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COVER

In the 1920s and 1930s Plant City, Florida, was known as the “Winter Strawberry Capital of the World.” Despite a decline in berry production in the 1940s and 1950s, strawberry production remained an integral part of Florida’s agriculture, and the persistence of “strawberry culture” became a contentious issue in Plant City. This 1935 photograph shows employees working in the Plant City Processing Plant. *Photograph courtesy of Burgert Brothers Collection of Florida Photographs, Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System, 5909/37533.*

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“The Privations & Hardships of a New Country”: Southern Women and Southern Hospitality on the Florida Frontier

by ANYA JABOUR

IN October 1826, Laura Wirt wrote to her cousin, Louisa Cabell Carrington, regarding her forthcoming marriage and move from her parents' comfortable home in the Upper South to a lonely plantation in the newly-opened Florida territory. "I cannot endure the thought! The very prospect breaks my heart!" she exclaimed.¹ But, like many southern women, Laura found that her own preferences had little weight when set against her male relatives' eagerness to achieve the fabled wealth of the Florida frontier. Laura's father, U.S. Attorney General William Wirt, and her uncles, Robert and John Gamble of Richmond, Virginia, had invested in Florida as soon as the new territory's land auctions began in 1825. Upon her marriage to Thomas Randall, an ambitious but unsuccessful Maryland lawyer, Laura would receive a marriage portion of a plantation near Tallahassee, where Randall had obtained a position as a judge in the Florida Court of Appeals. Land was what drew the Randalls and their nearest neighbors, the Gambles, to the frontier. In Jefferson County, the Randalls and their relatives became members of a group of leading planters in what Jerrell H. Shofner has described as the heart of Middle Florida's antebellum plantation belt. Despite her own reluctance, Laura Wirt Randall traveled with her husband to her new home in late 1827.²

In letters to her family and friends from 1827 to 1833, Laura commented on what she called "the privations & hardships of a new country": the difficult overland journey, the adjustment to plantation life, and finally the transformation of the raw frontier into an orderly southern society.³ Laura's letters do

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1. Laura Wirt to Louisa Cabell Carrington, October 8, 1826, Laura Wirt Randall Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.
2. For background on Florida's settlement, see Jerrell H. Shofner, *History of Jefferson County* (Tallahassee, 1976), Chap. 2; and Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1971), Chaps. 9, 10, and 13. For women's and men's different responses to the frontier, see Joan E. Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (New York and Oxford, 1991), especially Chap. 2.
3. Laura Wirt Randall to Louisa Cabell Carrington, May 27, 1829, Randall Papers.

more than reveal the development of plantation society on the Florida frontier; they also offer a unique perspective by demonstrating the central role played by the least willing settlers: women and slaves. As Joan E. Cashin's recent study of migrants from the southern seaboard to the southwestern frontier shows, women and slaves often resisted the move. According to Cashin's study of planter-class families who moved from Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina to states west of the Alabama-Georgia state line or to frontier areas in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Florida, planter men made the decision to move in order to achieve wealth and to increase their personal freedom by ridding themselves of kinship obligations. Planters' wives and slaves, however, preferred familiar surroundings and kin networks to the demands of frontier life and to the increased dominance of planter men on isolated frontier plantations. Ironically, however, the contributions of these unwilling migrants were essential to the successful settlement of the new country. Only the work of white mistresses and slave women could establish an atmosphere of southern gentility on the frontier— an atmosphere that helped consolidate planters' dominance over a growing Old South society. By detailing her own trials as a young plantation mistress, Laura Wirt Randall recorded the contributions of planters' wives and the slave women they supervised in the creation and maintenance of a tradition of southern hospitality on the frontier. Southern women and southern hospitality helped to transform the "new country" of the Florida frontier into the plantation society of the Old South.⁴

Although migration from the southern seaboard to the southern frontier was, as Cashin points out, "a family venture," it was men who made the decisions. Men decided whether or not to migrate and where to go. Men travelled ahead to investigate the area, make land purchases, and arrange to rent or build a temporary residence, as Thomas Randall did during the spring of 1827.⁵ Men were also in

4. On the different responses of planter men and planter wives and slaves to the prospect of migration, see Cashin, *Family Venture*. On the role of gentility, refinement, and entertaining, see Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill, 1982), 71, 76-79, 302-303. On the wealthy planters in the Randalls' circle, see Shofner, *History of Jefferson County*, 28-29. See also Cynthia A. Kierner, "Hospitality, Sociability, and Gender in the Southern Colonies." *Journal of Southern History* 52 (August 1996), 449-80.

5. See for example Thomas Randall to William Wirt, April 9, May 1, 1827, William Wirt Papers, MS #1011, Manuscript Division, Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore, Md.

charge of planning the route and making other important decisions, such as determining the date of departure. Laura Wirt reported that her fiance made the decision to travel by land rather than by water and that he timed the journey to allow him to be in Tallahassee on the first day of court. Laura found that her future husband's decisions required her to put up with inconvenience and unhappiness. Travelling by land, she foresaw, would mean that she would have "to *camp out* . . . the *tents* . . . will not be very agreeable dormitory's," she noted wryly.⁶ The necessity of leaving in September in order to make the October court was another source of dissatisfaction for the bride-to-be. The house that Thomas Randall had arranged for was yet to be built, and the Gamble brothers and their wives planned to postpone their journey for another month at least. In addition, Laura was still making preparations for her wedding, only a month away, and her husband's plan would leave her only a little over a week between the wedding and the move. "I shall feel hurried off if I go out the first of September," she commented, "shall find myself disagreeably situated at a miserable Tavern during the six weeks or more before my Uncles arrive— & shall find myself separated prematurely from my home & friends. . . . I am full of vexation & regret at this disappointment of my plans," she concluded.⁷

Despite her unhappiness, Laura Wirt Randall set off with her new husband shortly after her wedding on August 21, 1827. Laura's sister Catharine described the wedding as a happy and lavish affair, with six bridesmaids and six grooms in attendance. Laura's uncle, Robert Gamble, made a more sobering remark. "The Judge is obliged to hold court at Tallahassee in October on the first Monday," he observed, "which will compell him to set out early next month— Laura goes with him [.]” Laura wrote her first letter on the road on September 4, 1827.⁸

The overland journey proved even worse than Laura's gloomy foreboding. At the journey's conclusion, Laura told her cousin that

6. Laura Wirt to William Wirt, June 12, 1827, Wirt Papers.

7. Laura Wirt, postscript to Elizabeth Wirt to William Wirt, July 12, 1827, Wirt Papers.

8. See Laura Wirt Randall to Catharine Gamble, September 4, 1827, Wirt Papers. For Laura's wedding, see Catharine Wirt to Emma Cabell, September 8, 1827, in Carrington Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society; on the necessity for haste on account of the October court, see Robert Gamble to James Breckinridge, August 16, 1827, Breckinridge Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society. The marriage license was issued on August 20, 1827. See *Marriage Licenses of Washington, D.C., 1811-1830* (Silver Spring, Md., 1988).

the jolting of the journey, the uncomfortable accommodations, and the ill-cooked, greasy food of the trail, all "exceeded everything I had pre-imagined, tho' I thought I was prepared for the worst."⁹ In the course of the journey, Laura kept a sporadic "journal" in which she recorded the difficulties the newlyweds encountered. One horse went lame, another developed epileptic fits, a keg of crackers broke several times, the carriage window was inoperable, the shafts of the wagon were broken repeatedly, and a rattlesnake on the road nearly startled the horses into a stampede.¹⁰ But worst of all, according to Laura, was the discomfort the couple faced at the end of each day. At their first overnight stay in a tavern, they were "wretchedly accommodated," and "neither the tea nor coffee was drinkable."¹¹ At another "miserable tavern, or rather half-tavern," they slept on a "feather bed in wh[ic]h: there might have been about three feathers." At another, "there were no sheets at all to my bed; at another the Randalls encountered "a troop of beastly young men" who "were drinking & screeching all the night." At one point, Laura gave up detailing the accommodations. "It w[oul]d. be endless to recount all the inconveniences we were obliged to endure," she wrote.¹²

The Randalls arrived in Tallahassee the last week in September. By that time, Laura told her mother, "Bed:bugs we think nothing of, having never yet lost a whole night rest through them."¹³ Despite (or perhaps because of) her difficult journey, Laura was disappointed in Middle Florida's premiere settlement. "Tallahassee is a miserable looking place certainly," she pronounced. "I expected to see merely a village," she conceded, "but I thought it wd. have a more agreeable appearance."¹⁴ In late October the Randalls moved from Tallahassee to Robert and Letitia Gamble's plantation, Welaunee, which

9. See Laura Wirt Randall to Louisa Cabell Cartington, n.d., ca. 1827-1828, Randall Papers.

10. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, September 9, 1827; Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth and William Wirt, September 13-21, 1827; Laura Wirt Randall to William Wirt, September 30, 1827, Wirt Papers. Laura's "journal" was a continuous letter that she addressed to both her parents, but principally to her mother, and mailed about once a week, whenever she reached a town with a post office.

11. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth and William Wirt, September 6, 1827, Wirt Papers.

12. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth and William Wirt, September 13-21, 1827, Wirt Papers.

13. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, September 25, 1827, Wirt Papers.

14. Laura Wirt Randall to William Wirt, September 30, 1827, Wirt Papers.

was a scant three miles from the Randalls' homesite. Welaunee pleased Laura no better than Tallahassee. "This place has no beauties," she asserted. "It is a double log cabin, daubed with mud, & surrounded by dead trees— I hope Uncle Robert will not remain here long." Laura's plans were already focused on her own home, however. "We ride to our Place every morn[in]g," she added, "& plan famous improvements."¹⁵

During her time in Tallahassee and then Welaunee, Laura became accustomed to the rhythms of plantation life: long periods of isolation punctuated by the arrival of unexpected visitors.¹⁶ "I am really very solitary here," she wrote from Tallahassee. Laura's letter indicated that a lack of female company was especially troublesome. "Tho' every lady comes to see us— there are few to come," she added.¹⁷ While staying at Welaunee, Laura was even more isolated. "Her life has been for the last Six weeks most solitary indeed," Thomas Randall wrote to the Wirts. "The best society she has seen out of our family is occasionally a plain simple country man, stopping to partake of the hospitality of the house . . ." The Randalls anticipated a grander form of "the hospitality of the house" in the future, however. "We have not yet found it convenient to visit our recent arrived neighbors the Gadsden's [and the] Murats," two of the newest— and richest— arrivals. Prince Achille Murat, the exiled son of the late king of Naples, moved to Tallahassee in 1825. He and his wife, Catherine, lived on a 1,000-acre plantation, Lipona, in Jefferson County, 20 miles from Tallahassee. James Gadsden was an important man in territorial Florida politics who helped negotiate the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, which removed the local Seminole Indians to a reservation in 1823. He remained a close associate of Governor William P. DuVal. Visiting with these prominent Florida neighbors, Randall surmised, "would have given some change I hope some little zest, to our Society [.]"¹⁸

While Laura bemoaned her "forlorn" state, she also laid plans to make her new home an example of the kind of hospitality she had found so lacking along the way to Florida.¹⁹ Although her re-

15. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, October 28, 1827, Wirt Papers.

16. On the isolation of plantation life, see Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York, 1982), Chap. 9.

17. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, October 13, 1827, Wirt Papers.

18. Thomas Randall to [?] Wirt, December 8, 1827, Wirt Papers. On the Murats and Gadsdens, see Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 127, 134-36, 154-55.

19. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, October 13, 1827, Wirt Papers.

solve perhaps was strengthened by her discomfort along the route to her new home, Laura had known from the outset that her arrival in Florida would mean the beginning of a serious project—imposing the trappings of the Old South on a “new country.” Tallahassee, named the state capitol in 1826, was the focal point of Florida’s nascent planter society. As Charlton Tebeau noted in his *History of Florida*, “a large number of families . . . settled in and around Tallahassee to make it the social and cultural as well as political center of the state.”²⁰ The Randalls fully intended to join the ranks of these elite settlers. Writing to his future father-in-law to assure him that he had chosen his plantation site with Laura in mind, Thomas Randall told William Wirt that the Randall plantation, Belmont, would be “situated at a convenient distance both from Tallahassee & St. Marks” and that “we have the advantage of the best neighborhood for society in the Territory as I mentioned to your Daughter.” The house that Randall contracted for, although “plain & cheap,” was “better than the general class of houses here,” he noted. Laura’s parents wrote often to their daughter to remind her of her new responsibilities. William Wirt gave Laura hints on how “to make your husband and yourself *popular*” in “a newly settled country.” Elizabeth Wirt advised her daughter: “Set out with the resolution to make the best of every thing—being determined, with the blessing of God, to discharge your duties to the best of your ability, and to encourage others to do the same.”²¹

Laura’s “duties” would revolve around entertaining. Receiving visitors graciously was the keystone of the orderly society that the Randalls and their planter neighbors hoped to establish on the Florida frontier. While frontier wives in other regions were also expected to serve as civilizing agents in their new, rough surroundings, this task took on special importance for the Randalls and their social circle. Jefferson County was destined to become the center of Middle Florida’s plantation belt, with a black majority and a lucrative economy based on slave-grown cotton and sugar. Four of Middle Florida’s counties—Gadsden, Jefferson, Leon and Madison—produced 80 percent of the state’s cotton. Several plant-

20. Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 122-23, 150.

21. Thomas Randall to William Wirt, May 1, 1827; William Wirt to Laura Wirt, September 9, 1827; Elizabeth Wirt to Laura Wirt Randall, September 9, 1827, Wirt Papers.

ers, including Robert Gamble, had interests in more than one of the neighboring Middle Florida counties. Planters dominated politics and society as well as the local economy. By 1845, nearly half the total population and wealth was in Middle Florida, and nearly two-thirds of the cash value of farms in 1850 was in five plantation counties. Every antebellum governor was from the plantation belt, and all but one were planters. Political and social leadership were closely related. Despite the difficulty of purchasing conveniences, the wealthy group of planters that settled in the area surrounding Tallahassee entertained on a grand scale. With her parents' encouragement, Laura Wirt Randall devoted herself to creating a tradition of southern hospitality on the Florida frontier.²²

The southern migrants to Middle Florida's plantation belt used hospitality to mark the Florida frontier as an extension of the Old South and to claim their place among the emerging planter elite. Entertaining was an opportunity for Florida's planter-settlers to display their wealth and refinement, qualities that Laura found sorely lacking in her Tallahassee boardinghouse. "They understand nothing of comfort or cleanliness in this tavern, (which is the best in the place)," she noted. Laura was particularly distressed that her hosts used the wrong utensils: "At table, coffee is served in a *teapot*," she commented.²³

The display of the proper material goods in entertaining was especially important for the Randalls and their wealthy neighbors because it was a way to set these planter families apart from slaves and poor whites, thus replicating the hierarchy of the Old South in the "new country" of Middle Florida. In letters home, Laura explicitly contrasted the disorder she noted in Florida with the order she associated with her previous homes in Virginia and in the nation's capitol. "There is a much greater want of comfort in this country than I had imagined— & than *you* had any conception of," she informed her parents. Racial hierarchies, in particular, were disrupted on the frontier. As an example of Tallahassee's shortcomings, Laura pointedly noted that "the negro-house oppo-

22. Shofner, *History of Jefferson County*, Chap. 2; Tebeau, *History of Florida*, Chap. 13, especially pp. 181-84. On women as civilizers on the western frontier, see for example Robert L. Griswold, "Anglo Women and Domestic Ideology in the American West in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in Lillian Schlissel, Vicki L. Ruiz, and Janice Monk, eds., *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives* (Albuquerque, 1988), 15-33.

23. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, September 30, 1827, Wirt Papers.

site ours [in Washington] is every whit as respectable looking as those that compose the town here." As a frontier mistress, Laura planned the Randall plantation in conscious contrast with the situation she found in Tallahassee. "They are bad house-keepers there," she wrote after visiting the home of William Pope DuVal, first territorial governor, and his wife. "There was found to be no white sugar for tea, & no coffee for their Brown Sugar, as they might have had in place if they had been as judicious house-keepers as I intend to be."²⁴

Southern hospitality had special significance on the Florida frontier. What Thomas Randall called "the hospitality of the house" necessitated an open-door policy on the part of those families who hoped to become the new territory's elite. Prospective settlers poured into the new territory in the 1820s and 1830s, and leading families like the Randalls and the Gambles were expected to supply these sojourners with a warm welcome, satisfying fare, and comfortable lodging.²⁵ "We have had company," Laura wrote from We-launee in December: "three gentlemen who had come out to look at lands in this neighbourhood, & took that opportunity to pay their respects here & at the same time ensure a good supper, lodging, & breakfast the next morning."²⁶ A few days later, Laura again commented on the country's practice of informal entertaining. "Land hunters are constantly pouring over the country & quartering themselves on private houses," she informed her mother, and the Randalls and their kin were "under the necessity of receiving half a dozen of these people politely & entertaining them as long as they choose to stay" with "no compensation."²⁷

The Randalls were well-placed to become leaders of the society they planned to establish. Laura described their home as "unsettled & unfinished," but even in its incomplete state, the two-story Randall home was a showpiece compared with many other homes in the area. Although the chimneys were made out of "mud" and the house was unplastered and unpainted, the house was embellished with glass windows. "Our place is one of the prettiest in Florida,"

24. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, October 13, 1827, Wirt Papers. On DuVal, see Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 121.

25. On population growth in Middle Florida, see Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 134.

26. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, December 15, 1827, Wirt Papers.

27. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, December 19-24, 1827, Wirt Papers.

Laura admitted, “& our house the best in this part of the country.”²⁸ In addition, Laura had access to many household goods that were not available in Tallahassee or even New Orleans. Elizabeth Wirt, like other elite southern women, outfitted her daughter with the goods she would need in her new home. Laura’s mother selected china, crystal, and furniture in Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Maryland, for the Randalls’ Florida home. She chose “the handsomest & best that could be commanded,” she explained, because entertaining would be important for “all the visitors that you will have.”²⁹

Proper southern hospitality depended on more than material goods, however; the work of household servants and slaves, supervised by a plantation mistress, was vital to successful entertaining. Here too, the Randalls had an important advantage over other settlers; William Wirt equipped the newlyweds with ten slaves to work their Florida plantation and to assist in the big house.³⁰ Like other planter brides, Laura was unacquainted with many basic house-keeping tasks; she would need skilled, experienced servants to assist her.³¹ From Tallahassee, Laura wrote in the fall to ask her parents to make sure that the slaves being purchased in Maryland for the Randalls would include “a good cook— that it is utterly impossible to find here,” she remarked, “& so much of the comfort of house-keeping depends on that”³² Shortly before Christmas, Laura was informed that the slave woman intended as a cook would not be forthcoming after all. “We are extremely disappointed at losing the Eastern shore Cook,” she wrote. “How shall I ever be able to teach one, knowing nothing about it myself?”³³

28. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth G. (Liz) Wirt, October 9, 1827 (first quotation); Laura Wirt Randall to Agnes Wirt, November 7, 1827 (second quotation), Wirt Papers. See also Shofner, *History of Jefferson County*, 28-29.

29. Elizabeth Wirt to Laura Wirt Randall, September 22, 1827, Wirt Papers. See also Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, October 19, 1827; Elizabeth Wirt to Laura Wirt Randall, November 13, 1827; Elizabeth Wirt to William Wirt, November 12, 13, 1827, Wirt Papers. See also Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, 25.

30. William Wirt to Thomas Randall, November 29, 1827, Wirt Papers.

31. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1988) 115-16. See also Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, 19.

32. Laura Wirt Randall to William Wirt, September 30-October 1, 1827, Wirt Papers. See also Elizabeth Wirt to Laura Wirt Randall, October 4, 1827, Wirt Papers.

33. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, December 15, 1827, Wirt Papers.

Like planter wives, the household workers in southern frontier households were often unwilling settlers. Laura was determined to acquire a "white maid" for her household. Although she eventually was successful in recruiting a woman named Rosetta Tscheffly, the search was a difficult one. "As to the white maid I see no chance of getting one to go from Washington," Elizabeth noted in June 1827, although "enough of them would be willing to serve her here."³⁴ However, black slaves, not white maids, would be Laura's principal household workers in Florida. Like their mistress and her white servant, slave women were reluctant—sometimes even rebellious—migrants to the frontier. When Elizabeth wrote to Laura to update her on the plans to purchase what she called "the *sable tribe*," she noted that the slaves would be sent by water, "that being the conveyance preferred on account of the security it affords in guarding against elopements."³⁵

Shortly after Christmas, the Randalls settled in their own home at Belmont, and Laura began her work as the mistress of a hospitable house in earnest.³⁶ From the very first days in her unfinished house, Laura recognized that her mission to make Belmont an example of southern hospitality would depend on the labor of several household workers. "At last, I am able to date from *home!*" she rejoiced in February 1828. "I ordered my first dinner at home. It consisted of your shoulders of bacon, my dear mother, & some of your Irish potatoes boiled & mashed . . ." Like most southern mistresses, Laura was primarily a manager; she relied on servants and slaves for both the expertise regarding, and the completion of, household tasks. "You would have laughed to see me the second day of my housekeeping," she remarked. "I had set down, very much fatigued with walking & bustling about . . . when Rosetta came to ask me about dinner— & two or three other dis-agreeable things requiring my attention at the time, I exclaimed in a tone of heartfelt 'O! I am so tired of housekeeping, I don't know what to do.' Since then, however, I find it easier, having made some preparatory arrangement for convenience, & am able to get along without much trouble. Rosetta saves me a great deal, & is very useful to me in a variety of ways." Though gaining confidence in her management skills, Laura knew that she would need to develop a staff of house-

34. Elizabeth Wirt to William Wirt, June 24, 1827, Wirt Papers.

35. Elizabeth Wirt to Laura Wirt Randall, October 4, 1827, Wirt Papers.

36. Thomas Randall to William Wirt, December 30, 1827, Wirt Papers.

hold workers quickly. Her early letters were filled with queries about the best way to train a chambermaid, which slave to select as a cook, and how to choose a slave as a waiter. Not until she had succeeded in acquiring these assistants would she be ready to entertain her fashionable neighbors. "You may be sure I shall not attempt a *dinner party* till I have a dining-room servant as well as a Cook," she assured her mother.³⁷

There was no time to waste, however, for within three weeks of their arrival, the Randalls played host to at least three groups of guests, ranging from a single man to what Thomas Randall called "a round of visitors." Most visitors arrived early and stayed late, and none gave notice of their intention to drop by. Laura wrote: "It is necessary to be dressed here, *Sundays* at least, & to have your house in order, as that is a '*very chief day*' . . . for visiting. We have had some company, (& to dinner too) every Sunday, since we have been in our house."³⁸

Laura's letters from her first year in Florida were filled with stories of last-minute dinner guests. "Let me see," she began one letter, "what have I done today?— Nothing worth reporting. I had intended to have sown the seeds of a good many vegetables— but before I could even set about it, Murat came— & only left us about Sun Set this even[in]:g. . . . When I saw Murat coming I said to Rosetta 'I hope he won't stay to dinner.' For, I remembered there was nothing ready for dinner but a cold Ham, which I had intended to serve ourselves, with the aid of some stewed dried-apples." However, Laura rose to the occasion. She abandoned the lemon pudding she was engaged in making to "join Murat . . . till Mr. R c[oul]d be called from the field." Still wearing her "yellow gingham wrapper," she hastily retired to change into more fashionable attire. In the meantime, Thomas Randall invited the visitor to dinner. "As soon as I heard Murat was to stay," recalled Laura, "I sent Rosetta to get the barrel of beef opened. . . . I ordered also a dish of fried Bacon & eggs.. We had also cheese, & warmed crackers— & my Lemon Cream which turned out very good. . . ." Despite the short notice, Laura was pleased that the event had gone so smoothly. In addition to the multiple course meal,

37. For all quotations, see Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, February 9-16, 1828, Wirt Papers. On mistress-servant relationships in southern households, see Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 112, 115-16, 135-42.

38. Thomas Randall to William Wirt, February 10, 1828 (first quotation); Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, February 22-24, February 26-March 8, 1828 (second quotation), Wirt Papers.

proper serving was vital to good southern hospitality. "We used *your* china, Mama," she noted. "That we use every day when we are alone is too common-looking when there is any one else."³⁹

Within a week, Laura had another story of social disaster narrowly averted by her own management and her slaves' labor. "I had the half barrel of cranberries (from N.O.) opened to-day," she noted, "& had just finished picking a bowl full, when Mrs Murat—Mr & Mrs Willis— & young Shacam stopped at the door to tell me they were going on to Uncle R.'s but w[oul]d. return to dinner with me. They had scarcely got out of sight when Homes, Ward, Braden & Greenup rode up." Proper etiquette required Laura to invite both sets of visitors to dinner. The Murats were some of the Randalls' nearest and wealthiest neighbors, while Dr. Joseph Braden, a Leon County planter, put up the first building on the site of present-day Bradenton with his brother Hector. Naturally Laura felt compelled to offer hospitality to these important visitors and their companions, although she was relieved when the second party declined. Perhaps noticing their hostess's consternation, they mentioned that they planned to dine elsewhere, "pretending," said Laura, "that they had merely intended to make a morn[in]g visit. . . I was very glad," she continued, "they w[oul]d not be pressed to stay to our dinner— which we assured them we expected." With the help of slave and servant women, Laura succeeded in offering her remaining guests a feast. She ordered her assistants to prepare salt beef, bacon, eggs, vegetables, and stewed apples; she provided the dessert herself. "I had my stewed cranberries for dessert, with some pastry biscuits;— and crackers & cheese," she noted. Laura concluded with satisfaction: "They were delighted with our house."⁴⁰

Southern hospitality required hostesses to keep a constant supply of food on hand and to be able to plan a dinner party on short notice. Even when no visitors were expected, Laura devoted a part of each day to preparing for the possibility of company. "I am in hopes it may rain," she wrote in March 1828, "& keep away Sunday visitors. I had some *cranberry & apple pies* made this evening to provide against emergencies. . . ."⁴¹

As Laura's reference to having pies "made" indicates, slaves and other house servants were indispensable contributors to the

39. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, February 26-March 8, 1828, Wirt Papers.

40. *Ibid.* On Braden, see Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 182-83.

41. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, March 13-16, 1828, Wirt Papers.

Randalls' success in meeting "emergencies" with equanimity. As Elizabeth Fox-Genovese points out in her study of black and white women in the plantation South, much of the work that white slaveholding women attributed to their own efforts actually was performed by slaves. Although usually phrased in terms of her own inconvenience, Laura's letters reveal how essential slaves and servants were to successful entertaining. She repeatedly referred to "ordering" dinner or to leaving the kitchen to the slaves while she entertained her visitors. A letter Laura wrote to her cousin demonstrated her dependence on her domestic assistants. "It irks me to be asked what I am to have for dinner, breakfast, or supper," she admitted, and she disliked having to "stay to see the table equipage washed up and arranged. . . ."⁴²

A plantation mistress needed to maintain control over her slaves and servants so that she could devote herself to her guests while the cooking and serving proceeded. Like many planter brides, Laura was inexperienced in housekeeping herself, and she found it especially difficult to direct her slaves at their work because of her own ignorance. A letter Laura wrote in late May revealed her dependence on her slaves. "It was impossible for me to write yesterday," she began.

You would have been sorry for me if you could have seen me in the anxieties of preparation for a dinner company, without a Cook or House-Serv[an]t that knew any thing of the business. . . . But the worst of it was, I had not only to leave the gentlemen in the dining room by themselves. . . . But to leave the ladies alone . . . from the period of their arrival till dinner was nearly ready to come in. For, happening to go out to the kitchen about an hour before dinner, I found every thing in the greatest confusion & backwardness. The only thing ready was the custard which I had made, myself, in the morn[in]:g— The cake was not half beat— The pudding was but just begun— But then, there was the lamb boiled all to pieces— And ready to come in— & the Boiled chickens? I asked for them— Emmeline [the Randall's slave cook] uncovered a little Pot, & shewed me

42. Laura Wirt Randall to Louisa Cabell Carrington, March 6, 1828, Randall Papers. See also Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 115-16.

three boiled chickens done all to pieces, & what was worse cut up, in the most curious manner you ever saw. . . .

When the slaves failed to measure up to Laura's standards, she was obliged to take over herself. "I had them [the boiled chickens] taken off & put aside, till the rest of the dinner sh[oul]d be finished," she continued, "& prepared with my own hands a sauce for them, of butter, cream, mace & wine, in which to warm them when they were to be dished, cutting up the rest of the carcass as well as I knew how." Laura then remained in the kitchen, hovering over the slave cook and the other servants as they cut up the fried chicken, carved the overcooked lamb, and made the fried potatoes. She emphasized her own contributions: "I had to stay in the kitchen, attending to everything, & doing almost every thing with my own hands," she wrote, "till my face was in a flame of heat & I was actually ashamed to come into the house." Once she had set things right in the kitchen, Laura continued, her trials were not yet over, for the dining room servant had set the table-cloth crookedly, misplaced the plates, and served the dishes wrong, so that Laura "c[oul]d stand it no longer, but got up & arranged them myself before all the company."⁴³

Despite her dissatisfaction with her slave assistants, Laura could not get along without them. As Fox-Genovese points out, for plantation mistresses, "relations with servants lay at the core of housewifery."⁴⁴ Laura continued to detail her difficulties in acquiring suitable domestic workers in subsequent letters. The greatest difficulty of all, she noted, was finding a good cook. "I have come to the final conclusion that I cannot do without one," she despaired in July. "I cannot get this woman after 2 months trial, to make any sort of bread fit to eat.— And her ignorance of the first *rudiments* of cooking, & my inability to teach her, are too much uncomfortable a state of things. Especially as it is impossible to avoid having company at your table frequently in this country— They will come— without waiting for an invitation."⁴⁵

Household management was only one of Laura's difficulties. She had her first child during the summer, and like other southern mothers, she nursed the child herself— a task, she remarked, that

43. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, August 10, 1828, Wirt Papers.

44. Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 116.

45. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, August 10, 1828, Wirt Papers.

prevented her from sleeping at night or from engaging in any sustained activity during the day.⁴⁶ However, Laura's responsibilities as a hostess did not slacken. She commented often on the frequency of drop-in visitors.⁴⁷ As Middle Florida became more settled, more and more entertaining focused on reciprocal exchanges of "family parties" and lavish dinner dances. "The family parties are to be kept up in the neighborhood it seems," Laura worried in July. "I don't know what I am to do. Unless I borrow a Cook, Provisions, & house serv[an]ts for the parties invited."⁴⁸

The Randalls and their neighbors entertained on an impressive scale. During the fall of 1828, the Murats and the Calls paid the Randalls an extended visit of several weeks. Such an occasion called for more than drinks and dinner. "I am going to attempt to give a dance to these ladies," Laura resolved. In addition to the Murats and the Calls, Laura invited "the two neighboring families & their guests— for they, too, were over-stocked with company. . . . The party went off very well & seemed to be very much enjoyed— it was after 12 I believe when it broke up."⁴⁹

Reciprocal patterns of hospitality bound together the great planters in Middle Florida, and an exchange of "family parties" was expected among the Randalls' circle. Anticipating the New Year's festivities in late 1828, Laura wrote to her mother: "I heartily wish [the Murats] w[oul]d not come so often into the neighbourhood as I feel under the necessity of doing my part of entertaining them, and it is no small effort . . . especially as Mr. R. joins both my Uncles in thinking that I ought to have them to dinner— an even[in]:g party not being Sufficient for them— because it does not give all the trouble possible, I suppose."⁵⁰

Despite occasional complaints, Laura continued to make southern hospitality central to her routine. Like other planter families,

46. For examples see Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, July 18-19, 26-27, August 10, 1828, Wirt Papers. Thomas Randall reported the birth on June 10. See Thomas Randall to Elizabeth and William Wirt, June 10, 1828, Wirt Papers. On breastfeeding, see Sally G. McMillen, *Motherhood in the Old South: Pregnancy, Childbirth and Infant Rearing* (Baton Rouge, 1990), Chap. 5.

47. See for example Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, August 20, December 18 20, 1828, Wirt Papers.

48. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, July 18-19, 1828, Wirt Papers.

49. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, August 31 (first quotation), September 6 (second quotation), 1828, Wirt Papers.

50. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, December 28, 1828, Wirt Papers. On local social activities, see Shofner, *History of Jefferson County*, 28-29.

the Randalls and their neighbors led isolated lives between visits, dinners, and dances. This was especially true for the women, who remained at home while their husbands roamed the plantation, made buying trips to nearby towns, or went away for weeks on end to take part in politics.⁵¹ Thomas Randall, as the judge of the Territorial Court of Appeals, was often away for several months at a time. In 1832, he was away from home from January until July. During this absence, he noted: "Laura complains sadly for her solitary life in my absence— Her engagement at home & devotion to her children afford her little chance for society. . . ." ⁵² By the time Randall wrote this letter, Laura had three children and left home rarely. Her social circle had become limited to her nearest neighbors and relatives, the Gambles, but "from the sickness of her Uncles family, she leads a very solitary life," he remarked.⁵³

Although entertaining company could be a welcome break from a steady routine on a lonely plantation, Laura's letters indicated that the practice of visiting was not merely a way for friends to maintain contact with each other. Hospitality was an indicator of class status; only lavish entertaining and an open-door policy could set the Randalls and their elite neighbors apart from the slaves that they called "the *sable tribe*" and the yeoman farmers that they dismissed as "the poor whites by whom most of this part of the Country is settled."⁵⁴ Laura was well aware of the social significance of her attempts at housekeeping. "Our House is the coolest, & sweetest-looking in Florida— & the admiration, & envy, of all who see it," she announced with satisfaction. "The gentlemen who staid here the other night came off delighted with our fixtures, & *my elegant house-keeping*." The combined efforts of Laura and her unwilling assistants were necessary to enable the Randalls to take their place among the leading planters in Jefferson County. "We do, live very comfortably," noted Laura, "& with more elegance than is usual in Florida, I suppose."⁵⁵

51. On plantation women's isolation, see Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, Chap. 9. On frontier mistresses' loneliness, kinship, and visiting, see Cashin, *Family Venture*, Chap. 4.

52. Thomas Randall to William Wirt, January 22, 1832, Wirt Papers. See also Thomas Randall to William Wirt, June 20, 1832, Wirt Papers.

53. Thomas Randall to William Wirt, April 18, 1832, Wirt Papers.

54. Elizabeth Wirt to Laura Wirt Randall, October 4, 1827 (first quotations); Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, November 8, 1827 (second quotation), Wirt Papers.

55. Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, May 11, 1828, Wirt Papers.

“Elegance” was achieved only through the unremitting labor of southern women. Laura did not record the difficulties her own slaves or servants faced. Although Laura and her slaves were both members of a woman’s world in which they bore many of the same burdens and were subject to the same man’s authority, this southern mistress’s correspondence gives no indication that Laura and her slaves shared a common identity. Nor did Laura express understanding for the slave women who, like herself, had moved away from their kin against their will. Like the plantation mistresses in Catherine Clinton’s study of white women in the Old South, Laura saw herself as a “slave of slaves.”⁵⁶ Despite her lack of sympathy for her bonded assistants, Laura’s letters paid eloquent testimony to the toll that entertaining took even on the mistress of a frontier plantation. Shortly after the birth of her third child, in 1831, she wrote: “The cares of maternity, and of housekeeping fall very heavily upon your humble servant, and truth to tell I am almost as tired of one as of the other.”⁵⁷ Two years later, after giving birth to a fourth child, Laura died at the age of thirty.⁵⁸

Laura Wirt Randall’s letters highlight the ultimate dependence of planter men on the women and slaves who reluctantly accompanied them to their new homes. While men who migrated from the older southern states to the southern frontier made their decision in order to enhance their opportunities for wealth, only the proper type of entertaining could give these men claim to elite planter status. The least willing settlers—women and slaves—were responsible for establishing a tradition of southern hospitality on the Florida frontier. Thus, southern women helped turn “the privations & hardships of a new country” into the genteel society of the Old South.

56. Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, Chap. 2. See also Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*. While these scholars find that mistresses and slave women were more often enemies than “sisters,” Suzanne Lebsock’s study of women in Virginia suggests that some mistresses had “personalistic” relations with individual slave women. See *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (New York and London, 1985), 137-41. Unlike the migrant women in Cashin’s study, Laura did not comment favorably on individual slaves, sympathize with their plight as unwilling settlers, or treat them with notable kindness. See Cashin, *Family Venture*, 115-18, 120-21.

57. Laura Wirt Randall to Louisa Cabell Carrington, May 23, 1831, Randall Papers.

58. Shofner, *History of Jefferson County*, 41.

City Planning in West Palm Beach During the 1920s

by JOHN F. EADES

IN 1922 members of the newly formed Planning Board of the City of West Palm Beach agreed to have their municipality enter into a contact with city planner John Nolen. At the time, Nolen's planning firm was the largest in the United States, and Nolen, along with a small host of other planners, was busy laying the cornerstones of the planning profession. The shaky business relationship between Nolen and West Palm Beach was a short one, lasting only about a year. By the time Nolen fulfilled his contractual obligations, the planning activity in West Palm Beach had fallen into utter disarray. This article addresses the motivations behind the first planning movement, its brief activity, and the several factors that contributed to the early demise of city planning in West Palm Beach.

The West Palm Beach planning movement began with an eager start and a seemingly promising role for the development of the city. The nascent planning profession of the 1920s more an amalgamation of emerging theories and basic practices regarding urban policy and urban design than a coherent discipline, did have the unique American character of solidly embracing American capitalism— not laissez-faire raw market capitalism, but stable, organized, corporate capitalism. An interesting confluence of events occurred in West Palm Beach in the 1920s when planning activity, under the auspices of the local planning board and its expert John Nolen and his firm, met with the raw market forces of unbridled land speculation— the Florida land boom from around 1924 to early 1926.¹

Scholars have concluded that American planning in the 1920s was motivated by economic imperatives. Planners of the 1920s for example, espoused the merits of scientifically allocating land for business in an urban space to meet the predetermined needs of an urban population. All this was to insure that urban areas would be

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1. George B. Tindall, "Bubble in the Sun," *American Heritage* 2 (August 1965), 76-83, 109-11.

efficient, less wasteful, and socially ordered. Controlled by a small elite corps of planners and civic leaders, planned cities would be an extension of the values of conservative, cautious businessmen. Planned cities would provide a controlled paternalistic authority over the spatial arrangement and business activity of the urban environment. Whether they heard about the new planning ideas in numerous popular magazines, the West Palm Beach leaders who gathered to form their planning committees did so in slow, economically placid times. When the trains and automobiles full of land-hungry buyers flooded into the local real estate offices to buy building lots in new subdivisions, the local planning activity sponsored by real estate businessmen collapsed. Its chief local proponents were pulled into the vortex of real estate activity, and John Nolen and the rest of the planning profession began heaping criticism on the rapid and wasteful growth of Florida cities. The West Palm Beach experience confirms that the pro-business stance of American city planning in its formative years was completely contrary to the unbounded capitalist form of speculative buying as evidenced during the Florida boom.²

Although the boom did much to lure away the early preplanning real estate businessmen who were the backbone of the West Palm Beach planning movement, the local government, from the start, complicated the entire process. The ideal for planners in creating well-planned small cities and towns was to create completely new towns. These garden cities or towns *de nova* had, as Nolen said, "No past to live down."³ Replanning and redesigning existing cities proved to be a much more challenging task than planning a new city. John Nolen realized in West Palm Beach that stable government was needed to effect his version of good planning. Nolen confided in the West Palm Beach planning board, "Without good government there is small prospect for good city planning."⁴ By the end of his contract, Nolen reflected frustration and general annoyance with the entire West Palm Beach affair.

Also described in this article is urban policy being discussed in an undemocratic way, and with some clear political and social agen-

2. See Richard E. Fogelson, *Planning the Capitalist City: The Colonial Era to the 1920s* (Princeton, NJ, 1986) and Blaine A. Brownell, *The Urban Ethos in the South, 1920-1930* (Baton Rouge, 1975), 171-89.

3. Quoted from John Nolen, "Venice, A City of Inspiration," *Voice News*, n.d., in John Nolen Collection, Cornell University.

4. John Nolen to Orrin Randolph, January 3, 1923, Nolen Collection.

das— namely the forced segregation of the city's black populations. City-bound masses do not have a history of clamoring to city planners for plans. When the planning profession was still coalescing in the 1920s, it was customary for a small group of businessmen, civic leaders, or boosters to call in planning experts. In the case of West Palm Beach, some local planning advocates clearly had their own economic agendas foremost in mind rather than service to the community. In fact, the planning process there insulated itself from public participation and proved unpopular once preliminary plans were revealed.

The transformation of West Palm Beach from wilderness scrub land to a city replete with skyscrapers took a little more than 30 years. This rapid growth from 1900 to 1930 was representative of Florida, a state that experienced an urbanizing trend 20 years before the rest of the South and earlier even than some midwestern states. The permanent population increased from about 1,700 in 1910 to 35,000 in 1925.⁵

West Palm Beach was laid out in August 1893 by surveyors and engineers of Henry M. Flagler's East Coast Railroad just as the railroad was being completed from its terminals in Jacksonville down the east coast of Florida. The West Palm Beach town site was situated on the waterfront directly across Lake Worth from the Palm Beach site Flagler had chosen for a hotel resort. The West Palm Beach town site was laid out as a one-half-mile-by-one-mile rectangle with a commonplace north-south, east-west, and highly commercially "exploitable" grid pattern of streets. The grid arrangement ignored the natural topography, which included lake frontage, the high elevation of an ancient dune line, and low-lying marshlands to the west. Except for two angled, short streets that branched off from one of the main east-west streets (Clematis Street) to form a "v"-shaped lakefront public common area, the plan mirrored the bulk of town site development in the United States.

From its incorporation in 1894, when land-clearing crews were still laying down street beds in complete wilderness until shortly after the end of World War I, West Palm Beach remained a sleepy town on Flagler's southwardly expanding railroad line. For many years the town was populated mostly by railroad and Palm Beach

5. Population data is from West Palm Beach Bicentennial brochure, 1976, and the West Palm Beach file, Historical Society of Palm Beach County (hereinafter HSPBC)

hotel construction crews. It slowly evolved from a railroad siding utility town to a permanent place of some economic vitality. Modest development of permanent buildings gradually took place over the 20-odd years from the late 1890s to around 1919. West Palm Beach had become the county seat of Palm Beach County when it was split from Dade County in 1909. By 1919 the city boasted a small central business district, an expanding outward growth of suburban-rural development, a large school building, and an impressive centralized county courthouse. Tourism, small farming, transportation, construction, and retail and wholesale trade sustained the city's few thousand residents.⁶

Post-war recession from 1920 to 1922 gripped the industrial areas of the nation, but steady construction and seasonal tourism kept the recession at bay in the Palm Beaches. Mansions, designed by Addison Mizner and other noted architects, were erected in Palm Beach, and new subdivisions were platted and built to the north and south of the original gridiron plan of centralized West Palm Beach. Following the affluent winter residents of Palm Beach were middle-class tourists who came in record numbers between 1915 and 1925. West Palm Beach also accommodated the new automobiles that appeared at the end of World War I. In 1918 the last link of the Dixie Highway was completed, and automobiles began their first forays into a city originally designed for pedestrian and bicycle traffic. Traffic congestion, poor roadways leading to the city, and inadequate utility services and facilities within the city reflected the lack of preparation for growth.

A West Palm Beach Tourists' Club was established in 1920 to insure that entertainment and assistance were provided for the annual influx of visitors. The tourists, coming from the recession-plagued midwestern and mid-Atlantic states in 1920, balked at the "profiteering" tactics of the innkeepers and complained about the deteriorating condition of West Palm Beach. The elected leadership of the city, sensitive to the needs of tourists and the economic windfall they brought, responded to the complaints. The mayor and other community leaders promised to make repairs and provide a better tropical resort city for tourists and potential residents alike.⁷

At the same time that tourists were bitterly complaining about conditions in the city, the federal government was looking across

6. Donald Curl, *Palm Beach County: An Illustrated History* (Northridge, Calif., 1986).

7. *Palm Beach Post*, January 16 ,23, 1920.

the nation for places to establish homes for returning soldiers. The Everglades to the west of the city was considered for a brief time as a settlement location, but federal officials deemed the area to be inadequate because of a lack of roads. The canal to the Everglades was too precarious to serve as the sole major route to the region since its water levels rose and fell at rates which were then beyond human control. Activity in the Everglades west of the city commanded the attention of many observers. By 1919 F. E. Bryant and W. J. Conners were spending large sums on model and commercial farms there. The fecundity of the Everglades was discussed extensively and observers speculated about the impact Everglades agriculture would have on West Palm Beach. Many community leaders thought it was time to plan the future of the city and prepare for the commercial bounty they predicted would pour in from the Everglades. West Palm Beach, it was believed, would no longer be solely a tourist destination since the "tourist crop" would be augmented by extensive agricultural commerce and trade. The five-month tourist season would be integrated with year-round agricultural commercial activity.⁸

City planning circulated widely in the popular press during the early 1920s. Many outside the profession saw planning as a quick panacea for sick cities. The allure of planning to the middle-class leaders of many cities was tempting since planning professionals were offering ideas and suggesting strategies for economic growth. West Palm Beach planning advocates felt they had ample evidence that planning worked and was needed to solve their city's problems. In 1920, West Palm Beach planning advocates had to look no further than six miles north to see the new city planning practices being realized in a large new town development called Kelsey City. The offices and promotional newspapers of Harry S. Kelsey's East Coast Finance Corporation flooded the region with announcements about the new planned town. The *Kelsey City News* of January 1920 gave an artist's conception of Kelsey City of the future. Kelsey promised that his new town would be a combined resort and agricultural prototype for the neighboring farming region.⁹

8. Roger W. Babson, "Bullish on the South: Depression in Business Passed by Florida," *Boston Transcript*, February 18, 1922, Nolen Collection; *Palm Beach Post*, April 14, 1919.

9. *Palm Beach Post*, January 24, November 30, 1919. *Kelsey City News*, January 1920, in Kelsey file, HSPBC.

In 1919 Kelsey and his wife left their Brookline, Massachusetts, home to spend the winter season in Palm Beach. Kelsey had just sold his chain of restaurants and, once in Palm Beach, he parlayed the proceeds into extensive Palm Beach real estate holdings. By December 1919 reports circulated that Kelsey had plans for his newly acquired property. The intriguing aspect of Kelsey's grand scheme, to many observers in West Palm Beach, and one of Kelsey City's most touted selling points, was that it was a completely "scientifically" designed city, laid out by the Olmsted firm, operated by the sons of Frederick Law Olmsted, the eminent landscape architect and city planning pioneer. The 1919 plan for Kelsey City incorporated innovative street arrangements, avenues to accommodate automobile traffic, ample public parks, land for public buildings, and a system of zoning that compartmentalized the city into residential, business, and industrial districts controlled through deed restrictions. Everything about Kelsey City was progressive, experimental, and demonstrative. This created a stir of excitement among community leaders in West Palm Beach.¹⁰

Kelsey, however, turned out to be a tragic figure in Florida real estate development. He did not capitalize quickly on his investment. The entire street system and utilities infrastructure of the Olmsted plan were put in place by local contractors before his sales team offered lots for sale. Kelsey also had a genuine concern about the state's weak economy and sought to provide economic viability for the town by granting generous incentives to small industries to settle there. The planning and long-term strategies were not enough to prevent financial ruin in the wake of the 1926 Florida land market collapse. By 1928 Kelsey and his town were bankrupt, and the state had revoked the Kelsey City municipal charter. The town formed again during the depression under the new name of Lake Park.

Successful New York realtor, banker, and subdivision developer Alfred H. Wagg joined the Kelsey City sales force in 1920. Wagg quickly became a convert to the ideas of the city planning movement. Its practicality and impact on real estate values made Wagg enthusiastic for planning. He became an avid spokesman for planning in West Palm Beach where he had several large land holdings and a subdivision development of his own. The quintessential real estate

10. Numerous articles from the *Palm Beach Post* cover the early founding of Kelsey City. See Kelsey City file, HSPBC.

salesman— a Babbit-like town booster and gadfly— Wagg, son of a Methodist minister, was orator and toastmaster at nearly every social club in West Palm Beach. His business and social activities eventually led to his election as state senator in 1926. Through his work at Kelsey City, Wagg became associated with John Nolen who was hired for a modest fifty dollars to consult on the Kelsey City project.¹¹

The combination of tourist dissatisfaction and the example of Kelsey City prompted a small group of West Palm Beach boosters, community leaders, and especially real estate interests, in conjunction with the city's administration, to prepare a new city charter in 1921. Among the provisions of the charter revision were a substantial enlargement of the city's boundaries, a new system of government that divided the city into three boroughs, and the creation of a new arm of city government to be known as the City Planning Board of West Palm Beach.¹²

During the formative years of 1920-1921, when West Palm Beach boosters coalesced to form the two informal civic planning organizations, support for planning varied among different groups. All influential civic and commercial groups generally favored planning, but their own ideas of what planning entailed differed. Members of the Women's Club became supporters of local planning because of the moral uplift and aesthetics associated with the City Beautiful movement, spawned by the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. The residual effects of the City Beautiful movement and later City Monumental movement also generated support for local planning initiatives among some members of the Rotary, Masons, and Chamber of Commerce.

Even by 1920, City Beautiful themes remained popular among the general public in West Palm Beach. The city's business elites, primarily the larger real estate developers and principal taxpayers, found more substance in the emerging City Efficient movement offered by the nascent planning profession. City Efficient ideas were concerned with social control and economic activity stimulated through planning. The City Efficient movement called for experts. When the proponents of City Efficient methods failed to rally widespread support for their ideas in West Palm Beach and to spend municipal dollars for experts, they lapsed back to the popular strains of City Beautiful themes to enlist support from influential

11. See Alfred Wagg file, HSPBC.

12. *Laws of Florida, 1921, Special Acts*, vol. 2, 2225-29.

members of various civic groups. While Nolen urged the downplaying of aesthetic enhancement, it seems that some important supporters of planning were more interested in making the city a prettier place than they were in making it a more efficient one.

After cutting away some of the boundaries of the proposed charter revision, the state legislature approved it in 1921. In December of that year a planning board of nine members met to plan for the future of the city. In 1921, however, there was little legal precedent for a strong planning board. The planning profession itself was considering the legalities of such an agency having strong police powers over private property. The City Planning Board of West Palm Beach, then, was only an advisory committee of nine unpaid community and business leaders. Through his business dealings at Kelsey City, Wagg became a strong proponent for bringing John Nolen to West Palm Beach to prepare a plan for the city. Wagg had joined Nolen on a tour of European cities just months before his appointment to the West Palm Beach planning board. The city commission demanded that competitive bids be obtained instead of simply hiring Nolen. Once the bids were received, Wagg got his way, and Nolen was awarded a contract to prepare a plan for the redesigning of West Palm Beach. Citing budgetary constraints, the city commission was slow to sign the contract. For \$6,500, Nolen would survey the city and provide a general plan for development. At about the same time in 1922, planning officials in St. Petersburg, Florida, also awarded a contract to Nolen for similar planning services.¹³

It is revealing that the data Nolen gathered for his planning design and study for West Palm Beach consisted mostly of local brochures, maps from local developers, and short, formal interviews with the planning board members. Nolen conducted his surveys and returned to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to begin working out an interim report and preliminary plan which he submitted at the end of 1922.

The sharpest reaction to Nolen's preliminary plan came from city manager Karl Riddle. Riddle became convinced that the city would benefit most by implementing some type of zoning law. He also expressed concern about the "protection of investments" of existing landholders, of which he was one. The reception of Nolen's preliminary report and plan actually heralded the end of

13. Minutes, City Planning Board of West Palm Beach, January 6, 1922 to April 7, 1922.

the first planning movement in the city. City commissioners voiced the opinion that it was unworkable. After several joint meetings between December 1922 and March 1923, the city commission and planning board decided to follow their city manager's advice and study the question of zoning. The vehement specter of racial hatred came to the fore in the initial zoning meetings when the city's new mayor made allusions to razing black neighborhoods. Several commissioners wanted to relocate the blacks to marshlands west of the city. Lengthy transcripts of the joint meetings were sent off to Nolen so he could adjust his plans accordingly. Nolen, however, did not follow the exact dictates from the city agencies.¹⁴ Furthermore, in late 1922, the city had embarked on improvement projects of street widening and repair, as well as sewer and sidewalk installation. All of the improvements were funded through a series of unprecedented large bond issues. Land in the city was changing ownership and being parceled up at an accelerated rate during this time.

Nolen finished the final West Palm Beach general plan, divided among nine separate maps and a 66-page report, and sent it to the planning board in June 1923. The report was extremely general and concentrated on problems such as the relocation of the existing railroad and traffic congestion. It placed more emphasis on viability than on resort-like ambiance for the city. The report presented nothing new to residents. The general plan had all of Nolen's trademark features—ample parks, “formal, almost baroque” street arrangements, and a detailed civic center that would serve as the heart of the city. Separate colored planning maps included specifics for thoroughfare and park placement and a zoning scheme that recommended where blacks should be resettled.¹⁵

At the same time, in mid-1923, a new charter for St. Petersburg passed the state legislature. The St. Petersburg “law with claws” provided for detailed zoning laws and a stronger planning commission with elaborate police powers conferred to the city commission. Fearing that the new laws would create a “political junta,” invade the “privacy of homes,” and give the planning commission “arbi-

14. *Ibid*, December 15, 1922; “City Planners Send Nolen's Scheme Back to Him for Revision,” *Palm Beach Post*, c. 1922, Nolen Collection.

15. John Nolen, “City Planning Proposal, West Palm Beach, 1923,” in Nolen Collection; Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969), 233.

trary power,” the voters of St. Petersburg rejected the new charter.¹⁶ The St. Petersburg defeat did not bode well for the proponents of planning in West Palm Beach.

Perhaps sensing the impending failure of planning, one-third of the planning board members resigned after the St. Petersburg decision. Planning advocates Alfred Wagg and Orrin Randolph cited pressing personal and business matters as reasons for their resignations. It is interesting that Alfred Wagg immediately began buying up parcels of West Palm Beach land and developing tracts for industrial use. These areas were situated on the soon-to-arrive Seaboard Airline Railroad running through the city from Okeechobee to Lemon City, Wagg also had business interests in subdivision developments in the southern portion of the city. Randolph continued to develop the Northwood subdivision area which comprised a large section of the northern part of the city.

It is easy to identify the key people involved in bringing planning ideas into circulation in West Palm Beach. They were essentially the same people who served on the first planning board and some of the city's leaders. These planning advocates were also principle landholders and developers. Although their actions introduced planning ideas and a quasi-official planning board to the city of West Palm Beach in sluggish economic times just after World War I at the advent of the boom, many of these same people abandoned the planning process to become participants in the speculative frenzy of the time. The Florida land boom rendered impossible the controlled growth and development necessary for the maintenance of stable land values. Greed and raw market forces, especially during 1924-1925, scuttled the first real planning action in West Palm Beach.

For months, between late 1923 and late 1925, the city commission failed to appoint new members to the vacant positions on the planning board, and the board itself conducted no meetings. In early 1924 construction activity accelerated in the city. New subdivisions were built without the board's approval. On a trip to the city in 1924, Nolen observed “great progress” in construction but little opportunity to provide for the future. As the Florida boom reached a peak in 1924-1925, new subdivisions and other development

16. The *St. Petersburg Independent* opposed the charter while the *St. Petersburg Times* generally supported it. The St. Petersburg voters rejected the document by a vote of 934 to 138 according to the *Palm Beach Post*, September 2, 1923.

projects were proposed for large amounts of city space. The areas Nolen had planned for parks and thoroughfares quickly disappeared under the gridiron street arrangements of the many new residential subdivisions. Nor did the city government— which had changed several times between 1923 and 1925— find a justification for the costs which would have been involved in condemning private property for public purposes as Nolen had recommended.

The city became a patchwork of private developments. In September 1925 the *Palm Beach Post* reported that the West Palm Beach planning board was considered “virtually extinct.” New commissioners and a new mayor witnessed the phenomenal growth and quietly lamented that millions of dollars in public improvement work failed to keep up with the demands of the burgeoning city.

Soon after the land boom collapsed in early 1926, the West Palm Beach planning board was quickly reconstituted with new members. It secured a group of national planning experts to guide and advise the city on future planning. Even though the open expanses which Nolen had planned were gone, there were other planning considerations such as more detailed engineering for utilities. Along with the engineering consultants, the city hired Charles Leavitt to advise on overall planning and Robert Whitten, a national zoning expert, to guide it through the legal ramifications of implementing a zoning system. With characteristic boom-time hyperbole, the city manager proclaimed that West Palm Beach had assembled the “strongest and most noted advisory board ever retained by any city in the United States.”¹⁷

In 1926 Nolen toured both St. Petersburg and West Palm Beach when the National Conference on City Planning held its 18th annual convention in St. Petersburg and Palm Beach. The concerns expressed by the nation’s top planners received little attention in West Palm Beach. The planners’ criticisms of the mistakes Florida had made were less interesting to the local people than remarks that Florida had nothing to fear from competition from California. Nolen had once described Florida as the “last frontier of the United States” and the most promising for planning new

17. The appointment of Whitten was remarkable because of his controversial views on racial zoning in Atlanta. See Brownell, *Urban Ethos*, 184; and Seymour I. Toll, *Zoned American* (New York, 1968), 262. The zoning law adopted by West Palm Beach was a standardized one, segregating types of residential and commercial structures. See *Palm Beach Post*, September 19, 1925.

cities that “had no past to live down.” The list of his Florida projects includes the redesign plans of St. Petersburg; numerous subdivisions such as Tamiami city in Dade county, Maximo Estates near St. Petersburg, Orangetown near Fort Myers; and cities, as Venice and Clewiston, started from absolutely clean slates. Nolen’s shaky relationship with West Palm Beach had eroded completely by 1927.¹⁸

The end of the boom gradually pushed the city, and the rest of boomtime Florida, into recession. Many improvement projects were abandoned and citizens began voting against bond issues. City planning became a function of the city’s engineering department and later became a separate branch in the city government. Planning experts and consultants were quickly replaced with financial consultants to help the city deal with its burden of bond indebtedness. The city landscape, especially the downtown area centering on Clematis Street, remained virtually unchanged until after World War II. Even then, development was slow until it began to pick up in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The vital center of the city languished as sprawl and fringe development took over the role of downtown.

The rapid growth of West Palm Beach was the result of extensive private investment in numerous subdivisions and business blocks. Until the collapse of the boom in 1926, private enterprise operated with little or no governmental power to control the rapid, sometimes frenzied, development. Much to the dismay of planners, cautious, planned, regulated growth was ignored while the city grew rapidly according to the caprice of private investors.

Historians, mainly those drawn from the planning profession, have been more inclined than others to make perfunctory, reductionist conclusions about the desirability and effectiveness of the early planning movement. They often conclude that past planning was either a success or failure— either plans were implemented as designed or plans were shelved and forgotten. In the case of planning in West Palm Beach during the 1920s, the judgement has been fairly conclusive that the planning board and Nolen, despite his planning acumen, failed.¹⁹ Although West Palm Beach quietly shelved the planning results of Nolen’s labors, either-or, success-or-

18. Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890*, 234; John Hancock, “New Towns in Florida,” in *The New City*, ed. Jean F. Lejune (University of Miami, 1991), 74.

19. Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890*, 234-37; Hancock, “New Towns in Florida,” 69.

failure conclusions are hardly adequate. West Palm Beach was not entirely a city planning failure. The planning experience in the city in the early 1920s progressed haltingly, with remarkable inefficiency and undemocratic furtiveness, but still it managed to produce some positive results. The introduction of controlled zoning in West Palm Beach in 1926 based on drafts of standardized zoning laws, and the raised consciousness of city leaders to planning and the ultimate view that planning is a function of local government stand atop the achievements made through the planning experience of the 1920s.

The Frogmen in Florida: U.S. Navy Combat Demolition Training in Fort Pierce, 1943-1946

by ROBERT A. TAYLOR

ONE of the most serious challenges facing the Allies in World War II was the necessity of conducting amphibious landings against fortified enemy coasts. German and Japanese engineers shaped concrete, metal, and wood into a variety of fixed obstacles designed to damage or destroy landing craft and stop an invasion before it ever could really begin. By the end of 1942 American military planners were already pondering how to smash through such defenses so the European continent could be liberated from the Nazis. Soldiers, sailors, and civilian scientists sought a mechanical means of removing these sometimes ingenious traps. In the end, however, it was decided that these man-made obstacles would have to be tackled by a special breed of sea-going warriors. These warriors learned their dangerous trade in Florida's waters and on its beaches.¹

Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander in Chief, U.S. Fleet, issued special orders on May 6, 1943, creating a program designed to train Navy sailors as members of small units with the mission of demolishing enemy beach obstacles up to the high tide mark. These demolition teams had the highest priority and were "a present urgent requirement" in the minds of senior naval commanders.² To head this all-out effort a Reserve lieutenant commander named Draper L. Kauffman was ordered from his honeymoon and his assignment at the Naval Bomb-Disposal School near Washington, DC. Few realized that Kauffman would go on to create, train, and lead into action the Navy's soon-to-be famous "frogmen."

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1. For American amphibious operations during World War II see Samuel E. Morison, *The History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, 15 vols., (Boston, 1947-1962), and John A. Lorelli, *To Foreign Shores: U.S. Amphibious Operations in World War II* (Annapolis, Md., 1995).
2. Quoted in Francis D. Fane and Don Moore, *The Naked Warriors: The Story of the U.S. Navy's Frogmen* (New York, 1956, reprint edition, Annapolis, Md., 1995), 13.

Kauffman's inauguration as the founding "father of demolition" is less surprising after a look at his background. A Naval Academy class of 1933 graduate, he was denied a naval officer's commission due to poor eyesight. Undaunted by this setback, the plucky sailor enlisted in the Volunteer American Ambulance Corps in 1940. When France fell Kauffman spent several months in a German prison camp. But when he finally returned to England he promptly signed on with the Royal Navy where he soon became a bomb disposal officer and demolition expert. He transferred to the U.S. Navy in 1941 as a battle-tested veteran officer, and, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, won a Navy Cross by deactivating unexploded Japanese bombs without even a clear notion of their configuration. With his personal courage and leadership abilities, Kauffman proved an excellent choice to begin a naval combat demolition program. Ironically, he would be the only Navy frogman in World War II who did not volunteer for this daunting assignment.³

When Kauffman opened his orders, he began asking how he should proceed. Nothing like this had ever been done by the Navy. A staff officer explained that he should "pick a place to train your people, probably an amphibious base, and you can have anybody you want, but don't forget speed is essential, speed is the core of the whole thing."⁴ The lieutenant commander received photographs of German sea obstacles and unlimited authority and resources to defeat them. Men were available from the Mine and Bomb-Disposal School and the famed Construction Battalions (Seabees). By 1945 volunteers came from almost every sector of the Navy.

After touring naval bases on the Atlantic coast, Kauffman paid a visit to the newly created Amphibious Training Base at sleepy Fort Pierce, Florida. This facility proved to be perfect for a combat demolition school. First, warm waters and good year-round weather offered excellent training potential. Second, the base commander, Captain Clarence Gulbranson, became an enthusiastic supporter of the project and offered the use of his site including the uninhabited northern half of Hutchinson Island above the Fort Pierce Inlet. Third, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers had established its own beach obstacle test base on the same North Island. Such close

3. Draper L. Kauffman, "Reminiscences of Rear Admiral Draper L. Kauffman, U.S. Navy (Ret.)," Oral History Department, U.S. Naval Institute, 1978-1979, Vol. 1, 1-2, 171 (used with permission).

4. Kauffman, "Reminiscences," Vol. 1, 158.

proximity ensured cooperation between the two mission-related military camps.⁵

Amphibious Training Base-Fort Pierce had been hacked out of the pine forest on south Hutchinson Island in January 1943 and conditions there were little better than would be found in the forward areas on Pacific islands. Kauffman and his first three officers moved into a tent near the beach and began figuring out exactly what to train their volunteer force to do and how to go about doing it. Fortunately, a model already existed in a joint Army-Navy commando unit based on the island. Called the Scouts and Raiders, this unit was training to perform secret beach reconnaissance and mark invasion beaches for incoming land craft. Since physical conditioning was an integral part of their eight-week Raider training course, Kauffman proposed that they condense their course into a one-week indoctrination class for his new naval demolition students. The Raiders, miffed at what they saw as interlopers in their area of operations, were more than happy to give the future frogmen the lessons of their lives.⁶

Lieutenant Commander Kauffman had some five officers and 35 enlisted men, mostly ex-Seabees, in Fort Pierce by mid-July ready to begin an unknown and highly dangerous assignment. These volunteers all were under the age of 28 and had joined this new unit because of its sure promise of early overseas action. When the Raiders began their one-week indoctrination course, Kauffman lead all the officers and enlisted sailors through what soon became the toughest physical and mental challenge they would face outside of combat itself. Under the blazing Florida sun the would-be demolitioners were run ragged by the gleeful Raider instructors in what would soon be known to all frogmen based in Fort Pierce as "Hell Week." Trainees dashed for miles, ran through obstacle courses, paddled rubber boats in the ocean and the Indian River, and then carried the heavy craft through snake- and alligator-infested waters.

5. U.S. Navy, Atlantic Fleet Amphibious Training Command, "A Pictorial History of Training Activities, Naval Amphibious Training Base, Fort Pierce, Florida," 1945 (microfilm copy available at the Saint Lucie County Public Library, Fort Pierce, Fla.), 1-2, 30; *The Mock Up* (Amphibious Training Base - Fort Pierce newspaper), January 26, 1946; Blanche D. Coll et al., *The United States Army in World War II, The Technical Services: The Corps of Engineers: Troops and Equipment* (Washington, DC, 1958), 473.

6. Kauffman, "Reminiscences," Vol. 1, 167-168; John B. Dwyer, *Scouts and Raiders: The Navy's First Special Warfare Commandos* (Westport, Conn., 1993), 1-3.

After days of 16-hour long sessions, the Raiders capped off their exercise with "So Solly Day," a non-stop barrage of running on beaches and through swamp water while being pummeled by hand grenade-wielding instructors. By the end of this first "Hell Week" some 40 percent of the first combat demolition class had either quit or were in the base hospital with a variety of injuries.⁷

Kauffman remembered this first "Hell Week" as "a miserable week" that almost finished him.⁸ But he knew that if his men were to succeed on enemy beaches that they must be as tough as the steel and concrete they would be blasting. Only special individuals could survive this training ordeal, and such were the men that Kauffman wanted and needed. The beaches and waters around Fort Pierce became the testing ground for many young sailors who later went on to become frogmen. One member of the Naval Combat Demolition Unit's first class later wrote that "many times I wanted to lie down and cry but the sand fleas and mosquitoes wouldn't let me."⁹ Graduates of "Hell Week" and the rest of the initial eight-to-nine week course developed a confidence and esprit de corps that soon welded them into an elite unit.

Naval combat demolition trainees at Fort Pierce worked as part of a six-man team of one officer and five enlisted men known as Naval Combat Demolition Units or NCDU's. Each NCDU had its own inflatable rubber boat for surveying beaches and for carrying explosives and other needed equipment. Clad in heavy helmets, fatigues, boots, and life jackets, these early demolition men were, surprisingly enough, not expected to be strong swimmers. In fact, they were prohibited from entering the waters without a life belt and line. The intensity of the training formed strong bonds between NCDU members who soon gave themselves nicknames like "Smokey's Demolitioneers," "Milner's Floating Dutchmen," or "Wakefield's Midway Belles."¹⁰

While demolition men had great confidence in their ability to accomplish their stated mission, others had serious doubts. A panel of civilian scientists forming the Demolition of Obstacles to Landing Operations Committee of the National Defense Research

7. Fane and Moore, *Naked Warriors*, 18-20.

8. Kauffman, "Reminiscences," Vol. 1, 168.

9. Quoted in Orr Kelly, *Never Fight Fair!: Navy SEALs Stories of Combat and Adventure* (Novato, Calif., 1995), 12.

10. Fane and Moore, *Naked Warriors*, 19. NCDU nicknames are taken from inscriptions on team photographs in the UDT-SEAL Museum in Fort Pierce, Fla.

Council supervised various experiments in Fort Pierce in hopes of devising methods of invasion obstacle disposal. While the scientists had the highest regard for the “highly-trained, well skilled, well-conditioned and daring USN demolition squads,” they feared the task given them was beyond their means. In reports they noted how demolition training was done in warm Florida waters and in mild surf, conditions not likely to be found off the coast of France. It often took considerable time during drills to find and destroy test obstacles set up on North Island even in daylight with advance knowledge of their locations. Scientists concluded that relying solely on human-placed explosive charges meant heavy casualties among the demolitioners and in the end possible disaster for the landing they were supporting. Tests of various mechanical clearing devices, like the radio-directed “Apex” boats, continued at Fort Pierce into 1944, but in the end only the frogmen would be ready for use in the upcoming invasion of Europe.¹¹

Since amphibious landings were conceived as joint Army-Navy affairs it was quite obvious that the services would have to work together despite their long-standing argument over which would be in charge of landing operations. The Scouts and Raiders began as a dual unit, and, late in 1943, there was an attempt to do the same for beach obstacle removal. In December, six officers and 120 Army enlisted men from the 299th Combat Engineer Battalion underwent combat demolition training at the Navy’s Fort Pierce school. Army training graduates combined with 18 NCDUs to participate in a full-scale test of beach obstacle clearance techniques in February 1944.¹²

A high-level delegation of over a hundred military and civilian leaders headed by Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy traveled to Fort Pierce for two days of demonstrations of all methods devised to that date for opening beaches which would be used in the scheduled Normandy landings. As the officials watched from a

11. Office of Scientific Research and Development, Demolition of Obstacles to Landing Operations Committee, “Committee Report, January 1, 1944,” Record Group 227, Box 458, File 1, pp. 7-8, National Archives, Washington, DC. See also Lincoln R. Thiesmeyer and John B. Burchard, *Combat Scientists* (Boston, 1947), 374-75.

12. U.S. Navy, Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, “U.S. Naval Administration in World War II: A History of the Amphibious Training Command, United States Atlantic Fleet . . .” 2 vols., Vol. 2, Chapter XII, 83, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, Washington, DC.

landing craft fitted with bleachers, north Hutchinson Island beaches were bombed by the Army Air Force, rocketed from the sea, and blasted by all manner of explosive devices. Combat demolition men put on an exercise which simulated a night sneak assault on an enemy beach. Calm seas, bright sunshine, and low tide helped make this display of hand-placed charges a success. However, the civilian scientists still had major doubts and one later wrote that "nothing has occurred to change our previous view that these are not practical on an assault of any consequence or once the enemy has been alerted."¹³ In the end the frogmen would be the only viable solution to the pressing problem of who could be ready by the planned D-Day operation.

A key element in conducting such tests and training demolition personnel was a constant supply of new steel, cement, and wooden obstacles for them to destroy. Lieutenant Commander Kauffman managed to obtain the services of Construction Battalion Detachment 1011 for the fabrication of new obstacles along the beaches of northern Saint Lucie County. Kauffman believed these Seabees "absolutely invaluable" to the Fort Pierce combat demolition school. Competition between the construction men and frogmen trainees grew as each tried to outdo the other in either creating or blasting replicas of German or Japanese beach obstacles. Eventually many of the Seabees admitted defeat and volunteered for the combat demolition program.¹⁴

The year 1944 was pivotal in the history of Navy frogmen and their Fort Pierce school. Alumni of the program journeyed to England to prepare for their role in the upcoming invasion of the continent. On June 6, 1944, the NCDUs and their Army comrades led the way ashore and attempted to clear paths for following troops. Frogmen suffered grievous losses of over 50 percent on Omaha Beach alone, confirming the fears of the scientists back in Florida. But the hardy survivors of the first hellish minutes on the

13. Office of Scientific Research and Development, Office of Field Service, "History of the Demolition of Obstacles to Landing Operations (DOLO) Committee," Record Group 227, Box 282, Folder 8, p. 44, National Archives, Washington, DC: Alfred M. Beck et al., *The United States Army in World War II, The Technical Services: The Corps of Engineers: The War Against Germany* (Washington, DC, 1975), 305.

14. Kauffman, "Reminiscences," Vol. 1, 170-71; U.S. Navy, Construction Battalion Detachment 1011, "Seabees-United States Amphibious Training Base, Ft. Pierce, Fla.," 1945(?), 32-47, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

beach persevered in their mission, proving the value of the physical regimen instilled at Fort Pierce. Demolition men saw service on Utah Beach and many of these sailors later worked off the coast of southern France in support of the landings there in August.¹⁵

NCDU veterans of D-Day eventually returned to Florida for rest and reorganization. The practice of rotating experienced frogmen in and out of the Combat Demolition School helped in no small way to make the training relevant for those yet to see service overseas, and became standard procedure for the remainder of the war. Besides rest, these brave demolitioners received some of the minimal public praise they garnered on the home front. Due to the top-secret nature of their activities, there was little public recognition of their feats. A special ceremony held in Fort Pierce on October 27, 1944, to commemorate Navy Day also featured recognition of the NCDU sailors' role in the Overlord invasion. Base commander Captain Gulbranson reminded Fort Pierce Mayor B. Arnold and all others assembled that "today we honor members of a Naval Combat Demolition Unit that was trained here and went abroad to its duty with valor."¹⁶ Such words meant much to the frogmen, who, due to security restrictions, often could not even inform family members of their perilous work.

The Pacific theater of operations began capturing the attention of naval combat demolition and the Fort Pierce school in 1944. Amphibious landings in the Pacific were especially hazardous due not only to Japanese defenses but to the unknown nature of the islands and surrounding waters themselves. An unexpected reef turned the November 1943 landings on Tarawa into a bloody battle with heavy U.S. Marine casualties. Navy leaders hoped that the new NCDUs could help, and their development received the highest priority in the region. Fort Pierce-trained NCDU men found themselves in the Hawaiian islands where they were organized in larger Underwater Demolition Teams or UDTs of over 100 officers and men each. By 1945 some 34 such teams were deployed with over 3,500 frogmen present for duty.¹⁷ Most of them were graduates of Fort Pierce instruction, which meant that the Florida facil-

15. Fane and Moore, *Naked Warriors*, 65-68; Interview with Angeles T. Chatas, June 27, 1994.

16. Fort Pierce *News-Tribune*, October 27, 1944; *The Mock Up*, October 27, 1944.

17. Kevin Dockery, *SEALS in Action* (New York, 1981), 45.

ity had to operate at capacity to educate and condition the needed demolition specialists.

The demands of Pacific operations differed from those of Europe, which necessitated a change in the Fort Pierce training doctrine. Strong swimmers using face masks would replace the use of rubber boats to a large degree in approaching enemy-held island beaches. A quick swimmer delivery and recovery system using landing craft called "casting," a tactic devised off Fort Pierce, was used with great success in the Pacific. Frogman beach reconnaissance of islands before landing operations commenced became standard by mid-1944, and these swimmers brought back priceless information that saved countless American lives. The UDTs soon became legends, with one admiral labeling them simply "half fish and half nut."¹⁸

Instructors back at Fort Pierce worked diligently to fill the manpower needs of the new UDTs. Upon arrival at the base some 20 percent of potential recruits were cut after physical examination and personal interviews. Next, "Hell Week," with its miles of running, obstacle courses, and explosions, accomplished its task of further thinning trainee ranks. A heavier emphasis on endurance swimming now marked training and graduates were required to complete a one-mile swim. By 1945 students also received shallow diving drills in a North Island pool filled with murky water. Little was done with underwater breathing devices except for some instruction with primitive rigs such as the Momsen "lung" or the "Jack Brown" rebreather. Underwater technology would not catch up with frogman needs until well after World War II when advances in aqualung design made it possible for UDT men to operate under water.¹⁹

After such initial work students went on to advanced demolition courses consisting of two one-week sessions. The first, known as "Standard Week," covered beach reconnaissance techniques and how to quickly and effectively destroy enemy-placed obstacles. The second, the "Pay-Off" course, was something akin to a frogman final examination. Swimmers drew specific areas of coastline on southern Hutchinson Island between Jensen Beach and Stuart in

18. Fane and Moore, *Naked Warriors*, 92; Dockery, *SEALS*, 30-31; Morrison, *United States Naval Operations*, Vol. 14, 120-21.

19. Darryl Young, *SEALS, UDT, Frogmen: Men Under Pressure* (New York, 1994), 48-50; Kelly *Never Fight Fair!*, 14.

Martin County to survey and actually blow up landing obstacles constructed there by the Seabees. Many of these were booby-trapped with real plastic explosives to simulate actual combat conditions. Successful completion of both courses meant a transfer to Maui for even more advanced instruction, then assignment to an operational UDT.²⁰

Despite all the efforts of the staff at the Fort Pierce school, some complaints did surface about the quality of its graduates. Some Pacific UDT veterans thought Fort Pierce training not as applicable to Pacific conditions as it could be. Rear Admiral R. O. Davis of the Pacific Fleet's Amphibious Training Command complained in December of 1944 that sailors destined for underwater demolition work were still poor swimmers. "Most of those men came from Fort Pierce where they were supposed to be wonderfully trained," Davis wrote, but "we have gotten two groups lately and they have been terrible."²¹ It is interesting that this charge came from a staff officer and not a front-line commander who had witnessed the high level of frogman competence in many operations across the Pacific.

With constant physical activity that often pushed men to the limits of endurance and the almost daily use of explosives and firearms, apprentice frogmen suffered at times from serious injuries. The Amphibious Training Base hospital frequently treated students for duty-related ailments. For some, recovery proved impossible. In April 1945 Gunner's Mate First Class Carroll B. Prall died as a result of drowning during a test of a new type of diving gear in shallow water off the Fort Pierce coast. Another frogman, W. W. Irish of UDT 3, was killed during maneuvers in the same general area only three months later. Despite such losses the safety record of the combat demolition program in Florida was generally good in spite of the dangerous nature of such work.²²

20. U.S. Navy, Underwater Demolition Team 27, "History of Underwater Demolition Team 27," World War II Shore Establishments, Operational Archives, Box 460, File 26, p. 5, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, Washington, DC; Edward T. Higgins, *Webfooted Warriors: The Story of a "Frogman" in the Navy During World War II* (New York, 1955), 35-36.

21. U.S. Navy, Records of the Naval Operating Forces, Atlantic Fleet Training Command, Unclassified General Administrative Files, "Conference Minutes, December 23, 1944," Record Group 313, Box 715, File A-3-1, p. 9, National Archives, Suitland, Md. (hereinafter Administrative Files).

22. Rear Admiral F. W. Rockwell to Captain Clarence Gulbranson, April 18, 1945, in Administrative Files, Box 710, File A 17; Young, *SEALS, UDT, Frogmen*, 334.

Morale among the student frogmen and their instructors mirrored that of the UDTs in the Pacific as training progressed from class to class. Graduates and combat veterans alike knew they were special and had no illusions as to what would be expected of them on a mission. Pride went a long way to developing the all-important unit integrity necessary to accomplish the dangerous assignments. Velma Coning, wife of frogman C. B. Coning, caught a sense of this emotion and expressed it in verse. Typical stanzas of her poem "My Demolition Man" ran:

You're stationed at Fort Pierce, Florida
What a wonderful place to be:
Although I know you're longing
To be far out at sea.
God bless the boys over there
'Tis a great job to be done
We know the boys won't give up
Until victory's won.²³

In this spirit, demolition trainees at Fort Pierce worked hard and played hard when the opportunity arose. It soon became a local custom in town for stores and bars to close early on the last day of "Hell Week" in anticipation of a group of boisterous sailors ready for fun after persevering in such a difficult trial. Frogmen took full advantage of the numerous activities put on by Fort Pierce's active USO as well as enlisted and officers clubs. Weekend "liberty" found them in Palm Beach County frequenting the lounges of the Hotels Pennsylvania and George Washington. The Palm Beaches were a popular destination due in no small measure to the fact that the area was a training center for female U.S. Coast Guard personnel known as SPARS. Daytona Beach and Miami also hosted demolition men looking for rest and recreation.²⁴

Many, however, spent their off-duty hours on base, swimming and engaging in other athletic pursuits. Many college and professional sports figures served in both the UDTs and the Scouts and Raiders, and their presence contributed to the nationally-recog-

23. *The Mock Up*, June 23, 1944.

24. *The Mock Up*, January 26, March 31, 1944; Young, *SEALS, UDT, Frogmen*, 51-52; Higgins, *Webfooted Warriors*, 40.

nized ability of the various sporting teams fielded by the Amphibious Training Base-Fort Pierce.²⁵

Naval Combat Demolition men formed an elite group of rough and ready fellows who took whatever the Navy could think of and more. They were more than ready to tangle with anyone or anything, and at times posed discipline problems. When Lieutenant Commander Kauffman was in charge of the Fort Pierce operation, he regularly found himself before the base's executive officer, Commander John G. "Snuffy" Farnsworth, explaining why a demolition man had failed to salute a superior or was in a sloppy-looking uniform. After the war Kauffman admitted that he "didn't have the time to indoctrinate these kids as well as teach them what I thought had to be taught." Frogmen and their neighbors, the Scouts and Raiders, carried on a friendly rivalry that at times led to playing pranks on each other. One popular trick was night-time raids on each other's area with gravel used to pummel the metal walls of Quonset huts and ruin its inhabitant's sleep. Amphibious base personnel learned to avoid the demolition section of the camp after dark if they did not want to be victims of such antics.²⁶

Returning Pacific demolition men provided the impetus for a training drill that local citizens thought was anything but humorous. Overcoming coral reefs remained a major challenge and the Fort Pierce school responded to the need for such expertise. A short distance south of town a five-foot coral reef blocked the Atlantic entrance to the Saint Lucie River. Residents of Martin County had long called for its removal, and gladly offered it to the war effort. A *Stuart News* editorial announced that "our coral reef is available for practice."²⁷ By November 1944 the Combat Demolition School was ready to make use of it.

Members of UDT 11 labored to place nearly a ton of TNT at strategic points along the reef, at times under hazardous conditions. They slept on the beach, munched "K" and "C" rations, and tried to fight off the swarms of sand fleas and mosquitoes. Some

25. Fort Pierce *News-Tribune*, October 9, 1945. A City official commented in the above-mentioned article that Amphibious Training Base -Ft. Pierce athletes had "given Ft. Pierce nationwide publicity, which the city would not buy at any price."

26. Kauffman, "Reminiscences," Vol. 1, 173; Philip H. Bucklew, "Reminiscences of Captain Philip B. Bucklew, U.S. Navy (Ret.)," Oral History Department, U.S. Naval Institute, 1982, 50.

27. Quoted in Higgins, *Webfooted Warriors*, 43.

250 enlisted men worked on the Saint Lucie Inlet project under the command of Lieutenant W. F. Flynn, who had replaced Kauffman as head of demolition training. Curious Stuart citizens gathered daily to watch the “demos” toil at a task which would yield solid economic benefits to their community.²⁸

With all charges in place a massive “shot” was scheduled for November 12, 1944. Important politicians from all over Florida including Governor-elect Millard B. Caldwell, U.S. Representative-elect Dwight Rodgers, and state Attorney General Tom Watson assembled to witness the historic blast along with Captain Gulbranson representing the Navy. After some delay the explosives detonated at 3:45 p.m., creating a column of salt water some 300 feet high. When the waters calmed, a small flotilla of landing craft tested the new channel and proved it perfect for navigation. At long last the Florida Cross-State Waterway enjoyed an Atlantic outlet. To celebrate and show gratitude, a fish fry was held at which future Governor Caldwell praised the sailors for a job well done. Captain Gulbranson accepted these remarks and replied that his men “were proud to have combined war training and aid to the community” by improving the Saint Lucie Inlet.²⁹

The success in Martin County prompted calls for the frogmen to try their hands at bettering other Atlantic coast harbors. Demolitioners spent months in 1945 working to deepen Indian River County’s Sebastian Inlet. Unfortunately little could be accomplished there as incoming tides returned sand to the inlet despite many blasts. They got more suitable results at the Ponce DeLeon Inlet south of Daytona Beach. Eight thousand pounds of carefully-placed explosive charges dug out a new passage ten feet deep and 300 feet long.³⁰

The summer of 1945 was extremely hot and dry in Florida, and water shortages caused acute suffering among the thousands of cattle on the ranges. Since beef was strictly rationed and considered essential for the war effort, members of the military were pressed

28. U.S. Navy, Underwater Demolition Team 11, “History of Underwater Demolition Team 11,” World War II Shore Establishments, Operational Archives, Box 460, File 11, p. 1-2, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, Washington, DC.

29. *Stuart News*, November 2, 9, 12, 16, 1944; *Fort Pierce News-Tribune*, November 13, 1944.

30. *Vero Beach Press-Journal*, March 2, 10, 1945; *Fort Pierce News-Tribune*, May 31, 1945.

into service to help preserve a valuable food source. Frogmen headed inland and blew new 7-to-9-foot-deep watering holes for the thirsty cows. Ninety such holes produced water for cattle ranchers in Saint Lucie, Martin, and Volusia counties. The combat swimmers gained worthwhile experience handling explosives and Floridians got assistance in the middle of a natural emergency.³¹

When not waging war on coral reefs and dry ranges, frogmen stationed in Fort Pierce also contributed to the war effort by helping to develop and test new equipment for use by their shipmates in the field. The Naval Combat Demolition school worked closely with the Joint Army-Navy Experimental and Testing Board, or JANET, created late in 1943. Its original mission was to fabricate and evaluate devices and methods for breaching underwater obstacles, but by 1945 it made a special goal of perfecting new underwater demolition team accessory equipment. NCDU instructors initially ran the tests until replaced by members of UDT 10. By 1944 a separate Naval Demolition Research Unit under Lieutenant James L. Wetzel began tests on better explosives and techniques to give the UDTs an even greater punch. Veteran demolition men provided much of the manpower for this unit which conducted its experiments near its camp on North Hutchinson Island.³²

By the summer of 1945 the UDTs turned their attention to the seemingly inevitable invasion of Japan. Thousands of combat swimmers would be needed for this endeavor, and classes at Fort Pierce continued at maximum capacity. NCDU Classes 11 through 15 were earmarked to supply men for UDTs 26 through 45. UDT 45 was scheduled to commence training no later than December 1945 and be finished by the spring of 1946. Seasoned frogmen from UDT 6 had orders to report back to Fort Pierce to assist in this training and serve as faculty. Operations at Iwo Jima and Okinawa taught the "demos" that training for cold water swimming was needed, something that Fort Pierce's warm surf lacked. Fortunately, the twin atomic strikes on Japan not only ended the war but also the necessity of continuing a naval demolition school in Florida.³³

31. Fort Pierce *News-Tribune*, June 24, 1945.

32. Joint Army-Navy Experimental and Testing Board, "This is JANET, Fort Pierce, FL," 1945, p. 1-3 (copy in the archives of the UDT-SEAL, Museum); *The Mock Up*, January 26, 1946.

33. "Summary of Trained Naval Personnel Furnished By Amphibious Training Command, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, Planning Report 25," Administrative Files, Box 714, File A9-8, Enclosure (J), J-1.

The fall of 1945 saw the slow dismantling of the demolition area on both North and South Islands and the disposal of surplus equipment. One frogman remembered burying whole buildings near where they stood and tearing down others. Since the Amphibious Training Base was set to be decommissioned in February 1946 everything had to go. Large landing craft sailed out to deep water loaded to capacity with tools, machinery, and leftover explosives and ammunition. Such cargoes were then dumped overboard or "deep sixed" in Navy slang. All haste was the word since all hungered for discharge and a quick return to civilian life. Soon there were few traces of the base, or the many men trained for war there. UDT basic schools moved to permanent homes in California and Virginia where many Fort Pierce frogman traditions continued.³⁴

One of the last UDT officers in Fort Pierce was Lieutenant Flynn, who, in May 1945, spoke to the local Rotary Club about the exploits of his comrades. He told the assembled Rotarians that the real purpose of NCDU training had been basically "to train men to make sure they come back."³⁵ Flynn assured the group that "Fort Pierce can be proud they trained here when the whole story can be told." The conclusion of World War II meant the termination of naval combat demolition training there, but no frogman who came to Fort Pierce ever forget his first home in Florida.

34. Interview with Albert Stankie, September 29, 1995; Fort Pierce *Tribune*, February 4, 1996.

35. Fort Pierce *News-Tribune*, May 8, 1945.

“Brasshats” and “Baby Fingers”: The Battle Over Rural Education

by STEPHEN D. ANDREWS

LATE in 1919, Grover Rogers returned to the cotton farms of Albertville, Alabama, after service in the “Great War.” Rogers had received his discharge six months earlier, and had worked his way slowly from Florida, through Georgia, and finally home to Alabama. Rocking on the front porch of his family’s sharecropping shack, Grover told an avid audience of family and neighbors about his travels. Along with tales of battle and Europe, he spoke of a hamlet called Plant City, Florida.

His stories of France paled beside his glowing descriptions of the rich agricultural paradise along Florida’s Gulf Coast. He contrasted chopping and picking cotton with the “easy” winter cultivation of plump, juicy strawberries. Grover declared cotton a boring staple crop. In contrast, berries offered farmers a succulent luxury fruit in heavy demand throughout Northern urban markets. Looking over the crowded shacks hunched beside rolling cotton fields, Grover leaned back and remarked: “If ya’ll worked down in Plant City as hard as you worked in cotton, heck— we’d all be strawberry millionaires.” Grover’s brother Tagulo took him at his word. Two months later he packed his family and drove south in the family truck, headed for Plant City and berry millions.¹ Tagulo did not find light work and easy money; instead, he found a complex strawberry culture that promised rich returns, but required intensive labor.

Strawberry culture remained largely the same from the 1920s through the era of modernization and urbanization in the 1950s. Farm families such as the Rogers sought their dreams of agricultural success in a social network increasingly pressured by consolidation and the efforts of urban reformers. One of the final battle lines drawn between farmers and the agents of modernization involved control of rural schools. Throughout America, public ed-

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1. Donald Rogers, Interview with author, February 8, 1995, Tampa, Fla.

ucation reflected its rural heritage in the institution of the summer vacation period. In Florida, however, the summer brought a hot, dormant season. In contrast to most of the country, farmers in the southern “winter garden” needed labor during the cooler seasons. In Plant City, the traditional school system allowed students to work in family strawberry fields during the winter. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s these “strawberry schools” came under attack as the last vestiges of an anachronistic social system.

When the Rogers’ truck rumbled into Plant City, they found a bustling commercial center servicing a large agricultural hinterland. Originally named for the Indian village of Ichepucksassa, the town changed its name, at the request of the Tampa mail dispatcher Alfonso DeLauney, to the more easily comprehensible Cork in 1860.² The village incorporated in 1885 and named itself after Henry B. Plant, the rail baron who extended his South Florida Railroad into the area.³ From its incorporation, the city served as a marketing depot for local crops of cotton, timber, and strawberries.

Grover Rogers told the truth when he described the almost hyperbolic value of strawberries as a cash crop. When Tagulo Rogers arrived in Plant City, strawberry production held a primary position in a network of small, independently-owned private farms. The first recorded strawberry pioneer in the region was Major Wheeler, a homesteader at nearby Shiloh in the late 1870s.⁴ However, a Mississippian named Constantine Shannon is commonly credited with setting out the first seedlings in Plant City.⁵ By 1896 farmers realized that berries could be grown in the Plant City section for commercial advantage and three leading citizens— Col. J. L. Young, Dr. J. W. Douglas and Jonah Yates— planted two acres.⁶ By 1919, berry cultivation was entrenched in the agricultural life of Plant City and the eastern portion of Hillsborough County.

As early as the 1920s Plant City declared itself the “Winter Strawberry Capital of the World.”⁷ By 1939 Plant City shipped al-

2. Quintilla Greer Bruton and David E. Bailey, Jr., *Plant City: Its Origin and History* (St. Petersburg, Fla., 1977), 45-47.

3. *The WPA Guide to Florida* (New York, 1939), 518.

4. David E. Bailey, “A Study of Hillsborough County’s History, Legend, and Folk Lore, with Implications for the Curriculum” (master’s thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 204.

5. Bruton, *Plant City*, 136.

6. Bailey, “Study,” 205.

7. *Ibid.*

most three-fourths of the nation's midwinter strawberries.⁸ The weather of central and southern Florida allowed for berry cultivation while the rest of the country slumbered under winter snows, and eastern Hillsborough County became the center of Florida berry production. Local berry growers and strawberry specialists attributed this statewide advantage to the "local Scranton sand [which was] far superior to the East Coast's coral."⁹ Plant City also emerged as a center of strawberry innovation. The local Strawberry Laboratory turned out new hybrids of berries such as the Missionary, Tioga, and the Florida Ninety, which comprised two-thirds of the strawberry acreage planted in the Plant City area during the 1954-55 season.¹⁰

This almost obsessive attention to strawberry cultivation was merited by the amazing productive potential of midwinter berries. Strawberry fields assured farmers of survival and promised the possibility of financial success. Due to the high yield and value of strawberry plants, farmers could survive on surprisingly small plots of soil. In 1919, Florida contained 1,254 strawberry farms located on just 834 acres. Though averaging less than a half-acre each, these farms produced over 1,200,000 quarts of strawberries.¹¹

The high level of productivity and value of the strawberry crop increased during the years between the wars. By 1936, Plant City and the surrounding farms in eastern Hillsborough County had 4,524 acres of strawberry fields. Their annual yield was 7,784,013 quarts of berries valued at \$1,654,614. This amounted to an average of 1720 quarts worth \$366 for each farmer. Corn, although grown extensively throughout the county, trailed far behind the value of berries. The county's 9,928 acres of cornfields produced only 155,220 bushels worth a mere \$169,111. Averaging 17 bushels worth \$18 per acre, the corn crop was far outstripped by the production of strawberries. Grown on half the total corn acreage, strawberries yielded 50 times the total corn crop with ten times the value.¹²

8. WPA Guide, 518.

9. "Berry Specialist Says East Hillsborough Nation's Best Soil," *Plant City Courier*, February 1, 1968.

10. William G. Mitchell, ed., *Growing Berries in Florida: A Revision of University of Florida Agricultural Extension Services Bulletins* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1962), 6.

11. *Sixth Census of the United States—Agricultural (Second Series)* (Washington, DC, 1941), 16.

12. *Agricultural Statistics of Florida—Twenty-first Census, 1936-37* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1938), 90.

These astonishing berry production figures increased steadily until labor shortages during and shortly after World War II caused a severe contraction. The number of strawberry farms in the state as a whole dropped from 3,970 in 1940 to 1,066 in 1945. That amounted to a change in acreage from 8,066 to 1,266 during the same period. There was a recovery by 1950 to 1,757 farms cultivating 2,356 acres, but the 1950 yield of 3,358,187 quarts was only a quarter of the 14,666,281 quarts marketed in 1940. It would be the 1970s before strawberries would regain their prewar position in the Florida economy.¹³ The situation in the Hillsborough County fields compared closely with that in the state. In 1939, 1,422 farms with 4,219 acres produced 7,571,153 quarts of berries.¹⁴ In 1950 there were only 878 farms covering 1,632 acres producing 2,197,849 quarts.¹⁵ But, while the quantity production shrank during the 1940s, the value remained well above the market value of other agricultural items and strawberries remained one of the most valuable cash crops produced by Hillsborough County farmers.

While there was the promise of great profits, strawberries were not an easy crop to grow. They required extensive preparation of the land and a labor-intensive, time-pressured, freeze-threatened harvesting period. The 1939 *WPA Guide to Florida* reported that "strawberry culture has been termed the 'thirteen months a year job.'"¹⁶ Farmers began setting plants in October for the first picking in the third week of December, and continued to set and pick until early April.¹⁷ One writer declared that "every day is a shipping day. . . beginning with a few quarts when cool weather comes just before Christmas and increasing in volume as the weather grows warmer."¹⁸ During the winter months, growers "found it necessary to pick daily."¹⁹ January and February also marked the time to set out fresh runner beds of soil for the following season. From July to September, runners were pulled from parent plants to produce plantable seedlings. With little access to large-scale irrigation until

13. *United States Census of Agriculture: 1950—Counties and State Economic Areas, Florida (Volume I, Part 18)* (Washington, D.C., 1952), 16; Florida Department of Agriculture, *Florida Agricultural Statistics, Vegetable Summary—1989* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1989), 48.

14. *Sixth Census of the United States—Agriculture (First Series)*, 12.

15. *Agricultural Census—1950*, 106.

16. *WPA Guide*, 518.

17. Mitchell, *Growing*, 12.

18. Burton, *Plant City*, 140.

19. *Ibid.*

the late 1950s small-plot farmers relied on “pine needles and meadow hay heaped up between the rows and raked over the plants to protect them from weeds and freezes.”²⁰

In berry production, the most crucial season was from the middle of December until March when berries were picked and the beds were prepared for the next year. As a crop extremely sensitive to temperature and damage from handling, strawberries had to be carefully picked and packed as soon as they ripened. Small farmers had no access to technology that could make the task of the berry picker any easier. The only method for successfully harvesting the berries was a slow, stooped walk between the ripening rows. Strawberries, even if planted at the same time, did not always ripen simultaneously. With experience, a picker learned to determine which berries required another day on the vine to reach their peak. This process obviously demanded large amounts of time and labor. Most small landholders and sharecroppers turned to the most ready pool of agricultural workers within their community—the children of the farm families. To facilitate this labor relationship, and in acknowledgment of the importance of the strawberry culture, the school system ran on a summer schedule. Rather than ending in June as traditional “Winter” schools did, the primary break in the school year came from January until March. This allowed students to work in the strawberry fields when the need for their services was at its peak.

One of the unique aspects of strawberry harvesting, and a testament to the value of the strawberry crop, was the use of both African-American and white children in the fields. From the turn of the century, when farmers realized the possibilities of berry cultivation, until the late 1940s strawberry schools supplied segregated education for many of the rural citizens of East Hillsborough County. Usually, the schools convened classes in one building for all grades from the first through the twelfth. Mrs. Vincent McGuire, who, as Emma Rose Wingate, attended Knights Station school in the 1920s, described her school as a simple “red-brick building” with “no cafeteria [and] no toilet facilities but two oblong out-buildings way back on the lot.”²¹ Schools like Knights Sta-

20. *WPA Guide*, 519.

21. Mrs. Vincent McGuire, Letter to author, March 7, 1995.

tion also presented “drainage problems, since the school stood in a low spot.”²² Darrie Hatcher Walden, who taught for 40 years in the Trapnell strawberry school, recalled that “during the depression years most of the children had very little clothing, school supplies, or books . . . most of [my] teaching was from the chalkboard and 30 pupils in [my] grades seven and eight had only four sets of books—[mine] and three sets bought for the school by the trustees.”²³ Though often under-equipped and primitive, strawberry schools, declared former Pinecrest school principal Omar Mitchell, were “a godsend to that country.”²⁴

While students of strawberry schools often had fond memories of their summer schools, by the 1940s urban reformers in nearby Tampa began to see rural schools as exploitative, rural anachronisms. In Florida, the period between 1920 and 1960 marked the emergence of what historian Jack Temple Kirby called “the New New South” when the “Great Depression, New Deal farm programs, and the demographic chaos occasioned by World War II all conspired to end or alter the main elements of the old systems.”²⁵ One of the old systems experiencing upheaval was traditional rural agriculture. As an integral part of berry culture, the strawberry schools became a focus for urban reform efforts.

Crusading *Tampa Tribune* reporter J. A. “Jock” Murray ran a series of exposes on the status of education in Hillsborough County during the winter of 1946. Murray denounced the status of the county school organization, declaring that Hillsborough could “have a good system just as soon as its people sweep out the debris of antiquated laws, practices and customs.”²⁶ In the first installment of his expose series he presented an array of educational and social evils. He depicted the decentralized organization as “a horse-and-buggy division of the county” and he ridiculed strawberry schools as “a separate system of inferior schools for the child laborer.”²⁷ In

22. Leland Hawes, “‘Strawberry’ Students Had School in Summer,” *Tampa Tribune*, April 24, 1988.

23. Quintilla Greer Bruton, untitled manuscript at East Hillsborough Historical Society, 2.

24. Leland Hawes, “Alumni Still Pine for Pinecrest,” *Tampa Tribune*, April 24, 1988.

25. Jack Temple Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost: The American South, 1920-1960* (Baton Rouge, 1987), xiv.

26. J. A. Murray, “Outdated Laws and Customs Hinder Hillsborough Schools,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 1, 1946.

27. *Ibid.*

vivid language he declared that "the strawberry picker is the forgotten child of Hillsborough County."²⁸

The following morning Murray championed his idea for a centralized school bureaucracy. He produced a report from the George S. May Company, hired to survey the school system, which criticized county education as "uneconomical and antiquated."²⁹ In contrast to the hub-like school system of "progressive" counties such as Dade, Hillsborough had a "muddle-headed way of running the schools in which local officials are basically not responsible . . . it is difficult to tell where one jurisdiction ends and another begins."³⁰ Murray suggested that the schools, presently managed by local school trustees, needed to be supervised and overseen by a county-wide organization.³¹

Murray expounded the reason for the change on the front page of the next day's *Tribune*. In the school system "youngsters in the poorer districts of Hillsborough County are denied school opportunities of those who live in wealthier sections, and it looks as if the city of Tampa must go to their aid if they are to get any kind of a fair break."³² The separation of the county into largely independent districts meant that rural children had less access to busing, maintenance, and purchasing funds that a centralized bureaucracy would provide. Murray argued that "it is hard for a country school to get a plumber, and harder sometimes to pay him after he has gone. There are desks kicking around Tampa warehouses that would be a luxury to schools out in the country, where children sit on benches and boxes."³³ Poor children, left to the tender mercies of local school trustees, suffered under burdens that could be lifted by a centralized, modern education organization.

To the *Tribune's* Murray, the worst of those hardships occurred in the rural strawberry schools of East Hillsborough County. In the area's 22 strawberry schools, more than "4000 boys and girls in

28. *Ibid.*

29. J. A. Murray, "Schools Need Overhauling from Top to Bottom Here," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 2, 1946.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. J. A. Murray, "Children in Poor Districts Penalized in County Schools," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 3, 1946.

33. J. A. Murray, "Purchasing and Maintenance Pose Big School Problems," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 5, 1946.

overalls and faded gingham receive an indifferent education.³⁴ He questioned the readers of the *Tribune*: “Did you ever drive through the strawberry lands at dawn and see little children, barefoot and shivering around a tiny fire, waiting for enough light to start picking?”³⁵ To Murray, strawberry pickers “live[d] the life of a mule, hired out by their parents at so much a day.”³⁶

Murray demanded the elimination of strawberry schools because of student performance and poor teacher quality. He reasoned that the labor of strawberry school children “sears the souls of these child slaves. They come to hate the land and the parents who gave them birth.”³⁷ Rather than becoming the next generation of independent farmers, the harshness of strawberry cultivation drove them off the land. Murray quoted an unnamed former farm youth who declared that he had “[his] belly full of the land. My father has worked me like a dog, and I am not going back, never.”³⁸ Murray also asserted that summer school teachers were inferior because “it is hard to persuade good teachers to go in Summer school . . . the majority of poorly qualified teachers are in strawberry schools.”³⁹ To substantiate his claim Murray quoted statistics that showed “out of a total of 123 strawberry school teachers, 21 had no college training, compared with nine out of 991 Winter school teachers.”⁴⁰

Murray bemoaned the added expense of strawberry schools and the inferior academic performance of rural students. Summer schools added to the educational cost in the county by necessitating year-round bus service. He described the extended journeys involved in transporting rural children to strawberry schools when “normal” schools were closer. The inspired reporter argued that consolidating locally governed rural schools into a regular schedule would save the poor districts money.

He went on to critique the performance of strawberry students— noting high absentee rates and inferior academic preparation. “The day I visited the Turkey Creek school,” Murray observed,

34. J. A. Murray, “Strawberry Schools Called ‘Excuse for Child Labor,’” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 6, 1946.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. J. A. Murray, “Strawberry Schools Face Teacher and Bus Problems,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 8, 1946.

40. *Ibid.*

“the principal said 25 per cent of his pupils were out planting strawberries.”⁴¹ In Murray’s opinion, even when the students attended, they received a substandard education. Murray expressed his concern that “strawberry school pupils have problems making good in a regular high school or college with a Summer school background.”⁴² According to Murray’s final *Tribune* article in October 1946, County Agent Alec White worried about “the way good youngsters make honor roll in strawberry schools, and fail to get to first base in college.”⁴³ Jock Murray closed his week-long jeremiad against rural education with a final insult, claiming that in Summer schools “there are compensations. If you cannot afford to clothe your youngsters well, send them to a strawberry school. They will at least be comfortably in style there.”⁴⁴

Champions of the rural education system attacked Tampa in general and Murray in particular in their defense of the strawberry schools. A. P. Cooke, publisher of the *Plant City Courier* condemned the idea that the consolidation of the county’s schools “which would also include Tampa’s far-flung system, [was] the Utopian cure-all for Hillsborough county’s far-flung school ills.”⁴⁵ To Cooke, consolidation removed district trustees who spoke for local communities. This removal of local autonomy “might be disastrous to East Hillsborough . . . if the entire balance of power [was] centered in Tampa.”⁴⁶ Cooke predicted that “the rural areas could find themselves at the mercy of the urban areas, with the latter having the best teachers . . . and the best educational facilities. This end of the county [is] keenly aware of what it means to be an un-respected minority by the brasshats in Tampa.”⁴⁷ Along with caution, the *Courier* recommended that its readers “become familiar with the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence— just in case.”⁴⁸

Jim Robinson, a member of the County School Board from Plant City, defended the schools as a necessary evil in the rural communities. To Robinson, the education given by strawberry schools was superior to the alternative— no schooling at all. “You

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. “Look Before We Leap,” *Plant City Courier*; October 12, 1946.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. *ibid.*

know the law allows them out of school to work in an emergency,” argued Robinson, “and berries ripening in the fields is an emergency.”⁴⁹ J. A. Holmes, the principal of the Turkey Creek strawberry school, echoed Robinson. While Holmes admitted that some farmers abused their power over their children’s labor, the fact remained that “the strawberry crop is bread and butter to these people, and when the time comes to plant and pick, they have to plant and pick.”⁵⁰ Even if the double-system of education cost more than a homogeneous, “normal” educational structure, it was essential for the continuance of the local economy.

Cooke also contended that children were better at picking than adults because “[p]icking is not the best kind of work for an adult who is not built close to the ground.”⁵¹ While Cooke agreed that “big operators” were using more machines to plant the berry seedlings, he maintained that “no one has been able to replace baby fingers in the business of picking.”⁵² Cooke grudgingly conceded that the pickers did not receive the best in educational opportunities, but stated that their necessary labor was the economic foundation of the Plant City community.

Unfortunately, many of the accusations the *Tribune* levelled at the strawberry schools were true. The teachers did hold fewer certifications and college degrees than their counterparts in the Winter schools. Graduates of the strawberry schools often argued that this did not mean that their educations were inferior. Warren Cason, a Summer school graduate who later received his law degree from the University of Florida, refuted the charges that his schooling was inadequate: “We had teachers who cared, and when I left the strawberry schools I was the equal of any of the students who went through the winter system. Our education was better because we knew what it meant to have to work for it.”⁵³ Don Rogers, Tagulo’s grandson, also praised the teachers at his strawberry school and remembered them as “wonderful, because they worked with the kids and understood how hard it was to work on the farm before and after school.” However, Rogers also recalled that the children at Plant City High School, a Winter school in the city, “had

49. J. A. Murray, “Strawberry Schools Called ‘Excuse for Child Labor,’” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 6, 1946.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*

53. Warren Cason, Interview with author, March 8, 1995, Tampa, FL.

it better in academics because their parents encouraged them to study and think about college."⁵⁴

When strawberry school students reflected on their rural classrooms they often wistfully recalled the kindness and attention they received from their teachers and administrators. However, in some areas, student recollections matched the accusations of Tampa's urban reformers. The work in the strawberry fields drove many rural children to find some way out of agricultural labor. Don Rogers, now an environmental engineer, remembered how he "wanted out of strawberries— I wanted to get into the phosphate business, where you made real money."⁵⁵ Rogers found his way out of the fields by volunteering for military service during the Korean War. Alumni of strawberry schools often repeated this sentiment. Arthur Yates "realized, on frosty mornings, picking strawberries, that it was a hell of a way to make a living!— so I became a watchmaker."⁵⁶ For many, the labor in strawberry fields hurt their education. Maude Maits, a writer in Polk county who worked throughout central Florida as a sharecropper, maintained that "because of farm labor, my education was left to chance . . . it was hard to make decent grades at school by attending one day a week or, at best, every other day. But we made our grades, probably because . . . most of our teachers were kind and generous."⁵⁷

Though individuals throughout the eastern part of Hillsborough County sprang to the defense of their schools, the *Tribune* articles and pressure from reformers began to erode the stability of the strawberry schools. In December 1946 Webster, in nearby Sumter County, eliminated berry schools. The *Tribune* claimed that "the action result[ed] from *Tribune* stories. The people here have had an awakening. They have been following the *Tribune's* campaign for better schools . . . and understand that they cannot have a good school and continue to run on a Summer schedule."⁵⁸ F. A. Hayes, a school board member in the Webster district, planned to

54. Don Rogers, Interview with author, February 8, 1995, Tampa, Fla.

55. Ibid.

56. Arthur Yates, Letter to author, February 7, 1995.

57. Leland Hawes, "It Seemed Like 'Strawberry Fields Forever' to Children," *Tampa Tribune*, June 7, 1986.

58. J. A. Murray, "Summer County Will Abandon Berry School," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 22, 1946.

“switch to a Winter schedule and write the strawberry term off as a failure.”⁵⁹ In Webster, the school board decided that to defend Summer schools identified oneself as a member of the lower classes. A local planter, W. A. Brown, declared that “most of the good people want Winter schools; it is the drifter class that is against it. They want their whole families out in the field.”⁶⁰

Despite the Webster example and continuing pressure by urban reformers, there was no change in the long-established Summer school structure around Plant City. The majority of strawberry school supporters were secure in their feeling that Summer schools were essential and unalterable parts of the rural community. By the end of 1946, the furor against the strawberry schools subsided, largely due to an agreement to correct the greatest inequities pointed out in Jock Murray’s expose. But while the *Tribune* moved on to other issues, the debate over rural education bubbled just beneath the surface in eastern Hillsborough County. Though they reduced their calls for change, the urban reformers in Tampa did not abandon “the lost child of Hillsborough.”

In 1950 Jock Murray again challenged the strawberry schools. In his opening article he described his earlier series of articles, the decision of Sumter County to abandon strawberry schools, and the present status of the Summer school structure. By 1950 the number of Summer schools had dropped from 22 to 12. Murray acknowledged that “the strawberry schools are immeasurably better off today than they were four years ago— an improvement resulting from a 1947 school law passed . . . to give poor students ‘equality of opportunity.’”⁶¹ In his 1950 campaign Murray largely repeated the charges he levelled four years earlier. This time, however, he saw the strawberry schools as “class schools . . . providing one system for the poor, working youngster, while fortunate children may go to other schools.”⁶²

Again, the *Tribune*’s Murray attacked the strawberry schools as backward and inefficient. He described the new-found modernity and efficiency in the nearby counties that abandoned simultaneous educational sessions. In 1946 Murray charged that rural parents

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. J. A. Murray, “Hillsborough Still Had Child Labor With ‘Berry’ Schools,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 31, 1950.

62. Ibid.

bore the responsibility for defending an outmoded system. By 1950 the principal champions of strawberry schools were wealthy planters who wanted access to the child labor of their sharecroppers. Ellsworth Simmons, president of the Florida School Board Association, observed that "those who fight to retain the strawberry schools seldom send their children to them. They do not want Summer schools for their own children, but that they may hire the children of other people to work in their fields."⁶³

Murray thundered against the high absentee rates and expenses inherent in running a wide-ranging, rural bus network. During midsummer, large numbers of students left school to go on vacations or work in crops other than strawberries. Meanwhile, some children in Plant City boarded buses for country schools while kids of landowners headed into the city for Winter schools. "We've got to be sending them off in all directions; it would take a Philadelphia lawyer to figure it all out," said Charles C. Boone, county transportation manager.⁶⁴

The *Tribune* called for the elimination of the strawberry schools and attacked wealthy growers for ruthlessly exploiting child laborers. Murray blamed the landowner for "his insistence that the children of his share croppers work in the fields when they ought to be in school. He is the one . . . more than anyone else who has the sweat of little fingers on his conscience."⁶⁵ The landowners perpetuated the exploitative system by driving ruthless bargains with the sharecroppers that forced them to brutalize their children. Simmons called for the elimination of the Summer schools because "the child of the working man is entitled to as good a schooling as the child who is more fortunate."⁶⁶ Attendance expert Florence Roberts blamed a practice among itinerant farmers that made it acceptable to send children into the fields rather than to school. Echoing this practice, a farm mother replied: "What do you think I have all these children for? I want them to make me a living."⁶⁷

63. *Ibid.*

64. J. A. Murray, "High Absence Rate is Big Problem in Berry Schools," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 2, 1950.

65. J. A. Murray, "Berry Schools Are Symbol of Sorry State of Affairs," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 4, 1950.

66. *Ibid.*

67. J. A. Murray, "U.S. Law Seen As End to Child Labor in Berry Fields," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 3, 1950.

Tampa reformers praised a new federal law that promised to end the exploitation of tiny rural workers. The *Tribune* announced that the “slave labor of children has reached an almost incomprehensible low in the strawberry fields of Hillsborough County, and the Federal Government is out to put an end to it.”⁶⁸ The “new” law was actually a revision of the federal wage-hour law which prohibited the employment of children on farms during school hours. Though it allowed children to work at home, reformers hoped that it would “effectively back-stop the Florida law which require[d] parents to keep their children in school until they are 16 years old.”⁶⁹ The law carried a daunting fine of \$10,000, and the *Tribune* promised to aid enforcement.

The *Plant City Courier* attempted to make light of the *Tribune*'s accusations in an editorial labelled “Bleeding Heart Department.” The *Courier* ridiculed the Tampa reformers who “set [their] hearts to bleeding at the plight of East Hillsborough farm youngsters whose lives are upset by. . . having their vacation during the berry harvest season and not in the summer.”⁷⁰ The editorial argued that “as long as strawberries are grown in East Hillsborough, children (not union labor) will be needed to pick them. . . . So why fret about it? Let the *Tribune* clean up Tampa first!”⁷¹

Many defended the strawberry school structure because it provided work and nurtured family ties. “We were happy to get the work in the fields,” Warren Cason said. “It allowed my family to make ends meet.”⁷² Ed Swindle, a student in the late 1940s, defended the Summer school system because it “helped build the family unit. Brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts, and uncles kept strong together instead of going their separate ways, as they often do today.”⁷³

Other supporters of the strawberry schools took a more active role in defending the rural institutions. E. W. Wansley, Jr., a Turkey Creek merchant and chairman of the committee, saw the fight as a domestic example of anti-communist containment. The strawberry schools, and the network of small farms they supported, embodied the highest goals of the American economic system. Wansley pic-

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*

70. “Bleeding Heart Department,” *Plant City Courier*, November 3, 1950.

71. *Ibid.*

72. Warren Cason, Interview with author, March 8, 1995, Tampa, Fla.

73. Leland Hawes, “End Of Strawberry Schools Was Traumatic,” *Tampa Tribune*, June 7, 1986.

tured "East Hillsborough [as] predominantly an area of small, home-owned, family operated farms; the kind of community which the countries of Europe belatedly are trying to build up as the best means of stemming the tide of Communism . . . we are farmers working towards that great freedom promised by Jefferson."⁷⁴ Strawberry schools dovetailed with the growing season in Florida, argued Wansley, adding that "there is no natural law which says school should begin in September. . . . That pattern was established many years ago when farms everywhere were family enterprises and Summer was the busiest time on the farm in all parts of the United States."⁷⁵

Wansley challenged the many attacks on strawberry schools that appeared in the pages of the *Tribune*. He chided the Tampa paper for inconsistency in praising some rural children working during vacations while chastising others. "They give the recruiting of boys and girls to go to Connecticut to work in the tobacco harvest their heartiest sanction," Wansley explained, "but for children to help in harvesting the berry crop is a crime that must be stopped at all costs. Ah, consistency, thou jewel, where art thou?"⁷⁶ Wansley also denied class motivations in the strawberry school structure. In schools such as Turkey Creek, "landowners['] and sharecroppers' sons play side by side and equal opportunity is offered to all."⁷⁷ To conclude his argument Wansley asserted that "we do not think our children are the objects of pity that some would have you believe. We believe there is a place for the small farmer in the economy of Eastern Hillsborough County. A school term where vacation comes at harvest time is no abnormal monstrosity, and the propaganda to destroy the berry schools is vicious and most unfair to those most concerned."⁷⁸

During the years following the second Murray expose, attacks on the strawberry school structure increased in frequency and intensity. Immediately following the *Tribune* articles a group of parents, tired of the Winter-Summer debate, attempted to switch Springhead berry school to a regular schedule. Though the informal referendum failed to pass, it was clear that more serious challenges to the

74. J. A. Murray, "Berry Schools Defended As Just Another Result of Florida Weather," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 5, 1950.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

berry schools lay on the horizon. In 1953, the three African-American strawberry schools remaining in Hillsborough County— Simmons, Glover, and Marshall— petitioned to change to a regular term. School officials asked the Hillsborough County school trustees for the change because they believed strawberry school children “were deprived of many educational benefits derived in the Winter session programs.”⁷⁹ The black schools worked out a plan that allowed some berry school children to attend afternoon classes so they could work in family fields during the morning hours.

By December 1954 supporters of the strawberry school system realized the current of social reform flowed against rural Summer schools. Farmers called for an open panel discussion at the Hillsborough Farm Bureau at Turkey Creek to “thresh out the controversial strawberry school question.”⁸⁰ Local growers feared that the school board would eliminate the rural school system without consulting East Hillsborough farmers. The panel featured J. Crockett Farnell, the County School Superintendent, who wanted to meet “farmers’ contentions [that] some teachers, school officials, and parents not concerned with strawberries for a livelihood want strawberry schools to revert to the same terms as standard schools.”⁸¹ The *Courier* advised all parents and residents of the area to attend the meeting.

A crowd of 400 people, almost unanimously in favor of maintaining the strawberry system, packed the Farm Bureau building. Though Farnell and other school board representatives attacked the Summer school system for high levels of absenteeism, he conceded that the schools were not any more expensive than “regular schools” because “all children went to school 180 days a year.”⁸² The president of the Farm Bureau, J. Foy Lee, asked the most important question of the night: “If this school is ever changed to a Winter from a Summer school will we have a chance to vote on it?”⁸³ Farnell replied that no one would have a voting voice in scheduling other than the parents of children attending the school. Farnell announced that “no school has ever been changed except by the will

79. “Patrons of 3 Negro Berry Schools Ask Regular Term,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 4, 1953.

80. “Meeting Is Slated On Berry Schools,” *Plant City Courier*, December 10, 1954.

81. *Ibid.*

82. Leonard Brown, “Farnell Says Turkey Creek School Wouldn’t Be Changed Without Hearing,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 14, 1954.

83. *Ibid.*

of the people."⁸⁴ The *Courier* declared "the meeting a successful one from the standpoint of the pro-strawberry schedule people."⁸⁵

Though small growers felt relieved by the Farm Bureau meeting, the number of strawberry schools dwindled to four when the school session began in April 1955. The four schools which remained on Summer session were Turkey Creek, Dover, Cork, and Trapnell. Two more schools, Springhead and Pinecrest, ran on a double session which gave students the choice of attending on a Winter or Summer schedule. Overall, the strawberry schools still employed 100 teachers and educated 3,000 students.⁸⁶ Despite Farnell's pledge, defenders of the strawberry schools perceived that Summer schools' agricultural importance could no longer shield them from attack. The needs of farmers were no longer the most important concerns of the decreasingly rural society of Hillsborough County.

Only a year after the "successful" meeting at the Farm Bureau, the front page of the *Tribune* announced that "Hillsborough County's 'strawberry' school system is doomed."⁸⁷ On July 25, 1956, Farnell called a meeting at Turkey Creek High School to announce the "impending event" with the farmers whose children would be affected. The *Tribune* noted that earlier attempts to change the schools were bitterly resisted by farmers and parents. Understandably, J. Foy Lee protested that there was too little notice to hold an important meeting, especially when Farnell had sworn to them that parents would decide the fate of the school system. He promised to lead the opposition to the school change and accused county and Tampa authorities of trying "to wreck the farmers of East Hillsborough."⁸⁸

That night, over 1,000 people formed a "fist-shaking crowd" in the auditorium of Turkey Creek High School. Farnell cited figures from a new survey which proved that "duplicative transportation and attendance losses cost the county \$85,000 a year."⁸⁹ Also, the complicated busing network cost the county \$31,000 a year and

84. "Parents to Get Say on Any Change for Berry Schools," *Plant City Courier*, December 17, 1954.

85. *Ibid.*

86. "School Opens Today for 3000 in Strawberry Areas," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 21, 1955.

87. Leland Hawes, "End Appears Near for 'Strawberry' Schools," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 25, 1956.

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*

forced some children “to ride three buses getting to and from the school of their choice, with a few remaining away from home 11 hours a day.”⁹⁰ Farnell suggested that students be required to attend the school nearest their home rather than be bused across the county to attend a strawberry school. The school board also raised the perennial question of rural attendance. For the first time county officials attributed absenteeism to a growing group of agricultural migrant laborers “who follow the vegetable and fruit seasons in other states during the Summer and will miss three or four months of school.”⁹¹ Because of this high number of absences these children failed and had to be remediated at a high cost to the county. Farnell declared that county school officials would determine the best education for rural children and the proper use of tax dollars.

The farmers and growers of Plant City greeted Farnell’s plan with boos and threats of “string ‘em up!”⁹² Farnell explained that all strawberry school students would be graduated at mid-year and would attend their assigned Winter schools for the 1956-57 academic year. This pronouncement met with screams of “We can’t make enough to eat” – “We won’t do it” – “This ain’t Russia” – and “Get out and let us run our schools.”⁹³ Farnell granted that some students could arrive at school later in the day if their services were needed at home in family fields. At this, a woman leaped to her feet and demanded: “How can you expect our children to work in the field half a day, change clothes, ride a bus to school, and then make decent marks in school? It won’t work and you can’t shove it down our throats.”⁹⁴ J. Foy Lee, self-appointed leader of the strawberry resistance, received loud applause when he yelled, “They say we’re going to have Winter schools whether we like it or not. We don’t have anything to say about it and we’re the taxpayers.”⁹⁵

During a short intermission, a pianist played “There’ll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight” while the strawberry school supporters assembled and selected a group of “ten level-headed

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Bill Boyd, “Parents Say They’ll Fight to Retain Berry Term,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 26, 1956.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. “Irate Crowd Objects Strongly to Proposed Berry School Change,” *Plant City Courier*, July 27, 1956.

men." After the meeting adjourned this committee immediately took up \$235 for attorney's fees, talked about getting an injunction against the change, and obtained signatures on a petition protesting Farnell's plan.⁹⁶ The next evening, at a specially called meeting of the County School Board, Farnell and the trustees voted the strawberry school system out of existence. After the unanimous vote, Farnell told the board members their action was the "greatest step you've ever taken for the welfare of children in this county."⁹⁷

The *Courier* attacked the way Farnell railroaded his decision through the school board. Though they recognized that there were some logical arguments in the board's favor, a "good share of the ire was caused by the way the situation was handled."⁹⁸ A *Courier* editorial questioned why Farnell forgot his promise to let farmers decide for themselves and made his decision without concrete information about the hardships growers faced without strawberry schools. State representative James S. Moody from Hillsborough County criticized the school board's decision and "went on the record as favoring the retention of [strawberry schools]."⁹⁹ Moody sternly chastised Farnell and warned that the abolition of berry terms "could well be a severe blow to the entire strawberry production program in this area."¹⁰⁰

L. H. Lewis, director of the State Farmers' Markets, joined the attack on the decision and prophesied the "end of the strawberry industry in East Hillsborough County." He predicted that the number of planted acres would drop from 4,000 to 1,000 without children to pick the berries. The attorney hired by the farmers' committee, Woodie Liles, argued before the school board, debated Farnell's figures, and suggested a number of alternatives to eliminating the Summer schools. "When you compare the figure saved by cutting out strawberry schools with the amount of loss if labor is not available," Liles exclaimed, "the former figure is insignificant in the overall picture."¹⁰¹ Despite Liles' best attempts to change Far-

96. *Ibid.*

97. Leland Hawes, "Controversial 'Strawberry' Term Abolished by Board," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 27, 1956.

98. "The Berry Schools," *Plant City Courier*, August 3, 1956.

99. "Berry Term Abolished but Farmers Say Will Fight Board's Decision," *Plant City Courier*, August 3, 1956.

100. *Ibid.*

101. "Farnell Says School Board Will Stick By Decision," *Plant City Courier*, August 10, 1956.

nell's mind, the superintendent refused to rescind the abolition of the berry schools.

Strawberry school teachers expressed their fears that the elimination of the rural education structure might cost them pay, seniority, and vacations. Farnell, in front of an audience of over 100 teachers, refused to give them the pay increases that educators in regular schools received.¹⁰² Since the board's decision ended the school term prematurely, the teachers would not receive career credit for the months they taught. Farnell tried "to soothe the teachers with the suggestion that they should be willing to make some sacrifices."¹⁰³ The transfer also stripped the teachers of their regular vacation periods. Instead of a midsummer break, the teachers' vacation would be moved back to Christmas. Consequently, former rural school teachers would have to teach for 15 continuous months without a vacation.

Robert T. Mann, an attorney hired by the strawberry teachers, protested that his clients were "being changed over without their consent. Maybe they agree with the change, but still it is a salary loss to them."¹⁰⁴ Farnell pointed out that in the past teachers had received retroactive pay raises, but he could not allow them in this case. "You never complained over anything that was to your benefit," sighed Farnell. "I think you should be willing to take this and do the best you can."¹⁰⁵ The director of education, A. L. Vergason, told the teachers: "If it hurts you financially to make this change you should realize that it is being done in the interest of educational progress. You are helping to do something that should have been done long ago."¹⁰⁶ Though the teachers continued to demand better treatment, their arguments fell on the deaf, reforming ears of the County School Board. The teachers dropped their opposition and became part of the modern school bureaucracy.

Farmers faced the end of the labor system they had relied upon for over 50 years. Though they wailed about the loss of their livelihood and the end of Hillsborough County, their legal attempts to overturn the board's decision showed no hope of success

102. "Berry School Teachers Told Fears Are Groundless," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, August 17, 1956.

103. Bill Boyd, "Berry School Teachers Urged to Take Pay Loss and 'Do the Best You Can,'" *Tampa Morning Tribune*, August 21, 1956.

104. *Ibid.*

105. *Ibid.*

106. *Ibid.*

against the unyielding determination of Farnell. The tide of modernization left the strawberry growers with no one to turn to for support outside of the East Hillsborough area. Local planters realized that they could no longer depend on their children for a supply of labor. Though some farmers abandoned planting strawberries in favor of other crops, some local farmers decided to plant a normal set of strawberries despite the reduced pool of workers. They planned to change the structure of strawberry production by introducing a new element—wide-scale migrant labor. Though small numbers of migrants had worked in the area during the middle-1950s, for the first time Plant City growers “began looking into the possibilities of getting Bahamian and Mexican labor to help in the fields.”¹⁰⁷ Though farmers traditionally favored familial or sharecropping labor, they acknowledged that “outside labor might work out satisfactorily if they were paid on a per-quart basis for picking strawberries.”¹⁰⁸

In 1957 Earl Lomon Koos wrote *They Follow the Sun*, a short study of migrant labor assembled for the Bureau of Maternal and Child Health of the Florida State Board of Health. In it he described the Atlantic coast migrant stream that journeyed annually up the Eastern seaboard, from bean fields on the shores of Lake Okeechobee to apple orchards in the hills of upstate New York. Though centered for much of the year in Florida, the migrants usually stayed in the freshly cleared farm lands of the Everglades.¹⁰⁹ In towns like Belle Glade, African-American migrants settled into semi-permanent communities during the long season in the “winter garden.”¹¹⁰ In the ensuing years, East Hillsborough farmers faced the challenge of attracting a reliable group of agricultural laborers.

The strawberry school debate surfaced for a final time in the school board elections of 1956. Republican candidates Mrs. Ona C. Hilliard, Robert Johnson, and Ralph Blanchard, hoping to make some progress against the solidly Democratic structure of Hillsborough County, promised to “restore the strawberry schools if elected in November.”¹¹¹ Johnson denounced the sitting school board as a

107. “Most Farmers To Set Normal Berry Acreage,” *Plant City Courier*, August 17, 1956.

108. *Ibid.*

109. Earl Lomon Koos, *They Follow The Sun* (Jacksonville, FL, 1957), 2-5.

110. Jacqueline Jones, *The Dispossessed* (New York, 1992), 188-91.

111. Bill Boyd, “GOP Candidates Pledge Return of Berry Schools,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 2, 1956.

body of “five yes-men” and declared that “If elected— we pledge to you here tonight that we will return the berry schools.”¹¹² Despite the widespread desire for a return to strawberry schools, the staunchly Democratic *Courier* drew the line at accepting an alliance with the Republicans. Even the *Plant City Courier* with its predominantly rural readership, accepted the end of the strawberry culture and objected to the Republicans’ seizure of the farmers’ cause. A *Courier* editorial conceded that “the berry schools were a relic of the past . . . [and] the School Board was quite right in closing them and, from reports we’ve heard, the children are happy to be going to school on a normal schedule.”¹¹³ The newspaper mocked the Republicans’ attempts appeal to a “disgruntled group of farmers” and felt confident that their appeal “would persuade thousands that . . . a change of parties means a change for the worst.”¹¹⁴ Though small growers still grumbled about the crippling of strawberry production and hoped for the return of traditional agriculture, their battle for rural education was lost.

Farmers screamed when the school board threatened the structure of rural education; but in the exhausted aftermath of the decision the agricultural community quietly abandoned its struggle and began to adjust to the new social alignment. For over a decade the strawberry growers shielded their “peculiar institution” from continual assault. However, both the greater opportunities outside of agriculture in the post-war boom and the harsh nature of strawberry cultivation drove the younger generation of pickers to leave the family sets. Pressure from Tampa reformers and a weakening of the internal structure of rural culture robbed strawberry growers of their ability to resist modernization. The erosion of berry culture mirrored the decreasing importance of small berry growers in the local economy. Agricultural organization no longer decided the structure of society.

Though the farmers attempted to devise new farming strategies and labor relationships, the late 1950s marked a period of extreme contraction and consolidation in strawberry production. In 1950, Hillsborough County farmers planted 1,632 acres of strawberries.

112. *Ibid.*

113. “A Change for the Worse,” *Plant City Courier*, October 8, 1956.

114. *Ibid.*

In 1957, the first year without Summer school labor, the acreage shrank to 1,450.¹¹⁵ The number of acres dedicated to strawberries fell to 650 by 1960, a low level that would remain steady until the “berry boom” of the late 1970s.¹¹⁶ The 1980s marked the high point of strawberry cultivation— in 1983 Hillsborough and Manatee County strawberry fields covered over 4,700 acres, a number not seen since the 1930s.¹¹⁷ However, the new berry culture had little in common with the tiny sets of the 1940s. By the 1980s, strawberry growers ran large, modern, mechanized farms that sprawled over hundreds of acres. Commercial farmers finally realized the goal of strawberry millions— long after Tagulo Rogers’ family abandoned their agricultural dreams on a half-acre of rich Plant City soil.

115. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Florida Agriculture Annual Agricultural Statistical Summary, 1960-1961 Season* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1961), 99.

116. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Florida Agricultural Statistics, Vegetable Summary— 1969* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1970), 42.

117. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Florida Agricultural Statistics, Vegetable Summary— 1989* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1989), 48.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

American University

Keith Halderman– “Marijuana and the Myth of Victor Licata”
(Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– “Angry Indians: Studies of Crises in the Pre-Revolutionary Era” and “D’Aubarede, Montfort Brown, and their Schemes for the Colonial Deep South” (publications forthcoming).

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

Eric Tscheschlok– “Long Road to Rebellion: Miami’s Liberty City Riot of 1968” (master’s thesis completed).

Daytona Beach Community College

John J. Guthrie, Jr. (faculty)– “The History of Spiritualism at Cassadaga, Florida, 1893-1993” (publication forthcoming); “Justice George Pettus Raney” (publication forthcoming).

Flagler College

Eugene Lyon (faculty)– “Translations, Revillagigedo Archives”; “Pedro Menéndez de Aviles”; “Recovering the Minorcan Heritage”; “Floridanos Evacuated in 1763”; “Sixteenth Century Fortifications in Spanish St. Augustine” (continuing studies).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– “James Hudson: Civil Rights Leader in Tallahassee, 1955-1975”; “The Peculiar Institution in Jackson County, Florida, 1824-1865”; “The Role of Florida Overseers and Drivers in Florida, 1821-1865”; “A Statistical View of Land and Slave Ownership in Florida, 1826-1865”; “The Role and Status of Antebellum Lawyers in Middle Florida, 1821-1865”; “The Role of Female Slaves on the Antebellum

Florida Plantation”; “Indentured Servitude on the Wirtland Plantation: An Experiment that Failed, 1833-1834”; “Regulation of Free Blacks in Territorial Florida, 1828-1845” (continuing studies).

Florida Atlantic University

Donald W. Curl (faculty)– “Howard Major’s Palm Beach Architecture”; “Lost Palm Beach,” with Fred Eckel (continuing studies).

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)– “An Assumption of Sovereignty: Social and Political Transformation Among the Florida Seminoles, 1953-1979” (published); “The Florida Seminoles, 1880-1990: Cultural Survival, Political Realization, and the Exercise of Tribal Sovereignty” (publication forthcoming).

Robert A. Taylor (faculty)– “Lucius B. Northrop and the Second Seminole War”; “Lincoln’s Loyalists in Florida”; “Governor Dan McCarty”; “Fort Pierce’s Naval Amphibious Training Base, 1943-1946” (continuing studies).

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee

Charles R. Ewen– “Soldier of Misfortune: The Discovery and Excavation of Hernando de Soto’s Winter Encampment Among the Apalachee,” with John H. Hann (submitted for publication).

John H. Hann– “Chattahoochee River Forebears of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles, 1675-1775”; “Survey of Spanish Florida’s Natives”; “The Asile Hacienda” (continuing studies); “The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis,” with Bonnie G. McEwan (submitted for publication).

Bonnie G. McEwan– “Missionization as a Process of Acculturation” (study in progress); “A Quartz Crystal Cross from Mission San Luis, Florida,” with Michael W. Davidson and Jeffrey W. Mitchem (publication forthcoming).

Roger Smith– “Emmanuel Point Ship: First Interim Report” and “Maritime Atlas of Florida” (publications forthcoming).

Florida Department of Environmental Protection

Joe Knetsch– “A History of Surveying in Florida”; “The Armed Occupation Act of 1842”; “A General History of Florida

Land Policies"; "The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida," with Edward Keuchel (continuing studies).

Florida International University

Alex Lichtenstein (faculty)— "Trouble in Paradise: Labor Radicalism, Race Relations, and Anticommunism in Florida, 1940-1960" (book in progress).

Florida Museum of Natural History

Jerald T. Milanich— "Laboring in the Fields of the Lord, Southeastern Indians and Spanish Missions" (book in progress); "New Perspectives on the Timucua Indians and the Missions of Spanish Florida" (article forthcoming).

Florida Southern College

Pat Anderson (faculty)— "Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall" (continuing study).

James M. Denham (faculty)— "'A Rogue's Paradise': Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida" (publication forthcoming); "Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives, the Florida Reminiscences of George Gillett Keen and Sarah Pamela Williams," with Canter Brown, Jr. (study completed); "William Pope DuVal"; "A History of Florida Sheriffs" (continuing studies).

Mary Flekke— "Frank Lloyd Wright: An Oral History" (continuing study).

Keith Huneycutt (faculty)— "The Anderson-Brown Family in Frontier Florida, 1830-1861," with James M. Denham (continuing study).

Luis A. Jimenez (faculty)— "José Martí's Self-Portraiture Through his *Epistolary* and Life in Tampa" (publication forthcoming); "Prisoners' Discourse and José Martí's *Political Prison in Cuba* (continuing studies); "Narrative Art of Hilda Perera" (publication forthcoming).

Randall M. MacDonald (faculty)— "Frank Lloyd Wright's Legacy to Florida Southern" (publication forthcoming).

Steven Rogers— "Frank Lloyd Wright, Ludd Spivey, and Florida Southern College" (continuing study).

John Santosuosso (faculty)– “Radio Marti” (publication forthcoming).

Florida State University

Jeana E. Brunson– “Patterns of Community: Quiltmaking in Florida During the Depression Era” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

David J. Coles– “Military Operations in Florida During the Civil War” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); “Florida Troops in the Union Army During the Civil War”; “The Florida Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg,” with Don Hillhouse and Zack Waters (continuing studies).

Tracy A. Danese– “The Controversy Between Claude Pepper and Edward Ball over the Florida East Coast Railroad” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Caroline S. Emmons– “A History of the NAACP in Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Maxine D. Jones (faculty)– “S. D. McGill, Florida’s Civil Rights Attorney”; “Black Women in Florida”; “African Americans in Twentieth-Century Florida”; “The Ocoee Massacre” (continuing studies).

Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– “The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida,” with Joe Knetsch (continuing study); “Family, Community and Business Enterprise: The Millers of Crescent City, Florida,” with Robin Sellers [Oral History Program] (publication forthcoming).

Merri Lamonica– “The Senatorial Career of State Senator Dempsey Barron” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Christopher E. Linsin– “The Impact of the Aged on Florida’s Urbanization, 1940-1980” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

George Phillippy– “Florida’s Cabinet System to 1930” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Lawrence Patrick Riordan– “‘A Haven for Tax Dodgers’: The Roots of Florida’s Income Tax Ban” (continuing study); “Seminole Genesis: Europeans, Africans, and Native Peoples in the Lower South” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

William Warren Rogers– “Florida in the 1920s and 1930s”; “Cultural Diversity in Florida Since 1800: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor,” with Mark I. Greenberg and Canter Brown, Jr. (publication forthcoming); “A History of Good-

- wood Plantation and the Croom Family,” with Erica Clark (research completed).
- Cecil-Marie Sastre– “Fort Picolata on the St. Johns River” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Jessica Slavin– “A Study of Poor Whites and Crackers in Florida, 1840-1940” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Sally Vickers– “Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida’s Congresswoman and Diplomat” (continuing study).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

- Cesar Becera– “Logging Industry in South Florida” (continuing study).
- Tina Bucuvalas– “Cuban Folklife” (continuing study).
- Robert S. Carr– “Archaeological Investigation of the Addison Homestead, Dade County” (continuing study).
- Dorothy Fields– “Black Archives, History and Research Foundation of South Florida” (continuing study).
- Paul S. George– “Port of Miami”; “Miami Beach’s Jewish Community,” (continuing study for exhibition).
- Christopher Kern and Cesar Becerra– “Human Impact on Dade County Pinelands” (continuing study).
- Leah LaPlante– “Charles Torrey Simpson - South Florida Naturalist” (publication forthcoming).
- Arva Moore-Parks– “Dade County”; “Julia Tuttle”; “Mary Barr Munroe” (continuing studies).
- William M. Straight– “Study of Medicine in the Miami River Community, 1840-1880”; “Medical Care During the First Ten Years After the Incorporation of the City of Miami” (continuing studies).
- W. S. Steele– “Seminole Wars in South Florida” (continuing study); “Military History of the Joe Robbie Dolphin Stadium Site” (publication forthcoming).
- Steve Stuempfle– “Caribbean Percussion Traditions in Miami” (study in progress).

Jacksonville University

- Antonio De La Cova (adjunct faculty)– “Biography of Colonel Henry Theodore Titus”; “Fernandina Filibustering Expedition of 1895” (works in progress).

King's College London, Ontario

Eric Jarvis (faculty)– “Canadians in Florida, 1920-Present”; “A Comparative Study of East and West Florida and the Old Province of Quebec, 1763-1783” (continuing studies).

Louisiana State University

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

Miami-Dade Community College

Paul S. George (faculty)– “A History of the Miami Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged” and “A Journey Through Time, A Pictorial History of South Dade” (published); “A History of the Burdine Family” (study completed); “A History of Gesu Catholic Church (Miami)” and “A History of Catholicism in Southeast Florida” (research in progress); “Criminal Justice in Miami and Dade County Since the 1890s” (continuing study).

Museum of Florida History

Jeanne E. Brunson and Robert B. Graetz– “Florida’s Civil War Flags” (continuing study).

Peter A. Cowdrey, Jr.– “Borders of Paradise: A History of Florida Through New World Maps” in association with the Daytona Museum of Arts & Sciences (exhibit catalogue published and traveling exhibit).

Clint Fountain– “Florida Furniture, 19th and Early 20th Centuries” (continuing study).

Julia S. Hesson– “Home Extension Work in Florida” (continuing study).

Charles R. McNeil– “Sunshine and the Silver Screen: A Century of Florida Films” (exhibit forthcoming in 1997 and traveling exhibit in 1998); “The Importance of Silas Sterns and the Pensacola Red Snapper Fishery to North American Ichthyology” (publication forthcoming, co-author).

Erik T. Robinson– “Celebrating Florida: Works of Art from the Vickers Collection,” with Gary R. Libby, et. al., in association with the Daytona Museum of Arts and Sciences (exhibit catalogue published, traveling exhibit); “Nineteenth and Early

Twentieth-Century Art in and about Florida” (continuing study).

Pensacola Junior College

Brian R. Rucker (faculty)– “It Can’t Happen Here (?): A History of Earthquakes in West Florida” (study completed); “From Pensacola To Belize: An American’s Odyssey Through Mexico In 1903” (publication forthcoming); “Eyewitness Accounts of the Civil War in West Florida”; “PaleoIndian Sites, Shoreline Changes, and Submerged Forests on the Gulf Coast of Florida”; “A Historical and Geological Study of Stony Point, Escambia Bay, Florida” (works in progress); “Antebellum Pensacola” and “History of Santa Rosa County” (continuing studies).

St. Leo College

James J. Horgan– “The Dunne Family and the Early Years of San Antonio, Pasco County” (in progress).

Tallahassee Museum of History & Natural Science

Linda Deaton– “Tallahassee Aviation History” (research in progress).

Tampa Bay History Center

Canter Brown, Jr.– “Ossian Bingley Hart, Florida’s Loyalist Reconstruction Governor” (publication forthcoming); “Florida’s Heritage of Diversity, Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor,” with Mark I. Greenberg and William Warren Rogers (publication forthcoming); “Florida’s Black Public Officials, 1867-1924” (publication forthcoming); “Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives, The Florida Reminiscences of George Gillett Keen and Sarah Pamela Williams,” with James M. Denham (publication forthcoming); “Tampa Before the Civil War”; “Biography of John J. Dickison,” with David J. Coles; “Founding of the AME Church in Florida”; “Biography of William H. Kendrick”; “Biographical Directory of the Florida Legislature, 1821-1920” (continuing studies) .

University of Alabama at Birmingham

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)– “The Latinization of Florida”; “Jews, Blacks, and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960”; “Sunshine State/Sunbelt City: Essays on Modern Florida History”; “Shadows in the Sunshine: A History of Race Relations in Miami, 1896-1996”; (publications forthcoming).

University of Central Florida

Michael Howard Hoover– “Brailey Odham: Florida’s Progressive Populist” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
 Bradley Keeler– “The Dixie Highway in Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).
 Shannon Lee Moore– “A Portrait of Garcilaso de la Vega’s La Florida del Inca” (master’s thesis completed).

University of Florida

Robert Austin– “The Effects of Chert Availability on Prehistoric Technological Organization: A Case Study from South-Central Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); “Archaeology of Early Archaic Period Peoples” (Ph. D. dissertation in progress).
 Samuel Chapman– “Seventeenth-Century Native Settlement Systems in North Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).
 James C. Clark– “The 1950 Florida Senatorial Primary Between Claude Pepper and George Smathers” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
 David R. Colburn (faculty)– “A History of the Rosewood Episode of 1923,” with Maxine Jones, Larry Rivers, and Thomas Dye (continuing study).
 Mark I. Greenberg– “Cultural Diversity in Florida Since 1800: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor,” with William Warren Rogers and Canter Brown, Jr. (publication forthcoming).
 David McCally– “An Environmental History of the Florida Everglades” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
 Larry Odzak– “Odysseys to America: The Origins and Growth of Greek-American Communities in the Southern United States” (continuing study); “‘Demetrios is Now Jimmy’: Greek Immigrants in the Southern United States” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

- Susan R. Parker– “Economic Relations in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Claudine Payne– “Political Complexity in Chiefdoms: The Lake Jackson Mound Group and Ceramic Chronology in North-west Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Donna Ruhl– “Paleoethnobotany of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Mission Sites in Coastal La Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Ruth Troccoli– “Gender and Conquest: The Role of Women in the European Colonization of La Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of Miami

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

University of North Florida

- Daniel L. Schafer (faculty)– “A Biography of Zephaniah Kingsley” (in progress).
- Bonita A. Deaton– “Unionism in Clay County Florida During the Civil War” (master’s thesis completed).

University of Pennsylvania

- Edward E. Baptist– “Culture and Power: The Old South’s Florida Frontier, 1821-1865” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); “Florida Plantation Records Revisited: Additional Documents From El Destino and Chemonie Plantations”; “‘All That Is Good I Do Set Down and Throw the Rest Away’: Nancy Cone Hagan and White Community on the Cotton Frontier”; “The Slaves’ Migration”; “Politics in Territorial Florida: Faction and Ideology” (continuing studies).

University of South Florida

- Raymond O. Arsenault (faculty)– “Harvests of Shame: Migrant Laborers in Florida” (continuing study).
- Ruth Mary Bauer– “Women in Sarasota” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Laura Edwards (faculty)– “Southern Women and the Civil War” (book-length study in progress).

- Gary Garrett– “The Impossible Highway: A Social History of the Tamiami Trail” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Susan Greenbaum (faculty)– “Tampa’s African-American Community.”
- Kathy Howe– “Reconstruction in Tampa Bay” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Robert Ingalls (faculty)– “The Red Scare in Tampa” (in progress).
- Geoffrey Mohlman– “African Americans in Tampa” (Ph. D. dissertation in progress).
- Gary R. Mormino (faculty)– “Florida and World War II” (book-length manuscript in progress) and “A Social History of Florida” (continuing study).
- Colin Ramsay– “The History of Oldsmar” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Scott Rohrer– “The Rising Sun in the Sunshine State: Japanese Images in Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Ana Varela Lago– “Spanish Immigrants in Tampa” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Jennifer Walker– “Women in Plant City During WWII” (Honor’s Program, thesis completed).

University of West Florida

- William S. Coker (emeritus faculty)– “A History of Sacred Heart Hospital, Pensacola, 1919-1995” (continuing study).
- Jane E. Dysart (faculty)– “Indians in Colonial Pensacola” (continuing study).

Valdosta State University

- Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr. (faculty)– “Spanish-Indian Relations in La Florida” (continuing study).

Vanderbilt University

- Jane Landers (faculty)– “African and African American Women and Their Pursuit of Rights Through Eighteenth-Century Spanish Texts”; “In Consideration of Her Enormous Crime: Rape and Infanticide in Spanish St. Augustine”; “The French Revolution on Spain’s Northern Colonial Frontier: Rebellion and Royalism in Spanish Florida” (publications

forthcoming); "Africans in the Spanish Colonies," "Florida's Colonial Plantations" (in progress).

Consulting, Research, and Local Historians

J. Larry Durrance— "The Influence of the Association of Southern Women on the Prevention of Lynching in Florida" (continuing study).

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

Patricia R. Wickman— "Between Two Worlds: The Betty Mae Jumper Story" (with Betty Mae Jumper); "The Old Ways Will Survive: Seminole Traditions Remembered"; "The Seminoles Remember the Florida Wars" (continuing studies); "The Colonial Floridas" and "Florida Demography: A Critical Bibliography"; "Mitochondrial DNA and Y-Chromosome-specific Polymorphisms in the Seminole Tribe of Florida," with Kirsi Huoponen, Antonio Torroni, Daniele Sellitto, Daniel S. Gurley, Rosaria Scozzari and Douglas C. Wallace (publications forthcoming).

BOOK REVIEWS

The New History of Florida. Edited by Michael Gannon. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996. xvi, 480 pp. Introduction, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$34.95 hardcover.)

The 1971 publication of Charlton W. Tebeau's *A History of Florida* was a landmark in the writing of Florida history. This comprehensive, scholarly account of the state's past represented a major advance beyond the sundry histories preceding it. Densely worded, packed with facts, Tebeau's work embodied the prodigious labor of a single man endeavoring to bring together the published material on Florida's past. The resulting book has been the standard history of the state for the past quarter century.

The standard text for the next quarter century is *The New History of Florida*.

This history is the collaborative effort of 22 scholars, each of whom contributed a chapter to the book. Many of the contributors, including editor Michael Gannon, are veteran researchers whose names can be found in the bibliography of Tebeau's book. Some are new lights who have come onto the field in recent years. Each of these specialists has added his or her knowledge and interpretations to the joint endeavor.

The result is excellent. This new history benefits from the 25 additional years of research published since 1971, but it is more than just an updating of the Florida story. There is greater emphasis on social history and on the various authors' assessments and reflections on the past. The result is a book that, even at 480 pages, is slightly less voluminous than Tebeau's history, but is much more readable.

The Spanish colonial period— the longest epoch in Florida's chronology— receives more emphasis in this book. Indians, blacks, and other distinct groups of Floridians are given greater attention, even whole chapters. Modern issues such as overpopulation and environmental degradation are added to the mix of concerns in the book's latter chapters.

The choice of an exotic Florida swamp scene for the dust jacket is provocative, considering that Florida is one of the most highly urbanized states in the union. Also, in this day when most textbooks feature glossy pages full of color illustrations, one wishes

for more from the book's presentation. The cover is dull green, the pages are musty-white, and the black-and-white illustrations are often murky.

However, the written words are marvelous. This book will become the textbook for every college Florida History class, but it also merits a wide readership among the general population of the state.

Flagler College

THOMAS GRAHAM

Pioneer Family: Life on Florida's Twentieth-Century Frontier. By Michel Oesterreicher. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996. 175 pp. Foreword by Daniel L. Schafer. Acknowledgments. \$24.95 paper.)

Hugie Oesterreicher was born in 1898 in a cypress log cabin near the Old King's Road on the edge of the Durban Swamp. Hugie's homestead lay in the middle of a vast frontier 10 miles from both Jacksonville to the north and St. Augustine to the south. This was a world of majestic live oaks and cypress, cabbage palms, palmettos, and wild blackberries. Along the ridges were scrawny blackjack oaks, gigantic rattlesnakes, wild hogs, range cattle, bears, and deer. *Pioneer Family* is a powerful story of success, failure, life, sickness and death— but most of all the hardships of carving a living from the north Florida frontier. Today this vanished world is replaced by the urban sprawl of greater Jacksonville— a place of shopping centers, golf courses, housing developments, strip malls, and condominiums on the Intracoastal Waterway.

Through a series of oral interviews with her mother and father, Michel Oesterreicher elegantly crafts together thirty short chapters which bring to life her parent's childhood and adult experiences. "All of the interviews in this book," writes the author, "are based on actual events discussed in those interviews. At no time did I introduce emotions or responses to these events other than the ones Hugie and Oleta said they had. At all times, I strove for an honest, clear narrative, true to my parents and free from my own sentiments" (xi).

Hugie Oesterreicher grew to maturity digging sweet potatoes, penning cattle, planting spring crops, and chasing birds with his sling-shot. In the winter Hugie and his family earned extra money cutting palms which were shipped to northern churches for Palm

Sunday. Learning from his father and older brothers, the growing boy became a woodsman. He hunted in the Durban Swamp, shooting hogs, alligators, and snakes but sometimes selling them alive to stockyards or zoos. Then one day on a cattle drive near a dairy farm, the young man found a tall brown-eyed girl named Oleta Brown. She was the prettiest thing he had ever seen. It took a lot of persuading, but Oleta finally consented to leave her family's dairy farm and join Hugie in the swamp.

Not long after the couple married, the Depression hit with a vengeance. The banks failed and they lost their savings. Hugie trapped animals, cut cross ties, and worked odd jobs: a six-and-a-half foot rattlesnake skin paid for Oleta's trip to the doctor; the twenty dollars from an otter pelt provided the family with a whole month's worth of groceries; four jugs of moonshine paid the doctor for delivering a baby.

One can not read these stories without thinking of Marjorie Kinnan Rawling's *Cross Creek*. Indeed, these stories are just as compelling. There are even Faulknerian qualities to some of the characters, particularly Oleta's mother whose life of hard work and toil found little reward from her uncaring husband. Annie Sadler Brown lived a life of many hardships. When her husband died, leaving her alone with two daughters on their farm, she resumed her daily labors with a pistol strapped over her blue apron. Oleta would never forget that image of her mother, nor would she ever forget the night when— after a hard day's work— she unstrapped her pistol, exchanged her apron for a dress, combed her hair, and accompanied her young daughters to a dance.

The University of Alabama Press has produced yet another excellent book on Florida. Gracefully written, it offers one of the most compelling images of rural life in early 20th-century Florida that exists in print. It should enjoy wide readership.

Florida Southern College

JAMES M. DENHAM

Hugh Robinson: Pioneer Aviator. By George L. Vergara. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995. xii, 136 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, index. \$32.95 cloth.)

In his brief career biography of Hugh Robinson, George L. Vergara takes the reader on a flight of fancy through the daredevil

years of America's early "aeronauts." The author— a practicing cardiologist and an aviation buff— found himself assuming the roles of archivist and historian after his friend, Hugh Robinson, Jr., gave him a tattered box filled with family scrapbooks, pristine photographs, and well-preserved newspaper clippings. This collection revealed that Robinson's father, Hugh Robinson, Sr., resided in a league of aviation pioneers that included Wilbur Wright, Glenn Curtiss, and Tony Jannus. Soon after the younger Robinson passed away, Vergara attempted to reconstruct the senior Robinson's life.

Hugh Robinson (1881-1963) exuded a curious, venturesome spirit. As a child, he read science fiction and tinkered with contraptions. After devising a "Circle of Death" circus performance and establishing a bicycle shop in his native Neosho, Missouri, Robinson moved to St. Louis and became obsessed with the feats of early aviators. Robinson witnessed a flight by Wilbur Wright during a visit to France, and returned from his trip with a desire to construct his own air machine and a plan to see the United States assume a leading role in the development of the aviation industry. He met Glenn Curtiss while flying at the St. Louis Centennial Exposition in 1909 and soon thereafter launched a career of aeronautical innovations. His creative labors contributed to the development of hydroplanes, military pilot education, and airplane landings on naval vessels.

This book recounts the many dangers that pioneer aviators encountered. Pilots assembled, tested, and modified gossamer flying machines built from wood, bamboo, and piano wire. Aviators followed a circuit of air shows that resembled spectator sporting events with a carnival atmosphere. For example, as a member of the Curtiss Air Exhibition Team, Robinson lived the itinerant life of an acrobatic performer who traveled by train to destinations near and far. Before each air show, Robinson and his mechanics assembled the aeroplane from pieces packed in shipping crates. Although they received generous fees to perform daredevil acts, aviators who postponed flights due to inclement weather often faced hostile audiences. After each stunt show— assuming that the plane had not crashed— Robinson and his colleagues disassembled their flying machines and prepared for the next locale.

Vergara offers a detailed account of Robinson's aviation exploits and a brief assessment of his later contributions to Florida history. Seven of the book's eleven chapters cover the brief period (1910-1912) when Robinson truly ranked among the greatest of aviators. While Robinson did not join Tom Benoist and Tony Jan-

nus when they established the St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line, he later moved to Florida and invested in the land boom. Along with Curtiss, he became a pioneer developer and civic leader in Opa-Locka. He also lived in Coral Gables, Miami, and Deland before moving to Maryland in 1945.

Through his biography of Hugh Robinson, Vergara has recaptured the pioneer spirit of early American aviation. The marvelous photographs and strong narrative return the reader to a period when aeronautic innovators both captivated audiences and turned their unique inventions into machines that redefined temporal and spatial distances. However, while the author bases much of his account on personal family materials, a lack of standard citations makes it difficult to evaluate the sources used during his research. The author relies on a number of extensive quotations from newspaper articles and other sources, rather than paraphrasing these sources to fit into his text. Also, brief chapters (chapters one and ten have only four pages each, including photographs) and limited attention to Robinson's later years (Vergara covers the years 1917 to 1963 in thirteen pages) give the impression that the author does not want to venture far beyond the pilot's seat. For example, further discussion of Robinson's consulting and engineering efforts during World War II might reveal that his contributions to the industry continued long after his daredevil days. Despite these criticisms, Vergara deserves praise for his portrait of Robinson's high-flying career.

USF, St. Petersburg

JAMES A. SCHNUR

Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994. By Maria Cristina Garcia. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1996. xiii, 290 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00).

To this reviewer the Garcia book is an excellent and most welcome study and an important addition to recent Florida history. The text is clear, most readable, and devoid of jargon. This is a serious book based on solid documentation with a thorough bibliography and measured notes. The author, a Cuban-American and professor of history at Texas A&M, is unbiased and fair. The original research and composition was a Ph.D. dissertation completed at the University of Texas, well known for its Latin American pro-

gram and library resources. Certainly the published, updated version lacks the usual shortcomings of a dissertation.

Florida and Cuba have been linked historically since the early 16th century. It is a love, rivalry and sometimes hate relationship. Since the Castro revolution nearly four decades ago over one million Cubans have left and more than half of these settled in Florida—mainly in South Florida. This is a monumental event in Florida's history. Dr. Garcia in 290 pages gives us this recent chapter of Florida history.

The book is divided into two parts: "The Emigration" and "The Emigrés." Part One examines the historical aspects of migration. The arrival of Cubans, beginning in 1959, continued in defined waves up to the Mariel exodus in 1980. This last wave, which occurred during the Carter Administration, is one of the most unique episodes in U.S. immigration history. It is well covered in a long chapter. The more than 100,000 Marielitos were different from the previous emigrants. We are reminded that only 4% were true felons. They were products of the Revolution and of lower economic status in contrast to previous Cuban emigrants from the Castro dictatorship. The Marielitos "became one of the most stigmatized immigrant groups in American history." But "they demonstrated patterns of adaption similar to those of the Cubans who arrived earlier" (6). These earlier waves are sketched in a previous chapter.

Part II, "The Emigrés," deals with what the author calls "conceptual issues," for instance the difficulty of assimilating into and actively participating in American society while still maintaining a Cuban national identity. The chapter entitled "The Evolution of Cuban Exile Politics" is certainly well presented. It gives us a clear account of the complexity and divisiveness of the Cuban exile community and its total inability to form a united front against Castro. While some of us recall the names of emigré leaders from the early decades, most of them have faded from our memory. In this chapter the reader is reminded of them, their struggle and some of their quixotic activities to overthrow Castro from Florida. The U.S. government, Democrats and Republicans alike, were frustrated in trying to unite the Cuban exile leadership. The chapter "Exile Politics" is worthy of attention. Maybe the infamous "Bay of Pigs" invasion of 1961 needed to be presented in a separate chapter rather than discussed in fragments in various parts of the book.

"Cuban Writers and Scholars in Exile" is also a commendable chapter and probably the one that a reader can learn the most

from. The political doings and the historical events are better known than the intellectual endeavors, at least to the average reader and observer of the Cuban problem. We are given many names, titles, and publications. Their influence in Cuban affairs is pivotal. There has been much "creativity" and it has "produced a rich body of work." Yet from this large "body" there has not emerged a universally acknowledged figure such as Isabela Allende (Chile), Garcia Marquez (Colombia— a Castro admirer), or Vargas Llosa (Peru). The exile writers and poets were too focused on the pro- and anti-Castro struggle. Author Garcia fails to analyze the Cuban intellectual elite community from a global point of view or even national (U.S.) point of view. Their fame is restricted.

The five pages of conclusions are clear and precise. The author sees a more recent liberal attitude among the Cuban exiles. Cubans in South Florida now have to share the spotlight with other Latin groups, such as the Nicaraguans and Colombians, and they have learned to be more tolerant with the Haitian emigres. Fortunately Garcia makes no predictions. Her fairness, scholarship and simple erudition ought to bring her positive reviews. The detailed footnotes at the end of the book occupy forty-five pages and there are twenty pages of bibliography. Use of the Cuban exile newspapers, bulletins, tabloids and magazines is extensive. There is a well done index.

University of South Florida

CHARLES W. ARNADE

The Search for Thomas F. Ward, Teacher of Frederick Delius. By Don C. Gillespie. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996. xvi, 180 pp. Foreword by Eric Fenby, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Don C. Gillespie has written a mystery-adventure story worthy of the best writers of that genre. The remarkable thing about his narrative is that it is not fantasy. Instead, it is the factual, documented history of a teacher/musician/priest who died 75 years before the author's inquiry. It is doubtful that a biography of Thomas F. Ward would have been written if he had not been the first and only American teacher of Frederick Delius.

After showing little aptitude or interest in continuing his father's wool trade business, the young Englishman Delius came to Florida in a half-hearted attempt to become an orange grower. The

turning point of his life came when after a chance meeting with Thomas Ward, he became a student of music theory under Ward's tutelage. The arrangement lasted six months or less and probably would not have warranted a footnote in music history if Frederick Delius had not later become a prominent composer. Delius had been an indifferent student at Bradford elementary school and declared his years at Leipzig Conservatory to be a waste of time. But of his Florida tutor, he said, "Ward's counterpoint lessons were the only lessons from which I ever derived any benefit." This line from this source is justification for a full-scale biography of Ward.

Ward was brought up in a Catholic orphanage in Brooklyn. He was organist and choirmaster at The Church of the Assumption. He studied with John M. Loretz, Jr., who was a nephew and student of Alexander Guilmant in Paris. When Ward was about 30 he moved to Jacksonville, hoping that the benign climate would bring remission or cure of his tuberculosis. He accepted a position as organist at the Church of Immaculate Conception in 1884 where Delius heard his "admirable performances of the great masters." Ward moved to Solano Grove, the site of Delius' orchard and home, for a short time. Then both men moved to Jacksonville where they sang and played, enlivening the social life of the city. With the departure of Delius from Florida in 1885, music historians end their stories of the Brooklyn organist. Over the years, many have speculated on Ward's destiny. Only Gillespie has doggedly pursued every lead in a lifetime of research to follow his subject through later years.

Ward moved to St. Augustine in 1887, probably to escape the danger of a yellow fever epidemic in Jacksonville. There he was organist at the Cathedral of the oldest Catholic diocese in the nation. In addition, he organized a sight singing class that was advertised in the *St. Johns County Weekly*, April 9 and 16, 1887. The Cathedral and a good part of the city were destroyed by fire on April 12. Ward left the ancient city before the Cathedral was restored.

He appeared in Orlando in 1891 as a bookkeeper for the *Orlando Record*, then moved to the priory and College of St. Leo, near Tampa. As a religious cleric in this Benedictine monastery, he took the name of Frater Paul and later, Frater Placidus. He was 35 years old.

Frater Placidus found life at St. Leo tedious. He was depressive and often left the monastery overnight without permission. He cited his own instances of being "headstrong, quarrelsome and of a faultfinding disposition." He disobeyed his prior and resumed his

secular habits. He wrote a letter asking to be released from his vows. The Benedictines never revealed the indiscretion or sin that caused them to expel him from their order. They wanted him excommunicated and removed from the state of Florida. They refused to respond to Ward's sister's urgent request for his address. They filed her letter and declared him dead.

Ward had a secret which burned deeply into his commitment to the church, one that should have prevented him from ever becoming a priest. He confessed to Reverend Philip de Carrier, S. J., that he was illegitimate. According to Philip Heseltine, a Delius biographer, Ward's father was a Spanish priest; his mother was a kitchen maid. Illegitimacy bars one from the priesthood. Ward was excommunicated and subjected to the censure of the church in 1897. Later, he was granted dispensation from the Order of St. Benedict.

Ward next appeared in Shreveport briefly, then in Houston, probably in 1898. His name continued to appear in the city directory until his death in 1912. There is evidence that as an organist, violinist and violist Ward engaged in the thriving music activity of the city. He died in poverty. He was one of an estimated 900 victims of tuberculosis in Houston that year. His funeral expenses were paid by the church and the musicians union.

Thomas Ward seemed to disappear again and again after he left Jacksonville. He was unstable and left few links when he moved from one location to the next. The mutations of his personality and his volatile relations with other St. Leo priests sent him on long journeys but his fidelity to the Catholic church never wavered. Ward is not judged to be a success or a failure, not as a Catholic, as a musician, as an orphan who bore the stigma of illegitimacy. He was a restless man in a cruel world. He gave richly of himself and his skills. If he had secrets other than his illegitimacy, they remain untold.

The unexpected value of Gillespie's book is in the descriptions of music and musicians in Brooklyn, Florida, Louisiana and Texas in the closing years of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th. It is the story of opportunity, cruelty, deception, hardship, adaptability and finally, death. It is told informally and directly. Academic jargon is absent. The author holds back one surprising episode after another until its time has come. He has filled a lacuna that has puzzled music historians for many years. The twists and turns in this narrative are worthy of a grade A movie and a videotape.

Fifty Years of Southeastern Archaeology: Selected Works of John W. Griffin.
Edited by Patricia C. Griffin. Foreword by Kathleen Deagan.
(Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996. xx, 278 pp. Photographs, figures, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

The professional life of John W. Griffin as an archaeologist was coterminous with the rise of professional archaeology in the state of Florida. He was the first professional archaeologist employed in the state in 1946 when he accepted the newly-organized position of state archaeologist under the Florida Park Service, preceding by a few months John Goggin's arrival at the University of Florida. As the book's editor has noted, the incipient nature of archaeology in Florida in that era is reflected in Griffin's selection in 1940, when he did not yet have a degree in the field, to write the archaeology section of the state and federally authorized Florida Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study.

Griffin stands out among archaeologists of the time when he entered the field for his interest in the relationship between archaeology and history and for his belief in the need for a multi-disciplinary approach that included historical research. Prior to becoming state archaeologist, he had written a paper entitled "The Historic Approach to Archaeology and its Application in Florida." In 1945 the *Florida Historical Quarterly* published his essay, "History and Archaeology in Florida." His first contribution had appeared in the *Quarterly* two years earlier and he was a frequent contributor over the next few years.

On resigning as state archaeologist, he served as Executive Historian of the St. Augustine Historical Society for three and one-half years beginning in 1954. He left that position at the beginning of 1958 to embark on a long career with the National Park Service as Regional Archaeologist, Southeastern Region. His continued interest in things historical was reflected in his participation that same year in a symposium on the role of archaeology in historical research, presenting a paper entitled "End Products of Historic Sites Archaeology."

This volume presents 16 representative pieces from the remarkable contributions that he made over a lifetime to the fields of North American Archaeology in general, to Florida Archaeology in particular, and to the emergence of Historical Archaeology as a distinct field. Ten of the essays included in the volume pertain to Flor-

ida archaeology and history. The rest relate to investigations that he conducted for the National Park Service in other parts of the Southeast and in the Midwest. The latter include reports on "Bison in Illinois Archaeology," and reports on Booker T. Washington's boyhood cabin site and on Osceola's burial site. The piece that will probably be most familiar to Florida historians is his "Excavations at the Site of San Luis," his contribution to *Here They Once Stood, the Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*, one of the earliest embodiments in the United States of the collaboration between archaeologists and historians that he advocated.

The selections in this volume reflect the best of his contributions from the 1940s into the early 1990s. All of them are written in a style that makes them accessible to historians as well as to anthropologists and archaeologists. Among the most interesting for historians will be the opening chapter detailing some of Griffin's early adventures into historical archaeology long before its formal emergence as a disciplinary entity, the chapter recounting his unraveling of the mystery surrounding the identity of the Addison block house, and the last three chapters. The clarity and conciseness of his style is reflected with the greatest perfection in those last three chapters, which bear the titles: "The Men Who Met Menéndez: 8000 B.C.-1565 A.D.," "The Impact of the Conquest on the Indians of South Florida," and "The Missions of La Florida." The 16 pieces achieve the volume's original goal of making easily available some of Griffin's most important contributions to Florida anthropology, archaeology, and history, American historical archaeology, and the development of historical archaeology.

*San Luis Archaeological and
Historic Site, Tallahassee*

JOHN H. HANN

How To Do Archaeology The Right Way. By Barbara A. Purdy. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996. xvi, 200 pp. Figures, preface, afterword, glossary of terms, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Apprenticeship allied with learning to excavate by excavating has long been, and continues to be, an essential modality in the practice of archaeology. For professional archaeologists, however, classroom and textbook learning, supplemented with laboratory

practice, are also indispensable parts of the educational process. Now with the increasing number of avocational archaeologists as part of the field team, there exists a need for handbooks specifically aimed at this group.

While several books for amateurs in the field already exist, the present volume is the first to serve this purpose for the state of Florida. The book is also intended for the general reader and might be of particular interest to conservation groups and land developers.

Using a time-line organization, the first section of the book—nearly one-third—is devoted to a description of the artifacts found in Florida and the people who made them. The remaining five chapters contain substantive guidelines on exactly how to go about the practice of archaeology, from such practical matters as how to cope with the often hot and insect-ridden field situation, through common field techniques, and on to more complicated matters.

Withal, these how-to sections of the book give the dignified impression that archaeology is a scientific endeavor, not just digging holes in the ground and finding neat things. The book helps us to understand the fragile nature of archaeological resources and the irreparable loss caused by wanton destruction.

One problem evident throughout the book, however, is an almost total absence of references to historical archaeology, odd considering that it is a major subfield in archaeology and given the fact that many avocational archaeologists take part in digs in post-European contexts. Many of the techniques are the same as for prehistoric archaeology, although historic archaeology employs some different skills and problem solving modes.

In fact, historians may take issue with the author's apparent denigration of the historical record. To speak of this record as "sometimes . . . incomplete, biased, or downright erroneous" while simultaneously praising the ability of the "archaeological data to correct, verify, and supplement written documents" ignores the modern viewpoint that history and archaeology must work together in concert. Often today this collaborative activity takes place in one broadly-based individual researcher who is able to move with ease from excavation to relevant documents (often written in Spanish in Florida) to oral history sources. Certainly as many distortions can be found in the ground as exist in the written records.

This bias also shows up in the claim on page 39 that "there is virtually no substantial evidence that beans, corn, or squash were grown prehistorically," an assertion repeated in different words on

page 67. Actually, the evidence both from historical documents and from pollen analysis of archaeological samples is convincing for the cultivation of plant food, often a seasonal activity, for the Apalachee and the Timucua, and suspected for several other native American groups in Florida as well.

In spite of the anti-historical bias and several unfounded speculations— such as “boredom” as a reason for the initiation of festival activities— the work serves as a valuable guide to those new to the field of archaeology. The last chapter on rules and regulations, including reproduction of the actual reporting documents, and the appended glossary of terms are most useful for a neophyte. The University Press of Florida is to be complimented on the style of presentation and especially on the artistic quality of the dust jacket.

How To Do Archaeology The Right Way is recommended for serious avocational archaeologists who seek to enhance their field experience and for the interested public, including historians, who wish to know how archaeologists accomplish their mission.

St. Augustine Historical Society

PATRICIA C. GRIFFIN

Our Southern Zion: A History of Calvinism in the South Carolina Low Country, 1690-1990. By Erskine Clarke. (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1996. xiv, 434 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, abbreviations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, about the author. \$47.95.)

To be candid, the title and especially the subtitle of Erskine Clarke's new book did not captivate this student of southern religious history, notwithstanding the sound and colorful work its author has previously done.

Does great significance lie in the history of Presbyterian churches of Charleston and surrounding counties in the South Carolina low country from the colonial period to the present? I supposed probably not. The subject gave signs of being tedious, ethnocentric, and provincial, as manifested by the primary phraseology which descended from “our southern Zion” to “our kind of people” and “our little world.”

What I failed to reckon with was that few civilizations in North American have come close to matching its excellence during the heyday of the Old South era in economic achievement, intellectual

attainment, and social refinement. A lethal liability was everywhere to be seen, however, even helping to make it possible. The enslavement of human beings would catch up with all that attainment; it was only a matter of time.

Clarke delineates well the composition and culture-specific qualities and values in the civilization, and succeeds in penetrating the Calvinistic worldview. We are shown what the "Christ the transformer of culture" Calvinist conviction meant and did in a particular setting. The low country Calvinists exercised their calling toward the building of a Christian civilization, a holy commonwealth, a local Zion.

Among their achievements were numerous Presbyterian and Congregational congregations and buildings, ministers and theologians of real stature, and effective ministries to black residents, free and slave, urban and rural. Many of us have not known long that the paucity of black Presbyterians in the South was a late development. Until the 1870s this heritage was an indigenized and substantial feature of local religious life. White Calvinists led the way for the larger South in preparing catechetical instructions for the slaves and instilling a distinctive theology of belief and practice.

Quite impressive is Clarke's not needing to distinguish between "church history" and "religious history." The churches, their heritage, their institutional life, their cultural participation and leadership, and their theology are the subjects he treats. But their being part of a society-culture, both adapting to it and holding their own in the face of it, are just as basic to the inquiry here. Indeed Clarke's historiographical sophistication makes this a model church/religious historical study. By acknowledging interaction and integration, he proceeds with great skill to study a time and place, a Protestant heritage, and a society as some kind of whole. The Old South organicists of whom he writes with such perception, Thornwell, Adger, Girardeau, Smyth, and others, would have recognized his kind of historiographical organicism.

Of course both they and he had a superior script from which to take cues, namely the Calvinist program for church and society. Disclosing its dialectical dynamic to public understanding is the author's governing design; the "competing impulses" are the Scholastic and the Humanistic (in theological language, Word and Spirit). The former describes Calvinism's convictions about order, harmony, structure, fear of anarchy, and hierarchy. "Humanistic" captures its devotion to openness, freedom, persuasion, and an

egalitarian vision. The heritage is complex in just such a profound dialectical manner.

Perhaps the Calvinism-South Carolina low country symbiosis is the only fertile time and place for examining the religious history of the South with such rewards. In any event, we have in *Our Southern Zion* an exceedingly fine study of a flourishing civilization in which a formidable theological tradition wrought defining and propelling perspectives. Clarke discerned wisely that his subject held high promise and he has presented us with a study of high quality indeed.

University of Florida

SAMUEL S. HILL

James Glen: From Scottish Provost to Royal Governor of South Carolina. By W. Stitt Robinson. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996. xi, 176 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliographical essay, index, about the author. \$52.95 cloth.)

It was no easy thing to be a British colonial governor in mid-18th century America, nor is it an easy thing to write a biography of such a man. W. Stitt Robinson has pursued James Glen, Governor of South Carolina from 1738 to 1756, with utmost diligence and describes Glen's career in great detail. Robinson's research in the extensive public records and private manuscripts has enabled him to correct a significant number of errors and omissions in the historical account. The result is a slender, carefully phrased monograph, designed for scholars interested in colonial South Carolina.

James Glen was born in 1701, the eldest son of a locally prominent family in Linlithgow, Scotland. The Glens escaped the curse of Jacobitism and were faithful adherents of the Hanoverian interest in Scottish politics. Service in London led to a connection with Spencer Compton, Lord Wilmington, and to him Glen gave thanks for his gubernatorial appointment in 1738. Robinson notes that Glen married Wilmington's illegitimate daughter and that Glen's sister was Robert Walpole's mistress. If so, strange bed fellows made for good politics.

It was five years before Glen sailed for his new appointment. His gubernatorial salary had been reduced, he dabbled in colonial business at the Board of Trade, and may have sought a more lucrative position elsewhere. He finally stepped ashore at Charles Town

in 1743, armed with orders and commissions that weighed heavily upon the new governor but were far distant from the realities of life in South Carolina.

The details of Glen's administration need not be reviewed here; Robinson covers them all exhaustively and credits Glen with considerable success. Indian problems required much of Glen's attention, but rival tribes, chieftains, and traders were only momentarily bound by treaties. Relations between governor, council, and assembly were always antagonistic and could not be resolved on "constitutional" grounds. When Glen came to terms with the Bull and Drayton families he had, at least, some political support. There was no end to quarrels with other southern governors, in which Glen proved as prickly and uncooperative as any. His tenure lasted until 1756, when political changes in England led to his removal. Surprisingly, he remained in South Carolina until 1761. Upon returning to Britain, he undertook the thankless task of keeping an eye on Drayton's boys, settled down in London, and died in 1777.

Robinson's book is full of gubernatorial and colonial business as reflected in the public records. There is little to illumine the personal life and character of James Glen, to humanize him. He remains an ill-fitting cog in a creaky and complex colonial machine whose collapse was inevitable.

Auburn University, Emeritus

ROBERT R. REA

Judgment and Grace in Dixie: Southern Faiths from Faulkner to Elvis. By Charles Reagan Wilson. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1995. xiii, 202 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, afterword, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Charles Reagan Wilson, co-editor of *The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* and a professor of history and southern studies at the University of Mississippi, has compiled a volume of 12 essays, written at different times for varied publications. Wilson presents two themes designed to tie the essays together. The first explores the impact of popular religion on southern culture in the 20th century. The second, more specific, theme examines the role that religion played in southern creative expression. To this end, for example, the author explores an interesting variety of subjects: death themes in country music, church fans, folk art, beauty pageants, and an inside look at the 27,000-member First Baptist Church of Dallas, Texas.

Wilson defines popular religion as a set of practices existing outside of formal church institutions, with worship that embraces the supernatural and is related to the people rather than the church leaders. Professor Wilson also points out that civil religion serves to bind “official” religion and “popular” religion in the South. Civil religion includes prayers before football games and paintings of Jesus on black velvet. Popular religion, explains Wilson, is also closely related to southern folk religion— characterized by scriptural literalism, isolation, emotionalism, and an informal organization with an oral tradition. On these matters, the author displays an expertise that was first evident in his well-regarded study, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause*.

Wilson provides the reader with a helpful introduction and two explanatory chapters. The first chapter surveys the distinctiveness of southern religion while chapter two describes the transformation of southern civil religion over the period 1920-1980. For Wilson, the South’s identity and regional consciousness are consequences of the region’s historical experience. Wilson cites the defeat of the Confederacy in the Civil War and the myth of the Lost Cause as vital factors in molding Southern attitudes. Warriors like Robert E. Lee were portrayed as heroes in a just and holy cause. The Confederate battle flag, the song “Dixie,” and statues of Lee served as symbols of the past to assist the defeated South with a crisis of confidence and identity. The southern agrarians in *I’ll Take My Stand* believed that southerners were the Chosen People and being a white southerner was based on spiritual superiority. Trying to rejuvenate southern culture, the agrarians attacked materialism and industrialization, touting the South as the savior of the world since her farmers had uniquely managed to link spiritual and material values.

Perhaps the most intriguing essays deal with two famous sons of the South. The author presents Elvis Presley as a polite Pentecostal who loved his mother and grew up on church music. His enormous success as an entertainer made this good ole boy into a saint and a transcendent Icon (“Elvis Lives”). Wilson concludes that Paul “Bear” Bryant, the successful football coach at the University of Alabama, “was as close to a southern saint as the modern South has produced.” Indeed, football is God in many parts of the South and southern superiority is demonstrated by victory over northern schools. Wilson sees Bryant’s funeral in 1983 as “probably unsurpassed in southern history.” It is estimated that over 500,000 people lined the 53-mile funeral route from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham,

his final resting place. Over 10,000 mourners attended the graveside ceremony and hundreds still make yearly pilgrimages to the tomb. A popular artifact in Alabama is a life-sized portrait of the "Bear" walking on water. Bryant achieved heroic stature, states Wilson, because the South, in the person of Coach Bryant, had overcome poverty and defeat (Bryant won).

In the remaining essays, the author presents an analysis of the influence of evangelical protestantism on William Faulkner's writing and an off-beat discussion of southern folk art—roadside signs of "Jesus Saves." Wilson is less successful in incorporating the "South's Search for Good Books" and "The Cult of Beauty" into his themes. Some of this material, photographs of sacred southern space, is interesting, but somewhat on the margin.

Overall this is a valuable and enlightening collection of essays. The work is focused on southern culture as much as on southern religion, and Wilson provides the reader with new concepts in analyzing southern culture in transition. There is inevitably some repetition and overlap in the essays, but not enough to detract from the general value of the book. Although his sources are almost exclusively secondary, Wilson demonstrates a superior knowledge and mastery of these sources. Some pieces seem ephemeral, but this book of essays offers richer rewards than a superficial meandering through southern culture. *Judgment and Grace in Dixie* is well written, the interpretations are sound, and much of the material is fascinating.

University of Florida, Gainesville

JULIAN W. PLEASANCE

The People's Writer: Erskine Caldwell and the South. By Wayne Mixon. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. xv, 256 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, illustrations, index. \$27.50 cloth.)

A former professor of mine recalled Erskine Caldwell's *Tobacco Road* as a book he shared in scandalous secret with other southern boys during the 1930s. I, too, felt like hiding behind a closed door. When I read Caldwell's classic novel, for I received the distinct impression of distaste from my mother-in-law who found me absorbed in it during a recent visit to her Birmingham home. The stigma associated with *Tobacco Road* and Caldwell's other sensational portrayals of the South's marginalized, initiated with their publication in

the Depression era, exists still in the 1990s. For this reason, Wayne Mixon's *The People's Writer* provides a valuable introduction to Caldwell and some of his most significant writing. Elaborating on Caldwell's life and intellectual contexts, Mixon allows both the general and academic reader to get beyond the condemnation that often overshadows Caldwell in order to arrive at a more informed understanding of the author, his literary inspiration, and the mixed responses of his audiences.

The People's Writer is a biographical account of Caldwell's life and the influences that shaped his writing, interlaced with a review of the responses that his work first received from critics and the general public. Mixon's book is different from other biographical and critical looks at Caldwell in that it focuses on Caldwell's writing of the 1930s and early 1940s specifically in an effort to examine his portrayal of the South as well as the way that portrayal was received by southern audiences. Mixon believes that Caldwell's early writing, depicting his native southern ground and its concomitant social injustices, is his most important work and that the South is the lightning rod of Caldwell's authorial inspiration. It is Mixon's goal to highlight the prime of Caldwell's prolific career— and the South's role in its cultivation— in order to allow for the fairest appraisal of Caldwell's place in literary history.

Mixon offers a thematic characterization of Caldwell as the people's writer— a writer for those who, due to ravaging social and economic conditions, could not write their own stories of protest— as a way to affirm the realities and reasoning upon which Caldwell's writing is based. Mixon describes Caldwell's vision of himself in this capacity as one of the few constants in an otherwise contradictory life. According to Mixon, it is this constant that should be remembered when one questions the reliability of Caldwell's portrayal of the Depression-era South. Mixon points out that even though some of the most inconceivable incidents of Caldwell's writing can be confirmed, it is best to trust in Caldwell simply because of the tenacity and passion with which he fought social injustice throughout his life and career. Through well-researched detail Mixon reveals that the testament of Caldwell's reliability was his untiring attempt to fuse art and activism.

Besides Caldwell's activism, Mixon considers the exceptionalism of Caldwell's heavy-handed treatment of class, gender, religion, and race, describing Caldwell as one of few southern writers who "[tore] down the idols enshrined in the temple that housed the

myths of a benign South" (166). Mixon concedes that Caldwell may have created his own mythic South but he concludes that it "bore greater resemblance to the lives of millions of southerners than did the myth generated by many other southern writers of the 1920s and 1930s" (166). Mixon, too, has done his best to debunk several myths that have followed Caldwell throughout his life and after his death. Count *The People's Writer* as a successful attempt to create a realistic and well-balanced picture of a writer who had a unique relationship with his native South.

EILEEN KNOTT

Biographical Dictionary of the Union - Northern Leaders of the Civil War.
 Edited by John T. Hubbell and James W. Geary. (Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 1995. 696 pp. Introduction, biographical references, bibliography, index. \$99.50.)

Biographical Dictionary of the Union has all the elements necessary to become an indispensable reference for Civil War writers and researchers. It is a handsome volume which combines the services of 124 distinguished authors and historians writing on a subject which still continues to fascinate scholars and the public 130 years after Appomattox. To their credit, the editors were not content to simply rehash the same tired material. They attempt, instead, to shed light on subjects too often neglected in studies of the sectional conflict: women, African-Americans, and soldiers and politicians in the Trans-Mississippi and Far West. However, despite these assets, this book is only partially successful.

This volume is at its best when it concentrates on Northern politicians. More than half of the 872 biographical entries deal with the saints and sinners, Copperheads and abolitionists, heroes and cowards who guided the Union through America's greatest conflict. While much of the raw data is available in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1989* and *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1789-1978*, most of the well-written sketches manage to breath life into the Yankee political elite. Ambassadors, cabinet officers, and members of the Supreme Court, along with a liberal sprinkling of artists, editors, propagandists, and orators, add dash to the list of usual suspects, and an excellent bibliography added several new volumes to this reader's Christmas book list.

Military historians, on the other hand, may be disappointed. Although many divisional and corps commanders are included, scholars should not yet discard their copies of Ezra Warner's *Generals in Blue*. Too many important combat officers were omitted. Hard-fighting brigadiers such as Lewis Addison Grant, John Frederick Hartsranft, and Thomas Alfred Smyth were left out, and naval officers are under-represented. The editors acknowledge that their selections "may not be satisfactory to all readers," but rather contemptuously relegate this discussion as a proper subject for Civil War Round Tables. Yet editorial responsibility is vital in a work such as this. Minor players on the national stage often receive more attention than those whose contribution was vital to a Union victory. For example, why does Jane Grey Cannon Swisshelm, an abolitionist and editor, receive more space than Winfield Scott Hancock, the superb commander of the Army of the Potomac's II Corps, and Joshua Chamberlain, the hero of the Federal defense of Little Round Top at Gettysburg? Likewise, Henry Cornelius Burnett, a Southern Rights candidate from Kentucky to the 1861 emergency session of Congress, receives a longer entry than Chamberlain or Hancock, though the Kentuckian led a Confederate cavalry regiment and spent the remainder of the war as a Confederate senator.

Those readers whose primary interest is Florida history will find little new or exciting in this book. The southernmost state receives only passing mention in the book and few individuals important to the Union cause in Florida are included.

There is much to admire in the *Biographical Dictionary of the Union*, and it is a useful reference source. Sadly, it misses becoming an indispensable tool for the Civil War researcher by just an eyelash.

Rome, Georgia

ZACH WATERS

The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 12, February-August 1867. Edited by Paul H. Bergeron. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. xxvii, 558 pp. Introduction, notes, acknowledgments, editorial method, chronology, illustrations, annotations, appendices, index. \$49.50.)

During the seven months of February-August 1867 Congress passed three Reconstruction Acts and the Tenure of Office Act, and President Johnson suspended Edwin M. Stanton as secretary of war. "Meanwhile," the editor of his papers observes, "the politically mal-

adroit Johnson played into the hands of his would-be impeachers by his vetoes, his removal of officials, and his steadily worsening relations with a majority of Congress," Politically maladroit the president certainly was, but he was acting in accordance with his convictions (or prejudices) and his misconceptions, as is shown by this collection of some 500 documents, most of which are letters addressed to him.

As one of his correspondents, a North Carolina woman, wrote him, "we cant divest our minds of the idea that the President is the Father of the Country & as such we must all pour into his ears our wants & cares." Their wants included pardons and, above all, jobs. It was hard for Johnson to distribute the patronage to his own advantage, however, since parties were in flux and he got conflicting advice. Don't appoint Copperheads, or you will cause Conservative Republicans to "vote with the radicals." Don't give patronage to the "Conservative Party," but "go with the Democrats." Don't make "any effort to transfer the Conservative element . . . to the Democratic party."

Citizens seeking favors flattered the president with assurances of his rightfulness and his popularity. "The voters of New York my dear sir will adhere to you . . . feeling contemp[t] for the imbecile traitors . . . [who have tried] to seduce you from your patriotic course." Similar assurances came from prominent public figures, among them James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald*, looking ahead to the election of 1868. "He told me yesterday," a *Herald* man wrote to Johnson (August 27, 1867), "that you would most probably be impeached by the Radicals, & that this would insure your Election in a perfect tornado of public opinion."

Reports from the South were such as to confirm Johnson in his opposition to Radical Reconstruction. From South Carolina: "the maintenance of the 'Freedmans Bureau' is a great mistake. Were that abolished the Negro would at once become self sustaining." From Georgia: "Negro Bureaus, School Marms civil rights Bills and lastly Shermans Military bill are the means resorted to [to] stir up the negroes against the white race of this southern country."

Johnson received a death threat from some apparent psychotic who objected to the trial of John A. Surratt for complicity in the Lincoln assassination, but if any citizens threatened Johnson on account of his policies or even protested against them, the letters have not been included in this collection. The only objections here recorded came from his general in chief, Ulysses S. Grant, who tried to dissuade him from suspending Stanton and removing General Philip H. Sheridan from command in Louisiana.

It is small wonder, then, that Johnson lost touch with reality. He denied that in removing Sheridan his "purpose was to prevent a due execution of the law." He gave a reporter reason to believe "he is very little concerned about the impeachment which he evidently regards as a big joke." Convinced that bad men from the North were rousing blacks against whites in the South, he told another reporter: "A war of races is inevitable if such a state of affairs goes on." Yet, after visiting New England and North Carolina, he declared at a public meeting: "my reception both North and South . . . indicates to me an era of good feeling and reconciliation between the two sections."

The editing of this volume, as of the preceding volumes, is impeccable.

South Natick, Massachusetts

RICHARD N. CURRENT

Indian Depredation, Claims, 1796-1920. By Larry C. Skogen. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996. xx, 320 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

Early American officials realized that when thefts and depredations took place between Indians and whites, attempts at revenge could escalate into all out war. Hoping to keep the peace, the new American nation in 1796 created the Indian Depredation Claims system where whites and Indians, if they had been robbed by the other, could apply to the government for compensation. Indians rarely, if ever, took advantage of the system and it did little to keep the peace between the two peoples. In fact, Larry C. Skogen, a major in the Air Force and formerly an Assistant Professor of History at the U.S. Air Force Academy, believes that the system actually encouraged recklessness on the part of whites who believed that the government would reimburse them for losses at the hands of Indians no matter what.

American merchants and settlers were sadly mistaken in this belief. Throughout the 124-year period of depredation claims, the government set many restrictions on what was a legitimate claim. Individuals had to be on United States territory when the depredation took place or be on legitimate business in Indian territory; could not have tried to gain satisfaction on their own; could not

claim depredations due to war; could not make a claim for personal suffering; had to make the claim within three years of the depredation; and, supposedly, the money to pay the claim should come out of the annuities due the Indians who had committed the depredation. These stipulations created a host of problems for the claimant. Where exactly was U.S. territory when the western border was rapidly moving west almost daily? What happened if an Indian nation did not have enough annuities to cover all the claims against them? If not from the Indians, from whom should the money to pay the claim come?

When it came to these claims, the wheels of justice ground slow, but did not grind sure. Skogen points out that most claimants never received any compensation, with only three percent of all claims ever being paid. When claimants received compensation, it was usually far below what they asked, though they normally grossly inflated their losses, often blaming Indians when they actually lost money due to business reverses. Worse, it took years for a claim to be paid or even disallowed, sometimes as long as fifty years. Only those claimants with lawyers possessing political connections seemed to receive relatively speedy and large compensations. It was only after 1891 when Congress transferred the depredation claims to the Court of Claims did the process speed up somewhat.

Ironically, the Indians appeared to be the winners in the claims process. The government always believed that Indians should pay for the depredations, but this rarely happened as most officials realized it would leave the Indians destitute. Rarely were Indian annuities plundered to pay for depredations, though the Dakota Sioux, in retaliation for the 1862 Great Sioux Uprising, were the biggest losers. Instead, most payments came out of the U.S. Treasury, with the last payment being made in 1920.

Skogen has done a fine job with a complicated subject. His exhaustive use of primary sources, mainly congressional, Indian Office, and court records, as well as claimant affidavits, gives this book legitimacy. Skogen admits that, as part of the University of Oklahoma Press' Legal History of North America series, his work mainly deals not so much with Indians themselves, but with government policy. Still, this is a fine piece of work and while some of the legal maneuvers can be hard to follow, Skogen has done a good job of making a complex subject readable.

James J. Hill: Empire Builder of the Northwest. By Michael P. Malone. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996. xiv, 306 pp. Series editor's preface, preface, illustrations, bibliographic essay, index. \$29.95 hardcover.)

Much has been written about post-Civil War era entrepreneurs and their role in the development of the nation, but some writers too frequently indulge in the sterile discussion about whether they were captains of industry or robber barons. Michael P. Malone avoids such distraction by neither glorifying nor defaming James J. Hill. Instead, he depicts him as a man of remarkable ability and determination who at times could be ruthless and overbearing. As a consequence he has crafted an easy-to-read, interesting, and informative interpretive biography.

According to Malone, Hill's early family life in Canada molded him into a self-sufficient individual whose driving ambition, remarkable work ethic, and engaging personality served him well as the man who became the guiding force in the development of Minnesota and the Northwest. At age 17 he left his home in Canada to eventually settle in St. Paul, Minnesota, the head of navigation on the Mississippi River. As clerk for one of the many shipping firms, he not only kept the books but handled the incoming and outgoing freight which involved manual labor on the docks and in warehouses. An injured eye, the result of a childhood accident, disqualified him from military service during the war years, but those rambunctious times of river traffic gave him ample opportunity to learn how to extract favorable rates from shippers, to purchase commodities cheaply, to undercut competitors, and to cultivate customer loyalty. More importantly, he recognized the importance of efficiency in competition. This continuing quest for efficiency made his railroads the best constructed in the nation. In those early years he also developed his instincts for vertical integration.

His emergence from local to regional and then national significance began in 1878. This was the age of railroads, and coming into that industry with experience in transportation and shipping gave him an advantage over those with experience only in finance. Hill's greatest sense of accomplishment was the construction and operation of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway, and because of this company's competition with the Northern Pacific and the Canadian Pacific, Hill pushed his railroad through to the Pacific coast. Hill disparaged other railroad entrepreneurs because

they built quickly and poorly to gain government subsidies, and although he also obtained government subsidies (particularly for the "Manitoba") and federal assistance in obtaining right-of-way through Indian reservation lands, his desire for an efficient transportation system demanded well-built roadbeds, low grades, and gentle curvatures. When hard times carried the shoddily built roads into bankruptcy, Hill's lines were returning a profit. Hill encouraged timber cutting on the Pacific slopes and mining in the Mesabi Range to provide goods for return traffic thus cutting down on deadheading costs.

Hill was not active in politics although he held strong views on the role of government in transportation. His disdain for wasteful competition led to his formulating the community of interest concept which fostered the Northern Securities Company. This, however, ran head-on into opposition from the Interstate Commerce Commission, the courts, and the people who saw it as a scheme to strangle competition. Malone points out that Hill's community of interest concept finally was accepted when the Supreme Court approved the new corporation of Burlington Northern, Inc., in the 1970s. Malone demonstrates that Hill was one man who did make a difference on the local, state, and national levels. He also shows what passions are unleashed when such powerful men face opposition.

University of Central Florida, Emeritus

PAUL W. WEHR

Guns or Butter: The Presidency of Lyndon Johnson. By Irving Bernstein. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. x, 606 pp. Prologue, photographs, notes, index. \$35.00 hardcover.)

This massive study constitutes a long and loud declaration that legislative history is not only alive but can be solidly informative and at times highly entertaining. Bernstein takes us through every major piece of legislation of the Johnson years. We see the background of the problem or issue, something of the leading advocates for change, and then a close step by step journey through the often devious corridors of the House and Senate. With victory accomplished (or in the later years defeat made manifest) we receive a summation of praise or blame.

If this study gives sustenance to present day believers in the Great Society, it also constitutes a major listing of everything that infuriates a Gingrich conservative. The Imperial Presidency (this

time in its liberal guise) is on display for all to see. It was rare indeed that Lyndon Johnson met a law he didn't like, and the frequent forays of Bill Moyers into Ivy League territory hoping to find some problem discovered by a professor that could be translated into legislation is hardly a procedure that even moderates can digest with pleasure. Bernstein has a penchant for seeing liberals as "highly intelligent" and "brilliant." Conservatives are a dull lot, and, as far as the reader can tell, somewhat mentally retarded.

Bernstein's treatment of Johnson and the Vietnam War is thorough, relatively even-handed, and conclusive on the point that Lyndon Johnson was his own worse enemy. He became so personally involved in the war, he invested so much of his gigantic ego in the struggle that he could not accept criticism and almost lost any connection with reality.

The Johnson Presidency was a turning point in American life. The Vietnam War was our Armageddon, our Valley of Doubt and Despair, and finally our call to sanity after all the genies were already loose in the land. If you want to understand our present, if you want to grasp the issues of contemporary debate then read this book. Here lie the hopes and aspirations for national health insurance, civil rights, environmental protection, and governmental support of education, public television, and the arts.

The title of this book states the dilemma that confronted Lyndon Johnson. He believed—against all the evidence to the contrary—that he could have reform at home and war abroad. He knowingly and publicly lied in order to have his way and he misled even his own aides as to the true state of affairs. It seems safe to conclude that Lyndon Johnson and his successor Richard Nixon told more lies to the American people than all of our former Presidents combined.

Perhaps *hubris* is always corroding, but when it dominates a President the tragedies it produces are world-wide in their scope.

Georgia Southern College, Emeritus

ROBERT DAVID WARD

God in the Stadium: Sports and Religion in America. By Robert J. Higgs. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995. xv, 383 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. \$15.95.)

In a recent popular song, musician Paul Simon, himself an avid New York Yankees fan, observed that "the cross is in the ballpark," a comment to which Robert Higgs might lend a hearty "Amen."

Higgs, an emeritus professor of English, has written a thoughtful tome on what he calls "the symbiotic relationship between sports and religion" in American history. His is a wide-ranging and eclectic discourse on the "religionizing of sports" in American culture, one which blends literary criticism with a cultural critique that would give even the most devoted Seminole or Gator fans reason to pause.

This work has no direct bearing on the subject of Florida history, but it does speak to historical and contemporary forms of ritualistic behavior routinely reenacted on athletic fields and in family rooms across the country. From the Puritan Sabbath to Super Bowl Sunday, Higgs has as his object what he calls the ongoing "religionizing of sports" in American life. He draws a careful distinction between sports and play, and the imagery of the "Christian Knight" and the "Shepherd" as contrasting ideals in public culture. Higgs leaves no doubt as to his belief that it is the knightly proponent of muscular Christianity who has triumphed in sports culture.

From Cotton Mather to Oral Roberts, Higgs engages a wide range of subjects. He is particularly strong in the middle section of the book, those chapters which deal with sport and public culture from the Civil War to the First World War. Whether the subject is West Point, the YMCA, the rise of college sports, or sport and masculine character, Higgs seems most comfortable and has his best control of source materials in this time period. Not surprisingly, Theodore Roosevelt looms large as a representative specimen in this study, personifying the Knight and encouraging the rugged individualism of manly character associated with the type.

This is not a comprehensive survey, however, and there are some surprising omissions. The very image he employs—the Knight—excludes women, who seem to have neither voice nor presence in this analysis of four centuries of public life in America; especially in the portions dealing with college athletics, this is a glaring omission. Nor are all dimensions of professional and amateur athletics brought under the author's lens. Finally, there is an abrupt leap from the era of the first Red Scare to the era of big screen television. If ever there was a crisis of faith in this scenario, it came in 1919-1920, and some informed discussion of the Black Sox Scandal and its relationship to the "Christian Knight" metaphor would have been appropriate.

Higgs' primary sources include works of literature and published sources drawn from the various periods of colonial and national history, as well as a wealth of popular culture studies bearing

on more recent times. One finds no use of college or church archives, nor any evidence that the author immersed himself in a sustained or systematic investigation of the public and private institutions he sometimes discusses at length.

The virtue of this study is its broad reach, and its effort to synthesize sport and religion in the public values and private rituals of American life. This is a work that belongs to the culture studies genre, and it will appeal to those interested in popular culture, sport history, and the enduring debate over civil religion in America.

Millersville University

DENNIS B. DOWNEY

White House to Your House: Media and Politics in Virtual America. By Edwin Diamond and Robert A. Silverman. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995. xiii, 178 pp. Preface, introduction, acknowledgments, notes, index. \$20.00 hardcover.)

In some ways the past thirty years have defined an expansive period for American democracy. Sweeping legal reforms have greatly broadened electoral enfranchisement. Technological change has eased access to political information by ordinary citizens, a change given potential importance by rising education levels among the mass public. And virtually all forms of political activity, from the mobilization of interest groups and the nomination of presidential candidates to the way Congress conducts its business, have been democratized, removed from the hands of organizational elites and placed in the hands of individuals. Yet expansion of the process has not always enhanced the quality of democratic outcomes. Indeed, among many observers of American politics it has now become a conventional theme, if not a point of general agreement, to deplore the pathologies of (in Samuel Huntington's term) this "democratic distemper" and to lament the decline of organizational coherence, elite control, and accountability. A brief survey of current or recent catch-phrases— "single issue politics," "hyper-pluralism," "gridlock," or (a particularly memorable coinage) "demosclerosis"—conveys the perceived character and ominous consequences of Americans' naive faith in plebiscitary processes.

Edwin Diamond and Robert Silverman are entirely faithful to this established rhetorical form, both in their portentous style ("In the pages that follow we trace the emergence of a place that looks

like a real democracy, and a real country, but is in fact a construct, like reality but not real") and, more importantly, in their choice of culprit: The "contemporary media" are cynically exploiting the "technology of a wired nation" and "reshaping American public life." Of course, the idea that broadcast journalism has hastened (or even caused) the decline of traditional intermediary organizations is not new, so Diamond and Silverman are obliged to offer a fresh angle to this familiar thesis. The first media-driven transformation of politics (exemplified by the Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960) was engineered by the "new power brokers" of broadcast news ("Walter Cronkite and his counterparts at the other two major networks") and the columnists and commentators of elite print journalism ("the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the weekly magazines, and a few other representatives of Big Print"). In the current era (epitomized, in the authors' view, by practically everything that happened during the 1992 presidential election year), new "pop/interactive media" as varied as *Larry King Live*, *CNN*, *The Today Show*, *Phil Donahue*, and *Hard Copy* have asserted their role as political forums and shapers of opinion. These formats, the authors say (with understatement all too rare in this book), "appear to represent the next development in politics." Diamond and Silverman illustrate this distinction in a series of brief vignettes in chapter form (ten, in a book that runs to 158 pages of text)—retelling the stories, for example, of Clinton's appearance on Arsenio Hall's talk show (a sophisticated choice, since "the middle brow Jay Leno program would be too square and the ironist David Letterman's program too hip") and Bill and Hillary Clinton's campaign-salvaging appearance on *60 Minutes* to defuse Gennifer Flowers' lurid accusations. In fact, much like students of presidential power who felt compelled, after Reagan, to reassess the relative importance of public admiration (which Reagan had) and insider bargaining skills (which Reagan sorely lacked), Diamond and Silverman appear set on using Clinton's natural affinity for the media's new "soft formats" to confirm the emerging importance of these modes of communication.

The authors' old media/new media theme rests on an interesting and often entertaining distinction, but it is a distinction that, in the end, does not make much of a difference. We have known since the serious advent of television in the late 1950s that televised politics favors the depiction of action (not the values connoted by the action), is drawn to the unusual (not the mundane "stump

speech”), thrives on controversy and conflict (not the appearance of consensus), and thus amplifies the adversarial climate of American campaigns. The authors’ concisely drawn portrait of the 1992 election illustrates quite nicely that the new media formats are now continuing in this tradition.

University of Central Florida

PHILIP H. POLLOCK

The Populist Persuasion: An American History. By Michael Kazin (New York: Basic Books, 1995. 381 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.00 hardcover).

As the discontent of the American public waxes and wanes over such issues as budget deficits, the growth of the national debt, corporate downsizing, various other disconcerting employment dynamics resulting from an increasingly global economy and international trade agreements, the inadequate availability of private health insurance for many, the right of a woman to choose between childbirth or abortion, affirmative action programs, tax reduction, the underfunding of federal social and health insurance trusts, illegal immigration, the undiminished availability of illegal drugs and drug addiction, government “bail-outs” of foreign governments and multi-national corporations, welfare reform, anti-incumbency-inspired proposals for term limits, etc., Michael Kazin offers in *The Populist Persuasion* a timely and sweeping overview of earlier rises, shifts, and falls of discontent in America during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Yet an understanding of discontents in bygone times is but a part of the scope and thrust of *The Populist Persuasion*. Mr. Kazin describes at some length both the language and the images which were used to express various discontents, and most importantly, how the resulting human energies were channeled (or dissipated) in the formation of Populist movements and the search for particular outcomes. In an effort to categorize, politically, particular Populist movements and trends in the changing nature of such movements, Mr. Kazin uses what some may consider overly broad characterizations - namely, that of the political “Left” or “Right.” According to Mr. Kazin, the more notable Populist movements of the Left largely occurred between the late 19th century and the

conclusion of World War II; the vast majority of Populist movements between 1945 and 1990 were largely those of the Right, as the political Left had badly splintered following a number of social and economic successes and the gradual political demise of liberalism since the early 1970s.

While such broad characterizations as political "Left" or "Right" may have a certain utility and convenience, Mr. Kazin also indicates that it is difficult to describe some of the Populist movements quite so simply. This dilemma is evident, for example, where Mr. Kazin charitably treats certain stirrings or specific ventures on the Right as Populist movements when in reality they were, at best, *pseudo-movements* in which disenchanting, largely unorganized, or marginally organized groups of discontented citizens were shrewdly manipulated and incited by demagogues or other narrowly motivated prominent personalities with personal agendas who knew how to use and did use the modern media skillfully to demonize others who held opposing viewpoints. An early and classical model of such is found in Mr. Kazin's apt description of the conduct of, and the public response to, Senator Joseph McCarthy during the years 1950-54. More recent models of thankfully lesser significance are often found in, and indeed seem to abound in, the oversupply of politically inspired radio talk show personalities.

The Populist Persuasion, by reviewing numerous and diverse movements, affords the reader an opportunity to reflect upon the vast complexities inherent in such movements: the intensification and spread of discontent; the particular and essential chain of events which put the formation or organized activities; the emphasis (as well as the suppression, and at times, the sacrifice) of certain movement aims by movement leaders; the building and the falling apart of coalitions; and the significant impacts upon certain movements by uncontrollable external events such as World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War. The significance of the latter considerations (i.e., external events) is readily evident in the aftermath of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the sharply increased focus of the American public on domestic dissatisfactions in the 1990s.

The Populist Movement further offers a number of valuable insights in terms of the overall composition of specific movements, and the underlying reasons for the ultimate success, limited achievements, or lack of success of each respective movement. Also of considerable interest is the treatment of the political parties

which were spawned and formally established by particular movements, and the relatively brief history of each. Of no less interest are the political candidates who sought to ride the crest of public discontent into public office, the difficulties which many of them encountered, and what (if any) lasting impact they may have had on the course of domestic politics. Additionally, Mr. Kazin's efforts reveal what appears to be a trend among aspiring movement leaders to create, foster, and use human energies for narrow, even mean-spirited objectives. This is most readily seen at the present time in the manner in which issues are formulated and articulated, particularly in the use of the electronic media for the widespread delivery of negative messages.

Mr. Kazin wraps up his analysis of Populist movements by noting that "there is a disjunction between the language of electioneering and the self-evident realities of American culture." The extent of this disjuncture and the overall dissatisfaction with the establishment Democratic and Republican parties is, according to a variety of professional polling organizations, growing rapidly. A March 1996 article in *The New York Time Magazine* by Gerald Posner discusses the implications of a Lewis Harris voter "alienation index" which reflects two-thirds of American voters are dissatisfied and dismayed with a sense of powerlessness. Mr. Kazin is likely to have opportunities to continue his analysis of public discontent and Populist movements for many, many years.

Melbourne, Fla.

ED DOLAN

A Politician Goes to War: The Civil War Letters of John White Geary.

Edited by William Alan Blair. Selections and introduction by Bell Irvin Wiley. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995. Preface, introduction, photographs, index. \$27.50 hardcover.)

This posthumous work of Bell I. Wiley, *A Politician Goes to War*, describes the Civil War experience of Major General John White Geary. Wiley is renowned for his studies of Civil War soldiers, both North and South. The publication of these selected letters of General Geary is a result of the discovery of Wiley's research, which was completed and published by William Alan Blair.

Wiley's generation felt the pull of nationalism which sought to minimize the differences between the soldiers of the North and

South. For Wiley and most historians of the 20th century, the American Civil War was an argument between family members who came to blows over slavery and its related political arguments. The idea that there were two different societies which could only be held together by the subjugation of one by the other did not make sense to veterans of two great nationalistic wars.

This collection of letters illuminates the deep differences between the North and South. Geary judged that “the curse of God seems to follow its (slavery) every trace . . .” He saw the people of the South as ignorant and backward and remarked frequently upon the immense devastation of war upon the land. Geary’s motivation in carrying war into the South is a good example of how warfare becomes very personal and how mundane events determine the patriotism of soldiers.

Geary complained if he did not have proper paper to write home daily and criticized mail delivery when it took two weeks to get letters from the front to his wife in Pennsylvania. While Geary was invested at Chattanooga he mentioned the shortage of supplies, but normally he and his troops ate well, dressed well, travelled well, and had more than adequate supply lines while they destroyed the lives and property of the people of the South.

These letters illuminate the cause that drove General Geary. John White Geary saw the war as a vocational choice. His correspondence reveals his concern for personal advancement in the military and includes occasional references to political aspirations. Geary’s self-promotion distinguishes his letters and is noted by the author and reviewers.

Geary made reference to creating a free land, but did not mention African Americans as people or citizens. As we enter the 21st century the question of the motivation of the Northern soldier helps us to understand the American Civil War. When Geary’s son was killed in action, he fought for a measure of vengeance and joined Sherman to leave their line of march “as though all the locusts of Egypt had been upon it.”

There is probably no question that the North would have abandoned the war if its towns, farms and families suffered the invasion and devastation visited upon the South. In the South the daily correspondence Geary enjoyed with his wife was impossible. While Geary was asking his wife about her outing to the Philadelphia fair and the remodelling of their new farm, he was crushing Atlanta and burning his way to Savannah.

John White Geary reflects America in his dogged materialism and belief that his side represents what is right because he is an agent of material progress. Every event of the war confirmed this conclusion to Geary, as he and the North experienced abundant material prosperity while the South was ground into poverty.

This work is a valuable addition to Civil War literature because it presents the actual thoughts and actions of a military and political leader at the crises point in American history.

University of Central Florida

M. EDWARD HUGHES

BOOK NOTES

Bison Books announces the reprint of Harriette Simpson's *Flowering of the Cumberland*, a rich history of pioneer life in the Cumberland River basin. Originally published in 1963, *Flowering* explores the struggles of frontier families fighting to create a community. In the book's new Introduction, historian Margaret Ripley Wolfe compares Simpson's social history of the middle Tennessee-southern Kentucky region to the work of well-known historians John Demos, Kenneth Lockridge, Philip Greven, and David Hackett Fischer. *Flowering of the Cumberland* is available in paperback from the University of Nebraska Press for \$17.95.

Also available in the Bison Books series is a reprint of Francis Parkman's 1885 work, *Pioneers of France in the New World*. *Pioneers* chronicles Spanish and French exploits in Florida, as well as the French colonial endeavors in Canada and Acadia. Among historians, Parkman is a controversial figure. Historian Francis Jennings, among others, has accused Parkman of "racism, bigotry, misogyny, authoritarianism, chauvinism, and upperclass arrogance." Yet historians and other scholars continue to read Parkman. In his Introduction, Dartmouth historian Colin G. Calloway suggests that "if . . . one accepts history as a cultural artifact, constructed and reconstructed by each society, each generation, and even each individual for their own purposes, then Parkman has a place and a value" (x). *Pioneers of France in the New World* is available in paperback from the University of Nebraska Press. The cost is \$20.00.

Orlando's Leu House by Julie Cole, with assistance from Wilbur Allaback and Laura Stewart, is a well-written, fast-moving story of the house and gardens at 1920 N. Forest Avenue, Orlando, which was deeded to the city in 1961 by Mr. and Mrs. Harry P. Leu. Beginning with the acquisition of the land on the south shore of Lake Rowena by the Mizells in the 1850s, Julie Cole tells the story of the evolution of the house from its frontier origins to the present edifice which stands in the immaculate gardens featuring hundreds of varieties of plants gathered by Harry and Mary Jane Leu in their travels around the world. In relating the story of the house and the people who lived in it, Ms. Cole does an excellent job of placing it in the context of the growth of Orlando, Orange County, and Cen-

tral Florida, from their frontier beginnings to the teeming metropolitan complex which now sprawls across several counties. A carefully selected series of photographs adds immeasurably to the narrative. *Orlando's Leu. House* may be purchased from the Leu House Gift Shop at 1920 N. Forest Avenue, Orlando, Florida, 32803. Telephone orders are accepted at (407) 246-2620. The book is also available at the Orange County Historical Museum, 812 E. Rollins Street, Orlando. The price is \$19.95 (hardback) and \$12.95 (soft cover).

Michelin Travel Publications, with whose European travel guides many readers are already familiar, has recently initiated a similar series on the states of the United States. The Florida guide has just been published. Its 28-page introduction includes a quick overview of the history of the state together with a comprehensive time line from prehistoric times to 1996. The text is organized into 12 regions of Florida and one on the Bahamas. The 12 regional sections are presented alphabetically beginning with the Everglades and ending with the Treasure Coast. Each section has its own historical introduction as do most of the cities, towns, and attractions within them. Illustrated by numerous detailed maps and carefully selected photographs, the Florida guide includes every place of interest in the state and provides detailed information about how to get there. The Michelin guide to Florida will be invaluable to tourists and newcomers, but it will also be of interest to those who are already familiar with the state. The guide is available in most bookstores and the price is \$20.00.

Anyone planning a visit to Alabama should be sure to consult *Seeing Historical Alabama: Fifteen Guided Tours*, by Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton and Jacqueline A. Matte. The tours are arranged geographically and the authors provide historical background on each location. Included on the tours are historic sites, including Civil Rights monuments, mansions, battlefields, festivals, Indian and pioneer settlements, and covered bridges. The guide book contains 30 maps, 170 illustrations, a glossary of architectural terms, and an appendix. Write the University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 35487, for a copy. The price is \$19.95.

The Genealogical Society of Greater Miami has issued a reprint of the *1896 Directory, Guide and History of Dade County, Florida*. The Directory includes descriptions and histories of individual

towns, points of interest, lists of businesses and proprietors, as well as the original advertisements from the 1896 edition. The *Directory* also contains a helpful index. The *Directory* costs \$12.50 and may be obtained from the Genealogical Society of Greater Miami, P.O. Box 162905, Miami, FL, 33116-2905. Please include \$2.50 for shipping and handling.

The Give 'Em Hell Harry Series from the University of Missouri Press has issued a paperback edition of *Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1949-1953* by Robert Donovan. According to editor Robert H. Ferrell, the series is "designed to keep available in reasonably priced paperback editions the best books that have been written about this remarkable man." First published in 1982 by W. W. Norton, this second of Donovan's two-volume study of Truman's administration examines the dramatic events that unfolded during the president's second term, including the "loss of China" and the Korean War. Donovan, who covered the White House during the Truman years as a correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune*, delivers a fast-paced narrative of the public life one of this century's most captivating political figures. The cost of the paperback is \$19.95. For a copy, write the University of Missouri Press, 2910 LeMone Boulevard, Columbia, MO 65201.

Southwest Florida's Wetland Wilderness: Big Cypress Swamp and the Ten Thousand Islands is a small book about a vast place. The lesser-known of south Florida's wetlands, the Big Cypress Watershed encompasses more than a million acres of interior wetlands. Natural history writer Jeff Ripple details the watershed's vegetation, climate, geology, and wildlife. Clyde Burtcher's dramatic black and white photographs capture the pristine and haunting beauty of one of Florida's last "wild and unspoiled" natural treasures. *Southwest Florida's Wetland Wilderness* is published by the University Press of Florida and is available in paperback for \$16.95.

David Chalmers' newly revised second edition of *And the Crooked Place Made Straight: The Struggle for Social Change in the 1960s* is now available from the Johns Hopkins Press as part of its American Moment series. Chalmers' compelling synthesis of the contagion of social change that swept the country in the 1960s was widely praised when it was first published in 1991. The book's updated concluding chapter considers the "underlying causes of the con-

fused anger of the 1990s.” David Chalmers is Distinguished Service Professor of History, Emeritus, at the University of Florida, Gainesville. The book is available from the Johns Hopkins University Press, 2715 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21218-4319, \$13.95 paperback, \$38.50 hardcover.

Frederic Bancroft’s 1931 classic study, *Slave Trading in the Old South* has been reprinted by the University of South Carolina Press as part of its Southern Classics Series. Drawing on correspondence with former slave traders and former slaves, Bancroft’s pathbreaking book seriously undermined U. B. Phillips’ generally accepted thesis of benign masters and loyal slaves. The new Introduction by University of Liverpool professor Michael Tadman includes an interesting analysis of the historiography of the domestic slave trade. *Slave Trading in the Old South* is available in paperback for \$18.95. For more information, contact the University of South Carolina Press at (803) 777-2021.

Down along the banks of the Neches River of East Texas lived the Dog People, and I. C. Eason was their king. Fiercely independent folk, so-named because of their ancestral hunting methods using a locally bred dog to run down game, the Dog People lived a quiet life apart from the outside world. That is, until the timber companies and environmentalists began to encroach on the land the Dog People had occupied (but had not legally owned) for generations. *King of the Dog People: The Stories of I. C. Eason* is a collection of Eason’s stories (as told to photographer Blair Pittman) about life on the “bottom.” Richly illustrated with Pittman’s photographs, *King of the Dog People* is available from the University of North Texas Press for \$24.95. For information, write P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203.

HISTORY NEWS

Florida Southern College of Lakeland, Florida, announces the following presentations in its Florida Lecture Series. On February 13, 1997, Maxine D. Jones, Associate Professor of History at Florida State University, will present "African-American Women in Florida: An Historical Portrait"; and Gary R. Mormino, Professor of History at the University of South Florida, will present "War Clouds Over the Sunshine State: World War II and Florida," on March 13, 1997. Lectures are from 7:30 to 9:00 p.m. and will be held in the Hollis Room, Florida Southern Campus. All lectures are free and open to the public. For more information on the lecture series contact Dr. James M. Denham at (941) 680-4312, or Shari Szabo at (941) 680-4118. The Florida Lecture Series is co-sponsored by Florida Southern College, the Tampa Bay History Center, the Polk County Historical Association, Mosswood Bookstore, and Historic Lakeland, Inc.

The Florida Conference of Historians announces its Annual Meeting to be held February 27 through March 1, 1997, at Jacksonville University. The conference will feature paper presentations and panel discussions on a wide range of historical topics. The general public is invited to attend. For more information, please contact Dr. Jay Clarke, Chair, Division of Social Sciences, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL, 32211; phone: (904) 745-7211; email: jclark@junix.ju.edu.

Dr. Paul S. George, in cooperation with the Historical Museum of Southern Florida, invites you to join him on a number of historic tours in and around Miami. The next excursion— a boat tour of historic Biscayne Bay— is scheduled for Sunday, February 2, 1997. Different tours will be conducted throughout the spring. For more information call the Historical Museum of Southern Florida at (305) 375-1625. Advanced reservations and non-refundable payment are required.

The Tampa Bay History Center is proud to welcome Dr. Canter Brown, Jr., who joined the staff in July as historian in residence. Dr. Brown, who received his Ph.D. in United States History from Flor-

ida State University in 1994, is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Florida's Peace River Frontier*, which was awarded the 1992 Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award from the Florida Historical Society in 1991. This annual award is given to the best book in Florida history.

The Henry B. Plant Museum announces its presence on the World Wide Web. The museum web site contains museum history and information, photographs from the museum's collections, and a special exhibits and events calendars. "Check-in" is at www.plant-museum.com.

Michele W. Albion at the Edison and Ford Estates is seeking information on Thomas and Mina Edison in Florida. Anyone with correspondence, newsclippings, or other memoranda relating to Thomas Edison (1885-1931) or Mina Edison (1886-1947) should contact Michele Albion, P.O. Box 61248, Fort Myers, FL 33906-1248; Fax (941) 466-6881; E-mail MAlbion@aol.com.

Dr. Don Curl, a former member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society, received the 1996 Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History. The award recognizes Dr. Curl's contributions in the field of preservation and interpretation of local, state, and regional history.

The Boca Raton Historical Society will host its Annual Tour of Homes in Old Floresta, the city's historic district, on February 5, 1997, from 10:00 a.m. until 1:00 p.m. Individuals interested in participating in this unusual opportunity should contact the BRHS at (561) 395-6766. A limited number of tickets are available.

Individuals interested in pictures of Florida will be delighted with the new Internet site, <http://www.dos.fl.us/fpo>. This site features more than 10,000 historic photographs of the people and places of our state, including images from the Jewish MOSAIC collection. This site is sponsored by the Florida Department of State.

The Florida Historical Society announces the 1997 Governor LeRoy Collins Graduate Student Essay contest and the 1997 Carolyn Mays Brevard Undergraduate Essay Contest deadlines of April 15, 1997. These contests are open to students at any college or uni-

versity who write a formal paper on a Florida history topic. For more information, contact Dr. Nick Wynne at (407) 259-0511.

The deadline for the annual Frederick Cubberly Essay Prize for high school students is April 15, 1997. Students in grades 8-12 in any public or private school in Florida are eligible to enter the contest. For more information, contact Dr. Nick Wynne at (407) 259-0511.

The 1997 Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held May 29-31, 1997, at the Radisson Riverwalk Hotel in Jacksonville. Special meeting room rates are \$65.00 for singles or doubles. Reservations may be made by calling (904) 396-5100. The theme of the 1997 Annual Meeting is "Bridging Time: Life Along the St. Johns." Topics on any Florida history subject are accepted, however, an individual wishing to present a paper should contact the Program Chair, Dr. Robert A. Taylor, at 1015 Martinique Avenue, Ft. Pierce, FL 34982. His telephone number is (561) 461-5522. The deadline for submissions is January 1, 1997.

Louis Keefer (P.O. Box 2160, Reston VA 20195-0160) is working on a history of the Civil Air Patrol's 1942-1943 Coastal Patrol. He has photographs of 20 of the 21 CAP bases in the state, but lacks photographs for the CAP base on Fruitvale Road in Sarasota. He is interested in acquiring copies of pictures of this base and any other information available. He can be reached by telephone at (703) 742-8260.

Society members looking for special books may want to take advantage of the Internet listing <http://www.amazon.com>. This on-line bookstore features over 1,000,000 titles, including hundreds of books about Florida. Many of the books can be ordered over the Internet at savings of 10-30%.

Individuals wishing to learn more about the history of cattle ranching in Florida might want to take advantage of the Florida Ranch Tours program offered by Mark A. Harrison of Ft. Pierce. More information about these tours can be obtained by calling (561) 467-2001 or by e-mail at ranchtours@aol.com.

Obituary

Dena Snodgrass, “First Lady of Jacksonville History,” died on September 14, 1996, at the age of ninety. Ms. Snodgrass was the first woman to serve as president of the Florida Historical Society (1956-58), breaking with a hundred-year precedent of male leadership.

Ms. Snodgrass graduated from Florida State University with a degree in education. After working in the Orlando public school system for seventeen years, she moved to Jacksonville in 1944 as director of economic research for the Florida State Chamber of Commerce. In 1956, she assumed a collateral position as a correspondent with the Florida Kiplinger Letter. She retired from these posts in 1971 and 1995, respectively.

Ms. Snodgrass always found the time to indulge her passion for history. She served as president of the Jacksonville Historical Society from 1955-56, where she no doubt attracted the attention of the FHS board. Her role as president of historical societies was just one of the many hats she wore. She authored a number of local publications; attended commemorative events; monitored the JHS library, photographic collections and archival materials; and remained available to offer advice and guidance. Indeed, it was not unusual for Ms. Snodgrass, in the final months of her life, to call and demand clarification from a *Times-Union* staff writer whenever she detected historical inaccuracy.

Ms. Snodgrass was not a historian by training. She nevertheless devoted much of her life to the preservation and celebration of Florida history with an uncompromising professionalism. For her many efforts, the historical community offers its highest esteem and gratitude.

Michelle D. Busby

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

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$35; family membership is \$40; library membership is \$45; 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, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, FL 32935. Telephone: 407-259-0511 or 259-0694; Fax: 407-259-0847.. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.

