been remiss in not recognizing Davis's influence: King "took thirty-four of 110 course hours [with Professor Davis] during his three years at Crozer."¹⁶

Garrow based his observations largely on Ira Zepp's doctoral dissertation and his subsequent book with Kenneth Smith, entitled *Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1974). Among Davis's personal letters, Zepp found one from King in 1953 in which he stated: "I must admit that my theological and philosophical studies with you have been of tremendous help to me in my present studies. In the most decisive moments, I find your influence creeping forth." Zepp observed in his dissertation that among King's early biographers, only David Lewis referred to George Davis and then only with reference to Davis's interest in Gandhi.¹⁷

While acknowledging King's debt to Davis, Harold DeWolf, King's mentor at Boston University, saw his intellectual development relying heavily on the teachings of Jesus Christ and Edgar Brightman's and DeWolf's personalistic philosophy, of which George Davis was himself a leading disciple. King wrote in *Stride Toward Freedom* that "personalism's insistence that only personality—finite and infinite—is ultimately real strengthened me in two convictions: it gave me metaphysical and philosophical

16. Garrow, "The Intellectual Development of Martin Luther King, Jr.," 439.

17. Ira G. Zepp, Jr., "The Social Vision of Martin Luther King, Jr." (Ph.D. diss., St. Mary's Seminary, 1971), 5, 8; republished in 1989 by Carlson Publishing, Brooklyn, NY. Also see Kenneth L. Smith and Ira G. Zepp, Jr., *Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Valley Forge, 1974). None of King's early biographers, including Louis Lomas, Lerome Bennett, John Williams, or Coretta Scott King, mentioned Davis.

grounding for the idea of a personal God, and it gave me a metaphysical basis for the dignity and worth of all human personality."¹⁸ DeWolf wrote that King's acceptance of personal liberalism encouraged his "liberal method, his warm evangelical spirit and his social concerns."¹⁹

In this volume of King's papers, several of the class projects that underscored his commitment to personal liberalism during his days at Crozer are included. He wrote in Davis's course "Christian Theology for Today" that humanity, not God, stands at the center of the process of redemption (p. 263). The concept of "a society governed by the law of love" (p. 272) resonated well with King's concern for the place of African Americans in the nation and became the basis for the concept of the "Beloved Community" that stood at the center of his civil rights leadership.

Branch, Garrow, Lewis, and several other scholars have pointed out that, while at Crozer, King was also introduced to the works of many leading philosophers, particularly Walter Rauschenbusch and Reinhold Niebuhr, both of whom had at least as much influence on King's world view as personalism. Branch contended that it was Rauschenbusch's commitment to social ethics as opposed to metaphysics and piety that played a central role in shaping King's thinking. Rauschenbusch's social ethics represented an obvious extension of King's belief that humanity, not God, stands at the center of the process of redemption. For King and others, Branch argued, "Rauschenbusch rescued religion from sterile otherworldliness by defining social justice as the closest possible human approximation of God's love."²⁰ Branch and Garrow agreed on the prominence of Rauschenbusch in King's thought at this stage in his life, and Garrow

18. King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, 100.

19. L. Harold DeWolf, "Martin Luther King, Jr., as Theologian," *The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 4 (Spring 1977), 8. King himself wrote subsequently in *Strength to Love* (New York, 1963), "More than ever before I am convinced of the reality of a personal God." Davis believed that injustice and exploitation would eventually fall before the forces of liberty and justice and that "for the fully religious man nothing less than the world can be his parish." Zepp and John Ansbro observe that Davis was also a pacifist and an advocate of nonviolence as a means of social change. It was these views that King came to embrace.

20. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 73-74.

added that King was taken with Rauschenbusch's optimism about human nature.²¹

These scholars and many others have also argued that Reinhold Niebuhr was a major influence on King's thinking, although there remains less certainty on precisely how Niebuhr influenced him as opposed to Rauschenbusch. King encountered Niebuhr's work at Crozer in his studies with Davis and Kenneth Smith. According to Garrow, Niebuhr revealed to King the darker side of man and challenged Rauschenbusch's social activism as misplaced and naive. Garrow and others remained convinced, however, that King was more persuaded by Rauschenbusch than Niebuhr about man's natural goodness, but, due to Niebuhr, he gained a better understanding of the complexity of human motives.²² For Walter Muelder, Niebuhr's social ethics and applied Christianity spoke persuasively to King, but the future civil rights leader was troubled by and eventually resisted Niebuhr's neo-Augustinian view of people and his argument that there was no intrinsic moral difference between violent and non-violent resistance.²³

In his introductory essay Clayborne Carson adds to the debate about Niebuhr's influence on King, contending that scholars have overstated King's attraction to Niebuhr in *Stride Toward Freedom*. Carson observes that the documentary record of his years at Crozer reveals that few of his papers even mention Niebuhr and that King's "increasing awareness of the neo-orthodox critique of liberalism derived from a variety of sources in addition to Niebuhr" (p. 55).

The many biographies and other writings on King emphasize various theological and philosophical influences on him, ranging from Jesus Christ to Gandhi, A. J. Muste, and Henry David Thoreau, and from Immanuel Kant and Georg Friedrich Hegel to Karl Marx.²⁴ King was introduced to the works of all these

21. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 42.

22. *Ibid.*, 42-43. Also see James P. Hanigan, "Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Shaping of a Mind," *Debate and Understanding* 1 (Spring-Summer 1974), 193-96.

23. Muelder, "Philosophical and Theological Influences in the Thought and Action of Martin Luther King, Jr.," 185-86.

24. For further reading see C. Eric Lincoln, *Martin Luther King, Jr., A Profile*, (New York, 1970); Lenwood Davis, *I Have a Dream. . . . The Life and Times of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Westport, CT, 1969); David L. Lewis, *King: A*

men at various stages in his education at Morehouse and Crozer, but with the exception of Christ, Rauschenbusch, and Niebuhr, his intellectual indebtedness to the others is not so obvious at this point in his life and is not clearly revealed in this first volume of the *King Papers*. He was exposed to many new ideas while at Crozer, but the *King Papers* suggest that only a few were central to his own thoughts.

During much of King's life, and especially following his death, many historians and religious scholars have tended to view King's intellectual roots through the prism of his civil rights activism. Thus, scholars like Stephen Oates and others have argued that King's thinking was shaped significantly by the writings of Mohandas K. Gandhi on nonviolence, Walter Rauschenbusch's social gospel, and Reinhold Niebuhr's Christian realism. Oates wrote that King "read Rauschenbusch in a state of high excitement. Here was the Christian activism he longed for."²⁵ Such an intellectual heritage and emotional attachment, of course, fit conveniently with King's civil rights activism.

The influence of Thoreau also squared nicely with the American tradition of social protest, but again there is little in King's own writings at this stage in his life, or for that matter after he became a civil rights activist, to suggest that Thoreau played a major role in his thinking. Some scholars have simply assumed a connection during his days at Morehouse and Crozer and have gone on to describe the intellectual linkages between King and Thoreau.²⁶

Intellectual ties to Gandhi appealed further to those who sought to link King to an international movement on behalf of the oppressed. Oates contended that "King embraced Satyagraha as the theoretical method he had been searching for." The Reverend J. Pious Barbour, a prominent black religious leader and close friend to King during his days at Crozer, was among those

Critical Biography (Chicago, 1978); Lerone Bennett, Jr., *What Manner of Man: A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Chicago, 1969); Smith and Zepp, *Search for the Beloved Community*; and John S. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind* (Maryknoll, NY, 1982).

25. Stephen B. Oates, "The Intellectual Odyssey of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Massachusetts Review* 22 (Summer 1981), 305.
26. Donald Smith, "An Exegesis of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Social Philosophy," *Phylon* 31 (Spring 1970), 89.

who contended that King was influenced by Gandhi's pacifism. He claimed that King read and re-read books on Gandhi and argued with him all through the night on several occasions in favor of Gandhi's methods.²⁷ Muelder also asserted, as have others, that King first became fascinated with Gandhi after hearing a lecture by Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard University and that he was especially attracted to Gandhi's "campaigns of non-violent resistance."²⁸ Not surprisingly, literally all Indian scholars who have written about King alleged his debt to Gandhi.²⁹

Garrow is among several who have challenged this depiction of King's intellectual heritage. Garrow noted that when Glenn Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation visited King during the Montgomery protests, King acknowledged having read some of Gandhi's writings but said that "I will have to say that I know very little about the man." There is also little evidence in this first volume that King had developed an intellectual affinity for Gandhi, but it is also clear that he had some familiarity with Gandhi and had read A. J. Muste, a leading American pacifist and exponent of Gandhi's views.³⁰

The first volume of King's papers is at best sketchy on King's ties to these political and social activists. It is clear, however, that at this point in his life, King was first a student of theology. His interest in Rauschenbusch, Thoreau, and Gandhi grew out of his theological training and not out of his desire to become a social activist.

In much of the early scholarship about King's thinking, there is remarkably little reference to the fact that he was a black theologian. In the aftermath of King's death, Herbert W. Richardson claimed that King was "the most important theologian of our time."³¹ Yet King's position as a black theologian had

27. Stephen B. Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 1982), 30. Also see Hanigan, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," 191; and King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, 84-85, 96-98, 217-18.

28. Muelder, "Philosophical and Theological Influences," 185.

29. See Hanigan, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," 83.

30. Garrow, "The Intellectual Development of Martin Luther King, Jr.," 11. Also see Carson, et. al., eds., *King Papers*, 434-35.

31. Herbert Warren Richardson, "Martin Luther King-*Unsung Theologian*," *New Theology*, no. 6, ed. Martin E. Marty and Dean G. Peerman (New York, 1969), 178.

almost no place in Richardson's essay. Four years later Walter Steinkraus made reference to the influences on King as a trained philosopher. Although his primary purpose in this essay was to look at the originality in King's thinking, Steinkraus made no reference to the fact that King came out of a black southern Baptist tradition.³² In an essay in *The Journal of Religious Thought*, Paul Garber, while noting that the purpose of his scholarship was the exploration of King's intellectual thought, argued appropriately that it "leaves us with a rather pale copy of the man and his thinking." Garber suggested that King could not be understood fully "as long as his participation in the Black experience in America is ignored."³³ In *A Black Theology of Liberation*, James Cone also noted King's connection to other historic black preachers when he wrote that King revived the struggle for freedom begun by black preachers during the antebellum period.³⁴

What these writers did not fully appreciate and what the King Papers make clear is King's debt to his father for both his Christian faith and his commitment to racial justice. Several King biographers have noted the tension between King and his strong-willed father, and this first volume underscores that relationship, but it also points out that King began to understand and appreciate his father much more once he got out from underneath his shadow. This Freudian relationship with his father and King's own sense of history and intellectual maturation were more crucial to his role as a civil rights leader than were his connections to other black preachers and social activists.

In the maturation of King's thinking at Crozer, did the writings of Karl Marx have any significant impact on his intellectual development? For many scholars, this remains an intriguing debate. If, as some have argued, King was shifting toward a Marxist

32. Warren E. Steinkraus, "Martin Luther King's Personalism and Nonviolence," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34 (January-March 1973), 103.

33. Paul R. Garber, "King Was A Black Theologian," *Journal of Religious Thought* 31 (Fall-Winter 1974-1975), 16-19. Also see John Rathbun, "Martin Luther King: The Theology of Social Action," *American Quarterly* 20 (Spring 1968), 38.

34. James H. Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation* (New York, 1970), 77-78. Also see James H. Smylie, "On Jesus, Pharaohs, and the Chosen People: Martin Luther King as Biblical Interpreter and Humanist," *Interpretation* 24 (January 1970), 76-77.

perspective near the end of his life, then at which point in his life did he begin to weigh the pros and cons of Marx's writings? Barbour has noted in his own comments about the Crozer years that King "was economically a Marxist . . . and [stated] that we wouldn't solve these [racial] problems until we got a new social order." Martin Luther King, Sr., observed in his autobiography, *Daddy King*, that he and his son differed frequently about the value of capitalism and that his son "often seemed to be drifting away from the basics of capitalism and Western democracy."³⁵ Adam Fairclough has insisted that King became a Marxist near the end of his life and believed that a fundamental change in American capitalism was essential to the well being of black Americans and the poor.³⁶

Whether this argument has merit or not, it is certain that King began to inquire into the writings of Marx during his days at Crozer, as the first volume of his papers points out. It is equally clear, however, that, at this stage in his life, Marx's arguments were at best peripheral to King's intellectual development. King was troubled by Marx's atheism, and he had trouble reconciling that with his own religious commitment, but King also had doubts about the ability of capitalism "to meet the needs of the masses" (p. 436).

Not all scholars are persuaded that the religious and philosophical roots of King's thoughts are critical to understanding his career as a civil rights advocate. Fairclough, for one, has pointed out how difficult it is to determine the impact of religious inspiration on King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Rather than wrestle with what he perceived to be the uncertainty of the role of the church and King's own religious and philosophical training, Fairclough opted to leave it out and focused instead "on the rational calculation behind SCLC's actions, on logic rather than emotion."³⁷

In the conclusion of his introductory essay on King's academic career at Crozer, Clayborne Carson writes, "He had been dutiful,

35. See Garrow, "The Intellectual Development of Martin Luther King, Jr.," 9; and Martin Luther King, Sr., *Daddy King: An Autobiography* (New York, 1980), 147.

36. Adam Fairclough, "Was Martin Luther King a Marxist?" *History Workshop Journal* 15 (Spring 1983), 121-23.

37. Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 9.

inquisitive, well read, and able to win the approval of his professors, but his theological beliefs were subtly derivative, based on a priori assumptions about the nature of divinity and increasingly suited to his anticipated needs as a preacher rather than a scholar" (p. 57). Carson's assessment here is influenced in part by David Lewis, who wrote of King later in life that "his intelligence was essentially derivative" and that he "lacked the comprehensive critical apparatus and the inspired vision that bless good philosophers."³⁸ There can be little doubt that King had yet to become a scholar with independent views when he left Crozer Seminary in 1951, but his thinking was clearly evolving and becoming more sophisticated. He increasingly brought his own life experiences to bear on his reading and learning, and something of the religious activist was beginning to take form. In his desire to be objective, Carson perhaps underestimates the intellectual development of King at this point in his life.

This volume offers an important opportunity for scholars to revisit King's early career and to reexamine the extensive literature on King's religious, intellectual, and social formation. It should be especially valuable in prompting scholars to reevaluate King's intellectual formation and the nature of his world view before he became a civil rights activist.

During his own lifetime, King recognized the importance of history and his connection to both a black past and an American past. It was within the context of history that King challenged America's racial traditions and called upon the nation to live up to the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence. To understand King fully and to appreciate the evolution and complexity of the man and the movement, scholars have to look beyond his civil rights activism and the civil rights movement. In King's case, one must keep in mind that he belonged to a rich racial, religious, and intellectual heritage that defined him individually yet also connected him to the larger black and white communities of his time. This first volume of the *King Papers* will do much to assist us in this regard.

38. Lewis, *King*, 45. Also see Harold DeWolf, "King as Theologian," 1-11.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– “Manchac, the Small Tribes and the Descoudreaux-Thomas Rivalry” (continuing study).

Ethan A. Grant– “They Stayed on: The British Settler Community at Natchez, 1763-1800” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Owe J. Jensen– “The Defense Forces of West Florida in the American Revolution” (master’s thesis in progress).

Emory University

Lois Virginia Meacham Gould– “In Full Enjoyment of Their Liberty: The Free Women of Color of the Gulf Ports of New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola, 1769-1860” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah Whitmer Foster (faculty)– “From a Springtime of Hope: The Life of Chloe Merrick Reed” (continuing study).

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– “James Hudson: Civil Rights Leader in Tallahassee, Florida, 1955-1975”; “Madison County, Florida, 1830 to 1860: A Case Study in Land, Labor, and Prosperity”; “The Peculiar Institution in Jackson County, Florida, 1824-1865”; “The Role of the Florida Overseer, 1821-1865”; “A Statistical View of Florida Overseers and Drivers in Florida, 1821-1865”; “A Statistical View of Land and Slaveownership in Florida, 1821-1865”; “The Role and Status of Antebellum Physicians in Middle Florida, 1821-1865”; “The Role and Status of Antebellum Lawyers in Middle Florida, 1821-1865”; “The Role of Female Slaves on the Antebellum Florida Plantation”; “Indentured Servitude on the Wirtland Plantation: An Experiment that Failed, 1833-1834”; “Regulation of Free Blacks in Territorial Florida, 1828-1845: The Case of Nicholas Pargos” (continuing studies).

Florida Atlantic University

- Donald W. Curl (faculty)– “Romance in Stone: Mediterranean Revival Architecture in Florida,” with Fred Eckel (publication forthcoming); “The Privatization of Palm Beach’s Ocean Boulevard”; “Howard Major’s Palm Beach Architecture”; “Lost Palm Beach,” with Fred Eckel (continuing studies).
- Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)– “Florida Seminole Tribal Government in the Early Years, 1957-1979” (continuing study).
- William H. Kramer– “Walter Reid Clark: Broward County’s Legendary Sheriff” (master’s thesis completed).
- Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)– “The Pattern of Race Relations in Miami since the 1920s”; “Building the Second Ghetto in Miami, 1940-1960”; “‘South of the South’: Blacks, Jews, and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960” (publications forthcoming); “Race and Labor: Progressive Unions and Race Relations in Miami, 1940-1960”; “The Latinization of Florida” (continuing studies).
- Martin Shaw– “The Jews of Greater Miami: A Historical Perspective” (master’s thesis completed).
- Robert A. Taylor (faculty)– “Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy” (study completed); “Lucius B. Northrop and the Second Seminole War”; “Lincoln’s Loyalists in Florida”; “Ft. Pierce’s Naval Amphibious Training Base, 1943-1946” (continuing studies).

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee

- Henry Baker– “Archaeological Excavations at Fort Foster” (publication forthcoming).
- John H. Hann– “The Mayaca and Jororo and Missions to Them”; “Visitations and Revolts in Florida, 1656-1695”; “Leadership Nomenclature Among the Spanish Florida Natives and Its Linguistic and Associational Implications”; “The Missions of Spanish Florida”; “The Apalachee of the Historic Era” (publications forthcoming); “Florida’s Timucua”; “Survey of Spanish Florida’s Natives” (continuing studies).
- Bonnie G. McEwan– “The Spanish Missions of La Florida” (publication forthcoming).

- James J. Miller and Louis Tesar– “Florida’s Historic Contexts: A Framework for Management” (publication forthcoming).
- Louis Tesar– “Johnson Sand Pit (8Le 73): A Paleoindian-Early Deptford Base Camp in Leon County” (publication forthcoming).
- Brent R. Weisman– “Archaeology at the Fig Springs Mission”; “The Origin and History of Florida’s Seminoles and Miccosukees,” with John K. Mahon; “Crystal River: Ceremonial Mound Complex on the Florida Gulf Coast” (publications forthcoming); “Pioneer in Space and Time: John Mann Goggin and the Development of Florida Archaeology” (continuing study).

Florida Department of Natural Resources, Tallahassee

- Joe Knetsch– “The Armed Occupation Act of 1842”; “A General History of Florida Land Policies” (continuing studies).
- Joe Knetsch and Edward Keuchel– “The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida” (continuing study).

Florida Museum of Natural History

- Kathleen Deagan (faculty)– “Archaeological Investigation of the Original Town Settlement and Forts of Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine” (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– “Voices from the Land– An Introduction to Native American Indians of Early Colonial Florida” (publication forthcoming).
- Jerald T. Milanich and Kathleen A. Deagan (faculty)– “The Timucua Indians” (publication forthcoming).

Florida Southern College

- James M. Denham (faculty)– “Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida”; “William Pope DuVal” (continuing studies).
- Mary M. Flekke (faculty)– “Frank Lloyd Wright: An Oral History of Florida Southern College” (continuing study).

Florida State University

- Canter Brown, Jr.– “Fort Meade, 1849-1900”; “Race Relations in Territorial Florida, 1821-1845”; “Lower Peninsular

- Florida's Political Economy During the Second Spanish Period"; "The Southern Loyalist Convention, the Congressional Elections of 1866, and Black Suffrage"; Bishop Payne and Resistance to Jim Crow in Florida During the 1880s" (studies completed); "Ossian Bingley Hart, Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1913"; "Biography of John J. Dickson," with David J. Coles (continuing studies).
- David J. Coles— "Military Operations in Florida During the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- David J. Coles, Don Hillhouse, and Zack Waters— "The Florida Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg" (continuing study).
- Tracey Denise— "Florida's Tax Structure and the Modern State" (master's thesis in progress).
- Edward F. Keuchel (faculty) and Joe Knetsch— "The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida" (continuing study).
- Kevin Kline— "The Pork Chop Gang: Florida's Bourbon Legacy" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Mary Jane Le Poer— "Changing Roles and Expectations of Women in Leon County, Florida, During World War II" (master's thesis completed).
- Kathleen McCarron— "Prohibition in Leon County, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Clay Outzs— "The Democratic Presidential Primary of 1976: How Jimmy Carter Won the Nomination" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- J. Anthony Paredes (faculty)— "Paradoxes of Modernism and Indianness in the American Southeast" (continuing study).
- Patrick Riordan— "Finding Freedom in Florida: African Americans, Native Americans, and Escape"; "Rye House Schemes and Carolina Dreams: The Conspiratorial Background of the Scottish Settlement at Port Royal, S.C." (studies completed); "Seminole Genesis: Europeans, Africans, and Native Peoples in the Lower South" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- William Warren Rogers (faculty)— "A History of Goodwood Plantation and the Croom Family," with Erica Clark; "Florida in the 1920s and 1930s"; "A History of the

Rosewood, Florida, Episode of 1923," member of five-person team preparing report for the Florida Legislature and Board of Regents (continuing studies).

Cecile-Marie Sastre— "A History of Florida Land Grants in the Second Spanish and Territorial Periods" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Francis Abreu, Boom-Time Architect of Ft. Lauderdale" (continuing study).

Victor Triay— "Al Capone in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Sally Vickers— "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's Congresswoman and Diplomat" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

Stanley C. Bond, Jr.— "Archaeological Investigations of North Beach, a Post-Contact Native-American Site" (report completed).

Stanley C. Bond, Jr., Susan Parker, and Bruce John Piatek— "Archaeological Investigation of Ribera Gardens Site," with Julie Wizorek (report completed); "Historical and Archaeological Investigation of Government House"; "Interpretation of St. Augustine's Colonial Defense Lines"; "History and Archaeology of the Eligio de la Puente Site (SA24)"; "Fatio Lot/Sixteenth-Century Cemetery Lot (SA23)," with Valerie Bell (continuing studies).

Susan R. Parker— "Spanish St. Augustine: Family Life"; "Childhood"; "The Triracial Community"; "'Urban' Indians' Property Ownership" (continuing studies).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

Tina Bucuvalas— "South Florida Folklife" (publication forthcoming).

Brent Cantrell— "South Florida Folklife"; "Afro-Caribbean Religions"; "First Generation Africans in South Florida"; "Nicaraguan Arts in South Florida"; "Trinidad Carnival" (continuing studies).

Robert S. Carr— "Archaeology of Dade County" (continuing study).

Paul S. George— "Aviation History of Dade County"; "Maritime History of Dade County" (continuing studies).

Arva Moore Parks– “Dade County”; “City of Miami Centennial” (continuing studies).

Rebecca A. Smith, J. Andrew Brian, Remko Jansonius– “Detroit Photocroms of Florida, Cuba, and the Bahamas” (exhibition forthcoming).

W. S. Steele– “Seminole Wars in South Florida” (continuing study).

Patsy West– “Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees”; “Seminoles in Tourist Attractions and Expositions”; “The Settlement of the Everglades: A Miccosukee Cultural History” (continuing studies).

Jacksonville University

George E. Buker (faculty)– “The East Gulf Blockading Squadron and the U.S. Second Florida Cavalry” (study completed); “The Union Sailor-Confederate Deserter Alliance in Florida” (publication forthcoming).

Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)– “A History of Florida’s Frontiers, c. 1500 to c. 1870” (continuing study).

Miami-Dade Community College, Wolfson Campus

Paul S. George (faculty)– “A History of the Burdine (Department Store) Family”; “The Hurricane of 1926”; “The Armed Occupation Act of 1842”; “The Maritime History of Greater Miami”; “Floridians and the Tuskegee Project (‘Experiment’)” (continuing studies).

Monroe County May Hill Russell Library

Alex Vega– “Key West Fire Department” (continuing study).

John Viele– “Florida Keys History” (continuing study).

Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee

Jeana E. Brunson and R. Bruce Graetz– “Florida’s Civil War Flags” (continuing study).

Julia S. Hesson– “Florida Farm Kitchens of the 1920s and 1930s, Home Extension Work in Florida”; “Florida on the

Eve of the Great Depression”; “General stores, c. 1900” (permanent exhibits forthcoming).

Charles R. McNeil– “Pensacola Red Snapper Industry”; “Fishermen’s Labor Union in Pensacola”; “Union Bank Minute Book” (continuing studies).

North Florida Junior College

Joe A. Akerman, Jr. (faculty)– “The Life and Times of Jacob Summerlin” (continuing study).

Pensacola Junior College

Brian R. Rucker (faculty)– “Brick Road to Boom Town: The Story of Santa Rosa County’s ‘Old Brick Road’” (publication forthcoming); “History of Santa Rosa County”; “History of the West Florida Citrus Industry”; “Antebellum Pensacola” (continuing studies).

Rollins College

Jack C. Lane (faculty)– “The Other Side of Paradise: Writer’s Critical of Florida,” with Anne Rowe (continuing study).

Saint Leo College

James J. Horgan (faculty)– “The Origins of Higher Education in the State of Florida” (continuing study).

The St. Augustine Foundation Inc., Flagler College

Eugene Lyon– “Translations, Revillagigedo Archives”; “Pedro Menéndez de Avilés” (continuing studies).

St. Augustine Historical Society

Page Edwards– “Turpentine Manufacturing and Naval Stores in St. Johns County”; “Medical Practices in Territorial Florida”; “The Battle of Natural Bridge”; “Divorce Procedures in Florida, 1890-1921” (continuing studies).

State University of New York at Albany

Stanley C. Bond, Jr.– “Tradition and Change in First Spanish

Period Architecture (1565-1763): A Search for Colonial Identity” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Tallahassee Museum of History & Natural Sciences

- Eleanore Lenington– “Home Remedies, Cure-alls, and Doctoring in Rural Leon County, 1888” (continuing study).
 Gwendolyn B. Waldorf– “James Page in Leon County: Plantation Preacher and Community Leader” (continuing study).

University of Central Florida

- Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)– “History of Altamonte Springs”; “History of Florida,” with William Coker (continuing studies).

University of Florida

- Robert Austin– “Archaeology of the Kissimmee River Valley” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
 Brinnen Carter– “Archaeology of Early Archaic Period Peoples” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
 Samuel Chapman– “Seventeenth-Century Native Settlement Systems in North Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).
 James C. Clark– “The 1950 Florida Senatorial Primary between Claude Pepper and George Smathers” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
 Shelia Croucher– “Imagining Miami: Toward a Theory of Ethnicity in the Post-Modern World” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
 James Cusick– “An Archaeological Study of Ethnicity in Second Spanish Period St. Augustine” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
 Herbert J. Doherty (faculty)– “History of the Florida Historical Society”; “Railroads of North Central Florida”; “Biography of David L. Yulee” (continuing studies).
 Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– “Sesquicentennial History of Florida” (publication forthcoming).
 Sherry Johnson– “Casualties of Peace: The Floridano Diaspora in Cuba, 1763-1791” (continuing study).
 Stuart Landers– “Anatomy of a Movement: Protest and Ac-

tivism in Gainesville, Florida, 1963-1973" (continuing study).

David McCally– "An Environmental History of the Florida Everglades" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Dixie Neilson– "Keepers of the Flame: Early Lighthouse Keepers in St. Augustine, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Larry Odzak– "Odysseys to America: The Origins and Growth of Greek-American Communities in the Southern United States" (continuing study).

Susan R. Parker– "Economic Relations in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Florida" (continuing study).

Claudine Payne– "Political Complexity in Chiefdoms: The Lake Jackson Mound Group and Ceramic Chronology in Northwest Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Ruth Rocolli– "Gender and Conquest: The Role of Women in the European Colonization of La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Donna Ruhl– "Paleoethnobotany of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spanish Mission Sites in Coastal La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Richard K. Scher (faculty)– "The Modern Political Campaign" (continuing study).

Richard K. Scher, Jon Mills, and John Hotaling, "Voting Rights: Law, Politics, and Democracy" (study completed).

Thomas Vogler– "The Use of Aerial Remote Sensing to Interpret Aboriginal Settlement Systems in the Lake Okeechobee Basin" (master's thesis in progress).

Bertram Wyatt-Brown (faculty)– "The Percy and Related Families" (publication forthcoming).

University of Miami

Gregory W. Bush (faculty)– "Miami and the Culture of Spectacle in Modern America"; "Anti-Communism and South Florida Political Culture, 1930-1960" (continuing studies).

Patricia R. Wickman– "Discourse and Power: Native Americans and Spaniards Negotiate a New World in La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of North Florida

James S. Crooks (faculty)– “Jacksonville Since Consolidation” (continuing study).

University of South Florida

Keith Haldeman– “Blanche Armwood” (master’s thesis in progress).

Janet M. Hall– “School Desegregation in Hillsborough County, Florida” (master’s thesis completed).

Gary R. Mormino (faculty)– “Florida During World War II” (continuing study).

Robert E. Snyder (faculty)– “World War II Films Made in Florida” (continuing study).

University of West Florida

Frances Barrow– “History of Okaloosa County in the Twentieth Century” (master’s thesis in progress).

Richard Brosnaham– “Pensacola Historic Preservation Board” (master’s thesis in progress).

Jane E. Dysart (faculty)– “Indians in West Florida, 1500-1830” (continuing study).

George F. Pearce (faculty)– “A History of the Civil War in Pensacola” (continuing study).

Vanderbilt University

Jane Landers (faculty)– “Florida, The World Around Us”; “Race and Society in Florida: The African American Heritage from 1565 to the Present,” with David R. Colburn (publications forthcoming); “Free and Slave”; “Florida’s Colonial Plantations,” with Susan Parker (continuing studies).

Consulting, Research, and Local Historians

J. Allison DeFoor, II– “Odette Phillippe at Tampa Bay” (continuing study).

J. Larry Durrence– “The Influence of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in Florida” (continuing study).

Julius J. Gordon– “Facts About Afro-Americans in Hills-

borough County, Florida, 1870-1890"; "Census of Hillsborough County, Florida, 1890" (studies completed); "Vessels Entering Tampa Bay, Nineteenth Century"; "Church History, Hillsborough County, Florida, 1840-1900" (continuing studies).

Bruce John Piatek— "Washington Oaks State Park (Flagler County) and Archaeological Survey" (report completed).

Zack C. Waters— "Florida's Confederate Soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia"; "Fifteenth Confederate Cavalry (Florida and Alabama Troops) and the War in the Florida Panhandle" [continuing studies].

Patricia R. Wickman— "Osceola's Journey: The Seminoles Remember the Florida Wars"; "The Uncommon Man: Senator George A. Smathers of Florida" (continuing studies).

University of Alabama Press, forthcoming publications

Elizabeth Shelfer Morgan— *Uncertain Seasons*.

University Press of Florida, forthcoming publications

D. Bottcher and F. Izuno, *Everglades Agricultural Area: Its Water, Soil, Culture, and Environmental Management*.

Mitchell Marken, *Pottery Recovered From Spanish Shipwrecks: Finds from the 16th Through 18th Centuries*.

Jerald Milanich, *Voices From the Past: Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida*.

Jerald Milanich and Samuel Proctor, *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeast Georgia* (first paperback edition).

Ferdie Pacheco, *Ybor City Chronicles*.

Nicolas Patricios, *Marvelous Miami: The Building of a City*.

William H. Sears, *Fort Center: An Archaeological Site in the Lake Okeechobee Basin* (first paperback edition).

Ann Shoemeyan, ed., *Florida Statistical Abstract*.

H. Stevenson and B. Anderson, *The Birdlife of Florida*.

Roger Tarr, ed., *Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings' Short Fiction*.

Woody Walter, *Visions of Florida*.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Spanish Frontier in North America. By David J. Weber. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. xx, 579 pp. List of illustrations, list of maps, acknowledgments, Spanish names and words, abbreviations, notes, select bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

In 1921, more than seven decades ago, the Yale University Press published a volume on the Spanish frontier in North America. That book, Herbert E. Bolton's *The Spanish Borderlands, A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest*, helped to focus scholarly attention on the history of Spanish colonial activities across what is now the southern portion of the mainland United States. Spanish borderland studies, nourished by Bolton and his academic offspring, became a research interest of several generations of historians.

Such studies have continued to flourish, especially in the last two decades when historians have been joined in inquiry by anthropologists, archaeologists, geographers, and demographers. New data and ways of looking at past interpretations have produced additional viewpoints and greater understanding of the Spanish northern frontier and the events and people that gave it life.

In his well-researched volume, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, historian David Weber takes advantage of these new sources and views to weave a readable overview of the history of the Spanish borderlands from Juan Ponce de Leon's initial voyage in 1513 to Mexican independence in 1821. Bolton surely would have given this successor to his own book an "A."

A recurrent theme of *The Spanish Frontier* is the claim that to understand Spanish colonization in the region north of Mexico we also must understand the nature of the indigenous groups that occupied the region. Just as the native American Indians were transformed by the European presence, so too did indigenous societies help to shape the character of Spanish colonial efforts. And because the native societies were extremely diverse across the southern United States, the Spaniards employed different approaches to colonization in different regions. As Weber notes, in regions occupied by sedentary populations, Spanish missions could be organized as a means of extracting native

labor, while forts and soldiers were needed to control non-sedentary native groups who sought to escape Spanish domination.

But even though native cultures and languages differed widely, as a group, the North American Indians were more alike one another than they were the Spaniards. This cultural gulf left the indigenous peoples and the Europeans worlds apart and resulted in the conflicts that occurred as Spanish officials sought to extend domination north of Mexico and the Caribbean. Pitted against a centrally organized society with unsurmountable technology and devastated by old-world diseases, some native groups succumbed. Others successfully adapted to the European presence. To begin to understand the concerns of Native Americans and Hispanic Americans in the United States today, one might do well to read *The Spanish Frontier*.

In this volume the author takes us on a journey through time and space, from the early Spanish explorers of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century to the foundings of St. Augustine and Santa Fe. By skillfully shifting from east to west and back again, Weber allows us to view the New Mexico and Florida settlements against the larger backdrop of Spanish empire. In subsequent chapters he takes us to the La Florida and the Rio Grande Spanish-Indian missions of the seventeenth century.

Throughout the text, events and people are placed in large and small contexts. To understand the destruction of the Florida mission system in the early eighteenth century and the subsequent establishment of Spanish missions and presidios in Texas and California is to comprehend the commercial and imperial rivalries among England, France, and Spain. To understand the transformation of frontier peoples in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is to grasp the histories of San Antonio and Los Angeles as colonial towns.

In a final chapter Weber focuses on our Spanish legacy as it is viewed (and used) today. At a time when multiculturalism and ethnicity are popular themes in our society, his discussion is especially germane. As the author notes, "The past is gone; what may be important is what we make of it." For his part, David Weber has made a major contribution, one that will help us to understand not only colonial North America, but also the present-day residents of that region.

The People Who Discovered Columbus: The Prehistory of the Bahamas.

By William F. Keegan. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992. xx, 279 pp. Figures, maps, tables, preface, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

The People Who Discovered Columbus is an archaeological and ethnohistorical study of the Lucayan Arawaks, the native peoples of the Bahamas. It focuses on the origins of the native societies of the Bahamas, their sociopolitical organization, their subsistence economics, population sizes, and post-Columbian history.

The book contains three sections: background, prehistoric culture history, and contact period history. The first section encompasses chapters 1 through 3. Chapter 1 presents an overview of the prehistory of the West Indies which relies on recent archaeological data and reinterpretations of early Spanish accounts to paint a picture that is significantly more complicated than the traditional three-stage colonization model. Chapter 2 gives a brief description of the Bahamian environment that suggests that the Bahamas were inviting and quite capable of supporting small-scale chiefdoms. Chapter 3 addresses the historical trajectory of the Taino colonization of the Bahamas.

The middle section of the book presents the substance of Keegan's paleoethnography. Chapter 4 examines Taino settlement patterns in the Bahamas in light of models of island colonization and Keegan's interpretation of the settlement of the archipelago. Chapter 5 contains a cultural materialist examination of political and social organization in kin-based societies. Keegan argues that the Bahamian chiefdoms were matrilineal, avunculocal societies. This organization grouped related males in villages and facilitated the effective consolidation of power and authority in a matriline. Chapter 6 examines subsistence, using data drawn from ethnohistorical sources, zooarchaeological remains, and isotopic studies of human remains. The author concludes that the diet of the native peoples of the Bahamas changed through time from an early reliance on root crops, land animals, and high-yield marine species to a greater reliance on marine resources and a lessened use of land animals, and, finally, as populations grew further, to an even more-intensive use of marine resources and the expansion of horticulture to include maize and beans. Chapter 7 examines prehistoric population growth in the archipelago.

The third section looks at the "discovery" of the Bahamas by Christopher Columbus and the early post-Contact history of the

Islands. Chapter 8 looks at the historical and archaeological evidence for the first encounter between Europeans and the Lucayan Islands; that is, Christopher Columbus's landfall. It presents analyses of historic documents and archaeological evidence (in the distribution of fifteenth- to sixteenth-century European artifacts) that argue for an initial landfall on San Salvador in the Central Bahamas. Chapter 9 brings the story to an end. Columbus was followed to the Bahamas by others, including Amerigo Vespucci, who took 232 Lucayans as slaves in 1499. Between 1509 and 1512 Spanish slave raids effectively depopulated the islands.

In the final chapter of the book Keegan discusses his methodology for developing a paleoethnography of the Lucayan Arawaks. It is an explicitly positivist approach. This is a cultural materialist study, using models of subsistence procurement strategies, island colonization, and demography growth borrowed from biology. Keegan argues that despite the acknowledged limitations of his data, the use of multiple lines of investigation and consistent agreement of the data he does have serve to test repeatedly his model of Bahamian prehistory. The result, he argues, is a "robust theory."

One can look at Keegan's book in two ways: as a culture history and as an example of how to do archaeology. As a culture history, I found it reasonable but suffering from limited data that forced Keegan to rely on theoretical constructs to fill in the gaps, with "spot checking" provided by the evidence. Before accepting his story as the final word on Bahamian culture history, I would like to see more data. Nevertheless, the book is also an excellent example of how one goes about constructing an archaeological study of a region and addressing not only problems of local culture history but also broader questions concerning the manner in which human societies function. The processualist approach that Keegan employs, however, does have its critics, and not all archaeologists agree with the basic underpinnings of Keegan's approach to archaeology. With that caveat, I recommend the book to anyone interested in the culture history of the Caribbean region or good archaeology.

Francisco Bouligny: A Bourbon Soldier in Spanish Louisiana. By Gilbert C. Din. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993. xv, 265 pp. Preface, abbreviations, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$45.00.)

This excellent study by Professor Gilbert Din is not just a biography of Francisco Bouligny, but it is also a good overview of Spanish Louisiana, 1763 to 1800. Din provides a brief history of Louisiana from its cession to Spain in 1762 to Bouligny's arrival with General "Bloody" O'Reilly in 1769. The biography then becomes as much a history of Louisiana as it is a biography of Bouligny, although the central figures in this study are the Bouligny family and the various Spanish officials with whom they interacted.

It is obvious that Bouligny was something of a martinet. He outspokenly resented the least challenge to his authority and constantly worked to become governor, the highest ranking Spanish official of Louisiana. He did become acting governor on several occasions but never achieved his goal. Bouligny served in the war against Great Britain and participated in the sieges of Mobile and Pensacola, but whereas many other officers received several promotions for their wartime service, Bouligny did not. He had alienated Governor Bernardo de Gálvez earlier, and his promotions were literally put on hold until after Gálvez's death in 1786. Bouligny finally received promotion to brigadier in September 1800, but by the time the patent arrived in New Orleans he had died.

Din also provides information on Bouligny's family, with biographical sketches of his children. Since about the only positions of any social and political importance in Louisiana were cadets and officers in the Spanish army, the male members of the family filled these roles.

Of interest to the history of Florida are references to the Spanish-British war in West Florida, 1779-1781. There are also some references to individuals who were stationed at Pensacola and San Marcos de Apalache after 1781 as members of the Louisiana Infantry Regiment. But Bouligny served most of his years between 1769 and 1800 in Louisiana. Din believes Bouligny's major contribution was his *Memoria* of 1776, in which "he made important commercial recommendations, which when adopted represented the first major changes in Louisiana after the Spanish takeover. Based on reality, they rejected many of the regulations that the myopic O'Reilly had imposed" (pp. 224-25).

The descendants of Francisco Bouligny in Louisiana have made major contributions to that colony and state. There is an active society, The Bouligny Foundation, which is a Louisiana nonprofit corporation organized to produce and promote historical studies of the life, times, and family of Don Francisco Bouligny. Although Din does not mention the Foundation in his book, he is one of its honorary directors.

Din used a wide range of primary and secondary materials in this study, which will undoubtedly remain the definitive biography of Bouligny for many years.

University of West Florida

WILLIAM S. COKER, emeritus

Calumet & Fleur-De-Lys: Archaeology of Indian and French Contact in the Midcontinent. Edited by John A. Walthall and Thomas E. Emerson. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992. viii, 307 pp. Contributors, illustrations, photographs, tables, maps. \$45.00.)

The editors and the publisher are to be congratulated for bringing out this collection of papers generated by the 1988 Conference on French Colonial Archaeology in Illinois County, sponsored by the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency. The purpose of the conference was to bring together researchers involved in French colonial-period studies. It was organized to explore French colonial sites and Indian sites, shedding light on French and Indian contact. Papers dealing with French archaeological sites were published by the University of Illinois Press as *French Colonial Archaeology* (1991). This volume deals with Indian sites and the French connection; as such it fulfills the intention of the editors. As historic archaeology evolves as a distinct discipline, perhaps similar conferences will be organized to the benefit of both archaeology and history.

The western Southeast is covered by Ian Brown (Chapter 1) and Gregory Waselkov (Chapter 2), who provide an overview of French-Indian relations in Louisiane. Whereas Brown's chapter is a synthesis of political stratagems, Waselkov provides some details on commerce, as seen from Fort Toulouse in southwest Alabama, between the French out of New Orleans and the Alabama Creeks. Dan Morse (Chapter 3) describes the problems and successes in locating the late seventeenth-century Michigamea villages in Arkansas.

Jim Brown's and Tom Emerson's detailed background of late prehistory in the Illini heartland, in Chapter 4, provides a basis for understanding the diverse tribes present in the area at the time of European contact. Perhaps their most important contribution is evidence that the complex chiefdoms centered at Cahokia, Kincaid, Angel, and elsewhere had broken down prior to A.D. 1500. Whatever the mix of factors bringing about the collapse of these complex agricultural societies, it is clear that European-introduced diseases played no role. The theoretical ruminations they provide regarding the "direct historical approach" should be required reading for any student of European-Native American relations.

The final six chapters are particularistic treatments of narrow topics such as aboriginal pottery (Walthall, Chapter 6); individual sites (Walthall, Norris, and Stafford, Chapter 5); clusters of related sites (Branster, Chapter 7; Birk and Johnson, Chapter 8; Turbowitz, Chapter 9; and Stelle, Chapter 10). Each of these chapters include interesting data that provide a better understanding of not only changes in Indian cultures, but also the mechanics of such change.

Although the subject matter covered does not touch on the French presence in northeast Florida during the sixteenth century or later in the panhandle, the book should be of interest to Florida specialists because it demonstrates some positive contributions archaeology can generate towards solving historical problems.

With the cost of books such as they are, I cannot refrain from noting that a single comprehensive list of cited references could have cut the book's length by some ten pages. Nonetheless, the book is attractive and put together solidly.

National Park Service, Tallahassee

BENNIE C. KEEL

The Development of Southeastern Archaeology. Edited by Jay K. Johnson. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. viii, 343 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, references cited, contributors, index. \$29.95, paper.)

This new reader on southeastern archaeology consists of eight papers dealing with the history of the development of specific archaeological specialties, a theoretical overview, and a brief conclusion. There is an extensive bibliography of 110

pages. The specialties covered include ceramics, lithics, physical anthropology (the study of human remains), ethnohistory (the use of ethnographic and historic documents), zooarchaeology (the study of animal bones), paleoethnobotany (the study of plant remains), archaeometry (trace element analysis), and multispectral imagery (remote sensing). The stated purpose of the book is to describe the history and practice of the relatively recent marriage of physical sciences and archaeology. The book is written for archaeologists, primarily those who specialize in the prehistoric (pre-Columbian) period and who are well acquainted with past and current archaeological method and theory in the United States. In my opinion, the primary place for this book in archaeology programs is as a reader in senior- or graduate-level seminars in southeastern archaeology. The extensive references will be very useful for background research. This book does not treat Florida history, but the ethnohistory paper by Galloway will be of interest to colonial historians.

The papers provide a concise synopsis of the specialties in archaeology listed above. The authors chronicle the development of each field and relate those developments to the changing theoretical approaches in American archaeology which have developed in the last century. There is much useful information which has been pulled together in this publication and is not available elsewhere. The publication will be used by researchers and serious students of southeastern archaeology.

In my opinion, the title of the publication is somewhat misleading, as it infers that it is a detailed history of archaeology in the Southeast. Although there is much about the historical development of archaeology in this region, it is biased towards seven specialties within the general field of archaeology. Although the extensive references are useful for research, devoting so much space to references is overdone. These two criticisms are relatively minor, and the volume should be required reading for students and professionals alike who practice academic and private archaeology in the southeastern United States.

University of West Florida

JUDITH A. BENSE

The Papers of Henry Clay: Supplement, 1793-1852. Edited by Melba Porter Hay. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992. xii, 388 pp. Preface, symbols and abbreviations, calendar of unpublished documents, essay and calendar of Clay artwork, bibliography, errata, index. \$50.00.)

Henry Clay ran for the White House in three different decades, losing each time. Arguably the most talented also-ran in American presidential history, the "Sage of Ashland" enjoyed a political and diplomatic career that began before the War of 1812 and ended as the sections drifted towards collision in the 1850s. During that time he achieved a well deserved reputation as a nationalist dedicated to the preservation of the Union at all costs.

This final supplemental collection of Clay's papers provides materials discovered too late to be included in the original ten-volume series. The work proves particularly valuable for the quarter century between the peace negotiations with Great Britain (1814) and the election of William Henry Harrison (1840).

The correspondence reveals both a public and private Clay. The public man bursts onto the national scene through his service as speaker of the House of Representatives and his diplomatic efforts to end the War of 1812. His ambition and ego surface along with his patriotism. Although scant information amplifies the Missouri Compromise, a marvelous exchange of letters regarding the divisive battle for the presidency in 1824 constitutes a high point of the book. Clay, confident in his own ultimate success, consistently refused to view Andrew Jackson as a serious candidate until late in the campaign. The contest resulted in the eventual triumph of John Quincy Adams and the devastating charge that a "corrupt bargain" had delivered the White House to Adams and the State Department to Clay.

We learn little of Clay's cabinet service except that the labors of state exhausted him. Instead, the correspondence focuses upon Clay's attempts to refute the "corrupt bargain" allegation and capture the National Republican (Whig) party nomination in 1832. Remaining public letters explain Clay's antipathy towards the Democrats, a party of "Goths and spoilers" (p. 278). He anguished over "Old Hickory's" executive usurpation of power, noting that "Jackson ruled by intimidation, and Van Buren by corruption" (p. 277). Clay opined that if the Whigs lost the great political opportunity presented them in 1840 the party would never gain the presidency in his lifetime. "Old

Tip's" subsequent victory must have tasted bittersweet for the maligned and frustrated Kentuckian.

The letters also depict a private Clay— lawyer, farmer, and reformer. Retained by the Bank of the United States as legal counsel, Clay typically charged \$500 for an appearance before the Supreme Court. He concurrently maintained an active interest in the hemp industry and cattle breeding, acquiring an estate valued at over \$125,000. Clay actively perpetuated the ideas of the American Colonization Society— a movement to send free blacks “back to Africa.” Although he regarded slavery as a “curse,” Clay owned fifty slaves and considered abolitionists as “misguided.” Unfortunately, we learn little about Clay's extensive family, his wife Lucretia and their eleven children, in this volume.

This carefully edited and informatively footnoted work provides a superb capstone to the Clay papers. The editors have added a bonus by including an exceptional bibliography and a fascinating listing of artwork depicting Clay. It is unfortunate that the price may keep the work off the shelves of many libraries.

University of South Florida

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK

This Happy Land: The Jews of Colonial and Antebellum Charleston.

By James William Hagy. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. xi, 450 pp. Introduction, illustrations, photographs, tables, afterword, appendix, glossary, bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

In the introduction to this impressive book, James Hagy writes, “I began this study out of a curiosity as to why Reform Judaism in America should originate in Charleston, a city more often known for its conservatism and its aristocratic values” (p. 2). He quickly realized that he could not explore the origins of the movement without examining the community as a whole. On route to understanding the creation of the Reformed Society of Israelites in 1824, Hagy draws upon a wide range of sources and significantly furthers the existing account of Charleston Jewry. In the end, however, the author's original question remains unsatisfactorily answered, overshadowed by a myriad of vignettes, tables, and biographical sketches.

Much of the story of Charleston's Jewish community parallels the experience of Jews in other American cities. For the most part, Spanish and Portuguese Jews comprised the earlier

settlers, only to be supplanted in the nineteenth century by their European brethren. Hagy finds that Charleston's Jewish residents enjoyed all the rights accorded whites, were relatively successful in business, and tended to be clannish. In the early stages of community development Jews established a synagogue, followed later by various benevolent societies. With growing ethnic diversity among the inhabitants came institutional factionalism. By 1854 Charleston was home to three synagogues— each offering a different religious service.

Professor Hagy devotes considerable attention to family life and economic pursuits. He illustrates the intertwining of religion and family in marriage and naming patterns, child rearing, education, and death. His chapter "Women and Work" complements this story. Jewish and antebellum southern traditions regarding women had much in common. Women had distinct roles apart from men, yet reality often differed from the ideal. Hagy notes the important part wives played in the business affairs of their husbands. Some readers may be surprised to learn that although 50 percent of the city's Jewish businessmen were shopkeepers, few began as peddlers. Dr. Hagy might have explored where these business men raised the capital necessary to acquire a store. Use of the R. G. Dun & Company credit reports and city board of trade records would have provided insight into Jewish economic life, at least for the antebellum period.

In successive chapters— "Living in Charleston" and "The Birth of Reform Judaism"— Hagy considers the connection between southern culture and Jewish religious reform. He begins with a forceful argument that Jews adopted the attitudes of slaveholding society— evidenced by slave ownership, exclusion of blacks from synagogue membership, duelling, and participation in the Nullification Crisis. In accounting for reform, however, he does not effectively extend the discussion of Jewish life in southern society. He overemphasized the impact of Jewish intellectuals in Europe who called for religious reform and neglects the importance of cultural conditions in the South that prompted Charleston's Jews first to adopt and then adapt these European ideas. It is no coincidence that half the reformers were born and raised in the South.

At the heart of Hagy's search for the origins of Reform Judaism in America is the issue of southern Jewish distinctiveness. In inquiring "Why Charleston?" he must decide whether coincidence or an aspect of Charlestonian society prompted its Jews to alter radically their religious practices. Had Dr. Hagy asked tougher questions of his primary sources and made better

use of the secondary literature in Jewish and southern history his fine community study would have had far greater historiographic significance.

University of Florida

MARK I. GREENBERG

This Terrible Sound: The Battle of Chickamauga. By Peter Cozzens. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992. xii, 675 pp. List of maps, list of illustrations, acknowledgments, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

This volume is the second in a series of studies by Peter Cozzens of battles in the western theater of the Civil War between the major armies of the North and South. The first book in the series detailed the battle of Stones River (*No Better Place to Die*, 1990), the clash between the forces of Confederate General Braxton Bragg and Union General William Rosecrans which ended Bragg's attempt to drive the Federals from Tennessee.

This Terrible Sound picks up with the renewal of the Bragg-Rosecrans duel after a hiatus of several months. The author details Rosecrans's strategy in successfully maneuvering Bragg completely out of Tennessee into northwest Georgia. In the process, Bragg evacuated the important Confederate city of Chattanooga. But just south of Chattanooga Bragg turned and attacked Rosecrans who had dangerously divided his army in an effort to block the Confederate line of retreat.

The result was the bloody two-day battle of Chickamauga during which both armies suffered exceptionally high casualties. Bragg attempted to turn Rosecrans's left (the Union army was in a rough north-south line facing east) in order to push the Union army away from Chattanooga. As the battle developed, however, the Confederates broke the Federal right, defeating Rosecrans soundly, but forcing his army back into Chattanooga. Bragg's victory proved to be hollow when the Federal army later defeated the Confederates in battles around Chattanooga and set up William T. Sherman's decisive Georgia campaign of 1864.

Cozzens's strategy in relating the story of Chickamauga is to focus on commanders and brigades. He relates the problems of fueding within the high command of the Confederate Army of Tennessee, although he does not really explain the roots of the problems which extended back prior to the battle at Stones River. Cozzens is also a bit extreme in his negative view of Bragg.

Certainly Bragg is vulnerable to criticism for his conduct in this and other campaigns. In relating the famous story of Bragg lieutenant General Leonidas Polk, for example, Cozzens concludes that the story of Polk sitting on the front porch of a house reading a newspaper when he should have been moving his men into battle was the fabrication of Bragg staff officer Major Pollock Lee. Lee's motive was supposedly to help Bragg have a scapegoat, namely Polk, for the delayed attack. It may be so, but there is no proof for Cozzens's assertion either in footnotes or in the text.

Florida readers will be interested in reading of the exploits of several Florida regiments as the battle developed. Cozzens's decision to concentrate on regiments places the reader in the midst of the fighting, giving a soldier's-eyeview of battle. The result is a reminder that large-scale battles are won and lost at the regimental level, especially when there is as much confusion as there was on both sides at Chickamauga. The problem in reading this kind of detailed history is that the big picture is often obscured. Cozzens seemed determined to include every anecdote as well as every biographical detail of commanders down to the colonel level.

This abundance of information bogs down the narrative to the point that the reader often wonders in vain what is going on in the overall context of the battle. Sacrificing interpretation and relevance in favor of detail seems to be symptomatic of many recent studies of Civil War battles. One only hopes that future studies of this genre reverse the trend.

Despite its shortcomings, *This Terrible Sound* is the best book currently available on Chickamauga. Cozzens's research is thorough, and his writing style entertaining. Before tackling this complicated volume, however, readers might be well advised to read first the old standard, less obtuse work on the battle, Glenn Tucker's *Chickamauga: Bloody Battle in the West*.

Mississippi State University

MICHAEL B. BALLARD

The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 10, February-July 1866.

Edited by Paul H. Bergeron. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992. xxxii, 798 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, editorial method, symbols and abbreviations, short titles, chronology, illustrations, appendices, index. \$49.50.)

"The Constitution of the United States and the principles of free Government are deeply rooted in the American heart,"

President Andrew Johnson told the supportive crowd that had gathered outside the White House on Washington's birthday, 1866. Certainly the Constitution was close to his own heart, he indicated, but it got little respect from his congressional opponents, the Radical Republicans. The American people would be on his side, he added, when they came "to understand who was for them and who was against them" (p. 155).

Two months later, on April 19, the president assured a group of black people who were celebrating the fourth anniversary of emancipation in the District of Columbia, "I repeat, my colored friends, here to-day, the time will come, and that not far distant, when it will be proved who is practically [i.e., in actual practice] your best friend" (p. 432). And he meant, of course, himself.

Johnson's constitutional principles (not to mention his racist feelings) caused him to veto the legislation that the Radicals passed to give a modicum of protection to the recent slaves—the Civil Rights Bill and the Freedmen's Bureau bills. In vetoing the latter, he said the bureau could be justified only as a war measure. Now that the war was over, the courts, both state and federal, were in "full, complete, and successful operation," and the "protection granted to the white citizens" was "already conferred by law upon the freedman" (p. 698). Such was hardly the case, as Johnson should have known from evidence being submitted to him, including Ulysses S. Grant's report that in Alabama there had been several times as many "outrages committed by Whites against Blacks" as vice versa (p. 254).

By his vetoes, Johnson proved himself to be something less than the blacks' best friend. At the same time, he failed to convince a majority of northern voters that he, rather than the Radical Republicans, was on their side. The fiasco of his presidency was not yet apparent, but the ground was being laid for it during the half year from February to July 1866, a time which, together with the preceding three months, constituted "perhaps the most crucial period in the administration of Andrew Johnson," as Hans Trefousse has written (p. xviii).

This is the central theme of the tenth volume of the Johnson papers. An unusually large number of documents were available for the period, so the editor faced a difficult problem of selection. He has chosen well. Many of the items are familiar enough but are here brought together accurately and conveniently for the first time. Many others have never before appeared in print. The editing, as in previous volumes, is impeccable.

University of North Carolina RICHARD N. CURRENT, emeritus
at Greensboro

The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction. By Edward L. Ayers. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. xii, 572 pp. Preface, illustrations, photographs, epilogue, acknowledgments, appendix, abbreviations used in notes, notes, index. \$30.00.)

The Promise of the New South successfully blends historical synthesis and original research to portray a South from 1880 to 1906 that is both newer and more diverse than the one that we have known. Its author, Edward L. Ayers, represents a rare combination: a historian who writes eloquently and quantifies convincingly. His work is the most important overview of the New South since C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South*.

After Reconstruction the South faced the task of rebuilding its society, politics, and economy. The question of how much the South that arose differed from the South that fell has occupied historians since. Woodward, the most convincing voice in the debate, favored change over continuity, arguing that segregation and poverty were not slavery's inevitable legacy and that southern political leaders retained their power through anti-democratic means.

Ayers strains to hear the rank and file, those Southerners not represented in Woodward's work. He listens well. In the book's first eight chapters, African-American sharecroppers, white schoolgirls, traveling salesmen, and hard-drinking timber workers speak in clear, personal voices. They sound surprisingly modern, focused as they are on the main chance to earn more money, to paint the town red, or to sing the blues. Ayers is at his best when he recreates the material culture of their world, mixing New South boosters' booming predictions of technological and economic progress with the bubbling excitement of Southerners seeing indoor bathtubs for the first time, or of all of Marion, Alabama's, telephone subscribers listening to a string band coming over the wire from the drugstore and into their homes.

Ayers steps back from his subjects in the second half of *The Promise of the New South* and begins to write about them in his own voice. The line of historical argument becomes much stronger. His encyclopedic grasp of the literature in southern history enables him to fashion other historians' interpretations into a clear and compelling storyline, while identifying lacunae which he fills with primary research. Two examples demonstrate the importance of his approach and his skill in its execution. Ayers assembles new data to explain which African Americans were lynched, by whom, and why: "The counties most likely to

witness lynchings had scattered farms where many black newcomers and strangers lived and worked" (p. 156). Likewise, historians have long speculated about the ideology that prompted struggling Farmers' Alliance members to abandon the party of their fathers for the Populists. Ayers shows that Populists were most likely to be cotton farmers living in an area already touched by railroads and commercial activity but without mills or large towns, where an unresponsive Democratic party offered the only political alternative (p. 281).

Ayers includes chapters on spirituality, music, and literature. His focus on the biracial holiness movement captures the excitement that black and white Southerners felt as they invented a form of religious expression to fit their experiences and emotional needs. Offering histories of jazz, blues, and white country music, Ayers debunks the mythology that attributes their uniqueness to the preservation of centuries-old traditions in isolation. Rather, he argues, they grew more distinctive as time passed, or, as he puts it, "Southern culture was invented, not inherited" (p. 373). The chapter on southern literature reminds readers of Southerners' dominance of the bestseller lists at the turn of the century, directly linking that heritage to the later flowering of southern letters.

While Woodward's *Origins of the New South* ends in 1913, Ayers chooses the Atlanta race riot of 1906 as a symbolic stopping point. In many ways this is a sound decision. It captures the high point of African-American despair and demarcates the divide between the racially contested and the segregated South. But much that was really new about the New South came between 1906 and 1920, for two reasons. First, southern women, black and white, assumed new places in the public sphere and crafted new political agendas in those years. Second, southern white labor began to articulate a class-conscious critique of a society that shaped the deployment of power in both economic and political circles during the remainder of the twentieth century. But, after more than 500 pages, it is a testimony to Ayers's thoughtful research and lively prose that one wishes for a longer book. *The Promise of the New South* offers an exemplary synthesis of historical writing on the New South, adds critical, original scholarship, and redefines in human terms the many "minds of the South."

The Paradox of Southern Progressivism: 1880 - 1930. By William A. Link. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. xviii, 440 pp. Preface, abbreviations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00.)

William A. Link, professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, examines the impact on the South of crusades for prohibition, antiprostitution, antihookworm, child labor regulation, public school improvement, woman suffrage, and interracialism during "the first truly national reform movement in American history" (p. 322). In a narrative replete with quotations from primary sources, he shows how southern reformers were linked to such organizations as the Anti-Saloon League and the National American Woman's Suffrage Association and to northern philanthropists. Among the reformers highlighted are Alexander Jeffrey McKelway, Presbyterian editor, prohibitionist, advocate of child labor regulations, and white supremacist, and Benjamin Earle Washburn, who directed county health in North Carolina with financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation's International Health Board (IHB). But rural Southerners, who were generally poor and rooted in "a political culture that stressed individualism and reinforced localism" (p. 322), had little rapport with the reformers and resented bureaucratic intervention into their lives and communities.

To treat the infected and to awaken public opinion to better hygiene, the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission for the Eradication of Hookworm Disease had collaborated with state health officials. Later, the IHB strengthened state health regulations by threatening to cut off funds to states that did not adopt its standards. As a result of IHB's experiments in intensive rural health demonstrations, "the South emerged as the first region in the United States to develop a permanent, bureaucratic system of rural public health" (p. 222). But blacks began to benefit only in the mid 1920s when the Julius Rosenwald Fund agreed to pay a quarter of the costs of black public health nurses in rural areas.

To centralize and systematize southern schools, the General Education Board paid the salaries of agents attached to state departments of education. These agents promoted community financing of high schools or supervised rural schools for blacks and whites. Although Link notes that "women played a central role in the extension of state authority" (p. 234), he omits progressive educator Celeste Parrish, who was appointed, in 1911,

state supervisor of rural schools in the North Georgia District. In 1914 the Atlanta School Board appointed her to survey and recommend curricular and pedagogical reforms for the city's white public schools. By the 1920s educational bureaucrats had persuaded southern states to enact compulsory attendance laws, to consolidate schools, and to provide bus transportation for pupils.

The construction and improvement of black schools also promoted better race relations. After World War I North Carolina launched "the most ambitious program of black secondary education in the South" (p. 245). The racial crisis also prompted the formation, in 1920, of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which sought regular interracial contacts while maintaining white control.

Underscoring the centrality of familial ties, Link discusses the child labor and woman suffrage crusades in the chapter entitled "Family." While parents opposed compulsory school laws because they needed their children's labor or income, communities resented the consolidation of school districts and higher taxes. Although woman suffrage had such articulate advocates as Virginia novelist Mary Johnston, who predicted in 1910 that the twentieth century would be the "Woman's Century," southern suffragism was defeated because many rural women opposed it. In addition, opponents raised fears about increasing federal control of local matters and the possibility that white supremacy would be diluted if black women voted.

Link has ably shown the "paradox" of the southern reform crusades from 1880 to 1930. "Perceived as interlopers and outsiders, who deserved resistance rather than cooperation" (p. 321), reformers found that even with philanthropic support and a growing bureaucracy, they could not successfully ameliorate the many health, educational, and labor problems in a region strongly defined by individualism and localism. Ultimately, the South would be transformed by federal power and money during the New Deal and the Great Society.

University of South Carolina

MARCIA G. SYNNOTT

The Social Gospel in Black and White: American Racial Reform, 1885-1912. By Ralph E. Luker. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. xiv, 445 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, photographs, conclusion, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$39.95.)

The last years of the nineteenth century brought much optimism about the consummation of the Kingdom of God throughout the United States of America. At least for leaders of the Protestant establishment, the energy of the social gospel meant concrete action and tangible change in day-to-day life. Ironically, the same period that promised and, in many cases, enacted progressive legislation saw a deterioration of race relations. Jim Crow laws first appeared, and the lists of American citizens subjected to the vigilante justice of lynch mobs became disproportionately laden with black men. Yet Ralph Luker points out that the irony therein is, in some respects, an illusion. While there was little in the way of improved race relations, the subject of racial injustice occupied much attention by leaders of the social gospel in both the black and white communities.

Luker acknowledges that although social gospel leaders charted a radical vision demanding the recognition of the full humanity and equality of African Americans, they employed "methods and priorities [that] were conservative" (p. 29). Early efforts by Protestant churchmen were conducted through home missions agencies and centered around colonization efforts. Optimistically, leaders theorized that black Americans would not only develop in an atmosphere of peace and prosperity in their native African land but also that "a well-educated few missionaries" would provide a ready source for missions on a continent ripe for Christian civilization (p. 56). By the 1890s this vision was replaced by a focus on the education and acculturation of blacks and, more than any other single effort, a drive to end lynching.

Still, division plagued the movement. After the Civil War the nation had chosen to enfranchise black males as an integral part of the education and acculturation process; by the latter years of the century, however, the wisdom of the Fifteenth Amendment was called into question. Some who had stood at the forefront of abolitionism came to believe that education and acculturation must come first. Though they reflected the growing racism of the late nineteenth century, Luker notes that most social gospelers were at least consistent in their ideology, condemning "racist" efforts that disfranchised uneducated blacks but allowed illiter-

ate whites to continue voting. Luker also charts the series of forums and organizations that arose to combat the heightened racism of the late nineteenth century, explaining how each failed to survive divisions within the white and black components of the movement. All the while, segregation moved towards entrenchment, increased numbers of black voters were disfranchised, and lynchings increased. After 1904, however, Luker sees the beginning of a slow but sustained drive toward improved race relations. Although racial harmony and civil rights were not shining marks of social gospel success, the continued struggle for equal rights was ultimately related to the issues and positions that Protestant leaders championed and refused to let die. Their debate and the theology that resulted laid the groundwork for the civil rights struggle of the twentieth century.

Luker's research helps us understand the many dimensions of the social gospel. Although the movement was influenced by larger trends in American society, race was never ignored by social gospel leaders. While a wide variety of racial ideologies found expression in their ranks, social gospelers demonstrated genuine concern for blacks and upheld their integrity as full and equal members of the Kingdom of God. *The Social Gospel in Black and White* illuminates a much-misunderstood period of the American past and a little-known phase of the nation's religious history. Particularly helpful are Luker's notes and a lengthy bibliographical essay. Photographs of key individuals add a nice touch to this important contribution to the scholarship of the social gospel.

Appalachian State University

JAMES R. GOFF, JR.

The Mind of the South: Fifty Years Later. Edited by Charles W. Eagles. (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1992. xii, 204 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, contributors, index. \$38.00.)

In honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the 1941 publication of W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South*, the University of Mississippi's Porter L. Fortune Symposium on Southern History gathered scholars to re-examine the impact, status, and legacies of this classic work. From the three-day event, editor Charles W. Eagles has presented six papers and five commentaries that, collectively, praise and damn Cash's contributions to southern history, sociology, and literature. *Quarterly* readers particularly

will note the participation of Anne Goodwyn Jones and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, both of the University of Florida. Papers were read by Jones, Bruce Clayton, Orville Vernon Burton, James L. Roark, Edward L. Ayers, and John Shelton Reed, while Wyatt-Brown, Michael O'Brien, Don H. Doyle, Lacy K. Ford, Jr., and Linda Reed served as commentators.

This collection offers a mixture of pro- and anti-Cash arguments, if such terminology is permissible. In keeping with the quality of the contributors, the level of scholarly debate is very good. Since C. Vann Woodward castigated Cash in 1969, the historiographical trend has flowed with the "antis," and the tone of these pieces underscores that point. "He cavalierly ignored vast amounts of information and dismissed the need for documentation," Jones declared, "not only avoiding accuracy and completeness but suggesting that he did not value them" (p. 26). Roark scored Cash's insistence upon continuity in southern history, while O'Brien, Jones, and Linda Reed lamented the author's failure to treat properly racial, gender, and other issues. The most interesting exchange occurred between Jones and O'Brien. The former provocatively insisted that Cash was a Gramscian Marxist, an argument which ironically compelled O'Brien, one of Cash's principal detractors, to defend Cash's reputation.

The "pro" side tended to be much shier. J. S. Reed asserted, "This is a good book" (p. 139), but a more-typical comment was Burton's "Even if historians ignore Cash, they still are playing off his ideas and insights" (p. 61). Perhaps the most representative of the pro sentiments was Ford's: "For all of these shortcomings," he insisted, "Cash wrote a book of enormous and enduring emotional power" (p. 109). Wyatt-Brown concluded, "He wrote a superb study that partially withdraws the veil surrounding the Southern enigma" (p. 165).

Given the interesting and often insightful debate presented, this collection still leaves the reader unsatisfied. The problem, I think, lies in the failure of the historical profession, as evidenced by the neglect of these otherwise fine papers, to deal with at least one critical issue. Cash is criticized for not reaching far enough beyond the limitations of his world as it was changing, for clinging to continuity and stability when a greater sensitivity for the present and future was called for. This conference was held in 1991, as our world dramatically was changing. Yet, the perspectives presented essentially were those of 1941 or 1969. Has the profession caught itself in the same trap that purportedly snared Cash? Is, for instance, the debate over continuity or discontinuity so important in light of the failure of Marxist

theory and communism in much of the world? Or, is a conscious effort needed to re-examine issues and reassess professional approaches and methods with a sensitive eye fixed on the changes that are affecting us?

Ayers came closest to the point when he noted: "Cash dealt with facets of experience for which we do not currently have a language. By taking Cash seriously despite his sins, we can see some of the boundaries of our own ideas" (p. 121). Whether Cash was correct or incorrect on a given point, the "language" of the historical profession should be flexible enough to include contemplation of his arguments and appreciation of his methods. The continuing debate over *The Mind of the South* illustrates the profound impact of its author's ideas. Surely we owe him enough respect to avoid ourselves the same sins for which we would condemn him.

Florida State University

CANTER BROWN, JR.

The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity. By James C. Cobb. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. xiv, 391 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, index. \$27.50.)

No serious overview of the last century of U.S. history can evade the issue of how continuous southern divergence from the rest of the country has been and how tenaciously the region has sought to remain socially and culturally intact. Therefore no thesis might seem more revisionist than James C. Cobb's: Dixie's most distinctive corner has long been absorbed into the national system of commodity exchange and public policy; and the ten counties constituting the heart of the Mississippi Delta have been inextricably a part of America, rather than an exotic and die-hard counterpoint to it. "Despite its image as an isolated, self-sustaining, ultra-southern anachronism," he writes, "many of the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta's primary identifying qualities, especially the enduring contrasts in lifestyles and living conditions that it presents, are less a reflection of its Old South beginnings than a postbellum experience characterized by more than a century of consistent and close interaction with the pervasive influences of the modern American economic and political system" (p. 329). His book is an extensive, engrossing, and literate amplification of that assertion.

The secondary literature on the Delta and the rest of the state is already about as rich as the alluvial soil itself, and this study draws heavily upon such sources (including doctoral dissertations and master's theses). The legacy of the planters speaks volumes. Cobb is also the sort of historian who likes to read other people's mail, like the letters of the Percy patriciate, as well as the diaries of other planters— a class that dominates this account (though less so than they ruled over the Delta itself). He writes descriptively rather than analytically or critically, goes with the flow of the historiographical traffic, and uses such material to buttress his thesis rather than to modify or complicate it.

The reader's reward is a forthright, coherent, and lucid argument, which Cobb does not push too far. He does not claim that the Delta *resembled* the rest of the United States (or even the rest of the South); despite the title, this is not comparative history. He wishes instead to combat the assumption that insularity enabled the Delta to keep setting the clock back, to preserve unchanged the chasm between the leisure of the planters and the wretchedness of the sharecroppers. The book never gets around to showing how much of a variant from the rest of the region the Delta was, with its relatively high ratio of bluebloods to rednecks and relatively low ratio to black folk. But Cobb is a splendid ethnographer, inviting himself into both the elegant mansions and the tar-paper shacks, recording the anxieties about cotton prices and debutante balls among the elite, as well as the musical heritage of the blues which the lowest caste created to deal with its humiliation and its desperation. The church is curiously downplayed, however, in part due to the author's Braudelian touch: society, polity, and culture can all be traced to natural conditions and to the way the soil is tilled.

Cobb is especially informative on the economic forces that drove everybody— white and black— in the Delta. He traces with subtlety the combination of coercion and manipulation with which the planters maintained their power and their status, and he shows their dependence upon a steady supply of black field hands. This vulnerability lasted until about half a century ago, when the mechanization of agriculture coincided with the providence of farm subsidies from Washington, D.C. The fears of the ruling class were vindicated: by belatedly intervening in race relations (and offering families of the poorest laborers welfare payments), the federal government further subverted "the most Southern place on earth."

Anti-Racism in U.S. History: The First Two Hundred Years. By Herbert Aptheker. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992. xvi, 246 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, notes, bibliographic comment, index. \$47.95.)

"My study has persuaded me that the following generalizations are valid," Herbert Aptheker observes in his book *Anti-Racism in U.S. History: The First Two Hundred Years*: "(1) anti-racism is more common among so-called lower classes than among the so-called upper class; (2) anti-racism especially appears among white people who have had significant experience with people of African origin; and (3) anti-racism seems to be more common among women than men."

The evidence to support these claims, is mixed. The fact that the majority of white southern males who perished in the years 1861-1865 in the defense of the slave South owned no slaves raises troubling questions about the accuracy of Aptheker's first proposition. His second assertion would lead to the conclusion that white anti-racism should have been most forceful in the postbellum American South, since this was the period in which the largest number of whites had experience "with people of African origin." This would seem a dubious proposition at best. Finally, to test the third of Aptheker's generalities is a challenge that would confound any attempt at substantive testing. There simply is no answer available to the assertion that women have been less racist than men, despite Aptheker's claim.

Aptheker's central thesis is that "anti-racism has persisted in this nation's history and is an important, though grossly neglected, aspect of that history." In this work, therefore, he proposes to trace the historical path of "anti-racism."

Aptheker's work is a derivative study almost in its entirety. He draws largely on the work of other scholars, picking and choosing the fragments of those works that serve his thesis. Evidence of miscegenation, which is both abundant and noted across generations of scholarship, is offered as proof that the races have always been more intimate and accepting of each other than previously understood. That sexual union somehow signals a belief among both parties that they are, or ought to be, social equals, or expresses a disbelief in racist assumptions, is an interpretive stretch that not everyone is prepared to make. But for Aptheker, miscegenation "points to the artificiality of racism and makes absurd notions of racism's 'instinctual' quality."

Aptheker proceeds to trace, in broad strokes, the process through which anti-racism exerted itself from early colonial con-

tact through emancipation. His method of organization is essentially chronological, and he labors in every context to establish that evidence of anti-racism verifies his thesis regardless of historical context— even in the slave South. Every written concern or utterance that is critical of slavery is for Aptheker evidence, not of concern about slavery itself, but of anti-racism, a phenomenon under researched and, when disclosed, misunderstood and diminished.

Certainly, the history of anti-racism and its analogues are a complex mosaic: erratic, inconsistent, paradoxical, and troubled. Indeed, this complexity has drawn some of the best minds in American history to the subject of race relations in the New World. They have found a complicated, multilayered social phenomenon with tragic overtones. But Aptheker's breezy study contributes little to the debate. It is sketchy, unoriginal, and, at times, obtusely simplistic. And at \$47.95 it is no bargain.

University of Florida

AUGUSTUS M. BURNS, III

Sexual Power: Feminism and the Family in America. By Carolyn Johnston. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992. xvii, 413 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, conclusion and prospect, appendices, notes, bibliographic essay, bibliography, index. \$36.95.)

Carolyn Johnston of Eckerd College investigates the importance of family issues— marriage, divorce, child care, housework, child custody— in the feminist movement. She maintains that family issues have been at the heart of the feminist movement's concerns since its emergence in the nineteenth century. The author believes that the growth of feminist consciousness lies paradoxically in women's growing sense of empowerment as wives and mothers. With her book, the author hopes to counter interpretations that do not give enough credit to women's family and sexual experiences for the emergence of feminism and the construction of profamily agendas.

The author surveys the entire scope of American women's history from the colonial period to the present day. During the colonial period women were expected to be helpmates to their husbands; in the revolutionary era they were to be republican mothers; and in the early nineteenth century they were to be angels in the house. Family issues were central to the early

women's rights movement's analysis of women's oppression and to their demands for equality. Instead of demanding autonomy for women, as today, nineteenth-century feminists argued for social purity and voluntary motherhood. Sex radicals like Victoria Woodhull and others who advocated free love hurt the feminist movement because they challenged traditional marriage. The suffrage drive was successful only when leaders argued that women needed the vote not to enter politics as individuals but to protect home and family.

Turning points for women's covert domestic power were the Great Depression and World War II. Because of the economic emergency and the exigencies of war, women had to assume even more dominance at home. They experienced the discrimination as well as the economic opportunities the war brought. By the end of World War II, American women entered a period in which ultradomesticity was glorified. Their empowerment and entrapment within families set up contradictions in their lives that helped kindle the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The mainstream reformist elements of the movement supported a strong profamily focus with child care, parental leave, reproductive freedom, and the Equal Rights Amendment as top priorities.

Johnson concludes that despite changes in attitudes about family roles, women still bear the multiple burdens of domestic work, child care, and employment. The biggest dilemma for professional women is reconciling motherhood and career. She is critical of the individual-centered ideology which does not provide adequate resources for mothering. Only a comprehensive national family policy that guarantees high-quality child care, parental leave, family medical leave, and comparable-worth compensation will enable women and families to be liberated.

Sexual Power is a gracefully written book with a well constructed argument. Johnston's thesis, however, is easier to sustain for the nineteenth century than for the more recent period. Before women could be employed in the numbers they are today, they had to achieve a degree of autonomy and identity outside the family. The author does not choose to deal with this struggle. The women Johnston writes about are still defined in terms of the family, which is at variance with the way many women today see themselves.

Johnston skillfully weaves into her narrative a synthesis of the latest scholarship in the field as well as references to primary sources. She includes well written biographical sketches of major

women and also incorporates popular culture in her narrative. The book should be appealing to the scholar, student, and the general reader who is interested in gender studies.

George Mason University

MARY MARTHA THOMAS

The New Deal & American Youth: Ideas & Ideals In A Depression Decade. By Richard A. Reiman. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. viii, 253 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

“To continue refusing an adequate response to the problems of the young has obvious dangers,” John A. Lang, president of the National Student Federation, wrote in the depths of the Great Depression. “There is power enough in this group for a revolution or for deterioration to the point where America will suffer from dry-rot for at least another generation (p. 104). With youth banned from Works Progress Administration work, and Agricultural Adjustment Administration and National Recovery Administration reductions displacing more young people, President Franklin D. Roosevelt tackled the problem of out-of-school and out-of-work youth by creating through Executive Order 7086 on June 26, 1935, the National Youth Administration (NYA). Early historians considered the NYA nothing more than a junior WPA, another agency that rescued rather than reformed youth, and traced the origins of the agency to the maternal instincts and persistence of first lady Eleanor Roosevelt. Richard A. Reiman, a visiting professor at Georgia Southern University, however, shows that the taproots of the NYA extended back into the rich soils of the Boy Scouts and Childrens Bureau movements, and the NYA was an instrument FDR used to realize public policy and cement elements in the Roosevelt coalition.

Reiman explores how the NYA emerged from the ideological tug of war between the Congress, Department of Labor, U.S. Office of Education, and unofficial advisors to the president. He also analyzes the confrontations and contributions of Harry Hopkins, Charles Taussig, John Studebaker, and Aubrey Williams. “At a time when federal attention to such problems as racial justice, unequal educational opportunity, and the scarcity of vocationalism in American education was all but nonexistent, the NYA, in grappling with these problems, acted from a polit-

ical calculus originating in the White House" (p. 186). The NYA hoped to revolutionize the nation's educational system, teach youth principles of capitalism and democracy, and satisfy leftist critics of the New Deal. Unlike the Civilian Conservation Corps, which had a crisis atmosphere and a concept of national service behind it, the NYA had to counter fears of the federal government becoming schoolmaster and the schoolhouse becoming a liberal bastion. FDR defused criticism by insisting that the NYA would remove youth from job lines, extend humanitarian aid, and make recipients work for benefits. A decentralized structure comprised of national, state, and local committees culled from a cross section of special interest groups offered, moreover, something for everyone.

Mary McLeod Bethune, president of Bethune-Cookman College, played a prominent role in NYA activities. Selected by FDR as director of the NYA's Division of Negro Affairs, Bethune was a member of the New Deal's so-called "black cabinet" and had FDR's ear. Recognizing how difficult it would be to set up NYA programs in rural Florida, Mary McLeod Bethune favored bringing scattered and isolated youth into resident centers and through citizenship and job training turning outsiders into insiders. "You ought to work hard upon your Recreational centers," she observed, "so that Negroes might be taught how to swim and to go out and teach others" (p. 127). Although the NYA did enhance civil rights by providing aid to black schools, and holding federal conferences on the plight of blacks, Reiman finds that the New Deal had a tough time ameliorating racism and Jim Crow in the South. "The South remained rigidly segregated, in the women's programs as in nearly every other social program, public or private" (p. 150).

Reiman draws on sources in the National Archives and Roosevelt Presidential Library to define the intellectual history of the NYA. His analysis might have profited from the use of oral histories, local and state case studies, and a history "from the bottom up" rather than a top-down approach, especially from the young people who lived the NYA experience. In creating the NYA, Roosevelt said, "The yield on this investment will be high" (p. 122). Although a small budget always handicapped the NYA in realizing its ambitions, it saved thousands of youths and was instrumental in assisting the United States shift to defense training and war production. The liberal ethos of the NYA survived far beyond its demise in 1943 in the works of such alumni as President Lyndon Johnson, playwright Arthur Miller, and Peace Corps director Sargent Shriver. Richard A. Reiman

provides us with the first full-length study of the NYA. *The New Deal & American Youth* takes its place alongside John Salmond's study of the CCC in enhancing our knowledge of the in-fighting that went on in the Great Depression. It also explains why this federal agency took the form and mission it did and how it influences our lives even today.

University of South Florida

ROBERT E. SNYDER

Like A Holy Crusade: Mississippi 1964—The Turning of the Civil Rights Movement in America. By Nicolaus Mills. (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1992. 222 pp. Acknowledgments, note on sources, notes, index. \$22.50.)

In 1987 Doug McAdam wrote that contemporary America was largely ignorant about Freedom Summer. This is not as true today. McAdam's monograph recounted the events of the summer of 1964 in Mississippi. Hollywood told the tale in Alan Parker's *Mississippi Burning* and television's *Eyes on the Prize*. Now Nicolaus Mills, an American Studies teacher at Sarah Lawrence College, adds his observations.

In the summer of 1964 thousands of college students, both black and white, descended upon Mississippi to undertake the Mississippi Summer Project: to "work on voter registration, start Freedom Schools, and help build a political party, the Mississippi Freedom Democrats [MFDP], open to all races" (p. 17). By summer's end four workers had been killed, the MFDP had failed to unseat the all-white state delegation to the Democratic National Convention, and fewer than 1,700 black voters had been registered. In addition, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had begun an administrative overhaul, excluding whites from leadership positions and generally making them feel unwelcome. Mills holds that Freedom Summer was not a failure. It succeeded in focusing national attention once again on the atrocities of Jim Crow and exposing the urgent need for federal action. By autumn, Mills writes, "white Mississippi, not the civil rights movement, was on the defensive in the eyes of most of the nation" (p. 23). Thus, the "tragedy of the Mississippi Summer Project," he concludes, "is not that it failed but that so many of its participants gave up on it before its triumphs became clear" (p. 26).

Mills wants to show that, despite the ordeals, the project succeeded—blacks and whites had worked together to achieve

the movement's goals. His overriding concern is the breakdown of the racial coalition. He cites SNCC leader John Lewis's remarks in 1989 that the movement "made a serious mistake when [it] turned against its first principle— integration" (p. 192). Mills's conviction is compelling, but he isolates the Summer Project from other events, such as the March on Washington, the bombing of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in 1963, and the Selma March in 1965. He therefore distorts the impact of Freedom Summer in the breakdown of the coalition.

Blacks experienced what McAdam calls "a long process of radicalization." Militant nonviolent direct action increasingly met challenges from activists. Years of struggle weighed heavily upon black civil rights workers. The disintegration resulted organically from disillusionment and pressures within SNCC. There was no single "turning of the civil rights movement in America." Legislative and social change took the accumulation of years of tragedy and hard work; they did not occur as a result of a single event.

Traversing similar territory and using many of the same sources, Mills's treatment remains less successful than earlier treatments. The book is poorly organized, hastily edited, and its writing is Byzantine. And surprisingly, given availability, it has no pictures. It is not entirely without merit, however. For uninitiated readers it provides an earnest summary of events, and Mills's sense of urgency over contemporary race relations makes *Like A Holy Crusade* an interesting advocacy.

University of Alabama

STEPHEN G. MEYER

Storm Thurmond and the Politics of Southern Change. By Nadine Cohodas. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993. 498 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

Strom Thurmond's seemingly endless political career began as school superintendent in his native Edgefield County in 1928. Thereafter, he was a state senator, judge, and army captain in World War II. In 1946 Thurmond was elected governor of South Carolina; two years later he opposed President Truman on a states rights' ticket and won four southern states. In 1950 he challenged Senator Olin D. Johnston in a democratic primary by linking Johnston to Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, who had just lost a heated primary to George Smathers. The ploy failed, for Johnston handed Thurmond his only electoral loss

in South Carolina. In 1954 Thurmond was elected to the Senate in a remarkable write-in campaign waged after the sudden death of incumbent Burnet R. Maybank.

Ninety years old in December 1992, Thurmond remains the nation's senior senator in age and years of service. His Senate career may yet be the longest in history, for his current term runs until 1997. He is renowned for his legendary mastery of constituent service, personal acquaintance with thousands of voters, refusal to follow the party line, eagerness to work long hours, and prompt attention to detail, which has paid dividends in a relatively small state.

Nadine Cohodas's outstanding study explains how Thurmond has adapted to the reality of political change—the growth in black and Republican strength in the formerly white-controlled Democratic South. Cohodas, formerly a senior writer for *Congressional Quarterly*, attributes Thurmond's longevity to his independence and willingness to take risks that strengthen his long-range political prospects. Thurmond's 1964 bolt to the "Goldwater Republican party"—he was the first major southern Democratic officeholder to defect—enabled him to rally South Carolina's moderate and conservative voters and still appeal to middle-class blacks, whose numbers would thereafter increase. Had he remained a Democrat, Cohodas theorizes that Thurmond may have lost renomination in a subsequent primary, as happened to Senator A. Willis Robertson of Virginia in 1966. Although Thurmond's Republican switch was initially viewed as suicidal, voters approved of his bolt. Subsequently, he scored victories in five consecutive senatorial elections, a record unmatched by any other southern Republican.

In addition to his party defection and presidential race, Thurmond is remembered for his record twenty-four-hour filibuster against the jury provision section of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and his second marriage to a woman more than forty years his junior (the couple separated in 1991). His imprint on the national body politic has been noticable regarding judicial selections. During the Reagan-Bush era, he worked to confirm conservative justices to the federal courts. He has also consistently defended the military.

Cohodas, who writes in a cogent and highly readable style, devotes most of the book to the impact of the civil rights movement on southern politics. As an avid states' righter, Thurmond claimed that the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 would restrict the rights of individuals to operate their businesses. He argued that the law would hurt

middle-class whites who could not "afford to establish or join private clubs and associations . . . exempted from the coverage of the bill" (p. 346). Thurmond further filibustered against the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which authorized federal examiners to supervise registration in states and counties with a history of discrimination against potential black voters.

Thereafter, Thurmond gauged the dynamics of racial change blowing across the nation and the South. His attitudes evolved from segregationist disdain of social intermingling among the races to restrained rhetoric extolling racial inclusion and progress. He was motivated by the realization that politicians who wrote off the black vote in the Deep South did so at their peril. In 1968, while endorsing Richard Nixon for president instead of the independent candidacy of George Wallace, Thurmond boasted that racial progress in the South had resulted from "character, hard work, and determination of the individual citizen who has respected and abided by the law. Government cannot change the individual by decree or legislation" (p. 392). Thurmond has since changed positions on numerous civil rights issues. He endorsed the failed constitutional amendment to allow statehood for the District of Columbia, the renewal of the voting Rights Act in 1982 (after opposing extensions in 1970 and 1975), and the establishment of the Martin Luther King holiday. By adjusting his stance on civil rights, Thurmond relinquished the appellation as the Senate's "most conservative" member to a colleague from North Carolina, Jesse Helms.

This interdisciplinary book is highly recommended for general readers and scholars of southern history, recent United States history, race relations, South Carolina history, and southern and American politics. It may be the defining work on Thurmond, but the durable senator could yet upstage Cohodas were he to produce a volume of memoirs—reminiscences which would span practically the entire twentieth century.

Laredo Junior College

BILLY HATHORN

Crimes Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials. By Eleanore Bushnell. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992. x, 380 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, illustrations, epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

The impeachment process is a never-ending source of debate among constitutional scholars for the simple reason that the framers never spelled out just what they intended it to accomplish. Whenever one hears an Ed Meese talk about "original intent" and how all we have to do is look at the Constitution, or the notes of the Philadelphia convention, or the debates in the state ratification meetings, all we have to do is say, "What about impeachment?" For while we know what treason and bribery are, there is nary a word to be found in any of these documents that help to explain the meaning of "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Eleanore Bushnell has written a highly competent book that takes us through the impeachments of twelve of the fourteen federal officials impeached by the House of Representatives. Two additional cases, those of federal judges Alcee L. Hastings and Walter L. Nixon, Jr., took place after she had finished her study and are treated briefly in the epilogue. Nearly all of the impeached officials are judges, and while partisanship played an important, perhaps even disproportionate, role in the early cases, such as that of Justice Samuel Chase, in many instances the men involved did in fact engage in behavior that if not downright criminal certainly violated our expectations of how judges should behave.

The problem, as Professor Bushnell quite clearly and correctly emphasizes, is that there is no definition of what constitutes "good behavior," the only standard that the Constitution imposes on judicial tenure. Does a judge, or indeed any federal official, have to commit an act indictable under criminal law (the position taken by the impeached Andrew Johnson and the nearly impeached Richard Nixon), or does it merely have to constitute a gross violation of the public trust, even if not criminal in nature.

My own view, which I believe Professor Bushnell shares, is that impeachment is a device that serves not only to get rid of out-and-out crooks, but also to remove those who obstruct the normal political processes. Andrew Johnson, for example, did not commit a criminal act, but he nearly brought the postwar government to a standstill. Although he narrowly escaped con-

viction, the experience led him to abandon his stonewalling tactics and let Congress get on with the process of Reconstruction.

Impeachment also underscores the fact that the Constitution, while a marvelous document, is not perfect. In several of the examples in this book, a reluctant Congress was forced to impeach and convict because it had no other option. In one of the early cases, that of judge John Pickering— a man with a distinguished and patriotic career— the poor man had grown senile and incapable of performing his duties. Although a Federalist, the decision to remove him was not a political vendetta by Republicans. Jefferson tried hard to get Pickering's friends to convince him to resign but to no avail; in the end impeachment and conviction were the only route constitutionally available.

Similarly, in such later cases as that of judges Harry E. Claiborne and Walter L. Nixon, Jr., men convicted of criminal activity and sentenced to prison refused to resign from the federal bench and continued to collect their salary while behind bars. Again, the Constitution provides no other way to get convicted felons off the bench than through impeachment.

This is a competent, well-written book that goes into great detail in each of the examples used. There are places where one wishes to know a little more about what was happening outside the immediate impeachment activities. While Professor Bushnell does look at the partisan aspects of the impeachments, in some instances one wishes she had paid a bit more attention to the larger environment as well, such as in the case of Andrew Johnson.

For readers of this journal, Florida seems to have had more than its share of impeached officials, and they will find the sections on Charles Swayne, Halsted L. Ritter, and Alcee Hastings of special interest.

Virginia Commonwealth University

MELVIN I. UROFSKY

BOOK NOTES

Allen Morris has compiled the 24th biennial edition of *The Florida Handbook, 1993-1994*. This indispensable resource book contains chapters on Florida's executive department, legislature, and courts, the apportionment of 1992, women in government, history of the state, Native Americans in Florida, literature, climate, sports, agriculture and wildlife, education, and people and statistics. Multiple photographs, figures, and separate indices to the volume and state constitution are also included. The volume is available for \$40.00 from the Peninsular Publishing Company, P. O. Box 5078, Tallahassee, FL 32301; (904) 576-4151.

Authors Nancy Cooley Alvers, Cora Solana Middleton, and Janice Smith Mahaffey have recently completed *San Mateo, God's County: A Collection of Stories, Pictures, and Maps*. This detailed local history of the Putnam County town begins with the geological formation of the Florida peninsula and its first human inhabitants nearly 8,000 years ago. Other chapters include Ponce de León's arrival in April 1513, William Bartram's travels, early transportation, homesteading in the area, and incorporation of San Mateo in 1885. The authors provide biographies of leading businessmen and describe the churches, clubs, schools, and recreation of San Mateo residents. Histories of the Solana, Durrance and Tifton, Crosby, and Baker-Knox families, plus the 1850-1920 census reports and an index are also included in the book. It may be ordered from the authors, P. O. Box 252, San Mateo, FL 32187. The cost is \$30.00 plus tax and shipping.

Our Family: Facts and Fancies: The Crary and Related Families, by Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell in collaboration with William S. Coker, Brian R. Rucker, and Bobbye S. Wicke, is the story of the Crary clan. Its familial ties stretch from Britain to colonial New England, West Florida, and elsewhere in the United States. One family branch engaged in the brickmaking industry in Pensacola, and other kith and kin include John Winthrop, Henry David Thoreau, and Ulysses Grant. Mandrell's *Our Family: Facts and Fancies, The Moreno and Related Families* (1988) and John

Williamson Crary, Sr.'s *Reminiscences of the Old South, 1834-1866* (1984) precede Mandrell's latest study of this family. Her book is the fourth volume in the Southern History and Genealogy Series and was published by the Southern Publishers Group, P. O. Box 130934, Birmingham, AL 35213; the cost is \$27.50.

The Florida Classics Library has recently reprinted *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices*, by Alford G. Bradbury and E. Story Hallock. Published by the Florida Federation of Stamp Clubs in 1962, the information was taken from five volumes in the National Archives, titled "Records of Appointments of Postmaster, State of Florida, 1832-1929," and is presented alphabetically in the book. The authors provide the date established, discontinued, reestablished, and/or changed for each office. This new edition makes available an important resource for historians. Order from Florida Classics Library, P. O. Drawer 1657, Port Salerno, FL 34992-1657 for \$12.60.

Revised and with an index added, Sea Hawk Publications of Quincy, Florida, has published the six-booklet *History of the Cedar Keys to 1900* by Charles Carroll Fishburne, Jr., under one cover. The book details the history of the area from its early inhabitants, through the Second Seminole War, Reconstruction, and its late nineteenth-century boom. Special attention is devoted to Augustus Steele, "Father of Cedar Key," and David Levy Yulee, "Stepfather of Cedar Key." The volume is available for \$14.95 from the Cedar Key Historical Society, the Cedar Key Book Store, Goering's Book Store in Gainesville, and Mickler's Floridiana.

Imag(in)ing the Seminole: Photographs and Their Use Since 1880 is the published result of an exhibition on the history of photographers of Seminoles, produced by the Southeast Museum of Photography at Daytona Beach Community College in association with the Seminole/Miccosukee Photographic Archive in Fort Lauderdale. A wide selection of black-and-white and color photographs and artwork accompany text by Wanda Bowers McCall, Patricia West, and Alison Devine Nordström. Also included are biographies of many of the photographers. The exhibition tour includes the Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami, March 3 to April 10, 1994. The booklet is available from the Southeast Museum of Photography, Daytona Beach Community College, P. O. Box 2811, Daytona Beach, FL 32120-2811 for \$5.00.

We Remember Bagdad: An Architectural History, by Elaine C. Willis, Peggy W. Toifel, and Lea Wolfe, examines the history and architectural styles of this west Florida town from its first white settlers in the early nineteenth century to the present. The first chapter provides a historical backdrop; other sections discuss architectural styles, houses in the city's historic district, and businesses, churches, schools, and community life. Attention is also given to surrounding communities, such as Milton and Bay and Robinson points. This heavily illustrated book is available from the Bagdad Village Preservation Association, P. O. Box 565, Bagdad, FL 32530 for \$25.00.

Ernest Hemingway's life and influence in Key West are the subject of a new book from Pineapple Press of Sarasota. Stuart B. McIver traces "Papa's" initial interest in the island, the cronies who helped him relax and enjoy "the sporting life," and the town's enduring interest in the author's life there, including its annual "Hemingway Days Festival" in July. The book concludes with a "Walk with Papa" – a two-hour walking tour of *Hemingway's Key West*. Finally, McIver includes a short bibliography for readers with a further interest in Hemingway, his work, and his years in Florida's most famous vacation spot. To order this \$10.95 book, contact the press at P. O. Box 16008, Southside Station, Sarasota, FL 34239; (813) 952-1085.

A Century of West Volusia County, 1860-1960, by William J. Dreggors and Stephen Hess, is a pictorial book with extensive captions and many unpublished photos. This is the third in a series of books published by the West Volusia Historical Society and commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the society. Areas of West Volusia County represented include: Osteen, DeLeon Springs, Enterprise, Pierson, Seville, DeLand, Glenwood, Beresford, and Orange City. A section on the war years includes the navy base, dive bomber squadrons, tug boat works at Beresford, and the glider factory. This 424-page book contains over 800 photographs and an index. It may be ordered for \$50.00 plus \$4.00 shipping from the West Volusia Historical Society, 137 West Michigan Avenue, DeLand, FL 32720.

The second edition of political scientist James W. Button's *Blacks and Social Change: Impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Southern Communities* (1989) is now available. It was reviewed in

the *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (July 1990). This new paperback, featuring the author's 1993 preface, sells for \$16.95 and may be ordered from Princeton University Press, 41 William Street, Princeton, NJ 08540.

First published in 1971, Pat Watters's account of the southern civil rights movement has been reprinted. *Down to Now: Reflections on the Southern Civil Rights Movement* contains the observations and meditations of a white Southerner who witnessed much of the 1960s movement firsthand. Working first as a reporter for the *Atlanta Journal* and later as a writer for the Southern Regional Council, Watters watched as the history of southern race relations was forever transformed in such places as Albany, Georgia, St. Augustine, Florida, and Selma, Alabama. This 1993 Brown Thrasher paperback features a new preface by the author and sells for \$19.95. Order from the University of Georgia Press, 330 Research Drive, Athens, GA 30602-4901.

William A. Nunnolley's 1991 biography *Bull Connor* charts the life and career of one of the twentieth century's most infamous southern politicians. Theophilus Eugene "Bull" Connor was born in Selma, Alabama, in 1897 and worked first as a railroad telegraph operator and then as a sports announcer before entering politics in 1937. From that year until the 1960s Connor held an almost uninterrupted tenure as Birmingham's commissioner of public safety. Although his early commitment was to the eradication of gambling and other forms of vice, by the late 1940s Connor was best known as a staunch segregationist and foe of the civil rights movement. As such, in 1963 he served Martin Luther King, Jr., and the SCLC well as an embodiment of southern resistance to racial change. The fact that Nunnolley devotes the bulk of his book to the SCLC's 1963 Birmingham campaign and its aftermath makes *Bull Connor* a must for anyone interested in the history of the southern civil rights movement. This paperback sells for \$19.95 and may be ordered from the University of Alabama Press, Box 870380, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487.

In 1992 Dial Books published *Rosa Park: My Story*, the autobiography of perhaps the most prominent woman of the civil rights movement. With the help of Jim Haskins, Parks narrates her life history— from her 1913 birth in Tuskegee, Alabama, to

her tenure as secretary of the Montgomery NAACP chapter, to the 1955 arrest that launched the Montgomery bus boycott, and to her current life as a living symbol of the black struggle for freedom. Along the way she describes her encounters with such legendary civil rights figures as Virginia Durr, Septima Clark, Myles Horton, and, of course, Martin Luther King, Jr. This engagingly written book can be ordered for \$17.00 from Dial Books, 375 Hudson Street, New York, NY 10014.

From the pen of Eli N. Evans comes his latest work, *The Lonely Days Were Sundays: Reflections of a Jewish Southerner*. This evocative title is taken from his grandmother's recollections of life in North Carolina in the early 1900s. "The lonely days were Sundays— Sundays when I watched the town people going to church, while we stayed upstairs in our apartment. Then I would feel like an outsider in this little community." As author of *The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South* and *Judah P. Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate*, Evans's cumulative writings have established him as a leading spokesman for the Jewish South— its poet laureate, noted Israeli diplomat Abba Eban states on the dust cover.

The Lonely Days Were Sundays is a wide-ranging collection of essays, some reprinted from other sources, that touch upon such varied topics as the importance of oral history for recording the past, Zionism in the bible belt, the Jewish South in novels and movies, race relations, presidential politics, and college sports. A highlight is Evans's lengthy discussion of his experiences as a journalist during Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East in the summer of 1975.

Weaving these disparate topics together is Evans's insight, derived from his vast life experiences, quest for racial equality, and unflinching optimism. A foreword by Terry Sanford, former North Carolina governor, U.S. senator, and president of Duke University, testifies to the high regard in which Evans is held. *The Lonely Days Were Sundays* is published by the University Press of Mississippi, 3825 Ridgewood Road, Jackson, MS 39211; the price is \$25.00.

Louisiana State University Press has reprinted a number of books of interest to Civil War enthusiasts. Frank E. Vandiver's *Rebel Brass: The Confederate Command System* examines military

command, civilian administration, and the factor of logistics. First published in 1956, the cost of this paperback is \$9.95.

Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Service, by H. H. Cunningham, appeared in 1958. The author discusses the medical background of Confederate doctors, the organization and administration of the Confederate Medical Department and its hospitals, and disease and the practice of medicine in the field. The paper reprint sells for \$14.49.

Ralph Lowell Eckert has written a new introduction to General John B. Gordon's *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, published by Charles Scribners Sons in 1903. His memories of many of the war's major battles, including Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg make for exciting reading. The price is \$16.95.

Finally, Albert Castel's *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*, published in 1968, examines the "respectable mediocrity" of Price's Confederate military leadership in battles west of the Mississippi. The book sells for \$14.95 and may be purchased, along with the others, from Louisiana State University Press, P. O. Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70894-5053.

The University of Nebraska Press has reprinted four paperbacks in its Bison Books series, each with a new introduction. *Detailed Minutiae of Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia, 1861-1865*, by Carlton McCarthy with an introduction by Brian S. Wills, includes chapters on clothing, cooking and eating, drilling, battle, and defeat. Much of what is contained in the book, published in 1882, first appeared in the *Southern Historical Society Papers* (1876-1879). It sells for \$9.95.

Complementing the southern soldier's experiences, John D. Billings's *Hardtack and Coffee, Or, The Unwritten Story of Army Life*, with original illustrations by Charles W. Reed and a new introduction by William L. Shea, describes what it was like to be a Union soldier in the Army of the Potomac. His story is an interesting presentation of the routine and unremarkable things that every soldier experienced but few bothered to record in his memoirs. It is available for \$14.95.

The American Indian and the End of the Confederacy, 1863-1866, by Annie Heloise Abel, examines the economic, political, and social disruption in the lives of five southern Indian nations— including the Seminoles of Florida— following the Civil War and

emancipation of black slaves. Originally published as *The American Indian under Reconstruction* in 1925, the new edition contains an introduction by Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green and sells for \$12.95.

Lastly, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet*, by Lloyd Lewis with a new introduction by Brooks D. Simpson, recounts the life of William Tecumseh Sherman, from his birth in February 1820 to his death in 1891. Readers of the *Quarterly* will be disappointed at how little space Lewis devotes to Sherman's experiences in the Second Seminole War in Florida. Most of the book deals with his life during the Civil War. The book sells for \$20.00 and can be ordered, along with the others, from the University of Nebraska Press, 901 N. 17th Street, Lincoln, NE 68588-0520.

HISTORY NEWS

News

The Historical Museum of Southern Florida announces the 1993-1994 schedule for Dr. Paul George's historic walking, boat, rail, and brunch and dinner tours. Tours include the Miami River, City of Miami cemetery, Little Havana, Coconut Grove, and many others. A season pass is also available. For a schedule, tour reservations, or other information, contact the museum, Metro-Dade Cultural Center, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami, FL 33130; (305) 375-1625.

The National Archives will open a major World War II traveling exhibition at the Jimmy Carter Library in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 29, 1994. The exhibit, entitled "World War II: Personal Accounts— Pearl Harbor to V-J Day," is currently on display at the Gerald R. Ford Museum in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The display at the Carter Library will be there until May 30, 1994, and will be the only opportunity to see this exhibition in the southeastern United States.

Some 570 documents, over 3,200 pages of correspondence, reports, and unpublished technical papers, with prints and drawings, by over twenty prominent Columbianists, are now fully organized and available on three rolls of 35mm microfilm. The collection represents a decade of friendly but competitive discussion of Columbus's first landfall in America. Also included is a topical index, a description of the collection and the first landfall problem, and a bibliography of relevant works. Topics addressed encompass paleography, linguistics, archaeology, cartography, voyage simulations, and statistical analyses. For purchasing information, contact David Henige, Memorial Library, 728 State Street, Madison, WI 53706; (608) 262-6397 or fax (608) 265-2754.

Florida Funding Publications, Inc., publishes a monthly newsletter for Florida grant seekers. This unique newsletter, *Florida*

Funding, provides information about grants from governmental and private funding sources. In addition, the publication features profiles of Florida's private and corporate foundations, proposal-writing tips, reviews of resource materials, and information about upcoming conferences. A one-year subscription is available for \$142. For additional information, contact Alice N. Culbreath, Managing Editor, 9350 South Dixie Highway, Suite 1560, Department FF-1, Miami, FL 33156; (305) 670-2203.

The Florida Memorabilia Collector's Expo, featuring Florida books and literature, postcards, documents, maps, tourist brochures and souvenirs, photos, hotel and restaurant collectibles, and much more, will be held Saturday, January 15, 1994, at the Biltmore Hotel in Coral Gables from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. For more information or exhibitor reservation forms, contact Ken Breslauer, P. O. Box 12226, St. Petersburg, FL 33733.

Frank Lloyd Wright and Florida Southern College

The largest collection of Frank Lloyd Wright buildings in the world erected in one location may be found on the campus of Florida Southern College in Lakeland. Construction took place between 1938 and 1959, and background research on the story of those years is nearing completion. Roux Library at Florida Southern College, on behalf of authors Steven B. Rogers and Robert G. Waite, is asking the public for unique or private materials that would be helpful to the project. To contribute information, please contact Dr. Ted Haggard, Director, Roux Library, Florida Southern College, 111 Lake Hollingsworth Drive, Lakeland, FL 33801-5698; (813) 680-4164 or fax (813) 680-4126.

Roux Library is also sponsoring an oral history project as part of the research for the "Florida Southern—Frank Lloyd Wright Story." Interviews are being recorded with any and all FCS faculty, staff, and students at the college during the Frank Lloyd Wright years, 1938-1959. To participate, please contact Mary Flekke, Reference Librarian, Roux Library.

Call for Papers

The Florida Historical Society invites proposals for single papers and panels for its 1994 annual meeting, themed "Pathfin-

ders of Florida." Presentations should examine the lives of men and women who have had an impact on the state's history. Send a synopsis of the paper to, or contact, Dr. Daniel Schafer, Department of History, University of North Florida, 4567 St. Johns Bluff Road South, Jacksonville, FL 32216; (904) 646-2880. The deadline for submissions is January 15, 1994.

The Florida Anthropological Society will hold its 1994 meeting, May 13-15, 1994, at the Graves Museum of Archaeology and Natural History in Dania, Florida. The meeting, hosted by the Broward County Archaeological Society, will include presented papers and a banquet dinner cruise on the New River. Paper abstract proposals will be accepted until February 15. Contact Marilyn Spears, meeting chair, for more information; (305) 925-7770.

The *Mississippi Folklore Register*, published by the Center for the Study of Southern Culture and the Mississippi Folklore Society, invites submissions for its 1993-1994 volumes. Articles, reviews, notes, and photographic essays are welcome. For more information or to submit materials, contact Tom Rankin, Editor, *Mississippi Folklore Register*, Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677; (601) 232-7812.

Meetings

A major grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts will fund a four-day seminar, October 13-16, 1994, to study the importance of religion in the Civil War. The conference will be held in cooperation with the Institute for the Study of Protestantism and American Culture at the Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Kentucky, the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals in Wheaton, IL, Saint Joseph's University, and Yale University. The conference will be hosted by the seminary in Louisville and will be open to the public.

The Georgia Archives Institute will hold its 28th annual workshop, "An Introduction to Archival Administration," June 13-24, 1994, in Atlanta, Georgia. The course is designed for beginning archivists, manuscript curators, and librarians. Topics include acquisition, appraisal, arrangement, description, reference, and

legal and administrative issues. Following a week of instruction, participants are dispersed to several local archival institutions for a practicum experience. Tuition is \$400, and enrollment is limited. The deadline for receipt of application and resume is April 1, 1994. A \$75 application fee, made payable to the Georgia Archives Institute, must accompany each application. Applicants not accepted will have this fee returned, and those accepted and who attend will have the fee applied toward tuition. For applications or more information, contact Dr. Donald E. Oehlerts, School of Library and Information Studies, Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA 30314; (404) 248-1322 or (404) 880-8702.

The first annual spring meeting of the Southern Oral History Organization will be held April 29-30, 1994, at the Atlanta History Center. Highlighting the meeting will be a screening of the documentary film, "The Uprising of 1934," on Piedmont mill workers and the textile strike of 1934. Film makers George Stoney and Judith Helfland will discuss their work. The meeting will also feature workshops on oral history and the classroom, the media and oral history, and community-based oral history projects. For more information, contact Cliff Kuhn, History Department, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA 30303; (404) 651-3255.

Awards

Mr. Bobby Thomas Johns was recently awarded the 1993 Florida Folk Heritage Award at a ceremony on August 14, 1993, at the Warrington Elks Lodge. The award honors Floridians who exhibit a lifelong devotion to the field of folk arts. Mr. Johns was recognized for his work as a master woodcarver/leather crafter and conservator of Creek Indian traditions.

Gwendolyn Midlo Hall has been named winner of the 1993 John Hope Franklin Publication Prize for her monograph *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, which was published by Louisiana State University Press. The prize is given annually by the American Studies Association for the best book in American studies published during the previous year. The award was presented at the association's annual meeting, held November 4, 1993, in Boston. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* has also received the Elliott

Rudwick Prize of the Organization of American Historians, the Theodore Saloutos Memorial Book Award of the American Immigration History Society, and the Louisiana Literary Award of the Louisiana Library Association.

William J. Cronon and Donald J. Pisani will share the 1993 Charles A. Weyerhaeuser Award for the best book on forest and conservation history published in 1991/1992. Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* was published by W. W. Norton and Company in 1991. The University of New Mexico Press published Pisani's *To Reclaim a Divided West: Water, Law, and Public Policy, 1848-1902*. William Cronon also won the society's 1993 Theodore C. Blegen Award for the best article in a journal other than *Forest & Conservation History*. His "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative" appeared in the March 1992 issue of the *Journal of American History*. The society's Ralph W. Hidy Award went to Ralph H. Lutts for his article "The Trouble with Bambi: Walt Disney's Bambi and the American Vision of Nature," which appeared in the October 1992 issue of *Forest & Conservation History*.

The Forest History Society announces the availability of Alfred D. Bell, Jr., travel grants for 1994. Those wishing to research at the society's library and archives may receive up to \$750. For information on the society's holdings and application procedures, contact Bell Travel Grants, Forest History Society, 701 Vickers Avenue, Durham, NC 27701; (919) 682-9319.

The Immigration History Society invites nominations for the Theodore Saloutos Memorial Book Award. The award is given to the outstanding 1993 book on U.S. immigration history. For more information, contact Vicki L. Ruiz, Department of History, Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, CA 91711.

The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts announces the Madelyn Moeller Research Fellowship in Southern Material Culture, which will provide travel funds, housing, and the use of its research center and collections to researchers. Applications are accepted year-round. Contact Bradford L. Rauschenberg, Director of Research, MESDA, P. O. Box 10310, Winston-Salem, NC 27108-0310.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1994

March 24-25	Society of Florida Archivists	Lakeland, FL
April 29-30	Southern Oral History Organization	Atlanta, GA
May 13-15	Florida Anthropological Society	Dania, FL
May 19	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Fort Myers, FL
May 19-21	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 92ND MEETING	Fort Myers, FL
June 2-5	Southern Association for Women Historians	Houston, TX
Sept. 28- Oct. 1	American Association for State and Local History	Omaha, NE
Oct. 14-16	Southern Jewish Historical Association	Raleigh, NC
Oct. 27-30	Oral History Association	Albuquerque, NM
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	Louisville, KY



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

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All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Post Office Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197. Telephone: 813-974-3815 or 974-5204; FAX: 813-974-3815. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.

