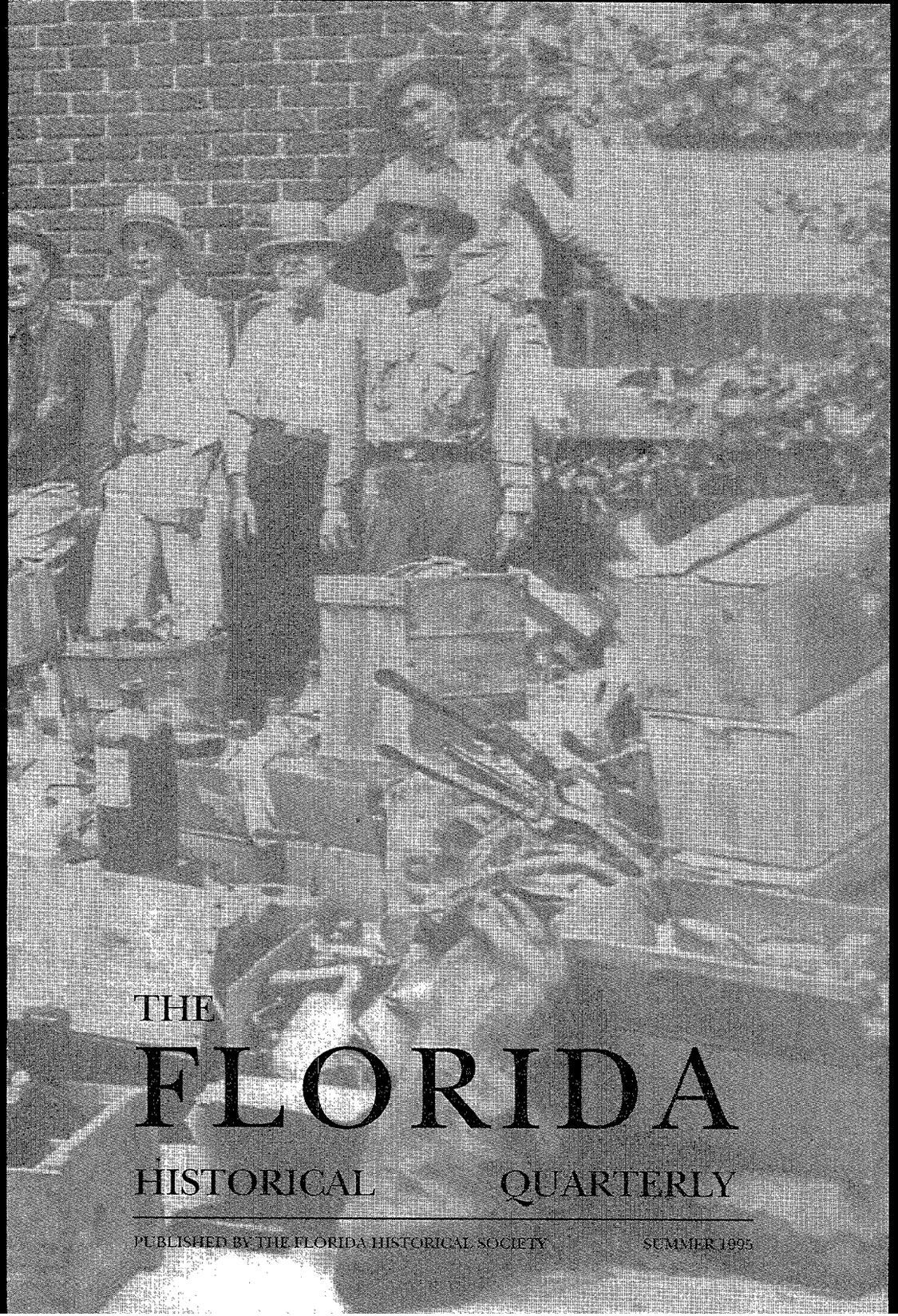

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COVER

Orange County Sheriff Frank Karel's "Moonshine Raiders" with some of their confiscated goods in the 1930s. Photograph courtesy of the Orange County Historical Museum.

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Claude Pepper and the Seeds of His 1950 Defeat, 1944-1948

by JAMES C. CLARK

Claude Pepper's defeat in the 1950 Florida Democratic Senatorial primary has long been seen as the result of a vicious campaign in which his opponents used underhanded methods to win. But while the 1950 campaign between Pepper and George Smathers was one of the nastiest in Florida history, the roots of Pepper's loss can be traced to 1945, when he began to feud with President Harry Truman and began courting the political left. Those two activities so badly damaged his standing in Florida that he lost the large following which had sent him to the U.S. Senate in three previous elections.

The 1950 election was hard fought, but no more so than several others, including Richard Nixon's remarkably similar campaign in California and Senator Frank Graham's loss in North Carolina. In both of those races, the winners successfully tied their opponents to various groups linked with communism. Smathers used the same technique, but Pepper had actually flirted with such organizations and had repeatedly praised Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.

Pepper regarded himself as the political heir to President Franklin Roosevelt and near the end of World War II launched a campaign to position himself as a champion of world peace through closer relations with the Soviet Union. Had events turned out differently, his gamble might have propelled him into the presidency instead of to defeat in Florida.

Before the United States entered World War II, Pepper spent nearly two years talking about military preparedness and the coming American involvement in the war. Although he was heavily criticized at the time, he turned out to be correct and became a national figure. As the war progressed, Pepper thought he could advance his political career by advancing the issue of world peace. Unfortunately, for Pepper, world events shattered his dream for

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world peace. Instead of political advancement, Pepper endured five years of negative publicity that few politicians could have survived.

Just seven weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Pepper began to think about the postwar period. He wrote to his friend Raymond Robins, ". . . I am doing what I can to foster an appreciation of the necessity of some kind of a world governmental structure to be built upon the Post War wreckage."[1] In April 1942, Pepper submitted a resolution calling for the United States to join a world organization after the war.[2]

He believed the issue of world peace would increase his standing in the Senate, where he had often been seen as a publicity seeker. He told former Senator Sherman Minton he had "a feeling that I have gained some influence in the Senate. . . . There is no need concealing the fact that all of them have never thought that I was the greatest person in the world."[3]

In the Senate, Pepper was one of Franklin Roosevelt's most loyal supporters, always the first to rally to a Roosevelt idea and willing to lend his considerable oratorical skills to defend the President on the Senate floor. Roosevelt's death in 1945 was a severe blow to Pepper. The senator had come to believe that he was the logical heir to the Roosevelt political legacy and his relations with the new President, Harry Truman, were at best cool. Years later, Pepper told an interviewer, "I liked Harry Truman, but he was not someone to take seriously."[4] It was a major error on Pepper's part to underestimate Truman.

Within weeks of Roosevelt's death, Pepper began to have reservations about Truman. At first, he wrote that Truman, ". . . has shown good judgement, good sense and good manners. He will not be a great President but I believe he will be a good President."[5] But soon he became disillusioned. According to Henry Wallace, Pepper "spoke at some little length about his disillusion about the way things were going. He seemed to think there was danger of the

1. Pepper to Raymond Robins, January 28, 1942, Claude Pepper Papers, The Mildred and Claude Pepper Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. (Hereinafter, Pepper Papers).
2. United States Congress, Senate Resolution 135, 78 Cong., 1 Sess., 1943, 2.
3. Pepper to Sherman Minton, March 10, 1945, Pepper Papers.
4. David McCullough, *Truman* (New York, 1992), 220.
5. Pepper to Robins, April 24, 1945, Pepper Papers.

present administration making many of the same mistakes that the Harding administration made."[6]

Pepper saw a chance to advance his own political fortunes. Within three months of Roosevelt's death, he began to make plans for higher office. He organized groups in Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, and Wisconsin to "work in the next Democratic Convention for a liberal platform and a liberal candidate," and a friend began to work on a "plan for forming an organization in my behalf throughout the country"[7] On July 30, 1945, Pepper received an unsigned memorandum entitled "Your Personal Future." The plan called for Pepper to join the Truman ticket as a vice presidential candidate in 1948 and become the presidential nominee in 1952. It urged Pepper to be "an independent party regular with a personal following." The memo advised him to become "the prophet of the future . . . the most active and best publicized liberal." The memorandum held an important warning for Pepper. "The path of Pepper's significance does not lie in international affairs. It only lies specifically in the applications of the world trend in internal politics."[8] While Pepper accepted some of the advice, the part he rejected cost him dearly. Instead of working to get on a ticket with Truman, he did as much as he could to antagonize the President. Instead of concentrating on domestic issues, he devoted his attention to foreign affairs and became a champion of closer relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Even before the war ended, Pepper began to call for closer American-Soviet relations. In 1943 he wrote an article for *Soviet Russia Today,* an English language magazine published by the Soviets, and said the future of world peace depended on the ability of Russia and the United States to get along.[9] In a nationwide radio address in June 1945, he recommended loaning money to Russia to rebuild when the war ended.[10]

In August 1945 Pepper left for a tour of Europe and the Soviet Union. Although he said he was going in an official capacity as a

6. Henry Wallace, *The Price of Vision: The Diary of Henry A. Wallace, 1942-1946,* ed. John Morton Blum (Boston, 1973), 464-465.
7. Pepper to Robins, May 21, 1945, Pepper Papers.
8. Unsigned memorandum to Pepper, July 30, 1945, Pepper Papers.
9. *Soviet Russia Today,* November 1943.
10. *The American Forum of the Air,* June 11, 1945, broadcast transcript, Pepper Papers.

member of the Small Business Committee to look for foreign trade opportunities, he went at his own expense.[11] To finance the trip, Pepper agreed to write a series of articles for the *New York Times* and the North American Newspaper Alliance. It was an odd arrangement; he would meet with world leaders as a member of the United States Senate, then write a story about the meeting as a journalist. For, his exclusive interview with Soviet Dictator Joseph Stalin, he arranged to be paid $1,000.[12]

He visited London, Paris, Frankfurt and Berlin, where he inspected Adolf Hitler's office in the Reich Chancellery and the air raid shelter "in which he and Eva Braun are supposed to have committed suicide. I don't believe either of them is dead."[13] Then he flew to Moscow on September 14 to meet with Stalin. The interview lasted one hour, but haunted Pepper for the remainder of his senate career. United States Ambassador Averill Harriman was out of the country when Pepper arrived, and it fell to diplomat George F. Kennan to arrange the interview. Kennan was clearly outraged that Pepper was traveling as both a senator and a journalist. Kennan wrote that he had thought Pepper was coming as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and was surprised to learn he also planned to write for newspapers. "I recall only a sense of hopelessness I experienced in trying to explain to the Russians why a distinguished statesman, discussing serious problems of international affairs with a foreign governmental leader, would be interested in exploiting for a very minor private gain whatever value the interview might have in the eyes of the commercial mass media . . . my sympathies, in this case, were on the Russian side."[14]

It was not simply a matter of Pepper exploiting the meeting with Stalin, the Russians were able to use it to obtain something they sorely needed--positive publicity. Pepper went on Soviet radio to praise Stalin.

> "I have had the honor to meet and talk to Generalissimo Stalin, one of the great men of history and of the world. . . . Russia's greatest era lies not in her glorious past but in her

11. *New York Times*, August 15, 1945.
12. Claude Pepper, *Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century* (New York, 1987), 180.
13. "Russia In Transition," Pepper column to constituents, September 27, 1945, Pepper Papers.
14. George F. Kennan, *Memoirs, 1925-1950* (Boston, 1967), 278.

> future. . . . The people of America and good men and women everywhere owe a great debt to Generalissimo Stalin, to the Red Army and to the people of the Soviet Union for their magnificent part in turning back and destroying the evil Nazis."[15]

In his regular column to Florida newspapers, he wrote that the Russians desperately wanted peace in order to rebuild their economy. "For that reason I do not believe the Russians have any aggressive intention."[16] In his private notes, Pepper wrote, "As for foreign policy, the objective of the Soviet Union was to collaborate with other nations of the world in keeping peace."[17]

The trip took four months and when Pepper returned to the United States on December 13, 1945, he encountered strong criticism in Florida. The *Fort Lauderdale News* said in an editorial, "Your Junior Senator could do you very little good in fighting communism in this country after publicly admitting via the radio that his visit to the Soviet Union was a 'great privilege' and that Stalin is 'one of the greatest men in the history of the world.' Claude Pepper believes in Communism. **WE DO NOT.** That's why we suggest that the sooner you realize he is **NOT** a part of **OUR AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE** the better off we all will be."[18]

Even his friends were alarmed at the trip. One wrote to a Pepper aide, "The Florida crackers are not interested in statesmanship, and they are not interested in Europe and world affairs. They are principally selfish and they think the Senator should be devoting his time and talent to the narrow interests of the state of Florida only, and it is going to take some good work . . . to overcome the ground that has been lost by his prolonged trip to Europe."[19] One constituent advised that Pepper would do better to "spend more time in Florida and devote more attention to local problems. . . ."[20] Pepper thought his trip could "make a greater contribution to fu-

15. Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Information Bulletin, October 2, 1945, Pepper Papers.
16. "Russia In Transition," Pepper column to constituents, September 27, 1945, Pepper Papers.
17. Claude Pepper notes, September 14, 1945, Pepper Papers.
18. *Fort Lauderdale* News, September 21, 1945.
19. Moorman M. Parish to James C. Clements, November 20, 1945, Pepper Papers.
20. R. K. Lewis to Robert W. Fokes, October 22, 1945, Pepper Papers.

ture peace . . . and even if defeat should be the price still I would have no complaint." He said he thought constituents "are going to complain always when I don't devote my whole time to their petty, personal matters." Pepper said he had five years to rebuild his base in Florida."[21] His support of Russia and Stalin drew increasing attention from the *Daily Worker* which offered regular coverage of his activities.

By early 1946, the liberal movement in the United States was badly divided over the question of how to deal with the Soviet Union. Eventually, two wings emerged, one represented by such groups as the Americans for Democratic Action, supported Truman's hard line policy toward the Soviet Union. The other believed the key to peace was through the maintenance of good relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. That group was willing to overlook increasing Soviet aggression in Eastern Europe to maintain peace. The National Citizens' Political Action Committee (NC-PAC) supported Soviet-American unity, and was allied with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Both Pepper and Henry Wallace became frequent speakers at NC-PAC events. Wallace was committed to NC-PAC, and although Pepper agreed with its goals he did not join.

Wallace had served as vice president during Roosevelt's third term before being replaced by Truman. Pepper led an effort to keep Wallace on the ticket and the two men became very close. In 1945, Pepper led the effort to get Wallace confirmed as secretary of commerce. Within the Senate there was strong opposition to Wallace because of his pro-Soviet views. Pepper engineered a compromise in which Wallace was confirmed but lost much of his power. Although Pepper believed it had enhanced his standing in the Senate, the battle also served to tie the two men closer together and link them in the mind of the public.[22]

Pepper became more and more outspoken in urging closer relations with Russia. On February 27, 1946 he spoke at the Red Army Day dinner in Chicago to raise money for Russian relief. According to an account in the *Daily Worker*, Pepper "wished a long life to the Red Army as a warning to all tyrants who might attempt

21. Pepper to Parish, December 17, 1945, Pepper Papers.
22. Pepper to Minton, March 10, 1945, Pepper Papers.

conquest." Pepper said that Soviet people wanted friendship but "our handling of the atom bomb does not ease their minds."[23]

A month later, Pepper urged the United States to "destroy every atomic bomb which we have, and smash every facility we possess which is capable of producing only destructive forms of atomic energy, "[24] The speech received little coverage from the mainstream press, some negative editorial reaction, but was embraced by the *Daily Worker.* The front page headline read "TREAT U.S.S.R. AS FRIEND PEPPER URGES," and the story said that Pepper had "collided head on with the anti-Soviet hysteria now gripping the capital"[25]

In April, Pepper sharply criticized the foreign policy of Great Britain, calling the United States "a guarantor of British imperialism." His speech implied that it was Britain, not the Soviet Union, responsible for the problems of the world.[26] His speech brought him the greatest criticism of his career, unleashing a stream of negative publicity that would continue until his 1950 defeat. The only praise for his speech came from the *Daily Worker.* It editorialized that Pepper's speech "can well be studied by every patriotic American."[27] In Russia, Pepper's remarks received far more attention than a major speech by President Truman in Chicago."[28]

The day after Pepper's speech, Florida's senior senator, Charles O. Andrews, demanded an apology. Andrews said the speech, "does not represent the feeling and sentiment of the great mass of people of Florida." Andrews singled out Pepper's charge that the United States and Britain were "ganging up" against Russia, but said he did not agree with "any part of his statement."[29] *The Washington Post* carried an editorial entitled "Red Herring." It was the first time the word "Red" had been used in print in connection with Pepper. "If he keeps it up he will be making a strong bid for the distinction of being America's number one whitewasher of aggression. . . . We don't see how the Senator's constituents can avoid asking him where his loyalties lie."[30]

23. *Daily Worker;* February 27, 1946.
24. *Congressional Record,* 79th Congress, 2nd Session, 2463.
25. *Daily Worker,* March 21, 1946.
26. *Congressional Record,* 79th Congress, 2nd Session, 3087.
27. *Daily Worker,* April 6, 1946.
28. *New York Times,* April 10, 1946.
29. *New York Times,* April 6, 1946.
30. *The Washington Post,* April 18, 1946.

Before the controversy over his April 4 speech had settled, Pepper created another controversy with an article in *The New Republic:* "The United States is nursing exclusive possession of the atomic bomb, seeking globe-girdling military bases and considering military conscription."[31] Pepper's remarks brought increased scrutiny from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the State Department. The bureau prepared a memorandum about Pepper's association with groups the Justice Department said were linked to communists. A memorandum from FBI Assistant Director D. M. Ladd to Director J. Edgar Hoover included a note, "I thought you would be interested in the following information further pointing out Senator Pepper's pro-Russian attitude." Hoover sent the report to Truman aide Harry Vaughn and noted, "I thought the President and you would be interested in the following information which has come to the attention of this Bureau concerning the continued pro-Russian attitude of Senator Claude Pepper about whom previous information has been furnished to you by me."[32] Pepper's *New Republic* article received widespread notice in *Pravda,* prompting the American Embassy in Moscow to send a telegram to Secretary of State James F. Byrnes stating that Pepper, "accuses [British Foreign Minister Ernest] Bevin and British of 'desiring to force US to shed American blood so that British may rule Palestine as a colony,' and asserts that US too often supports British in British Soviet conflicts on interest in Europe and Middle East."[33]

Pepper's activities did not deal exclusively with foreign affairs, but even in domestic areas he clashed with Truman. A nationwide strike of railroad workers had disrupted the nation's transportation system, and on May 17, Truman used wartime powers to seize the railroads. The workers refused to run the trains and walked off the job on May 23. When Truman asked Congress for the authority to draft the workers, the House of Representatives went along, but the Senate balked, largely because of the opposition of the Senate's Republican leader, Robert A. Taft, and Pepper. Pepper said he saw nothing which "justified the effort which was made to rush, in an unseemly and hasty manner, this measure into law."[34]

31. The New Republic, April 8, 1946, 470-473.
32. Hoover to Harry Vaughn, May 9, 1946, File 94-4-684-47, FBI Files.
33. Department of State, telegram to Secretary of State, June 28, 1945, File 94-4-684-47, FBI Files.
34. *Congressional Record,* 79th Congress, 2nd Session, 5819-5822.

Although Truman expected Taft's opposition, he was angry about Pepper's position. At a cabinet luncheon in late May, the discussion centered on the railroad legislation. According to Wallace, "All remarks were quite restrained except the President's comments on Claude Pepper. He has a very deep animus against Pepper. He says Pepper's only motive is to get publicity. . . . He said all that was necessary to get 90 percent of the senators against anything was to have Claude Pepper come out on the floor for it. He says Pepper is purely opportunistic."[35] As a result of the opposition of Taft and Pepper, the bill failed.

Although Pepper thought he had done the right thing, his support of the striking workers did little to help him in Florida, and his opposition served to separate him even more from Truman and the mainstream of the Democratic party.

But Pepper's main concern remained international affairs. He believed Truman was pursuing a disastrous course. He wrote to his friend Robins complaining, "This that we are doing now is essentially American imperialism as the imperialists of McKinley's day. . . . They want the United States to dominate the world's economy and with our own force give shape and direction to the whole trend of things on earth."[36]

He kept up his criticism of American foreign policy in a newspaper column aimed at Florida newspapers. "Russia is not altogether at fault in this matter, as the propagandists would have you believe. Russia is at fault. But the British are at fault too because the British are not willing to give up a lot of their colonial empire and to take the yoke of oppression off of people they have held down a long time . . . the United States is not without fault either."[37]

Pepper had hoped that his stands would take him to a leadership position in the Democratic Party and make him a candidate for president or vice president. Instead, he became more isolated from his party and soon was mentioned not as a leader of the Democratic party, but as a catalyst for a third-party effort. On June 6, a *Daily Worker* story headlined "More Third Party Talk", said, "Senator Claude Pepper, rather than Henry Wallace, is the figure most

35. Henry Wallace, *The Price of Vision,* 575.
36. Pepper to Robins, June 5, 1946, Pepper Papers.
37. Very truly yours column, August 22, 1946, Pepper Papers.

often mentioned as a possible standard bearer. This is particularly due to the fact that Wallace, who doubts the wisdom of a third party, has hesitated to differ publicly with Truman on many different issues, but is even more due to the courageous battle which Pepper has led against tremendous odds for labor's rights. The Floridian has caught the public imagination."[38]

The *Daily Worker* was not the only publication carrying articles about Pepper. In the wake of his speech about Britain and his stand in the railroad case, it was difficult to pick up a magazine or newspaper and not read an article about Pepper. The day after the *Daily Worker* article appeared, *United States News* carried a story with the headline, "Senator Pepper's Emergence as Champion of Left-Wing Groups." The story was unflattering both in its tone and selection of facts.

> "Senator Claude Pepper has bobbed up suddenly as an outstanding hero of the labor unions and leader of the country's liberal to leftward groups. Senator Pepper has reached this position, principally, by clinging aggressively to views he long has held . . . the Senator is an outspoken critic of the current policy of playing tough with Russia. . . . In such circles and among labor leaders, Senator Pepper's name now is being bracketed with that of Henry A. Wallace when 1948 presidential campaigning is discussed."[39]

A small publication, *Readers Scope,* carried a series of articles about possible presidential candidates and included Pepper as one of the potential candidates. He received encouragement from Dr. Francis E. Townsend, the father of the radical pension proposal which bore his name. Townsend wrote, "I think you are the logical choice for the Democrats as candidate for the presidency."[40] Pepper began to get questions from reporters about his political ambitions. On August 13, 1946, he had a conversation with reporters in which he held out numerous possibilities for 1948. Pepper said he would "not run away" from the Democratic presidential nomina-

38. *Daily Worker,* June 6, 1946.
39. *United* States News, June 7, 1946, 56.
40. Francis E. Townsend to Pepper, August 15, 1946, Pepper Papers.

tion in 1948, but predicted that Truman would be renominated. He said he would be pleased to run for the vice presidency on a Democratic ticket with Wallace and said he would rather have Wallace as the Democratic nominee. The wire service story caught the eye of the President's staff and was placed in the files of Truman's secretary."[41]

Pepper's positions attracted more and more national publicity, most of it unfavorable. At the end of August, the *Saturday Evening Post* published an article entitled "Red Pepper" saying "The Communist press whoops it up for Pepper because he has been taking Russia's side in international disputes. . . . When he first came to the Senate he followed the straight Roosevelt line. People said he was a stooge, a mere loud mouth from the South." The article asked, "But that still leaves Pepper himself unexplained. What is he up to?"[42]

It was a good question. With the election still two years away, he had tried to cast himself as a running mate for both Truman and Wallace, or as a presidential candidate himself. And before the election he would find yet another candidate. He wrote to Robins that he was working "As a Democrat to retain my party status and to discharge my duty by doing what I can to elect a Democratic Congress . . . to do all I can to pull together the liberal forces in the Democratic party and the country."[43]

Not only had Pepper become a target for conservative newspapers and magazines, but they began to make fun of him and see how many ways they could work the word "Red" into stories about Pepper.

A column in the *Washington Times Herald* is typical.

> "Here's one that is good enough to tell without any buildup. On July 7, 1946, Claude Pepper, the Red hot Senator from Florida went out to Pilsen Park in Chicago to make a speech before the American Slav Congress. On August 2, Claude rose up and shoved that speech text into the

41. Wire service story, August 13, 1946, Box 56, President's Secretary's Files, Papers of Harry S. Truman, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri. (Hereinafter, Truman Papers).
42. *Saturday Evening Post,* August 31, 1946, 19-118.
43. Pepper to Robins, October 3, 1946, Pepper Papers.

> Congressional Record, where it can be found today on Page A5067. He could easily wish now that he hadn't done that. Out of charity for your sensibilities we will spare you the opening clauses of that oratorical masterpiece and get right down to the Red meat: 'And I heard from the lips of that great soldier, that dynamic leader, the man that drove the Nazis out of Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito, the story of the partisan struggle in Yugoslavia. I will add that Marshal Tito, with characteristic humanity, and human interest, took me out into the stables and showed me there the horse that he rode in all that great period of warfare, his little mare, Molly, and I saw how he put his arms in affectionate embrace around Molly's neck for she, too, was a gallant comrade in the victory. I suggested to Marshal Tito that I hoped he would do with Molly what had been done with General Lee's great horse, Traveler, whose skeleton is preserved in Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Va., and that she, too, may be memorialized for all the time as a great soldier. I saw Marshal Tito's great dog, Tiga, which lingered lovingly at his feet, and I saw a republic being born in Yugoslavia."[44]

Three months after carrying a critical profile of Pepper, *United States News* again reported on his activities. "Senator Claude Pepper, a foremost advocate of go-easy with Russia policy, is emerging as the forthright leader of America's more extreme or radical liberals. . . . Mr. Pepper more recently has been building a record that led some to accuse him of following the Communist line, especially in foreign affairs. . . . The Senator, of course, has his eye on the Presidency."[45]

The same week, *Newsweek* also contained an unflattering article. ". . . Months ago talk on the left fringe of American politics had begun to evolve about Pepper as the best for Democratic Vice President or third-party leader in 1948. At 46, Pepper appears to regard himself as a man of considerable destiny. His colleagues believe he has become convinced that he is heir to FDR's big mantle, especially in matters concerned with foreign policy. . . ."[46] *Newsweek* re-

44. *Washington Times Herald,* September 12, 1946.
45. *United States News,* September 27, 1946, 64-65.
46. *Newsweek,* September 30, 1946, 29.

peated the line Pepper used in his Chicago speech praising Marshal Tito.

In October, there were two critical articles in national publications. *The American Mercury* criticized him for both his left-wing politics and his views on race, calling him the "current darling of the ultra-left wing press . . . who made a pilgrimage to the Kremlin for a cozy, confidential chat with Comrade Stalin barely a year after he had campaigned for the Senate re-election on a platform that included white supremacy for the South--the missionary on the make who has always tempered his liberal evangelism to the exigencies of the mundane political moment; and who nevertheless hopes, perhaps by 1948, to supplant Henry Wallace as the leader of the American left. . . ."[47]

The second article appeared in a magazine with a small circulation, but a major impact. *Medical Economics* was read primarily by doctors, who were already suspicious of Pepper's views of government funded medical care. "He represents, not Florida, but that vague area known as the left-of-the CIO-PAC, the American Labor Party, and the 'friends of the Soviet Union.'. . . The big red faced gentleman from Florida has an uncanny talent for making the opposition look bad. And he has no compunction about selecting facts to gain an end. . . ."[48]

Despite the criticism, Pepper continued his attacks on American foreign policy. Speaking at a Labor Day Rally in Los Angeles, Pepper said, "These foolish people who tell us we can never get along with Russia and encourage us to widen instead of bridge the gap between the two nations, who want us to go back to the Hoover and Coolidge and Harding enmity for Russia instead of the Roosevelt friendship, will divide the race of Man into two mutually destructive forces."[49]

On September 12, 1946, Pepper made his sharpest criticisms of Truman at a major political rally sponsored by left wing National Citizens Political Action Committee at Madison Square Garden. Pepper and Commerce Secretary Hem-y Wallace were the main speakers. Pepper went first, criticizing the Truman administration's

47. *The American Mercury,* October 1946, 389-396.
48. *Medical Economics,* October 1946, 73-81.
49. *Daily People's World,* September 2, 1946.

foreign policy. "With conservative Democrats and reactionary Republicans making our foreign policy as they are today, it is all we can do to keep foolish people from having us pull a Hitler blitzkrieg and drop our atomic bombs on the Russian people," Pepper said. He was cheered wildly as he talked of what he called "our blundering foreign policy." By contrast, Wallace was heckled and booed several times for a speech that seemed generally to support the Truman administration. Although Pepper had been brutally critical of the Truman administration, it was Wallace who drew the most criticism. Initially, Truman said he had read the Wallace speech in advance and approved his remarks.[50] But as criticism mounted, primarily from Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, Truman backed away from Wallace and finally fired him.

Nearly all of the attention in the United States went to Wallace, but in the Soviet Union, it was Pepper who attracted most of the publicity.[51] Pepper's remarks drew criticism in Florida where the *Lakeland Ledger* noted, "The Russians like Senator Pepper's Madison Square Garden speech a great deal more than they liked the one by Secretary Wallace, although the Florida Senator and the former vice president have been running neck and neck for leftist honors."[52] As if his words were not enough to draw criticism, Pepper would also be hurt by a picture taken at the rally of Pepper, Wallace, and the African-American singer Paul Robeson. The picture would be used against Pepper in the 1950 campaign. The departure of Wallace from the cabinet left Pepper as the highest ranking supporter of the Soviet Union. Pepper remained a staunch supporter of Wallace, calling him a "great American statesman."[53] While nearly everyone considered Wallace to represent the Democratic Party's left wing, Pepper disagreed. "I don't know exactly what a left-winger is, but I regard Wallace as just a good Democrat who believes in democracy and wants to see it become effective."[54]

Pepper said that Democrats should be prepared to vote for Republicans if the Democratic foreign policy did not change. The *Palatka Daily News* editorialized, "His statement releases any Florida

50. *New York Times,* September 13, 1946.
51. *New York Times,* September 17, 1946.
52. *Lakeland Ledger,* September 16, 1946.
53. *New York Times,* September 18, 1946.
54. *Miami Herald,* September 18, 1946.

Democrat from any obligation to support him henceforth or to even consider him as a party member."[55] Representative John J. Sparkman, the head of the Democratic National Committee's Speaker's Bureau, announced that Pepper would not represent the national party during the fall campaign. Sparkman, who was also running for the United States Senate in Alabama, said, "Certainly we don't want to send out anyone who is advocating the election of Republicans to Congress, as it appears from the press dispatches that Mr. Pepper has done. Certainly we don't want to send out anyone who is going to stab the President; we don't want those stabs, whether from the right or the left. And certainly Mr. Pepper has been attacking the President."[56] Sparkman also said Wallace would not be allowed to appear as an official representative of the party.

Pepper was in Tallahassee when the announcement was made, and he quickly responded. He said his removal from the speakers' list showed "a determination to have a purge of all those who believe in progressive leadership." He said Sparkman's announcement "is not very likely to have any practical effect on what I do." Pepper said he had more speaking invitations than he could fill.[57]

The sacking of Wallace had brought Truman more criticism, and imperiled the Democratic campaigns for the House and Senate just seven weeks before the November election. Party leaders could not tell whether removing Pepper as a speaker would help or hurt. They decided it might hurt, especially in the North. The day after Sparkman read Pepper out of the party, Robert E. Hannegan, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee read him back in. Hannegan denied that Pepper had been removed from the speakers' list.[58] In fact, Hannegan and Pepper held a series of what were described as "peace talks" to work out Pepper's role in the fall campaign. Under the plan, Pepper would concentrate on liberal groups in the North.[59]

Pepper saw the 1946 congressional elections as a referendum on his views with liberal victories showing that there was support for his position. Ten days before the November election, he wrote,

55. *Palatka Daily News,* September 18, 1946.
56. *New York Times,* September 22, 1946.
57. *New York Times,* September 23, 1946.
58. *New York Times,* September 23, 1946.
59. *United States News,* October 18, 1946.

"I am convinced by everything I have seen that we can and will win again a Democratic Congress by a good margin. . . . I have found an overwhelming sentiment among the people to retain and extend the gains of the Democratic administration both at home and abroad."[60]

Pepper's fall tour on behalf of Democratic candidates was a disaster. Although he had bragged about how many invitations he had received to speak, most were from left-wing groups. He spoke in Boston on October 9, but his speech was boycotted by the Democratic candidates for whom he was supposed to be speaking.[61] He was heckled when he spoke in Michigan on behalf of a candidate opposing Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg.[62] He ended his tour in New York, where he addressed a street rally organized by the communist-influenced fur workers union. In New York he was criticized by the local newspapers. The *New York News* said his appearance meant "the radical part of the Democratic mixture is grooming Wallace and Pepper for President and Vice President in 48."[63] But the most stinging criticism came from the right-wing *New York Mirror* which for the first time used the phrase that would come to haunt Pepper, "Red Pepper." The paper said, "Red Pepper . . . From Florida, where he stands for Bilboism--for inequality in America--for 'white supremacy."[64]

The 1946 election was a disaster for the Democrats in general, and for the candidates Pepper backed in particular. In New York, Mead and Lehman both lost and Vandenburg was easily re-elected in Michigan. But the losses and the string of critical articles had no apparent effect on Pepper. Privately Pepper blamed Truman for many of the party's problems. He wrote to Robins, "The presidency is just over his head and he not only is not big enough for the job, but not good enough for the job."[65]

In December, Pepper met with William D. Pawley, a leading Democrat and ambassador to Brazil. Pawley told Sam J. Papich, the legal attache in Rio de Janeiro, that he had asked Pepper about his

60. Pepper to Mike Monroney, October 23, 1946, Pepper Papers.
61. *Boston Herald,* October 10, 1946.
62. *Detroit Free Press,* October 26, 1946.
63. *New York News,* November 5, 1946.
64. *New York Mirror,* November 5, 1946.
65. Pepper to Robins, October 14, 1946, Pepper Papers.

pro-Russian views. Pepper said that he would not change his stand and did not want to talk about the matter any more. Pawley also said that Pepper had later met with a publisher of a Miami newspaper who had previously supported Pepper. Pepper told the publisher-probably John Knight of the *Miami Herald* -- that Franklin Roosevelt was a man who could look ahead five years and that he, Pepper, believed that "in the not too distant future the entire world, including the United States, would be supporting Russia wholeheartedly." The publisher quoted Pepper as saying, "when that day arrived, he wanted it to be known that it was Senator Pepper who championed close, friendly, and cooperative relations with Russia." The publisher said Pepper declared he "naturally wanted to take advantage of the prestige he would reap," and that he would have hopes of being considered as a presidential candidate.[66]

Although most of the attention was negative, he was receiving encouragement. Charles E. Marsh, a newspaper publisher and backer of Lyndon Johnson, wrote a memo entitled, "Thoughts on Pepper." He presented a five-year plan he thought would put Pepper in the White House. Marsh said he considered Pepper "A Noble man, the best we've got in this country." But Marsh added that Pepper was "Really a dawdler when he is not kicked in the butt. He loves the good things of this life, but above all loves to bask in his achievements and the compliments of little people."[67] The *New York Times Magazine* said that "the rumor circulated in the Capitol Hill cloakrooms by the anti-Pepperites is that the Senator from Florida is after something bigger. They say he would like to be a "labor President--at least a Vice President--of the United States."[68]

As 1947 began, Pepper thought his relations with Truman were improving. The two chatted at a reception and Pepper said, "It may be that the little frictions of the past have been largely eliminated and that in the future our personal relations, since circumstances have brought us closer together, will be more friendly."[69] But any hope that 1947 would be a better year than 1946 was short lived. Pepper had helped draft the Legislative Reorganization Act of

66. File 64-4480-467, December 19, 1946, FBI Files.
67. Charles E. Marsh to Pepper, undated, Pepper Papers.
68. *New York Times Magazine*, November 3, 1946.
69. Pepper to Robins, January 29, 1947, Pepper Papers.

1946, but he had no idea his fellow Democrats would use it to deny him his major forum, a seat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Pepper lost his seat to Senator Carl A. Hatch of New Mexico, who was placed on the committee as part of an effort to force Pepper off. One newspaper said he had been "squeezed off the Committee by a neat little bit of technical legerdemain."[70] Pepper wrote to Robins that "by a skillful intrigue I was removed from the Foreign Relations Committee by a Senator who had some seniority in the service of the Senate over me."[71] His own party was further isolating him. Pepper took a seat on the Agriculture Committee, but clearly missed the Foreign Relations Committee. The *Tampa Tribune* editorialized that "while Russia loses a friend in Foreign Relations, Florida gains a friend in Agriculture."[72] Although Pepper was no longer on the Foreign Relations Committee, that was still the area he gave the most time. He continued his campaign for better relations with Russia, and gathered more publicity linking him to the communists.

In March the *Chicago Star;* a Communist Party newspaper announced that Pepper had agreed to write a regular column. Sen. Claude Pepper, Florida's fighting liberal, is a hard hitter. His courageous and often brilliant speeches confound his reactionary enemies in Congress. . . . Look for "Pepper Pot," a new Star column!"[73] The National Catholic Welfare Conference criticized the column, calling Pepper "Next to Wallace the Communists' main front man."[74] Pepper claimed that the column was one he sent to a regular mailing list of newspapers and radio stations, but he ordered the *Star* taken off his mailing list."[75]

Newsweek commented that Pepper's "colleagues now call him "Red" Pepper. But the pro-Communist left returns his affection. Only Henry A. Wallace outranks Pepper on their popularity scorecard."[76]

70. *PM,* January 7, 1947.
71. Pepper to Robins, January 9, 1947, Pepper Papers.
72. *Tampa Tribune,* January 9, 1947.
73. *Chicago Star,* March 1, 1947.
74. National Catholic Welfare Conference newsletter, March 21, 1947, File 94-1-32011-14, FBI Files.
75. *New York World Telegram,* April 22, 1947.
76. Newsweek, January 1947.

On March 12, 1947, Truman announced that Britain could no longer provide military and economic assistance for Turkey and Greece. He proposed an aid package to Greece and Turkey to fight the threat of communism, which became known as the Truman Doctrine. When the Senate held hearings on the Greek-Turkish aid bill, Pepper arranged to rejoin the Foreign Relations Committee as a guest, which allowed him to ask questions. When Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson testified before the committee, most of the questions were friendly, except for Pepper's. Pepper said he thought the Truman Doctrine would "destroy any hope of reconciliation with Russia."[77] To make it clear he was opposed to the spread of communism, Pepper said he wanted to "stop Russian aggression wherever it exists . . . but that does not mean that we are going to intervene in every country where there is communism."[78]

Pepper came up with his own version of the Truman Doctrine, calling for aid to Greece, but not Turkey, the exclusion of military supplies and the administration of the program not through the United States government, but through the United Nations. For the first time in several years, he was not alone. John Knight, publisher of the *Miami Herald* wrote, "for once, I agree with Senator Claude Pepper in his suggestion that the Greek question be referred to the United Nations. . . ."[79] In the 1950 election, Knight would forget that he had once backed Pepper's view.

After speaking against the bill, Pepper said he would still vote for it. He realized that to vote against the measure would eliminate any standing he still held on foreign affairs within his own party. He wrote to his friend Robins that he was voting for the measure as "a personal sacrifice of my convictions on the measure as a part of the price of attaining greater future usefulness in international affairs."[80]

As the vote drew closer, Pepper continued to speak against the measure, but promised to vote for it. Gradually, he became the leading opponent of a measure he planned to support. Pepper's speeches against the Truman Doctrine brought him increasing criticism. He responded by saying that given the political climate, even

77. *Congressional Record,* 80th Cong., 1 Sess., 3281-3289.
78. Ibid., 3592.
79. *Miami Herald,* March 9, 1947.
80. Pepper to Robins, May 5, 1947, Pepper Papers.

Thomas Jefferson, "would be afraid to speak his own mind."[81] In the left-wing journal *In Fact,* Pepper wrote that "We must constantly be reminded that Hitler and the Nazis built up their vicious system on the pretense of fighting Communism. Lots of people in this country are actually fighting democracy under that guise."[82]

His criticism of the Truman Doctrine and defense of Russia's action became more pronounced as the vote drew closer. On April 17, 1947, Pepper spoke for four hours to the Senate to urge passage of his version of the aid package. One of the major issues for the Soviets was the desire to control the Dardanelles, the strategic Turkish straights. The Truman Doctrine, in part, was designed to keep the Russians out of the Dardanelles. But Pepper, in the midst of an increasingly angry debate said, "The Russians have as much right in there as we have to be in Panama, to be perfectly frank." Pepper complained that "the Russian viewpoint has been ignored."[83] At one point, Pepper referred to the Communist infiltration of Greece as "alleged."[84]

In late April, just before the final vote, Pepper attended a World Federation luncheon where the main speaker, Cord Meyer, Jr., talked about the importance of the United Nations. Pepper decided that "beyond any question that I would not and could not vote for the Truman Doctrine because I hated it and I knew it betrayed America and America's stand in the United Nations which was the hope of the world's peace."[85] On the eve of the vote, Pepper changed his mind and announced he would vote against the measure.

The decision heartened Pepper, who wrote, "I never felt better in my conscience than when I finally resolved against the most intense persuasion of some of my dearest and best friends." But even Pepper realized that it would hurt him politically in Florida. He found that the change made him "subject to constant harassment at home, and generally in the nation. . . . Whatever the consequences may have been or may be to me in Florida I would not change that vote."[86]

81. *Newsweek,* April 7, 1947, 25.
82. Ibid.
83. *New York Times,* April 18, 1947.
84. *Washington Times-Herald,* March 31, 1947.
85. Pepper to Robins, May 5, 1947, Pepper Papers.
86. Ibid.

Pepper's stand in the Truman Doctrine brought consistent praise from just two quarters, *The Daily Worker* and the Russian newspaper, *Pravda.* Whenever one of the communist publications praised Pepper, an American newspaper or magazine reported the information, usually adding critical comments. When *Pravda* gave Pepper high marks, *Newsweek* reported: "There was so much the Russians could be thankful for, the Moscow daily exulted, particularly their American friends . . . Wallace, Pepper, and Elliott Roosevelt earned *Pravda's* accolade by their attacks on American foreign policy, and especially on the Truman Doctrine."[87]

The criticism of the Truman Doctrine vote brought Pepper back--if only temporarily and only publicly--closer to Truman and the mainstream of the Democratic Party. On August 15, 1947, Pepper met with Truman at the White House and told reporters that "the President should be and will be nominated and should be and will be elected." He said he had given up the idea of supporting a third-party movement being considered by Henry Wallace. "I think Mr. Wallace can render his best service by continuing to be a private citizen who speaks his mind freely." When reporters asked about whom Truman should pick as his vice presidential running mate he did not name any names, but clearly described himself. "Somebody who subscribes as completely as possible to the views of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He ought to be someone who can command not only the strong but enthusiastic support of organized labor and the working people in general." *Time* magazine said, "No one doubted that Claude Pepper friend of Russia and darling of the left wing was looking in the mirror as he was speaking."[88]

A few hours later Pepper appeared on "Meet the Press" and again voiced his support for Truman. After the broadcast Truman called Pepper to thank him.[89] Pepper wrote to former Senator Sherman Minton, "You know there never was any question but that I was going to support the President."[90]

But his public statements were different from what he was thinking privately. He asked a close friend, University of Florida Professor William G. Carleton, if the time was right for a third

87. *Newsweek,* May 12, 1947, 29.
88. *Time,* August 15, 1947, 16.
89. Ibid.
90. *New York Times,* September 14, 1947.

party, or if the Democratic Party's liberal wing should be built up?[91] To his friend Robins he wrote that he wanted to be able to have the support of the Florida delegation to the convention in case an opportunity for him should develop.[92] Carleton wrote him, "If the situation shapes up in such a way in 1948 for you to make a contest for the Democratic presidential nomination, I hope to God you will seize the opportunity."[93]

Pepper continued his flirtations with the presidency and vice presidency. At the 1948 Democratic convention he briefly became a candidate for the presidential nomination, which brought him more laughs and criticism than delegates. He was forced to withdraw after one day. Pepper never recovered from his involvements with the Soviet Union and his related political activities. By 1950, opposition to Pepper in Florida was both extensive and well organized. Pepper could not overcome six years of negative publicity and controversy and was easily defeated by Smathers.

91. Pepper to William G. Carleton, June 30, 1947, Pepper Papers.
92. Pepper to Robins, March 6, 1948, Pepper Papers.
93. Carleton to Pepper, March 22, 1946, Pepper Papers.

Rekindling the Spirits: From National Prohibition To Local Option In Florida: 1928-1935

by JOHN J. GUTHRIE, JR.

Historians long overlooked the repeal of national prohibition "as a subject for serious research," for at least two major reasons.[1] First, the Great Depression and the coming of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal over-shadowed the ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment. Second, repeal as a research topic presents problems for historians, because it raises questions in disparate fields--including constitutional law, public policy, pressure politics, and federalism.[2]

Despite the complexity of the subject, in 1972 Clement E. Vose provided an early scholarly analysis of repeal. Noting the multifarious composition of the anti-prohibition crusade, Vose refuted the notion of a simple rural-dry versus urban-wet dichotomy.[3] Instead, he argued that old stock White Anglo-Saxon Protestant members of interest groups, such as the Voluntary Committee of Lawyers (VCL) and the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (AAPA), formed an unlikely alliance with the newly arrived Catholic urban dwellers and successfully collaborated to end prohibition.[4]

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1. Mark Edward Lender, "The Historian and Repeal: A Survey of The Literature and Research Opportunities," in David E. Kyvig, ed., *Law, Alcohol and Order* (Westport, Conn., 1983), 177-205.
2. Clement E. Vose, *Constitutional Change: Amendment Politics and Supreme Court Litigation Since 1900* (Lexington, 1972), 101-102)
3. Until the late 1960s historical inquiry into repeal had reached a tenuous consensus founded upon interpretations that focused primarily on the Eighteenth Amendment. According to that consensus, repeal marked the ascendancy of cosmopolitanism, in that the old order of the rural American countryside had finally yielded to the new order of the cities. Charles W. Eagles, "Urban-Rural Conflict in the 1920's: A Historiographic Assessment," *Historian* 49 (Nov. 1986), 26-48.
4. Vose, *Constitutional Change*, 137. David E. Kyvig has expanded upon Vose's conceptual foundation and examined repeal through the lens of the AAPA. See David E. Kyvig, *Repealing National Prohibition* (Chicago, 1979); Fletcher Dobyns *The Amazing Story of Repeal: An expose of the Power of Propaganda* (Chicago, 1940).

Yet unlike Vose, most historians who have dealt with the repeal-movement, have viewed it as a contest between two opposing monolithic forces without considering the serious divisions that sundered both sides of the liquor issue.[5] Taking Vose's cue, this article draws on a variety of sources, including court reports, constitutional convention proceedings, and newspaper accounts to explore the repeal movement in Florida. The result lends substantial support to Vose's thesis by showing that a plurality of diverse interests collaborated successfully to turn back prohibition in Florida.

Moreover, the findings suggest that Florida's path from national prohibition to local option unfolded in four separate, but often overlapping stages. Between 1928 and 1932, during the first and longest phase of the repeal movement in Florida, a wet constituency consisting of judges, newspaper editors, lawyers, brewers, retailers, workers, hoteliers, state legislators, and many ordinary Floridians, coalesced around the idea of repeal. Disillusioned with the federal liquor law, these Floridians began agitating for change. In the political debate that ensued, advocates for repeal generally couched their arguments in terms of states' rights or economic principles. Besides encroaching upon state and local jurisdictions, wets said that the federal government had grown too expansive and posed a serious threat to liberty. Additionally, they claimed that prohibition caused economic hardship for both the public and the private sectors. As they saw it, repeal would provide profits for business, incomes for households, and tax revenue for government.

Over time, such rhetoric gradually began undermining the intellectual and constitutional foundations of prohibition. The repeal crusade was advancing on several fronts. In 1932, to illustrate, wets provided crucial support that enabled Democratic candidates to gain control of both the Congress and the White House. Soon after taking office the winning candidates rewarded the wets by making good on a major campaign pledge. In April 1933, Congress

5. Recently, Eagles has reexamined the 1920s in terms of an urban-rural dichotomy. While remaining skeptical of any simple monocausal explanation for the decade's social political disputes, Eagles concluded that the "urban-rural conflict may still remain an important part of American life, even if it is not the whole story." *Democracy Delayed: Congressional Reapportionment and Urban-Rural Conflict in the 1920s* (Athens, 1990).

revised the Volstead Act and near beer became legal under federal law. This measure helped launch stage two of the repeal movement in Florida. During this phase, Florida wets and their dry opponents clashed over a proposed legislative package that would ultimately legalize near beer and light wine throughout the state. As it turned out, the wets prevailed. On May 8, 1933, Governor David Sholtz signed the bills into law and brought stage two to a close.

Following this victory, Florida wets joined in the national campaign to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment and thus commenced stage three of the repeal movement in Florida. This brief phase ended in December 1933, when Utah became the thirty-sixth (and requisite) state to ratify the Twenty-First Amendment. This wet milestone induced stage four by returning the liquor issue to state and local governments for resolution. Since Florida's constitutional ban on liquor remained intact, wet reformers confronted a seemingly major obstacle to their cause. But as it turned out, less than a year later, in November 1934, Florida's "bone dry" prohibition amendment went down in defeat at the polls.

As noted above, the first stage of the repeal movement in Florida began in 1928. Due in part to the massive amount of federal prohibition litigation, that year's presidential campaign became a major battle in the war on "demon run."[6] The Anti-Saloon League, at the pinnacle of its national power, "Mustered all its resources to elect the dry Republican, Herbert Hoover, over the wet Democrat, [and Roman Catholic] Al Smith." The same contest reached Florida. There the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)

6. Florida's overloaded federal dockets during the 1920s represented a microcosm of the national judicial logjam that stemmed from prohibition enforcement. In 1921, for example, the courts of the Southern District closed 551 criminal prosecutions, 463 of those concerned federal liquor violations. The Northern District settled 164 criminal prosecutions, including 121 liquor cases. Seven years later 85 percent of the 1319 criminal prosecutions disposed of in the southern courts concerned federal liquor law. Figures for the Northern District in the same year had increased to 210 and 191 respectively. See John J. Guthrie, Jr., "Hard Times, Hard Liquor, and Hard Luck: Selective Prohibition Enforcement in North Florida, 1928-1933," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73 (April 1994), 435-452, 438. For prohibition's impact on the federal courts, see John F. Padgett, "Plea Bargaining and Prohibition in the Federal Courts, 1908-1934," *Law and Society Review* 24 (1990), 413-450; Kermit L. Hall and Eric W. Rise, *From Local Courts to National Tribunals: The Federal District Courts of Florida, 1881-1990* (Brooklyn, 1991), 62, 74-77.

joined by the Anti-Saloon League, organized a conference of the state's leading prohibitionists to discuss a strategy for the forthcoming election. Under Bishop James Cannon's prompting, the conference quit the Democratic Party and endorsed Herbert Hoover for president.[7]

Meanwhile, on October 11, 1928, Florida Chief Justice William Ellis embroiled himself in the political controversy. Speaking before a Miami audience, he asked Florida and other Southern Democrats "to rally to the support of Governor Alfred E. Smith for President." Claiming that prohibition was not an issue, Ellis assured his audience that Smith would "enforce [it] as well as other parts of the Constitution." He asked rhetorically: "[I]s Mr. Hoover a prohibitionist?" He answered: "Not so anyone could notice." In comparing the two candidates, Florida's chief justice had created a distinction without illustrating any differences. Skirting prohibition, he redirected the election's focus to other issues by appealing to the emotions of his audience. Waving the bloody shirt of the Civil War and pandering to sectional politics, Ellis thundered: "Our political hereditary enemy is before us again. For 50 years, he has tried in vain to overturn the traditional South [and] to destroy its political integrity."[8]

Ellis's effort to drum up support for Smith by attempting to exploit sectionalism, proved no match for militant prohibitionism and its concomitant anti-Catholicism. In the end, Protestant fears that Smith's candidacy represented a papist plot to seize the White House, coupled with white anxiety that a Democratic victory "would put liquor into the hands of the negro" prevailed. Hoover carried the state because most Floridians had voted against Smith, rather than for the Republican candidate.[9]

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7. Jack S. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston, 1989), 125; Frank W. Alduino, "The 'Noble Experiment' in Tampa: A Study of Prohibition in Urban America," (Ph. D. diss., Florida State University, 1989) 205-208; Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "Florida and the Presidential Election of 1928," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 26 (October 1947), 179-181; Edward M. Hughes, "Florida Preachers and the Election of 1928," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (October 1988), 131-146; Ida DeGarmo, *Life Story of Minnie E. Neal: President of Florida Woman's Christian Temperance Union,* (Jacksonville, 1936), 8.
8. *Miami Herald,* October 11, 1928.
9. The "Hoovercrats" ultimately realized a pyrrhic victory, in that the dry cause became contingent upon the fortunes of the Republican Party. And just as prohibition depended partially upon the success of Hoover's presidency, so too did

Since Hoover's dry victory in 1928 fell short of a public mandate on prohibition, the controversy continued to burn. Eventually empirical evidence against the drys mounted and public support for national prohibition waned. By 1929, for example, the concurrent power to enforce the law shared by the states and the federal government proved at best impracticable and at worst "a costly failure."[10] The drys, aware of the changing political climate, thus began devising plans to shore up national prohibition. Florida Chief Justice Rivers Buford, for one, proposed what he considered the most practicable plan to make the Eighteenth Amendment more effective. First, Buford recommended that the states set the alcoholic content of intoxicating liquors. Then, those states that authorized the sale of liquor--containing between 1 percent and 5 percent alcohol by volume--could sell spirits only in containers filled and sealed under government supervision. Finally, he advised bestowing the enforcement responsibility to the U.S. Justice Department.[11]

In Florida, Buford's call to reform prohibition in order to save it, fell upon a divided audience. By 1930 the state's former dry consensus had come undone. The electorate split almost evenly between those who favored repeal, or at least a modification of the existing prohibition laws, and those who wanted the law to remain in effect.[12] According to a *Literary Digest* poll, out of 560 Tallahassee residents surveyed, 232 wanted the Eighteenth Amendment repealed, 172 supported modification, and 156 endorsed continued federal enforcement of prohibition. The poll went on to relate that

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the fate of Florida's revived Republican Party. As Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. has speculated, had the depression not come during Hoover's term, the Grand Old Party might have shown some success in Florida in 1932. Doherty, "Florida and the Presidential Election of 1928."

10. Kermit L. Hall, *The Magic Mirror Law in American History* (NewYork, 1989), 251. According to the AAPA, prohibition eliminated roughly $900 million in state and federal excise taxes on spirits, wine, and beer. This sum, added to the $40 million spent on enforcement, nearly equalled the $1 billion in federal income tax collected by the government in 1929. See David E. Kyvig, "Women Against Prohibition," *American Quarterly* 28 (Fall 1976), 465-482, 474-75.
11. Rivers Buford, "Let State Fix Alcoholic Content," in *Law Observance: Shall the People of the United States Uphold the Constitution,* ed. W. C. Durant (New York, 1929), 103-105.
12. Before state prohibition went into effect, all but two counties had passed local option ordinances. And when Florida placed the prohibition article before the electorate, every county voted in favor of statewide prohibition. See Frank Buckley, "Prohibition Survey of Florida," in U.S. Senate, *National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement,* 71st Cong., 3rd sess. Washington, D.C. 1931), 109.

out of Florida's twenty-three cities surveyed that had a population of 5,000 or more, twelve voted wet and eleven dry.[13] The poll suggests that posing "the wet-dry" conflict as a simple urban-rural dichotomy fails to capture the pluralistic nature of the liquor controversy.

In 1929, prompted in part by the public's growing aversion to national prohibition (as illustrated in the *Literary Digest* poll and other social barometers), President Hoover appointed a task force to investigate the entire structure of the federal criminal justice system. He ordered the commission "to make such recommendations for reorganization of the administration of federal laws and court procedure as may be found desirable."[14] On January 20, 1931, the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, better known as the Wickersham Commission, published its findings.

Though filled with facts and statistics, the report remained open to interpretation and ended in a "welter of ambivalence." Finding the existing enforcement unsatisfactory, the Commission opposed repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment but offered no alternatives to implement a dry national policy. Perhaps even more significant, all eleven commissioners who had collectively opposed repeal issued individual statements that underscored the coalition's underlying weakness. Nine members emphasized the public's failure to support the law, six demanded immediate change, while only one commissioner, Federal Judge William I. Grubb, unequivocally endorsed continued pursuit of prohibition "in the hope of achieving better enforcement and public support." The controversy shrouding the report thus "ended any hopes that the Wickersham Commission could resolve the national prohibition issue."[15]

While the debate over the future of prohibition heated, organizations such as the VCL began successfully agitating for repeal. An elitist national organization led by some of New York's finest le-

13. *Daily Document*, June 2, 1930; Alduino, "The 'Noble Experiment' in Tampa," 213; *Tampa* Tribune, June 1, 1930.
14. Quoted in Vose, *Constitutional Change, 106.*
15. Ibid., 105-107; Kyvig, *Repealing National Prohibition*, 113-115. Grubb, a Democrat, and one of the itinerant justices who had occasionally sojourned to Florida to help alleviate the state's federal judicial backlog, sat on the bench in the Northern District of Alabama from 1904 to 1935. Harold Chase, et al., Biographical Dictionary of the Federal Judiciary (Detroit, 1976), 110.

gal minds, the VCL had associates in virtually every state. "The committee formed upon an impulse to overcome a constitutional amendment [that] offended the members' sense of a sane society." Their perspective, of the political-legal order, in the age of Hoover, "was one of laissez-faire and of state responsibility, which national prohibition, enforced from Washington, violated." They sought repeal and contributed significantly to that achievement.[16]

At the state level, Florida's chapter of the VCL also played a large role in shaping both public and legal opinion. One member in particular, Robert H. Anderson, had labored many hours "for the restoration of the states' rights in the management of the morals of the people."[17] By 1932 his investment in time began to pay some handsome dividends. In the process, Anderson had helped engender a puissant force to counter the well-organized opposition to repeal. For example, a Florida State Bar Association poll revealed that members of the state's legal profession favored repeal by "nearly six to one." The attorneys assumed their anti-prohibition position because the "Noble Experiment," they claimed, had resulted in smaller government revenues, spawned disrespect for law, facilitated the growth of syndicate crime, and nearly crippled the judicial system.[18]

However, the true measure of the VCL's influence became manifest in that year's hectic congressional races. To be sure, pressure by the VCL coupled with shock waves that emanated from the Great Depression, contributed to a fundamental shift that transformed Florida's political topography and turned a minority into a majority. Out of thirteen candidates who sought four contested congressional seats, eleven advocated repeal or at least a prohibition referendum. Perhaps most surprising, the daughter of the late William Jennings Bryan, Ruth Bryan Owen, an incumbent up for renomination and erstwhile champion of prohibition, promised to vote for the resubmission of the liquor question to the states for a referendum. Denying that she had capitulated to the liquor inter-

16. Vose, *Constitutional Change,* 133.
17. Everett Somerville Brown, ed., *Ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: State Convention Records and Laws* (Ann Arbor, 1938), 72.
18. Alduino, "The 'Noble Experiment' in Tampa," 214; *Tampa Tribune,* June 4, 1932; *Florida Times Union,* June *4, 1932;* Vose, *Constitutional Change,* 119.

ests, Owen maintained that "she was upholding the principles of her father--the Great Commoner--who ardently supported the referendum right of the people."[19]

In April 1933, in a special session under Franklin D. Roosevelt's prodding, Congress passed a bill that changed "the Volstead Act's standard of 'intoxicating' to 3.2 percent alcohol."[20] As it happened, Congress had inadvertently ushered in the second stage of the repeal movement in Florida, and prompted the wet and dry camps to vie for the most advantageous positions from which to influence the state's liquor policy. With the onset of this phase, four legislators from the lower house, R. K. Lewis, Ervin Bass, Frank J. Booth, and A. O. Kanner, combined forces and introduced an important taxation bill premised on the legalization of 3.2 percent beer. The measure proposed a $3.50 tax per barrel of beer and suggested charging $500 for brewery licenses, $100 for wholesale permits, and $15.00 for retail licenses. If passed, the bill's sponsors estimated that it would annually raise over $1,000,000 in tax revenue.[21]

The next day, following a favorable report by the Committee on Prohibition, the house introduced a compromise Beer-Wine Bill. Led by S. Pierre Robineau of Dade County, fourteen representatives launched the revised bill with a proposal that called for the repeal of the state's "bone dry" prohibition amendment and its substitution with local option. Governor David Sholtz endorsed the proposal in his biennial message to the legislature and requested its passage. To weaken the opposition and ease the bill's enactment, Sholtz recommended that all revenue generated by the beer and wine tax should go to schools.[22]

Finding little merit in taxing sin to support public education, the WCTU adamantly opposed the near beer bill. Anticipating the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment as a major blow to their cause, the WCTU rallied to stop the legalization of near beer in

19. *Daily Democrat*, June 6, 7, 1932.
20. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements*, 128.
21. *Florida Times Union*, April 7, 1933.
22. Ibid, April 9, 1933. Unlike the house, the senate remained unreceptive to the bill. Some upper chamber members argued that the money raised from beer sales should go into a general revenue account instead of going directly to a school fund. See Alduino, "The 'Noble Experiment' in Tampa," 219.

Florida. To stem the wet tide, they pressed for an amendment to the state constitution that they considered requisite before the legislature could pass the beer measure. Realizing the inherent difficulty posed by constitutional reform, the WCTU probably wanted to buy time to muster additional dry opposition. Then, the anti-liquor forces could exert sufficient influence to make certain that the new state constitution proved at least as restrictive of intoxicating spirits as the old. Apparently, the WCTU hoped that victories won in Florida would help offset the losses suffered by the drys nationally.[23]

The WCTU faced a formidable task. Besides countering the appealing notion that a tax on near beer would produce substantial revenue for the state's hard-pressed coffers, the WCTU had to confront economic reality in the shape of national depression. Small wonder the proponents who favored revising the Volstead Act and ultimately repealing the Eighteenth Amendment, "added to their arsenal of arguments, the number of jobs lost by prohibition, the amounts of grain which could be consumed after repeal, [and] the costs of enforcement, which might be used for public relief."[24]

Such arguments fell on receptive ears in Florida. Since the Great Depression had lingered far too long in the Sunshine State, Floridians found the employment opportunities that legalized beer promised to deliver a compelling reason to approve the near beer bill. A *Florida Times Union* report estimated that the opening of the Jacksonville Brewing Company alone would provide employment for seventy additional workers. Also, the distribution and sale of near beer in Florida, accordingly, would create jobs for 6,000 more persons throughout the state. Even those people that the beer industry did not hire stood to gain. While the bill's passage remained pending, the Jacksonville Brewing Company had granted conditional contracts for improvements and supplies valued at $100,000.[25] Theoretically, once the bill passed, the increased investment's multiplied effect guaranteed to provide even more employment opportunity by trickling down to brewing-related businesses.

23. *Florida Times Union,* April 7, 1933.
24. Robert James Maddox, "The War Against Demon Run," *American History Illustrated,* (June 1979), 10-18, 17-18.
25. *Florida Times Union,* April 11, 1933.

For the 85,000 Floridians seeking work in 1933, legalization of near beer made good economic sense.[26]

On May 8, 1933, Sholtz signed five bills that legalized near beer, light wine, and similar beverages. The bills also permitted the manufacture, distribution, sale, and advertising of the same. Hoping to capitalize on legislative reform, Florida newspapers leaped at the opportunity and almost immediately readers throughout the state found "alluring beer advertisements glaring at them from printed pages."[27]

Clearly the newspapers had a pecuniary interest in wet reform. Legalized beer and wine broadened a paper's advertising market by including businesses engaged in manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing of alcoholic beverages. Because newspaper revenue depends largely on paid advertising, many Florida editors agitated for repeal from its inception.[28] At Florida's ratifying convention in 1933, for instance, one delegate claimed that the convention owed a real debt to "those newspapers of the state and their editors, who long before repeal became popular, fought the good fight against the evils of prohibition." Persuasive editorials by "Mr. Lambright of the *Tampa Tribune* and Mr. Stoneman of the *Miami Herald,"* he asserted, "helped to open the eyes of the people and crystallize the sentiment that gave repeal its tremendous majority in this state." With that in mind, he asked the convention to extend its thanks "to these newspapers for their efforts in this cause." Another delegate claimed: "I am unwilling to let this opportunity pass without paying a tribute to the *Jacksonville Journal* for its constant and consistent fight in the behalf of repeal." The delegates then adopted a motion that extended the convention's warmest appreciation "to the newspapers of this state whose efforts have contributed so much to the success of the repeal movement in Florida."[29]

26. Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee, 1971), 184.
27. *Florida Times Union,* May 9, 1933.
28. In fairness, some editors remained firmly opposed to repeal. Lillian C. West of the *Panama City Pilot* equated whiskey with crime. "Overdoses of bad liquor," she claimed, served as the root cause of every homicide that had been committed in Panama City. As she put it, "the repeal movement sprang from aliens and anarchists." See Bernadette K. Loftin, "A Woman Liberated: Lillian C. West, Editor," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52 (April 1974), 396-405.
29. Brown, *Ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment,* 93-94.

Meanwhile, rumors circulated that drys had planned to test the new law in the state's supreme court. The gossip proved unfounded. After a full day of legal beer, the drys had not yet filed a petition with the court contesting the beer measure.[30] And according to the interpretation of Attorney General Cary D. Landis, a dry county could "in no way" prevent individuals from partaking of near beer or light wine within its boundaries.[31]

Nonetheless, Florida wets could not rest assured. Neither the sales receipts nor the promised additional tax revenue materialized. Apparently, illicit brewers retained customer loyalty and initially managed to stave off the competition offered by licensed breweries. According to one wholesaler, thousands of people accustomed to making their beer continued to do so for two reasons. "[T] hey said it [was] cheaper and that it [had] a bigger kick." Eventually, however, economies of scale set in, legitimate supplies increased, prices dropped, and major brewers garnered the larger portion of the beer trade. Since smaller illicit producers left the market, the tax revenue generated by beer sales began to grow.[32]

Encouraged by the beer bill's success, Florida's anti-prohibitionists then joined in the national crusade to amend the federal constitution and initiated the third stage of the "wet crusade." Governor Sholtz summoned a special election to choose "67 delegates-at-large to a ratification convention" scheduled to meet in the fall of 1933. In October, Florida residents voted two-to-one for an all-wet delegation to represent them in the upcoming convention.[33] The next month, when the meeting convened in Tallahassee, orators clothed their speeches in republican garb. One delegate, "jealous of the blessings of local and personal liberty," exclaimed: "The tragic error we are engaged in correcting . . . came from a misconception of the very essence of the federal principle." Another representative compared the liquor laws to the four Intolerable Acts that helped spawn the American Revolution. "It was not so much the practical enforcement and results of those Acts that made them odious to the point of exciting revolt, for they were . . . evaded as

30. *Florida Times Union*, May 9, 1933.
31. *Biennial Report of the Attorney General*, (1933); Ch. 15884, 1933 Florida Acts.
32. Alduino, "The 'Noble Experiment' in Tampa," 221, 222; *Tampa Tribune*, May 9, 10, 21, 1933.
33. Alduino, "The 'Noble Experiment' in Tampa," 222, 224.

has been our famous Volstead Law; but it was the outrage of having them made and their enforcement attempted by a distant tyranny with no regard to colonial interests or wishes. Such, too has been the Eighteenth Amendment."[34]

Echoing the same republican ethos, Anderson of the VCL bellowed: "As the yoke of British tyranny was cast off them, so now we rid ourselves of the shackles of organized minorities, which have falsely claimed to represent public sentiment. . . . [Our] victory is a tribute . . . to the deep-rooted faith in the American ideals of our Fathers concerning the Constitutional Government of the United States. It is a declaration that the people of the United States disapprove of the Federal transgression of state's rights and that it will oppose and resist that transgression."[35]

With little opposition, all sixty-three delegates then present voted for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment making Florida the 33rd state to ratify the Twenty-First, and the prohibition amendment became the first to be repealed.[36]

In the early months of 1934, federal judges began issuing general orders to dispose of any cases pending that involved violations of national prohibition. For the most part, they agreed that the federal courts retained no power to impose judgment in prohibition cases.[37] Yet, in the wake of repeal, one federal judge, A. V. Long, warned Florida moonshiners and bootleggers that they could expect harsh treatment in the district courts. Although he did not say why, Long considered liquor law transgression under repeal more serious than those that had occurred under prohibition. Long then announced that he would treat any cases involving the failure to pay the liquor tax "more severely" than previous infractions against the Volstead Act. Scolding a man who had pleaded guilty to manufacturing moonshine shortly after repeal, Long stated, "there

34. Brown, *Ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment,* 69-71.
35. Ibid.
36. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements, 128.*
37. United States v. Samuel Kilpatrick, Livingston Jarvis, et al., found in United States v. Leo G. Carraway, Box No. 7, U.S. District Court, Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee, July term, 1932, Federal Records Center, East Point, Ga. (hereinafter, FRC). Likewise, in another Florida case, a federal circuit court ruled that the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment by the Twenty-First, invalidated all convictions for unlawfully transporting intoxicating liquor. Clark v. United States, 69 F.2d 258 (1934).

is no prohibition law any more and it is just as unfair for a man to operate a liquor still and not pay the tax as it is for a man to sell shoes in a licensed business on one side of the street while a man sells shoes across the street in an unlicensed business . . . [such] business must be stopped."[38]

Despite Long's bluster, ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment removed the preponderance of liquor control from federal courts and placed it under the jurisdiction of state and local tribunals. Prohibition, therefore, remained a significant political issue in Florida. Unless intended for medical, scientific, or mechanical purposes, the manufacture, sale, and/or transportation of liquor violated state law. As Attorney General Landis put it, "[R]epeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, had nothing to do with . . . Florida's 'bone dry' prohibition amendment, still in effect."[39]

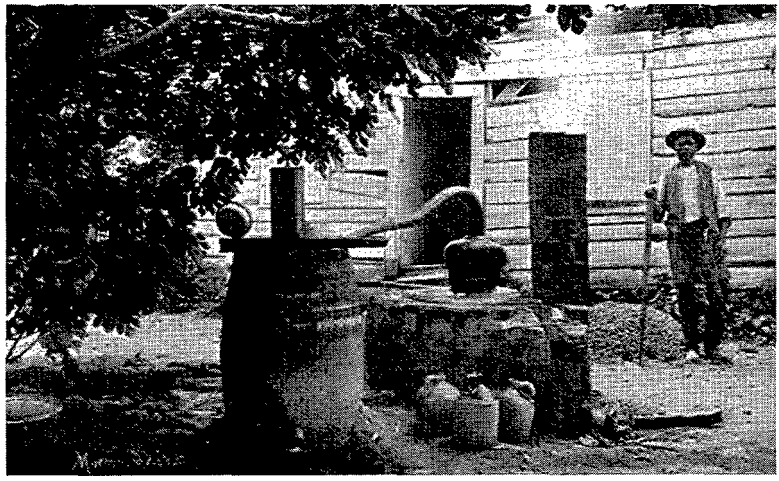
Perhaps accepting Landis's words as a challenge, Florida wets then embarked on the fourth stage of their movement and began agitating for the proposed resolution that would repeal the state's constitutional ban on liquor. As drafted, the bill stipulated that "the status of all territory in the State of Florida . . . whether the sale [of intoxicants] is permitted [would become] . . . the same as it was on December 31, 1918." If passed, this meant that the old local option laws would be revived and the importation, transportation, or manufacturing of ardent spirits would then remain unlawful only in those erstwhile dry counties.[40]

On November 6, 1934, in a record turn-out for an off-year election, Florida voters decided the fate of the state's constitutional

38. *Tallahassee Democrat,* November 9, 1934. Long's tocsin far outdistanced judicial action. In one of the first post-repeal cases instituted in the northern district, the defendants sought the return of their personal property--twenty five sacks containing 245 pints and 179 quarts of various liquors--which federal agents had seized from them on July 12, 1933, for violating the Prohibition Act. The petitioners contended that the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment had made it impossible to convict them under the indictment as filed. In short, they claimed title to the property and demanded its return. To strengthen their cause and demonstrate their respect for the law, the claimants informed the court that they would pay whatever amount in revenue taxes that the court deemed proper, upon the return of the property. Judge Alexander Akerman complied with their petition and ordered the collector of customs to return the property pending payment of all taxes due. United States v. William G. Shotwell, and Sidney C. Shotwell, Box No. 78, U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida, Tampa, May term, 1935, FRC.

39. *Tallahassee Democrat,* December 12, 1933.

40. *Biennial Report of the Attorney General* (1933), 313.



A moonshine still near Tallahassee in the 1930s. Photograph courtesy Special Collections Department, University of South Florida Library.

ban on liquor. As it turned out, the wets carried the election by a more than two-to-one margin. In so doing, they passed the liquor issue back to the counties that had held local option referendums concurrent with the statewide repeal ballot. Out of Florida's sixty-seven counties, forty-two rejected local option, twenty-four went dry, and one remained undecided.[41]

When viewed through a lens of liquor litigation, it appears that Florida's wets won a somewhat hollow victory in the battle for repeal. With the liquor issue returned to the state, wets soon discovered, perhaps to their dismay, that provincial government, coupled with diverse popular and strong institutional support, could still restrict alcohol in their jurisdictions. No longer having to contend with issues relating to federalism or similar constitutional concerns, Florida's state and local governments managed to ban liquor in a way seemingly more effective than that which was attained by national prohibition.[42]

41. *Tallahassee Democrat,* November 6, 7, 8, 9, 1934.

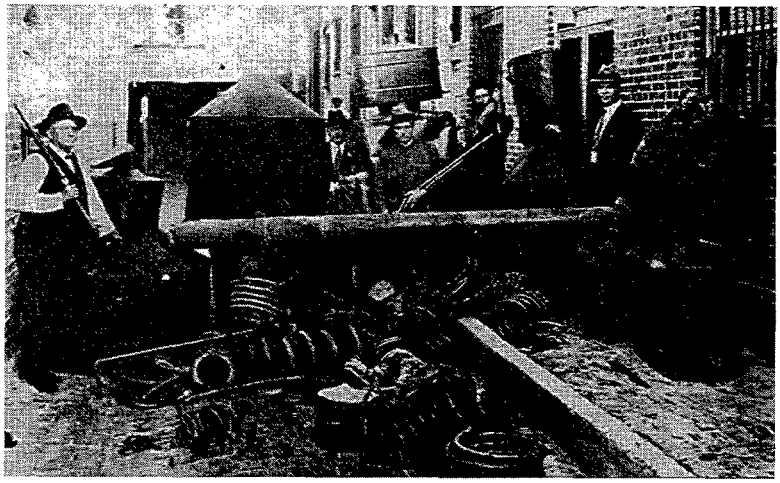
42. For similar analyses, see Clyde Wilson, "The Statist Drug War," *The Free Market* 12 (February 1994), 1, 7; Harry G. Levine and Craig Reinarman, "From Prohibition to Regulation: Lessons from Alcohol Policy for Drug Policy," *Milbank Quarterly* 69 (1992): 461-494.

By 1935, for example, the Florida Supreme Court had reached an apparent consensus concerning the revised liquor laws. Local jurisdictions such as counties and municipalities could exercise prohibitive control over liquor without fear of judicial intervention. In *State ex rel Atlantic Ice & Co. v. Weems* (1935), to further illustrate, the court validated a local community's power to ban alcohol absolutely. This case arose after Alachua County had denied the Atlantic Ice & Co. a license to construct a brewery for making near beer. The controlling statute then in effect, as Landis had noted, permitted sales of near beer statewide, including those counties that had voted dry. By that, the legislature had essentially classified near beer as non-intoxicating. The law seemed clear; neither Alachua nor any other county in the state could prohibit such sales.[43]

Those conditions notwithstanding, the Florida Supreme Court voted five-to-one and upheld Alachua County's refusal to grant the Atlantic Ice & Co. a permit to build the brewery. Justice Whitfield, speaking for the court's majority, wrote: "There is no inherent right in anyone to manufacture alcoholic beverages." Since the Constitution did not prohibit or regulate the manufacture of alcoholic beverages, he insisted "it [was] within the power of the legislature to prohibit or to regulate such manufacture by general or by local laws."[44]

Justice Armstead Brown challenged Whitfield's position. "Why should the Legislature prohibit the manufacture of a beverage which it definitely permits to be sold even in dry counties," Brown asked, "on the manifest ground that it is non-intoxicating?" Or, for that matter, "Why should Jacksonville or Tampa or Miami brewers be permitted to sell 3.2 percent beer in Alachua County, and yet the citizens of Alachua County be prevented from brewing the same kind of beer in their own county?" Put simply: "Why allow the sale, but deny the manufacture of a non-intoxicating beverage in certain counties merely because they have prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors therein?" To Brown, the sale of near beer to the consumer posed no greater threat to the public than its manufacture. "It would seem that the legislative classification," Brown wrote, "makes a distinction between counties based upon differ-

43. *State ex rel Atlantic Ice & Co. v. Weems,* 106 So. 453 (Fla. 1935).
44. Ibid., 455.



Hillsborough County sheriff's deputies posing at the county jail with distillery equipment seized during a successful raid on an illicit still at Riverview. Reproduced with permission from Hampton Dunn, *Yesterday's Tampa.*

ences in their local laws relating to intoxicating liquors which, as regards 3.2 percent beer, is a distinction without a difference."[45]

Since the controlling statute treated near beer as a non-intoxicant legally marketable anywhere in the state, Brown found the act "arbitrary and unreasonable." It denied "equal protection of the laws to those citizens of the so-called dry counties who desire[d] to manufacture this presumably harmless and non-intoxicating beverage on the same terms which the statute grant[ed] to the citizens of the so-called wet counties which have no local prohibitory laws."[46] Noting a vast difference between regulation and prohibition, Brown apparently wanted to know where to draw a line of demarcation beyond which the courts could say constitutionally, "thus far shalt thou go and no further."[47]

45. Ibid., 455-456.
46. Ibid., 455-456.
47. *Ex parte* Pricha, 70 Fla. 265 (1915). Quote taken from Judge William H. Ellis's dissenting opinion. The answer to this question, apparently depended on where the courts decided to draw that line. That is, "the police power [became] essentially what the courts declared it to be." See Melvin I. Urofsky, "State Courts and Protective Legislation During the Progressive Era: A Reevaluation," *Journal of American History* 72 *(June* 1985), 67, 63-91.

Ironically, since many drys in Florida never grasped that repeal could actually benefit their cause, they continued to clamor for the good old days of prohibition. Indeed, in 1937 at the 54th meeting of the WCTU of Florida, delegate Dr. Ella A. Boole insisted that repeal had failed miserably. "Unemployment has not been eliminated. Many on relief spend their money for liquor while their families go without necessities." Consequently she asserted that "our girls and women are serving as bar maids in saloons of disrepute." She therefore encouraged the WCTU to continue the good fight of temperance and to keep the public's eye focused on the needless toll on human lives caused by the consumption of alcohol. Reminding her audience that "wets did not keep still when prohibition was law," Boole implored her sisters to "buy dry, patronize those who sell dry and if we have to buy where alcohol is sold, to stand by our principles."[48] Deaf to the inherent contradictions in her words, Boole's closing comment suggests that the WCTU would henceforth base its actions more on expediency than on principle. So like the organizations that comprised the repeal movement in Florida, by 1937 the WCTU had too become sundered by a plurality of diverse interests.

48. *Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Florida,* (Bartow, 1937), 14.

Confederate Nitre Bureau Operations In Florida

by MARION O. SMITH

Saltpeter or niter (potassium nitrate), the main ingredient of gunpowder, was essential for the Confederate war effort. To ensure a steady supply, in April 1862 the Confederate Congress passed a bill which created the Nitre Bureau. Its goals were to encourage a more "efficient working of the niter caves" already being mined, to solicit additional contracts for new cave operators or persons leaching earth deposits from underneath buildings, and to establish in the larger towns artificial niter beds. The new bureau was headed by Isaac M. St. John, a former civil engineer, and the South was soon divided into districts, with superintendents assigned to each. Although the focus of the bureau's effort was in the mountainous regions of Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and Arkansas, all sections of the Confederacy became involved. Florida comprised District No. 12.[1]

The first Nitre Bureau official in Florida was Nathaniel A. Pratt, a professor from Oglethorpe University, Milledgeville, Georgia, who apparently worked as the bureau chemist and mineralogist. One pay voucher, however, refers to him as "Sup Nitre Dis Florida." Pratt made only one trip to Florida--May 28-June 27,1862--when he visited Tallahassee (twice), Quincy, Marianna, Gainesville (twice), Ocala, Newnansville, Lake City, and Madison. On June 8 he hired a buggy and investigated a cave near Marianna.[2]

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1. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), series 4, I, 1054, III, 698 (hereinafter *OR) ; Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College Deceased from June, 1870 [1860], to June, 1880* (New Haven, 1880), 402.
2. Ralph W. Donnelly, "Scientists of the Confederate Nitre and Mining Bureau," *Civil War History*, 2 (December 1956), 76; Augusta *Daily Constitutionalist*, June 6, 1862; N. A. Pratt file, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations Raised Directly by the Confederate Government, Nitre and Mining Bureau, record group 109, M-258, roll 113, National Archives, Washington, DC (hereinafter NA).

If Pratt made a report of his Florida exploring excursion, it has not survived. But undoubtedly the essence of his observations was incorporated in St. John's July 31, 1862, report to the Secretary of War: "In Florida the most promising cave localities have been examined, but thus far with unpromising results, the caves being small and generally wet. Attention has therefore been given to plantation earth. The superintendent has commenced work on Government account and already reports a small return."[3]

The superintendent referred to was Charles H. Latrobe, a Baltimore native, Tallahassee resident, and chief engineer of the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad. By early July he was on duty and published in the *Florida Sentinel* instructions for the manufacture of saltpeter from cave earth or from "under old houses, stables, negro cabins, tobacco houses, & c." By late in the same month he asked for "A limited number of Overseers . . . to enter the Nitre Business" for "$30 per month and rations," promising them "freedom from conscription." Latrobe's headquarters remained in Tallahassee. On July 17 and throughout the remainder of 1862 he rented an office from William K. Beard, who was then serving as a Confederate staff officer in the Army of Tennessee. For the first half of 1863 he rented an office from former register of public lands John Beard, William K.'s father, and after that from D. W. Gwynn, a lawyer and Confederate captain. Later, for at least a year following July 1, 1863, he rented a "wareroom" from Arvah Hopkins, a New York-born planter-merchant.[4]

Although Latrobe remained Florida's chief Nitre Bureau official throughout the war, he occasionally had assistants, including Perry L. Barrington, John L. McFarlin, Thaddeus W. Hentz and Archibald C. McCants. Except for signing payrolls as a witness, nothing is known of the activities of Barrington, a Wakulla County farmer. McFarlin, an Apalachicola grocer who later moved to Quincy, in October 1862 was reimbursed for hiring wagon and

3. *OR*, ser. 4, II, 29.
4. *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, 3 vols. (New York and Chicago, 1912), II, 400-402; 1850 Census, Fla., Leon, 8th Div., 71; (1860), Tallahassee, 10, 15, Tallahassee P.O., 5, 16, 29, (1870), Northern Div., 22nd Subdiv., 104; Raleigh *North Carolina Standard*, September 12, 1849; *OR* ser. 4, I, 778-79, II, 436, ser. 2, XXV, part 1, 412; Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, July 8, 29, 1862; W. K. Beard, John Beard, D. W. Glynn, and A. Hopkins files, Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, record group 109, M-346, rolls 51, 388, 465, NA (hereinafter Citizens Papers).

mule teams for carting jobs, one for four days from Mount Pleasant to Midway, and two for twenty-five days each "Hauling earth & c," presumably from plantations, in both Gadsden and Jackson counties. During the same month, Hentz, a Jackson County dentist, signed himself "Asst Sup West Fla." More is known about McCants, a doctor from Monticello. Detailed from the Third Florida Infantry, he was an assistant from at least October 1862 through late May 1863, when he spent much of his time in either Gainesville or Brooksville. He was then transferred to East Tennessee where he was in charge of Division No. 3 of Nitre District No. 8, with an office in Athens. After the Confederates abandoned Chattanooga, he returned to Florida, joined an artillery battery, and was wounded at the battle of Olustee, in February 1864.[5]

The majority of extant records relating to Nitre Bureau activity in Florida pertain to the construction and maintenance of artificial niter beds near Tallahassee. The premise set forth by the wartime literature was that beds would be a permanent source of saltpeter, whereas the leaching of the soil "under dwellings, barns, cattle sheds, and negro cabins" was only a temporary measure. All the kinds of saltpeter producing elements coming within the categories of crude vegetable matter (fodder, melon rinds, rotting fruits and vegetables, peelings), crude earthly materials (lime, marl, plaster of paris, earth from old dwellings or barns), solid animal matters (animal or human dung, carcasses, offal of butcheries), and liquid manures (urine, kitchen waste) were put together in beds underneath protective sheds. The dimensions of the sheds varied from place to place, often thirty by a hundred feet. Under each shed a number of beds or pits were built, twenty-five to thirty, or more, depending on the specific construction of a site. The "form, size, and arrangement of the beds" were the "option of the superintendent." Additional fixtures needed were wagons for hauling and implements such as shovels, rakes, and hoes for "preparing"

5. Confederate Slave Payrolls, Nitre and Mining District 12, October-December 1862, record group 109, NA; Hattie E. Hentz file, Florida Confederate Pension Applications, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee; 1860 Census, Fla., Wakulla, Between Sopchoppy and St. Marks Rivers, 22; Franklin, Apalachicola, 1; Jackson, Marianna P.O., 5; Jefferson, Monticello, 80; (1870), Duval, Jacksonville, 9; Gadsden, Quincy P.O., 279; J. L. McFarlin, T. W. Hentz, and A. C. McCants files, Citizens Papers, M-346, rolls 628, 436, 615, NA; Petition of Citizens of Monticello, Florida, to Jefferson Davis, March 1863, Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, A. C. McCants file, 324-M-1863, record group 109-M-437, roll 402, NA; *OR,* ser. 1, **XXXV,** part 1, 346.

and "cultivating" the beds. Later, when the contents of the beds matured, hoppers were needed "for leaching the earth" and furnaces and kettles were used for "boiling down the lye."[6]

There might be several series of beds under each shed. The first bed in each series was left empty. In the second bed were placed four layers, two consisting of vegetable matter and earthly materials together, and two consisting of solid animal matter, arranged in alternating order, and each moistened. After about a week the contents were transferred to bed number one and thoroughly intermixed by breaking "all clods or compact masses" and kept moistened. After the mass was returned and reduced, it was built back up to the proper level, usually two feet, with new materials. All the beds were thus treated, transferring the contents of three to two, four to three, and so on. It was recommended that all beds be turned "once a week in midsummer" and "twice a month in winter."[7]

Niter beds were considered mature when "a white, moldy appearance" was "perceived on the surface." In 1862 it was predicted that beds in the South would mature in a year. That prediction proved to be optimistic and only near the end of the war were most beds beginning to mature.[8]

Construction of the nitriary at Tallahassee began in late summer 1862. For a nominal rent of only a dollar a month they were established on the property of Philip T. Pearce, a native of South Carolina who was listed in the census as a "manufacturer." Materials were supplied largely by local residents. In early August Robert Gamble sold 126 barrels of shells and two pots to Latrobe for lining and watering the beds. Lumber was provided by Dean and Monchet and probably others. Although it is not known how many sheds were built during the first phase of development, on January 10, 1863, Isaac W. Bowen was paid for twenty days' work as boss carpenter on "the last shed erected," which was "30' x 80'." Bowen also furnished "two asst. negro carpenters" and "one negro labourer" for work on this shed. The same day Bowen was paid for 725 feet of plank used for box moulds at the beds and for four days' labor of

6. G.W.F. Price, *Artificial Production of Nitre: Containing Practical Directions Concerning the Formation and Cultivation of Nitre Beds...* (Montgomery, Ala., 1862), 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 1415.
7. Ibid., 15-17.
8. Ibid., 18-19; *OR,* ser. 4, III, 695-96, 698.

himself and one black assistant carpenter for building the same. As time passed additional lumber was consumed in repairs and the construction of a new shed in 1863. By the end of September 1864, there were three niter sheds at Tallahassee, covering seventy-seven beds, and containing 30,000 cubic feet of saltpeter bearing materials.[9]

Lieutenant Colonel William K. Beard hired wagons and teams to the beds for various jobs, including hauling "lime for New Beds" in August and September 1863. The same year wagons were repaired by P. T. Pearce and Richard Saunders, the latter a former county sheriff.[10]

Even though most of the lime for the Tallahassee beds was "obtained free of expense," some had to be purchased. In June 1863, 468 bushels of "old lime" was bought from Colonel Beard, and in September 1864 James B. Gamble, a farmer, supplied 696 bushels of presumably first quality lime.[11]

During the latter part of 1864, apparently in anticipation of the beds finally maturing, preparations were made to build furnaces. In August James Ellenwood sold 15,000 bricks for that purpose, and a month later the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad was paid for transporting "two car loads of brick . . . 25 miles" for the same use.[12]

By September 1862, Latrobe published a dual reward scale for carcasses delivered to the Tallahassee niter beds. For each dead cow, steer, or horse from outside the town he would pay five dollars, calves two dollars fifty cents, dogs twenty-five cents, and cats twelve and a half cents. From within the town the rates for larger carcasses dropped to three dollars. Calves brought a dollar fifty. The price for dogs and cats remained the same. Periodically, P. T. Pearce supplied either carcasses or offal. In September 1862 he was paid fifty cents a day for beef offal, and the following December he received twenty-five cents each for 231 more "beef offals." During January and March 1863 he contributed respectively thirty and nine cow

9. P. T. Pearce, Robert Gamble, Dean and Monchet, and I. W. Bowen files, Citizens Papers, M-346, rolls 783, 333, 235, 84, NA; 1860 Census, Fla., Leon, Tallahassee, 7; (1870), 44, 39.
10. W. K. Beard, P. T. Pearce, and Richard Saunders files, Citizens Papers, M-346, rolls 51, 783, 903, NA; 1860 Census, Fla., Leon, Tallahassee, 11.
11. W. K. Beard and James B. Gamble files, Citizens Papers, M-346, rolls 51, 333, NA; 1860 Census, Fla., Leon, Tallahassee, 14.
12. James Ellenwood and Pensacola and Georgia Railroad files, Citizens Papers, M-346, rolls 280, 789, NA.

carcasses for the published rate of three dollars each, and during the next two months he was paid a total of $26.30 for "14 carcasses of cows, calves, hogs, dogs, & c."[13]

The regularly assigned laborers at the Tallahassee niter beds were all slaves, overseen presumably by a white superintendent. Their duties must at times have been quite nauseous, given the beds' content and handling procedures, already discussed. During the initial construction of the sheds the work force was larger, but the exact number cannot be determined because all of the bureau's Florida slaves were reported on a single roll. The October-December 1862 roll listed thirty-eight laborers, hired from sixteen owners, of whom at least twenty-two probably worked at the beds. The next quarter the total number dropped to twenty-two, hired from eight owners, of whom a minimum of thirteen likely toiled at the beds. After that the number was twelve through May 1864, eighteen, June 1864, and nineteen, July-September 1864, all hired from Cary B. Gamble, a Confederate surgeon, through his agent, Robert H. Gamble, who was a captain of artillery. Quarters were built for the slaves and they, according to contract, were to be clothed, shoed, and doctored by the Confederate government. In December 1862 the "entire force at [the] Nitre Beds were successively ill with pneumonia," and since there was no post surgeon, Tallahassee's postmaster, Miles Nash, who was also a physician, attended them.[14]

Although Florida's caves were usually thought to be too wet, the Confederates apparently attempted to mine at least one. Neither a description nor a precise location has survived, but it was somewhere in the vicinity of Brooksville, Hernando County. The mining activity occurred during late 1862 and early 1863. Within that period Assistant Superintendent A. C. McCants was reimbursed for several items bought "For use at [the] cave," including a gallon measure, skimmer, wooden bowl and tray, buckets, and grindstone, plus several hauling jobs. Subvouchers all signed in Hernando County, indicate that in October 1862 Jacob Winecoff and Charles H. Phinny, Marion County planters, each hauled from

13. Charleston *Daily Courier*, September 25, 1862; P. T. Pearce file, Citizens Papers, M-346, roll 783, NA.

14. Confederate Slave Payrolls, Nitre and Mining District 12, October 1862-September 1864, NA; 1860 Census, Fla., Leon, Tallahassee, 13, 21; *OR*, ser 1, LIII, 336, 240; George H. Meginniss and Miles Nash files, Citizens Papers, M-346, rolls 676, 732, NA.

"Archer Sta. to Cave 80 miles" for seven days with a four mule team, and on November 11, George W. Black, also a Marion County planter, used a horse and cart for one day for "moving hands." In January Peter Strange hauled 525 pounds of tools and other necessities "from Gainesville to nitre works." From mid-November through mid-January, Gillis Powell, a Hernando County farmer, on several occasions hauled "wood for furnace," and supplied "200 ft Plank" to be made into "clapboards for hoppers" at the cave. In January and February he also provided syrup, potatoes, corn meal, pork, beef, and corn for "Feeding hands." During the same months G. W. Black was again hauling provisions, freight, and wood for the furnace. He was also reimbursed for a ferry toll across the Withlacoochee River. The result of the effort to mine the cave is unknown, but the absence of data after February 1863 may mean that the Confederates realized it was a failure and abandoned it. [15]

The Nitre Bureau's operations in Florida were the weakest for all of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi River. Official reports at the end of September 1864 clearly show an abysmally poor yield of saltpeter. By that time only 820 pounds had been delivered, although $10,060 and $6,158.92, respectively, had been spent on the Tallahassee niter beds and "Government works." But the records are possibly incomplete. In May 1863 A. C. McCants was reimbursed for drayage of "4 b'els & 1 Box nitre & 1 Box Lead 1163 lbs" from "Monticello to Station No. 17 S. A. & G *rr,"* which may or may not be reflected in the 820 pound figure of 1864. There is also the chance that some of the niter beds were leached after the 1864 report. At the end of the war, when the Federals finally occupied Tallahassee, they reportedly found "2,000 pounds nitre" there. But whether it came from the beds can only be conjectured. Judging by the known yield of saltpeter, the Nitre Bureau exertions in Florida were largely a failure, which can be attributed to geography, the small force employed, and perhaps to time, assuming that most of the artificial beds had not matured by the conclusion of the war.[16]

15. A. C. McCants, George W. Black, and Gillis Powell files, ibid., rolls 615, 68, 814, NA; 1860 Census, Fla., Marion, Ocala P.O., 51, 49, 36; (1870), Hernando, Brooksville P.O., 50.
16. *OR*, ser. 4, III, 698, 699; A. C. McCants file, Citizens Papers, M-346, roll 615, NA; Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin,* June 15, 1865.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Letters pertaining to the Confederate Nitre Bureau Operations In Florida

transcribed by THOMAS S. MUIR

The following letters dealing with the Confederate Nitre Bureau's Florida operations were discovered in the T. T. Wentworth, Jr. Collection of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board. Both letters deal with the subject of the foregoing article by Marion O. Smith. The second casts light on the Civil War activities of two prominent Pensacola citizens. Cox Chandler Yonge was a district attorney in Florida for the Confederate States of America. Augustus E. Maxwell, who had once represented Florida in the U.S. House of Representatives, was a Confederate Senator.

Ogelthorpe University
Milledgeville, Geo
June 27th, 1862

J. M. St. John
Major and Supt. Nitre Bureau
Augusta, Geo

Sir,

I have just returned from my exploration of the State of Florida, at which work I consumed just four weeks. I write this as a preliminary, unofficial communication-simply to inform you of general results-and to make inquiries. My report will be made as soon as I shall have completed the analysis of specimens-on which I am now engaged.

I traveled through Western, Middle and Eastern Florida and examined many cases, especially in Jackson, Alachua, and Marion counties-the caves are *all small* the largest not over 400 yards long and from 10 to 20 feet wide, with few lateral expansions or apartments. The floors are generally rocky. Earthy floors when found of

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large extent, generally shallow; these are kept *wet* by water rushing in at the mouth or by excessive dripping from the porous ceiling above, so that nitre either is not formed or if formed is subject to constant lixiviation. Deficiency of earth or excessive wetness will describe all the caves of Florida that I examined and I consider these a sample of all as they occur in the same "Rottru" porous, white limestone, of the Meiocine Tertiarry-In one cave however in an apartment subject to favorable conditions I found an earth quite rich-I estimate however not more than 600 cubic feet. In all such caves Lt. Latrobe who accompanied me, directed or rather advised private individuals or owners to work them out. From the cave above mentioned, tho, I have not yet examined the sample, I think from 500 to 1000 lbs might be made. I may say though in few words, the caves of Florida do not contain sufficient nitre to justify the erection of works by the government, though I believe that much can be made on the plantations by the planters themselves.

Very Respectfully Yours
N. A. Pratt, M.D.
Chem. & Min. C. L. Nitre Bureau

C. L. Nitre & Mining Bureau
Augusta July 3 d, 1862

Hon. A. E. Maxwell
Evergreen, Ala.

Sir

I write to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult, and to thank you for the information regarding the limestone caves of Florida. You will perhaps remember that the bill organizing the nitre service passed in May last-about the close of the same month, upon such imperfect information as I could command, I directed a survey of the limestone counties of Florida, and especially of Jackson Co-under Lieut. Latrobe detailed from the provisional Army Engr. Corps-& Prof. N. A. Pratt, Ogelthorpe University, Geo. Had I then known Col. Yonge, I should have requested his service, for the survey.

From the enclosed extract of a letter from Prof. Pratt, you will perceive that the results are not altogether what we could wish. Yet to leave no stone unturned, I have desired Lieut. Latrobe to com-

municate with Col. Yonge-and have directed a second examination of any locality specified by Col. Y. I have also instructed Lieut. Latrobe, to secure the services of Col. Yonge, if the public interests and his own inclination permit. From what I heard of Col. Yonge's high standing, public and professional, the low rates of compensation allowed to agents of this Bureau would not justify his acceptance of a permanent position, especially when there are other positions in the Government service much more worthy of his attention. In arranging the survey of Florida-I was fully prepared for Prof. Pratt's report-knowing the caves to be generally wet and with no very large nitrous deposits; but I had strong hopes of finding sufficient quantities of nitrous earth under old buildings and stable yards to justify government work. In this view I applied for Lieut. Latrobe's detail. He is a civil engineer of many years experience-and for the last three years has served on the Pensacola and Ga. Railroad as Asst. and Chief Engineer. Combined with local knowledge, I expect from Lieut. Latrobe an efficient organization of work and rapid results-where possible.

From your official position, I feel free to request you to communicate to this office any suggestions or advice bearing upon the Nitre service.

Very Respectfully Yours
J. M. St. John, Majr.
and Supt.

The Order of the Holy Spirit: An Important Decoration From a 1715 Plate Fleet Wreck

by JOHN DE BRY

From the early sixteenth to middle eighteenth centuries, the Flota System was Spain's lifeline to the riches of the Americas. Two fleets traveled more or less annually between Spain and the Americas; the squadron of Tierra Firme from Spain to South America, and the Flota de Nueva España toward Veracruz, Mexico. On the return voyage, the two fleets would often sail together for added safety and protection. The return voyage was more dangerous. The galleons were fully loaded with precious cargoes of gold, silver, jewelry, tobacco, spices, indigo, cochineal, leather, and other New World products. The crews were tired and often plagued by health problems brought on by tropical diseases, malnutrition, and deplorable hygienic conditions on board. These conditions made the ships even more vulnerable to attacks by pirates, but the greatest danger came from an uncontrollable element: the weather. The general weather and ocean conditions were more favorable during the summer months. The waters of the Atlantic Ocean were calmer, and the prevailing winds gentler. However, the very warm waters of the south Atlantic contributed to unstable weather, as well as rapid development of unpredictable violent and devastating tropical storms called hurricanes.

As a result of France's policies of expansion under Louis XIV, Europe was ravaged by two major wars, between 1688 and 1715. These wars disrupted trade between the Americas and the old continent, and Spain, highly dependent on the riches of the New World to finance her own policies of expansion in Europe, suffered greatly. The first of these, the War of the Grand Alliance, ended in 1697 with the Treaty of Ryswick, but in 1701, another broke out, this time over the succession to the Spanish throne. Charles II of Spain had died childless, but on his deathbed, he had named as his heir Philip, the grandson of Louis XIV of France. This decision was not kindly received by Leopold I, the Holy Roman Emperor, who

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wanted to see his son, Archduke Charles, ascend to the throne. Leopold also wanted to prevent at all cost any close alliance between France and Spain. War broke out with England and the Dutch on one side, and Spain, France, Portugal, Bavaria, and Savoy, on the other. Portugal soon realigned its position, and allied with the English and the Dutch. At the same time, a civil war broke out in Spain with the Kingdom of Aragon and Valencia on one side, and Castile and the Hapsburg Holy Roman emperor on the other, on the same side as the English and Dutch aiding the Catalan rebels struggling against the French candidate. Europe was in turmoil. The seas and oceans became the stage for naval battles and vicious encounters between merchant vessels and privateers. The sea routes between Spain and the Americas were no longer safe, and the vital flow of New World treasure was practically stopped. Things were going badly for young Philip V and his kingdom. In 1702, Spain received a tremendous blow when a large English naval force entered Vigo Bay on the northwestern coast of Spain. An all-out battle ensued, with the English fleet sinking a large number of war ships, capturing others, and seizing a large treasure. Another Spanish treasure fleet was sunk by the English in 1708, off Cartagena, Colombia, and in 1711, another one of Philip's treasure fleets was destroyed by a hurricane off the coast of Cuba. The war was finally ended in 1715 by a series of treaties known as the Peace of Utrecht. The treaty between England and France confirmed Philip V's succession to the throne of Spain, while Philip renounced his rights to the French throne. England was given Newfoundland, the island of St. Christopher, and the Hudson Bay territory. Although the war ended, the peace was an uneasy one, and much friction remained between the former foes.

At the end of this period of hostilities, Spain was in dire need of financial relief. At the king's order, a fleet was dispatched to the Indies in order to bring back urgently needed gold and silver, which had been accumulating during the war. The twelve ships making up the fleet assembled in Havana in the summer of 1715. Everyone was busy getting ready for the long and treacherous journey back to Spain. Additional precious cargo was being loaded, inventories were taken, fresh water and food items were placed aboard each ship. After a two-year delay, the mighty Plate Fleet was finally ready to sail home.

The Squadron of Tierra Firme was under the command of Captain-General Don Antonio de Echeverz y Zubiza, and consisted

of six vessels. The captain-general was in direct command of the *Capitana,* the flagship, which was a captured English ship formerly called the *Hampton Court,* and was laden with a great number of chests of silver coins, gold coins, gold bars, gold dust, and jewelry, as well as exotic tropical products. The flagship of the admiral, the *Almiranta,* was equally richly laden. The *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* carried gold coins and bars, as well as chests of silver coins. The frigate *San Miguel,* the *El Ciervo,* and a patache, a smaller merchant vessel, completed the squadron.

The five ships of the New Spain Flota were under the general command of Captain-General Don Juan Esteban de Ubilla. Ubilla was himself on the *Capitana* which carried some thirteen hundred chests containing 3,000,000 silver coins. There were also gold coins, gold bars, silver bars, and jewelry, as well as emeralds, pearls, and precious Kangxi Chinese porcelain which had been brought to Mexico via the Manila Galleon route. The *Almiranta* carried nearly a thousand chests of each containing some 4,500 silver coins. The *Refuerzo carried* 81 chests of silver coins and more than 50 chests of worked silver. Another ship, a patache, carried some 44,000 pieces of eight. One small frigate named the *Mariagalante,*[1] which had been bought in Havana by Ubilla, helped complete the Flota. The *Griffon,* a 48-gun warship from France[2] charged with an official mission by the king of Spain, and commanded by Captain Antoine d'Aire, had been forced to sail with the Spanish fleet,[3] bringing the total number of ships sailing in the fleet to twelve. In his 1975 book *The Funnel of Gold,* historian Mendel Peterson estimated the value of the registered cargo of the combined fleet at 7,000,000 pieces of eight, which represented at the time a real value of about $86 million (1975) of our money.

1. The name of Ubilla's frigate was mentioned in a contemporary report of the disaster recently discovered in the archival depository of the city of Grenoble, France. In the manuscript document, the name Mariagalante has been misspelled as Mari gelleta.
2. The *Griffon* was a 48-gun French warship of the fourth rank. Built in the port of Lorient in 1705, the 500-ton vessel was on an official mission and was also engaged in private trade, a common practice of the time. Archives Nationales, Paris, archival location Marine B/5/3 (microfilm).
3. The audencia of Mexico, one of New Spain's two colonial councils (the other was at Guadalajara,) had haulted the issuance of licenses permitting vessels to leave the port of Veracruz before the flota's departure, in order to keep secret the exact sailing date and movements of the richly-laden ships. Robert F. Burgess & Carl J. Clausen, *Florida's Golden Galleons,* (Port Salerno, Florida, 1982), 82.

The fleet had suffered many delays, and had been sitting idle for nearly two years. Pressure had been mounting for the fleet to sail. The Spanish crown was in dire need of money, as were merchants who had been unable to make their exotic goods available to the European market. Under this tremendous pressure, Ubilla made the decision to start the long and perilous voyage back to Spain, even though the hurricane season had long since begun. This decision would prove fatal, for unknown to the Spaniards a tremendous and exceptionally powerful hurricane was brewing to the southeast of Cuba. The great treasure fleet of 1715 sailed from Havana harbor in the early morning of July 24, a beautiful and calm day, with a gentle breeze to help the ships find the Florida current. Slowly and smoothly the fleet sailed in a northward direction, staying far enough away from shore to take advantage of the Gulf Stream, and keeping clear of the treacherous shoals and reefs dotting the Keys and Florida east coast. But just two days into the journey the ships encountered strong head winds as they entered the Bahama channel,[4] on July 29, long swells started to appear, coming from the southeast. The atmosphere became heavy with moisture, the sun shining brightly through a haze. The wind then subsided and a gentle breeze blew. The sea had smoothed down, but the swells were making the ships slowly dip and roll. Experienced navigators, pilots, and old hands started to be concerned. They recognized the early signs of an impending tropical storm.

The storm was now moving north. It was many miles east of the convoy but its winds at the center measured 100 miles per hour. By nightfall the hurricane had made a dramatic change in course, suddenly veering directly to the west. On the morning of July 30, along the east coast of Florida, just south of Cape Canaveral, winds began to pick up and by midday had increased to well over twenty knots. By late afternoon the winds' velocity was over thirty knots, and waves reached twenty feet. Ubilla's fleet was being driven closer and closer to shore. The captain general gave the order that all the ships head into the wind to stay clear of the reef and shoals, but the attempt to do so was only marginally successful. The velocity of the wind kept increasing, and by midnight the ships were barely under control. Around 4 a.m. on July 31, the hurricane

4. In a contemporary account of the 1715 Plate fleet disaster the *Griffon is* mentioned as having sailed on a different course as early as July 26th, after encountering strong head winds. (Bibliothéque de Grenoble).

struck the doomed ships with all its might, driving one ship after another on the deadly jagged reefs. The vessels broke up like wooden toys. Ubilla's *Capitana* disintegrated, crushed on the reef like matchsticks. Almost all aboard were killed, including Captain General Ubilla. The entire fleet was lost, and of the approximately 2500 persons aboard the various ships, nearly 1000 perished.

After encountering strong head winds and rough seas at the entrance of the Bahama channel, as early as July 26, Captain Antoine d'Aire had taken the *Griffon* on a more easterly course and had managed to escape the full wrath of the storm. Arriving in Brest on August 31st, Captain d'Aire was unaware of the fate of the fleet.[5] Upon reporting to his superiors one of d'Aire's first actions was to lodge a complaint against the Duke of Linares, Viceroy of Nueva España, the royal officers of Veracruz, the governor of Havana, and Don Antonio Echeverz, for preventing the *Griffon* from sailing on her intended schedule and forcing her to accompany the fleet.[6]

For those who had survived, the ordeal was just beginning. They were stranded in an inhospitable land infested with disease-carrying mosquitoes, rattlesnakes, wild animals, and hostile Indians. They were far from any settlement, without food, fresh water, or badly needed medical supplies. When daylight came, on that dreadful morning of July 31, 1715, the full extent of the disaster could be seen. The beaches were littered with wreckage and bodies, and the survivors of this human tragedy were trying to comprehend what had happened to them. As the ships had wrecked at different locations, and were separated sometimes by several miles, it was impossible for the survivors fully to assess the extent of the disaster. Many were dying each day, adding to the already devastating number of casualties. Admiral Don Francisco Salmon immediately undertook to survey the extent of the damage. After observing that

5. Letter to Monsieur le Duc de St. Aignan, 6 September 1715, announcing the arrival of the *Griifon* on 31 August 1715, in the port of Brest. (Archives Nationales, Paris, Marine B/7/101, page 593, manuscript letter).
6. Fearing that he might be taken to court by the people who had invested heavily in the commercial aspect of the *Griffon's* mission, and concerned about his failure to successfully complete his official mission on behalf of the Spanish king, captain Antoine d'Aire, lodged a complaint against the Viceroy of Nueva España, the Duc of Linares, for failing to make full payment on 48,000 piastres owed to the crews of the French warships *Appollon* and *Tritton* for official service to the Spanish Crown, and against all those he felt were responsible for delaying him in Veracruz and Havana. (Archives Nationales, Paris, Marine B/7/101, pages 593-610, manuscript letter 6 September 1715).

most, if not all, ships had wrecked, he decided to send two separate parties to seek help. Two launches which had miraculously survived the storm were made ready. The largest one was loaded with salvaged supplies, and along with a large crew which included most of the surviving nobility and royal officials, set sail towards Cuba on August 8. The previous day, the smaller boat had departed with a crew of 31 for St. Augustine. Seven days later, in the early morning hours of August 15, the survivors reached Havana. Governor Casatores was immediately notified and given a letter from Admiral Salmón.

Within days of the survivors' arrival, several ships were leaving Havana harbor, loaded with emergency supplies, salvage equipment, government officials, and soldiers, on their way to the east coast of Florida. Salvage was to begin as soon as the relief expedition had reached the survivors' camps. The salvage vessels arrived in the area of Barra de Ays on September 10, 1715, and anchored just offshore from Admiral Salmón's camp. Success came early as salvage sloops dragged the ocean floor for wreckage, and quickly brought up chests of silver coins. The Havana salvage flota was soon joined by Florida ships sent from St. Augustine to help in the recovery effort. By early September, such was the success of the salvage teams that Admiral Salmón wrote to the governor asking him to send 25 soldiers and ammunition to guard the King's gold. By the time the weather and sea conditions had become unsuitable for continuing salvage, in late October of the same year, over 5,000,000 pieces-of-eight had been recovered, along with gold and jewelry, and a great part of the royal treasure. Although salvage was essentially completed, efforts continued well into 1718.

News of the disaster had swept the Americas and Europe much like the news of the stock market crash would some 220 years later, and privateers, pirates and looters converged on Palmar de Ays (near present-day Sebastian, Florida) like ravenous vultures. Early in January 1716, the English pirate Henry Jennings aboard his well armed sloop, the forty-ton *Barsheba*, and John Wills aboard his 35-ton *Eagle*, both having been commissioned by Governor Hamilton of Jamaica, attacked the Spanish salvage camp at Palmar de Ays, and detained the defenders while looting the camp.[7] They

7. Eyewitness accounts of the raid describe the attack as being well planned and executed, with no casualties on either side thanks to the element of surprise.

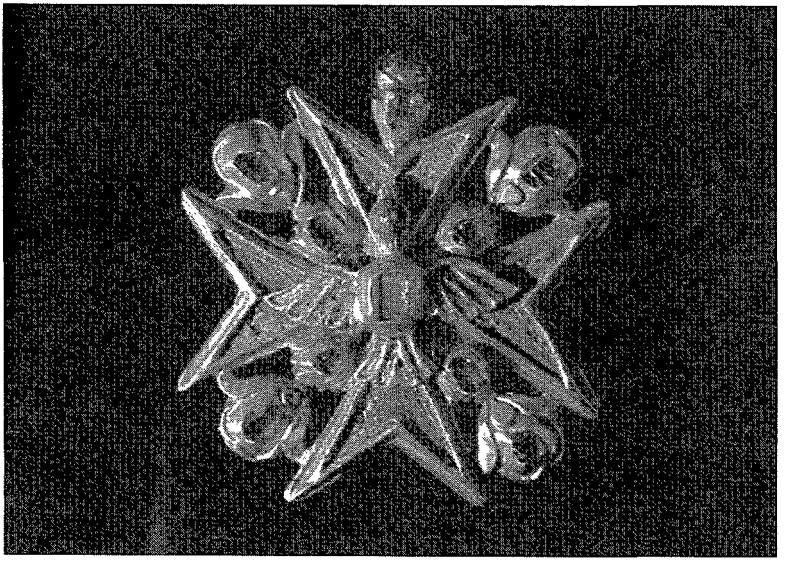
made off with over 120,000 pieces-of-eight and other valuables, as well as with two bronze cannon and two large iron guns.

When the Spaniards abandoned salvage in 1718, a great amount of treasure still remained on the ocean floor. Some of the wreck sites were clearly marked by portions of the ships' structures which could be observed protruding above water at low tide. For years, after the official completion of the salvage operation, merchant ships sailing these waters would fish for treasure. A number of these ships were successful. Little by little the wrecks were forgotten, and the remains of the mighty 1715 Spanish treasure fleet would lie undisturbed for nearly 250 years. Then, in 1955, Kip Wagner, a building contractor, rediscovered the long-lost and largely forgotten fleet.

Since then, a total of six wrecks have been located and identified as belonging to the ill-fated 1715 Plate fleet, but no name has been firmly linked to any of them. This is due to several factors; the archival research is incomplete; the integrity of the various sites is low due to a high energy surf environment, and the long history of illicit and uncontrolled excavation. There has been very little research done on recovered artifacts to link the cultural material to specific ships. Today the wrecks continue to be salvaged by numerous treasure hunters, but few artifacts of historical importance have surfaced.

On Thursday, June 9, 1988, the crew of the commercial salvage boat *Virg-A-Lona,* led by Captain Demostenes "Mo" Molinar, a Panamanian native who had worked for treasure hunter Melvin Fisher on the wrecks of the 1715 Plate fleet, as well as the wrecks of the *Atocha* and *Margarita,* was busy exploring an area nearly one mile north of the ballast pile marking the 1715 wreck site known as Douglass Beach, and designated by the state of Florida as 8SL17.[8] It has been widely speculated that the site represents the remains of Don Antonio Echeverz's patache, the *Nuestra Señora de* las Nieves, but there is no physical evidence firmly linking the site to the small ship. While using propwash deflectors to remove overburden and expose fossilized coquina shell formations where cultural material has come to rest, divers discovered a hoard of 455 Spanish colonial gold coins, the upper half of a high-karat gold snuff box, and a small high-karat gold decoration studded with eleven diamonds. I

8. Carl J. Clausen, *A 1715 Spanish Treasure Ship,* (Gainesville, 1965), 1.



Decoration which was recovered from the wreck of the 1715 fleet. Photograph by the author.

identified the decoration, described by the treasure hunters as a "gold brooch" and a "gold charm with diamonds", as being that of the Order of the Holy Spirit.[9]

The Order of the Holy Spirit (Ordre du Saint Esprit) was founded during the month of December 1578, by France's King Henri III, and the first promotion [award] ceremony took place on December 31, 1578, in the church of the Grands-Augustins, in Paris. It was the most prestigious and coveted French royal order. In order to explain the presence of a French decoration aboard an early Eighteenth-century Spanish sailing ship, it is necessary to ex-

9. The decoration of the Order was a gold cross with eight points, similar to a Maltese cross, with white enamel on each ray, and within each angle a gold fleur-de-lys. Surmounting the cross at its center was a dove, within a radiating halo, symbolizing the Holy Spirit descending upon mankind. The decoration was worn around the neck, suspended on a long deep blue silk ribbon, hence the expression "cordon bleu" to describe a Knight of the Holy Spirit. In addition, the cross was also worn embroided on the left side of the everyday dress of the knights. As seen in the oath of allegiance, the knights of the Order committed themselves to wear the decoration at all times.

amine the political situation existing in Spain and in France during this particular period.

At the time of his ascension to the throne of Spain, young Philippe had a number of delicate diplomatic problems to solve. One of them dealt with a most sensitive question of etiquette. The court of France did not recognize the Spanish title of Grande de España as being the equal of a duke, and the court of Spain did not recognize the French title of duke as being the equal of a Grande de España. In order to resolve this embarrassing situation, a convention was passed, in 1702, between the two countries. Addressing this specific problem, the diplomatic convention agreed that the title of Grande d'España would be recognized in France as equal to a duke, and, reciprocally, the title of duke would be accepted in Spain as the equal of a Grande de España. In honor of this agreement, a Grande d'España awarded the Order of the Holy Spirit in France, would take his place among the dukes during the ceremony of the Order. His seniority as a duke arbitrarily dated to 1702, the year of the diplomatic convention, or the year he was made a Grande d'España if this was before 1702. In the same way, a simple French gentleman who had been honored with the title of Grande d'España, which did happen on a few occasions, would take his place in the Order as a duke, and would date his seniority according to the registration date of his letters patent of Grande de España with the Council of Castile.

As a symbolic gesture to honor this newly passed diplomatic convention, the king of France, Louis XIV, in 1703, nominated five Spanish noblemen for membership in the Order. This was the first time that members of the Spanish aristocracy had ever been nominated to receive this prestigious honor. Their names were; Don Juan Claro Alonzo Perez De Gusman el Bueno, 11th Duke of Medina Sidonia; Don Francisco Casimiro Antonio AIphonso Pimentel De Quinonez De Benavides, 12th Earl of Benaverte; Don Fabrice De Toledo Osorio, Marquis of Villa-Franca, Grande d'España; Don Juan Francesco Pacheco Gomez De Sandoval, Earl of Montalvan; Don Luis Emmanuel Ferdinand De Portocarrero, Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo. However, all five nominees died before they could be awarded the Order.

Desirous to consummate the diplomatic convention of 1702, and to satisfy the Spanish nobility, Louis XIV bestowed the Order of the Holy Spirit upon Don Isidore Juan Joseph Domingo de la Cueva y Benavides, Grande d'España, Commanding General of the

Low Countries, Viceroy of Sicily, in a solemn ceremony which took place at the Palace of Versailles, on 1 March 1705.

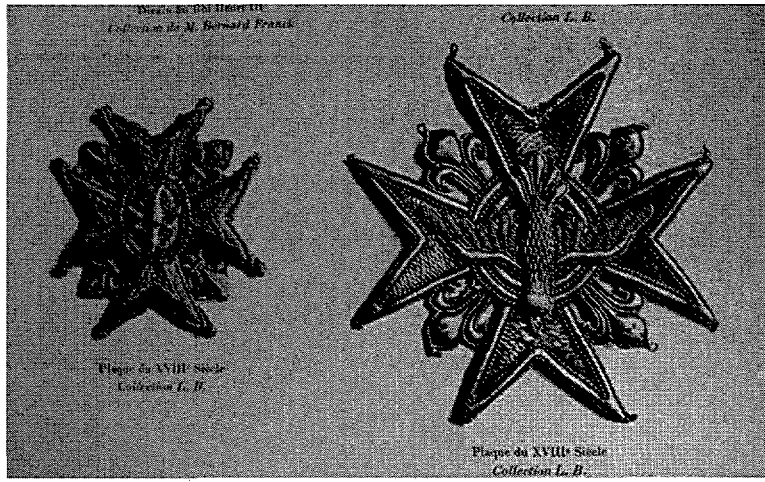
According to the official register of the Order of the Holy Spirit, preserved in the Royal Library of Fontainebleau, in France, Don Isodore Juan Joseph Domingo de la Cueva y Benavides was the first Spanish nobleman to receive this distinction. The next Spaniard to be inducted into the Order was Luis, Prince of Asturias. The official ceremony (known as Promotion) did not take place until July 26, 1717, under the reign of Louis XV.[10]

This small decoration is of historical significance and, with further research, may provide a clue to the identity of the ship. Only seventeen Order of the Holy Spirit contemporary decorations are still extant, and only one is in Spain (Prince Michel de Bourbon-Parme, personal communication, January 28, 1991).

Most important and most prestigious of all French royal Orders, the Order of the Holy Spirit (l'Ordre du Saint-Esprit), was instituted in 1578, by France's king Henry III. It is fully comparable in prestige to the Golden Fleece or the English Order of the Garter.

There are indications that the origin of this Order may have roots well before its official foundation in 1578. The original founder would have been Louis d'Anjou, Prince of Tarenta, who, by virtue of his marriage to his cousin Jeanne I, had become king of the Two-Sicilies and of Jerusalem. The newly created Order of the Garter, founded by England's Edward III, and the Order of the Star (Ordre de l'Etoile), founded by France's John II, gave him the idea to institute an Order of the Holy Spirit in Naples in 1352. Given the tumultuous, and often calamitous political situation in the Napolitan State, the Order soon disappeared. The original papers and titles, however, survived, and some two centuries later were in the hands of a nobleman from Venice. Henry III had just been crowned king of Poland when his brother Charles IX died unexpectedly. On his way back to France to assume his brother's succession, he stopped in Venice where he met the custodian of the documents, who gave them to him. It may be surmised that Henry III, interested by what he read, resurrected the Order, dating its foundation to 1578, and declaring himself the founder. It should

10. Luis, Prince of Austrias, was to become King Luis I, during a very brief period in 1724, after his father Philip V had abdicated in his favor, but the young king died of an illness and his father resumed his tenure as king of Spain.



These are official decorations which are kept in public and private collections in France. Photograph by C. Bourdier.

be emphasized that this is only an assumption, not an historical fact. The statutes of the Order of the Holy Spirit created in Naples by Louis d'Anjou-Tarenta are well known. They were most obviously inspired by the Order of the Star (Ordre de l'Etoile), created the previous year, but they are quite different from those of the Order of the Holy Spirit created by Henry III. It is therefore necessary to give credit to the last Valois sovereign for the foundation of this most illustrious Order.[11]

The Order was founded toward the end of December 1578, at a time when peace in the Kingdom of France--peace which had been long disturbed by religious wars--was more fragile than ever. On one side the Huguenots refused to lay down their arms, on the other the Catholic nobility and bourgeoisie were growing more and more impatient with the King's leniency toward the followers

11. The royal house of the Valois family ruled France from 1328-1589. Starting with the ascension to the throne by Philippe VI (1328-1350), and ending with the reign of Henri III (1574-1589), the House of Valois had a positive influence on French culture during the Renaissance. But Henri III proved to be a weak and unpopular ruler, criticized for his effeminate mannerism and tastes, and for his apparently sympathetic attitude towards the Protestants. In truth, the king was only guilty of weakness. Henri III was assassinated by the Dominican monk Jacques Clement (Serbonnes 1567-Saint-Cloud 1589).

of Calvinism, even accusing Henry III of complicity with the Protestants. Assaulted on all sides by parties equally hostile to his person and his reign, Henry III felt the necessity to secure the support of powerful lords whose loyalty was in doubt. To accomplish that he founded the Order of the Holy Spirit, and imposed on the recipients an oath of allegiance so rigorous that it appeared certain that those inducted would forever be loyal to their king. The oath of allegiance was as follows:

> "I swear and vow to God, in front of His Church, and promise to you, Sire, on my faith and honor, that I will live and die within the Catholic faith and religion, without ever abandoning it, nor abandoning the Union of Our Holy Mother the Apostolic and Roman Church; and that I will obey you entirely without ever neglecting my duty, as a good and loyal subject should; that I will keep, defend, and support with all my strength and power, the quarrels and rights of Your Royal Majesty, toward all and against all; that in times of war, I will join your following in a retinue worthy of a person of my quality; and in peace time, when an important occasion will arise, each and every time it will please you to summon me, to serve against anyone who you may wish to live or die, without exception, even to death; that during such times I will never abandon your Person, or the place where you would have ordered me to serve, without your express permission and written command signed by your own hand, or by the one whom you would have ordered me to serve, unless I have given a just and legitimate reason; that I will never leave your Kingdom for the purpose of serving a foreign prince, without your command, and that I will neither accept pension, nor wages, nor commission from any king, prince, potentate or lord, nor will I commit myself to the service of any living person save Your Majesty only, without your express permission; that I will truthfully report to you all that I know while at your service which may help protect and preserve the present Order of the Holy Spirit, by which you are honoring me, and will never consent nor permit, as long as it is in my possession, anything to be attempted against or done against the service of God, nor against your royal authority, or at the prejudice of the said Order, which I will

> endeavor to maintain and strengthen with all of my power; that I will keep and observe very religiously all the Laws and Statutes of the Order; that I will always wear the gold cross sewn on my clothes and the one made of gold around my neck as I am ordered by the said Statutes, and that I will attend all the Congregations of the General Chapter of the Order, each and every time it pleases you to order me to do so, or I will offer to you my apologies as long as my excuse is valid and justified, and authorized by Your Majesty, with the advice of the majority of the Commanders at the sides of Your Majesty, signed by your own hand, and affixed with the seal of the Order, and which I will have to abide by."

Such a precise and detailed formula would lead one to believe that everything had been taken into consideration, and everything had been done to ensure that the recipient of the Order would have no mental restriction in serving his Church and his King. This, in fact, did not work as intended, and just a few months after the first award ceremony, several of the gentlemen who had just been inducted into the Order, were fighting on the side of the Protestants. Others, led by the duke Henri de Guise, who had also been honored with the same Order, and had accepted it, never ceased to dream of a change in the monarchy. Indeed, the blue ribbon of the Order of the Holy Spirit was too weak a link for Henri III to secure the loyalty of the politicians of the end of the XVIth century, and this fact became clear the very day the Order was founded.

The foundation ceremonies took place on December 31, 1578, and January 2, 1579, in Paris. On the first day, the king, kneeling down, received the great coat necklace from the hands of the grand chaplain of France, Jacques Amiot, whose duties made him born-commander of the new Order. Then, taking his place on his throne, which had been elevated in the choir, he himself placed the great coat and necklace on the new knights. Although Henri III had set the number of members of the new Order at 100, only 27 were inducted on that day, in an attempt to stimulate the hope of others. Although some of the less loyal lords knighted that day accepted the order and recited the oath without hesitation, ecclesiastical commanders were more reluctant in allowing themselves to be bound so rigidly to the king, and refused to assume their functions within the Order on that day. In fact, they were not admitted

into the Order until January 1, 1580, and then only after the obstacle had been removed by substituting a new oath of allegiance specially tailored to their needs, in place of ordinary oath which is quoted above. The new formula which they accepted, and which remained unchanged until the last days of the French monarchy, was as follows:

> "I swear to you God, and I pledge to you, Sire, that I will be loyal and faithful during my entire life, will acknowledge, honor and serve you as Sovereign of the Order of the Commanders of the Holy Spirit, of which it presently pleases you to honor me with; that I will defend and obey the laws and statutes of the said Order, without infringement; that I will wear its marks [decorations] and will pray everyday in as much as a man of the cloth of my quality can and must do; that I will personally appear on the days of solemn ceremonies, if there is not a legitimate obstacle preventing me to do so, in which case I will notify His Majesty; that I will never divulge anything which is discussed or concluded at sessions of the Order; that I will advise, procure, and do everything which I will judge in my conscience to be of contribution to the subsistence of the Order, and to its greatness and increment; that I will always pray to God for the salvation of Your Majesty, as well as the salvation of the Commanders and of the other members of the said Order, whether departed or living. May God and the Holy Gospel be with me."

The difficulties created by the ecclesiastical leaders on the very day of the foundation of the Order, attested to the fact that not all were sympathetic to Henry III's attempt to secure the allegiance of the high nobility to his service.

The present decoration is extremely rare in historical significance. It is one of the few 1715 Plate fleet artifacts which have been the focus of thorough historical research. It is inconceivable that it could have been anything other than rightful property of a knight of the Order of the Holy Spirit, and the 1715 dating strongly suggests that the knight was Don Isodore-Juan-Joseph Domingo de la Cueva y Benavides, the first Spanish recipient of this prestigious award.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

compiled by JAMES A. SCHNUR

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BOOK REVIEWS

Florida's First People: 12,000 Years of Human History, By Robin C. Brown. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1994. ix, 262 pp. Author's note, illustrations, photographs, maps, *scientific* names, references, glossary, appendices, index.)

In *Florida's First People,* Robin C. Brown has produced a brilliant introduction to Florida archaeology that will entice the beginner while providing vast amounts of information useful to the professional. To walk the fine line between general readership and professional audience is indeed difficult, but Brown has succeeded. His book has a clear, lively writing style, and inverts the presentation found in so many archaeological texts. In the best anthropological tradition, Brown focuses first on the native peoples, their histories and lives, then on the many aspects of material culture they produced, and finally on archaeological techniques for discovering the past. The newcomer to Florida archeology thus gains a grounding in the people of prehistory, which leads to later sections of the book. These sections include Brown's own experiments in the replication of items ranging from spear points to wooden masks, supplemented with drawings, photos, and color plates. They are a welcome reference guide to anyone working on sites in Florida.

Part One introduces the reader to various cultures and time periods in Florida's past, covering the dramatic change in climate and environment between paleo and more recent times. Brown illustrates how people lived at different times by giving concise, up-to-date summaries of archaeological excavations at six sites: Page-Ladson, Windover, Key Marco, Horr's Island, McKeithen, and Lake Jackson. This takes the reader on a journey from 12,000 B.P. up to the centuries just prior to historic times and the beginning of Florida's existence as a colony of Europe. A story of both archaeologists and native cultures, each summary recounts the trials and tribulations of excavators in the field and, more importantly, the rich and diverse societies of ancient Florida. By the end, the reader has an appreciation for the fishing/maritime culture of Key Marco, whose people wrought elaborate carvings in wood, and the development of mound-building from the Archaic through the Mississippian pe-

riods. In addition, the book makes an important statement about the value of Florida's many archaeological resources, which include sites with preserved textiles, wooden artifacts, and human genetic remains.

Part Two focuses on the many implements and edifices made by native peoples, including tools for making fire and working fiber into textiles, descriptions of stone-and wood-working, and examples of weaving, clothing, and adornment. Most sections feature sidebars, in which Brown, writes from personal experience about the labor involved in making points, nets, and pottery. Brown emphasizes the dexterity and knowledge of local resources required to manufacture even basic items. This lends greater appreciation to those things produced in prehistory that went far beyond the basic--elaborately carved and painted masks, embossed copper breastplates, beautifully configured effigy pots, paintings, and sculpture. Illustrations and color plates put artifacts back in context, showing how stone points or bone implements were components of complex digging and throwing instruments, and depicting the many fruits, plants, and tree fibers that provided food, paints, dyes, and raw material.

Finally, Part Three provides an overview of how archaeologists proceed from excavation, through analysis, to reconstruction of what a site looked like and what people did there. Coupled to this is a reference section describing and depicting many types of pottery and points, as well as animal remains and seeds commonly found in prehistoric trash. An appendix gives the scientific names for plants and animals commonly encountered in Florida. Florida's *First People* is thus an impressive accomplishment, which serves equally as a textbook, reference tool, and book of general interest.

Southern Illinois University JAMES G. CUSICK

Ybor City Chronicles: A Memoir. By Ferdie Pacheco. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994. xiii, 301 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, photographs, epilogues. $24.95.)

This is a gem of a book. Clearly labeled a memoir, it makes no pretense of being a scholarly history. But through the prisms of Ferdie Pacheco's memory, *Ybor City Chronicles* conveys much of the atmosphere and flow of events in Tampa's immigrant community in its most colorful period.

Pacheco tells the story from his boyhood in the mid-1930s through World War II, a period that almost coincides with the end of Ybor City's cigar-based culture. Its factories were switching from hand-made to machine-made cigars; its second and third generation families were losing their insularity of language and culture as assimilation accelerated into the broader, surrounding Anglo community.

The author's own grandmother spoke only Spanish. Pacheco had no problem understanding and conversing with her; bilingually fluent, he had no problem holding his own with--and outtalking--his Anglo classmates.

His writing style in adulthood is blunt, colorful, outrageous at times, downright funny. He writes as he talks, with rapid-fire facts punctuated by irony and humor. But Pacheco writes movingly as well, wrenching emotional responses when he relates sad episodes he has experienced or seen.

His first chapter, "Sweet Sam," is a touching portrayal of a very private black man who came into "Master Ferdie's" life when the boy was at an impressionable age. The two became closest of friends, but the mysteries of Sam's life take years to unravel.

The remarkable Conchita, mistress, then wife, of a leading Ybor City surgeon, helps lead, the adolescent druggist's son into a medical setting--a prelude to his own entry into the medical profession.

His unlicensed pharmacist father serves as a foil for the unboundingly energetic but intellectually aware youth as he seeks to broaden his horizons beyond the family drug store.

Enticing as are the portraits of family and acquaintances, just as valuable are Pacheco's reminiscences of riding (and sabotaging) Tampa's trolley system, spending summers as a junior waiter at the Columbia Restaurant and hero-worshipping Ybor City's athletic stars who went off to war.

Memorable scenes illuminate major figures in the Latin community, written from the viewpoint of a teen-ager eager to "take it all in." His "Tales of the Columbia" recall the daily dramas in a leading restaurant where the elite "uppercrust" dined in one section while boisterous cigar makers, street car conductors and gambling overlords sipped Cuban coffee in another.

In the most hilarious sequence, Pacheco describes how he accidentally scalded his way into the life--twice in one day--of a

grandfatherly figure feared for his purported Mafia ties. Once with espresso, later with steaming vermicelli soup.

Another chapter jumps out of the time-frame to tell about gambler Charlie Wall's appearance before the U.S. Senate's Kefauver investigative committee in 1950. Transcripts from his testimony demonstrate how the long-time racket boss sidestepped questions, earning the title, "The White Shadow."

Pacheco profiles "Ybor City's Last Intellectual," a former lector (reader) in a cigar factory who began a trilingual newspaper that "became the main source of information and news in Ybor City." When Victoriano Manteiga, the editor, rented a room in the Pacheco household, he found a steady listener in the high school-aged son. "My conversations with Don Victoriano influenced me deeply," Pacheco writes. "I was already an avid reader, and the lector encouraged me to broaden my scope. He encouraged me to write and express myself." Little did the older man realize that his advice would someday culminate in an informal social history of Ybor City that is well worth reading.

Tampa Tribune LELAND HAWES

Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life. By Joan D. Hedrick. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. xv, 507 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00.)

Five decades separate Joan Hedrick's new biography and the last effort to write a definitive account of Harriet Beecher Stowe's life--a period which has led to the discovery of new materials and to a better understanding of the lives of women in the 19th century. It is now easier to document Stowe's life in Ohio as a young adult and her relationships with family members.

Hedrick describes Stowe's career flourishing in an era of parlor literature. Letters, poems, and stories were written for family gatherings to be read aloud as entertainment. Correspondents, according to Hedrick, took "pains to make their letters . . . literary, amusing, and fit for semipublic occasions" (p. 77). For a portion of the 19th century this gave women an opportunity to develop their skills and a place for the consumption of their published works. In the 1870s and 1880s parlor literature became less popular as important literary magazines, dominated by men, began shaping pub

lic opinion and taste. Journals such as the *Nation* demanded "that important issues be decided in the political arena and literary women should give up their pulpits, pens, and podiums" (349). Such a change had profound consequences for Stowe's career.

Joan D. Hedrick makes an extraordinary effort to place Stowe's life in a wider context, creating a much better understanding of her career and her personal life. Difficulties in managing a household were complicated by her temperament and by mercury poisoning from a popular remedy. Mercurous chloride or Calomel was a commonly used medicine in the 1840s, and members of the Beecher family had symptoms suggesting its overuse. Stowe would write, "When the brain gives out, as mine often does, one cannot think or remember anything" (175). Her love of fads led her to the "water cure" or hydropathy. By combining exercise with moderate diet and clean water, she purged herself of mercury and gave birth to her sixth child, her healthiest and happiest. The pain of this child's death would reinforce the anger in which she wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

Hedrick collapses Stowe's last twenty-six years into a single chapter. This may be due to Stowe's health and to Hedrick's lack of rapport with material from Florida. Hedrick has Stowe joining the "mass hegira of northerners coming to Florida every winter" (330). But when Stowe first came in 1867 these winter sojourns had barely begun; only 14,000 tourists were reported in 1870. By publishing *Palmetto Leaves* first as a serial and later as a book, and continuing with more than twenty widely circulated articles and letters, Stowe helped tourism during years of economic turmoil. Hedrick does not realize that much of the mass hegira was due to Stowe's deliberate efforts. Looking at earlier publications would also reveal that Charles Beecher was involved with his farm at Newport instead of "a lot on the Gulf Coast" (346).

In the early 1870s Stowe became disappointed with the public acceptance of her works and "retreated" to using "her influence behind the scenes" (370). Even though she followed this policy in Florida, she left clues to her involvement here. Her brother Charles served as a cabinet member in the administration of Governor Harrison Reed and Stowe penned a glowing description of Reed's sister's estate, published along with Beecher's remarkable predictions of Florida's future development. It is within this context that Harriet Beecher Stowe sought protection for wildlife. While no one could expect Hedrick to be a Miss Marple or a Sher-

lock Holmes in Florida, she could have given Stowe credit for her efforts to stimulate tourism-a modest flaw in a superb work.

Florida A&M University SARAH WHITMER FOSTER AND JOHN T. FOSTER, JR.

Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution. By Thomas G. Paterson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. x, 352 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, maps, notes, sources, index. $27.50.)

Developments in Cuba in the 1950s had a lasting impact on the demography and politics of the state of Florida. The effects of the struggle for power in Cuba were felt early in the decade, as wealthy Cubans increasingly sought shelter from the impending storm in the south Florida real estate market. Cuban political refugees began arriving in Florida immediately after Fulgencio Batista's Havana coup in 1953, and the size of the exile community grew in size and partisan ferocity through the decade, albeit with an exchange of population and reversal of political orientation in 1959 with the victory of the Revolution. Planes lifted off from Broward county airfields laden with arms for revolutionaries in Cuba; boats carrying exile military expeditions shoved off for Cuba from docks in Fort Lauderdale, Miami, and the Keys; exiles demonstrated against the Cuban government in the streets of Miami, attacked the persons and property of alleged supporters of Batista, and beat up pilots of Cubana airlines at Miami International Airport. As Thomas G. Paterson shows in *Contesting Castro,* Cuban exile activities in Florida in the 1950s were cause for concern for the governments in Washington, Tallahassee, and Havana.

The focus of this comprehensive, masterful diplomatic history is the government in Washington--the White House, State Department, Pentagon, and Central Intelligence Agency--and its futile efforts to influence the course of the Cuban Revolution during the 1956-59 period. Two Floridians were major players in the drama: Earl E. T. Smith, U.S. Ambassador to Cuba, and William D. Pawley, President Dwight Eisenhower's special envoy to Batista. Minor players included Senator George Smathers, who claimed he "had made a career of Cuban problems" (p. 52), but is most notable for introducing his friend, Senator John F. Kennedy, to the nightlife of Havana--which Floridians Meyer Lansky and Santos Trafficante, Jr.,

helped shape. Batista depended on Lansky to establish honest casinos in Cuba and years later, Kennedy apparently thought he needed Trafficante's help to get rid of Fidel Castro. As the author makes painfully clear, wrongheadedness has characterized official U.S. dealings with Castro from the earliest days to the present.

At first, in the mid-1950s U.S. officials viewed Castro's revolutionary 26 of July Movement as inconsequential and counted on Batista's serving out his term and handing over the presidency to an elected successor in 1959. As escalating violence made elections problematic, Washington (over the objections of Ambassador Smith) began to distance itself from the Cuban dictator and reach out to "respectable" or "moderate" revolutionaries not affiliated with Castro--whom the State Department considered excessively nationalistic, headstrong, and uncontrollable. He was also a Communist, according to Smith, a political appointee, but the ambassador could provide no proof for that allegation. Accordingly, as the 26 of July Movement gained strength, the Eisenhower administration decided that heading off a *fidelista* victory was worth serious effort--but not extreme measures, i.e., military intervention, which a certifiable Communist threat would call for. With Castro's Rebel Army swarming over the Cuban countryside in late 1958, U.S. officials in Washington and Havana tried desperately to find a "third force" to throw into the breech and save the Cuban capital from the bearded guerrillas. With the collapse of a U.S. backed military coup on January 1, 1959, Castro's road to power was clear. "The United States lost to [Fidel Castro] because," Paterson concludes, "it could not control or crush this strong leader or stem the cascading popular support that his movement generated." (p. 245)

University of Florida NEILL MACAULAY, EMERITUS

The South and the New Deal. By Roger Biles. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994. x, 205 pp. Preface, conclusion, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $23.00.)

In his preface, Roger Biles made it clear that his primary purpose in writing this book was to see what the New Deal did to and for the South. To accomplish his objective, Biles decided to examine the South and the New Deal through programs and the individuals responsible for administering them in the 1930s.

Biles found that the South's situation began to change with the onset of the New Deal. In agriculture, for example, he argued that, by the end of the 1930s, the South had "land consolidation, mechanization, the introduction of new crops, and the displacement of the rural workforce" (p. 36). New Deal farm programs were responsible for these long-term changes. In the short-run, however, this was not the case. Biles found that New Deal programs such as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) favored the landowners and the traditional powers in the South while failing to help African-Americans, tenant farmers, and sharecroppers in the immediate economic crisis.

In relief and employment, the New Deal helped again. Although Southern cities and states were reluctant to do anything for the unemployed, they did accept federal largesse. In accepting federal funds, however, the South at the same time resisted Harry Hopkins and Harold Ickes who both demanded compliance with federal guidelines for fair treatment of minorities. Similarly, the National Recovery Administration (NRA) had a profound impact on the South in the long-run by helping to eradicate child labor, reduce working hours, and improve working conditions (p. 62). But, in the short-run, NRA did almost nothing to rectify wage differentials. Other New Deal programs followed suit. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) all helped the South in preparing for a better future while simultaneously failing to alleviate short-term, inequalities and problems. WPA, for example, helped Tampa, Florida build a municipal airport, renovate hotels, and improve Bayshore Boulevard. Yet, WPA in the South did not succeed in eliminating racial prejudice in wages and work. Southern workers, however, were helped by the rise of the CIO in the 1930s primarily because of its biracial policies.

Regarding Southern politicians, Biles argued that Franklin Roosevelt, although "an adopted son of the South," was accepted initially by Southern politicians due to party loyalty and not for ideological reasons (p. 127). Roosevelt and Southern leaders like Edward Crump in Memphis tolerated one another. The real break with Southern leaders like Walter George, Ed Smith, and Millard Tydings came first in 1936 when Roosevelt courted the African-American vote and then finally with court packing. In the end, Roosevelt was popular in the South, but his influence was limited on the local level as witnessed by his failure in the 1938 Congres-

sional elections. All in all, Biles concluded his study by summarizing the long-term changes the New Deal brought about in the South's politics and ultimately its way of life.

The South and the New Deal is a good, concise summary of what the New Deal did in one specific geographic section of the country. It covers a number of important topics and is especially good in its discussion on race and politics. Nevertheless, just as the book has its strong points, there are some notable shortcomings. The author relies heavily on secondary works, some of which have been supplanted by more recent scholarship. There is too much emphasis on certain Southern states and cities such as Memphis, Atlanta, and Dallas. And, the author should have provided more empirical evidence to sustain his conclusions, particularly about the New Deal's long-term impact on the South. Still, despite these comments, Biles has written a good book which New Deal scholars will rely on for years to come.

University of Mississippi MICHAEL V. NAMORATO

Alabama: The History of a Deep South State. By William Warren Rogers, et. al. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994. xxviii, 735 pp. Preface, maps, photographs, illustrations, graphs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95, cloth; $29.95, paper.)

Four prominent Alabama historians have divided the monumental task of relating all of Alabama history from prehistoric times to the present day. The work weaves the threads of political, economic, social and cultural history into a highly interesting and readable tale. Although written by four different authors, it does not suffer from a distracting shift in writing style. Instead, it flows musically over such diverse topical terrains as twentieth century labor relations and the antebellum states rights movement, spilling out into stories of Alabamians as different from one another as Hank Williams from Hank Aaron.

Part One, written by Leah Rawls Atkins, depicts the history of Alabama up to 1865. Atkins updates previous state histories by including a brief account of the Native Alabamians living in the area from 8000 B.C. to the time of the white contact in the sixteenth century.

The major emphasis of Part One is on politics after the red man was banished. Five chapters outline the political issues of fron-

tier and antebellum Alabama which culminated in the Civil War. The only glaring omission in this section is economics. There is virtually no mention of how or why the state developed economically or how the advent of railroads affected the development of the region. A chapter entitled "The Cotton Kingdom" relates mostly to the social conditions of slavery rather than to the linchpin of the state's economy.

Part Two, written by William Warren Rogers and Robert David Ward, covers the period from the end of the Civil War to the end of World War I. In this section politics plays a central role again as reconstruction, Bourbonism, Populism, Negro disfranchisement, Progressivism, and the women's suffrage movement are all illumined. An interesting chapter describes the experiences of black and white Alabama volunteers to the Spanish-American War. For white Alabamians, this "great adventure" (339) turned out to be a trip to Florida. The state's black regiment did not see action either, and it eventually became embroiled in a race war in Anniston in 1899. Part Two also includes a chapter on the impact of the coal and iron industries in Alabama which profoundly affected both economics and politics in the state.

In Part Three, Wayne Flynt brings the state's history up to the present by balancing the political history of the state with the economic impact of the 1920s, Great Depression, the New Deal agencies such as the TVA, and World War II. Alabama was more reform-minded than most would guess, especially in the 1940s and 1950s under the influence of Big Jim Folsom who brought black voters back to the polls. Liberalism ran in the mainstream of Alabama politics until the race issue caused most whites to abandon reform and break with the national Democratic party. Many joined the third party movement of George Wallace first, then later embraced the Republican Party.

Flynt also analyzes Alabama society and culture since World War Two by highlighting such often overlooked topics as religion, and the importance of football to Alabamians (yet another religion). In fact, the last section culminates appropriately with the funeral of Bear Bryant, an occasion for which 700,000 Alabamians turned out.

In adding information on Alabama society since the 1970s as well as in mainstreaming the history of Native Americans, women, and African-Americans, the authors of *Alabama* have improved on previous state histories. Although the book is entertaining and

sometimes humorous, this is a serious study of state history that is well grounded in regional history. The more than fifty photographs and illustrations help to tell the story. The forty-two page bibliography (although not claimed to be exhaustive) is alone a significant contribution to Alabama history. This volume should be the prototype for state histories written for the next century and is recommended to all students of Alabama and southern history.

Winthrop University LYNN WILLOUGHBY

Gate of Hell: Campaign for Charleston Harbor, 1863. By Stephen R. Wise. (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1994. xii, 312 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, photographs, conclusion, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $27.95.)

The Union's defeat at the battle of Chancellorsville in the spring of 1863 drove Northern morale to new depths, adding even more importance to a planned assault on Charleston that, if successful, would have closed the South's main commercial link with Europe, and permitted a Union invasion aimed at Columbia and Augusta. At one point in the long summer siege, a Union soldier rejoiced at hearing "our guns putting the question to old Sumter 'what went ye out of the Union for?" ' (p. 158) But massive firepower by the army supported by the shelling from eight ironclads failed to dislodge the enemy. As Stephen R. Wise shows in this highly detailed and extensively researched study, the Union was overconfident, poorly prepared, ineptly organized, and confused by a night attack during which the navy proved unable to prevent reinforcements from entering Battery Wagner. The Confederates refused to budge, and Union soldiers became bogged down in a two-month siege that evolved into a lengthy, bitter campaign along the islands and in the marshland in an equally unsuccessful effort to take Charleston.

Wise provides ample justification for terming Wagner the "gate of Hell." (p. 114) His work graphically illustrates how technological advances had depersonalized war by leading to the destruction of life without distinction in race, color, or uniform. Trench warfare, the Bellinghurst and Requa battery (forerunner of the machine gun), snipers, aerial reconnaissance, search lights, wire barriers, cannon, torpedoes--all demonstrated the onset of modern war in

its most savage form. Sweltering temperatures rose to over 100 degrees during the day before dramatically falling into bone-chilling nights. Food and water were substandard: hardtack with "fat worms inside" (p. 184); green, scum-covered water that could be consumed only after running it through charcoal filters or mixing it with molasses. Blowing sands, fleas, rats, crabs, locusts, malaria, fevers, scurvy-the list could go on. A soldier of the 85th Pennsylvania moaned, "I think this is the meanest place that I was ever in." (p. 183).

The effective use of African American soldiers against Wagner encouraged the Union to recruit more blacks for the army. The 54th Massachusetts black regiment lost more than 40 percent of its men along with fourteen of its twenty-two officers, but did not break and run, thereby substantiating the call for black troops. More black soldiers, however, heightened the chances for more captures by the Confederacy, which caused a furious struggle over their status as prisoners. Were they rebelling slaves or soldiers equal in status to that of whites? To discourage their execution, President Abraham Lincoln warned the South in July 1863 that "for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war a Rebel soldier shall be executed and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a Rebel shall be placed at hard labor." (p. 125) The South decided against executions but also refused to exchange them for Union prisoners, thereby depriving itself of much manpower.

At horrible cost, the South won a strategic victory at Charleston that raised its spirits during the dark aftermath of Gettysburg and Vicksburg. Union vessels became preoccupied in South Carolina waters for over a year, leaving Wilmington and Mobile safe from Union attack and open to commerce. But the siege provided a nightmarish experience for all involved. Wise selected a fitting epitaph for this macabre series of events when he quoted nurse Clara Barton, the later founder of the Red Cross who was on the scene dispensing aid: "We have captured one fort--Gregg--and one charnel house--Wagner--and we have built one cemetery, Morris Island. The thousand little sand-hills that in the pale moonlight are a thousand headstones, and the restless ocean waves that roll and breakup on the whitened beach sing an eternal requiem to the toll-worn gallant dead who sleep beside." (p. 218)

University of Alabama HOWARD JONES

Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan. By Nancy MacLean. (NewYork: Oxford University Press, 1994. xvii, 292 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, figures, photographs, illustrations, conclusion, appendices, abbreviations, used in notes, notes, bibliography, index. $30.00.)

During the last decade and a half historians have devoted considerable attention to the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s. Much of this scholarship argues that the Klan was, in most ways, a mainstream social movement. Its members, according to Leonard Moore and others, sought to address problems such as crime and government corruption, rather than to celebrate violence and bigotry. In Behind *the Mask of Chivalry*, Nancy MacLean challenges this interpretation, arguing that the organization's interest in moral and government reform was not simply a response to local conditions. Instead, MacLean posits that Klan reform campaigns dovetailed with its violent, racist, and xenophobic crusades to form a coherent ideology.

MacLean grounds her analysis to an examination of the Athens, Georgia chapter. Drawing from a rich collection of Klan documents, including membership lists, she constructs a portrait of the Athens chapter. A disproportionate number of local Klansmen, MacLean finds, were self-made men of lower-middle class status. Although many owned property and held low white-collar positions, their social and economic standing had been recently acquired and seemed insecure.

MacLean attempts to explain the world view that made the Klan attractive to members of this class. The post-war economic crisis, she concludes, generated profound problems for the "petite bourgeoisie." Moving gender relations to the center of the analysis, MacLean argues that changing economic conditions and cultural norms undermined the "hierarchy from which men like themselves had derived security" (p. 33). In particular, social pressures weakened the authority that men exercised over their families. Furthermore, the economic downturn hit the lower-middle class of Athens extremely hard, jeopardizing the independence that separated them from poor, dependent residents. In short, these men felt besieged from all quarters. Their wives exercised new autonomy; their children embraced the youth culture of the era; the material basis of their superiority over tenant farmers and African Americans seemed tenuous; and they resented capitalists, who appeared to profit from the economic turmoil.

Klan ideology, according to MacLean, drew from mainstream political culture--particularly republicanism and liberalism--and tapped this insecurity. Relying on familiar political imagery, the Klan's reactionary populist rhetoric promised to safeguard the status of its members by regulating the behavior of those who upset the traditional social hierarchy--by evading the influence of independent white men. Closing pool halls, harassing adulterous men, and assaulting outsiders would restore the authority and bolster the status of the small property holder who sustained American democracy.

MacLean's effort to link local members to the Klan's ideology is not entirely convincing. Too often she relies on non-Athens sources. As a consequence, the relationship between Athens Klansmen and national leaders remains unclear. Local shopkeepers may have been less strident and less ideological than prominent Klan writers. Nor did anti-vice campaigns necessarily appeal to the same men as lynchings, though MacLean is correct in noting that assumptions about race, class, and gender were hardly incidental elements. Moreover, MacLean's emphasis on a specific, pervasive Klan ideology is at odds with much of the recent historical literature, which concludes that local conditions shaped the activities of particular chapters. Finally, MacLean sometimes overstates her argument. For example, in highlighting the class-based appeal of racial politics (among the petite bourgeoisie), she understates the racism of both the poor and the wealthy. Although MacLean's analysis is not always persuasive, this is an important book. Her exploration of the overlapping influences of class, race, and gender is laden with insight. More important, MacLean's argument that the Klan's more mainstream activities and its most fanatical crusades comprised different strands of a single ideology represents a major critique of recent scholarship.

University of Florida JEFFREY S. ADLER

Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism. Edited by Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993. 415 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, index. $47.50, cloth; $18.95, paper.)

This anthology focuses on the public activities of U.S. women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in honor of Anne Firor Scott, whose teachings and writings, among them

The Southern Lady (1970); *Making Women Visible* (1984); and *Natural Allies* (1991) have had a significant impact on the field for the past twenty-five years. The contributors to this volume are all established scholars and their essays pay tribute to a woman who has served as their teacher, mentor and colleague.

The anthology is divided in four parts: Part one treats formal political movements and includes articles by Ellen Carol DuBois, LeeAnn Whites, Suzanne Lebsock, William Chafe and Sara Evans. Part two deals with working-class women and labor movements from the 1820s through the 1940s and contains contributions from Mari Jo Buhle, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Nancy Hewitt and Darlene Clark Hine. Part three addresses various aspects of social reform movements, and includes pieces written by Deborah Gray White, Marion W. Roydhouse, Mary E. Frederickson and Dolores Janiewski. Part four contains an article on Alice Mary Baldwin by Linda Kerber and concludes with a tribute to Scott that is lovingly written by Nancy Weiss Malkiel.

Many of the articles focus on southern progressivism and employ a wide range of methodologies. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall offers a biographical sketch of the now-forgotten O. Delight Smith, a prominent white leader in Atlanta's labor movement during the 1910s, who was "blotted from history" in the 1920s. Nancy Hewitt examines a range of political activities engaged in by Anglo, African-American and Latina women in Tampa, arguing that "only within the historically specific web of race, class, and gender relations that existed in Tampa can we understand what was political and for whom." Marion W. Roydhouse analyzes the Industrial Departments of southern YWCAs to show how racism, anti-labor and anti-union feeling constrained white women's public activism.

Some of these contributions engage one another in lively debate, often on the role that racism played in the white women's movement. For example, Suzanne Lebsock attempts to recuperate Virginian suffragists from the charge that they were white supremacists, finding that the "white women in Virginia who became suffragists did not do so out of a desire to preserve white supremacy." On the other hand, LeeAnn Whites argues that the Georgian suffragist Rebecca Latimer Felton displaced anger that should have been directed toward white husbands onto the "freedman who refused to return to his 'place'" and ultimately held "the black population, especially black men, responsible for the dire condition of white farm life."

Part of Scott's intellectual greatness derives from her nurturing of scholars whose work departs from her own. As Mary E. Frederickson notes, Scott was among the first to identify interracial cooperation among white and black churchwomen. But Scott's view that white women's sympathy for black women "derived from their shared role as mothers and homemakers" (296) has since been challenged by Dolores Janiewski and Darlene Clark Hine, who have focused on the tensions between black and white churchwomen. Frederickson introduces still another perspective, stating that "a fresh analysis . . . reveals that . . . white and black churchwomen also developed relationships based on neither collaboration nor enmity but mutual dependence." Moving away from interracial alliances altogether, Darlene Clark Hine's and Deborah Gray White's contributions to this volume examine the role of black women in secular black organizations: Hine focuses on black women in the Housewives' League of Detroit during the Depression and White analyzes the "price" that black club women had to pay for their "feminist race work."

Visible Women not only contains new analyses that focus on the embedment of race, class and gender in women's history, it also celebrates the legacy of a woman who has helped foster this tradition of scholarship,

University of Florida LOUISE M. NEWMAN

Entrepreneur for Equality: Governor Rufus Bullock, Commerce, and Race in Post-Civil War Georgia. By Russell Duncan. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994. xii, 278 pp. Preface, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. $40.00.)

In this full biography of Rufus Brown Bullock, Russell Duncan seeks to correct what he views as fundamental misconceptions of Bullock's career as wartime businessman, Georgia's Republican reconstruction governor, and New South entrepreneur. From 1867, when conversations with New York investors seemingly persuaded Bullock of the need to stabilize political affairs in Georgia before northern capital would flow to subsidize the rebuilding and extension of the state's railroad lines, Bullock expanded his highly successful wartime business efforts into the political realm. From there, the story becomes one of tensions, often overlaying each other and, one suspects, often more complex than they appear in

Duncan's pages. Georgia Republicans, Duncan tells us, understood that "not only was it good political strategy to align the poor whites with the freed people in an economic struggle, it was a move toward equality of opportunity and a restructuring of Southern society to the free labor mold of the North" (p. 42). But the tenuous political coalition masked deep racial antipathies, and they ultimately forced Bullock "to consider a fundamental question: Should blacks have an equal chance in American life? Once he concluded that they should, he became a champion of equal treatment without regard to race. Even if it meant destroying the party in Georgia, Bullock would not retreat from his program of change" (p. 77).

In fact, the internecine warfare loosed within Georgia's Republican party led to violence within the state and ultimately to a truncated political and social reconstruction. The consequent resurgence of a white supremacist Democracy in turn validated interpretations of Republican rule and of Bullock's governorship which stressed extravagance, self-serving greed, and corruption. These interpretations, Duncan argues, are without foundation. If Bullock occasionally placed naive faith in business associates whose social purposes were less lofty than his own, if his reliance on state bond issues was excessive, if as Duncan acknowledges "he nearly always stretched his schemes to the limits of propriety," he did so seeking the dramatic, rapid economic resurgence that could promise continued political power for Republicans and the opportunity for Bullock and his associates to enact their social as well as their economic reforms.

Bullock, Duncan argues, failed because he proposed what Georgia--and probably no state--could attain in the 1860s and 1870s: "reforms that were centralizing, modernizing, and urban" (p. 146). Had Bullock and his political allies been able "to weld lower-class whites with blacks into a united political party," his reforms might have succeeded. His focus on power at the center, on economic progress represented by railroad expansion and the growth of Atlanta as a commercial and political center, led him to neglect the countryside, with which he had little experience and which he little understood. Content to allow the Democrats to "have" the countryside while his regime focused on economic progress and trusted to black office-holding and Federal support to advance black rights, Duncan argues that Bullock underestimated the moral hegemony of former planters and the effectiveness of

their appeals to white supremacy in bringing rural whites back into the Democratic fold.

That Bullock could continue to live comfortably in the finest sections of Atlanta and prosper as treasurer and then president of the Atlanta Cotton Factory, at once speaks to the strength of the economic ties the former governor had forged, and to the accommodation which by the 1880s had made the prospect of black hegemony less real and, thus, less threatening to the New South leaders with whom he consorted. If Bullock continued to advance the cause of blacks locally and nationally and to chastise the Republican party for its failure to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, he did so with a public moderation which gave little reason for exception to his pronouncements. If he differed from Henry Grady (who continued to oppose black suffrage), Bullock carefully advocated political participation for educated, industrious blacks. He was, Duncan suggests, "color-blind" but not "class-blind" (p. 165).

Cambridge, Massachusetts ELIZABETH STUDLEY NATHANS

Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge. By Charles E. Dew. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994. xviii, 429 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, prologue, maps, photographs, epilogue, notes, index. $27.50.)

Charles Dew, already the author of several important works on industrial slavery, has further enriched the growing historiography with *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge.* The importance of this work is largely the result of sources Dew discovered that have made it possible for him to reconstruct the lives of the white owners as well as several individual slaves. It is a welcome addition to the study of such topics as early southern industrial development, industrial slavery, mixed-race work forces, slave hiring, Northerners who relocated in the South, civilian life during the Civil War, and the lives of once enslaved people after emancipation. But the major contribution of the book is the rich detail it offers about one slave community and the black men who lived and worked there. It is less revealing about black women.

The book is about blacks and whites whose lives converged at Buffalo Forge. As is usually the case, however, sources have dictated that the white owners receive far more attention than their work-

ers. William Weaver, Pennsylvania-raised great-grandson of the founder of the Dunkers, a sect that condemned slavery, was an unlikely candidate to become the master of Buffalo Forge. Although he initially tried to prevent his family from learning about his slave property, eventually he brought a number of his Philadelphia relatives south to participate in the profits made by their labor.

Although the sources for understanding black lives are more limited, Dew was able to write short chapters on six black men. He made especially creative use of the accounts of the overwork pay that the most skilled black iron workers earned and how they spent that money. Naming patterns are also used to build a profile of the families of these black men across several generations. Unfortunately, there is no sketch of a black women included. In part this is because of the nature of the work force at an iron works and the sources available to study it. The labor force in Buffalo Forge was almost exclusively male and most of the records kept recorded their activities.

The enslaved men and women at Buffalo Forge were not "typical" slaves; the relative freedom that Dew describes precludes use of this work in generalizing about slavery. It can, however, enrich a number of debates about the nature of slavery. For example, the validity of a hegemonic framework for analyzing the relationship between masters and slaves. When slavery ended, the people freed at Buffalo Forge were already experienced in handling their own family economies. In one way, however, their purchases changed dramatically. Alcohol suddenly appeared on most accounts. It is revealing about the nature of industrial slavery. Clarence Walker, in a spirited critique of the hegemonic framework, questions "what did the planters need hegemony for when they had guns." Dew describes the system at Buffalo Forge as one "that brought the requirements of both master and slave into some sort of harmony." (114) His work makes clear that at least in the industrial setting, they needed hegemony ordered through reciprocity because the black men they enslaved had skills that would determine whether they succeeded or failed. But ultimately the owners did have the guns. They allowed their skilled workers to earn their own money but retained control over how they spent it. Force, Dew makes clear, was what "ultimately held slavery together." (110)

Oregon State University BESS BEATTY

Loyalists and Community in North America. Edited by Robert M. Calhoon, Timothy M. Barnes, and George A. Rawlyk. (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1994. 226 pp. Introduction, tables, notes, selected bibliography, index, about the editors and contributors. $55.00.)

Fifty years ago, the term "loyalist" got short shrift in the historiography of the American Revolution, but recent scholarship has greatly broadened our horizons and deepened our insight regarding those Americans who lost the war in 1783. The Loyalists were Americans, and it *was* a civil (more often a very uncivil) war, as the fifteen essays in this book make painfully clear. The "communities" discussed stretch from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and vary in size from a few dozen to many thousands of men and women of all classes. They include post-war Canadian communities too often overlooked by American historians and the two ill-fated British Floridas. The Loyalist experience displays the widespread existence of anti-revolutionary sentiment in all the British colonies, the suffering of those caught in the midst of rebellion not of their making, and the innate Americanism of even those who were on the "wrong" side.

A brief review cannot attempt to do justice to each of these scholarly, thought-provoking essays. Readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* will be particularly interested in Carole W. Troxler's "Allegiance without Community: East Florida as a Symbol of a Loyalist Contract in the South" and Robin F. A. Fabel's "Loyalist West Florida: Am Ambiguous Community." Both are among the best contributions to this volume, raise challenges to orthodox opinion, and warrant the close attention of all students of Florida history.

The violence of the Georgia-Florida frontier and the influx of thousands of refugees seeking the protection of British forces at St. Augustine determined the nature of the East Florida experience. It was the Americanism of these loyalists that forced Governor Patrick Tonyn to summon the colony's first General Assembly, and in it they pursued a typically American course regarding a slave code and constitutional relations with both the royal governor and the imperial parliament. Troxler recounts their fruitless arguments for a contractual relationship with Great Britain (good eighteenth-century rhetoric) and their bitter disappointment at the ultimate cession of East Florida to Spain. Some talked of rejecting the treaty settlement altogether; others dreamed of semi-autonomous status

under Spain. But the unconquered colony of British East Florida vanished with the British army. East Florida loyalists were the victims of a European peace.

The population of West Florida was scattered between the Apalachicola and Mississippi rivers, and as Fabel points out, the highly touted influx of Tory refugees was relatively modest and widely dispersed. Loyalists did not form a distinct "community," nor was there much of any sort of community in the rich western district, save Natchez--and on the Mississippi, men inevitably looked south toward Spanish New Orleans. When the Willing Raid brought the American Revolution to West Florida, a few notable loyalist leaders emerged. They trounced Willing's thugs and would recover Natchez from the Spaniards after it had been surrendered by the British army. But Galvez's triumph at Pensacola was complete, and the Natchez loyalists were abandoned. A gallant handful made their arduous way east, seeking a British sanctuary, but like a goodly number of Americans in all the colonies, not a few West Floridians displayed a marked preference for peaceful neutrality between the warring powers. Their instinct for self-preservation was not un-American.

Both Troxler's and Fabel's essays demonstrate the common characteristics of American life throughout the colonies as well as the unique qualities evident in the two Floridas. It is gratifying to find these "loyal" colonies given their rightful place in any study devoted to the Revolutionary scene. The experience is all too rare. National pride thrives on the glory of military success; we would all like to forget that war is a nasty, brutal business. It is the historian's task to make unpalatable truth visible, and *Loyalists and Community in North America* does just that and does it very well.

Auburn University ROBERT R. REX

Governor Henry Ellis and the Transformation of British North America. By Edward J. Cashin. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994. xiii, 294 pp. Preface, maps, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. $40.00.)

Henry Ellis was, in the best eighteenth-century British sense of the word, an imperialist. A son of the Anglo-Irish establishment, born in 1721, his career centered upon an expanding British

American world in which he was an explorer, a colonial governor, and an adviser to the imperial consuls.

As a young man, Ellis went to sea and became involved in exploration seeking a Northwest Passage and charting the icy shores of Hudson's Bay. A well-received account of that voyage led to membership in the Royal Society and notice in governmental circles. His patron, the Earl of Halifax, was president of the Board of Trade, and through him Ellis was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Georgia in 1756; his promotion as Governor followed in 1758.

The qualities Ellis displayed as explorer and scientific observer were now applied to the problems of a struggling British colony. Recognizing the need for security on the Georgian Indian frontier, Ellis freed himself and his colony from dependence upon South Carolina and gained valuable influence with the Creek Indians. Harmoniously balancing the interests of merchants and planters, he developed successful land and economic policies and enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the Georgia Assembly. Under Ellis, Georgia emerged as a vigorously healthy example of Halifax's concept of imperial constitutionalism. His own health having deteriorated, Ellis returned to England in 1760.

Although appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, Ellis remained in England and secured the patronage of the Earl of Egremont. Governor Ellis became a significant figure in the concluding phase of the Seven Years' War, the making of the peace, and the organization of the vastly expanded British American empire. Cashin's close study of the manuscripts identifies Ellis as a supporter of the Havana campaign and the acquisition of Florida, instrumental in the establishment of the new post-war colonial governments, the drafting of the Proclamation of 1763, and as having some part in settling the government of Quebec. As close as he was to Halifax, Egremont (and George Grenville through his friend William Knox), Ellis was seen by some as a "minister for North America." Ellis profited financially from his prominence. Less happily, Egremont died unexpectedly, and Halifax's star soon waned. The triumphant empire faced new problems that imperial constitutionalism could not resolve. When revolution disrupted the British American empire, Ellis retired to the comforts of southern Europe and enjoyed the life of "a rich old bachelor." He was something of a celebrity in Naples, where he died in 1806.

Henry Ellis is a worthy example of the many kinds of men who brought the Old Empire to its peak in 1763. Moved by scientific

and intellectual curiosity to endure considerable hardship and danger, his approach to the problems of imperial administration, whether in Savannah or in London, was realistic and enlightened. The imperial constitutionalism of Halifax and Egremont was indeed based upon the advice of knowledgeable men like Ellis. It may be excessive of speak to "the transformation of British North America" as their accomplishment, but Anglo-American politics and economics did not allow their concept to flourish-and that, as Cashin notes, did contribute to the coming of the American Revolution.

It is a happy circumstance that this congenial, competent eighteenth-century gentleman's wide-ranging activities have attracted the pen of Edward J. Cashin, whose biographies of Thomas Brown and Lachlan McGillivray have established him as a leading historian of colonial Georgia. Cashin's expansion of the imperial experience through Ellis is thoroughly researched, carefully crafted, and eminently satisfying to his subject's deserts and his readers' expectations. Like its predecessors, Cashin's Governor *Henry Ellis* should be a prize-winner.

Auburn University ROBERT R. REA

Isaac Harby of Charleston, 1788-1828: Jewish Reformer and Intellectual. By Gary Phillip Zola. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994. xv, 284 pp. Foreword, preface, photographs, illustrations, epilogue, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95, cloth.)

The author has great admiration for Isaac Harby, and Harby is indeed someone who merits serious attention. Whether Zola provides support for his feelings is another matter. This study of Harby, the subject of previous biographical works, must owe its justification to the availability of papers previously unused by historians. Zola incorporates material from the Isaac Harby Library in the possession of Clifford N. Harby. Publication of new information, and new assessments based thereon, are always welcome, particularly when presented so attractively by Alabama Press. However, the author's use of new manuscripts does not enhance our picture of Harby's life and career as well as they might.

The subtitle of the book refers to Isaac Harby as a "Jewish Reformer and Intellectual", but his life as playwright and critic (the

"intellectual") had nothing to do with Judaism, and the time he devoted to Jewish "Reform" probably had very little to do with Judaism as well. From the evidence presented by Zola, Harby is best understood as an excellent American educator, an American intellectual in the guise of a journalist, dramatist and literary critic, a role for which he was ill-suited, and an American reformer of Jewish ritual, a position to which he came late in his short life, amidst economic failures, and for which Harby characteristically did not sustain serious interest.

As Zola tells it, Harby's fortunes followed those of his native Charleston. Harby had a secular, classical education in a city where the Greek classical tradition flourished (as it did in England as well), without training in his own religion. Harby looked to Christian writers for explanations of Judaism. His intellect allowed him to penetrate Charleston society, and he started a literary journal at age 19 that suspended publication after twelve weeks. After a period of self-imposed exile, he returned to Charleston in 1809, began what became a first rate private school catering heavily to the city's Jewish population, and married Rachel Mordecai. These were the "good years" for Harby, as they were for Charleston in general.

Harby's fortunes waned during the 1812 War, but his story is much more interesting, and tragic, than when viewed simply as a function of Charleston's vicissitudes. Harby soon tired of teaching, and bought a newspaper to satisfy his need to tell other people what to think. He sold the failing newspaper in 1817 and opened a new school. He had ninety students by 1819, most of them Jewish, but the school was never a financial success. Various journalistic jobs followed, but Harby could not find his place. As a reporter and critic Harby jumped from issue to issue. Political analyses were superficial, and his literary and artistic critiques often consisted of telling other writers how to write and other painters how to paint.

Harby's efforts to reform ritual in the local synagogue came from someone never interested in his religion. He wanted a Jewish place of worship to resemble an American Protestant church more than anything else. Harby's religious feelings lay outside organized worship. Believing that established religions were not the sole guardians of morality and human passions, Harby viewed the live theater as a competitor, offering an ordered view of society and a substitute for the tavern halls and gaming rooms popular among the youth of Charleston. There is more to Harby's religious beliefs than the picture given us by the author.

Harby's attitude to slavery awaits further development. How, for example, could a person devoted to Jeffersonian ideals in politics and tolerance in religion defend the harsh response of Charleston's authorities to a failed slave revolt in 1822? Where does Harby's curious defense of slavery, that the South was caring for property left behind by the British for this country to protect and receive service from, fit in the framework of this tragic figure and of southern thought in general?

To this writer, Harby's fundamental tragedy lay in his failure to remain an educator, his most successful occupation. Given his popularity with the local Jewish families, Harby would have continued as an invaluable contributor to the education of Jews in Charleston, many of whom went on to become leaders in our society.

Washington, D. C. ELLIOTT ASHKENAZI

Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in *Mississippi.* By John Dittmer. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. 530 pp. Illustrations, photographs, afterword, acknowledgments, notes, index. $29.95.)

Before *Local People* the enduring history of Mississippi's civil rights struggle had been done in piecemeal fashion. Drawing from an impressive array of government documents, manuscript collections, private papers, and oral histories, Dittmer has synthesized much of that history in a lucid narrative bursting with tragedy, triumph, and heartbreak.

Readers may be surprised to learn that Mississippi simmered with civil rights activity nearly twenty years before the 1964 Summer Project. Black World War II veterans, including Medgar and Charles Evers, initiated the struggle when they demanded the right to vote in the 1946 primary election. That same year the NAACP and the Mississippi Progressive Voters' League, an indigenous organizational body for statewide registration efforts, spearheaded an anti-Bilbo campaign. In 1951 "local people" founded the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, the state's equivalent to the NAACP. The national association itself organized several new branches in the late 1940s and in 1954 it appointed Medgar Evers as Mississippi's first full-time field secretary. Encouraged by the Brown decision that year, local people in several communities petitioned for the immediate integration of public schools.

Progress was elusive, however, and blacks bore the costs of assertiveness. The Ku Klux Klan reemerged in force, and the Citizen's Council unified the resistance of the white middle class. Reactionary forces summarily eliminated any semblance of an organized movement, which had drawn the majority of its adherents from the black middle class. The upper class maintained its lucrative ties with the white power structure, and the poor sought security in silence. By the late 1950s less than five percent of eligible black voters had registered, no public school had integrated, and two activists had lost their lives.

The struggle regrouped in the early 1960s and embarked on a new era. Its history is a familiar one but Dittmer packs his narrative with new detail about the odds mounted against Mississippi activists by unyielding segregationists, the foot-dragging Kennedy administration, an indifferent American public, Hoover's guileful F.B.I., Johnson's hard-charging politics, and officious national civil rights policy heads. Dittmer reminds us that "there would have been no organization, no movement, no victories" without the local people (424).

Yet he often strays from this implied focus of the book (it has no introduction so one must rely on the title for a sense of focus) and wanders into a history about civil rights organizations and the voting rights campaign they led. Regrettably, one learns more about the internecine squabbles within COFO than about local people. Mississippi's black leaders remain in focus, but one gets an incomplete picture and analysis of the anguish, fear, and sacrifices of the anonymous local people who were "foremost" in the movement, filling the ranks of countless demonstrations, marches, and voter registration challenges (424).

Ultimately, Dittmer devotes eighty percent of the book to the COFO-Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party era.. Unfortunately, he abandons the local people in the late 1960s--as did the national civil rights organizations--even though their struggle proceeded unabated for decades. Failing to recognize that the movement was broader than voting rights, he pays even less attention to the local struggle for better educational opportunities, which continued into the late 1980s and involved boycotts (perhaps black Mississippi's most powerful weapon), demonstrations, and trespasses into a sacred white domain.

Local People is a superb study of the voting rights campaign in Mississippi and the organizations that led it. But for those inter-

ested in local blacks and the broader struggle for civil rights, *Local People* will disappoint.

Eckerd College JACK E. DAVIS

The Sixties: From Memory to History. Edited by David Farber. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. 333 pp. Introduction, notes, contributors, index. $47.50, cloth; $17.95 paper.)

Here's another book to add to the lofty and rapidly growing stack of ones that students of the 1960s ought to read. This collection of ten hitherto unpublished essays surveys a variety of subjects from different viewpoints. Editor David Farber tries to ride herd on the eleven authors by suggesting some common themes: "from memory to history," or "the changing nature of cultural authority and political legitimacy," or connecting "moral vision" with "collective public life." The reader, however, need not pay too much attention to these themes, because the writers do not. Think of the book instead as a gathering of ten distinct articles, most of which are informative, discerning, and stimulating.

Robert M. Collins' "Growth Liberalism in the Sixties" argues that the War on Poverty in the United States and the real war in Vietnam both depended on the economic expansion of the Kennedy-Johnson years. Rather than rob from the rich to feed the poor, and rather than rob from both to fight a war, the liberals in Washington relied on continued economic growth to make all things possible. When the economy faltered in the late 1960s the Great Society and the Vietnam war both had to be aborted.

This reader lacks the linguistic sophistication to make much sense of Mary Sheila McMahon's "The American State and the Vietnam War." I can comprehend "elites" and "nonelites," maybe even "discourses" and "codes," but am utterly dazed by "performative identity," "chiasmic system," "Baudrillardian terms," and "the liminoid knowledge classes." I suspect, though, that McMahon states her thesis most succinctly in a footnote which says that American foreign policy during the Cold War was in large part the result of an attempt by the elite "to create and control a stable management system for domestic policy." The Vietnam war was "a byproduct of increasingly frazzled attempts to subjugate loose methods of governing into a more coherent and policy-sensitive (less legislative/party) structure." That's a little murky but as clear as it gets.

Chester J. Path, Jr.'s "And That's the Way It Was" reviews criticisms from left and right of television network reporting of the Vietnam war, finds much truth in the criticism, but nevertheless concludes that the reporting was, by and large, accurate. If the six o'clock news made the war seem like "a series of disjointed military operations that were often individually successful but collectively disastrous," it's because "that's the way it was."

In "Race, Ethnicity, and the Evolution of Political Legitimacy" David R. Colburn and George E. Pozetta maintain that African Americans and white ethnics both emphasized their group identity in order to escape from the chilling individualism of American civilization. However, when the acknowledgment of injustice toward blacks resulted in attempts at compensation for the whole group--affirmative action--white ethnics rediscovered the dignity of individualism.

Alice Echols' "Nothing Distant About It" shows how women's liberation was similar in ideas and behavior to other radical movements, like Black Power and the New Left.

In "The New American Revolution" Terry H. Anderson maintains that protest movements made business more socially responsible. Not only did hippies become capitalists, but conventional businesspeople produced less dangerous products, polluted less, hired more women and minorities, and accepted government regulation. Ever since the 1960s says Anderson, "the business of America is responsible business." This chapter was written before the Gingrich "revolution."

George Lipsitz's "Who'll Stop the Rain?" has no shape or point that I can find, but perhaps that's appropriate in a chapter subtitled "Youth Culture, Rock 'n' Roll, and Social Crises." God is still in the details, and those who think they remember the 1960s will find something interesting on practically every page.

Beth Bailey's "Sexual Revolution(s)" describes a triune transformation: (1) the "sexualization of culture," bringing sex into the open, as glossily illustrated by *Playboy* and *Cosmopolitan* magazines; (2) the growth in cohabitation by unmarried couples, a practice which involved sex but, importantly, was not primarily *about sex;* and (3) a new philosophical radicalism that "rejected a system of sexual controls organized around concepts of difference and hierarchy."

Kenneth Cmiel's chapter is named "The Politics of Civility," though "Incivility" is more like it. From polite civil rights demon-

strators who decorously violated the elementary racial laws and etiquette of the South; to the countercultural rebels who condemned ordinary manners as acts of hypocrisy; to Supreme Court decisions extending the freedom of expression further than it had gone before--in these ways and others the 1960s witnessed the triumph of the rude.

In "The Silent Majority and Talk about Revolution," David Farber describes a struggle between, on the one hand, common people who admire work and production but don't talk much, and, on the other, would-be revolutionaries who talk beautifully and incessantly but never build or do much. It was the Producers v. the Symbolic Analysts, says Farber; and Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan rose to power by lending their voices to the former, even though a lawyer and an actor were perhaps not the ideal embodiments of the productionist ethic. All true, no doubt, but it seems to me that what underlies the worker/talker distinction is simple, old-fashioned class. Farber says a fireman's son got killed in Vietnam "because he was not a good talker," that is, could not convince his draft board to give him a deferment. A more basic explanation, however, was that he was too poor: wasn't in college, didn't have a psychiatrist to write him an excuse, and didn't hang around with people who got deferments. If the fireman's son was in the Silent Majority, it was because money talks, and he didn't have it.

University of Massachusetts Dartmouth JAMES A. HIJIYA

Georgia in Black and White: Explorations in the Race Relations of a Southern State, 1865-1950. Edited by John C. Inscoe. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994. viii, 300 pp. Forward by Numan V. Bartley, Introduction, photographs, Illustrations, maps, Tables, Index, Hard Cover. $40.00.)

For decades, southern historians have wrestled with the complex task of identifying a central theme in the history of the South. U. B. Phillips, Ray Stannard Baker, Gunnar Myrdal, Numan V. Bartley and a host of other scholars past and present have identified race as one central focus of southern society, if not the central theme. Most disagreements with this contention come, not with the substance of the claim, but with the degree of applicability.

John Inscoe, editor of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* and a faculty member of the University of Georgia History department, has

produced a collection of eleven essays by former Georgia graduate students that add new insights to the question of race and its importance in postbellum Georgia. Inscoe provides a sweeping introduction to these diverse essays and creates a sensible framework for understanding them.

The essays in *Georgia in Black and white* provide a unique biographical-issues perspective that focuses attention on individuals--Rufus Bullock, Lucy Stanton, Lucius Henry Holsey, Mildred Lewis Rutherford, Clark H. Foreman--whose attempts to confront, accommodate, or frustrate the increasingly segregationist practices of postwar Georgians, directly or indirectly, symbolized the reality of living in a divided society. Of particular interest to historians and the general public is the use of brief institutional biographies to provide a framework for understanding the actions of individuals, particularly those of mixed parentage who initially constituted the elite among Georgia blacks.

All of the essays in this volume are good, but several are outstanding and deserve special notice. Especially worthy is Jonathan M. Bryant's perceptive analysis of the role of Abram M. Colby, the son of a black mother and a white father, as a member of the Republican party and the Reconstruction legislature. Russell Duncan offers a new look at Rufus Bullock, Georgia's first Republican governor, whose defense of the rights of freedmen to vote and hold office placed him at odds with white Democrats. His essay does much to rehabilitate the popular perception of Bullock as a crass opportunist with few, if any, principles. Daniel W. Stowell examines the conflict within the Methodist church and that organization's attempts to come to grips with the realities of southern politics, the freedmen's desire to create separate cultural-social-religious structures, and the paternalism that was inherent in most American institutions of the period. Glenn T. Eskew's penetrating look at the life of Bishop Lucius Henry Holsey and his movement from acceptance of planter domination to African nationalism provides an understanding of the frustrations experienced by African-Americans who found their path to success and independence blocked. Finally, Mark R. Schultz's essay on interracial kinship ties in Hancock County is particularly enlightening. The emergence of a black middle class in this county owed much to the strong and continuing ties between black and white relatives. What is remarkable about this essay is the openness of the relationship and their acknowledgment by both groups.

I strongly recommend this book for individuals who are interested in examining the nuances of southern race relations. The institutional and personal relationships of Georgia blacks and whites portrayed here defy simplistic explanation and add a new dimension to studies in this area. John Inscoe and the University of Georgia are to be congratulated on producing graduate students who are capable of this degree of thoughtful analysis.

Florida Historical Society LEWIS N. WYNNE

BOOK NOTES

Recently released by the St. Augustine Historical Society is Jean Parker Waterbury's *The Treasurer's House*, described by historian Daniel L. Schafer as "more than an account of an old house," but rather "a rich social history of St. Augustine told through the records and life stories left behind by the men and women who resided at 143 St. George Street from the 1740s to the 1930s. Known as the Peña-Peck house, the two-story structure with its coquina walls has stood at the center of St. Augustine's "most important historic events" for about 250 years. It was the residence of the Spanish royal treasurer and then the British lieutenant governor before being acquired by Governor Francisco Xavier Sanchez when the Spanish returned to East Florida in 1784. When the colony was transferred to the United States in 1821, it was purchased by Jose Mariano Hernandez. After several more changes of ownership, Dr. Seth S. Peck acquired it in 1841. It then remained in the possession of his family until 1931 when Anna G. Burt, heir of the last Peck, left the house to the city of St. Augustine. Today it is operated as a museum by the Women's Exchange. Publication was partially financed by the Historic Museum Grant-in-Aid Program of the Museum of Florida History, Bureau of Historic Museums, Florida Department of State. Jean Parker's *The Treasurer's House* is available at the Peña-Peck House, the St. Augustine Historical Society's Museum Store, and other select shops in the city for $10.95.

Shorebirds and Seagrapes: The Island Inn, Sanibel, 1895-1995 was written by Sharon M. Doremus to mark the centennial of the hostelry which began in 1895 when Harriet Matthews first took in boarders. Like so many 19th Century Americans who believed the stories about the ease with which farmers could prosper in Florida, Will Matthews brought his family to Sanibel Island in the mid-1890s with the intention of supporting them from his new farm. When agricultural prosperity proved elusive, Harriet Matthews supplemented the family income by taking in boarders. Thus began the Island Inn. Word of the charming inn on the beautiful island with its abundance of beautiful sea shells, fish, and wildlife, spread throughout the northeast. Visitors returned year after year. Harriet's daughter, Charlotta, succeeded her mother as innkeeper and

operated it successfully until 1957. It was then acquired by the Island Inn Company which refurbished and modernized the edifice, while retaining its old Florida charm. It has continued to house guests into its centennial year. Published by J.N. Townsend Publishing, Exeter, New Hampshire, *Shorebirds and Seagrapes* may be purchased from The Island Inn Company, P.O. Box 659, Sanibel, Florida 33957. The price is $12.00.

Charles E. Blanchard grew up on the Connecticut shore of Long Island Sound where he became fascinated with life along the estuaries where saltwater and fresh water mixed. After a career as a teacher in the Northeast and as a musician in Europe, he moved to Florida in 1981. The Charlotte Harbor area where fresh water rivers flowed into and mixed with the Gulf waters reminding him of his Connecticut home. Convinced that such a rich estuary must have supported human life in the past, he explored the waterways by canoe while reading about the findings of professional archeologists. His *New Words, Old Songs: Understanding the Lives of Ancient People in Southwest Florida Through Archaeology,* a story of 12,000 years of human life on the shell islands and mangrove coasts, is the result. The *New Words* is a tribute to the new archaeological methodology of recent years. *Old Songs* emphasizes the continuity of life in the area. Blanchard's aim in this work was to "put humanity in the archaeology, put flesh on dry statistical bones." Believing that the author achieved his purpose of making archaeology interesting to ordinary readers, the Institute of Archaeology and Paleoenvironmental Studies of the Florida Museum of Natural History at Gainesville has published *New Words, Old Songs.* It will be available after August 1, 1995 from the Institute at P.O. Box 117800, Gainesville, Florida. The price is $24.95 hardcover and $14.95 paper.

Florida Fun Facts: 1,001 Fun Questions and Answers about Florida is a new publication by Pineapple Press timed to appear as Florida celebrates its Sesquicentennial. Written by Eliot Kleinberg, a staff writer for the *Palm Beach Post,* the book is said to be the "ultimate Florida trivia challenge" and is filled with little known information about Florida's places, events, environment, and unique character." For example, to borrow from a popular television show, the answer is "mullet." The question is "every April, people gather on either side of the Florida-Alabama line at Perdido Beach and throw what?" Many readers already know that Gatorade was developed at

the University of Florida, but how many know that the world's smallest police station is a telephone booth in the town of Carrabelle? *Florida Fun Facts* has a comprehensive index to Florida cities and counties as well as a detailed general index. It sells for $12.95 and may be acquired from Pineapple Press, Inc., P.O. Drawer 16008, Southside Station, Sarasota, Florida 34239.

Delia Graham Cirino's *Sawgrass Child* covers the first eighteen years of the author's life while she was growing up in "an obscure town on the Southeast Coast of Florida in the 1930s and 1940s. Descended from some of Florida's earliest families, Delia Graham Cirino arrived at Fort Lauderdale in 1931 when the city was inhabited by 9,000 people. Hers is a whimsical story of a time when she and her siblings could romp in the sawgrass near her home without fear of anything more threatening than the flora and fauna of what was then a virtual frontier. *Sawgrass Child* may be ordered from Crone's Cradle Conserve, P.O. Box 1207, Citra, Florida 32113.

Craig A. Tuttle's *An Ounce of Preservation: A Guide to the Care of Papers and Photographs* is a "how-to" book--with an interesting history of paper, ink and their uses. Well-written in an interesting manner, the book is recommended by the author to "church secretaries, historical society volunteers, veterans, grandparents, genealogists, historians, librarians, manuscript curators, archivists, and collectors." It was published by Rainbow Books, Inc., P.O. Box 430, Highland City, Florida, 33846-0430. The price is $12.95. Orders may be made through l-800-356-9315.

Patrick Anderson was Jimmy Carter's chief speechwriter during the 1976 presidential election campaign. Having been asked by President Carter to write "an authorized book on his administration," Anderson wrote a draft of his memoir. Misplaced for a time, it was rediscovered in 1992 and, after encouragement from friends in the professional history community, Anderson decided to proceed with publication. The result is *Electing Jimmy Carter: The Campaign of 1976,* a Louisiana State University Press book. Its price is $24.95.

David Duke appeared on the political scene quite rapidly and has since apparently become less newsworthy. In the meantime, he attracted a great deal of attention and has been the subject of a

number of treatises of various dimensions. Tyler Bridges, a staff writer of the New Orleans *Times-Picayune,* was particularly well-situated to contribute to the Duke literature since he covered the political campaign which focused so much attention on the man and his unusual beliefs. Bridges has consequently written *The Rise of David Duke* which has been published by the University Press of Mississippi. It sells for $24.95.

Anne Firor Scott has long since established a reputation as a national historian who specializes in the history of Southern women. In *Unheard Voices: The First Historians of Southern Women* she tells the story of "how Southern women historians were marginalized in academia" and then demonstrates her point by recounting the biographies of five of them whose works are treated in this edited book. Those she selected for inclusion are Virginia Gearhart Gray, Marjorie Stratford Mendenhall, Julia Cherry Spruill, Guion Griffis Johnson and Eleanor M. Boatwright. Scott's book was published by the University of Virginia Press, Box 3608, University Station, CharlottesviIIe, Virginia 22903. Prices are $29.95 cloth and $12.95 paper.

Born in 1915 and educated at the University of North Carolina where she studied with Fletcher Green, Mary Elizabeth Massey garnered recognition in her own time with *Bonnet Brigades,* the story of women during the Civil War, which was published in 1966. It has been reprinted by the University of Nebraska Press in its Bison Books series. With an introduction by Jean V. Berlin, the new edition is entitled *Women in the Civil War.*

Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990 was edited by Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman and published by Princeton University Press. Dedicated to Justice Thurgood Marshall, the book has contributions from many of the historians who participated in the federal cases dealing with voting rights during the 35 year period covered by the book.

Louisiana State University has brought out a paperback edition of Robert E. May's *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader* which was first published in 1985. Quitman marched through the pages of antebellum history from his participation in the Texas revolution in the 1830s to his death in 1858, but the emphasis of this fine book is

on his radical secessionist sentiments and the role he played in fomenting states' rights and secession in Mississippi.

White Mane Publishing Company has just published *A Pennsylvanian in Blue: Thomas Beck Walton's Civil War,* edited by Society member Robert A. Taylor of Fort Pierce. Walton, a loyal Union soldier, records his experiences during the last phase of the Civil War and the first few months of peace. A resident of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Walton volunteered for service with the 195th Pennsylvania infantry in the spring of 1865 and served in the Shenandoah Valley and later as part of the post-war garrison of Washington, D.C. His journal recounts the gritty, unromantic life of the common soldier--long marches, short rations, boredom, and exposure to the elements. Walton also provides insights on discipline problems and morale. This diary, ably edited by Taylor, is an important addition to the growing body of work on the day-to-day concerns of the common soldier. *A Pennsylvanian in Blue* is available in soft cover for $12.00. White Mane Publishing Company is located at P.O. Box 152, Shippensburg, PA 17257. Telephone orders can be made by calling (717) 532-2237.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in Cocoa Beach, May 23-25, 1996. The Florida Historical Confederation will also hold its workshops at that time. The convention hotel will be the Cocoa Beach Hilton Oceanfront at 1550 North Atlantic Avenue (A1A), Cocoa Beach, FL 32931. Rates are $65.00, double or single. The hotel may be reached at l-800-526-2609. The topic of the program is "Florida's East Coast: From Ais Age to Space Age." The program will be chaired by Dr. Lewis N. Wynne. Those wishing to read papers should submit 500 word proposals, with audio-visual requirements, to him at the Florida Historical Society, P.O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197. Proposals should reach him no later than January 5, 1996. Those received after that date cannot be considered.

Awards and Honors

The Florida Historical Society annually awards three prizes for original work in Florida history The awards for 1994 were announced at the annual meeting in Tallahassee, May 18-20, 1995. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida history was received by Gary R. Mormino, University of South Florida, for "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow: Racial Violence and Reform in World War II Florida," which appeared in the July 1994 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.* The judges were J. Andrew Brian, Historical Association of South Florida, William W. Rogers, Jr., Gainesville College, Georgia, and Shirley A. Leckie, University of Central Florida. The prize memorializes Professor Thompson a long-time member of the history faculty at the University of Florida. His family established an endowment which supports the annual award.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award was given to Jerald T. Milanich, Florida Museum of Natural History at the University of Florida for *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida,* published by the University of Florida Press. The judges were Robin F. A. Fabel, Auburn University, Steven Engle, Florida Atlantic University, and Gary R. Mormino, University of South Florida. Rembert Patrick was

secretary of the Florida Historical Society and long-time editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.* He was also chairman of the history department at the University of Florida and a president of the Southern Historical Association.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was presented to Elizabeth Shelfer Morgan, Tallahassee, for her *Uncertain Seasons* which was published by the University of Alabama Press. The judges were Brian R. Rucker, Pensacola Junior College, Maxine Jones, Florida State University, and Tracy J. Revels, Wofford College. Dr. Tebeau is professor emeritus of history at the University of Miami.

The Society also recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by students. The 1994 Leroy Collins Prize for the best essay by a graduate or undergraduate student went to Anna Varela-Lago for "Tampa's Latin Community in the Spanish-American War." The Carolyn Mays Brevard Prize was awarded to Rebecca Emily Riehle for the best essay by an undergraduate student. Her essay was "The *Tampa Tribune's* Depiction of Women." The Frederick Cubberly Prize for the best essay by a middle/high school student was received by Heather Miller for "John Pennekamp." Her teacher at Northwest Christian Academy, Miami, is Carol Kincaid.

The Society also gave four Golden Quill Awards for outstanding media participation relating to Florida history. For the best history video, the recipient was Myra Monroe of WUFT-TV, Gainesville, for "Gainesville Wins Pennant." Susan Gage of WFSU-Radio was recognized for her "Rosewood Claims Bill." The award for the best newspaper series went to the *Tampa Tribune,* and *Florida Living* won the Golden Quill in the specialized publication category.

The Georgia Historical Society announces the 1994 winners of its publication awards. The E. Merton Coulter Award, an annual prize for the best article in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* went to Jeffrey R. Young for "Eisenhower's Federal judges and Civil Rights Policy: A Republican 'Southern Strategy' for the 1950's," which appeared in the Fall 1994 issue of the *Quarterly.* The Malcolm and Muriel Bell Award for the best book on Georgia history published over a two year period was presented to William Marvel for *Andersonville: The Last Depot,* published in 1994 by the UNC Press. The Coulter

Award, with a $500 stipend, and the Bell Award, with a $1000 stipend, were presented to the authors at the Society's annual meeting in Savannah on April 29.

William W. Rogers, Robert David Ward, Leah Rawls Atkins, and Wayne Flynt have been recognized by two Alabama history organizations for their *Alabama: The History of A Deep South State,* which was published by the University of Alabama Press in 1994. It received an award from the Alabama Historical Association for the book which has made the greatest contribution to Alabama history during the past two years. It was also given a special commendation by the Organization of Alabama historians. *Alabama* is reviewed in this issue of the *Quarterly.*

The Southern Academy of Letters, Arts and Sciences has presented its highest literary award, the Order of the South, to novelist Patrick Smith of Merritt Island. The award was presented at a banquet in April at Jacksonville. The author of six novels and numerous short stories and essays, Smith has received five top Florida literary awards, including the 1986 Charlton Tebeau Prize from the Florida Historical Society for *A Land Remembered.* His work has been nominated for both the Pulitzer and Nobel prizes for literature. Smith is a member of the Florida Historical Society Board of Directors.

Meetings and Calls for Papers

The 39th Annual Missouri Valley History Conference will be held in Omaha, Nebraska, March 7-9, 1996. Proposals for papers and sessions in all areas of history are welcome. Such proposals, accompanied by a one-page abstract and vitae, should be sent by October 15, 1995. Contact: Dale Gaeddert Chair MVHC, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska 68182.

The Society of Military History holds sessions as part of the MVHC. Please send proposals for papers and sessions on military history topics to: Mark R. Grandstaff, History Department, Brigham Young University, 414 KMB, PO Box 24446, Provo, UT 84602.

The Florida Cattleman's Association and the Florida Cracker Cattle Association are sponsoring a symposium, "The Florida Cat-

tle Frontier," on November 10-12, 1995 at the Orlando-Kissimmee Gateway Hilton Inn on U.S. Highway 192. There will be presentations on various aspects of Florida cracker cattle history. Reservations for the Hilton are $55-$65 per night. For information call (407) 932-1462.

The fifteenth meeting of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held October 6-7, 1995 at the new Comfort Inn on Pensacola Beach. This year's theme is "The Roaring Twenties' on the Gulf Coast." Dr. Glen Costen of the Department of History, Language, and Philosophy at Pensacola Junior College is coordinating the conference. For information about sessions, time, and lodgings, please call Dr. Costen at (904) 484-1425.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies invites submissions for its annual article competition. An award of $250 will be given for the best article on an eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal between September 1, 1994 and August 31, 1995. Authors must be members of the Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, and articles may be submitted by authors themselves or others. Submissions written in a language other than English must include an English translation. The interdisciplinary appeal of the article will be considered but will not be the sole determinant of the award. Please submit articles in triplicate, postmarked by November 15, 1995, to: James Thompson, Department of English, 200 Greenlaw Hall, CB #3520, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3520. The winning article will be announced at the 1996 annual meeting of SEASECS in Tallahassee, Florida.

News

Dr. James M. Denham, a member of the Society's Board of Directors, has been elected to a directorship in the Polk County Historical Association.

The Brevard County Historical Commission announced the forthcoming publication of its first volume of *History of Brevard County*, a two-volume work authored by Jerrell Shofner. This volume is 272 pages, hard back, and has over 100 photographs and illustrations. Pre-publication orders are being taken. For information, call Todd Peetz at (407) 633-2069.

Maitland Historical Society Director Cindy Harris has been appointed to the Orange County Sesquicentennial Committee by Linda Chapin, Orange County Commission Chairperson. The purpose of the committee is to organize events celebrating the sesquicentennial and to sanction official events of the Florida Sesquicentennial celebration.

The Supreme Court of Florida has recently published a handbook on the history of the Court, biographical information on current justices, and general information about the operations of the court. In addition, information on the operations of lower courts is also included. This is an excellent primer for students, teachers or members of the general public who wish to know more about Florida's court system. For information about how to secure your copy, contact the executive Director of the Justice Administrative Commission at (904) 488-2415.

Sheila Evans of 155 Carolina Avenue, Melbourne, FL 32935, is seeking information on Hamilton Disston in Florida for a research project. Individuals who have letters, photographs, or other information about Disston are asked to write to Ms. Evans.

Patti Bartlett, the Society's Secretary, is the new director of the Matheson Historical Center in Gainesville. Ms. Bartlett assumed this position May 1, 1995. The Matheson Historical Center is located in one of the oldest houses in Gainesville. Patti and her husband, Dick, have relocated from Asheville, North Carolina, to Gainesville.

Historic Roesch House, the Florida Historical Society's headquarters in Eau Gallie, Melbourne, has been awarded a "Preservation Banner" by the Brevard Heritage Council. The banner is in recognition of the efforts of the Society in restoring the turn-of-the-century frame vernacular structure that houses some of the Society's offices.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING
January 20, 1995

The Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society convened at the Society's headquarters at 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, on Saturday, January 20, 1995, at 10:00 a.m. Those attending included Marinus Latour, President; Larry Durrence, President Elect; Joe Knetsch, Vice President; Patti Bartlett, Secretary; Joe Akerman, Raymond O. Arsenault, Canter Brown, Jr., James M. Denham, Jane Dysart, José B. Fernández, James J. Horgan, Maxine Jones, Jenifer Marx, Thomas Muir, Larry Rivers, James Roth, Daniel Schafer, Niles Schuh, Patrick Smith, Robert A. Taylor, Cynthia Trefelner, and Lindsey Williams. Nick Wynne, Executive Director, and Marilyn S. Potts, Administrative Assistant, were also present. President Latour called the meeting to order and asked the new Board member to introduce themselves to the others present.

President Latour asked for approval of the minutes of the previous Board Meeting of May 1994. Joe Knetsch made the motion for approval, and James Roth seconded. The motion was agreed to unanimously.

The first item of new business concerned the editorship of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. President Latour gave the Board a brief explanation of what had transpired with the journal since the unfortunate death of Editor George E. Pozzetta in May 1994. He informed the members that two proposals had been offered to the Society.

The first was an offer from the University of Florida to continue the relationship the Society has had with the University and to place responsibility for editing the *Quarterly* in the hands of Immediate Past President David R. Colburn. The second proposal was from the University of Central Florida to create a similar relationship. Jerrell H. Shofner, a former president of the Society and a long-time Board member, would serve as the interim editor. UCF would advertise for a faculty position in Florida history and the permanent editorship of the *Quarterly* would be an integral part of the position description. The Society would have an advisory role in the selection process.

President Latour acknowledged that any movement of the *Quarterly* offices would certainly be controversial. He informed the Board that he had named a Special Committee of former presidents--Olive Peterson, William Goza, John Mahon, Milton Jones, and Shofner to study the issue and to make a recommendation to the Board. The Committee met on January 14, 1995, at the Altamonte Springs Public Library. The Committee, with President Latour and Executive Director Wynne present, discussed the options and concluded that the Society's best interests would be served if the journal office was moved to UCF. By a 4-0 vote (Shofner abstaining), the recommendation of the Committee was approved. William Goza then offered the Society a $5,000 donation from the Wentworth Foundation to assist in any costs associated with relocation, *pending approval of the Board.*

The recommendation of the Blue Ribbon Committee was relayed to the Board. After much discussion about the merits of both proposals, Joe Knetsch moved that the Board accept the offer from the University of Central Florida. José B. Fernández seconded the motion. Canter Brown, Jr., offered an amendment to the motion which would have delayed acceptance for thirty days until all other institutions of higher learning were solicited for offers. The amendment to the motion failed. The question was called, and the Board ratified Knetsch's motion by a 15 to 7 margin. The Board then adjourned for lunch.

The Board reconvened at 1:30 p.m. for its afternoon session. Canter Brown, Jr. introduced a motion to delay the implementation of the Board's decision to move the *Quarterly* for thirty days. Larry Rivers seconded the motion. After much heated debate over the question, Brown withdrew his motion and the Board proceeded with its business.

Joe Knetsch introduced a motion, which was seconded by Larry Durrence, to have President Latour appoint a special committee of three Board members to work out the details of the *Quarterly's* transfer to and future support of the journal with UCF. The committee would be authorized to submit requests for proposals from other institutions should the UCF-Society negotiations fail. A motion was made to close further debate on the issue. It was seconded and passed unanimously.

Larry Durrence, chair of the Finance Committee, presented the financial review for FY 94 and the proposed budget for FY 95. Central to the discussion is the need for the Society to maintain of-

fices in Tampa and Melbourne. The projected FY 95 budget calls for increases in most categories of membership. The increases, the first in more than five years, are necessary to underwrite the additional expenses incurred by the recent increase in postage, higher printing costs, and the maintenance expenses associated with the upkeep of the Melbourne properties. The Executive Director explained that these costs will have to be borne by the Society until the Rossetter gift is in place. The difficulty, he explained, is not having a firm date for the transfer of the monetary gift to the Society. The projected budget for FY 95 is $107,885. The proposed dues increase will be presented to the general membership for ratification at the May 1995 Annual Meeting.

No raises were included for Society staff, but the Board approved a $200 per month stipend for Marilyn Potts, the Society's Administrative Assistant, who has taken on additional responsibilities as a result of the opening of the Melbourne office. The Board also approved a proposal to increase the Society's contribution for health insurance for the Executive Director from 50% to 100%.

The proposed budget, including the increase in dues, was approved on the motion of Joe Knetsch, which was seconded by James M. Denham.

Joe Knetsch, chair of the Annual Meeting Local Arrangements Committee, reviewed plans for the meeting. Knetsch expects to raise a significant amount of local financial support for underwriting many of the activities. He also made a motion to dedicate the 1995 meeting to the memory of Dorothy Dodd, in recognition of her work in Florida History. The motion was seconded by Daniel Schafer and passed unanimously.

Wynne announced that the 1996 Annual Meeting will be held in Brevard County and will be sponsored by the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science. A date and location will be announced later. He also indicated that the 1997 meeting is open for proposals. The Jacksonville Historical Society has expressed an interest. Daniel Schafer volunteered to make inquiries and to let the Board know in May 1995. Raymond Arsenault indicated that Tampa might be interested in hosting the 1998 meeting, which would be the centennial year of the Spanish-American War.

President Latour reviewed the current contract the Society has with the University of South Florida to house our collection. The Executive Director displayed the conceptual plans the Society has for the construction of a Society library in the future. The library,

to be called the Judge James Knott Library, would honor Mr. Knott's contribution of $10,000 to underwrite the planning and development of the project. President Latour also informed the Board that the contract with USF, which expires July 1, is under review and that the Board would be updated on its status at the May meeting.

Larry Durrence suggested that the question of a new library be deferred until the Board could dedicate more study to the matter. He proposed that the Board consider this matter in a retreat to be held in the fall. Daniel Schafer asked that the various methods of acquiring a new library be summarized for the Board members in writing and distributed prior to the retreat. President Latour asked Board members to forward suitable dates to the staff so that preparations could begin. Joe Knetsch formalized the discussion in a motion. The motion was seconded by José B. Fernández and passed unanimously.

President Latour provided an update on the state's Sesquicentennial activities. He is the Society's representative on the statewide commission. He informed the Board that a special postage stamp commemorating the 150th anniversary of statehood will be issued by the U.S. Post Office.

The Executive Director noted that memberships in the Society had declined slightly, and he asked Board members to assist in recruiting new members. He also requested that Board members assist in the compilation of mailing lists from other organizations that might be used. Jane Dysart suggested that local historical societies be asked to purchase memberships for local schools.

President Latour commented that Board members can be very helpful on the local scene in coordinating Society activities. With that, a motion to adjourn was made by Joe Knetsch. It was seconded by Jane Dysart, and the motion was approved unanimously.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1995		
Sept. 7-9	American Association for State and Local History	Saratoga Springs, NY
Oct. 5-7	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL
Oct. 19-22	Oral History Association	Milwaukee, WI
Oct. 27-29	Southern Jewish Historical Association	New Orleans, LA
Nov. 8-11	Southern Historical Association	New Orleans, LA
1996		
Jan. 4-7	American Historical Association	Atlanta, GA
Mar. 28-31	Organization of American Historians	Chicago, IL
May 23	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Cocoa Beach, FL
May 23-25	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 94TH MEETING	Cocoa Beach, FL

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $25; family membership is $30; library membership is $35; a contributing membership is $50 and above; and a corporate membership is $100. In addition, a student membership is $15, but proof of current status must be furnished.

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, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0917. 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.