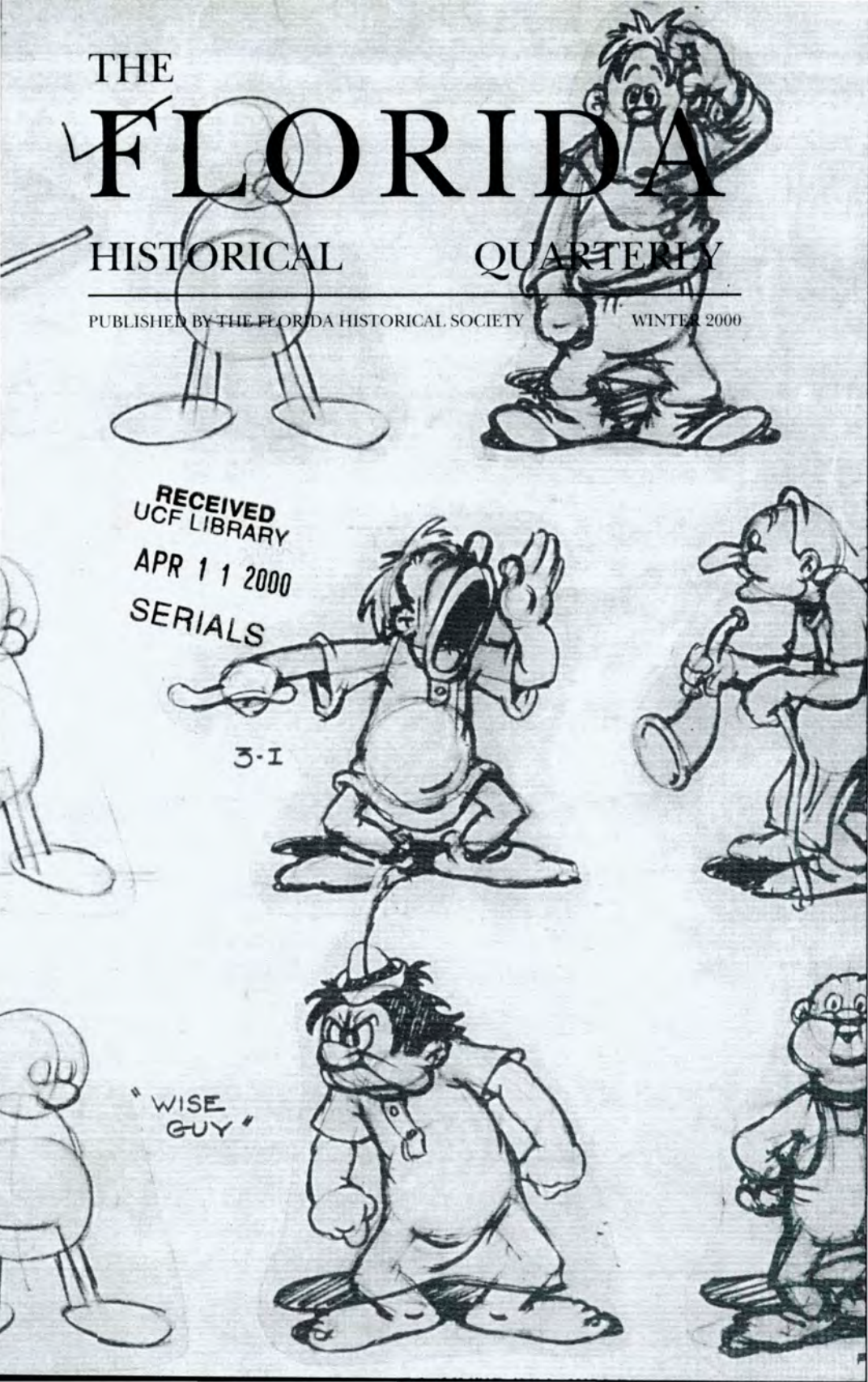
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY WINTER 2000



The Florida Historical Quarterly

Published quarterly by the Florida Historical Society

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* (ISSN 0015-4113) is published by the Florida Historical Society, Melbourne, in cooperation with the Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando. The *Quarterly* is printed by the E.O. Painter Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, Florida 32130. Periodical postage paid at Tampa and at additional mailing office. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Ave., Melbourne, FL 32935.

Subscription accompanies membership in the Society. Annual membership is $40; student membership (with proof of status) is $30; family membership is $50; library and institution membership is $55; a contributing membership is $200 and higher; and a corporate membership is $500 and higher. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions, as well as orders for back copies of the *Quarterly*, should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Ave., Melbourne, FL 32935; (407) 690-1971; email:<wynne@metrolink.net>.

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THE
FLORIDA
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY
Winter 2000
Vol. 78, No. 3

Cover Illustration: The Fleischers' first feature length cartoon was *Gulliver's Travels* in 1939. Artists from New York and California converged in the Fleischers' Miami studio to create the film's characters, including these early sketches of townspeople. *Courtesy of Donna Dial.*

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A Choctaw Academy Education: The Apalachicola Experience, 1830-1833

by Ella Wells Drake

Ten weary travelers from Florida—eight Apalachicola Indian boys, an agent, and a servant—paused in the chill as Choctaw Academy came into view. The Indian school, standing on an elevated ridgetop overlooking the Kentucky countryside, appeared imposing. The Academy represented an institution of promise and potential, a school where young Indian boys could acquire the English language and Anglo-American values and customs for tribal benefit. In 1830, ninety-eight boys attended the Academy which, despite the name, was an intertribal school. Choctaws, Creeks, Potawatomies, Miamies, and Quapaws directed their education funds and promising students to Choctaw Academy. On Christmas Day, the eight Apalachicolas enrolled at the Academy for a three-year period. The boys typified many students at the school: they were very young, non-English speakers with no prior formal education. Their experience offers both a window into nineteenth-century Indian education at Choctaw Academy and a gauge of the school's success.

Choctaw Academy opened in October 1825 when twenty-one Choctaws arrived at Senator Richard M. Johnson's Blue Spring farm in Scott County, Kentucky. The school reflected a combination of conflicting goals and interests. The federal government

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strongly endorsed education for Indians to transform hunter-warriors into model farmer-citizens and to subsequently reduce the Indian land base through land cessions. Both federal officials and missionaries believed tribal government, religion, gender roles, and land holding patterns should be obliterated and could be replaced by Anglo-American models through education. However, Indians accepted education for their own purposes. Tribal leaders believed skills, particularly English and arithmetic, honed at American schools would enable them to sustain political and economic autonomy and counter outside pressures. Richard M. Johnson cared little for the contradictory motivations for Indian education; he coveted the lucrative tribal funds specifically designated for schools. He knew the Choctaws wanted a secondary school and had earmarked education funds from the Treaty of 1825 to support it. He used his political position and Choctaw agent William Ward, his brother-in-law, to establish Choctaw Academy. Motivated by profit, he influenced federal officials, agents, and tribal delegations to channel annuity funds to Choctaw Academy until it closed in 1848.[1]

The Apalachicolas' journey to Choctaw Academy represented the culmination of government planning and strategy. In 1824, the federal government turned to education as a means of reducing the land base and managing the various bands of Florida Indians, collectively labeled "Seminole." Upon War Department instructions, Territorial Governor William P. Duval attempted to persuade Seminole headmen to establish a school at the federal agency in central Florida, with an education fund created by the Treaty of Camp Moultrie (1823). The chiefs considered Duval's suggestions,

1. Earlier works on the Choctaw Academy include Jennie Chinn Morton, "Dick Johnson's Indian School at White Sulphur, Scott County, Kentucky," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 3 (1905), 37-42; Mrs. Shelley D. Rouse, "Colonel Dick Johnson's Choctaw Academy: A Forgotten Educational Experiment," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 25 (1916), 88-117; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 6 (1928), 453-80; 9 (1931), 381-411; 10 (1932), 77-114; Ethel McMillan, "First National Indian School: The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 28 (1951), 52-62; and Evelyn Crady Adams, "Kentucky's Choctaw Academy 1819-1842: A Commercial Enterprise," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 26 (1952), 28-36. For an account of Richard M. Johnson's involvement with the school, see Ella Wells Drake, "Choctaw Academy: Richard M. Johnson and the Business of Indian Education," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 91 (1993), 260-97. For an overview of the Academy based primarily on previously published sources see, Marjorie Hall Young, "'Stars in a Dark Night:' The Education of Indian Youth at Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 75 (1997), 280-305.

but refused the school. In response to the governor's continued persistence, a Seminole delegation did visit Washington in 1826 but refused further school-related discussions. Consequently, the education issue rested until 1830 when President Andrew Jackson, influenced by his friend and supporter Richard M. Johnson, once again directed Duval to broker schools to the Seminoles. This time the governor approached headmen along the Apalachicola River who represented the northern tribal division. Unlike their counterparts in central Florida who often distinguished their interests from federal policy, the Apalachicola chiefs frequently used federal initiatives to pursue their own objectives. Not surprisingly, John Blunt (Lafarka), who fought alongside the Americans in the Creek War, guided General Jackson through Florida in 1818, and resided on a special reserve as a result of his influence to effect the Camp Moultrie treaty, responded favorably to President Jackson's invitation to educate his son at Choctaw Academy. His neighbors Davy Elliott (Osaa Hajo) and Mulatto King (Vacca Pechassie) agreed, and after six years of failure, Duval finally assembled a group of Indian schoolboys.[2]

As late autumn approached, selection of the boys and preparations for their departure to Kentucky created a stir within and between the Apalachicola River towns. While Duval drew a $1000 draft and busied himself with arrangements for an agent, transportation, and clothing, the Apalachicola headmen made their own plans. Blunt, Davy, and Mulatto King discussed the prospective students who represented their respective towns—Iola, Spanawalka, and Choconckla. Mulatto King decided to send along a trusted black servant to care for his sons, Jack Vacca and Orsler, and to act as interpreter. In late November, Duval's designate, sub-agent David M. Sheffield, assembled the schoolboys: Billy, Blunt's son; Aaron and Sampson from Davy's town; and Mulatto King's sons together with Tommy, Washington, and Ned from Choconkla. Sheffield then distributed suitable traveling outfits to replace the students' traditional overblouses, leggins, and kerchiefs. With good-byes said, the boys headed north to school accompanied by Sheffield and Mulatto

2. James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville, 1993), 50-71; William P. Duval to John H. Eaton, 6 January 1831, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Florida*, 4 vols. (Washington, 1956-1960), 24: 479-81; Thomas L. McKenney to William P. Duval, 13 April 1830, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 24: 392-93.

King's servant. After the travelers were well on their way, Duval petitioned the Seminole chiefs from the central Florida reserve to redirect the education fund for the proposed agency school to support the Apalachicolas at Choctaw Academy. They gladly consented.[3]

On December 24, 1830, after weeks on the road, the Florida entourage arrived at Choctaw Academy. The two-story log school stood on a high ridge surrounded by a hardwood forest; it contrasted sharply with the cypress bark villages on the Apalachicola bottomland. The Academy anchored a cluster of buildings that included the dining room, kitchen, wash house, superintendent's house, and lodging rooms. Additional buildings were under construction. Pathways and walkways between the buildings spilled over with an eclectic mix of boys from many Nations. Someone noticed the travelers and summoned Thomas Henderson, the harried superintendent beleaguered with more tasks than time. With great relief, he scanned Governor Duval's introductory letter regarding the boys. Just two weeks before, Johnson's servants retrieved four non-English speaking Quapaws left at the gate by a passing wagon, and Henderson still awaited information about them from the War Department. With Sheffield and the servant's assistance, Henderson quickly set about settling the excited but anxious Apalachicola students.[4]

Accommodations for the Apalachicolas ranked as the first item of business. The boys strolled down the row of dwellings near the Academy and the dining room as Henderson decided where to locate them. It is not known whether the Apalachicolas roomed separately or as a group. The Choctaws—the largest group numbering fifty-five in December 1830—usually lived together. However, Johnson wanted the younger boys together for economy and believed mixing the boys "gives great facilities in learning them to

3. William P. Duval to John H. Eaton, 30 October 1830, 6 January 1831; William P. Duval to Samuel S. Hamilton, 21 July 1831; Consent of the Seminole Chiefs, all in Record of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, (M234), School Files 1829-30, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.; Samuel S. Hamilton to William P. Duval, 4 December 1830, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 24: 461; unknown to Richard M. Johnson, 12 November 1833, Florida Superintendency 1832-37, National Archives and Records Service.

4. Richard M. Johnson to Thomas Henderson, 24 January 1831, 14 February 1831, Thomas Henderson Papers, Manuscript Department, Filson Club Historical Society, Louisville; Thomas Henderson to Elbert Herring, 10 November 1833; Choctaw Academy Property Values, 31 October 1834, both in School Files 1833-34; Thomas Henderson to Richard M. Johnson, 9 December 1830; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 31 January 1831, both in School Files 1831-32.

speak English." Yet, the superintendent, more sensitive than Johnson, may have tried to keep some of the young Apalachicolas–aged nine to eleven–together. Whatever their room assignments, the Apalachicolas lived in log or frame dwellings lit by candles and warmed by fireplaces that the boys tended themselves. They slept in crowded quarters on beds or berths which older students help build, topped with straw-filled bolsters and covered with coarse linen. The superintendent allotted each boy a blanket for winter use and explained he would collect them in exchange for muslin sheets in the spring. Henderson also instructed the boys in bed making, sweeping, and general cleaning, chores the students often neglected until quarterly inspection time.[5]

Henderson then turned his attention to the Apalachicolas' clothing. Though the boys left Florida with new outfits, after weeks on the road their clothes appeared soiled and worn. The Apalachicolas missed the winter clothing dole but would participate in the spring event. Henderson may have replaced the worst clothes; students misplaced, lost, and ruined much clothing. Economy ruled, and the schoolboys wore strong, cheap, durable clothes. Only a few "careful" students kept their clothes from season to season. Otherwise, in October and April, Johnson's agents collected all clothes, noted their owners, and stored them for future use. Johnson purchased some items in Philadelphia and Washington, but his daughter Adaline supervised several slaves who made pants, shirts, and overalls with textiles purchased from local merchants. The slaves also washed and mended for the boys. Not surprisingly, after hard wear and repeated washings, the clothes gave the boys a "dirty . . . and rag[g]ed appearance. Johnson splurged on clothes only on rare occasions. Once during the Apalachicolas' stay, in 1832, he had "winter coats made . . . in uniform," noting "they will be delightful."[6]

Next, the Apalachicolas followed Henderson to the dining room, a ritual the boys repeated every day. Though the superinten-

5. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 31 January 1832, School Files 1831-32; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 30 April 1833, School Files 1833-34; Richard M. Johnson to Thomas Henderson, 25 April 1834, 28 March 1834, Henderson Papers.
6. Thomas Henderson to John H. Eaton, 18 May 1831; Choctaw Academy Inspector's Report, 3 November 1832, both in School Files 1831-32; List of clothing furnished by E. P. Johnson, Georgetown, Ky., 29 October 1833, School Files 1833-34; Richard M. Johnson to Adaline Johnson Scott, 12 December 1833; Richard M. Johnson to Thomas Henderson, 4 March 1832, 14 March 1834, 16 March 1834, all in Henderson Papers.

dent reported that the students lived in "much harmony," mealtime rules suggested otherwise. Henderson marched the boys to the dining room with an assistant or teacher heading each tribal group "to maintain and perpetuate good order," that is, to prevent them from annoying Johnson's family and slaves. Johnson's servants figured prominently in preparing and serving the meals. Jerry, the principal cook, prepared the food, and "good and faithful servants" waited the tables. The season and Johnson's financial situation determined the daily fare: he advocated two meals during winter and two light meals and a "strong diet for dinner" in summer. The servants and some of the students tended gardens planted specifically for the Academy's use. Johnson procured other foodstuffs—staples, grains, and meats—from local merchants, including his relatives, E. P. and William Johnson.[7]

With the issues of lodging, clothing, and food settled, the Apalachicolas turned to other pursuits, taking advantage of the free time to explore their new home and meet some of the other students. Mulatto King's servant returned to the kitchen to find Jerry and asked the cook "to take special care" of Orsler and "promised to have him [Jerry] paid." The cook accepted the job. Henderson returned to his office, perhaps accompanied by Sheffield, where he drafted a letter to the War Department announcing the boys' arrival. He started a ledger sheet to account for each boy's expenses: $200 per year for tuition, board, lodging, clothing, washing, and medical attendance; $10 per year for house rent; and $10 per year for teacher compensation. Finally, Henderson enrolled the Apalachicolas, selecting and entering eight English names—Charles Caldwell, John H. Eaton, William A. Ficklin, Thomas Henderson, F. C. McCalla, Charles Phillips, Berry W. Sinclair, George W. Hord—as "Seminole Students." Within a few days Sheffield and the servant bid farewell to the boys and set out for Florida.[8]

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7. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 31 October 1826, 30 April 1827, School Files 1826-28; Richard M. Johnson to Thomas Henderson, 27 May 1834, Henderson Papers; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 31 January 1831.
8. Richard M. Johnson to Elbert Herring, 9 November 1833, School Files 1833-34; Thomas Henderson to Richard M. Johnson, 27 December 1830, in Carolyn Thomas Foreman "The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 9 (1931), 387; Statement of Expenses of Choctaw Academy in Congress, House of Representatives, *The Executive Documents*, 27th Congress, 2nd Session, 1841-1842, (Washington, 1841) 4: 1-37; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 1 August 1831; Choctaw Academy Student List, 1 August 1832, both in School Files 1831-32.

For the next three years the daily, weekly, and annual school routines shaped the Apalachicolas' existence. Each day began with the drum, the signal to report to the schoolroom for roll call, singing, and prayer. At nine o'clock, the boys marched off to breakfast and returned to the school thirty minutes later. They spent the entire morning in class. After the noonday meal, Henderson allowed them "two hours for amusement." In the late afternoon, they returned to the classroom until the half hour dinner break. Henderson "clos[ed] the days business just before sundown, giving each a portion to memorize, to be recited next morning." Occasionally instruction continued in the evening and always on Saturday afternoon; on Sunday it shifted emphasis.[9]

The Apalachicolas attended class in one of the academy's four classrooms. In 1831, Henderson reported a number of course offerings: algebra, trigonometry and geometry, surveying, geography, grammar, reading, writing, and arithmetic. He divided the students into four levels: "the first class embraces the alphabet and first elements of learning. The second embraces spelling, reading and writing, the third spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar & geography, the fourth embraces all the higher branches of English education." The Apalachicolas, with no prior educational experience, entered the first level and progressed slowly. After eighteen months of study, with the exception of F. C. McCalla who studied both spelling and writing, the boys concentrated solely on spelling. It is doubtful they wrote compositions for Saturday afternoon recitation or used the maps, globes, or plotting and surveying instruments. Most assuredly, however, they listened to Henderson's weekly lectures on "the necessity of industry, frugality, economy, piety and religion, as well as honesty & integrity of character."[10]

In January 1831, soon after the Apalachicolas enrolled, inspectors who visited the school every quarter and reported to the War Department described the "method of teaching [as] most desirable." Except for the advanced classes, Henderson used the Lancasterian method at Choctaw Academy. The plan, developed by Englishman Joseph Lancaster as a method to educate the masses,

9. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, November 1825-31, January 1826, School Files 1826-28.

10. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 31 January 1831; Choctaw Academy Student List, 1 August 1832; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 1 November 1831, 31 January 1832, all in School Files 1831-32; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 1 November 1834, School Files 1833-34.

appealed to Johnson because it saved on teachers, books, and stationery. Classification, intense application, strict regulation, and a system of rewards and punishment characterized the method. Henderson classified the boys into groups according to intellectual capability. Older, more advanced students known as monitors repeatedly drilled the younger boys with large printed flash cards instead of books. The boys recited their lessons or wrote them on slate or in sand. The method even dictated classroom arrangement and student movements. For lessons well done, the students received tickets to exchange for small items, certificates, rewards, and medals. Punishment included protracted lessons, verbal and probably physical abuse. In late 1829, Henderson's first class of monitors returned to their homes. He then relied on William Trahern, a Choctaw, and Joseph N. Bourassa, a Potawatomi, as Lancasterian monitors.[11]

The Apalachicolas probably encountered Trahern and Bourassa in spelling and reading class. But Henderson felt contractually obligated to administer the school and teach the advanced class. His other pursuits—assisting with Johnson's plantation management, vending goods, and itinerant preaching—and the growing enrollment forced him to employ a number of assistants. He hired F. C. McCalla, a prominent Baptist and local merchant for whom one of the boys had been renamed, to teach English. McCalla repaired to the school every week night to lecture on "familiar subjects" and grammar. In 1832, Reverend James D. Black from nearby Stamping Ground Baptist Church "whose abilities . . . and character . . . add[ed] vastly to the respectability of the establishment," joined the staff. Whatever Black's attributes, he was not educated; he attended grammar school with his own children after his tenure at Choctaw Academy. In 1833, the faculty included Isaac Gardner, a "classical scholar" and lawyer, and M. Duvall, one of Johnson's managers, as "professor of Mathematics." That same year, Choctaw A. Buckholts became monitor in the preparatory department. Henderson repeatedly described the teachers as "competent, industrious,

11. Trustees Report, January 1831, School Files 1831-32; Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *Salvation And The Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (Lexington, Ky., 1965), 16-43; Ronald Rayman, "Joseph Lancaster's Monitorial System of Instruction and American Indian Education, 1815-1838," *History of Education Quarterly* 21 (1981), 395-409.

and efficient . . . men who take a deep interest in Indian reform." He also noted the boys "beloved and feared" them.[12]

Notwithstanding the method and the instructors, the Apalachicolas and many of the other students, advanced slowly. In 1832, Henderson suggested the War Department authorize and fund manual labor workshops to keep the boys occupied and justify their tuition. He believed that "much more good would result to the different tribes by making mechanics of such youths as either cannot or will not take learning freely." Bourassa reiterated Henderson's argument in 1833; the student monitor surmised that such boys ended up at the Academy because no qualified person existed "among the tribe to select the smartest to send to school." He too advocated regular employment to curb "old Habits & plays." Based on this testimony, the War Department allocated $500 to construct shops near the school. Henderson overspent the budget 100 percent, used the boys to construct the buildings, and opened four workshops in September 1833. By late fall, the students who had difficulty with academic work toiled under the watchful eye of hired workmen, including Johnson's relatives. They turned out shoes, boots, wagons, carts, and ploughs. Small items reached the War Department as proof of the shops' success. Other items could be found in local stores connected to Johnson.[13]

In addition to the Apalachicolas' academic and mechanical training, their education included character building and promoted nineteenth-century Anglo-American values. The Nepolian Society gave the boys the opportunity to learn and practice manners and "all the pecularities of etiquet observed in polite circles

12. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 29 July 1829, School Files 1829-30; Thomas Henderson to John H. Eaton, 25 March 1831; Thomas Henderson to William T. Barry, 7 April 1831; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 30 April 1832, all in School Files 1831-32; J. W. Singer, *A History of the Baptist Church at Stamping Ground, Kentucky* (Frankfort, Ky., 1952), 22-25; J. N. Bradley and Ellis M. Ham, *History of the Great Crossings Baptist Church* (Georgetown, Ky., 1945), 28-30. According to his son E. H. Black, James Black attended school "after he was forty." James Black, born in 1794, was thirty-eight when he taught at Choctaw Academy; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 30 April 1832; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 1 November 1833, School Files 1833-34.

13. Thomas Henderson to Lewis Cass, 8 May 1832, School Files 1831-32; Joseph N. Bourassa to N. D. Grover, 20 February 1833; Joseph N. Bourassa to Lewis Cass, 21 February 1833; Joseph N. Bourassa to Elbert Herring, 18 April 1833; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 1 November 1833, all in School Files 1833-34. The workshops ran counter to the Choctaws' intent that the Academy be an elite institution—an alternative to their manual labor mission schools.

of Society." Henderson described the debating society as an "educational auxiliary . . . one [that] strengthens the mind." The Lycurgus court promoted "self-government." It functioned as a student judicial and law enforcement system complete with judge, grand jury, lawyers, clerk, and sheriff. The court reviewed "every species of misconduct during the hours of recess and at all times when out of school." Bourassa took credit for the singing society and the "working society"—the manual labor shops. He insisted the societies created polished, articulate, self-controlled young men who contrasted sharply with their "needy" countrymen.[14]

The boys at Choctaw Academy observed the Sabbath as another day of instruction, albeit religious instruction. Initially, the students joined the faithful at Great Crossing Baptist or First Methodist in nearby Georgetown, but the Apalachicolas and their counterparts learned of heaven and hell, grace and unworthiness, and salvation and judgment at the Academy. Henderson reported that some Sundays the boys attended a four-hour Sunday School–two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon. Other Sundays included morning Sunday school with "the balance of the day in teaching [Bourassa's] vocal music" class, an English exercise. The varied Sunday schedule reflected Henderson's itinerant preaching commitments at neighboring Baptist churches. Consequently, the Academy pulpit probably rotated between a number of local clergymen—Henderson, Black, and the school's inspectors. Regardless of the preacher or the schedule, Henderson attempted to always observe the Sabbath in a "proper manner" because he believed that "it keeps the mind of the students constantly engaged, and prevents idle plays in which some might venture to indulge."[15]

Quarterly reports and the weekly routine suggested the Apalachicolas enrolled in a well-regulated school, but rules and conditions revealed otherwise. Some boys refused to attend class, societies, or church, preferring games and "amusements." Others simply ran away. Students fought each other, servants, and teachers. They broke into Johnson's home and the servants' quarters in pursuit of female slaves with whom they reportedly desired sex. They stole whiskey from the house and got drunk. Henderson

14. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 30 April 1832, 1 August 1832; Joseph N. Bourassa to Lewis Cass, 27 April 1832, all in School Files 1831-32.

15. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 1 November 1831, 31 January 1832, 30 April 1832, 1 August 1832, all in School Files 1831-32.

could not always maintain order during Johnson's extended absences in Washington. An especially trying year was 1829, and Johnson feared if the War Department or the Choctaws learned of the scandalous incidents he would lose the school. Ultimately, he decided to relocate the Academy two miles from his home. The following year, Johnson moved the school from Blue Spring to a tract between Longview and White Sulphur purportedly to take advantage of the abundant firewood there. Yet other concerns, particularly the security of Johnson's family—his mulatto companion, Julia Chinn, and their two daughters–and potential accusations of impropriety, may have influenced his decision.[16]

Old problems persisted despite the new location, Lycurgus court, and a "rigidly enforced" penal code. Adaline, Johnson's daughter, complained that boys slipped away to Blue Spring after dark and hid in the house and the yard to find young women. The students' misbehavior consumed Johnson, and he ordered Henderson to administer the school like a military academy, suggesting that each teacher act as "officer of the day." He demanded strict regulation and drilling in formation, and he repeatedly prodded Henderson to use the lash—the same device that kept his slaves under control—on the students. Henderson instead relied on chats, lectures, and parental talks. Unaccustomed to military discipline, the superintendent believed that kind management would compel the boys to conform, but Henderson's philosophy did not bring about self-regulation. Consequently, Johnson pleaded with Henderson to use physical force and actively curb the "outrages," promote the societies, and reform the "badly spent" Saturdays and Sundays. He worried that the "many wild boys," continually "let loose to spend the whole day as they please," endangered his family and the school's future.[17]

Whether the Apalachicolas created trouble for Henderson is unknown. However, inspectors reported that the students exhibited exemplary behavior at the annual examination and exhibition. Held in late July during Johnson's recess from Congress, the event attracted citizens intrigued with "the novelty of Indian re-

16. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 31 October 1830, School Files 1829-30; Trustees Report, January 1831.

17. Richard Johnson to Thomas Henderson, 3 June 1834, 4 May 1834, 28 December 1833, 29 April 1834, all in Henderson Papers; Thomas Henderson to John H. Eaton, 18 May 1831; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 31 January 1831, both in School Files, 1831-32.

form." Three examinations occurred during the Apalachicolas' stay; the 1832 event was the largest. On July 25, before the inspectors and other literary gentlemen, "8 were examined in higher branches of Mathematics and algebra—27 in geography—30 in English grammar and 34 in Arithmetick." The next day, the boys performed on a "stage erected in a most beautiful grove" to the "amusement and gratification" of "at least 3,000 ladies and gentlemen." The Apalachicolas almost certainly participated only in the exhibition. Generally, Johnson and Henderson displayed the most advanced students at the examination, and the Apalachicolas did not rate. Although F. C. McCalla ranked as "Sprightly," Charles Caldwell, John H. Eaton, Thomas Henderson, Charles Phillips, and George W. Hord were of "Ordinary Mind." Henderson described William A. Ficklin and Berry W. Sinclair as "Dull."[18]

The Apalachicolas' school experience moved in a seemingly predictable cycle until June 1833. The month began with rains that reminded the boys of the frequent downpours that raised the Apalachicola River and washed away homes, crops, fences, and livestock. Yet, the Kentucky weather contributed to another kind of disaster—cholera. In nearby Lexington and Cincinnati, privies overflowed contaminating drinking water sources and spreading the bacteria to Paris, Georgetown, Frankfort, and to Choctaw Academy. In advance of the attack, Johnson moved 60 of the 129 boys elsewhere. A widespread "panic" prevented a complete relocation. Henderson and his family were among the first stricken with symptoms. Consequently, the nursing responsibilities devolved on Johnson, "aided by his black people & some of the Indian Youths particularly John Jones, [a] Potawatomi" with Dr. Samuel Hatch's supervision. Also, Johnson employed Mr. Blake and Mr. Dunlap, "active & worthy young men of Georgetown," to tend the sick. Most of the fatalities occurred during the first week when nearly every affected patient quickly succumbed to severe stomach cramps, diarrhea, and vomiting. The epidemic lasted three weeks and the death toll reached twenty-

18. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 1 August 1833, 1 November 1833; Choctaw Academy Inspectors Report, 10 August 1832; Choctaw Academy Student List, 1 August 1832; both in School Files 1831-32; Henderson's roll for 1 August 1832 lists six students in the higher branches of Math, fourteen students in Geography, twenty students in English Grammar, and thirty-seven in Arithmetic.

four: fourteen servants, one white man, and nine students, including six Choctaws, one Miami, and two "Seminoles."[19]

Henderson reported the cholera deaths in his regular quarterly report to the War Department in August. When the news reached the Apalachicola River towns, John Blunt was stunned. Preparing to remove west, Blunt had requested in early June that his son Billy and any boys from Davy's town return home to join the emigrating party. The chief had received no response and now he feared the worst. Johnson had received the request, but he advised the War Department that the boys should remain at school while their families resettled. Clearly, Johnson hated to lose the tuition funds, but he also admitted that he and Henderson could not identify Blunt's son and suggested that Florida officials send an agent to identify the boy. The officials did not act on the suggestion, and in September, a very worried Blunt again requested his son. Florida's acting governor James Wescott wrote both Governor William P. Duval, on leave in Kentucky, and the War Department describing the confusion and delay.[20]

During October and November, the letter stack on Henderson's desk regarding the Apalachicolas steadily grew. War Department officials Elbert Herring and Lewis Cass, as well as Duval and Wescott, repeatedly instructed the superintendent to send Blunt's son to Florida. Henderson gathered the Apalachicolas together several times, but he simply could not identify Blunt's son or the students from Davy's town. He explained that when the boys arrived in 1830 they could not speak English, "neither had they English names, consequently they all had to be named." Though he insisted they "now can speak good English," he admitted that "not one could tell the name of his father nor even the Indian name by which he was called before he left the Nation." The situation vexed Henderson. After "spend[ing] all the morning without coming to any satisfactory conclusion," he noted that "two of the boys say

19. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 1 August 1833; Report from Samuel Hatch, Choctaw Academy Attending Physician, August 1833, both in School Files 1833-34; "Cholera Report," *Frankfort (Kentucky) Commonwealth*, 2 July 1833; *Niles' Weekly Register*, 27 July 1833.

20. Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 1 August 1833; James Gasden to Lewis Cass, 20 May 1833; Elbert Herring to W. P. Duval, 4 June 1833; William P. Duval to Thomas Henderson, 15 June 1833; Richard M. Johnson to Elbert Herring, 11 October 1833, all in School Files 1833-34; James Wescott to Elbert Herring, 1 September 1833, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 24: 877-78.

their father's died before they left the nation, one says he knows nothing of his father & the other two say their fathers were hunters and not chiefs, and that neither was named Blunt." Additionally, the remaining Apalachicolas could offer no information about the true identities of the two boys who had died.[21]

Increasingly, the officials involved agreed that if Johnson and Henderson could not identify Blunt's son the whole group should return to Florida. Johnson realized that such a move jeopardized the entire Seminole education fund, and he quickly intervened. He cross-examined the Apalachicola students, and one boy, George W. Hord, revealed that his father was indeed a chief, but not Blunt. Johnson conducted a "rigid examination" of the servants and learned that when the Apalachicolas arrived a "black man . . . belong[ing] to one of the principal Chiefs" asked Jerry, Johnson's cook, to care for his "young master." Jerry died of cholera as did the young boy who Henderson renamed and enrolled as William Ficklin. Johnson quickly deduced that Ficklin was Blunt's son and eulogized Ficklin "as a lovely Boy" who "bore his sickness with great fortitude." Based on the servants' information, Henderson pronounced Blunt's son "unquestionably" dead.[22]

Still, Hord's admission perplexed Johnson. On the remote chance Hord might be Blunt's son and confused about his father's name, Johnson decided to take the boy to Washington for questioning at the War Department. Elbert Herring examined Hord (Jack Vacca) and found "him to be one of the sons of Mulatto King." He also learned that Hord's younger brother Orsler (William Ficklin) and Aaron, an orphan, died in the cholera epidemic. Blunt's son, renamed Charles Phillips at the Academy, apparently remained in Kentucky. In the meantime, soon after Johnson left for Washington with Hord in tow, Henderson received more letters

21. Elbert Herring to Thomas Henderson, 28 September 1833, 28 October 1833, 31 October 1833, all in Letters Sent by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, (M21), National Archives and Records Service; Elbert Herring to James Wescott, 2 October 1833, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 24: 889-90; James Wescott to Lewis Cass, 13 November 1833, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 24: 912-15; James Wescott to Lewis Cass, 14 November 1833; Thomas Henderson to Elbert Herring, 12 October 1833, 10 November 1833, all in School Files 1833-34.

22. William Duval to Elbert Herring, 29 November 1833, in *American States Papers: Documents Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States, Class V. Military Affairs*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1832-1861), 6: 457; Richard M. Johnson to Elbert Herring, 9 November 1833; Thomas Henderson to Elbert Herring, 10 November 1833, both in School Files 1833-34.

from Florida. Duval, Wescott, and Wiley Thompson, the Apalachicola agent, demanded that Henderson return all the boys so "250 Indians . . . remaining on heavy expense" could remove west. With $731 borrowed from local merchant F. C. McCalla, the superintendent purchased horses and clothing and sent the boys to Florida with his nephew, James W. Henderson. Informed of the superintendent's actions by his daughter, Adaline, Johnson rushed a reprimand to Henderson: "I hope you may get my letter before they have started, if it be possible that you could take such a step without waiting to hear from me & after we had taken our ground . . . it will give a shock to the confidence they have had in you . . . it will injure me nearly 1000$ per annum."[23]

Meanwhile, the Florida officials realized that Henderson and Johnson could not identify the boys, and in mid-January they ordered Agent Thompson to Kentucky to retrieve the Apalachicola students. On his way north he met the stage carrying "the Indian boy (George W. Hord/ Jack Vacca) . . . from Washington city." At present-day Chattahoochee, Thompson learned that Henderson and the other boys had passed en route to Mulatto King's town. He eventually intercepted the entourage at Choconckla. Summoning the interpreters, Blunt, and the other chiefs for a meeting, Thompson tried to persuade the Apalachicola headmen to return the students to Kentucky for continued schooling "before a settled opposition . . . matured." But Thompson and Henderson "could not prevail" on Blunt to allow Billy and the others from Davy's town to return to Kentucky. Still, Thompson successfully pressured Mulatto King and Econchatta Mico into designating more students for the Academy. Henderson and the schoolboys, including George W. Hord, returned to Kentucky in March. Blunt, his family, and his town removed West with Davy's town and joined Blunt's uncle, Red Mocassin, on the Trinity River in Texas.[24]

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23. Thomas Henderson to Elbert Herring, 10 November 1833. Hord accompanied Johnson on his return to Washington for the Congressional Session: Elbert Herring to William Duval, 13 December 1833, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 24: 925-26; Thomas Henderson to Lewis Cass, 28 December 1833; Receipts to Edward Pence, Ward & Johnson, and James Henderson, n.d., all in School Files 1833-34; Richard Johnson to Thomas Henderson, 28 December 1833, Henderson Papers.
24. Wiley Thompson to William Duval, 20 January 1834, in *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, 6:451; William Duval to Elbert Herring, 20 January 1834, in *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, 6:458; Wiley Thompson to James Henderson, 27 January 1834, Florida Superintendency 1832-37; Thomas Henderson to Richard Johnson, 5 March 1834, School Files 1833-34.

Soon after the Apalachicola boys left the Academy for Florida, Henderson received a new regulation from the War Department. Believing Indian parents to be "incompetent judges . . . under the influence of wanton caprice and pernicious counsel," Herring determined that they could no longer request the return of their children from Choctaw Academy. The "fit and proper time" for dismissal would require a decision between the War Department, the trustees or inspectors, and undoubtedly Johnson. Like the 1829 ruling that ended the reimbursement of travel expenses for Choctaw chiefs visiting the Academy, the new regulation further reduced already limited tribal oversight of the school. Johnson, for financial reasons, celebrated the Department's new ruling, which he may have helped shape in response to Henderson's actions. The superintendent approved the reform as well, hoping the decision would inhibit the flow of letters he and the boys frequently received, "written . . . (mostly by their mothers) to return home" a request that rendered them "unhappy unnecessarily" and difficult to manage.[25]

The incident regarding Blunt's son reveals much about Choctaw Academy education. Though Henderson maintained that the Apalachicolas could speak English, communication problems existed on a very basic level. Allowing for cultural misinterpretation of the terms "chief" and "father," after repeated questioning Henderson knew little about the boys. He could not determine the towns they came from or their Indian names. Nothing suggests that Henderson or his assistants knew, used, or taught in native languages. Neither could student monitors Trahern or Bourassa bridge the language gap within and between the various tribal groups. Given these language barriers, it is doubtful the Apalachicolas actually understood English or the significance of their schoolwork. Presumably the boys did use some English; they probably recited memorized passages and spelling words and perhaps participated in the singing society. Evidently their cognitive skills were lacking. Their inability to comprehend English compromised their education.

25. Elbert Herring to Thomas Henderson, 22 January 1834, in *The Executive Documents*, 26th Congress, 2nd Session, 1840-1841, Document 109 (Washington, 1840), 3:75; Thomas McKenney to William Ward, 7 January 1829, in *The Executive Documents*, 3:45; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 31 January 1831.

The Apalachicolas represented typical Choctaw Academy students. They were very young boys who arrived at the school with no formal education, could not speak English, and progressed slowly under assistants and monitors. In 1832, the school population numbered 120. Henderson compiled a detailed student list in which he described 114 of the students, complete with class levels and remarks. Fifty-three students toiled in spelling along with seven of the Apalachicolas. Seventeen took a combination of spelling, reading or writing. The next level—spelling, reading, writing, grammar, and arithmetic—kept thirty-eight boys busy. Six advanced students studied the higher branches of education. Henderson categorized the boys accordingly: sixteen "dull," seventy-five "ordinary," ten "good," and thirteen "sprightly." The "ordinary" Apalachicolas represented the majority of students, a group to which Henderson referred infrequently. A survey of the quarterly reports and correspondence offers no information concerning students at the lower levels. Describing more advanced students, however, Henderson inadvertently revealed that some students at the school could not write: "all the students that can write are required to write a composition during the week." Apparently, to protect himself and the school, the superintendent suppressed information about the boys who "cannot speak a word in English, and know not a single letter."[26]

Superintendent Henderson described the Choctaw Academy student body as a "variety of subjects—some well informed, some perfectly ignorant, some well disposed, and others inclined to profligacy." Johnson and Henderson chose to emphasize the minority who were "well informed." Usually older English-speakers with a mission school background, these students filled the advanced class that Henderson taught. They studied algebra, geometry, astronomy, philosophy, and the like. They used the maps, globes, plotting and surveying instruments. Their compositions and handwriting exercises ended up at the War Department as proof of the school's success. Johnson and Henderson created and maintained the school's image with their achievements. They were the promis-

26. Choctaw Academy Student List, 1 August 1832; Thomas Henderson to John Eaton, 18 May 1831, School Files 1831-32. Other reports, though not as detailed, reveal similar information; see Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 31 January 1831, 31 January 1832, 30 April 1833; Choctaw Academy Inspector's Report, 2 May 1834, in School Files 1833-34.

ing, useful scholars touted in school reports and displayed at examinations, in essence "youths calculated to astonish the nation."[27]

The boys who attended school at Choctaw Academy carried with them their Nations' great expectations. Perhaps some of those expectations were unrealistic; others were not. Considering the expense, it was not unrealistic to believe that the boys would receive a basic education taught by competent teachers and would live in adequate conditions. Overwhelmingly, boys returned home "ince[n]sed against the institution" where they could not learn and were not cared for. They complained of boarding with "Johnston's negroes who are very imprudent to" them, eating "chiefly" mutton "cooked over two or three times" and drinking rye "coffee." They wore clothes "washed but once in two weeks," leaving one observer to note, "the Scholars were very dirty and ragged and appeared more like slaves than otherwise." Additionally, "none of them appear to have learned the English language or got any Education." Many returned home as terrible disappointments, not as an educated elite. Because the government discounted their complaints as the tales of schoolboys, many of the students internalized their sense of failure. Some resorted to drinking and gambling, vices honed at the school. Others turned to estrangement and suicide.[28]

Henderson, the inspectors, Johnson, and the government promoted the school based on the accomplishments of the unique, not the experiences of the typical. Far removed from Kentucky, tribal delegations and parents did not know as Bourassa did that "since the start of this Acad. out of hundred students not five useful men to the tribes, have returned, no not ten in all since the beginning." Once the students did return to their respective homes, however, a true assessment of Choctaw Academy emerged. Their reports of the Academy did not coincide with the official reports from Henderson, the inspectors, and the federal government. In response, in 1828 and 1833, the Choctaws attempted to reclaim their education annuity. The Creeks refused to send any more boys

27. Thomas Henderson to John Eaton, 18 May 1831; Choctaw Academy Quarterly Report, 1 November 1831.

28. Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation to George Vashon, 8 December 1833, School Files 1833-34. This letter contains the complaints of Black Coat's son (a current student), several alumni, and the observations of Charles Webber who conducted the Cherokee boys to Choctaw Academy. Vashon asked the Chiefs to gather this information to substantiate their grounds for removing the Cherokees; George Vashon to Elbert Herring, 23 January 1834, School Files 1833-34.

in 1833 when their sons returned home "little improved." They notified the President "that they d[id] not want their children to be taught how to work at the school that they c[ould] learn them to work themselves," and "they wanted a teacher who would be vigilent and industrious and competent." The Cherokees, citing great expense and evident neglect, also requested to withdraw their boys. Even the advanced returned students, celebrated by Johnson and Henderson, exhibited "great opposition & prejudice" toward the school. In the face of such opposition, the War Department refused to credit the tribes' critiques, but dismissed their contempt as complaints of the uninformed. The government linked the uneducated returned students to Indian inadequacy.[29]

The Apalachicola Indians who arrived at Choctaw Academy on Christmas Eve 1830 represented many of the boys attending the school. They traveled far from their homes at tribal expense to acquire an education that would enable them to serve their Nation. John Blunt and the other Indian parents who sent their sons to Kentucky entrusted them to the United States War Department, Richard M. Johnson, and Thomas Henderson. Yet, the War Department did not provide effective oversight for the Academy; Johnson managed it for his own financial gain; and Henderson clearly could not administer the school and educate and regulate more than one hundred Indian boys. Consequently, the students received little education and returned home unqualified to begin training as tribal interpreters, negotiators, or diplomats. Tribal leaders lamented the lost educational opportunities; they despaired for the returned students; and they exhibited deep and lasting contempt for the Kentucky school. Choctaw Israel Folsom's assessment of the school that his Nation established represented the views of many: Choctaw Academy "originally intended to improve and better our condition . . . has done comparatively so little good." The students "generally come back to us with all the vicious habits of the lower orders of the whites with negro [*illegible*] & *notions* having lost the originality of the real Indian character . . . and having received only the smattering of education." In selecting a school for his sons and nephew,

29. Joseph N. Bourassa to Elbert Herring, 18 April 1833; Leonard Tarrant to Elbert Herring, 26 April 1833, 4 September 1833, 31 May 1834; John Ross to Andrew Jackson, with resolution of Cherokee Chiefs against present mode of education attached, 1 September 1834, Resolution of the Cherokee Council, 22 August 1834; F. W. Armstrong to Elbert Herring, 5 January 1833, all in School Files 1833-34.

Folson did not consider Choctaw Academy, a school that "make[s] bad *Indians* and bad *white men.*" Despite glowing school reports and the government's endorsement, he sent his boys elsewhere. No doubt, the Apalachicolas wished they had done the same.[30]

30. Israel Folsom to Peter Pitchlynn, 20 February 1841, Peter Pitchlynn Papers, Manuscript Department, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art Library, Tulsa, Okla. Folsom expressed his views about education and Choctaw Academy to Pitchlynn as Pitchlynn considered accepting the superintendency of the Academy.

Cartoons in Paradise: How the Fleischer Brothers Moved to Miami and Lost Their Studio

by Donna Dial

Disney World may reign as Florida's most dazzling connection to the world of animated cartoons, but long before Disney there was Fleischer. Thirty-five years before Walt Disney packed Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck off to central Florida, his biggest competitors, Max and Dave Fleischer, built their own magic kingdom a couple of hundred miles farther south.

Pioneers in the field of animation, the two brothers spent the 1920s developing celluloid images. They dreamed up KoKo the Clown and Bimbo, his canine sidekick, and brought the "bouncing ball" sing-along cartoons to the screen. In the early thirties, the beguiling and guileless Betty Boop and Popeye, that irascible sailor, emerged from their studio in Manhattan. Then, in 1938, with two decades of innovative cartoon shorts behind them and their first feature-length cartoon before them, the Fleischers moved to an impressive new studio in Miami. Nowadays movie-goers do not hear much about the Fleischer brothers. That is because they did not live happily ever after.

Max and Dave Fleischer's arrival in South Florida came in answer to Miami's recurring visions of a motion picture trade to call its own. When the news broke that the Fleischers and Dade County Commissioners had worked out the details of the studio's move,

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the *Miami Herald* could barely suppress either its elation or expectations: "Miami's dream of a motion picture industry at long last seems about to be realized. . . . Fleischer Studios is a success. . . . Establishment of Fleischer Studios here will be the beginning of that industry which has been so eagerly sought as a balance to the city's position as the world's greatest winter playground. . . . Miami wants, needs this new enterprise."[1]

Incorporated in 1896, Miami had come of age after World War I. Town boosters spent most of the Roaring Twenties developing their own kinds of images. They envisioned Miami as a tropical paradise for the rich and famous. Indeed, the town made—and unmade—many a paper millionaire before the Florida land boom went bust. Throughout the era, its ephemeral motion picture industry ebbed and flowed as studio after studio sprang up, made a movie or two, and folded. Just as the real estate boom bottomed out, the infamous 1926 hurricane ravaged the city, leaving one hundred people dead and eight thousand homeless. The storm exposed the precarious economic foundation upon which the town had built its image and tumbled Miami into the Depression three years ahead of the rest of the country.

Miami spent most of the 1930s reinventing itself, building back the tourist trade and looking for light industry to help revive the economy. Even the Depression could not shake the city's aspirations of displacing Hollywood as the nation's film capital. There was room for hope. Whenever California threatened to raise taxes on the industry, studios started talking about moving to Florida. Attracting an established studio—one that would not go bankrupt like all those in the twenties—became Miami's ambition for the thirties.

By then, the Fleischers had been part of the motion picture trade a good long time. Max Fleischer had entered the new world of animation in 1915 as the inventor of the rotoscope, a machine that converted the movements of filmed actors into amazingly lifelike cartoon characters. Using the prototype built by his brother Joe, Max rotoscoped his youngest brother, Dave, into KoKo the Clown and combined the character with live-action footage of himself at the drawing board. The resultant cartoon series, *Out of the Inkwell*, made Fleischer's reputation. In 1921, the same year Max

1. "Film Dream Nears Reality," *Miami Herald*, 3 February 1938.

and Dave became independent producers for Paramount Pictures, the young commercial artist Walt Disney started his own animation company, appropriating the Fleischers' *Out of the Inkwell* drawing-board convention.[2] Both Paramount and Disney would play roles in the history of the Fleischer studio; but, in the beginning, Paramount merely distributed their products and Disney, in Max Fleischer's opinion, was but a young upstart.[3]

In 1929, Max and Dave Fleischer forged an unequal partnership with Paramount, forming Fleischer Studios, Incorporated. Under the terms of the agreement, Paramount owned 51 percent of the stock and copyrights to all cartoons.[4] Max assumed the role of president and producer while Dave became vice-president and director. In time, all five Fleischer brothers worked at the studios. Lou Fleischer headed the music department; Joe Fleischer served as electrician and machinist. Later, Charlie Fleischer also joined the company as a machinist. Only Max and Dave were partners. Dave's daughter Joyce Fleischer Weinberg recalled, "They were all really geniuses, every one of them. All the other brothers worked for the studios, and they should have all been partners. I don't know why Dave and Max left them out."[5] Max and Dave endured a relationship fraught with quarrels and misunderstandings. Perhaps they just could not bear the thought of more partners.

Neither, for that matter, could they bear the thought of Walt Disney. As the 1930s unfolded, competition between the two studios intensified, especially after Disney lured away some of the Fleischers' best animators. Max's son, director Richard Fleischer, remembered, "At my parents' house 'Disney' was a dirty word. If you said it at dinner you were sent away from the table."[6]

If Disney and the Fleischers shared the same medium, they hardly shared the same artistic vision. Disney productions harkened back to the moralistic stories and lush illustrations of Victorian children's books. Fleischer cartoons reflected the gestalt of New York City. Ethnic gags abounded, drawn not only from vaudeville traditions, but also from the Jewish neighborhoods of the Lower East Side and Brooklyn where the Fleischers had grown up.

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2. Richard Fleischer, *Just Tell Me When to Cry: A Memoir* (New York, 1993), 99.
3. Ibid.
4. Leslie Carbarga, *The Fleischer Story* (New York, 1988), 43.
5. Joyce Fleischer Weinberg, telephone interview by author, 28 April 1995.
6. Fleischer, *Just Tell Me When to Cry*, 97.

The brothers often seasoned their cartoons with sexual innuendo and sight gags. Until Will Hayes enforced the Production Code in 1934, Betty Boop spent much of her time flirting shamelessly, staving off the advances of lecherous men, and fighting a losing battle to keep from exposing her underwear.

For the occasional patron left unfulfilled by seven minutes of low humor, Fleischer cartoons offered yet another dimension: that of the mutable and surreal. The funeral scene in the Fleischers' "Snow White" (1933), for instance, features Cab Calloway rotoscoped into KoKo the Clown, who in turn metamorphoses into a ghost. Wailing "Saint James Infirmary Blues," KoKo joins the funeral procession of Snow White (played by Betty Boop) on its march through Mystery Cave. All manner of flying specters swarm around his head as he wambles past a tableau of the unearthly remains of drunkards and gangsters and gamblers. In keeping with the lyrics, his head transforms briefly into a liquor bottle, his body into a twenty-dollar gold piece. As the Seven Dwarfs carry Snow White's coffin of ice, her evil stepmother changes from queen to witch to a dragon with three improbably benign ducks atop its ferocious head. The witch freezes both KoKo and Bimbo into statues, but smoke from her fire-breathing alter ego thaws them, along with Snow White. When the funeral march reaches the end of the cave, Bimbo grabs the dragon by the tongue, turning it inside out and reversing its direction. KoKo, Bimbo, and Betty emerge from the cave to join hands in a victory dance.

This kind of gritty, over-the-top humor defined the New York style of animation; but by the late thirties, most of the city's studios had either gone bankrupt or followed their distributors to Hollywood. The influence of the New York environment waned. Throughout the Depression, cartoons, mirroring the motion picture medium, grew increasingly less gag-driven and more story-oriented. Furthermore, now that cartoons had survived their infancy and the novelty had faded, it became evident that their primary audience was going to be children. Disney's more artistic, realistic cartoons—what Max Fleischer called "animated oil paintings"—became the standard by which most critics judged the medium.[7]

In time, animation's coming of age, the 1934 Production Code, and Disney's influence combined with Depression sensibili-

7. Max Fleischer to Shamus Culhane, ca.1945, Fleischer Collection, Film Study Center, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

ties to transform the Fleischer style. Their earthy presentations yielded to a more respectable, if somewhat blander, product. As penance for her misspent youth, Betty Boop exchanged her minuscule dress and garter for a demure frock with raised neckline and lowered hem. She spent the rest of her career playing the part of a maiden aunt, complete with a little lapdog, Pudgy. Betty's indelicate pal Bimbo was supplanted by Grampy, an inventive old man who constructed Rube Goldbergesque contraptions to solve her day-to-day problems. Grampy often upstaged Betty, as did most of her new co-stars. Though she would appear in her own series until the end of the decade, she was frequently relegated to a supporting role.

Betty's identity crisis amounted to nothing compared to the one about to beset the Fleischers themselves. When change came, it came from within, initiated by the employees at the bottom, then gathering enough momentum to alter the studio's complexion forever and land the Fleischers in Miami.

In the thirties, creating a cartoon involved a slow, exacting process entailing multiple levels of artists. Each second of a cartoon consisted of twenty-four frames of film. The animator drew the primary pictures with the aid of an assistant animator who often "cleaned up" rough drawings and worked out timing and other logistics. The inbetweener, a position created at Fleischer Studios, drew the secondary pictures between the extremes of action. Inkers then traced the pictures onto clear sheets of celluloid, or "cels." Opaquers or painters filled in the outlines. The completed cels were placed one at a time in front of a painted background or three-dimensional set, where they were filmed frame by frame. A seven-minute cartoon comprised between twelve and fourteen hundred cels.

Over two hundred employees worked for the Fleischers in the cramped studio occupying three floors of an office building at 1600 Broadway. Many animators had been with them for years, working their way up from the opaquing department. Max Fleischer, whom animator Shamus Culhane described as "a Victorian father," took pride in his studio's family atmosphere.[8] "Everyone in this organization can come right into my office and air their grievances and their troubles and speak directly to me," Fleischer

8. Shamus Culhane, telephone interview by author, 24 March 1995.

claimed. "Everyone in this organization calls me 'Max.' No[t] merely as a convenience, but I feel I have actually earned this salutation."[9]

So it must have been a bitter pill when his employees walked out in the spring of 1937, protesting long hours and short pay. Although strikes disrupted other animation companies, including Disney's, over the next five years, Fleischer Studios took the first blow. Caught off guard, Max saw himself as the victim of ingratitude. Perhaps on the advice of Paramount officials, he stubbornly refused National Labor Relations Board arbitration.[10] Most of the high-salaried animators continued to work, but many of the underpaid inkers, opaquers, and inbetweeners stayed out for six months. Sporadic violence erupted between union members and employees crossing the picket line. While the strikers finally won a modest pay raise and other concessions, they failed in their attempt to make the studio a closed shop.[11] The strike ended October 13, 1937, but it would haunt Fleischer Studios as long as they existed.

Not that the brothers had time to dwell on in-house adversity. Other challenges awaited them. A few months after the strike ended, Walt Disney released his *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, the first feature-length cartoon. It had been four years in production at a cost of a million and a half dollars, but its extraordinary success proved that a full-length cartoon could sustain audience interest. Now Paramount encouraged the Fleischers to produce their own animated feature.[12] The profit margin on shorts was always going to be narrow. Nobody bought a theater ticket just to see the cartoon. Already the Fleischers had produced a pair of Popeye two-reelers. They would now begin work on their first feature, a loose, very loose, interpretation of Jonathan Swift's novel, *Gulliver's Travels*. Doing so meant doubling the staff and abandoning their cramped facilities. The Fleischers, instead, abandoned New York altogether. On February 1, 1938, they completed negotiations with the Dade

9. "Max Fleischer Autobiography," press release from Fleischer Studios in Miami, Film Study Center, Museum of Modern Art, New York, mimeographed, 11.
10. Harvey Deneroff, "Popeye the Union Man: A Historical Study of the Fleischer Strike" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1985), 131, 150; Shamus Culhane, *Talking Animals and Other People* (New York, 1986), 201.
11. Deneroff, "Popeye the Union Man," 264.
12. Leonard Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic* (New York, 1987), 115; Carbarga, *The Fleischer Story*, 144.

County Commission to relocate their studios.[13] They financed the move with a ten-year loan from Paramount, a decision they would come to regret.[14]

Other than a warm welcome and mild winters, it was not immediately apparent what Miami had to offer an animation company. "As far as motion picture facilities were concerned," Shamus Culhane observed, "Miami might just as well have been in Tibet. Every foot of film would have to be shipped to New York laboratories for development; any breakdown of equipment would have to be serviced from the East; there were few experienced sound engineers in Florida, no actors, no labor pool of experienced artists. In the face of all these problems, the move to Miami was mad."[15]

The Fleischers had their reasons. Land in Miami came cheaply, and in 1933 Florida had begun to exempt relocating film companies from property taxes.[16] In addition, both Max and Dave already owned winter homes on Miami Beach. Most important of all, however, was what Florida did not have: a well-developed union movement. It would seem a safe place to expand a labor force. In fact, Max had begun negotiations with the Miami Chamber of Commerce in June 1937, just one month after the strike began in New York.[17]

The Fleischers broke ground for the new studio on March 1, 1938. Ironically, the following day union labor brought work to a halt when they picketed the site, protesting non-union, out-of-town construction labor.[18] This time, though, the Fleischers were protected from union activity. They had little to do with the actual construction. Technically speaking, they did not even own the studio. Instead, they held a five-year lease with an option to buy from local real estate developer John Ware Jr. [19]

Ware built the studio in a sparsely populated, working-class neighborhood in the northwest section of the county, an area *Architectural Record* described as "a part of Miami that had been ne-

13. "Miami Gets Film Plant," *Miami Herald*, 2 February 1938.
14. Carbarga, *The Fleischer Story*, 144.
15. Culhane, *Talking Animals*, 202.
16. Richard Alan Nelson, *Lights! Camera! Florida!: Ninety Years of Moviemaking and Television Production in the Sunshine State*, (Tampa, 1987), 53.
17. "Miami Studios Plans Slated For Parley," *Miami Herald*, 4 February 1938.
18. "Idle Men's Protest Halts Studio Work," *Miami Herald*, 22 March 1938.
19. "Miami Gets Film Plant"; Mark Langer, "Institutional Power and the Fleischer Studios: *The Standard Production Reference*," *Cinema Journal* 30 (1991), 11, 22 n. 58.

Within a year of their arrival in Miami, the Fleischers retired Betty Boop, but they produced Popeye cartoons as long as their studio existed. Paramount's official welcome to the Fleischer Studios, *Miami Herald*, 4 September1938.

glected in the hasty, boom development of the city."[20] The studio's most venerable neighbor was the Musa Isle Seminole Indian Camp, a tourist attraction on the Miami River a few blocks away.

Ware had a vision of his own. He meant to make Fleischer Studios the nucleus of Delaware Park, an upscale housing development surrounded by lush landscaping and natural limestone pools. According to newspaper advertisements, his plans included "establishing an ideal community—with every home a modern, permanent concrete and steel reinforced structure, with absolutely no fear of destruction by hurricane, fire, or termites."[21] Unfortunately, every home was also uniquely and profoundly unbeautiful. "There were a few homes put up and a few people bought them," head an-

20. "Light, Sound, and Atmosphere Controlled in Studio Design," *Architectural Record*, January 1939, 33.
21. Delaware Housing Association, Inc. advertisement, *Miami Herald*, 9 October 1938.

imator Myron Waldman recalled, "but most didn't want any part of them. They looked like blocky little factories."[22]

Dade County honored its commitment to the studio by building Delaware Parkway, a boulevard linking the plant to 27th Avenue, the nearest thoroughfare. If all went as planned, the county promised to build a bridge over the Miami River, thus incorporating Delaware Parkway into a trunk road between Miami's two major airlines, Pan Am and Eastern.[23] For good measure, it also contributed a corps of WPA workers to clear roads and property around the studio.[24]

The building, constructed of steel-reinforced poured concrete just like Ware's homes, was one of the first completely air-conditioned facilities in Florida.[25] A diesel plant supplied electricity and water. The cream-colored studio wrapped around a landscaped courtyard, at the rear of which stood a detached "sound-recording building." During recording, its air conditioning was shut down to prevent vibrations and air currents from affecting sound reproduction.[26] Banks of windows equipped with Venetian blinds allowed employees to work by natural light. When their eyes got tired, they could rest them by walking down the long corridors, illuminated only by twenty-five watt deflecting lights.[27]

In September 1938, as construction continued on the studio, the staff started to move in. Max Fleischer would never forgive the strikers, but he found himself in no position to deny jobs to experienced artists.[28] Two hundred New Yorkers made the move to Miami. The Fleischers hired another hundred cartoonists from California, offering high wages to entice people away from Disney and other West Coast studios.[29] They were able to reclaim several of their most talented animators. They also acquired some mediocre animators who misrepresented their expertise. In one case, an inbetweener passed himself off as his animator brother.[30] For the rest

22. Mark Langer, "Working at the Fleischer Studio: An Annotated Interview with Myron Waldman," *Velvet Light Trap* 24 (fall 1989): 11.
23. "Actual Work of Drawing Animated Cartoons Begins in Miami this Week," *Miami Herald*, 4 September 1938.
24. "Group of 60 Movie Artists Due Sept. 7," *Miami Daily News*, 7 August 1938.
25. Carbarga, *The Fleischer Story*, 144.
26. "Light, Sound, and Atmosphere," 36.
27. Ibid., 35.
28. Culhane, *Talking Animals*, 203.
29. Langer, "Working at the Fleischer Studio," 9; Culhane, *Talking Animals*, 203.
30. Langer, "Working at the Fleischer Studio," 13.

of the staff the Fleischers turned to the only source in town: the Miami Art School.

At Max Fleischer's request, the art school instituted animation classes.[31] After studying drawing techniques for three months, students applied for positions as opaquers. The notion of working in a film studio, at the starting salary of $18.75 a week, proved especially appealing to recent high school graduates.[32] "Jobs were not easy to come by if you weren't trained for any particular job," opaquer Jeanette Kronenfeld Simon remembered, "so it was some prestige to say you worked there—if it didn't mean anything else. The pay for those days was good."[33]

For Jewish residents, employment opportunities offered by the Fleischers took on added significance. During the Depression, anti-Semitism permeated Miami; Myron Waldman's mother, for instance, had to remind the real estate agent not to take her into any neighborhoods posting "No Jews allowed" notices.[34] Jewish jobseekers faced a restricted market. Fleischer opaquer and inker Bernie Leiter pointed out, "The jobs were just not around unless you were of the right stature and color and hair and eyes. If you think Miami in those days was so marvelous . . . well, it was for the tourists, but not for the natives."[35]

While Miamians familiarized themselves with the field of animation, resettled Fleischer employees acquainted themselves with their new home. As Myron Waldman sat drawing at his desk his first week in Miami, he glanced over his shoulder in time to catch a curious Seminole girl and boy peering at him through the window.[36] When animator Frank Spalding looked out his window, he was just as startled to see an all-black chain gang installing the sidewalks around the studio.[37]

Mosquitoes, flying cockroaches, and enormous spiders horrified Shamus Culhane, but many Fleischerites found aspects of Miami appealing.[38] Although Myron Waldman acknowledged some employ-

31. "Ink Flies as Art Students in Metropolitan Miami Train in Methods Used in Studios Where Fleischer Animated Cartoons are Produced," *Miami Herald*, 16 April 1938.
32. Gladys Dunn Fortner, telephone interview by author, 9 April 1995.
33. Jeanette Kronenfeld Simon, telephone interview by author, 14 April 1995.
34. Myron Waldman, telephone interview by author, 15 March 1995.
35. Bernie Leiter, telephone interview by author, 9 April 1995.
36. Waldman interview.
37. Frank Spalding, telephone interview by author, 24 April 1995.
38. Culhane, *Talking Animals*, 203.

ees "never had their noses out of those beer joints," he attended the theater and ballet and heard Metropolitan opera stars at Miami High School.[39] Bernie Fleischer, who worked with his father, Joe, in the machine shop, liked to watch trainloads of wealthy Northerners disembark at the downtown station. Then, for fifty cents he could watch a stage show or a movie at the Olympia Theater.[40]

The cultural differences between New York and Miami made for an interesting first year. Inker Milton Wohl thought Miami a paradise, although it took time to adjust to the area's "completely different rhythm."[41] While many local people, especially those in business, appreciated the studio's presence, a substantial number regarded the employees with suspicion. "Well, you know," Wohl explained, "New Yorkers were considered city slickers. They couldn't take us. Like, 'Here they are, ready to take over.'"[42]

Then there was the Ku Klux Klan. In April 1938, the *Herald* had taken city officials to task for allowing the Klan to parade through downtown without a permit and with license plates concealed, bringing traffic to a halt.[43] In June, the KKK had held their state convention in Miami.[44] Music director Lou Fleischer managed to wind up on the wrong side of the Klan (or Klan sympathizers) when he invited Cab Calloway to his house one evening. The next morning he found a note under the door: "Don't have any more niggers in your house. The Ku Klux Klan."[45]

Although a number of New Yorkers accepted the Fleischers' offer of a ticket back home if they left before the first year ended, the California contingent seemed to adjust to Miami effortlessly.[46] An intercoastal rivalry sprang up among the animators. The California artists thought the New Yorkers too haphazard in their work, while the New Yorkers found the Californians arrogant.[47] Max Fleischer surrounded himself with New York loyalists; Dave Fleischer associated with the Californians.[48]

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39. Waldman interview.
40. Bernie Fleischer, interview by author, Pembroke Pines, Fla., 20 April 1995.
41. Milton Wohl, telephone interview by author, 12 April 1995.
42. Ibid.
43. "City Officials Condone Klan," *Miami Herald*, 27 April 1938.
44. "Gold Satin Robes of the Color Guard," *Miami Herald*, 12 June 1938.
45. Carbarga, *The Fleischer Story*, 154.
46. Culhane interview; Waldman interview; Culhane, *Talking Animals*, 207.
47. Spalding interview.
48. Langer, "Institutional Power and the Fleischer Studios," 11; Culhane, *Talking Animals*, 207.

Miami-hired employees knew little about the dissension in the upper ranks. They were adjusting to both groups. The New Yorkers proved particularly intriguing. They talked differently; and although they had come down on business, they dressed like tourists, working in shirt sleeves, shorts, and sandals.[49] As a whole, however, the animators proved an amusing group with their penchant for pranks (the hot foot gag was a perennial favorite) and spoofing one another with comics left tacked up in the hallways.[50]

If the Fleischers moved to Miami to rid themselves of the union, they realized their hopes October 31, 1938, when, in a 66-58 vote, the art production employees rejected the CIO-affiliate United American Artists as their bargaining agent.[51] The union was defeated. "The action of the studios' art production employees," the *Herald* commented, "is a happy understanding of local conditions. It augers well for success of the motion picture plant in adapting itself to the norms of thought of this community which it has selected for its new home."[52]

The Fleischers came to a somewhat less happy understanding with Dade County's tax assessor. Despite the state's promise of property tax concessions to motion picture studios, it was not until their case arrived at the Florida Supreme Court in 1941 that they received their promised exemptions.[53]

Max and Dave's turbulent partnership continued to plague the studio. Between the oldest Fleischer brother and the youngest lay eighteen years and a history of personality conflicts. The move to Miami did nothing to relieve the friction between them. Dave later contended that his extramarital affair with his secretary, Mae Schwartz (whom he eventually married), infuriated Max, further deepening the rift between the two brothers.[54] There has been much speculation about the quarrel's effect on the studio, especially because Max and Dave no longer spoke to each other. Scriptwriter Jay Morton recalled the brothers being civil to each other at

49. Fortner interview.
50. Wohl interview; Fortner interview.
51. Deneroff, "Popeye the Union Man," 234.
52. "Artists Reject C.I.O. for Miami," *Miami Herald*, 3 Nov. 1938.
53. Nelson, *Lights! Camera! Florida!*, 55; *Fleischer Studios, Inc. v. Paxson*, 147 Fla. 100 (1941).
54. Dave Fleischer, "Recollections of Dave Fleischer," interview by Joe Adamson, 1969, An Oral History of the Motion Picture in America Collection, University of California at Los Angeles, 121-22.

work; however, Dave Fleischer's daughter, Joyce Fleischer Weinberg, noted, "Through the years I guess there was a certain jealousy between them. They needed both signatures to approve things, and it became spiteful. If one would sign, the other one wouldn't."[55]

Mounting tension between the partners must have troubled Paramount; but most of the lower-echelon workers, the Miamians, did not detect any fraternal strife. In fact, they marveled at the familial atmosphere and the benevolence of the Fleischers. "They didn't go out of their way to impress anybody. They were just naturally nice people," opaquer Marie Rand Trudeau explained.[56] When she left after two years to join the Navy, the Fleischers sent her a paycheck for several months.[57]

By May 1939, with work on *Gulliver's Travels* accelerating, the studio had outgrown its plant and spilled over into two of Ware's bungalows. A two-hundred seat cafeteria neared completion. The studio now employed over four hundred people, including a hundred Miamians. Its ever-expanding weekly payroll topped $18,000.[58]

In the midst of all the *Gulliver* preparations, Paramount released Betty Boop's final cartoon. The darling of a bygone time and place, she survived a scant year in sunny Florida. Some say putting her to rest was an act of kindness. But Popeye, as cartoony as ever, retained his celebrity status. The foremost business at hand, of course, was *Gulliver's Travels*. The Fleischers were attempting to produce a feature film in eighteen months. Since Disney had already started work on *Pinocchio*, the challenge lay in bringing the world's *second* feature-length cartoon to the screen—although Max Fleischer denied he was racing Disney. "When we began the picture in May, 1938," he maintained, "we set a release date for Christmas, 1939. The release date stands. There is no change. Naturally, in view of the fact that the new personnel required special training, it has proved a little more difficult than we anticipated."[59]

The Fleischers based their film on one episode from Swift's novel, Gulliver's visit to Lilliput. They discussed several approaches

55. Jay Morton, telephone interview by author, 15 April 1995; Weinberg interview.
56. Marie Rand Trudeau, telephone interview by author, 10 April 1995.
57. Ibid.
58. "Film Studios Are Enlarged," *Miami Herald*, 28 May 1939.
59. "Fleischer and Disney Race To Make Second Animated Cartoon Feature," *Miami Herald*, 2 July 1939.

to the character of Gulliver. Someone suggested Popeye for the role.[60] Dave wanted to combine live action with animation, as they had in the KoKo cartoons. He thought Gary Cooper would make an ideal Gulliver, but Max balked.[61] In the end, they settled for rotoscoping their protagonist. Miami radio station WIOD broadcast for "tall, dark, handsome" men to audition to model for Gulliver; however, the role eventually went to announcer Sam Parker, who also provided the character's speaking voice.[62]

Despite moving a studio, training new staff, and sending film back and forth to Hollywood for editing, the Fleischers made their Christmas deadline. Since Disney did not release *Pinocchio* until the following February, *Gulliver's Travels* opened as the world's second feature-length cartoon. It had been grueling work. According to a Paramount press release, by the time the film was finished, 678 artists had created 665,280 drawings, used sixteen tons of paper and 49,000 pencils, and swallowed 27,600 aspirins for headaches.[63] The final product consisted of twelve tons of paint brushed on a half million cels.[64]

December 18, 1939, the evening of *Gulliver's Travels*' premiere, marked the pinnacle of the Fleischers' tenure in Miami. The weekend preceding the Monday night opening brought a host of *Gulliver*-related activities. Saturday morning, "Gulliver," in the form of an eight-foot tall actor, flew in from Hollywood bearing the cans of film. He bestowed them upon Mayor E. G. Sewell, who, in turn, presented them to Miami Beach's Sheridan and Colony theaters, sites of the double premiere. "Gulliver" then made his way to Bayfront Park, where he helped judge a contest to select the Princess of Lilliput and six ladies in waiting. The competition culminated with a motorcade of miniature cars. Then the giant put in an appearance at the local Sears Roebuck.[65] Monday morning, Lanny Ross, CBS radio announcer and the singing voice of Prince David,

60. Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic*, 119.
61. Beatrice Fleischer Stone, telephone interview by author, 25 April 1995.
62. Mary Hamman, "A Giant Comes to Town," *Good Housekeeping*, February 1940, 145-46.
63. "Cinema: *Gulliver's Travels*," *Time*, 1 January 1940, 29.
64. "Movie Industry Turns Eyes on Miami's 'Gulliver' Premiere: First Showing of Cartoon To Be At Sheridan and Colony Theaters Monday Night," *Miami Herald*, 17 December 1939.
65. Elizabeth Hemphill, "Writer Feels So Lilliputian as Gulliver Picks Princess," *Miami Herald*, 17 December 1939; Sears, Roebuck and Co. advertisement, *Miami Herald*, 16 December 1939.

About *Gulliver's Travels*, Walt Disney reputedly said, "We can do better than that with our second-string animators." Advertisement for *Gulliver's Travels*, 1939. *Courtesy of Donna Dial.*

broadcast his show from Miami's WQAM radio station. He and Jessica Dragonette, the singing voice of Princess Glory, warbled songs from *Gulliver*.[66]

66. "Miami Ears Soothed by Lanny and Jessica," *Miami Herald*, 19 December 1939.

Of greater significance that day was the luncheon at the Columbus Hotel honoring Paramount and Fleischer executives. Attended by local politicians and civic leaders, it provided the forum for Mayor Sewell's advancement of Miami as a movie production site. The *Miami Herald* duly noted the city's latest strategy: "Miami . . . will concentrate its initial activities on inviting cartoon production units to use Miami as the site of their operations rather than Hollywood, where labor difficulties and mounting taxes beset the studio operators."[67]

The premiere itself, followed by a charity ball, proved a local sensation as well as an opportunity for publicity-conscious Miami to capture a spot in the newsreels. Floodlights lit the area, and mounted police controlled the crowd. Over the Colony Theater, streamers spelling out "Gulliver's Travels" and "World Premiere" floated beneath an enormous helium balloon—which had to be patched and re-inflated after a prankster with a .22 caliber rifle shot it down.[68] Animator Frank Spalding recalled, "They had a big mob of people—just like a Hollywood opening. I remember driving up and walking up the red carpet; we all did. Like I was some big Hollywood actor. They even did that to the office boys."[69]

The crowd astonished Dave Fleischer's fourteen-year-old daughter, Joyce, when they reached across the restraining ropes to touch her as her family arrived at the theater. Still, the film itself disappointed her. Except for trying to identify the frames she had opaqued, she found little to hold her interest.[70]

The local press, however, acclaimed the film unreservedly. *Herald* amusement editor Charles E. Ward exulted,

> The triumph of the Fleischers was recorded in the face of headshakings by leaders of the industry when the studio was moved here. Make a full-length cartoon in two years? Impossible, said the industry. Get artists in Miami? Never, the Fleischers were told before the change was made. But the Fleischers were determined and the studio came to Miami. . . . Then portions of the film were previewed and the

67. "Miami Opens Campaign To Lure Movie Studios: Film Leaders City's Guests," *Miami Herald*, 19 December 1939.
68. "Sun Glasses Hide Husing," *Miami Herald*, 19 December 1939.
69. Spalding interview.
70. Weinberg interview.

world of the motion picture began to take notice. By the time they could see it all, executives were talking of box-office gross in the millions.[71]

Gulliver's Travels went on to receive mixed but overall positive reviews, although most critics considered it not as well-crafted as Disney's *Snow White.*[72] More than one pointed out the Fleischers' debt to Disney.[73] In truth, the Disney style with its bright backgrounds and naturalistic characters had seeped into the Fleischer product. Inker Milton Wohl explained, "They had a good handful of Disney people working at the Fleischers. If you have several Disney animators working for another company, that Disney effect is thrown right into the new studio they work for."[74]

Unfortunately for the Fleischers, among many other cartoon producers, nobody could create "that Disney effect" quite as well as Disney. The *Herald*'s optimistic predictions notwithstanding, *Gulliver* did only moderately well at the box office. It recovered expenses; but, partially because the war had eliminated lucrative European markets, the film posted little profit.[75]

By the time *Gulliver* premiered, Paramount had already given the Fleischers a "definite assignment" to produce another cartoon feature—at half the budget allotted *Gulliver.*[76] Despite Paramount's underwhelming show of confidence, a new production, the *Herald* observed, meant that "upward of 600 artists and workers will be kept busy at the Miami plant and that a major portion of the picture's cost of more than a million dollars will go into circulation here."[77]

It was a good thing, too, since Miami did not appear destined to replace Hollywood as the film capital. By March, the *Herald* was forced to report that for all Miami's best efforts, producers would not defect from California as costs would increase and employees

71. "Gulliver Outshines Bright Expectations: Hap-Hap-Hap-Happy Day," *Miami Herald,* 19 December 1939.
72. Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic,* 118-119.
73. Review of *Gulliver's Travels* (Paramount movie), *Time,* 1 January 1940, 29; Frank S. Nugent, review of *Gulliver's Travels* (Paramount movie), *New York Times,* 21 December 1939.
74. Wohl interview.
75. Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic,* 118; Waldman interview.
76. Charles E. Ward, "Fleischer Studio Will Make Another Feature-Length Cartoon," *Miami Herald,* 13 December 1939; Fleischer, "Recollections," 72.
77. Ward, "Fleischer Studio," 72.

did not want to leave their homes.[78] It looked like Fleischer Studios, Inc. *was* Miami's film industry.

The plot of the Fleischers' second feature film, *Mr. Bug Goes to Town*, revolves around a community of insects who live in New York City just a few feet off Broadway. Their attempts to find a haven safe from the dangers caused by humans eventually lead them to immigrate to the rooftop garden of a new skyscraper. The first cartoon feature based on an original story, it promised—despite a cast of talking bugs—to be neither fantasy nor fable, but a modern drama. Max Fleischer argued, "Solidly constructed screen stories can be produced with pen and ink characters just as well as with human characters. The animated cartoon must mature and the only way to mature is to tell feature length modern and dramatic stories naturally. In our feature we'll retain droll whimsy whenever a situation presents itself but we don't strive for it where the story situation doesn't call for it."[79]

Mr. Bug did seem to represent a maturation in the Fleischer style. The studio spent four months constructing a three-dimensional set of New York City.[80] Dynamic animation and experimentation with camera angles produced some striking scenes, especially the opening sequence of New York streets shown from an insect's perspective and the climactic confrontation with construction machinery. As much as Fleischer stressed the importance of story, however, the plot of *Mr. Bug* remained bromidic and the characters insipid rather than engaging. The story just was not "solidly dramatic" enough to overcome its paucity of whimsy, droll or otherwise.

For solid drama, the Fleischers—at Paramount's behest—turned to Superman. Conscious of the cost and labor involved in creating the realistic animation necessary to bring the popular Action Comics hero to the screen, director Dave Fleischer hesitated to undertake the project. He quoted Paramount an estimate of $100,000 per cartoon, four times the cost of the average animated short.[81] Paramount accepted.

78. Idem, "Film Producers See Florida Move Remote: Movie Makers Like Hollywood," *Miami Herald*, 9 March 1940.
79. Manuscript by Aileen St. John Brenon, "About 'Mr. Bug Goes to Town,'" n.d., Fleischer Collection, Film Study Center, Museum of Modern Art, New York.
80. Carbarga, *The Fleischer Story*, 186.
81. Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic*, 120.

The Fleischers not only borrowed the title of their second feature cartoon from Frank Capra's *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, they also modeled their protagonist on Jimmy Stewart, the film's lead. Later, Paramount reissued the cartoon as *Hoppity Goes to Town*. Advertisement for *Mr. Bug Goes to Town*, 1941. *Courtesy of Donna Dial.*

In spite of their initial reluctance, the Fleischers took great pains with their new project, rotoscoping the man of steel from animator Ed Fortner and utilizing storyboards and pencil tests, infre-

quent practices in the studio's past.[82] Special effects and unusual camera angles became hallmarks of the series. Initiated in 1941, these cartoons, boldly stylistic and often steeped in war propaganda, departed almost completely from the Fleischers' trademark "cartoony" style. Theater audiences loved them.[83] Sadly, we will never know what direction the Fleischers might have taken from that point of departure. As it turned out, Superman could preserve the American way of life, but he could not save Fleischer Studios.

When the house of Fleischer started to crumble, it fell with stunning swiftness. Three days before the bombing of Pearl Harbor, *Mr. Bug* opened at the Olympia Theater to little fanfare. When Paramount finally released it to the general public the following February, it suffered the proverbial box office death. Although it had come in under its $600,000 budget, it failed to recoup expenses. After the release of *Gulliver's Travels*, the Fleischers owed Paramount $100,000; after *Mr. Bug* they were $473,000 in debt.[84]

By then, however, it did not much matter. Events had already transpired against the Fleischers. On New Year's Eve 1941, Paramount announced Dave Fleischer's resignation and plans to take a position with Columbia Pictures supervising the cartoon production unit in Hollywood.[85] Although Dave later claimed he fled Florida to avoid repercussions from his divorce, his daughter, Beatrice Fleischer Stone, noted that he knew Paramount was poised for a takeover.[86] Perhaps, Myron Waldman suggested, Paramount executives grew tired of losing money.[87] Or they may have been spurred by a message from Max Fleischer. According to a story recounted by Fleischer chronicler Leslie Carbarga, toward the end of *Mr. Bug*'s production, Max telegraphed Paramount that he "would no longer, under any circumstances, work with Dave Fleischer."[88]

In any case, in late May, Paramount seized the studio, renaming it Famous after its sheet music division. Since five years remained on the Fleischers' loan schedule, how Paramount was able to take control remains unclear.[89] Joe Fleischer's son, Bernie,

82. Langer, "Institutional Power and the Fleischer Studios," 7-8.
83. Idem, "Max and Dave Fleischer," *Film Comment*, January-February 1975, 55.
84. Idem, "Institutional Power and the Fleischer Studios," 22 n. 58.
85. *New York Times*, 1 January 1942, 37.
86. Fleischer, "Recollections," 125; Stone interview.
87. Waldman interview.
88. Carbarga, *The Fleischer Story*, 190-191.
89. Fleischer, *Just Tell Me When to Cry*, 101; Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic*, 124.

thought Paramount encouraged the quarrel between his uncles so they would not align themselves against the takeover.[90] Later, both Max and Dave sued Paramount to little avail.[91]

When the lease on the building expired, Paramount moved the studios and a greatly reduced staff back to New York. They invited a few Miamians to go along. While at least one became an animator, many young men had already gone into military service or found war-related employment; and for most young women, leaving home was, as Gladys Fortner said, simply "too much of an adventure."[92]

Unlike Mr. Bug, the Fleischers did not find sanctuary back in New York City. Max took a position with Jam Handy producing army training films in Detroit.[93] Before his death in 1972, he worked in Hollywood on television animation.[94] Dave left Columbia Pictures after two years to work on special effects for Universal.[95] He died in California in 1979. After they left Miami, the two brothers never spoke to one another again.[96]

If Miami's aspirations for its own movie studio appeared doomed, its unwavering desire for fame and fortune was fulfilled, ironically, by World War II. The Army Air Corps opened an Officer Candidate School on Miami Beach. The municipal golf course became a drill field, and military personnel filled 85 percent of the hotels.[97] At the Port of Miami, the Navy opened the Submarine Chaser Training Center through which passed half a million recruits, all billeted in downtown hotels.[98] The old Fleischer plant housed the Ware Lens Grinding Company, where Lou Fleischer worked making artillery sights.[99]

After the war, both the city's population and its tourist industry boomed once again. Miami became a popular site for movies shot on location, but none were produced there until the 1960s when the medium of television brought the Ivan Tors Studios to town to produce *Flipper.*

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90. Fleischer interview.
91. Ibid.; Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic,* 124; Fleischer, "Recollections," 127-29.
92. Fortner interview.
93. Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic,* 124.
94. Carbarga, *The Fleischer Story,* 202.
95. Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic,* 124.
96. Carbarga, *The Fleischer Story,* 205; Langer, "Max and Dave Fleischer," 56.
97. Helen Muir, *Miami, U.S.A.* (Miami, 1990), 208.
98. Arva Moore Parks, *Miami: The Magic City* (Miami, 1991), 136.
99. Carbarga, *The Fleischer Story,* 205.

Although South Florida's movie industry has boomed in the past decade, the images the Fleischers created in Miami over half a century ago have never found their way into local history. The Fleischer Studios plant remains, but no marker recounts its contributions to the local economy or to the entertainment world. Today it houses a county school for emotionally disabled adolescents. The old sound studio serves as a gym. An eight-foot chain link fence surrounds the lot, and brown Bahama shutters cover the windows where Seminoles once watched animators create giants and talking bugs and men of steel.

The neighborhood surrounding the old studio seems to have awakened from John Ware's dream of a planned community with rock-solid homes and limestone pools. Remnants of the project can yet be found among the latter-day houses and duplexes. Time has been kind to the quirky houses, tempering their homeliness into a character distinct from the rest of the neighborhood. Delaware Parkway, the road Miami built to lure the Fleischers into town, remains a four-lane boulevard with a broad median strip. Less than a quarter of a mile long, it runs off past the studios and some apartment buildings on one side and the old power plant and waterworks on the other. At the Miami River, amid boatyards and salvage shops, it vanishes.

"There were two job in St. Joe Paper Company, white job and a black job": The Struggle for Civil Rights in a North Florida Paper Mill Community, 1938-1990

by Timothy J. Minchin

In 1938, construction was completed on a paper mill located on a reef in the Gulf of Mexico off Florida's panhandle coast. The opening of St. Joe Paper Company was a reflection of the expansion that the American paper industry made into the South in the 1930s. The decade saw the establishment of many major paper mills in the region, including several International Paper Company mills and the opening of the huge Union Bag mill in Savannah, Georgia. Much of this expansion took place in northern Florida. Headed by the establishment of a large mill by International Paper Company at Panama City, paper mills arose throughout northern Florida, stretching from St. Regis Paper Company in Pensacola to several mills in the Jacksonville area.[1]

Although the paper industry has formed an important part of Florida's economy since World War II, little attention has been paid to the labor or social history of paper mill communities. Flor-

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1. "Golden Anniversary Celebration, Gulf County, Florida, June 6-14, 1975," unpublished manuscript, Port St. Joe Public Library, Port St. Joe, Fla., 33; Robert H. Zieger, *Rebuilding the Pulp and Paper Workers' Union, 1933-1941* (Knoxville, 1984), 142-43.

ida as a whole has not figured prominently in the recent expansion of southern labor history, and where studies of workers have been carried out, they have usually concentrated on those in the southern part of the state. Despite the growing number of studies being published on southern workers, the paper industry as a whole has been largely neglected, even though it continues to play an important role in the contemporary southern economy.[2]

Port St. Joe, a small isolated town located along Florida's panhandle, was a paper mill community in an area of the South that has received little historical attention. Yet the town witnessed a major civil rights lawsuit in the 1970s and 1980s as black workers struggled to overcome the historical legacy of racial discrimination at the mill. *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company* was one of the largest and longest cases to occur in the southern paper industry. The suit was based on charges filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in 1970, yet it was not settled until a consent decree was issued in 1988. Even then, further proceedings continued into the 1990s as the plaintiffs alleged that the company violated the consent decree, further elongating "this enormously involved and bitter fought legal case." As the United Paperworkers' International Union's (UPIU) Executive Board reported in 1979,

2. Jeffrey A. Drobney highlighted how southern labor history has concentrated on the textile and coal industries, at the expense of other important southern industries; see Drobney, "Company Towns and Social Transformation in the North Florida Timber Industry, 1880-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 75 (1996), 121-45. For excellent recent studies that have concentrated on workers in southern Florida, see Cindy Hahamovitch, "Standing Idly By: 'Organized' Farmworkers in South Florida during the Depression and World War II," in Robert H. Zieger, ed., *Southern Labor in Transition, 1940-1995* (Knoxville, 1997), 15-36; Alex Lichtenstein, "'Scientific Unionism' and the 'Negro Question': Communists and the Transport Workers Union in Miami, 1944-1949," in Zieger, ed., *Southern Labor*, 58-85; Mark Wilkens, "Gender, Race, Work Culture, and the Building of the Fire Fighters Union in Tampa, Florida, 1943-1985," in Zieger, *Southern Labor*, 176-204. Historical scholarship on the paper industry is limited; see Herbert Northrup, "The Negro in the Paper Industry," in Herbert Northrup et al., *Negro Employment in Southern Industry: A Study of Racial Policies in Five Industries* (Philadelphia, 1970); and Zieger, *Rebuilding the Pulp and Paper Workers' Union*. A recent article explores the growth of the non-union sector in the paper industry from an industrial relations' perspective; see Bruce E. Kaufman, "The Emergence and Growth of a Nonunion Sector in the Southern Paper Industry," in Zieger, ed., *Southern Labor*, 295-329.

Port St. Joe Paper Company, ca. 1970. *Courtesy of PACE International Union,* Nashville, Tenn.

the St. Joe case "represents the most protracted, involved, time-consuming, costly and hard fought of all UPIU cases."[3]

The Port St. Joe case reflected the wider struggle for racial change that occurred across the South after Title VII of the Civil Rights Act came into effect in July 1965. Title VII prohibited discrimination in employment and enabled aggrieved black workers to bring litigation in order to tackle discrimination. These provisions substantially impacted on southern industries that had traditionally restricted black workers to a small number of

3. Michael Hamilton to Lynn Agee, 21 December 1995; Motion for Further Relief for Violation of the Consent Decree, 31 July 1992; Ben Wyle to Wayne E. Glenn, 2 February 1988; "Significant Legal Developments," Report to UPIU Executive Board, 1 August 1979, all in Legal Files, United Paperworkers' International Union (UPIU) Papers, PACE International Union, Nashville, Tenn. In 1982, a union document noted the seriousness of the union's concern over the *Winfield* case: "The Paperworkers are Defendants in *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company.* The exposure in this case is overwhelming. This racially discriminatory system is going to cost us a lot of bucks"; Kent Spriggs to Lynn Agee, 9 November 1982, Legal Files, UPIU Papers.

laboring positions or had excluded them altogether. In the textile industry, African American workers initiated a large number of lawsuits in an attempt to open up an industry that had traditionally relied upon white labor. Between 1964 and 1980, indeed, virtually every large southern textile company was involved in major litigation alleging class action racial discrimination.[4]

In the two decades after 1965, Title VII litigation was commonplace in many other southern industries, as African American workers used the law to fight job discrimination. In the steel and longshore industries, for example, many workers turned to litigation to tackle deep-rooted structural patterns of discrimination.[5] Such suits illustrate how the Civil Rights Act, which has often been viewed as the climax of the Civil Rights movement, actually sparked a new round of protest in many southern communities. To date, historical attention has focused on civil rights protest prior to 1965, but it is important to examine the continuity of black protest after

4. In the textile industry, the companies sued included major corporations such as Cannon Mills, Fieldcrest Mills, Cone Mills, Burlington Industries, J. P. Stevens, Dan River Mills, and many others. As Ed Rankin, public relations director of Cannon Mills, admitted in 1982 as Cannon settled a class action, "This type of suit has been initiated against every major textile company . . . so it's not the first of its kind"; "Discrimination Suit Settled by Cannon," *Daily News Record*, 13 January 1982, clipping in *Hicks v. Cannon Mills*, United States District Court Records, Federal Records Center, East Point, Georgia (hereinafter cited as FRC-East Point). For details of the racial integration of the southern textile industry and the lawsuits that were brought, see Mary Frederickson, "Four Decades of Change: Black Workers in Southern Textiles, 1941-1981," *Radical America* 16 (1982), 27-44; Timothy J. Minchin, *Hiring the Black Worker: The Racial Integration of the Southern Textile Industry, 1960-1980* (Chapel Hill, 1999).

5. For details of structural discrimination in the steel industry, see Robert J. Norrell, "Caste in Steel: Jim Crow Careers in Birmingham," *Journal of American History*, 73 (1986), 669-94. For the way that black workers turned to the courts to fight discrimination in the steel industry, see Bruce Nelson, "'CIO Meant One Thing for the Whites and Another Thing for Us': Steelworkers and Civil Rights, 1936-1974," in Zieger, ed., *Southern Labor*, 113-145. For the black struggle against discrimination in the longshore industry, see Bruce Nelson, "Class and Race in the Crescent City: The ILWU from San Francisco to New Orleans," in Steve Rosswurm, ed., *The CIO's Left-Led Unions* (New Brunswick, 1992), 19-45.

1965, especially the economic aspects.[6] Historians are only beginning to explore efforts to integrate southern industries. Still, many questions remain unanswered about the civil rights activism of black workers, including the central issue of whether southern black workers tried to tackle discrimination through unions before they turned to the federal courts. The paper industry offers an excellent opportunity to address this question because it was one of the few southern industries that was solidly organized.[7]

Job discrimination was particularly prevalent in the steel and paper industries, and these two industries witnessed a massive amount of Title VII litigation in the 1960s and 1970s. As in the steel industry, black workers in the southern paper industry were locked into the least desirable jobs by segregated lines of progression and

6. The historiographical emphasis on protest prior to 1965 is brought out well in Robert J. Norrell, "One Thing We Did Right: Reflections on the Movement," in Armstead L. Robinson and Patricia Sullivan, eds., *New Directions in Civil Rights Studies* (Charlottesville, Va., 1991), 65-80; and Adam Fairclough, "State of the Art: Historians and the Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American Studies* 24 (1990), 387-390. Examples of the concentration on protest include David J. Garrow, *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (New Haven, Conn., 1978); idem, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York, 1986); Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens, Ga., 1987); David L. Lewis, *King: A Critical Biography* (New York, 1970); Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality* (New York, 1981); Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968* (New York, 1973); Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965* (New York, 1987). Several recent studies have stressed the continuity of black protest after 1965. See, for example, Norrell, "One Thing We Did Right"; David Cecelski, *Along Freedom Road: Hyde County, North Carolina, and the Fate of Black Schools in the South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994); Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Adam Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972* (Athens, Ga., 1995).

7. The neglect of economic aspects of the movement has been highlighted by Gavin Wright, "Economic Consequences of the Southern Protest Movement," in Robinson and Sullivan, eds., *New Directions*, 175-83. Two recent studies that have explored the links between organized labor and the Civil Rights movement are Michael K. Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights: Organizing Memphis Workers* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), and Alan Draper, *Conflict of Interests: Organized Labor and the Civil Rights Movement in the South, 1954-1968* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994). Alan Draper specifically calls for more research on the question of whether black workers tried to address discrimination through unions before turning to the federal government; see Draper, *Conflict of Interests*, 7.

segregated unions.[8] When the paper industry developed in the South, it restricted all operating jobs to whites, leaving blacks with a small number of laboring positions, and it continued to operate along these strictly segregated lines until the early 1960s. In a major case against one of the largest paper companies, the judge conceded that "racial segregation of jobs and local unions was characteristic of the pulp and paper industry throughout the South."[9]

Throughout the southern paper industry, retired African American workers recalled how blacks had been restricted to a small number of segregated, labor-based jobs. Sidney Gibson, who started working in 1951 at International Paper Company in Natchez, Mississippi, remembered that "When I first went there, you didn't do anything but whatever a white person didn't want to do. They didn't want to dig no ditches, and didn't want to run no jackhammers, this kind of thing, so that's what we did. . . . the whites get the better jobs, blacks get the lower-paid jobs. . . . They had that thing about white jobs and black jobs and that was the difference." In Title VII cases, many blacks testified to how they were trapped in dead-end jobs. The frustration of many black workers was expressed by Edward Cox, who worked for over twenty years as a laborer at a Weyerhauser paper mill in Plymouth, North Carolina: "I know that all of us have been denied promotion, because I could see whites who were coming in, and steadily climbing up the ladder, and we were still down in the pit. So we are bound to have been denied promotion on account of the color of our skin. It wasn't nothing but the color of our skins. . . . it was just as hard for a black man to get a promotion as it is to get a camel through the eye of a needle."[10]

White workers and supervisors clearly derived considerable benefits from this system of racial segregation, and they often fiercely resisted efforts to integrate the industry after 1964. Under increasing pressure from federal agencies because of the persis-

8. In the paper industry, jobs were organized into lines of progression, a collection of related jobs which were theoretically ranked according to the skill and experience necessary to perform each particular job. As a worker became skilled and experienced in the lowest job in the line of progression, he built seniority. When a vacancy occurred in the next highest job in the line of progression, then the worker with the most seniority in that line of progression theoretically got the job.

9. Amended Pre-Trial Order, 10 January 1973, *Watkins v. Scott Paper*, FRC-East Point, 1.

10. Sidney Gibson, interview by author, Natchez, Miss.,13 October 1997; Deposition of Edward Cox, 20 May 1977, *Garrett v. Weyerhauser*, FRC-East Point, 34-35.

tence of discrimination, paper companies moved to integrate their workforces in the years after 1964. Still, progress was often slow and uneven. Between 1964 and 1980, almost every major southern paper mill experienced at least one Title VII case. Indeed, Title VII cases became so common that, in 1977, a civil rights attorney called the paper industry "the most litigated industry in the South."[11]

Throughout the southern paper industry, the legacy of classifying jobs as "white" or "black" proved to be very difficult to overcome. At the large Continental Can mill in Port Wentworth, Georgia, for example, a court found in a 1976 decision that historic patterns of segregation persisted. From the time the plant opened in 1948 until 1965, black workers were allowed to progress only so far in the woodyard. Futhermore, the court recognized a "persistence of the traditional pattern of job segregation" long after the Civil Rights Act, noting that economic disparities caused by segregated jobs remained largely intact. Indeed, white workers made 35 percent more than blacks as late as 1976. Data compiled in the late 1960s by the American Paper Institute (API), the main employers' association for the paper industry, highlighted the slow pace of integration, forcing the API to admit that the paper industry's record of integrating blacks into white jobs was "not very good." Indeed, more than two years after Title VII had gone into effect, an API survey of over fifty mills revealed that only 1.6 percent of workers in well-paid positions were black, despite the fact that blacks comprised over 13 percent of the total workforce.[12]

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11. Trial Remarks of Kent Spriggs, 30 November 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, legal records held on appeal at United States Court of Appeals, Atlanta, 305. For the amount of litigation that occurred in the southern paper industry and the strength of white resistance to change, see Deposition of Christopher Jenkins, 6-7 June 1973, *Gantlin v. Westvaco*, FRC-East Point, 85; "Significant Legal Developments to Report to UPIU Executive Board," 1 August 1979, Legal Files, UPIU Papers; Amended Pre-Trial Order, 10 January 1973, *Watkins v. Scott Paper*, 1; Northrup, "The Negro in the Paper Industry," 54-126. Probably the most famous case in the southern paper industry occurred at Crown-Zellerbach in Bogalusa, La., described in Northrup, *The Negro in the Paper Industry*, 95-104.

12. Findings of Fact, 18 August 1976, *Miller v. Continental Can*, FRC-East Point, 4-12, 27-28; "Preliminary Results of A.P.I. Equal Employment Survey," 21 September 1967, Folder 12, Box 45, Wharton School's Industrial Research Unit Papers, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. For another example of federal criticism of the industry for continuing segregation after 1964, see "Motion and Brief on Liability Issues by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as Amicus Curiae," 29 January 1979, *Gantlin v. Westvaco*, 1, 15.

Although lawsuits were common across the paper industry, larger chain companies integrated more quickly and decisively than smaller companies with mills in isolated southern communities. At large companies such as International Paper and Scott Paper Company, real progress was made after 1965 mainly because these companies, who operated many mills outside the South, were more likely to implement national non-discrimination policies. In addition, the federal government closely watched large mills while smaller companies fell through the cracks and continued discriminatory practices. In the late 1960s and 1970s, several lengthy court cases involving small paper companies located in remote areas of the rural South, like the St. Joe Paper Company, illustrated the slow pace of job integration at these smaller mills. Indeed, Kent Spriggs, a civil rights attorney who handled a large number of similar cases, argued that St. Joe Paper Company was "at the back of the train of progress in the paper industry, there's no doubt about that." Fifteen years after the Civil Rights Act, the vast majority of job assignments at St. Joe was still along traditional segregated patterns. The company typified just how difficult it was to overcome segregation.[13]

St. Joe Paper Company was owned by Ed Ball, an entrepreneur and one of the most powerful men in Florida in the 1970s. Shortly after its establishment, St. Joe Paper Company was purchased by the Alfred I. Du Pont estate, which also owned the two other industries in Port St. Joe—the St. Joseph Telephone and Telegraph Company and the Apalachicola Northern Railroad—and was managed by Ball, who had augmented his fortune by marrying into the Du Pont family. Ball was not closely involved in *Winfield*, and he never testified in the case. Instead, he delegated control of the mill to personnel manager John Howard, who adopted a strategy of resis-

13. Kent Spriggs, interview by author, Tallahassee, Fla., 20 July 1997; Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, 23 August 1973, *Watkins v. Scott Paper*, 15-20; Proposed Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, 12 May 1980, *Myers v. Gilman Paper*, FRC-East Point, 12-14; Proposed Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, n.d., *Moody v. Albemarle Paper Company*, FRC-East Point, 12; William H. Brewster to Ellsworth M. Pell, 21 January 1966, Folder 11, Box 45, Wharton School Papers. For examples of cases brought at other small mills, see *Moody v. Albemarle Paper Company* 422 U.S. 405 (1975); *Myers v. Gilman Paper Company* 392 F. Supp. 413 (1975); *Suggs v. Container Corporation of America*, Case Number 7058-72, United States District Court for the Southern District of Alabama, 1972; *White v. Carolina Paperboard*, Case Number CC- 73-255, United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina, 1973.

tance against what Ball considered federal government "interference" in his business.[14]

Ball's resistance had wider consequences for Port St. Joe and Gulf County. Employing nearly one thousand workers in a town of less than four thousand people, most Port St. Joe residents felt that "St. Joe Paper Company is the town. Whatever they say goes. They run the town." Segregation at St. Joe Paper Company, then, mirrored that in the town of Port St. Joe. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the town was residentially segregated, with all blacks living in a neighborhood known as North Port St. Joe, located adjacent to the paper mill and literally on the "wrong side" of the railroad tracks that divided North Port St. Joe from the white neighborhoods to the east. The black community lacked political and economic power: there were no elected black officials, and blacks were restricted to menial jobs at the telephone company and the Apalachicola Northern Railroad. Additionally, throughout the 1970s, the Port St. Joe area was marked by a Klan presence and, in 1972, witnessed a violent and turbulent school integration.[15]

In June 1979, a district court found that "the black employees of St. Joe Paper Company have been the victims of institutionalized discrimination both before and subsequent to the effective date of Title VII," adding that this discrimination expressed itself in "the initial assignment of blacks to the lowliest jobs in the plant." Blacks were locked into these jobs by the "near-total" exclusion of black jobs from a line of progression. "Overt racial discrimination" and "absolute segregation" permeated the mill. The court concluded that

> All job categories were strictly segregated by race. On the whole the jobs held by whites paid more and carried more responsibility than those held by blacks. Black jobs tended to be the most physically demanding, dirty and dangerous at the plant. . . . In the paper mill discrimination in initial job assignments and segregation of [lines of progression]

14. "Golden Anniversary Celebration," 33; Spriggs interview; Donald Langham, interview with author, Mobile, Ala., 10 October 1997. Howard's testimony in the case was extremely evasive, making it difficult to substantiate the degree to which he may have been carrying out Ball's instructions; see Trial Testimony of John Howard, 20 July 1978, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 32-44.

15. Golden Anniversary Celebration," 33; Spriggs interview; R. C. Larry, interview with author, Port St. Joe, Fla., 23 July 1997.

> continued largely unabated following passage of Title VII. . . . The evidence shows, in fact, that . . . even as late as 1976 the overwhelming majority of initial job assignments for black workers were in traditionally black jobs.[16]

The district court's decision in the case, issued in 1985, was a further damning indictment of the company and highlighted how discrimination at the mill continued well after 1965. Finding that the company discriminated in its hiring practices, initial job assignments, and transfers, the court ruled that lines of progression were designed with a discriminatory intent. Between 1968 and 1971, of the 117 blacks hired, only two were assigned to "historically white" jobs. The court concluded that "Plaintiffs' proof on this issue is so strong as to leave room for no other inference but that the Company's initial job assignment practices were based primarily upon racial identity of hirees."[17]

The plaintiffs' attorney, Kent Spriggs, told the court that until September 1966, "every single job at the plant was a single race job." Indeed, black workers were able to read through union contracts from the 1950s, marking "B" by jobs that only had black workers. M. D. Yon, who first went to work at St. Joe in 1942 as a laborer, testified that the mill operated with "Black jobs" which were all "labor." Throughout the mill, these jobs were the lowest-paying and most menial. The 1954 contract, for example, showed that in the woodyard, the only "B" job was laborer, the lowest paid in the department. "B" laborers received $1.34 an hour, compared to the $2.32 paid to white crane operators.[18]

Black witnesses described how they were restricted purely to laboring jobs, while whites operated machines. Ellis Dunning, who started at the mill when it opened in 1938, explained how the company began operations with "white operators and colored labor," a segregation maintained by supervisors and white workers who both vigorously defended machine work as "white." Thus, many African

16. Memorandum Opinion, 25 June 1979, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 34-42, 57.

17. Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, 5 August 1985, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper*, 11-20, 23.

18. Trial testimony of M. D. Yon, 1 December 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 100-120; Opening Remarks of Kent Spriggs before the Non-Jury Trial, 13 February 1984, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 24; Plaintiffs' Exhibit 3, 26 July 1954, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*.

American workers complained that they were forbidden from even touching machines unless they were cleaning them. Alphons Mason, who had been working at the mill since 1939, summed up the feelings of many African American workers when he declared, "There were two job in St. Joe Paper Company, white job and a black job."[19]

Black jobs were also more dangerous and dirty than those performed by whites. Those who worked on the broke beater labored underneath the paper machines, which were operated solely by whites. The blacks picked up reject paper that the machines discarded and put it in a big container which took it back to the machine. Adrian Franklin Gantt, who worked as a broke beater for over twenty years, remembered how "We had separate jobs, broke beater was a separate job. The whites worked upstairs and we worked downstairs. . . . Broke beater was the start-up point for the blacks and the ending point in those days." Gantt related how black workers had to pick up the hot paper from the machine and run so that it would not burn their hands: "that paper was real hot, we didn't have no gloves, they didn't buy no gloves, you had to pick it up, pick it up and throw it in that container, when it falled, it would be hot . . . you had to run." Because whites literally worked above blacks on the broke beater job, many blacks referred to white work as "working upstairs."[20]

African American mill workers complained that they were unable to determine their own job assignments and had to obey orders from any white workers. Woodyard laborer R. C. Larry recalled that "Every white man out there was your bossman, I mean every man out there." Ellis Dunning described how black laborers had to carry out exactly what white operators asked them to do. Like other black workers, Dunning refused a fixed job title because the duties he performed were so varied: "I was named to be the sling man, but I did it all, whatever they wanted you to do. Other words, like children. You tell your child, John, to do this and, Slim, you do that. That's just the way they used us."[21]

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19. Trial testimony of Ellis Dunning, 2 December 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 76; Affidavit of Willie James Jenkins, 12 February 1974, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*; Trial Testimony of Alphons Mason, 2 December 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 203.
20. Adrian Franklin Gantt, interview with author, Port St. Joe, Fla., 23 July 1997; Deposition of Jason Lewis, 9 November 1983, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 4.
21. Larry interview; Dunning trial testimony, 78-79.

Other blacks who came to work at the paper mill described how they learned that they were restricted to "common labor" jobs. In April 1953, Robert Bryant, a tall, lean man, applied for a job at St. Joe after working in an operator's job for a construction company:

> When I first came to this kind of work, I worked for Florida Asphalt and Paving Company, and I was a heavy equipment operator, that's what I was, I was a professional one, I wind up out there because they had all of that stuff out there. The first day I walked in there, he looked at me, "What do you want, boy?" I said, "I'm looking for a job" "What can you do?" I said, "I'm a heavy equipment operator." "Don't no Niggers run nothing like that here." And that was it. He said, "Can you roll salt-cake" I said, "I don't know, what is rolling saltcake?" He said, "You'll find out.". . . I found out it was putting it in a wheelbarrow and go about one hundred yards over yonder and dump it, just what I do for exercise out there in the yard, really wasn't no mind to it, but it was hard labor work.[22]

Until the 1970s, many African Americans worked in a department that St. Joe termed "General Mills." Black workers, however, knew it as the "Bull Gang" because of the physical nature of the jobs involved. Many southern paper mills had bull gangs, and they were always jobs that were assigned to black local unions. Actually, they were miscellaneous yard jobs that involved a great deal of labor and cleaning. Otis Walker worked for many years on the St. Joe bull gang, and he gave a vivid description of the work involved: "Everybody knew it as Bull Gang . . . because all the work was physical, we had no machines to do the work. Working in hazardous areas, of course digging ditches, cleaning out cascades, cleaning out liquor tanks." Led by black "pushers" who relayed the orders given by white supervisors, the bull gang compared to slavery. "I tell you what," Walker stated, "it never did come out in court but you can put it in your book, a form of slavery." Walker described how the bull gang basically performed jobs throughout the mill that white workers did not want to do, such as cleaning machinery and unloading chemicals. He recalled how "The Bull Gang have caught

22. Robert Bryant, interview with author, Port St. Joe, Fla., 23 July 1997.

the blues at St. Joe Paper Company, and we, oh shuck, we've had to work sixteen hours straight, and I'm talking about not just on the clock man, I'm talking about physical labor, working. We've had situations where we had to sandbag, build dams, or 'they can do it, they're black, they can handle it.' That was the attitude of the supervisor."[23]

One of the main grievances of black workers was that they had to train whites to operate higher-paying jobs but could not secure these jobs themselves. Colbert Bryant testified in 1979 that it had taken him twenty years to secure his first promotion but that he had trained many whites for jobs. "All these fellows is going around me, these white boys," Bryant testified, "I could learn them the job, but I couldn't ever get it myself." Cleveland Bailey, who worked at the mill for over thirty years, expressed what many black workers thought about inexperienced whites being promoted over blacks: "What I never could understand, how could they hire a man, yes sir I should have understood it, off the streets, and you got blacks working on the job, and he pretty well knows that job. Why they wouldn't allow him the opportunity, a lot of blacks the opportunity, to learn the job, they could hire white and bring them in there, and then he had to learn the job. Well, because I know, the color of their skin, that's what made it all work in."[24]

African American workers at St. Joe Paper Company found that every aspect of their working lives was segregated. M. D. Yon recalled that in the 1940s, "They had all kind of segregation there. They had, when you go in to punch the clock, the white punched in on one side of the fence and the blacks on the other. They had bathrooms on one side of the fence for blacks and whites on the other side of the fence." While many paper mills clung to segregated facilities after 1964, there were few mills where they persisted for as long as St. Joe Paper Company. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the Port St. Joe case was the way that segregated facilities were rigidly maintained well into the 1970s. In a 1979 order, Judge William Stafford reported that the case had established that facilities in the mill were segregated as late as 1978. Until 1972, the company still had signs on most facilities, while others were maintained "by direct instructions to employees from supervisory per-

23. Otis Walker, interview with author, Apalachicola, Fla., 24 July 1997.

24. Deposition of Colbert Bryant, 25 October 1979, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 5; Cleveland Bailey, interview with author, Port St. Joe, Fla., 24 July 1997.

sonnel." After 1972, the signs were taken down but "*de facto* segregation" persisted for six more years.[25]

The 1977 trial produced some remarkable testimony by black workers as they described the segregated conditions of St. Joe Paper Company. Black worker Lawrence Martin testified that white and black workers continued to use separate bathrooms, "This side here, make no mistake, is for the whites and this side is for the blacks. Both of them are in the same building, but they've got a partition between there." Martin explained that blacks and whites used exactly the same facilities as when he started at the mill in 1956. M. D. Yon described how the locker and shower rooms still operated on a segregated basis, and that a white person had "never" taken a shower in the black side in the twenty-five years that he had worked at the mill. In its December 1995 overview of the case, the court reported that

> It began in 1976 as a pattern and practice suit involving widespread racial discrimination at the St. Joe paper mill. The Court vividly recalls evidence showing the following: the wholesale exclusion of blacks from all skilled jobs at the mill; separate drinking fountains; separate eating areas; separate facilities; and rampant use of direct and subtle forms of discrimination. In fact, there were some parts of the mill into which no black had entered.[26]

Testimonies also showed that the company tried to use black workers in the highest-paying black jobs to enforce segregated facilities at the mill. Experienced beater operator Capers Allen, for example, illustrated how he was told by his foreman to instruct all newly-hired black workers to use the black bathroom. When Allen left the mill in 1974, he claimed that there were "Still two bathrooms" and that he had never been told to instruct workers that they could use either bathroom. Allen also described how

25. M. D. Yon, interview with author, Wewahitchka, Fla., 24 July 1997; Order, 22 August 1979, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 5-6.

26. Trial testimony of Lawrence Martin, 30 November 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 8-19; Yon trial testimony, 1 December 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 121-25; Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, 18 December 1995, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 44.

black workers often had to use "the ditch" because they were not permitted enough time to go to the distant black bathroom.[27]

Job and facility segregation exacerbated the extent of social segregation. The court found that, until 1972, "the Company's entrance hallways, time clock areas and clocks, first aid rooms, shower and locker rooms, and restrooms in the lime kiln and broke beater areas were actively segregated by race." Robert Bryant recalled that "they had all kind of segregation there" and described how even first aid facilities remained segregated: "I mean our first aid, one room in the whole first aid . . . but you had to go through a door with 'black' wrote up on it, not black but 'colored.'" He continued, "They had a door for white people to go in, and a door right beside it for blacks to go in, all of them went right into that one circle, I never understood that to this day." Other black workers remembered that even the code on their time-cards was racially identifiable: "Every black number began with three. Every white was number one."[28]

African American workers also complained that white facilities were invariably better-equipped than those for blacks. Adrian Franklin Gantt, who started working at the mill in 1953, described the bathrooms as truly separate and unequal: "They were separated. White had one and we had one. They had one with about four or five stools in it, we had one with one stool over in our end, one stool. One stool, one basin, and one latrine. And the water-fountain, we had a little old white cup, leading off from the cooler, and it was about ten feet from the cooler." Furthermore, the "colored" water was never as cold as that provided for whites.[29] The white workers' clock alley contained a phone for whites, but there was no phone for blacks. During bad weather, white workers took shelter in a shack from which black workers were forbidden. One African American who sought shelter in the shack claimed that the foreman reprimanded him: "He told me, if he catch me there again, I was going to get some time off."[30]

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27. Trial testimony of Capers Allen, 2 December 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 99-102.
28. Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, 18 December 1995, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 44; Bryant interview; Larry interview.
29. Gantt interview; Larry interview.
30. Trial testimony of Draughton Bass, 30 November 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 40-54.

Despite federal laws against segregation, St. Joe Paper Company had continued the practice. In the interim, some black workers tried to force some integration themselves. Jason Lewis and Robert Wilson tore down a "colored" sign on the bathrooms in 1972. Draughton Bass testified that "We had one old water fountain at the old flume we would use. If we used any other, we was told not to use it," but when he worked the night-shift, he used to drink out of the white fountain when the mill was quiet. "I had to slip in there at night when I was working graveyard and get water," he recalled; "At night, there wouldn't be nobody in there and you could go in and drink without anything said." If discovered, however, black workers who used white facilities faced threats not just from white workers, but from the company as well.[31]

Until the 1960s, one of the few avenues of change available to blacks was their local union, even though before 1968, locals at the mill were themselves segregated. The International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers (IBPSPMW), the largest union in the pulp and paper industry, chartered segregated local unions across the South. Although some other international unions also chartered separate locals, the IBPSPMW had more segregated locals than any other. As late as 1965, for example, after many mergers combined white and black locals, the IBPSPMW still had thirty-five all black locals across the southern states.[32]

In the paper industry, most segregated locals were organized as the industry developed in the South in the 1930s and 1940s, clearly reflecting the IBPSPMW's reluctance to challenge the pervasive climate of segregation. As Robert Zieger has shown, the IBPSPMW tried to organize in the South "along the path of least resistance," deferring to southern whites' desires for separate locals. In fact, white locals organized first and, refusing to allow blacks to join, encouraged blacks to form their own locals, granting them the same local union number with an "A" attached. Although the leaders of paper unions claimed that black locals had "equal rights and privileges," the reality was that black locals were subservient to white locals, which were numerically larger and controlled all the high-

31. Deposition of Jason Lewis, 9 November 1983, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 7-8; Bass trial testimony, 30 November 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 40-54.

32. List of separate locals in Folder 56, Box 19, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department Papers, George Meany Memorial Archives, Silver Spring, Md.; Jesse Whiddon, interview with author, Mobile, Ala., 21 July 1997.

paying jobs. In most mills, as at St. Joe, skilled white workers often belonged to additional locals chartered by the United Papermakers and Paperworkers (UPP) or the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). Outnumbered by white locals, black local unions found it very difficult to effectively challenge discrimination, often not even allowed to present their proposals directly to the company but forced to appeal through the larger white local. Consequently, the segregated local at St. Joe tried hard to fight discrimination but found its efforts met determined white resistance. Indeed, testimony in the St. Joe case exposed how white workers and company officials colluded to severely limit the bargaining power of the black local.[33]

At St. Joe, the separate black local reflected white preference. Although the latter often claimed that blacks wanted separate locals, investigation into the origins of the segregated locals usually disproved this claim. A number of black workers who worked at the mill in the 1930s and 1940s testified that when Local 379 was originally organized in 1938, black workers tried to join but were barred from meetings and had their dues returned to them. Eventually, blacks organized Local 379A and requested a separate charter in

33. Zieger, *Rebuilding the Pulp and Paper Workers' Union*, 116; Wayne E. Glenn Affidavit, 16 September 1980, *Miller v. Continental Can*, 16. On the establishment of segregated locals and the way that they lacked bargaining power, see Deposition of Joseph Hooker, 25 October 1977, *Garrett v. Weyerhauser*, 5-9; Deposition of Charles Munn Jr., 19 March 1979, *Munn v. Federal Paperboard Company*, FRC-East Point, 30-34; Deposition of Tarlton Small, 6 February 1978, *Garrett v. Weyerhauser*, 11, 25; Deposition of Charles Jenkins, 6 June 1973, *Gantlin v. Westvaco*, 151. It is clear that the experience of the segregated local at Port St. Joe was not unusual. Many other black locals also found that they had to bargain through white unions. At the Crown-Zellerbach Mill in Bogalusa, La., for example, Robert Hicks, who served as president of the black local, remembered how the black local in the box plant had to negotiate through the white local and was never able to secure positive changes:

> What they done, they kind of had a little show. What you done, the black local would have their proposals . . . and they would take those proposals and turn them into the white local . . . that's how they would negotiate . . . through the white local. They would give you an opportunity or a chance to say something at the thing, well what you got to say about that job, you tell the company, and they'd discuss it, but in total reality it was almost cut and dried before they went in there what they were going to do as far as blacks was concerned. . . . It was already cut and dried on what they were going to give you, you really didn't have a chance to vote, the white local voted on whether to accept the proposals of the company.

See Robert Hicks, interview with author, Bogalusa, La., 22 July 1997.

1946. Howard Garland, one of the black workers active in organizing the separate union, remembered that "We had one union and the whites give the blacks their money back and later on we got—the blacks got them a charter."[34]

Segregated black locals usually lacked bargaining power. Between 1947 and 1951, St. Joe's black local did not even participate in contract negotiations. Its financial secretary, John Lewis, testified that he never saw a copy of the contract in those years. Lewis remembered that on one occasion he received a letter inviting him to take part in the negotiations, but no one ever came by to pick up the black representatives as they waited at the arranged time to attend the negotiations. That was "as close as we got to the negotiations." Local 379A also lacked an independent grievance procedure in these early years. If blacks had a grievance, they had to present it to Local 379: "All we had to do was tell our president. Now, he would go to the white president and they would do what could be done."[35]

By the early 1950s, representatives from the black local did attend contract negotiations, but their role was strictly circumscribed. They could go in and present their proposals, but they were not allowed to negotiate or argue. Herman Williams, who served as president and vice-president of Local 379A between 1956 and 1959, explained that in the negotiations, "All we did was ask." After their presentation, they were "excused" while whites stayed in the room. When negotiations were over, white representatives reported the results. As black officer Howard Garland recalled, "whenever the union and the company reached a decision, the president of the white local would notify the president of the black local and the black president would call a meeting and tell us what the union done for them." As Herman Williams remembered, "We always had to get our main answer from the other–the white local."[36]

Throughout the late 1950s, the black local remained largely dependent on the white local to process grievances. Herman Williams testified that the foreman usually denied black requests. Only when blacks secured the help of the white local did they become effective: "We go to our foreman . . . and he would come back and say

34. Trial testimony of Howard Garland, 1 December 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 201.
35. Trial testimony of John Lewis, 1 December 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 178, 182-83.
36. Garland trial testimony, 209-10; Trial testimony of Herman Williams, 1 December 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 249-51.

it's either this or that, take it or leave it, unless we could get something that the white union would take up for us, then we would get some help and probably get a little consideration." Even then, the grievance procedure often failed blacks. When a group of black workers filed a grievance about white workers being hired over blacks regardless of seniority, their efforts were silenced.[37]

Even when black officers took part in the negotiations, they had to endure the indignities of segregation. In the 1950s, contract negotiations took place at the company's main office, a building located on the white side of the tracks in Port St. Joe. Howard Garland recalled how black delegates had to leave the building when they needed to relieve themselves: "It was a place there, but we wasn't allowed to use that. We had to go across to the woods." On another occasion, the black delegates "went over to Mr. Thompson's filling station and used the restroom there."[38]

Although their role was limited, black representatives across the South did attempt to use contract negotiations to open up more jobs for black workers and challenge the seniority system to allow blacks to move up lines of progression. At International Paper Company in Moss Point, Mississippi, for example, Herman Robinson, a former officer in the black local, remembered clearly how he and fellow officers repeatedly tried to fight discrimination: "We did all we could in order to try to talk the company into doing the right, the fair thing, but it went on deaf ears, it just went on deaf ears. . . . We tried to get over into the white jobs but they said those jobs were strictly for the white union." Across the South, other leaders of black locals worked to combat discrimination and open up more jobs, but usually found that they were thwarted by the opposition of the white locals and company officials.[39]

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37. Williams trial testimony, 1 December 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 251-52.
38. Garland trial testimony, 210-211; Trial comments of Kent Spriggs, November 30, 1977, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 221.
39. Herman Robinson, interview with author, Moss Point, Miss., 14 October 1997. At International Paper Company's large mill in Mobile, Ala., for example, Alphonse Williams, the former president of the black local union recalled the unsuccessful efforts made to open up more jobs: "Our line of progression was like a short ladder up the side of a tall building. If you stayed on that ladder, it would never get you to the top jobs because you see the top jobs was represented, ranked into the jurisdictions of the other locals, and of course they never consented to merge the lines of progression. . . . we tried to merge the lines of progression . . . before sixty-five, we tried to merge it but we couldn't . . . basically the other locals wouldn't agree, see they had all of the biggest and the best jobs"; Alphonse Williams, interview with author, Mobile, Ala., 21 July 1997.

Similarly, the black local at St. Joe tried to merge the lines of progression and provide better promotional opportunities for African American workers. Herman Williams purposefully used the negotiations to press for more racial justice; in his first negotiations he asked for "a raise and for mill seniority. We were wanting to get a line of progression . . . go right up in the mill like the whites was doing. But they never would grant it to us. We didn't get it." Williams believed that establishing a line of progression was "one of the most basic things we would try to work on, but we could never get anything did about it."[40]

Many former officers of the black local described how the company and white unions refused to engage in a serious debate when blacks demanded better job opportunities. Alfonso Lewis, who took part in several contract negotiations as the local's recording secretary in the early 1960s, remembered that "We had a chance to speak, but it was just to speak and be heard. And there was no cross talk about it or, you know, we don't–we didn't bargain. We just spoke and presented what we had to say."[41]

One of the most effective weapons wielded by the company and the white unions was fear. Even in the 1960s, Alton Fennell, treasurer of the black local was hesitant to push too hard in negotiations: "well, at that time, frankly putting it, I was afraid." "We wasn't so afraid of the Union," he continued, "but was afraid of what the Company might do." Other black workers feared being "hard-timed on the job by the foreman" if they filed grievances.[42]

These fears are central to understanding why black workers turned to the courts to fight discrimination. Many African American workers increasingly thought that the separate union could never effectively achieve racial justice because union representatives were themselves workers who could lose their jobs if they "pushed too hard." Hence, an outside agency had to help them if any advances were to be made. As Lamar Speights, a black worker in the lawsuit, explained, "That union would never do nothing, the men worked out there, they're scared they might lose their jobs, you need somebody out of the mill."[43]

40. Williams trial testimony, 248-249, 260.
41. Lewis deposition, 42.
42. Alton Fennell, quoted in Plaintiffs' Proposed Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, 16 October 1978, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 29-30; Trial testimony of Thaddeus Russ, 16 May 1978, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 42-43.
43. Lamar Speights, interview with author, Port St. Joe, Fla., 23 July 1997.

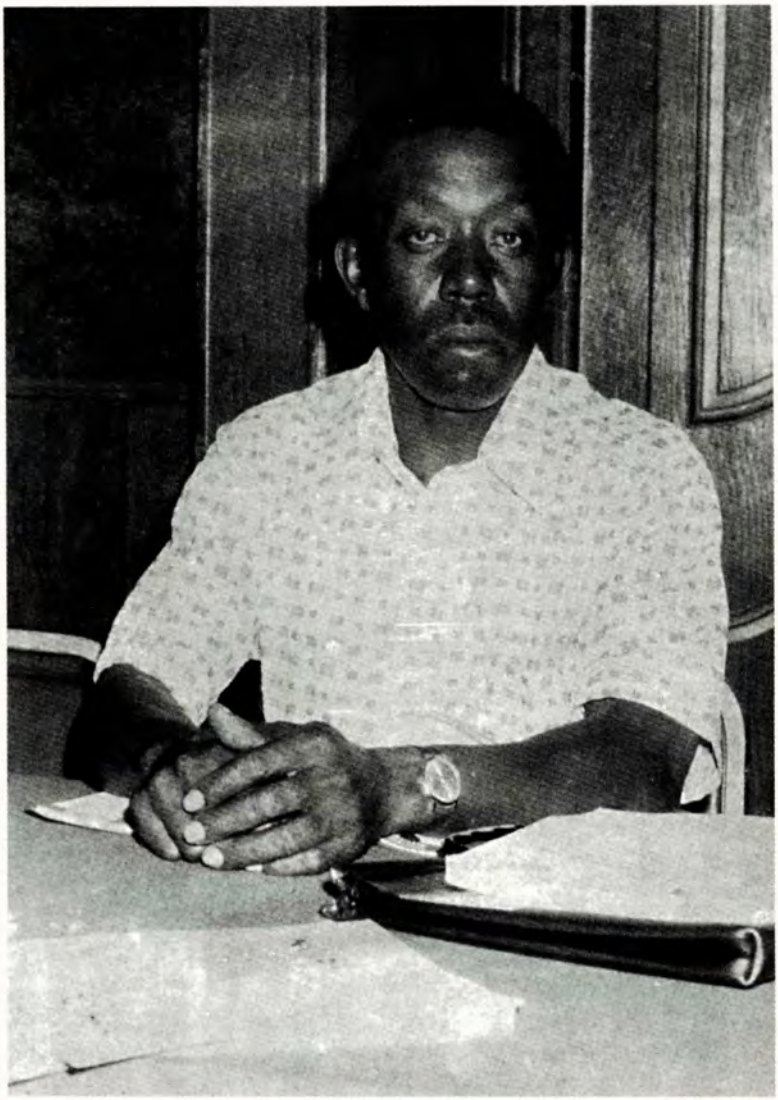
Aware of the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, black workers determined to use the law to protest long-term discrimination. In 1968, a group of black workers, led by Thaddeus Russ and Sam Bryant, contacted Theodore Bowyers, a Panama City attorney and a participating member of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. Bowyers had become somewhat renowned for helping Florida workers file charges with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In early 1968, in the back of a local store, Bowyers directed the workers to sign a charge of discrimination to be sent to the EEOC. This charge was the genesis of the eventual lawsuit.[44]

The filing of EEOC charges did not mean, however, that workers abandoned efforts to tackle discrimination through the union. In 1968, the black and white locals merged together to form an integrated union. Across the South, similar mergers took place in the mid and late 1960s as federal agencies put pressure on the IBPSPMW to abolish segregated locals. After the merger of 1968, many black workers turned to the grievance procedure to process racial discrimination complaints, especially those concerned with racist language used by supervisors against black workers. In February 1977, for example, Otis Walker filed a grievance against the woodyard superintendent for his racist language. In 1970, African American worker Willie James Jenkins filed a grievance because his supervisor had told him that his work area "looks like a Negro whorehouse." In April, 1975, a group of black woodyard workers complained that "We are grieved—Woodyard supervision is discriminating against employees with regard to race, creed and color."[45]

St. Joe Paper Company refused to address racial discrimination grievances, in most cases, simply denying that discrimination took place. After they failed to secure results through the grievance procedure, then, black workers took up their case with the EEOC. Willie James Jenkins filed EEOC charges containing the same complaint as his grievance. But he also addressed many other areas where Jenkins felt discrimination occurred. Indeed,

44. "Charge of Discrimination," June 1968, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company.*

45. Otis Walker, "Request for Adjustment of Grievance," 11 February 1977; Local 379, "Request for Adjustment of Grievance," 28 April 1975; Willie James Jenkins, "Grievance No. 210," 13 February 1970, all in *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company.*



Thaddeus Russ, president of Local 379A in the 1960s. Russ was one of the workers who filed EEOC charges in 1968 that precipitated the *Winfield* case. *Courtesy of PACE International Union*, Nashville, Tenn.

like other workers, Jenkins claimed that his ability to protest discrimination through the grievance procedure was limited because he feared losing his job: "The affiant has complained to the

Union, but without success. He fears he will lose his job if he makes an issue of the practice."[46]

Leaders of the merged union played an important role in encouraging workers to file EEOC charges. Although the union risked being sued in any lawsuit, it helped black workers to file EEOC charges and helped ensure that these charges would lead to a class action lawsuit. In particular, the union took up black workers' demands for a non-discriminatory seniority system. By the early 1970s, litigation across the South led the UPIU to press for all contracts to conform to federal non-discrimination guidelines. The union at St. Joe tried repeatedly to implement a non-discriminatory seniority system, proposing in 1975 that the contract be changed so that black workers could use their mill seniority. This proposal, along with other non-discriminatory provisions, was rejected by the company.[47]

UPIU international representative Donald Langham and local union president Charles Davis, both whites, flew to the EEOC in Miami and filed charges on behalf of St. Joe's black workers. As Langham testified, charges alleged "general discrimination" against a company that had "failed to negotiate in good faith" over implementing a non-discriminatory contract. The charges were filed in the name of the racially merged Local 379 on November 24, 1975, claiming that the company discriminated "against the Black members of Local 379 because of their race."[48]

Hoping to resolve the case, EEOC representative Jimmy Mack arrived in Port St. Joe in the summer of 1976 to negotiate a settlement that would avoid litigation. He traveled around the town trying to persuade black workers to sign waivers in return for a cash settlement. While many workers signed the waivers, UPIU representative Donald Langham advised them against it, arguing that the terms offered a way for the company to escape fundamental changes. Before a packed union meeting on July 29, 1976, Lang-

46. EEOC Charge of Discrimination of Willie James Jenkins, 22 July 1972; Jenkins affidavit; Walker, "Request for Adjustment of Grievance"; Local 379, "Request for Adjustment of Grievance"; Jenkins, "Grievance No. 210"; C. E. Garland, "Request for Adjustment of Grievance," 19 June 1975, all in *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company.*

47. Trial Testimony of Donald Langham, 20 July 1978, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company,* 120-146.

48. Ibid., 139-140; EEOC Charge of Discrimination of UPIU Local 379, 24 November 1975, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company.*

ham encouraged black workers "to please not sign now because it would mean only a few dollars to each individual and would release the company, by signing a waiver, of all liabilities." Four St. Joe workers—Sam Bryant, James Winfield, Willie Jenkins, and Clyde E. Garland–took Langham's advice, traveled to Tallahassee shortly after the union meeting, and met with Kent Spriggs, an NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorney. By late 1976, Spriggs filed the original *Winfield* lawsuit. Two years later, the federal court upheld the plaintiffs' claim that the EEOC settlement had been fraudulent, clearing the way for the class action suit to be expanded considerably.[49]

The four workers who originally filed the lawsuit emphasized that their motives were to end discrimination at the mill and provide black workers with much better promotion opportunities. As Clyde Garland put it, "We went to see Mr. Spriggs because we all had been discriminated against . . . we got together to come and see what we could do about it. . . . I had so much discrimination, so we were trying to see could we stop some of it." Relating the motives of the group, Garland continued, "What we wanted to accomplish was to see that most of the black peoples that was working at the mill would have the same opportunity as the white person had. This was the main purpose." In addition, the plaintiffs emphasized their attempts to file grievances through the merged union and the lack of results.[50]

Although filed in 1976, the *Winfield* lawsuit elicited few responses from St. Joe Paper Company. Racial discrimination continued to be rife at the mill long after the case began. By 1984, before a non-jury trial dealing specifically with black workers' complaints of continuing discrimination at St. Joe Paper Company, black witnesses testified how they endured discrimination during the 1960s and 1970s. Kent Spriggs outlined how black workers were disciplined unequally, receiving a disproportionate amount of reprimands and terminations. The main complaint of discrimination, however, concerned job assignment. Black workers continued to be hired into "black" jobs. In 1969, the paper machinist, the central operating job in the industry, remained a white position. Not until

49. Minutes of Local 379 Meeting, 29 July 1976, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*; Spriggs interview.

50. Testimony of Clyde E. Garland before the Non-Jury Trial, 16 February 1984, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 21-26; Testimony of James Winfield before the Non-Jury Trial, 16 February 1984, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 121.

1972 was the first black hired on the paper machine. The broke beater job, historically a black position, remained so until 1977. There was, as Spriggs put it, "a continuing pattern of discrimination in initial job assignment." Data from the company's records confirmed Spriggs's point.[51]

To substantiate his claim further, Spriggs employed Dr. David W. Rasmussen, an economics professor from Florida State University, to analyze company data between 1968 and 1983. When asked if "massive discrimination" continued at St. Joe, Rasmussen replied, "Yes. I certainly would reach that conclusion." He described how historic perceptions of "black" and "white" work had proved very difficult to overcome. "From '74 forward blacks have systematically been assigned to jobs that were historically black," Rasmussen concluded; "Blacks generally are assigned to black jobs in the 1974 to '81 period, even though they may be integrated, in the sense that some blacks are in those jobs. The data is very clear on this point." Rasmussen also testified that black jobs continued to draw lower wages than white jobs, adding that pay differentials were something that "jumped out at me."[52]

As in other paper mills, black workers who did break into "white" jobs often faced particular resistance from white workers and supervisors. David J. Lewis, the first black worker to apply for a job at St. Joe's bleach plant, described how he failed to become permanent because the white operator refused to train him. Lewis believed that if he had been white, he could have stayed in the bleach plant. African Americans who gained jobs on the paper machine in the 1970s often faced similar problems, complaining that they were taken off jobs because white workers refused to train them or sabotaged their work.[53]

R. C. Larry was the first black hired on the paper machine, and his experiences highlight white resistance to blacks working in this central production area. Larry had been hired as a woodyard laborer in 1967, but within five years he moved to the paper ma-

51. Opening Statement of Kent Spriggs before Non-Jury Trial, 13 February 1984, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 17-27, 30-31; Plaintiffs' Exhibit 4, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*.

52. Testimony of David W. Rasmussen before Non-Jury Trial, 15 February 1984, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 37, 83, 88.

53. Testimony of David J. Lewis, 17 February 1984, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 77- 80; Testimony of Thomas Sims, 15 February 1984, *Winfield v St. Joe Paper Company*, 194-205.

chine. A lively, talkative man, Larry vividly recalled the hostility he encountered:

> I was the first black on the paper machine. It was hell up there, you talk about people giving you a hard time. Man, they made you do everything, wouldn't hardly show you nothing. You had to learn on your own. It was dangerous up there too, talking about dangerous. It was hard, dangerous, they ride you all the time. . . . Laying on your back, all the time. You couldn't do nothing to satisfy them, you couldn't do nothing to suit them, everything you did was wrong, and they wouldn't show you, wouldn't take time to show you nothing, you just had to find out on your own. They were making it hard for me because I was the first one, first black that ever went on the paper machine.

Larry further recalled how "if you get under a lot of pressure, you can't think right, because you scared you going to make a mistake. That's what they were doing to me on the paper machine."[54]

Tragically, Larry's experience on the paper machine ended when a drunk white co-worker failed to stop the machine, and Larry's arm was severed. Yet, he remained philosophical about the ordeal: "See I was working with a man when I got my arm cut off, man out there drunk, when I got my arm cut off, it isn't supposed to happen, but it did. . . You can't put it back on, it ain't going to grow back. . . . It was just a human error, if you drunk, you don't know what's going on, it was on a Saturday morning . . . this man was on there, he just had the machine running too fast, and instead of him cutting it off, he went the other way . . . It's one of those things, you just have to live with it."[55]

As late as the non-jury trial in 1984, many black workers were still hired in the woodyard, the traditional black area of work. The testimony of Howard Garland Jr., captured just how little had changed in the woodyard. Garland was the son of one of the *Winfield* plaintiffs and started working on the woodyard in 1967. "The white workers were assigned on the woodyard to work and to operate the cranes, the front end loaders . . . during that time I think the crane operator was making around 4 dollar per hour. And we were only making 2.27 per hour." He testified that he had never applied for

54. Larry interview.
55. Ibid.

one of the jobs that the whites held "because that was a no no," adding that "When you was black you went to the wood yard. You already knew your qualifications and you knew what you were there to do. We knew you were not going to operate the crane, you know you are not going to operate the front end loader. You were going to do whatever the supervisor tell you to do, other than be an operator. That was completely out of the question."[56]

Another central area of discrimination was the application of disciplinary rules. African American workers repeatedly claimed that they were reprimanded and fired more commonly than white workers; the company's records supported their claim. Between 1967 and 1977, blacks made up around 22 percent of the mill's hourly workforce, yet they received 41 percent of the reprimands. Many African American workers who testified in the 1980s feared discharge, an anxiety that never went away at St. Joe. It was responsible for holding blacks in a tenuous position at the mill.[57]

African American workers also described how foremen put far more pressure on black workers and "rode" them a lot more. Many also complained that well into the 1980s supervisors and white operators regularly used racist slurs. Mark Anthony Williams, who started at the mill in 1972, recalled the experiences of many other black workers when he claimed that supervisors "still call you a boy or nigger." Some even claimed that the only way to secure a good working relationship with a supervisor was to adopt a deferential attitude and deliberately understate qualifications.[58]

Although initially settled in 1988 by a consent decree that granted black workers greater promotion rights into formerly "white" jobs, legal maneuvering in *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper* continued into the 1990s. Plaintiffs contended that the company violated the provisions of this decree because many of the black transfers that did take place "were aborted by a new round of racist behavior." In the historically white electrical department, in particular, black workers received inadequate training and harassment from company officials. Not until

56. Testimony of Howard Garland, Jr., before the Non-Jury Trial, 14 February 1984, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 155-56.

57. Spriggs opening statement, 30-31; Deposition of A. D. Fennell, 1 December 1983, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 4.

58. Testimony of Mark Anthony Williams before Non-Jury Trial, 20 February 1984, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 169-219, quotation on 207; Testimony of Daniel Sims before Non-Jury Trial, February 20, 1984, *Winfield v. St. Joe Paper Company*, 16, 22-23.

1997 was the case finally settled when the United States Court of Appeals rejected the plaintiffs' appeal for further relief.[59]

Many black workers saw the lawsuit as a watershed, believing the case had finally forced the company to make some improvements. According to Adrian Franklin Gantt, "They didn't do nothing until the lawsuit, until they filed a lawsuit." Other workers remained angry, however, thinking that the company had escaped largely unpunished. Otis Walker expressed how "we lost years of wages because of discrimination," that "we were just totally shafted by the company and, as far as I'm concerned, the judicial system. . . . Man, it was terrible, it was terrible down there."[60]

The protracted battle to integrate St. Joe Paper Company was a typical episode in the long civil rights struggle that rocked the southern paper industry. Florida, however, seems to have been the center of this particular struggle, and important Title VII cases arose against other Florida paper companies—two more notable examples were at Hudson Pulp and Paper Company in Palatka and at St. Regis Paper Company in Jacksonville.[61]

The last decade has witnessed an "emerging revision" of scholarship on black workers in the twentieth-century South, but this scholarship has focused on industries with integrated local unions and progressive international leadership. Many historians argue that unions were vehicles for racial change, but segregated unions in the paper industry, while giving black workers the opportunity to protest against discrimination, faced insurmountable obstacles. Indeed, across the South, black paper workers found that segregated black locals lacked bargaining power and were easily manipulated by larger

59. "Motion for Further Relief for Violation of the Consent Decree," 31 July 1992, Legal Files, UPIU Papers; Spriggs interview; Mark Brooks to Robert Sugarman, 29 September 1989, Legal Files, UPIU Papers.

60. Gantt interview; Walker interview.

61. A list compiled in January 1979, for example, showed that there were twenty-three class action Title VII cases concerning southern paper mills; see Minutes of Executive Board Sessions, 5-9 February 1979, Shelf Item, UPIU Papers, 63-64, 72-75. For evidence of the long struggle to integrate other southern mills, see *Local 189 v. United States*, 416 F.2d 980 (1970); *Stevenson v. International Paper Company* 516 F.2d 103 (1975); *Moody v. Albemarle Paper Company*; *Myers v. Gilman Paper Company*; *Suggs v. Container Corporation of America*; *White v. Carolina Paperboard*. Among the important Title VII cases that involved Florida paper mills were *Gilley v. Hudson Pulp and Paper Company*, Case Number 76-444-Civ-J, United States District Court for the Middle District of Florida, 1976; *Roberts v. St. Regis Paper Company*, Case Number 70-292-Civ-J, United States District Court for the Middle District of Florida, 1970, both in Federal Records Center in East Point, Ga.

white locals. As one former black local official in St. Marys, Georgia, put it, "We didn't have too much of a voice, they outvote us."[62]

Alan Draper noted in his recent study that historians have yet to determine whether black workers saw their unions "as a legitimate or relevant conduit for their civil rights demands." This study suggests, however, that black workers did try to redress discrimination through the union, but in the paper industry, segregated unions never had the bargaining power to effect real change.[63] As a result, African American workers increasingly turned to the courts to fight discrimination, often led by former leaders of segregated locals who had tried for years to correct discrimination through the union. Recognizing that the strength of resistance to change among company officials and white workers made it necessary for black workers to exert external pressure upon companies and unions alike, white union leaders encouraged their black constituencies to fight discrimination through the courts.[64]

The *Winfield* case certainly demonstrated that Title VII litigation was no easy panacea when deep-rooted employment discrimination was being tackled. While the Civil Rights Act proved very important in providing black workers with a mechanism to protest against discrimination, Title VII itself was clearly more effective as a weapon of protest than as a weapon of change. Moreover, if companies chose to resist change, litigation could become protracted, unsatisfactory, and messy. And success in the mill hardly addressed larger patterns of segregation in Port St. Joe. As was the case in the mill, black workers complained that de facto segregation continued throughout the town well into the 1990s. Residentially, the town was still strictly segregated by railroad tracks, white and black communities still lived separately, and this division seemed unlikely to change. When asked in 1997 what Port St. Joe was like in the 1950s and 1960s, retired black worker Cleveland Bailey exclaimed, "Just like it is now. They over there and we over here."[65]

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62. Leroy Hamilton, interview with author, Woodbine, Ga., 25 July 1997. For an overview of recent scholarship on southern black workers, see Rick Halpern, "Organized Labour, Black Workers and the Twentieth-Century South: The Emerging Revision," *Social History* 19 (October 1994), 359-83. For a critique of the new southern labor history, see Draper, *Conflict of Interests*, 9-14.
63. Draper, *Conflict of Interests*, 7.
64. Boyd Young, interview with author, Nashville, Tenn.,18 July 1997.
65. Bailey interview. In 1997, R. C. Larry emphatically proclaimed that "St. Joe is the worst place in the world for prejudice"; Larry interview.

Exhibition Review

"John F. Kennedy: The Exhibition." Florida International Museum, 100 Second St. N., St. Petersburg, Fla. 33701. Temporary exhibition, November 12, 1999-March 29, 2000; daily 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. Adults $13.95; senior citizens $12.95; military (active and retired) $12.95; college students $7.95; 6-17 year olds $5.95; children under 6 free. Sheila Mutchler, director of exhibitions; Wayne Atherholt, director of marketing; Joseph F. Cronin, president and CEO of museum; Criswell, Blizzard, and Blouin, architects; Creative Arts, theatrical consultants.

Confronted by the announcement of "JFK: The Exhibition" my first thought was how could there be a major traveling museum exhibit on this President and his brief administration? How could such an exhibit possibly satisfy any critic or any student of history? If, however, we accept the premise that such an exhibit is possible, then what would, should, or could it include? What might be its themes, its areas of focus?

No doubt these questions confronted those who put the exhibit together, and, given the limitations of this life and presidency, those who put "JFK: The Exhibition" together did a creditable job. They could simply have thrown out all pretense to factual historical truth, accepting the mythic boundaries of Camelot and putting on a slam-bang tribute to this glamorous mid-century martyr. Luckily, the exhibition only rarely falls victim to Camelot-vision.

Over the years the Florida International Museum has shown a marked ability to layout a user-friendly and aesthetically pleasing exhibition. They have seemingly developed a formulaic approach to exhibits that has been quite effective and which they use again in this presentation. This time, however, the materials (which seem to come mostly from the collections of Kennedy's personal secretary, Evelyn Lincoln) are too insubstantial to sustain the venue or the formula.

The exhibit begins with a room of family memorabilia dating back to the early part of the century. These include baby, childhood, and young adult photos of the future president. The centerpiece of this room seems to be the death of Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. in August of 1944 which may be appropriate given the shadow Joe Jr. cast over his younger brothers. From here viewers are led to a viewing room for a short film sketching highlights of Jack Kennedy's childhood, the road to the White House, and the achievements of the presidency. The film is a foreshadowing of what is to come.

From the film, which is over before you settle in, it is on to the PT109 Room which is an unsuccessful attempt to simulate a PT Boat at sea. Perhaps it is the excessive use of navy gray paint in the room that finally overwhelms all but the most seaworthy, or maybe it is the particularly lifeless waves on the artificial ocean. Still, there are two interesting items here. One from Kennedy to a female journalist "friend" expresses misgivings and anxieties as he resumes duty after the PT109 affair. The other, a letter from the journalist affectionately known as Hinga Binga, is a rather touching attempt to offer reassurance and a declaration that her love for the brave sailor involves more than just the sex.

The next room examines the political life of the young Congressman and later Senator from Massachusetts. Photos and paraphernalia from the campaigns of 1946, 1948, 1950, and 1952 cover the walls. The only non-political events noted here are his courting of and wedding to Jacqueline Lee Bouvier, a photojournalist. A *Life* magazine cover, several lovely pictures, wedding invitations and guest list, and other memorabilia are on display. For those who prefer the gossipy showbiz side of life, a picture of the Rat Pack and JFK's Desert Inn Country Club Card are in a small case along the wedding wall.

Next we enter a large hall labeled "The Road to the White House" where we get our first look at a rocking chair; the focus is on the 1956 run for the Democratic nomination for vice-president, and the 1960 presidential campaign up to and including the inaugural. The long back wall of this room has a timeline and large blowups of photos from 1956 to 1961 which are nicely done. The room is loaded with campaign materials including recordings of the official campaign song "Kennedy, Kennedy, Kennedy, Kennedy" and Sinatra's "High Hopes"—the unofficial theme of the campaign. There are audio snippets of the debates with Nixon as well as photos showing a smiling JFK looking across the TV studio-set at a sweating RMN.

The highlight of this room, and perhaps the entire exhibit, is a large collection of campaign kitsch: Jack and Jackie masks, Jack and Jackie salt and pepper shakers, a JFK pipe, a Jack and Jackie plate, Jack and Jackie plaster heads, a JFK joke book, a JFK bottle stopper, a number of Jack and Jackie books, and oh so many more pieces of Americana. The *pièce de résistance* may be the Jackie and Caroline magic wand paper dolls—"Just Touch With the Wand and the Clothes Stay On."

Moving out of this room (and I finally pulled myself away after it became apparent that nothing associated with Judith Exner and Marilyn Monroe was here), I found myself in a hallway that moved around a mock-up of the Rose Garden. It was now apparent to me that at least this part of the exhibit was set up to approximate the layout of the White House; in fact, I may have just left the East Room. The Rose Garden rivaled the PT109 room as the low point of the exhibit. Artificial turf surrounded by plastic roses glistening in the lights somehow do not do justice to this wonderful Kennedy contribution to the aesthetics of the White House grounds. In the hallway there were some interesting photos of the Kennedy Brain Trust and the Cabinet, along with a Rose Garden photo of the first Peace Corps contingent to go overseas.

Approaching the Oval Office you pass through the Evelyn Lincoln office area with a few interesting photos on the wall, including one in which the President is wearing a Knox Hat—ironic given that Kennedy had been accused by the men's hat industry of killing their business as he never wore a hat in public. Be sure not to miss the numerous Pet Photos and Caroline's crayon artwork on display here. In the Oval Office is the President's desk along with a photo of John Jr. peeking out from under it. Photos of his birthday celebration in 1963 are on display along with JFK's wallet and its contents consisting of a small number of membership and credit cards.

Next is the First Lady's Gallery emphasizing the heavy impact Jackie had on the image of this administration. Featured are photos from the television tour of the White House hosted by the First Lady, a number of presidential Christmas cards, a presentation on arts and culture in the White House, and several place-settings of White House china.

Moving to the next large room the focus is on foreign policy, civil rights, and the space race. Here we are reminded of the now quaint phrase "Leader of the Free World." Kennedy visits to France, Berlin, and Vienna are featured along with a model of the

first Air Force One and Jack's and Jackie's passports. The key role played by Jackie on the trip to France and the electric effect of the Berlin Wall speech is noted, but not enough attention is given to the significance of the Vienna meeting with Khrushchev. On Cuba we see uncritical accounts of the Bay of Pigs, which will not please Florida's Cuban population. The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty are also highlighted here. Hidden off in a corner is a very small reference to Vietnam, and perhaps that is symbolic.

On civil rights there is a tendency to give Kennedy too much credit for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, too much credit as a leader in this area, and probably not enough credit for connecting at an emotional level with a large portion of the African American population. On the space program, the glamour factor is overdone, but then that may be understandable as glamour was central to the space race.

It is now apparent that Dallas and the assassination are just ahead. A brush with death is recorded in a small case dealing with the August 8, 1963 death of Patrick Bouvier Kennedy, the son who survived just thirty-nine hours after his birth. It provides a sense of foreboding.

The assassination, as would be expected, is fully recorded with one of the more stunning exhibits being a large wall covered with newspapers displaying the headlines of the assassination as it was reported across the nation and around the globe. A piece of the Zappruder film and a video of Jack Ruby shooting Lee Harvey Oswald are also featured, along with other video and audio clips from Dallas.

The last stop is a deeply moving seven-minute film of the funeral procession with its military pomp underlining the magnitude of the tragedy for the family and the nation. This excellent piece of footage was made by the Secret Service and given to Jackie Kennedy who chose not to view it and instead passed it on to Evelyn Lincoln.

The Kennedy legacy is proclaimed as the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Peace Corps, and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. The latter was probably the only one of the three that is clearly a part of Kennedy's legacy, and that of course was largely the result of going to the nuclear brink over Cuba. The legacy of Vietnam, which surely must be part of the record, is not mentioned. The strengthening of the office of the presidency, or at least the raising of the

profile of that office, could also be seen as part of the JFK legacy. Kennedy clearly reinvigorated the concept of the President as active leader, something that had been absent in the Eisenhower years.

The last stop in the exhibit is a bronze bust of JFK above which is a framed blowup of a note from Jackie to Evelyn Lincoln written on White House Stationery. It reads simply, "Dear Evelyn, There will never be Camelot again," and it is signed "Jackie." One wonders if Jackie Kennedy realized how prophetic that note was.

Overall, I found "JFK: The Exhibition" somewhat disappointing. It is burdened with too much insignificant ephemera and lacks sufficient focus on the political and personal legacy. There was no mention of how Kennedy used television to his advantage, especially the televised press conference in which he displayed his wit and charm to tremendous effect. Some might also have expected more on the politics of the period such as his struggle with powerful southerners who controlled congressional committees, his confrontation with U.S. Steel, and the constant hammering from the extreme right wing despite his Cold Warrior stance.

A smaller exhibit with a tighter focus may have improved the overall impact; there seemed to be too great a desire to use all the space available for the displays. Errors in spelling and grammar are inexcusable and may be a sign of an exhibition that did not give enough attention to detail while losing itself in a morass of trivia. Still and all, it was worth the trip.

University of Central Florida RICHARD C. CREPEAU

Book Reviews

An Environmental History of Northeast Florida. By James J. Miller. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xvi, 224 pp. List of tables, list of maps, list of figures, foreword by Jerald T. Milanich, preface, references, index. $49.95 cloth.)

If land managers had read James Miller's *An Environmental History of Northeast Florida*, it is unlikely the wildfires that charred Florida would have forced the evacuation of Flagler County. The controlled burn program the state is now undertaking to prevent such calamities is hardly new, rather it is a land management tool that "was a common practice among Florida Indians before European contact" (127). Early colonists adopted this strategy, and it continued until early this century when "fire was widely regarded as destructive rather than beneficial. As a result, fires were generally prevented or extinguished quickly when they did start, causing an unnatural accumulation of flammable litter on the floor" (127). Although scientists have since revealed the key role fire plays in sustaining ecosystem health, only a disaster could force decision-makers to adopt the common knowledge of our ancestors. Miller's book is an essential read to understand the problems that ensue when "[E]nvironmental decisions reflect public opinion more than scientific understanding of cause and effect" (2).

Miller has followed the path blazed by William Cronon in *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (1983). He adopts Cronon's thesis "that all human groups consciously change their environments to some extent; the dynamic and changing relationship between environment and culture is as apt to produce stability as not" (5). Miller also seeks to reveal the "fallacy of the pristine environment": the belief that Florida was once an untouched paradise unspoiled by humans. Such thinking

is not only folly but dangerous because it "provides a means for wishing that environmental problems would disappear rather than a basis for understanding how they maybe solved" (190). After last summer's unending broadcasts of "Florida in flames" on the local news, Miller's insight helps explain the level of ecological ignorance that permeates a society predicated on celebrity and sensationalism.

Miller's strong point is his study of natural history and Native American culture, where his background in archaeology serves him well. For example, his analysis of burial mounds reveals that the native culture of northeast Florida never reached the level of "ceremonial expression" that existed elsewhere on the peninsula. He postulates that this difference is a result of life in a less abundant environment: "the soils, being largely marine sands, do not support a highly productive agriculture; the sociological and ideological traits associated with the agricultural complex would not have had much adaptive value" (86).

The author's scholarship is credible but suffers, at least in comparison to Cronon, in his appraisal of the European influence. For instance, Cronon explains how the introduction of cattle altered the native habitat. Europeans not only introduced new grass strains, but cattle compacted the soil, reduced oxygen levels, and lowered the soil's carrying capacity. According to Cronon, this resulted in "weedy species" replacing the more vibrant natural habitat. Given the problems ecologists face restoring ranch lands to their earlier state (i.e., Disney Wilderness Preserve), such a discussion merits consideration. Oddly, Miller picks the decline of alligators to parlay the demise of wilderness. Both the Florida Panther and the Black Bear (the two widest ranging terrestrial mammals) are indicator species that would better serve current research. It would have also aided the author to conclude his study at an earlier date, rather than extending his discussion "to 1930s or so" (7), especially since he failed to mention the 1920s land boom.

These issues are relatively minor, and, more importantly, a sequel to this thoughtful volume is essential. Given the author's concluding analysis of the relationship between global warming five thousand years ago and what Florida may expect in the future, we cannot wait too long for James Miller's next book.

Rollins College BRUCE R. STEPHENSON

Citrus, Sawmills, Critters, Crackers: Life in Early Lutz and Central Pasco County. By Elizabeth Riegler MacManus and Susan A. MacManus. (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 1998. xv, 544 pp. List of maps, acknowledgments, preface, maps, index, about the authors. $49.95 cloth.)

In 1923, Elizabeth Riegler MacManus was born in Lutz, just north of Tampa. Always deeply involved with the local community and active in stimulating interest in and recording local history, she founded the annual Pioneer Descendants reunion in Lutz. Between 1995 and 1996 MacManus wrote a history column for the *St. Petersburg Times*, expanded versions of which provide the basis of *Citrus, Sawmills, Critters, Crackers*. With daughter Susan MacManus as co-author, MacManus supplements the text with over eight hundred photographs that will become a treasure for local historians.

The collaboration between enthusiastic local historian and accomplished academic researcher and writer resulted in a first-rate local history, one that surpasses most local Florida history books in its presentation and thoroughness. Eighty-one essays relate stories about Central Pasco County, the region around Lutz in northern Hillsborough County, and the communities of Fivay, Fivay Junction, Tucker, Ehrn, and Myrtle. Some, absorbed into Tampa's urban sprawl, are unknown today except to old-timers.

Based upon the oral history so common to local studies, the essays cover about one hundred years, from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s. In "Moonshine Filled Lutz and Pasco Residents' Bellies and Their Pockets!" the authors refute notions that the "law-abiding" citizens of yesterday embraced higher values than citizens of the 1990s. As one anecdote explains, "One woman admitted to me that she made and sold moonshine strictly to support her family. She was quite proud of the fact that she eluded Matt Grantham (the law). She used tactics similar to those of a mother bird distracting enemies from her babies' nest, she said, without specifying the details." The lesson is that "[N]early every pioneer knew someone who made moonshine during the 1920s and 1930s. Tampa was a sizable market that was easy to reach" (318).

In another article, "Pioneer Women Were a Colorful Crew," the authors explore uniqueness and idiosyncrasies of eighteen Florida women. For example, there was Sophronia Griffin, identified as a "true 'Cracker' woman" who lived in the community of Myrtle: "She awed us all with her snuff-dipping and spitting skills. It is no exag-

geration to say she could hit a fly twenty-five feet away with a stream of snuff juice. It was a feat children greatly admired" (354).

Citrus, Sawmills, Critters, Crackers is truly a welcome addition to Florida's local histories. The essays, photographs, illustrations, and thirty-three old maps that mother and daughter compiled create a useful and appealing book. Additionally, there is an index (which local histories often lack). The University of Tampa Press must be commended for the excellence of the production. Florida needs more of this type of good, solid, readable, and presentable local histories.

University of South Florida CHARLES W. ARNADE

Fleeing Castro: Operation Pedro Pan and the Cuban Children's Program. By Victor Andres Triay. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xiv, 126 pp. List of illustrations, preface, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95 cloth.)

This book relates a tale of great heroism: how a number of people risked imprisonment by the Cuban government for their roles in sending over fourteen thousand students to live in the United States, while many of their parents remained to oppose the growing authoritarianism of the Castro regime.

Fidel Castro's attempt to make Cuba into a Marxist society began soon after his ascent to power in 1959. Part of his program was the indoctrination of Cuban youth to the tenets of that ideology, drawing opposition from many parents, especially those with children in religious schools. By May 1959, John Baker, an American teacher in Cuba and headmaster of the Ruston Academy, became disillusioned by the Revolution. Over the next year, as the indoctrination proceeded, he began a covert effort to relocate about two hundred children whose parents were involved in the counter-revolutionary underground. These parents feared not only the Communist indoctrination itself, but the possibility that, as had happened in the Spanish Revolution of the 1930s, the children would be rounded up as a means of crushing the parents' opposition. With the aid of an international contingent that included the United States, Italy, Peru, and Great Britain, and under the guidance of the director of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, the program resettled 14,048 children by the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962.

The account of the resettlement program and those involved reads at times like a spy-thriller. Many came very close to being caught with falsified documents designed to get the children on an airplane out of Cuba. Interestingly, several participants concluded that they were greatly aided by the bureaucratic mentality which quickly developed within Cuba's government.

This is not only a very readable story, but the author places the event in the larger context of the Cold War struggle between revolutionary Cuba and the United States. Indeed, in the late 1950s, the United States was encouraging the more educated classes to leave Cuba, and Castro was not opposed to seeing such opposition depart. Later, as the exodus continued, the Commandante changed his mind about allowing so many to leave.

Chapters discuss the ways in which help for the children was organized in south Florida, the trauma experienced by these children in this massive uprooting from their parents and resettlement in a foreign land, and the question of whether it was worth the effort. Operation Pedro Pan is a magnificent example of the kind of "people's diplomacy" envisaged by Florida's late Congressman, Dante Fascell. While there was some help from the federal and state governments, and even cooperation from abroad, the great success of the endeavor was due primarily to the volunteers and religious and private philanthropic organizations.

The author hints toward the end of the volume that a follow-up biographical study of some of the individuals in Pedro Pan would be "timely and enlightening." This reviewer shares that view and hopes that such a study is already underway.

Florida Atlantic University WILLIAM MARINA

The Southeast in Early Maps. By William P. Cumming. Third edition. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xiv, 362 pp. Preface to the third edition, preface to the first edition, selected bibliography, chronological title list of maps, alphabetical short-title list of maps, index to introductory essays, illustration credits. $90.00 cloth.)

For over forty years *The Southeast in Early Maps* has served as the primary reference tool for any historian, geographer, or cartographer studying the exploration, colonization, and territorial development of North America from Virginia to Florida. A professor of

English literature by training, author William P. Cumming devoted much of his professional life to the collection and examination of historical maps. First published in 1958 by Princeton University Press, the original volume included an introductory essay, reproduced sixty-seven plates, and identified and analyzed 450 printed and manuscript maps dating from 1544 to 1775. Critics hailed the work as a significant and definitive contribution to the study of American carto-bibliography. With only 2,500 copies printed in the first two editions, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (1958, 1962) became an increasingly rare and valuable book. At the time of his death in 1989, Cumming was working on another corrected and enlarged edition, which would reflect recent scholarship on the region.

In this third edition, revised and expanded with the assistance of historical geographer Louis De Vorsey Jr., the University of North Carolina Press has nearly doubled the number of illustrations and added twenty-four color reproductions of maps from the Cumming Collection in the E. H. Little Library at Davidson College. In his original opening essay, Cumming provides a comprehensive general introduction to early modern cartography and the mapping of the southeastern region in particular. During the "primary" period or the discovery era, European cartographers with little or no first-hand knowledge of America drew maps based on information gleaned from explorers and other mapmakers. Thus, he argues, the contributions of any one map can only be appreciated by studying it in relation to other maps of the same time and place. Cumming is most interested in describing the acquisition of "accurate" knowledge about southeastern coastlines and topography. Contemporary scholars who argue that culture constructs the many and varied ways in which individuals perceive and portray landscape may find his preoccupation with "geographic misconceptions" theoretically dated. In the "transitional" period or settlement phase of colonization, cartographers attempted to represent on one map both property and the lesser-known lands on the region's periphery. Not until the eighteenth century, with the advent of the "modern" period, were the expanding southern colonies aided in their geographic growth by the work of professional surveyors and more skilled mapmakers.

De Vorsey's primary contribution to the third edition is an original essay entitled "American Indians and the Early Mapping of the Southeast." Here he explores the important cartographic role played by natives as informants and guides for European mapmak-

ers, as "silent cartographic witnesses," and as artists themselves. De Vorsey concludes with a comparison of Indian and European mapping techniques in depicting distance, objects, boundaries, space, and social networks. His essay is a welcome contribution to an already rich book.

In this revision of *The Southeast in Early Maps*, the author has corrected several structural weaknesses of the earlier editions. First, he eliminated a confusing section called "Reproductions of Maps" which briefly described the plates. Instead, these maps are fully annotated and analyzed in a chronologically ordered section titled the "List of Maps" which appears late in the volume. The maps themselves, whether color or black-and-white photographs, are more readable and some are now produced in quadrants adding to their legibility. Fortunately for map curators and collectors, the author maintained the numbering system adopted in the earlier editions. Four appendices from the original volume have been either omitted (in the case of Indian communities, political divisions and boundaries, and bibliographies containing southeastern maps) or relocated within the text (a list of the "Chief Type Maps in the Cartography of Southeastern North America" now immediately follows Cumming's introductory essay). Finally, the new edition contains a single index and an updated bibliography. These changes all make the volume much easier for professionals and amateurs to use as a reference.

The only major deficiency of *The Southeast in Early Maps* continues to be its omission of significant early Spanish cartography, especially that related to the colony founded in St. Augustine in 1565. Otherwise, the third revised edition—with its new typeset, dust jacket, color illustrations, and essay on Native American mapping—is a beautiful tribute to a dedicated historical cartographer and his lifelong love of the Southeast.

Vanderbilt University MEAGHAN N. DUFF

A Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens. By Lawrence E. Babits. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xxi, 231 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth.)

Lawrence E. Babits, examining first-hand accounts, memoirs, and pensions, provides a thoroughly researched monograph on

the Battle of Cowpens, an overlooked confrontation that he argues was the turning point in the American Revolution. Previous historians have failed to mine thoroughly the sources and have neglected the Battle of Cowpens in favor of explaining the broader context of Southern campaigns in the Revolutionary War. Babits seeks to correct this injustice by examining the battle in profound detail, reducing the fighting to increments of time and type. By doing so, Babits aims to prove that Cowpens was a "tactical masterpiece" (xiii) and that the impact of the battle affected the manpower and psyche of the British army in a negative manner.

Babits spends the first half of the monograph in a detailed analysis of weaponry, tactics, the armies, and pre-battle movements and conditions. He argues that American commander Daniel Morgan was well aware of his troops' tactical ability and the amount of ammunition each man held, thus allowing him to evaluate a unit's ability to conduct sustained firing during the battle. The author further reveals that Morgan's force, men from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, were proven in battle; most of the militias served previous time in the regular army. More importantly, Babits claims that previous historians have not appreciated Morgan's tactical expertise, especially his use of main-line deployment and reverse slope defense.

While the first half of the monograph is spent setting the stage, the second half focuses on the actual fighting, seeking to understand how war affected the British army. Babits argues that the initial fighting on the skirmish line did not produce high casualties, but it did wear down the physical and mental stamina of the British army. Further, British forces were physically and mentally depleted by the time of main-line fighting; consequently, sleep deprivation and hunger determined British reaction. He attributes British loss to a depletion of "energy reserves to deal with psychological and physical stress" (157).

At times, though, the author appears to contradict his argument. For example, Babits acknowledges that episodes of American retreat, whether ordered or by mistake, recharged the British physical and psychological systems with energy. Furthermore, the author reveals that Morgan's forces left behind a good portion of food that the British army happened upon and consumed the night before the battle. One must also consider how the effect of adrenaline on fighting men might play into Babits's theory of fatigue, especially since the battle lasted only forty minutes.

The Battle of Cowpens might have been significant as the episode that started the British downslide to Yorktown. While the author clearly shows that the battle was more than a militia victory with the aid of regular troops, one will still wonder what he truly believes led to British defeat. On the one hand, Babits suggests it was due to Morgan's tactical expertise and army fatigue. On the other hand, "the cavalry movements explain American success and British failure at Cowpens" (124). More plausible, however, is that victory was the result of confusion, missed orders, and a quick surprise fire. Two incidents made the battle: Third Continental Dragoon leader William Washington's quick reaction to combat the British 17th Light Dragoons, allowing the American militia to re-form and enter the battle again; and lucky timing and firing by the American forces during the main line fighting.

Despite the criticism, this monograph has its merits and is a model study in many ways. It is researched thoroughly, and Babits sufficiently places his work in the larger historiographical context. Babits raises questions about the importance of southern campaigns in the Revolutionary war, human reaction to warfare, and the ability of men from diverse backgrounds to congeal into an effective fighting unit. This work is for all historians.

Austin Community College CLAYTON E. JEWETT

With Ballot and Bayonet: The Political Socialization of American Civil War Soldiers. By Joseph Allan Frank. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. ix, 304 pp. Preface, list of abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. $40.00 hardcover.)

The Vietnam War bequeathed many legacies to our society and body politic, including new and revised perspectives for historians. Low morale and emotional trauma took their tolls among troops in the late 1960s and early 1970s, while the government cranked up campaigns to bolster sagging spirits. Scholars quickly asked: if a limited conflict fought to contain communism could inflict such heavy human and institutional damage, then how was it possible for so many men to fight for so long at such high costs during the Civil War?

Thus arose a cottage industry of studies about why men fought in the Civil War. John Keegan's *The Face of Battle* (1976), Earl J.

Hess's *The Union Soldier in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat* (1997), Gerald Linderman's *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (1987), and Reid Mitchell's *Civil War Soldiers: The Expectations and Their Experiences* (1988) all proffered answers. Recently, James M. McPherson entered the fray with *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (1997).

Now comes Joseph Allen Frank's *With Ballot and Bayonet: The Political Socialization of American Civil War Soldiers.* Frank, a University of Ottawa political science professor, sees the key to understanding as the introduction of "total war" by the French in the 1790s. "Since the French Revolution, total wars have been fought by citizen-soldiers, many of whom were politically motivated to enlist," he writes; "The backbone of these armies is the politicized soldiers, and they tend to see the war in simply binary terms: as a struggle between good and evil" (148). To prove his thesis with respect to the American Civil War, Frank ranged through collections of soldier's letters and diaries. Eventually, he discarded most missives before selecting the writings of 1,013 soldiers and sailors as reflecting "on broader political questions and the military issues of the war." Frank then utilized "social science categories for defining and classifying the levels of political socialization to provide new insights" (viii).

The author discovered in this sample just the political motivations that he had suspected. At least in the broad sense of the term, he insists, politics motivated hard-core soldiers. Loyalty and military cohesion rested upon an ideological foundation. From whence did these politically sensitive soldiers and sailors derive? Small isolated communities—"Ethnically and culturally homogenous, the social space of these communities was very narrowly defined," Frank observes. "Community pressure imposed standards of patriotic behavior and therefore pushed youth to enlist," he continues; "The community had a large repertoire of ways to impose expectations on its young men" (30).

With Ballot and Bayonet offers a serious attempt to grapple with important issues, but the book left this reviewer with reservations. On a purely parochial basis, the text virtually ignores Florida and its soldiers. On a higher level, the author has narrowed his arguments to the point that they do not allow a proper weighing of other suggested influences. The work also tends to make a case based upon Union sources, then applies it to the Confederate army without ample justification.

Further, Frank belittles conscription and draconian draft enforcement measures. If Florida's experience proves anything, conscription and draft enforcement played huge roles in keeping Confederate armies viable. If such was the case, the key question changes to: what kept more men from being ideologically or politically committed or else disabused them of such commitments? David Williams's *Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley* (1998) has raised those issues with a convincing portrait of the Confederacy markedly different from Frank's. For so long we have assumed powerful Confederate armies were motivated by grand political and politically based social considerations. Perhaps we have been looking in the wrong direction.

Tampa, Fla. CANTER BROWN JR.

The Children's Civil War. By James Marten. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xi, 365 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth.)

Children often haunt our collective image of war, yet as James Marten observes in his book, *The Children's Civil War,* little if any scholarly attention has been paid to children and the American Civil War. This fresh and fascinating study explores the experiences of children to discover what the war meant to them.

This book is supposed to be a comprehensive look at the topic, and Marten does try to be as inclusive as possible. He discusses boys and girls, black and white, from North and South. He admits that more conventional sources exist for northern white children, but he tries to lessen this imbalance by using games, textbooks, novels, paintings, and WPA interviews with ex-slaves. In addition, he consults an impressive array of works by child psychologists and political scientists who have studied children and war in other times and places. The first four chapters deal broadly with children and wartime society, war imagery in children's literature and schoolbooks, and the conflict's direct impact on children and familial relationships. The final two chapters consider children's responses to the war and how those experiences influenced them as adults.

Marten argues that the Civil War affected children in a variety of ways. For some, the war meant little more than patriotic celebrations and colorful parades; for others, it meant destruction and

death. Children became both symbols and consumers during the conflict. They appeared in paintings, poems, and rhetoric to inspire soldiers and motivate civilians on both sides of the conflict. Wartime textbooks conveyed traditional messages of diligence, piety, and modesty, but added lessons on patriotism and sacrifice. War-themed toys, panoramas, novels, and fairs were all pitched to the young, especially in the North, drawing children into the war as active participants.

Marten situates his study in the larger context of nineteenth-century American attitudes toward childrearing and families, and he discovers that parental relationships with children were already changing on the eve of war. Mothers and fathers were developing closer and more emotional ties to their children, and the exigencies of war only intensified these feelings. Soldiers wrote home constantly seeking to play an active role in their children's lives. They gave advice, described camp life and battles, and urged their children's good behavior. Their service in the army, many soldiers contended, was part of their family obligation–one more important than the traditional role of economic provider. The preservation of family, symbolically and physically, became an unofficial war aim for both sides.

Not surprisingly, Marten's book demonstrates that the war and its aftermath more directly affected southern white children. There are a few scattered examples of southern white children injured or killed during the war, but more commonly Confederate children shared financial loss, displacement, disillusionment, fear, and defeat with their elders.

The war and its consequences also had a dramatic and unique impact on slave children. These children made up a large percentage of the contraband, and for them freedom was profoundly complex. They had opportunities their parents and grandparents sorely lacked, but they also faced harsh cruelty and bigotry. They viewed most white Union soldiers suspiciously and seemed to separate the concept of freedom from the troops that fought for it.

Marten argues persuasively that the Civil War shaped children's attitudes, values, and behaviors into their adult years. Southern children became passionate defenders of their parents' region and continued this strong affiliation with the Confederacy as they aged. The disgrace and degradation they witnessed made them deeply distrustful of the federal government and equally suspicious of emancipated blacks. They exchanged their parents' racist pater-

nalism for racial intolerance and bigotry that sometimes turned violent. Northern children grew up to be fervent Unionists, optimistic and confident about the nation's future. Slave children matured into adults who faced a renewed and virulent racism, disappointment, and poverty. Some would look back bitterly and regret even their freedom.

Civil War children viewed themselves as "products of war" (242). For them, as it did for adults, the war brought terrible suffering and pain. But it also taught them unforgettable lessons about family, race, patriotism, and politics. It was the most significant event of their lives.

University of Akron LESLEY J. GORDON

General George E. Pickett in Life and Legend. By Lesley J. Gordon. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. x, 269 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.)

Partly by force of timing and coincidence, and partly as a loosely organized historiographical movement, historians in recent years have approached the Civil War with just as much interest in memory, myth, and legend as they have in immediate experience, historical reality, and traditional biography. Lesley J. Gordon's short and sharp look at the troubled life of Confederate hero George E. Pickett follows the trend, but offers unique contributions as well.

Untangling Pickett is no easy task. The mission is not unlike the desperate charge that made him legendary. Pickett's available, authentic letters are relatively few and unrevealing. Many letters once thought to be his were probably forged by his third wife, LaSalle Corbell Pickett—whose postwar legend-making, in fact, forms a large part of Gordon's book. The charge that bears his name layers postwar recollections with romance, and since then movies and novels have added to Pickett's image a resilient second coat.

That Gordon overcomes these obstacles is testament to persistence and research. Gordon's Pickett was neither an innocent, nor a jovial fop nor was he a bold warrior. Instead, he was a man plagued by constant insecurities, by anxiety, and finally by disillusionment. Though born a privileged youth in Virginia, he rejected

cavalier ideals of discipline and self-restraint. His lack of interest in anything save horses and liquor at West Point helped him finish dead last in the class of 1846, with an incredible pile of demerits stuck to his boots. Only in the army, and then only after he had proved himself a man and a soldier in the Mexican War, did Pickett find a special kind of masculine structure and stability that both suited him and eluded him. Gordon argues that Pickett tested even those boundaries until the end of his career.

The compelling insight here–the book's dominant theme–is that Pickett's anxieties were caused by an alternating unwillingness and inability to live up to the ideals of southern society. That perspective allows Gordon to use social and cultural history in a way not often seen in military biography. It is here also that Gordon uses the postwar writings of LaSalle Corbell Pickett to greatest effect.

Although Gordon exposes Sallie Pickett's conceits and deceits for what they were, she argues that "there are always significant meanings and elements of 'truth' to the images she conveyed" (37). Sallie Pickett's idyllic portraits of her husband—a courageous but peace-loving man; a romantic lover but steel-hearted soldier; a graceful rider but firm leader—were accurate in their meaning. They were ways by which Sallie Pickett confronted what George Pickett confronted in war: attacks on his manhood, his courage, and his ability.

The southern war asked George Pickett to defend social and cultural boundaries that he never fully accepted. Then war blurred those boundaries. Sallie Pickett overdrew her pictures to emphasize extremes and the extreme balance between them, ironically in order to provide the balance that George Pickett sorely lacked.

Military readers will also find much to interest them. Gordon is critical of Pickett's generalship. His inner turmoil, not to mention his already tenuous relationship with Robert E. Lee, made him a dubious choice for leadership on the battle's fateful third day. And failure at Gettysburg unhinged him. He became incapable of decisive action. Inner confusion contributed to his brutal execution of twenty-two deserters in 1864; it was manifest in the disaster at Five Forks a year later.

For all of her innovations, Gordon is still attempting a military biography. Occasionally, the demands of keeping Pickett always at the center frustrate the development of a necessary, broader analysis of other themes, such as southern society at large, myth-making, and Sallie Pickett's clear ambition to be a writer. And while Gordon's argument does not rest solely on Sallie Pickett's postwar writ-

ings (in one particularly crucial section, Gordon describes contemporary attacks on Pickett's manhood and ability [106-107]), she relies almost exclusively on postwar recollections. This is perhaps more a curse than a blessing.

It is also fair to wonder whether a man of such insecurities could truly have tested social boundaries or resisted cultural expectations. Nevertheless, this clearly written book is everything Pickett's charge was not: well conceived, well planned, and well executed.

University of Mississippi PAUL CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

Admiral David Glasgow Farragut: The Civil War Years. By Chester G. Hearn. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. xxi, 385 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index, about the author. $37.50 hardcover.)

Chester G. Hearn has provided a lively and readable account of the exploits of David Glasgow Farragut during the American Civil War. He builds on his previous book, *The Capture of New Orleans*, for his analysis of Farragut's command throughout the major naval battles in the Gulf of Mexico. Although Hearn devotes the first forty pages and the final chapter to the non-Civil War years of Farragut's life, the emphasis remains on the naval experiences of this Civil War hero. The narrative at the heart of the book is fast paced and well organized, but does not want for detail. The author uses his considerable journalistic skill to create interesting and detailed accounts of the battles of New Orleans, Galveston, Port Hudson, and Mobile. The battle accounts are energetic and exciting to read. Particular care is devoted to Farragut's battle plans, the armaments of various ships, and the precise timing of particular actions. Hearn has done excellent work in pulling together the details of the very different activities of the Gulf Blockading Fleet to illustrate the amazing organizational and fighting talents of Farragut.

As the title suggests, the book is overwhelmingly devoted to the Civil War years and does little to introduce readers to David Glasgow Farragut the man. The subject of this biography comes through as a seasoned sailor without much interest in anything outside the navy. Aside from an occasional quotation from a letter to his wife about naval objectives and operations, Farragut's intimate family life is ignored. Hearn does acknowledge the presence of the Admiral's son, Loyall, but without much follow up on the relationship between father and

son. Although a ship under the Admiral's command is named for his son, there is no account of the christening of the ship or how it must have been an extraordinary event in the lives of both men.

Furthermore, Hearn only devotes a few sentences to Farragut's choice to join the Union, one that undoubtedly caused him and his wife great concern. Hearn quickly transports Farragut from Norfolk to New York with little mention of the personal distress and inner conflict the decision must have caused. Appropriately, the book focuses the reader's attention on the naval actions and the politics of command, but readers should reference Charles Lee Lewis's two-volume biography (1943) for further insight into the personal life of America's first admiral.

A major contribution of this book is its insight into Farragut's conflict with David Dixon Porter, his foster brother, over naval and political matters. Hearn portrays Farragut as above the pettiness of ambition and personality clashes. Yet, the bits and pieces of Farragut's quoted correspondence show that the Admiral, not unlike other commanders, complained about his problems and difficulties to Secretary of War, Gideon Welles. Further, he is not above engaging in some "finger pointing" at Charles H. Davis for the failure of the river assault on Vicksburg.

There is no shortage of books on David Farragut, dating back to the 1893 biography written by the famous naval strategist, Albert Thayer Mahan. The value of this narrative is its contribution to naval history, specifically the naval engagements of the Civil War. Hearn has synthesized and carefully reinterpreted previous accounts into one volume. This valuable, concise, and well-researched analysis emphasizes Farragut's presence in the major naval battles of the Civil War and is an important contribution to the literature.

Harrogate, Tenn. CHARLES M. HUBBARD

Lee's Miserables: Life in the Army of Northern Virginia from the Wilderness to Appomattox. By J. Tracy Power. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xxii, 463 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth.)

Hard-bitten soldiers in butternut, freezing in the trenches outside Richmond in the winter of 1864 trusted that "the Cause" would survive under the guidance of God and General Lee. When

southern armies surrendered the following spring, contemporaries and then historians quickly sought to deflect blame from the General and his Army of Northern Virginia. Initially, scholars probed the areas of leadership, resources, politics, and foreign affairs, and, more recently, turned their attention to nationalism, religion, and gender in an effort to identify the causes of Confederate defeat. Historians, following the pioneering efforts of Bell Wiley, have also begun to focus on the war from the vantage point of the common soldiers, thereby providing a ground level perspective of both their material and psychological well being. J. Tracy Power's study superbly advances Wiley's work by presenting a social history of a single army (Lee's) in one year of the war (1864-1865). By perusing the soldiers' letters, diaries, and papers, Power discovered why this once proud force seemingly melted away, obliging the surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865.

Power's begins his tale in the Spring of 1864, on the eve of the fateful and conclusive Yankee "invasion" of Virginia. The Confederate army gallantly fought a force twice its size, but Lee's men evinced optimism and high morale, believed in inevitable victory, and prayed that this would be the last campaign of the war. Despite some problems of desertion and food shortages, the soldiers shared the calm deliberation and confidence of their commander. Soon, however, the bloodbaths known as the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbor exacted a mental and physical exhaustion resulting from the intensity of combat and high casualties. Critically, the South began to lose good officers—a pattern that dramatically affected the ability of the army to function smoothly. Nonetheless, the men remained optimists as they dug their trenches outside Richmond and anticipated a final battle with Grant.

Unfortunately for the South, months of trench warfare and a costly campaign by Lieutenant Jubal Early in the Shenandoah Valley resulted in sagging morale, commitment, and numbers. Hopelessness and futility emerged and peace seemed ever more distant. The collapse of the army as a cohesive community became apparent, too. Death, disease, and reluctant conscripts with weakened loyalty changed the complexion of depleted units. The utilization of black manpower was a possible remedy. But Power suggests that the strong racism present when Confederate troops encountered African American Yankees at the Crater and Deep Bottom may have doomed any real hope of placing grey-clad black troops in combat—no matter what the politicians or generals argued.

Power paints a painful portrait of an army disintegrating in early 1865. The lack of clothes, shoes, and food took its toll as morale tumbled and desertions increased. Aware of the success of Philip Sheridan in the Valley, William T. Sherman in Georgia and the Carolinas, and George Thomas in Tennessee, doubts grew about ultimate victory. More importantly, Yankee armies threatened the South, compelling many soldiers to decide whether to remain in Virginia or return home and protect their families. The author emphasizes the correlation between defeatism on the home front and the collapse of the army. Power observes that soldiers courageously hung on in dwindling numbers in 1865, fighting for their communities, comrades, or commanders—but perhaps not the Confederacy. As community beckoned, comrades died or deserted, and the commander urged capitulation, Confederate soldiers' will to continue quickly evaporated.

Power has given a detailed and evocative portrayal of the devolution of an army. He maintains his focus on the common soldier, generally resisting temptations to place the commanders or politicians at center stage. Floridians will undoubtedly be pleased with the mention of various infantry units with Lee's army. Some historians, however, may wish that Power had adopted a more critical posture in his analysis. Regardless, both scholars and legions of Civil War devotees will profit from this well-written, solidly researched work.

University of South Florida JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK

The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy. By Charles M. Hubbard. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998. xvii, 253 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography. $38.00 cloth.)

For over a century, historians have written extensively on the diplomatic aspects of the American Civil War. However, Hubbard is the first scholar since Frank L. Owsley to write a book devoted primarily to the foreign policy of the Confederate government. First published in 1931, Owsley's *King Cotton Diplomacy* offered a lengthy and detailed account of the diverse activities that Confederate diplomats, propagandists, and financiers had performed to further the interests of their cause in Europe. Unlike Owsley, Hubbard does not attempt to provide such a comprehensive survey of Con-

federate foreign relations. Instead, he focuses on the efforts of the Confederate government and its commissioners to secure diplomatic relations with other countries. To achieve this paramount objective, the Davis administration first sent emissaries to Washington to negotiate a peaceful separation from the Union and the transfer of federal property on Southern soil to Confederate jurisdiction. When these efforts failed, the Confederate State Department turned its attention to securing diplomatic recognition from the nations of Europe. From this point, Hubbard examines the events and circumstances in Europe that provided Confederate diplomats with opportunities to obtain both recognition and a possible alliance between the South and Great Britain and/or France. Unfortunately for the South, the Confederate government usually failed to exploit these opportunities.

Throughout his narrative, Hubbard argues that the Confederacy could have won its independence by achieving diplomatic recognition from the nations of Europe through an active and well-planned foreign policy, and that its political leaders and diplomats could have accomplished this feat if they had been more competent and imaginative. However, Jefferson Davis and his cabinet members failed to give diplomacy in Europe the priority it required when they took office. At the start of the war, Davis and most other southern politicians assumed that European dependence on cotton would force the governments of Great Britain and France to normalize relations with the Confederacy. Swayed by this fanciful scenario, the Confederate government initiated an unsuccessful cotton embargo that was intended to coerce the British and French navies into attacking the Union blockade in order to procure the staple in Southern ports. Moreover, Davis became careless in his selection of cabinet officers and diplomats. As a result, his first two secretaries of state proved to be ambitious politicians who took little interest in cultivating friendly ties with other countries. Finally, the commissioners that the Confederate government sent to London and Paris tended to be obtuse proslavery ideologues who spent most of their time complaining about the cool reception that they had received from European governments, while Union diplomats and propagandists actively pursued an effective publicity campaign to prevent the Confederacy from being recognized.

Having identified the problems of inertia and ineptitude that frequently plagued Confederate diplomacy, Hubbard proceeds with a well-organized and articulate account of the events in Europe

during the course of the war in America and the inability of southern diplomats to exploit such events effectively to their advantage. Not surprisingly, he covers such topics as the *Trent* Affair, the Erlanger Loan, the efforts of British sympathizers to pass recognition resolutions in Parliament, the French venture in Mexico, and the mission of Duncan F. Kenner to induce recognition from London and Paris by offering emancipation. Moreover, Hubbard scrutinizes British and French political correspondence to uncover instances when the governments in London and Paris actually leaned toward establishing normal diplomatic relations with the Confederacy in order to facilitate an end to the war and reopen trans-Atlantic commerce. In his view, Confederate diplomats should have acted to encourage British and French political leaders to pursue their momentary inclinations when these opportunities arose. Although Hubbard concedes that Confederate diplomacy became more effective after Judah P. Benjamin became Secretary of State in March 1862, it continued to suffer from communication problems, poor planning, and inflexibility on slavery and other issues.

Some readers might find parts of Hubbard's interpretations too speculative, especially when he postulates possible actions that Confederate diplomats might have taken to improve their standing in Europe. However, most of his narrative is persuasive and supported by voluminous amounts of private correspondence, government documents, and other primary sources. Moreover, he demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the literature of Civil War diplomacy with his extensive use of secondary sources. Within the field of Confederate history, Hubbard's book is a thought-provoking and well-researched specimen of scholarship written in a succinct and readable style.

University of Southern Mississippi GREGORY LOUIS MATTSON

A New South Rebellion: The Battle against Convict Labor in the Tennessee Coalfields, 1871-1896. By Karin A. Shapiro. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xvi, 333 pp. Acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00 cloth, $22.50 paper.)

In 1871, Tennessee joined the growing list of southern states that leased convicts to private entrepreneurs. Many of these prison-

ers went to the coal mines of Tracy City, owned by what soon became the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company (TCIR). In a portent of future events, free miners at Tracy City immediately struck and tried to dynamite the convicts' stockade in an unsuccessful attempt to compel their removal. By 1890, TCIR leased all of the state's prisoners, working about one-third of them in its mid-Tennessee coal and ore mines and subleasing the rest, most of them to coal mine operators in east Tennessee.

By then, all of the Tennessee towns that housed branch prisons of convicts also had local assemblies of the Knights of Labor, many of them biracial, which in east Tennessee were affiliated with the United Mine Workers of America. In July 1891, after the Tennessee Coal Mining Company began bringing additional convicts into its Briceville mines in east Tennessee to replace free miners whom it had locked out, the latter waged the first of four armed rebellions against coal company stockades that would occur in a thirteen-month period, freeing forty inmates whom they placed on a train to Knoxville. Miners conducted a similar rebellion one week later at the nearby town of Coal Creek. Nearly four months later, after the state militia had returned the convicts, miners raided the stockades of Briceville, Coal Creek, and Oliver Springs, not only freeing the convicts but also burning the stockades. In August 1892, the fourth rebellion began at TCIR's mid-Tennessee mines and spread to the mines of east Tennessee, culminating in the deaths of four militiamen at Coal Creek.

The miners also turned to the governor, state legislature, and courts in their battle against the convict lease, which they viewed as an unfair advantage to corporations and an affront to their own status as independent producers and citizens. Governor John Buchanan, head of the state Farmers' Alliance, offered the miners a sympathetic ear but little else. East Tennessee's Republican legislators called for the abolition of the convict lease, but Alliance legislators refused to join them lest collaboration with Republicans place them "in the company of 'Negro-lovers,' potentially jeopardizing their long-term prospects in Tennessee politics" (13); moreover, they wished neither to dim the state's prospects for industrial development nor raise the taxes of property-owning Alliancemen by abolishing the convict lease system and constructing a new penal system. The courts also thwarted the miners' efforts; their worst judicial nemesis, Democratic State Supreme Court Chief Justice Peter Turney succeeded Buchanan as governor in 1893.

Nevertheless, the convict lease soon ended in Tennessee. "By inflicting grievous costs on coal companies and the state," Shapiro explains, "the miners ensured that no lease contract would replace [TCIR's]," which expired on the last day of 1895 (243). But this represented a pyrrhic victory for the miners, whose illegal actions had reduced their union's numbers and influence, which in turn contributed to worsening race relations among their ranks. Furthermore, the state opened its own convict mine, which became highly profitable. TCIR moved to Alabama, and for many Tennessee miners "the promise of southern industrialization remained very much unfulfilled" (247).

Shapiro has written an outstanding and significant book, engagingly written, well illustrated, and copiously researched from manuscript collections and commercial and labor newspapers. *A New South Rebellion* fits well with recent books by Alex Lichtenstein and Daniel Letwin, exploring similar themes in a different but important setting and buttressing their respective arguments about the importance of convict labor to the industrialization of the postbellum South and the real but fragile viability of interracial unionism among southern miners in the age of Jim Crow. Perhaps this book's most significant contributions lie in its examination of the Knights of Labor in eastern and middle Tennessee, where that organization has been heretofore largely ignored by historians, and in its analysis of the nebulous relationship between farmer and labor organizations, whose efforts to unite in the pursuit of common interests were thwarted by conflicting interests. Although Tennessee's Populist-labor coalition does not comprise the chief subject of this book, Shapiro tells us enough about it to show that it merits further examination.

Georgia Institute of Technology MATTHEW HILD

Frederick Jackson Turner: Strange Roads Going Down. By Allan G. Bogue. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998. xviii, 558 pp. List of illustrations, preface, appendix, notes, list of selected works, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth.)

Frederick Jackson Turner, known today for "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893), described the "free land" of the frontier as the characteristic that set the United States

apart from other nations. Today "new" western historians, such as Patricia Limerick and Richard White, define themselves largely through their disagreements with major points in Turner's famous essay. Describing the West as region, they see the process of Euro-American movement as conquest rather than settlement. And where Turner saw 1890 as a break with the past (since the census that year declared the frontier gone), they perceive continuity in the problem, which persisted in the Trans-Mississippi (or Trans-Missouri) region to the present. Given the debate their works have generated, historians are indebted to Allan Bogue for his thoroughly researched biography. In addition to bringing Turner to life, he places the scholar in the changing context of American historiography, a valuable contribution in and of itself.

Bogue begins by describing the Wisconsin milieu surrounding Turner's upbringing. As his father promoted the Portage area in a local newspaper, so Turner later promoted the interior rather than the East Coast as the focal point of American history. Turner was a promoter in yet another way as well. Throughout his life, he benefited from his contacts at Johns Hopkins, and later, having assumed the mantleship of William Francis Allen at the University of Wisconsin, he perfected the academic art of garnering offers from other universities as a means of advancing his career. Nonetheless, he was always a conscientious and inspiring mentor to his graduate students; his most enduring legacy stemmed from the productive first-rate scholars he trained, including such luminaries as Carl Becker and Merle Curti.

Overall, Turner's career invites reflection on the old adage that one should be careful about one's wishes; they might come true. In 1910, Turner received a professorship at Harvard and found it even more difficult to sustain his scholarly productivity. Professors everywhere will identify with Bogue's description of how teaching and mentoring demands, the lure of outside writing assignments, and myriad personal problems, most involving health, frustrated Turner's efforts to produce his great volume. At last in 1933, the Pulitzer Prize was awarded to Turner's *The Significance of Sections in American History*, produced a year earlier. Tragically, the famous historian had been dead for over a year.

In this superb biography, Bogue demolishes the notion that Turner's scholarship is encapsulated in the Chicago address at the Columbian Exposition. Through careful reading of preliminary drafts, he uncovers a man who constantly revised his ideas, often by

incorporating insights from social scientists. Moreover, by 1910, Turner's presidential address to the American Historical Association acknowledged both continuity and class conflict in the history of the American West. Even more important, Bogue argues that because of Turner's interdisciplinary approach, his insistence on "the integration of recent history in the curriculum, and his concern that history be placed at the service of policy makers," Turner "had as much right to consider himself a 'new' historian as did [James Harvey] Robinson" (272). This splendid biography substantiates that idea conclusively.

A labor of love, this work will prove invaluable for all American historians who want to understand the development of their discipline. Others will appreciate the way that Bogue's work brings to life the background, events, and intellectual milieu that both helped and hindered a man who struggled constantly to develop his ideas and often enjoyed limited success in putting them on paper. Whatever Turner's limitations, his name routinely appears in American history survey texts. After more than a century, the debate he began at Chicago continues, while many others of his era exist only in footnotes or bibliographies as obscure entries. Leading scholars still challenge his ideas and that tells us that Turner's work retains enduring value, making him fully deserving of Bogue's exhaustive examination and careful and brilliant analysis.

University of Central Florida SHIRLEY LECKIE

Alabama Baptists: Southern Baptists in the Heart of Dixie. By Wayne Flynt. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998. xxi, 731 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index, about the author. $29.95 cloth.)

In recent years academic interest in southern religion has waxed high on the strength of historians such as Christine Leigh Heyrman (*Southern Cross*), Glenda Gilmore (*Gender and Jim Crow*), Daniel Stowell (*Restoring Zion*), and Paul Harvey (*Redeeming the South*) who have worked to locate black and white religion and especially evangelicalism at the center of the South's cultural, social, and intellectual development. With *Alabama Baptists*, Wayne Flynt, whose pioneering works challenged long-held historical percep-

tions of a one-dimensional, conservative, reactionary southern religion, adds to this growing body of work with a generously detailed, sympathetic, yet judicious insider's look at Baptist life in Alabama over its two-hundred-year history.

His focus on Southern Baptists is welcomed, for aside from a few works such as Harvey's *Redeeming the South*, Gregory Will's *Democratic Religion*, and the work of religious sociologist Nancy Ammerman, Southern Baptists have been among the least studied American denominations, despite their representing the largest group of Protestants not only in the South but in the United States. Drawing on rich manuscript, oral history, and periodical sources, Flynt teases out the mutually reciprocal relationships between Baptist faith and larger political, social, and intellectual aspects of southern life. As a result, this work should be of interest to anyone seeking to understand the wider relationship between southern religion and culture. *Alabama Baptists* furthermore has the advantage of studying one particular group over a two-hundred-year period; thus, readers can witness elements of change and continuity over the full course of the denomination's history.

The book is chronological in structure and lacks a single driving thesis; there are, however, a number of recurring themes that guide the narrative through roughly four time periods. The first two periods are the antebellum, in which Baptists moved from being backwoods cultural outsiders to living at the South's cultural and political core, and the era from 1865 to 1900, in which Baptists experienced exponential growth following the war's devastation. In these two periods, Flynt organizes the material with at least two major themes in mind. First, he observes the ironic persistence of Baptists' identity as cultural outsiders in contrast to their actual position at the center of the state's political, economic, and educational life—an observation that helps explain why Baptists supplied labor and agrarian radicals, Populists, and even a few communists, along with college presidents, Democratic stalwarts, and New South industrialists. In a second and closely related observation, Flynt points out how, on the one hand, Baptists advocated liberal ideals of political freedom and religious toleration, yet, on the other, firmly and consistently held to conservative southern conceptions of gender, anti-Catholicism, and especially race. Conservative stands on these issues helped place white Baptists solidly in the southern middle class, while black Baptists, who found institutional autonomy from whites after the Civil War, chastised their white

brothers and sisters for their contradictory allegiances to soul liberty and paternalistic white supremacy.

Flynt then moves to the period between about 1900 and 1945 to demonstrate how Baptists, according to various social, chronological, and cultural settings, displayed a wide variety of responses to major religious currents of the period, including theological modernism, ecumenism, and the social gospel, as well as to other social and political phenomena such as war, the changing roles of women, progressive social reforms, and the New Deal. In the final period from roughly 1945 to 1998, Flynt details Baptists' roles in the social and political turmoil over racial integration and outlines the denominational fragmentation that occurred in the early 1980s as fundamentalists took over both the state and national Baptist conventions. Flynt's analysis on this latter subject is particularly insightful as he links the denominational cleavages created by debates over integration to the growing theological, cultural, and political rifts between fundamentalists and theological moderates.

The result of this analysis is a lucid, balanced, and engaging look at the ways in which Alabama Baptists influenced and reflected the most important social, political, and cultural developments in the South over the past two hundred years. With its broad interpretational strokes, wonderful anecdotes, and rich biographical detail, *Alabama Baptists* offers both insiders and academic outsiders a full immersion into southern evangelical life and history.

University of Notre Dame JOSEPH W. CREECH JR.

The Tragedy and the Triumph of Phenix City, Alabama. By Margaret Anne Barnes. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998. xii, 319 pp. Foreword, prologue, cast of characters. $27.95 cloth.)

In 1999, unsuspecting drivers crossing over the Chattahoochee River from Columbus, Georgia, into Russell County, Alabama, would never imagine the sleepy hamlet they had just entered, Phenix City, was for the first half of the century a raucous haven for gamblers, prostitutes, swindlers, and killers. Organized crime so saturated the lifeblood of the city that law enforcement, politicians, and even the military brass from nearby Fort Benning stood helpless to battle what Secretary of War Henry Stimson once called "the wickedest city in America." After the 1954 execution-style assassina-

tion of Attorney General-elect Albert Patterson, only the imposition of martial rule and the dedicated efforts of a handful of reformers combined to tame the city, cast out a bevy of crooked law enforcement officials, judges, and politicians, and incarcerate numerous criminals.

Writing in a narrative style clearly intended for a popular audience, award-winning author Margaret Anne Barnes identifies the cadre of thugs, racketeers, loan sharks, gamblers, and killers which peopled Phenix City and ruled it with an iron fist. Men like Head Revel, Hoyt Shepherd, and Jimmie Matthews created gambling empires based on lotteries, slot machines, and casino operations which were so widespread that step-stools were installed near slot machines so that children could participate. Fresh-faced recruits from neighboring Fort Benning arrived with monthly paychecks and high expectations but soon found themselves broke at the hands of rigged gaming operations, wily B-girls, and prostitutes. Dissatisfied patrons and reformers like Hugh Bentley had little recourse since the police force, mayor, commissioners, and judiciary served at the discretion of the criminal establishment.

The 1954 murder of Albert Patterson, a reformer who represented a real threat to Phenix City, captured national attention and brought correspondents from *Time*, *Newsweek*, and even the *Times* (London) to southeast Alabama. When the case was eventually unraveled (in large part due to the martial authority exercised by Major General Walter "Crack" Hanna) Russell County Deputy Sheriff Albert Fuller, Russell County Circuit Solicitor Arch Ferrell, and Alabama Attorney General Silas Garrett were all implicated in Patterson's death. While it is hardly surprising that a southern community in the 1950s could have government fraud and electoral chicanery enforced with violence, it is unusual that the victims were primarily white and often middle-class. Indeed, the Patterson murder and the subsequent use of the military to solve the crime and crush the Phenix City machine was one of the most important social and political events in pre-George Wallace Alabama.

Barnes's writing is occasionally repetitive and melodramatic, and her characters are static figures, capable of being either completely moral or totally evil with little room in between. In addition, because the book has no notations or bibliography and provides only rare source attributions, it is of limited scholarly value. Unfortunately, Barnes neglects chances to situate the events of Phenix City against the broader backdrop of impending racial, political,

social, and cultural change across Alabama and the rest of the South. Those caveats aside, *The Tragedy and the Triumph of Phenix City, Alabama* is an easy book to read which gets the story right despite the voluminous amount of names, events, trials, and elections it includes. Barnes has clearly spent many days and nights pouring over court transcripts and newspaper copy, and lining up interviews with reporters and historical actors. In short, the book is the best example of what pop history can do: tell a story, educate all kinds of readers about important events they have either forgotten or never knew, and fill a niche that academic historians are often unable or unwilling to fill.

Auburn University JEFF FREDERICK

Huey Long Invades New Orleans: The Siege of a City, 1934-1936. By Garry Boulard. (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Co., 1998. 277 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, index. $14.95 paper.)

In the summer of 1934, Huey P. Long of Louisiana was on top of the world. Former governor of Louisiana, the popular United States Senator believed that few things stood in his way to national prestige and prominence. One such hurdle was the New Orleans political machine known as the "Old Regulars." Long sought to destroy the machine, cement his influence in the Crescent City, and later embark on a run for president. The story of this last battle for the soul of New Orleans and the key to Long's political future is tackled by Garry Boulard.

If one thought that the colorful Kingfish had been exhaustively studied, Boulard has found room for another examination. Addressing an incident that other Long studies and biographies fail to fully consider, Boulard has made a compelling argument that Long's siege of New Orleans was key to his national political aspirations. Long believed, writes Boulard, that no one would consider him a legitimate presidential candidate if he could not control his home state. The pesky Old Regulars in New Orleans had fought Long since he entered state office and would surely work against him if he ran for president. He also needed his political machine at top efficiency and strength.

The battle with the corrupt, but terribly effective, New Orleans machine extended to various levels. It was more than a po-

litical fight over influence and control. Boulard highlights the class distinctions between Long and the Regulars. They were everything he was not: educated, pedigreed, snobby, and rich. He despised them just as any uneducated country boy would. They looked down upon Long as a farce, amazed that such an ignorant and crass man could ever win and hold political office. Their rivalry extended as far back as Long's first run for governor when the Old Regulars conspired to keep his New Orleans' vote low. He never forgot that.

New Orleans mesmerized Long. Its mysterious nature fascinated the country boy. He was enthralled by the city's culture, its hedonism, music, literature, and food. Indeed, he spent more time in New Orleans than anywhere else. Ensconced, of all places, in the Roosevelt Hotel, Long ran the state. He was also near Seymour Weiss, his confidante and protector of the Long machine funds. It bothered Long that his headquarters rested in a city over which he had little control.

Using allegations of voter fraud, Long placed New Orleans under a period of "partial martial law" and eventually sent three thousand National Guardsmen to seize voter registration records and stare down local policemen. He also withheld from the city more than $700 million in state appropriations. In a move that revealed his hatred for Franklin Roosevelt matched that of his animosity for the Old Regulars, Long blocked matching state contributions to New Deal money for relief in New Orleans. By physically occupying the city and constricting its economy, Long weakened the Old Regulars' control over the Crescent City.

Although Long's assassination seemed to end the movement against the Old Regulars, memories of him ushered Long candidates into state office in the next election, finally breaking the Old Regulars' power. The final downfall of the Old Regulars came not as a result of Long's siege, but, ironically, with the rise of Civil Service reform and electric ballot boxes which removed corrupt officials from office and prevented tampering with voter tallies.

Boulard's study has its flaws. The story is framed by a weak introduction and an equally lacking conclusion. There is little to introduce readers, general and scholarly, to the broader context of the Long story. Nor is there much explanation of why another book on Long is worthy of print. One would like to have seen some historiographical discussion of Long, even if it were banished to

the notes. But give Boulard credit for adding to our knowledge of the Long years and further illuminating the colorful Louisiana firebrand.

Auburn University GORDON E. HARVEY

Beyond Image and Convention: Explorations in Southern Women's History. Edited by Janet L. Coryell, Martha H. Swain, Sandra Gioia Treadway, and Elizabeth Hayes Turner. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998. x, 224 pp. Editors' introduction, about the authors and the editors, index. $37.50 cloth, $16.95 paper.)

Here is another rich and important collection of new essays about southern women. Beginning with early eighteenth-century North Carolina, traversing numerous states and subjects, and concluding with mid-twentieth-century South Carolina, these authors have offered an enlightening panorama of southern women's experiences. Drawn from papers presented at the Third Southern Conference on Women's History in 1994, this collection explores the ways that southern women have moved beyond the conventions of their time and place. This book also reveals the exciting ways that historians are moving beyond the conventions of their field, expanding definitions of history, sources, and analysis. Together and individually, these essays offer a great deal to both veteran scholars of specific fields and to those who desire a far-reaching introduction to some of the latest scholarship spanning three centuries.

The first three essays examine eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century white southern women whose activities seemed to threaten the social elite. Kirsten Fischer's essay provides a fascinating description of lower-class women who defied sexual mores and engaged in illicit, interracial, and/or indecent relationships or activities. Fischer's analysis concludes that lower class white women in colonial North Carolina created an alternative subculture of values within the larger society. Moreover, their transgressions often elicited a powerful and stinging response from elite white lawmakers, ultimately revealing the symbolic and perceived threat that these women's activities made to the social order.

Anya Jabour's study of Elizabeth Wirt's white housekeepers in early nineteenth-century Richmond similarly reveals women with little political, social, or economic power who found ways to exert

their independence nonetheless. Occupying a liminal position within the household, they defied the conventions assumed by their elite employers and elevated themselves above the enslaved workers in the household. With impressive skill, Jabour shows us how the writings of elite employers can be used judiciously not only to untangle the motives of those writers, but also the perspectives of their servants.

Cynthia Lynn Lyerly's essay also reveals women's perceived subversive behavior in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century South. The women of her study experienced dramatic conversions to Methodism as that denomination swept across the region. By incorporating evidence from across the South, examining the changing definitions of madness during the period, and explaining the decline of women's religious radicalism as the nineteenth century progressed, Lyerly makes an important contribution to the currently expanding body of work devoted to the evolution of antebellum religion.

Moving well into the nineteenth century and into the lives of African Americans in southwestern Virginia, Norma Taylor Mitchell tells the extraordinary tale of an extended family of slaves who carved out remarkable autonomy and influence within a white elite household. This unusual power, Mitchell argues, stemmed from the white owners' physical and mental weakness later in life, the fact that they had no children, the family's urban-political connections, and the slaves' own resourcefulness. Like Jabour, Mitchell ably makes use of the white family's records to uncover the details of the household slaves.

Unlike many of the slaves in Mitchell's study, the slave whom Kimberly Schreck describes eventually lived to see freedom. However, as the Cooper County, Missouri, woman testified in court four times, her owners never informed her of emancipation and kept her in servitude until she learned in 1889 that she was free. Schreck tells the story of Eda Hickman's ill-fated pursuit of her back wages and simultaneously grapples with the definitions of family, slavery, and freedom in the virulently racist postbellum South.

Karen Manners Smith offers a fascinating addition to the emerging literature about southern women writers in her essay about the life and writings of famed Virginia-born author Mary Virginia Hawes Terhune, whose pen name was Marion Harland. Effortlessly bridging Old South and New, as well as Terhune's own divided allegiances to North and South, Smith provides a remark-

ably comprehensive analysis of Terhune's life, especially her conflicted relationship with her native South after the war.

The final three essays take the reader to the middle of the twentieth century and the work of southern women on behalf of African Americans. Long overlooked but increasingly under examination, the black clubwomen at the center of Susan L. Smith's study defied convention by working to meet the desperate and basic public health needs of rural African Americans. By focusing on a health project of the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority in the Mississippi Delta from 1935 to 1942, Smith demonstrates that women's volunteer work addressed heartbreaking ills, largely ignored by federal and state programs, and remained a constant and influential presence as federal public health efforts eventually expanded.

Just as organizations of women made pathbreaking efforts to combat the effects of discrimination, so too did lone individuals. Joanna Bowen Gillespie tells the interesting story of privileged white Virginian Sarah Patton Boyle, an Episcopal clergyman's daughter who followed Lillian Smith's example, initiated her own racial self-education, and began writing and speaking for desegregation on the eve of the Civil Rights movement.

Finally, Marcia G. Synott also describes a white apostle of civil rights, Alice Norwood Spearman Wright, executive director of the South Carolina Council on Human Rights. Through a myriad of activities from the 1920s through the late 1960s, Spearman made remarkable efforts to facilitate an interracial dialogue between South Carolina's white clubwomen and black leaders.

While this collection offers little that focuses specifically on Florida history, it is a useful and accessible resource for general readers, undergraduates, and scholars. Because most of the essays come from larger studies which are either already published or in the works, *Beyond Image and Convention* offers less experienced scholars a comfortable introduction to the range and depth of current work about southern women. No undergraduate or newcomer to women's history should complete this book without grasping a rich, broad, and complex perspective on southern women's history. Yet, they will not find themselves mired in historiographical debates either. Likewise, for veteran scholars, this collection offers a quick, succinct, and altogether promising snapshot of some of the latest work in the field.

Emory University CHRISTINE JACOBSON CARTER

The Moderates' Dilemma: Massive Resistance to School Desegregation in Virginia. Edited by Matthew D. Lassiter and Andrew B. Lewis. Foreword by Paul M. Gaston. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998. xvi, 251 pp. List of illustrations, foreword by way of memoir, acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, notes, contributors, index. $49.50 cloth, $18.50 paper.)

Virginia's policy of massive resistance to the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision continues to intrigue historians. Matthew Lassiter and Andrew B. Lewis make an important contribution to the ongoing discussion with *The Moderates' Dilemma*, a collection of six essays (including one by each editor) which attempt to clarify the response of politically moderate white Virginians to the state's decision to abandon public education rather than accept any degree of integration.

Lassiter and Lewis provide a perceptive introduction which includes a review of the literature on massive resistance. They explain "the moderates' dilemma" as the need to decide which was more important, preserving public education or maintaining racial segregation. Most moderates opposed desegregation of the schools, but they were more upset by the prospect of closed schools. A few moderate politicians and journalists devised implementation plans which could be acceptable to the Court and avert disaster for Virginia's schools. Many parents and citizens' organizations, however, made more substantial contributions to undermining massive resistance and ending the domination of the state's conservative Democrats, led by Senator Harry F. Byrd Sr. who devised the policy. Lewis contributes a thoughtful essay on the "Emergency Mothers" of Charlottesville, nine women who were members of the parent-teacher association at a closed elementary school. Making it clear that their efforts were temporary and would cease with the reopening of the public schools, even if integrated, the women organized a system of schools and secured the services of public school teachers. James Hershman's essay offers an overview of "The Emergence of a Pro-Public School Majority" with particular attention to the Virginia Committee for Public Schools which enrolled 25,000 members. Ironically, Lewis and Lassiter conclude that "by persuading their communities to accept desegregation for practical rather than moral imperatives, white moderates played a central role in limiting the possibilities of more substantive racial change" (19). At first, segregationists denounced the moderates' willingness to ac-

cept gradual desegregation, but "in the long run token desegregation eventually became—often with the support of middle-class moderates—a new rallying point for the forces hostile to school integration" (19).

Amy Murrell contributes a concise and informative chapter on the school crisis in Prince Edward County. She points out that there were moderate voices in the county, most notably the principal at the white high school and two professors at Longwood College, but their numbers were small and they were subject to intimidation. The public schools remained locked for five years while a private academy was established for whites, and blacks were left to their own devices.

Two chapters provide portraits of prominent moderates. J. Douglas Smith tells the story of Armistead Boothe, the first member of the legislature to seek change in the state's segregation laws after World War II. After the *Brown* decision, Boothe asked that the best black students be permitted to attend any school they chose. As Smith points out, however, "Boothe's emphasis on individual, qualified blacks depended upon a conception of the black race as inferior to the white race" (50). Matthew Lassiter's chapter on journalist Benjamin Muse provides an excellent conclusion to the volume. Muse, a former diplomat and veteran of both wars, retired in northern Virginia where he published a newspaper and wrote a weekly column on "Virginia Affairs" for the *Washington Post*. He worked tirelessly urging Virginians to support his plan which called for desegregation in urban areas and in counties where African Americans were not numerous. He believed that Prince Edward County in the heavily black Southside, which was the subject of one of the cases subsumed under *Brown*, was a poor place to begin.

The Moderates' Dilemma provides a thought-provoking analysis of the role of Virginia's white moderates during desegregation. Slow to mobilize, they did not become active until schools were closed, two years after the enactment of the massive resistance statutes. They were most effective after the courts invalidated those laws in early 1959. When arch-segregationists demanded continued resistance, white citizens mobilized by the moderates rallied to the defense of the public schools. Hershman stresses the importance of certain business leaders among the moderates, but Lassiter argues convincingly that it was "rather ordinary parents and other local activists who filled the leadership vacuum and no longer willing to remain silent finally coalesced in the popular

movement for compliance and open public schools" (184). The essays are well researched and clearly written. By focusing on white moderates, *The Moderates' Dilemma* fills a gap in the historiography of Virginia's massive resistance.

Old Dominion University JAMES R. SWEENEY

Book Notes

Public Address in the Twentieth-Century South: The Evolution of a Region. By W. Stuart Towns. (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1999. 256 pp. $59.95 cloth.)

A collection of political speeches may not have obvious appeal, but this anthology is worth exploring further. W. Stuart Towns uses this collection of orations to trace the transition of the Old South to the New South. Arranged chronologically, the chapters provide biographical and historical background to explain the climate in which the speeches were made. The selections are diverse, including speeches made by Jessie Daniel Ames, George Wallace, and Jimmy Carter. The final document is Barbara Jordan's keynote address to the 1976 Democratic National Convention, which Towns believes confirms the demise of the Old South. Although this book is a companion to Towns's *Oratory and Rhetoric in the Nineteenth-Century South*, readers need not have read his earlier work to appreciate *Public Address in the Twentieth-Century South.*

Sacred to the Memory: A History of the Huguenot Cemetery 1821-1884: St. Augustine, Florida. By Florence S. Mitchell. (St. Augustine: Friends of the Huguenot Cemetery, Inc. 1998. 65 pp. $8.00 paper.)

The Friends of the Huguenot Cemetery published this book primarily to raise funds for preserving the cemetery, but also to provide information for visitors. They have splendidly achieved their second objective. Florence S. Mitchell not only wrote the words but also provided the illustrations and rubbings that help make it an attractive booklet. Instead of a dry recitation of facts, Mitchell includes anecdotes that make for lively reading, including

the surprising revelation that no Huguenots lie buried in the cemetery. This slim volume will inspire lovers of local history and aid genealogists.

Henry Bradley Plant: The Nineteenth Century "King of Florida." By Canter Brown Jr. (Tampa: Henry B. Plant Museum, 1999. 19 pp. $3.00 paper.)

The latest work by award-winning author Canter Brown Jr. is a short biography of Henry Bradley Plant. Published as part of the Jean Stallings Educational Series, this booklet is designed to impart facts rather than offer new interpretations. Nevertheless, it both faithfully relates Plant's story from his early life in Connecticut to his development of Florida's railroads and represents Plant not as a "robber baron" but as a model for Walt Disney, who also shaped Florida's economic development.

Vicksburg: Fall of the Confederate Gibraltar. By Terrence J. Winschel. (Abilene, Tex.: McWhiney Foundation Press, 1999. 129 pp. $19.95 cloth.)

If the Confederacy held Vicksburg, it would keep its supply lines open and prevent the Union from controlling the Mississippi. If the Union took Vicksburg, it could inflict a double blow on its enemy and damage communications between the eastern and western parts of the Confederacy. Terrence J. Winschel, historian at the Vicksburg National Military Park, narrates this chapter of the Civil War Campaigns and Commanders series in fine style. Although primarily appealing to lovers of military history, this book includes details of civilian life that provide greater understanding of the misery of civil war. Short biographical sketches with illustrations of the key participants break up the narrative; well-drawn maps explain the action. This is an attractive as well as informative read.

The Lines are Drawn: Political Cartoons of the Civil War. Edited by Kristen M. Smith. (Athens, Ga.: Hill Street Press, 1999. 153 pp. $18.50 cloth.)

A cartoonist herself, Kristen M. Smith explores the Civil War through the eyes of cartoonists, creating a novel approach to this sad episode in our nation's history. Smith arranges the cartoons

chronologically and provides historical context for each. Although she tries to offer a well-rounded view of contemporary opinion by gleaning her cartoons from northern, southern, and British publications, northern cartoons dominate this compilation because more of them have survived. This collection includes stereotyped images that modern readers may find offensive such as Paddy, Shylock, and Sambo. Cartoonists then, as now, relied on such stereotypes to shock their audiences; and Smith's work demonstrates that such racist views were not confined to the South.

"In the Country of the Enemy": The Civil War Reports of a Massachusetts "Corporal." Edited by William C. Harris. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. 192 pp. $29.99 cloth.)

In 1862, Corporal Zenas T. Haines, a journalist with the *Boston Herald*, volunteered for the 44th Massachusetts Regiment for nine months. He continued to write for his newspaper while serving in North Carolina; his reports relate his first experiences of both military life and the South. Intended for a mass audience, Haines's dispatches make entertaining and amusing reading. With a keen eye for detail and a titillating style, Haines describes his comrades' motivations, experiences, and entertainments. Especially important were Union soldiers' ideas about slavery and their support for emancipation.

Pretense of Glory: The Life of General Nathaniel P. Banks. By James G. Hollandsworth Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. 360 pp. $34.95 cloth.)

James G. Hollandsworth Jr. offers this revealing portrait of a man who devoted his life to public service. Nathaniel P. Banks was the son of a millworker who ended his formal education to join his father in the mill. Nevertheless, this self-educated man became Governor of Massachusetts and Speaker of the House. Appointed as a Union General in the Civil War, he lacked experience in military matters, which would have proved less costly had he learned from his early mistakes. After the war, he played an important role in purchasing Alaska, but was accused of taking a bribe. Hollandsworth's story, then, shows how Banks's personal weaknesses prevented him from realizing his early promise. He was a good man who had too high an opinion of his own achievements, which made him unable to correct his limitations.

Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors. By John R. Swanton. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. 456 pp. Maps. $29.95 paper.)

Space and Time Perspective in Northern St. Johns Archeology. By John M. Goggin. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. 80 pp. $29.95 paper.)

These two very different works are now back in print as part of the Southeastern Classics in Archaeology, Anthropology, and History series. First published in 1922, John R. Swanton's book traces the formation of the Creek Confederacy out of the remnants of the separate tribes that inhabited Alabama and Georgia prior to 1700. This ethnohistory includes cameos of all the peoples who contributed to Creek culture. Necessarily, some portraits are more complete than others, but Swanton offers a very comprehensive account of how Native Americans lived. John Goggin's pioneering work, *Space and Time Perspective*, devotes itself to describing and classifying artifacts. Although Goggin made some errors in dating his finds because he did not have the benefit of carbon dating, his chronology remains substantially correct. Since Goggin wrote this book, archaeological methods and interests have changed, but his efforts in developing historical archaeology and inventing underwater archaeology contributed to those changes. Such an innovative yet basic work is a good place for a lay person to develop an interest in this fascinating subject. Despite their differences, these books are both classics in their field, and readers now have a wonderful opportunity to acquire such indispensable reference works.

Caribbean Migration: Globalised Identities. Edited By Mary Chamberlain. (London: Routledge, 1998. 263 pp. $85.00 cloth.)

This anthology contains essays by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and geographers, offering a well-rounded perspective to an important contemporary topic. Mary Chamberlain's superb introduction ponders the threat that migrants pose to nation-states and reflects on their contribution to the "global village." The articles investigate the nature of migration rather than its causes and discusses migrants' experiences in the Caribbean, United States, Europe, and South America, dispelling the prevailing assumptions that migration is meant to be permanent. Migrants have always

tried to return home, and as travel and communications have become easier and cheaper, more migrants can retain strong attachments to friends and family at home. Racism is an important factor in the analysis, especially in those articles focusing on the Caribbean. This anthology is relevant to anyone whose ancestors were among the thousands who migrated to the Americas; the issues raised are important to all Americans.

Florida History Research in Progress

American University

Keith Halderman—"Marijuana and the Myth of Victor Licata" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Arkansas Archaeological Survey

David S. Brose and Nancy Marie White—"The Northwest Florida Coast Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore," edited & with a new introduction (work in progress).

Jeffrey M. Mitchem—"Expeditions to East Florida by Clarence Bloomfield Moore," edited & with new introduction; "Expeditions to West and Central Florida by Clarence Bloomfield Moore," edited & with new introduction (work in progress).

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)—"Friction in the Empire: Challenges for Britain and Some Indigenous Peoples Before the American Revolution" (publication forthcoming).

Owe J. Jensen—"The Defense Forces of West Florida in the American Revolution" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Sheri Marie Shuck—"Power Brokers of the Southern Frontier: The Alabamas and the Coushattas, 1500-1859" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Broward County Historical Commission

Patrick Scott—"The First White Settlements in South Florida"; "South Florida in the Nineteenth Century" (work in progress).

California State University, Stanislaus

Bret E. Carroll (faculty)—"The Context of Cassadaga: An Historical Overview of American Spiritualism" (publication forthcoming).

Daytona Beach Community College

John J. Guthrie Jr. (faculty)—"Cassadaga: The South's Oldest Spiritualist Community," with coeditors Phillip Charles Lucas and Gary Monroe (publication forthcoming).

Leonard R. Lempel (faculty)—"Race Relations and the Civil Rights Movement in Daytona Beach, Florida, 1900-1940" (publication forthcoming).

Eckerd College

James Schnur (adjunct faculty)—"Cold Warriors in the Hot Sunshine: The Johns Committee's Assault on Civil Liberties in Florida, 1956-1965"; "From the Mekong to Meadowlawn: An Oral Record of St. Petersburg's Vietnamese Community" (works in progress).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)—"Slavery in Florida: 1821 to 1865" (completed). "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 Layers in Middle Florida, 1821-1865"; "Indentured Servitude on the Wirtland Plantation: An Experiment that Failed, 1833-1834"; "Regulation of Free Blacks in Territorial Florida, 1828-1845"; "The Early A. M. E. Church in Florida" (works in progress).

Florida Atlantic University

Donald W. Curl (faculty)—"Lost Palm Beach: A Preservation History of the Resort" (nearing completion). "Buildings of the United States, Florida Volume" (work in progress).

William Marina–"Rendezvous the Greatness: The University of Miami at the 'Edge' of the 21st Century" (publication forthcoming).

Jeffrey Glenn Stickland—"The Origins of Everglades Dranage in the Progrssive Era: Local, State and Federal Coopertion and Conflict" (M.A. thesis completed).

Mark D. Vital—"The Key West Agreement of 1948: A Milestone for Naval Aviation," (M.A. thesis completed).

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee

John H. Hann—"The Fray Andrés de San Miguel Account 1591"; "The Native American World Beyond Apalachee, the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century"; "Historic Era Aboriginal Peoples of South Florida" (works in progress).

Bonnie G. McEwan—"Indians of the Greater Southeast During the Historic Period" (publication forthcoming).

Roger Smith—"Pensacola's Colonial Maritime Resources"; "The Emmanuel Point Ship: A Sixteenth-Century Vessel of Spanish Colonization"; "Underwater Archaeology In Florida" (publications forthcoming).

Michael Wiesenbaker—"Aboriginal Settlement in the Apalachee Region of Florida" (work in progress).

Florida Institute of Technology

Robert A. Taylor (faculty)—"World War II in Fort Pierce" (published). "Florida's Civil War: An Anthology," with David J. Coles; "Lucius B. Northrop and the Second Seminole War," "The Union Army in Florida," "Fort Pierce's Naval Amphibious Training Base, 1943-1945," "Governor Dan McCarty" (works in progress).

Florida Museum of Natural History

Jerald T. Milanich—"Laboring in the Fields of the Lord, Southeastern Indians and Spanish Missions"; "Chiefdoms and Chieftaincy Among Native Societies in Sixteenth-Century Florida"; "Famous Florida Sites: Mount Royal and Crystal River" (publications completed). "'A Very Great Harvest of Souls'—Timucua Indians and the Impact of European Colonization"; "The Timucua Indians of Northern Florida and Southern Georgia"; "Weeden Island Cultures" (publications forthcoming).

Florida Southern College

Pat Anderson (faculty)—"Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall" (work in progress).

James M. Denham (faculty)—"Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives, the Florida Reminiscences of George Gillett Keen and Sarah Pamela Williams," with Canter Brown Jr. (publication forthcoming). "William Pope DuVal"; "A History of Florida Sheriffs," with William W. Rogers (works in progress).

Mary Flekke—"Frank Lloyd Wright: An Oral History" (work in progress).

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

Luis A. Jimenez (faculty)—"From Florida: Amelia del Castillo and the Cuban Diasporic Discourse" (work in progress).

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

Steven Rogers (alumni)—"Frank Lloyd Wright, Ludd Spivey, and Florida Southern College" (work in progress).

Florida State University

Philip Adkins—"Paper Industry Workers: Pensacola, Florida, 1940-1985" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Michelle Brown—"African American Property Owners in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

John Burnett—"The Life and Career of Methodist Bishop Edward J. Pendergrass, 1900-1995" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Robert Cassanello—"The Great Migration and Jacksonville, Florida, 1888-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Caroline S. Emmons—"Flame of Resistance: The NAACP in Florida, 1910-1960" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Sally Hadden (faculty)—"Slave Patrols in Nineteenth-Century Florida" (work in progress).

Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)—"The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida," with Joe Knetsch (work in progress).

Jessica Kimelman—"An Examination of Poor Whites and Crackers in Florida, 1840s-1940s" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Michael Makowsky—"The Origins and Development of Teacher Unions in Florida,1945- 1975: A Study in Organizational Politics" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Jan Matthews—"The African American Experience in Southwest Florida and the Origins of Dunbar High School in Fort Myers, 1841-1927" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

George Phillippy—"Florida's Cabinet System to 1930" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Cecil-Marie Sastre—"Picolata on the St. Johns: St. Augustine's River Outpost" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Sally Vickers—"Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's Congresswoman and Diplomat" (publication forthcoming).

Goucher College

Kenneth Breslauer—"Historic Preservation Strategies for Commercial Roadside Attractions in Florida" (M.A. thesis completed).

Gulf Coast Community College

R. Wayne Childers (faculty)—"Social Organization of Panzacola, 1698-1722," "Time Line: The Chronology of the Spanish Presence on the Gulf Coast, 1686-1722," both in collaboration with William S. Coker (completed). "Andrés de Arriola, Pensacola's Governor," in collaboration with William S. Coker (research in progress).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

Gregory Bush—"Community Oral History Projects in East Little Havana, South Miami, Homestead and Miami, Miami Arena Project" (work in progress).

Robert S. Carr—"Archaeological Excavation at the Mouth of the Miami River at Brickell Point" (work in progress).

Paul S. George—"Port of Miami"; "Belcher Family"; "Frohock Family"; "Miami Beach's Jewish Community" (works in progress for exhibition).

Arva Moore-Parks—"Dade County"; "Julia Tuttle"; "Mary Barr Munroe"; "Biography of George Merrick" (works in progress).

Rebecca A. Smith, Bill Brown, Gail Clement, and Ruthann Vogel—"Reclaiming the Everglades: A Special Compilation from Selected Collections in South Florida, 1884-1934" (digital imaging project in progress).

William M. Straight—"The History of Medicine and Disease in Florida" (work in progress).

Steve Stuempfle—"Documentation of Traditions in South Florida's Indo-Caribbean Community" (production of a multimedia exhibition of Santaria arts in Miami).

Historic Property Associates of St. Augustine

Sidney P. Johnston (senior historian)—"Bert Fish: Florida Lawyer and American Diplomat" (publication forthcoming).

Indian River Community College

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" (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" (works in progress).

Lehigh University

Jason Galbraith—"Islands in the Sea of Uniform Resistance: The Southern Republicans' Last Gasp" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)—"A History of Florida's Frontiers, c. 1500 to c. 1870" (work in progress).

Museum of Florida History

Elizabeth A. (Betsy) Crawford—"The Florida Home Front During the Civil War" (work in progress).

Clint Fountain and Erik Robinson—"Florida Furniture, Late 18th through Early 20th Centuries" (work in progress).

R. Bruce Graetz—"Florida's Civil War Flags" (work in progress).

Kenneth Horne—"Nineteenth Century Civil War Music and Musical Instruments"; "St. Johns Midden Material"; "Rock 'n Roll in Florida" (works in progress).

Charles R. McNeil—"Rock 'n Roll in Florida" (exhibit scheduled to open in late 2000).

Erik T. Robinson—"Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Art in and about Florida"; "Art of Florida Naturalists: Catesby, Audubon, and Beyond" (works in progress).

K. C. Smith—"Florida Maritime History" (work in progress).

Brent A. Tozzer—"Florida Folklife and Material Culture: Swamps and Wetlands, Their Traditional Crafts and Oral Literature" (work in progress).

Pensacola Junior College

Randall Broxton (faculty)—"The Waltons: Dorothy, George and Octavia (Walton LeVert)"; "Letters of Northwest Florida Pioneers"; "Escambia County Public Schools"; "History of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference" (works in progress).

Brian R. Rucker (faculty)—"Bad Day at Blackwater: Confederate Scorched Earth Policy in West Florida" (completed). "Indian Attack on the Choctawhatchee River, 1838"; "A Spy Report From Pensacola: Captain John Jones' Letter of July 4, 1814," (studies completed). "Creary/Simpson/Bushnell Civil War Letters from Pensacola"; "Floridale: The Rise and Fall of a Florida Boom Community," with Nathan F. Woolsey; "Antebellum Pensacola;" "History of Santa Rosa County" (works in progress).

Pinellas County Historical Museum

Donald J. Ivey—"Florida's Lieutenant Governors: A Story in Co-Dependency"; "John C. Blocher Jr., Pinellas County's First Official Historian"; "The Life and Times of George Washington Parkhill"; "'A Little Insignificant County': One Pioneer's View of the Proposal to Separate Pinellas from Hillsborough County in 1887"; "Robert H.M. Davidson: Florida's First Democratic Congressman After Reconstruction" (works in progress).

Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology

Antonio de la Cova (faculty)—"Colonel Henry Theodore Titus: A Florida Filibuster in Cuba, Bleeding Kansas and Nicaragua"; "José Marti's Fernandina Filibuster Fiasco of 1895" (works in progress).

Seminole Tribe of Florida, Department of Anthropology & Genealogy

Patricia R. Wickman (Director)—*The Tree That Bends: Discourse, Power, and the Survival of the Maskókî People*; *Seminole Colors: A Coloring and Learning Book for Young Minds* (published). "Osceola's Journey: The Seminoles Return to Charleston" (completed film documentary). "Seminole Lives: A Journey to the People and Their World, with Chief James Billie"; "Osceola: A Hero's Story," for young readers (publications forthcoming). "The Old Ways Will Survive: Oklahoma Seminole Traditions Remembered" (work in progress).

University of Aberdeen (Scotland)

David R. Steinheimer—"The Newspaper Press of the Deep South and the 1924 Presidential Election: Participation and Reaction" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of Alabama at Birmingham

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)—"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). "Black Baseball in Florida" (work in progress).

University of Central Florida

Christine Brock—"History of the Seventh Florida Infantry" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Eric Martin—"History of Christmas, Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Imar DaCunha—"Public Amusements in Orlando" (M.A. thesis in progress).

University of Florida

David E. Ashwell Jr.—"The Closing of Lincoln High and the Destruction of Historically Black Schools in the South at the Height of School Desegregation, 1968-1974" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

James C. Clark—"The 1950 Florida Senatorial Primary Between Claude Pepper and George Smathers" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

David R. Colburn (faculty)—"Study of Florida in the 21st Century," with Lance deHaven- Smith (publication forthcoming). "A History of the Rosewood Episode of 1923," with Maxine Jones, Larry Rivers and Thomas Dye (work in progress).

David P. McCally—"The Everglades: An Environmental History" (published).

Susan R. Parker—"The Second Century of Settlement in Spanish St. Augustine, 1670-1763" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

M. David Tegeder—"'Prisoners of the Pines': Forced Labor in Florida/Georgia Turpentine Industry" (work in progress).

University of South Florida

Kevin Archer (faculty)—"The New Town of Celebration" (work in progress).

Richard Blackmon—"History of the Florida Railroad Company" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Paul Dosal (faculty)—"A History of Tampa's Cuban Community" (work in progress).

Pam Iorio—"A History of Tampa's White Municipal Party" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Robert Ingalls (faculty)—"Tampa's Red Scare" (work in progress).

R. E. Lee Irby—"Razing Gerentopolis: Green Benches, Trailer Trash and Old People in St. Petersburg, 1910-1970" (M.A. thesis completed).

Peter Klingman (faculty)—"Tampa Bay Politics"; "History of the University of South Florida" (works in progress).

Gary Mormino (faculty)—"The Struggle for Paradise: A Social History of Florida"; "Florida and World War II" (works in progress).

Patrick Riordan (faculty)—"The Formation of Seminole Identity"; "Native American History in the Colonial Lower South" (works in progress).

Brent Weisman (faculty)—"Historical Archaeology of Tampa's Central Avenue Community"; "Historical Archaeology of Indian Key" (works in progress).

Nancy White (faculty)—"Early Women Archaeologists in Florida"; "Archaeology of Two Civil War Forts in the Apalachicola Valley" (works in progress).

Kevin Yelvington (faculty)—"Whose History? Museums and the Struggles Over Ethnicity and Representation in the Sunbelt" (work in progress).

University of Virginia

Joseph Guttman—"A Biography of Claude Pepper, Pre-1950" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of West Florida

William S. Coker (emeritus faculty)— "Population/Demography of Panzacola, 1698-1719;" "Time Line: The Chronology of the Spanish Presence on the Gulf Coast, 1686-1722," with Wayne Childers (manuscripts completed). "The Settlement of the Presidio Santa Maria de Galve, 1685-1698"; "The Social Organization of Panzacola, 1698-1722," with Wayne Childers; "Spanish Maps of Colonial Florida" (works in progress).

Independent Scholars, Researchers, Consultants, and Local Historians

John Bell—"History of the Eighth Florida Volunteer Infantry Regiment" (work in progress).

Ronald J. Benice—"Florida's First Civil War Currency: 1861 Essays" (publication forthcoming).

Canter Brown Jr.—"Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives: The Florida Reminiscences of George Gillett Keen and Sarah Pamela Williams," with James M. Denham; "'Laborers in the Vineyard': The Beginnings of the A. M. E. Church in Florida," with Larry E. Rivers; "Genealogical Records of the African American Pioneers of Tampa and Hillsborough County" (publications forthcoming). "Biography of John J. Dickison," with David J. Coles; "The Beginnings of the A. M. E. Zion Church in Florida," with Larry E. Rivers; "Biography of William H. Kendrick"; "Biographical Directory of the Florida Legislature, 1821-1920" (works in progress).

Ernest F. Dibble—"Joseph M. White: Florida's Anti-Jacksonian" (completed manuscript). "Religion on the Florida Territorial Frontier" (work in progress).

Christopher A. P. Fitts—"Florida Towers" (publication forthcoming).

Neil E. Hurley—"Lighthouses of Egmont Key," in collaboration with Geoffrey Mohlman (publication forthcoming). "Florida Lighthouse History" (work in progress).

Steven B. Rogers—"Child of the Sun: The Frank Lloyd Wright Campus at Florida Southern College" (work in progress).

Sandra Thurlow—"Stuart on the St. Lucie" (work in progress).

Ed Vosatka—"Union Cypress Railway: Steam Logging on Florida's Future Space Coast, 1911-1933" (work in progress).

History News

Conferences

"Florida 2000: Past, Present and Future." The annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held May 18-20, 2000 at the Pensacola Grand Hotel in Pensacola. For conference information, contact Nick Wynne at <wynne@metrolink.net>.

"Latin America Encounters the 21st Century." The forty-seventh annual SECOLAS conference will meet March 9-11, 2000 in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. For information, contact James D. Henderson at (843) 349-2621 or by email at <henderj@coastal.edu>.

"W. E. B. Dubois, Race and the New Millennium: A Symposium Celebrating the Centennial Publication of *The Souls of Black Folk.*" A symposium on Dubois's theories of race, especially those elaborated in his most prominent work, and their applicability to race relations in the new millennium will be held March 23-25, 2000, at Mercer University in Macon, Georgia. For more information, contact Chester J. Fontenot at (912) 301-2345.

Conference on the South. The sixth annual Conference on the South will deal with all aspects of Southern history and will be held April 6-8, 2000 at the Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina. For details, contact W.B. Moore at (843) 953-5073 or by email at <Bo.Moore@Citadel.edu>.

Exhibits and Tours

"John F. Kennedy: The Exhibition." The Florida International Museum in St. Petersburg is hosting this traveling exhibit through May 29, 2000. For more information, call (877)535-7469 or visit the

museum website at <http://floridamuseum.org>. Also see the exhibition review in this issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Public Lectures

Florida Lecture Series. As part of the Florida Lecture Series, on March 16, 2000, Emiliano José Salcines, justice of the District Court of Appeal of Florida, will examine the topic of "José Marti, Tampa, and the Spanish-American War in Florida." The lectures are sponsored by Florida Southern College in Lakeland. For more information, contact James M. Denham at (863) 680-4312.

Editor's Notes

The production of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is not possible without the assistance of many people who seldom receive recognition for their invested time and energy. Referees read every submission, consider the quality of research and writing, and provide readers' reports to aid the editor and authors. A panel of judges invest their time and expertise in determining the annual winner of the Arthur W. Thompson Award for the *Quarterly*'s best article. Other individuals volunteer their research, editorial, and secretarial skills toward the production of the *Quarterly*. In 1999, especially during the transfer of editorship, it was the dedication of these people—Joe Akerman, Raymond O. Arsenault, Ellen Babb, Judith Beale, Jean G. Bryant, Amy Turner Bushnell, William S. Coker, James B. Crooks, James G. Cusick, Imar DaCunha, Tracy Danese, Paul J. Dosal, Paul S. George, Maxine D. Jones, Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Alex Lichtenstein, John K. Mahon, Raymond A. Mohl, Gary R. Mormino, Christine Pearsons, Julian Pleasants, Nancy Rauscher, William W. Rogers, Brian R. Rucker, Jerrell H. Shofner, Robert Snyder, and Joseph A. Tomberlin—that provided continuity and assured quality publications. We are most grateful for their contributions.

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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Founded in St. Augustine in 1856, the Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in Florida and serves as the only statewide historical society. The Society is dedicated to the preservation of Florida's past through the collection, archival maintenance, and publication of historical documents and photographs; to scholarly research and publication through the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and a variety of awards for the researching and publishing of Florida history; and to public history, historic preservation, and youth education through *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, the Society's annual meeting, awards recognizing the teaching of Florida history, and the Printe Shoppe—a book and gift store offering over five hundred texts in Florida history.

The Society's official headquarters are located in Historic Roesch House, an 1890s frame vernacular house at 1320 Highland Ave., Melbourne, FL 32935; (407) 254-9855. The Society's research collections—housing over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of Floridiana, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy—is located in the Tebeau-Field Library of Florida History, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922. Further information about the Florida Historical Society may be found on the internet at <http://www.florida-historical-soc.org>.

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

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