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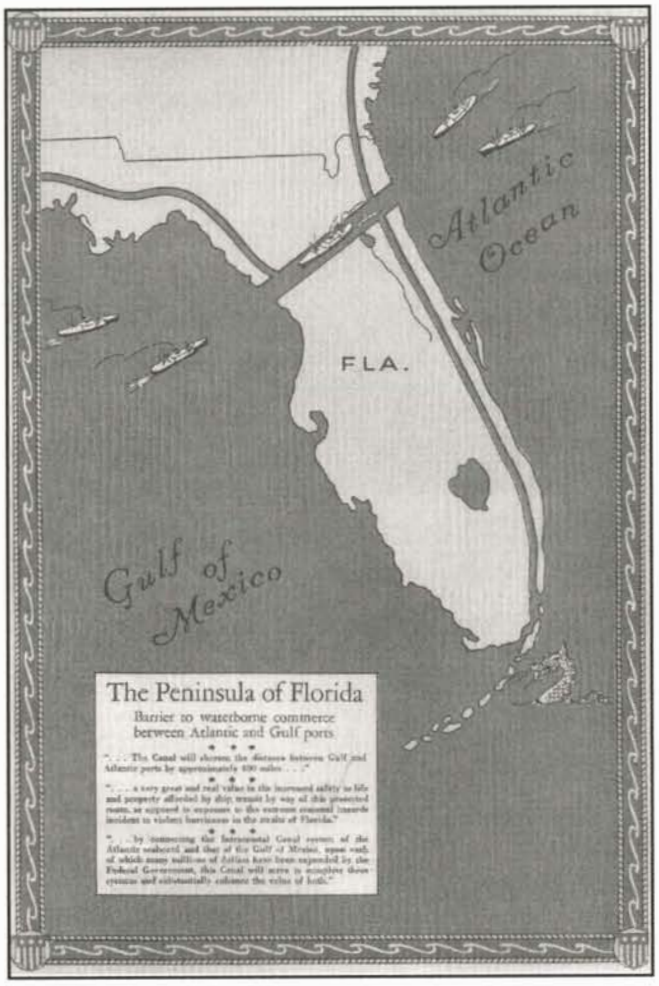

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Book Reviews

The Cross-Florida Canal and the Politics of Interest-Group Democracy

by Wayne Flynt

Polluted water. Hurricanes. Ship-wrecks. Drowning sailors. Land developers. Cheap transportation. U.S. presidents willing to invest federal funds in order to court Florida voters. Presidential advisors who attempt to clear the minefields of conflicting local interests in order to implement presidential policy. Public expectation that powerful congressional leaders will bring home the bacon. The ever escalating tension between economic developers/civic boosters on one hand and environmentalists on the other. Typical Florida boondoggles and screwups. If the cast of characters and issues sounds familiar, it is because few patterns of human conduct are entirely new, nor are our current debates entirely foreign to our collective history.

I could begin this story in the sixteenth, nineteenth, or twentieth centuries. Each point of origin conveys its own context and meaning. The argument for the sixteenth century is in some ways the simplest and purest. In the 1570s Pedro Menendez de Aviles, designated "Captain General of the West" by Spanish King Phillip II, thought a canal from the Gulf to the Atlantic would assist Spain's conquest of America. So in its earliest manifestation, the dream of a cross-Florida canal was a geo-strategic effort conceived amidst great power rivalries.

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Two and a half centuries later, the first Florida territorial governments considered canals the best solution to inland transportation problems. Navigating the Florida Straits was no simple matter. Sudden storms, barrier islands, reefs, and pirates played havoc with maritime routes along the Gulf of Mexico, in the waters off Cuba, and up the Atlantic coast. In 1822 Secretary of War John C. Calhoun dispatched army engineers to study the possibilities of building a canal between the Saint Marys and Suwannee Rivers. Congress authorized such a survey in March 1826, and Brigadier General Simon Bernard (once Napoleon's principal military engineer) completed the project in 1829. He concluded that the idea was flawed because Florida's west coast had no deep water harbor between Tampa and Apalachee Bay. His report did suggest an alternative route from the Saint Johns River via Black Creek to the Santa Fe, thence to St. Marks. This vision of a cross-Florida canal captured the imagination of prominent planters, businessmen, and politicians. In fact, it may have been the first sustained development scheme in Florida history, enlisting many of the state's movers and shakers on various canal boards. At a cost of only $10,400 for the survey, Congress survived this first contagion of canal fever on the cheap, which was a good thing since railroad mania soon eclipsed canal building as the crusade du jour.[1]

Over the next century, the envisioned route for a cross-Florida canal remained a land of primitive grandeur, Florida as the Seminoles had first beheld it. Northerners also came to treasure the terrain between the St. Johns and Ocklawaha Rivers as a welcome relief from northeastern congestion and rapacious development. A Vermonter, Hubbard Hart, came South before the Civil War and following the conflict, was instrumental in developing tourism on the majestic, meandering, tree-canopied Ocklawaha (1870s-1920s). Boats transported northern tourists as well as commerce and rafts of cypress logs across these remote inland waters. In 1878 entrepreneur Hullam Jones built a glass viewing box on the bottom of a dugout canoe and allowed Ocklawaha tourists to glide over the clear waters of Silver Springs located at the end of the river.

At first, natural beauty was its own reward. But the emergence of a Barnum and Bailey world required something perpetually new. And the zany 1920s required ever greater exertions to maintain

1. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), pp. 34-38, 142.

interest in canal country. Silver Springs added to its glass-bottomed boats a man who milked rattlesnakes, plus monkeys, a trolley, and a deer ranch which featured a section inexplicably called "Santa's South Pole." Johnny Weismuller made Tarzan movies, and in time pretty girls in swimsuits skied across the pristine waters of the Spring. Palatka, an old St. Johns River town, could not be content with one title. So claimed three: the "Gem City of the St. Johns"; the "Bass Capital of the World"; and the "Official Mural City of North East Florida" (actually there wasn't much competition for the latter title).

Yankeetown on the western end of the future canal began with the immigration of folks from Indiana who named their settlement Knotts, after themselves. But the local mail carrier, an unreconstructed Confederate still smarting over the outcome of the Civil War, preferred to designate the place by the origin of the newcomers rather than by their family name, insisting on calling it Yankeetown. The Hoosiers retaliated later by calling one of the town's subdivisions "crackertown."

Inglis, at the far Gulf end of the canal route on State Road 40, later became famous when Elvis Presley made a movie in the vicinity. A mayor some years afterwards also banned Satan from the city limits, although it is uncertain whether or not the presence of Satan was a residual effect of the hip-twisting popular music icon. Enshrining both the celluloid dreams of Hollywood and the enduring vision of cross-Florida canal enthusiasts, a stretch of State Road 40 was named "Follow That Dream Parkway."[2]

If all this sounds a bit theatrical, remember that marketing Florida had become the consuming passion of many boosters by the 1920s. The canal idea was resurrected in the frenzied context of George Merrick, who built Coral Gables and the American Riviera, where real estate agents promoted "Manhattan Estates" near "the prosperous and fast-growing city of Nettie," which turned out for buyers wary enough to investigate before signing a check to be an abandoned turpentine camp.

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2. For a clever spoof of "canal land" U.S.A., see Diane Roberts, "A boondoggle's wake," *The St. Petersburg Times*, January 11, 2004. For excellent studies of the canal, see Sally Rowe Middleton, "Cutting Through Paradise: A Political History of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal," Ph.D. dissertation, Florida International University, 2001; and the forthcoming book from the University of Florida Press by Steven Noll and David Tegeder, *Ditch of Dreams: The Cross-Florida Barge Canal and the Fight for Florida's Future.*

As marketing abuses became better known in the Northeast, an active anti-Florida press developed, and Gov. John W. Martin led a contingent of state business leaders to New York City's Waldorf Astoria Hotel in 1926 for a "Truth About Florida" meeting.

Unfortunately, not all the anti-Florida stories were untruthful. Overbuilt, underfunded, over-promoted, and uncritical, the "Florida boom" collapsed in 1926 like the proverbial stack of cards. During July 1926, 117 banks in Florida and Georgia failed; 150 closed their doors by end of year. Between 1926 and 1929 Florida bank assets declined by sixty percent. The banking collapse devastated the state's economy and plunged Florida into depression.

As if in divine retribution for the prefabrication, hyperbole, exaggeration, and outright lies of its promoters, a fierce hurricane struck Miami on September 19, 1926 (the first major direct hit on the peninsula since 1910). What warnings newcomers received, they largely ignored, with the result that nearly 400 died, 6,300 were injured, and nearly 18,000 families lost their homes. Two years later, on the night of September 16, another hurricane with gusts up to 130 miles an hour plowed into Palm Beach before moving inland, killing as many as 3,000 mainly black workers engaged in seasonal labor along Lake Okeechobee (an event that became the climactic setting for Zora Neale Hurston's searing novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*). By November 1933, 85,000 Floridians were hunting work.[3]

If you travel to Hyde Park, New York, you can read about those years that the locusts claimed in the clergy files at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Responding to a September 1935 invitation from the president asking them to describe conditions in Florida at the time, ministers related a tale of human tragedy and woe that was Jobian in scale. The pastor of Live Oak Presbyterian Church described the terrible suffering among Suwannee County sharecroppers. A Methodist minister in Madison, whose circuit consisted mainly of poor people, complained that many of the hardest hit could obtain no help from New Deal agencies. Many clergymen praised the Townsend Plan for old age pensions while criticizing the New Deal from left of center, arguing that Roosevelt had done little to mitigate the effects of the Depression.[4]

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3. Tebeau, pp. 386-388.
4. Rev. Laurence Williams to FDR, October 21, 1935; Rev. D.L. Jones to FDR, October 9, 1935; Box 6, PPF 21A, Florida, Clergy Letters, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Archives, Hyde Park, New York. These are represen-

Stung by such criticisms and fearing a full scale revolt against him in the fall of 1936 led by Louisiana's demagogic U.S. Senator Huey Long, Roosevelt scurried to shore up his left flank.

Implementing the so-called Second New Deal, Roosevelt moved quickly toward three main goals: improved economic opportunity through the better use of national resources; security against unemployment, old age, illness, and dependency; and slum clearance and improved housing. A flurry of New Deal legislation gave shape to these objectives, including transformation of the Civil Works Emergency Relief Act into the Works Progress Administration (WPA).

In Florida's senior U.S. Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, Roosevelt found a faithful ally to implement his agenda. Having always tacked his sails to the prevailing winds of Florida politics, Fletcher had first risen to prominence as part of Napoleon Bonaparte Broward's progressive Democratic faction in Jacksonville. But after his election to the U.S. Senate in 1908, he followed Florida's political currents to the right during the teens and early 1920s. Then the state's economic collapse sent him moving back in the direction of his origins. Roosevelt carefully cultivated Fletcher in the runup to the 1932 presidential election, with the result that Fletcher broke with conservative Florida Democrats desperately seeking an alternative to the liberal New York governor. The newly elected president summoned Fletcher to a conference in January 1933 and persuaded him to forego the chairmanship of the Senate Commerce Committee in favor of a similar post as head of the powerful Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Already planning an assault on Wall Street and America's banking industry that would eventuate in the most sweeping financial reforms in U.S. history — the Banking Act of 1933, the Securities Act of 1934 ("Truth in Securities" Act); the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 ("Fletcher-Rayburn Act"); the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935; the Banking Act of 1935 — Roosevelt needed the services of the shrewd, meticulous Floridian in order to outmaneuver conservative Virginia Senator Carter Glass and insure a majority on the committee favorable to the president.

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tative of dozens of other letters (see especially letters critical of the New Deal for doing too little from Rev. H.W. Blackshear of Ocala, October 19, 1935; Rev. T.O. Barber of Fletcher, October 9, 1935; Rev. W.C. Sale of Jacksonville, September 27, 1935; Rev. L.R. Anderson of Crystal River, October 7, 1935; Rev. L.M. Reid of Waukeenah, September 30, 1935; *op.cit.*)

If Fletcher had something the president needed, the president was in a position to reciprocate. Through the WPA and other relief agencies, Roosevelt could put tens of thousands of Floridians to work. And Fletcher had just the project in mind on which to employ them.

Since early in his senatorial career, Fletcher had been a proponent of a cross-Florida ship canal. Jacksonville area businessmen, farmers, and civic boosters had long claimed that water transportation permitted cheaper movement of projects than did monopolistic railroads. The Mississippi to Atlantic Inland Waterway Association had met at Columbus, Georgia in 1908, the year Fletcher was elected to the senate. Its leaders planned an inland route from the Mississippi River to the mouth of the Appalachicola River, thence east across the peninsula to Jacksonville. Delegates elected Fletcher president of the Association, and he responded to the honor with a substantial donation to the cause. Fletcher envisioned the canal as a way to shave 1,000 miles off U.S.-Latin American trade routes, opening lucrative markets by reducing transportation costs.[5] A 107 mile long, 30 foot deep ship canal for ocean-going vessels would make Ocala the largest inland port in America. The canal he envisioned would be twice as large as the Suez and four times larger than the Panama Canal.

During his long career, no U.S. senator was more effective in passing local river and harbor bills than Fletcher. Florida possessed the nation's longest coast line, and most of its population lived in Atlantic or Gulf port cities or along inland rivers. Fletcher thoroughly understood the possibilities that this fortuitous geography afforded him. During the Sixty-Second Congress, he guided through two million dollars for Florida projects; the March 1913 Rivers and Harbors Bill contained $800,000 for work on the St. Johns, Indian, Crystal, Withlacoochee, Caloosahatchee, and Boca Grande Rivers, as well as expenditures for harbors in Key West, Sarasota, and Tampa. Before facing reelection in 1914, Fletcher won an appropriation of $730,000 for a trans-Florida canal.[6]

Shortly after FDR took office in March 1933, water projects also played a pivotal role in Florida's bitter 1934 senatorial primary

5. D.U. Fletcher to N.B. Broward, September 14, 1909; pamphlet in Napoleon B. Broward Papers, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.
6. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 3, 1913.

between challenger Claude Pepper and incumbent Park Trammell. Jacksonville's boosters pushed both aspirants to endorse the cross-Florida canal. When Trammell hesitated, they endorsed Pepper. Fletcher, who never cared much for Trammell personally or worked closely with him in the senate, assured Pepper of his neutrality in the race, assurance that Pepper used to good effect in order to undermine Trammell. So concerned did Trammell's organized labor backers become that they lobbied Fletcher furiously to endorse his junior colleague. Fletcher reluctantly responded with an innocuous endorsement hedged with qualifications and urging Florida voters to decide for themselves whom to support.[7] However tepid and unenthusiastic his endorsement, it probably made the difference in Trammell's paper-thin 4,000 vote victory margin.

Obsessed with putting people to work, Fletcher countered a gradual reduction in New Deal relief jobs by proposing a quasi-permanent Public Works Administration funded for five years at half-a-billion dollars, with the cross-Florida canal a major beneficiary of this federal largesse.

By 1933 the government had conducted no less than 28 engineering surveys of possible routes. But the Public Works Administration had rejected the proposed cost of the canal, which engineers estimated at $208 million. Fletcher and his allies persuaded FDR to conduct one additional survey which miraculously reduced the estimated cost to a manageable $146 million.[8]

If the first vision of a canal was born in global geo-political power struggles, the second in concern for the safety of mariners, ships, and their cargoes, and the third in civic boosterism /economic development, this newest attempt mainly involved Depression-era job creation. Ironically, the fateful decision finally to launch the canal project occurred at a time when train and truck transportation had largely eclipsed maritime commerce.

The president's decision, popular as it was with Fletcher and north Florida canal proponents, met withering criticism in both populous south Florida and Washington, D.C. The U.S. Geological Survey reported that a sea-level canal would create serious prob-

7. Eli Futch to Joe, June 11, 1934; R.L. Glenn to Duncan U. Fletcher, June 11, 1934, Park Trammell Papers, P.K. Yonge Library, *op.cit.*
8. Benjamin F. Rogers, "The Florida Ship Canal Project," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (July 1957), 14-23.

lems for south Florida's fresh water supply by cutting through the southern sloping aquifers. In late August, 1935, the Associated Citrus Growers and Shippers condemned the project. Roosevelt at first dismissed these objections and under prodding from Fletcher appropriated five million dollars of federal relief funds on August 30 to begin digging. Enthusiastic north Florida residents credited Fletcher with success when excavation began that September. Within months, an army of 6,000 workers assaulted the land, knocking down ancient live oaks, ripping out palmetto, displacing 16,000 cubic yards of soil, and clearing 4,000 acres.

Unfortunately for Fletcher, the state's most formidable canal foe resided in the U.S. Capital. Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes was a Pennsylvania-born progressive Republican who had entered national politics as a disciple of Theodore Roosevelt and the environmental-friendly Bull Moose Party. Disillusioned by the Republican administrations of the 1920s, Ickes cast his lot with FDR in 1932. During his term of office, Ickes not only sided frequently with environmentalists within Interior, he also filled one hundred volumes of closely typed copy — a total of approximately six million words — of a truly secret diary. Few knew of its existence and virtually no one saw other than selected entries. The diaries furnish an unparalleled, uncensored account of interior matters and debates within the New Deal comparable to a paper version of the infamous Nixon audio tapes.

One major index entry in the published diaries concerns the "trans-Florida canal." The first entry occurred on December 19, 1935, three and a half months after Roosevelt released relief money to begin construction. Convinced that Congress would make no additional significant appropriations to the WPA, Ickes informed the president that his greatest anxiety about relief projects concerned the Florida canal. Ickes noted in his diary that for the first time Roosevelt carefully listened to his objections, perhaps signaling that the president was having second thoughts. Ickes repeated the opposition of geologists that the canal might contaminate the state's fresh water supply. At the conclusion of the meeting, the president vowed to transfer the entire matter to Congress and let that body make the decision and take the heat.[9]

9. Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The First Thousand Days, 1933-1936* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), pp. 488-489.

On a visit to Miami a month later, Ickes met with the owner of the *Miami Herald* who lobbied against the canal and announced that he planned to take his case to Washington. Conveying to Ickes that Floridians south of the canal bitterly opposed the project, he prodded the secretary to reveal that though he could not publicly oppose the canal because of Roosevelt's position, he privately agreed entirely with opponents. Another south Florida Democrat confided to New Deal administrator Steve Early that local party stalwarts were "sore as boiled owls."[10]

Three days later back in the capital, Ickes was cornered by Roosevelt about cost overruns on relief projects. Ickes confided that he always kept his "fingers crossed with respect to ...Army engineers" estimates, adding that he particularly doubted their computations on the Florida canal, which he described as "cockeyed."[11]

On March 3, 1936, the president related to Ickes a "brainstorm" that he had worked out as a way to "let go of the bear's tail." Ickes congratulated Roosevelt on finally recognizing that the ship canal was a "bear's tail" and that he was willing to let it go. But the president clarified that he planned to build a barge canal with locks over the highest section of land that would otherwise require a deep cut. A disappointed Ickes cautioned the president not to commit to even this modification. Instead the president should suggest that building locks was merely a possibility based upon "a careful study of its geologic and economic effects." Ickes concluded his diary entries about the canal with a cryptic postscript: "This is certainly one bad mess that the President rushed into over my protests."[12]

The president, following up on his "brainstorm," wrote Fletcher that future action on the canal would have to originate in Congress. The senator tried unsuccessfully to reverse Roosevelt's decision or at least win his active support for a congressional appropriation. In February he warned that it would take Roosevelt's "every effort" to move the bill through Congress and predicted that without additional funds, 800 to 1,000 men would be laid off. Powerful Jacksonville Democrats contested the arguments of their south Florida counterparts, warning of a "very bad political effect"

10. *Ibid.*, p. 502; Dudley V. Haddock to Steve Early, February 14, 1936, OF 300, Roosevelt Papers.
11. Ickes, p. 514.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 541.

if the president deserted the canal project. Rumors even circulated in Florida that the president refused to confer with Fletcher about the canal. Under pressure from north Floridians, Fletcher, and even the liberal *New Republic*, which had endorsed the canal, Roosevelt wavered, allocating an additional $200,000 from relief funds to extend the project temporarily. But he vowed to end canal work in the absence of congressional appropriations.[13]

Fletcher lumped a $29 million canal appropriation with four other scattered waterway projects designed to cobble together a package with maximum political leverage. To make the case even stronger, he tied the package to the War Department's appropriations bill. Roosevelt — pressured on one side by Fletcher, north Florida Democrats, and Fletcher's southern congressional allies, and on the other side by Ickes, congressional Republicans, and south Florida Democrats — opted for caution. Refusing to intervene either way with proceedings, Roosevelt watched the subcommittee reject the canal bill by a 6 to 5 vote. Fletcher took his case to the full committee where he lost 12 to 11. Before the senate, the bill failed 39 to 34. Upon reconsideration, the bill lost again, 36 to 35 when critically ill Park Trammell could not attend (but for his 4,000 vote loss in 1934, Claude Pepper would no doubt have furnished the tying vote, which vice president John Nance Gardner probably would have broken in favor of the bill). Roosevelt, under unrelenting pressure from Fletcher, finally intervened in late May, pushing the measure through the senate 35 to 30.[14]

Neither Fletcher nor Trammell lived to see the canal project collapse. Exhausted by two years of nearly constant banking committee hearings, added to the enervating efforts necessary to keep the canal alive, Fletcher died of a heart attack on June 17, 1936, a month and nine days after the death of his colleague Park Trammell. The following day, June 18, the House of Representatives paid mock homage to the Florida senators by

13. *Memorandum*, January 1, 1936, PPF 1358, in Roosevelt Papers; Duncan U. Fletcher to Franklin D. Roosevelt, February 19, 1936 and December 23, 1935; *Memorandum* to James Farley from Harllee Branch, March 5, 1936, OF 635, in Roosevelt Papers; Harry Hopkins to Franklin D. Roosevelt, January 31, 1936; *Memorandum* for James A. Farley, March 20, 1936, OF 635, in Roosevelt Papers.
14. Duncan U. Fletcher to Franklin D. Roosevelt, February 27, 1936, OF 635; *Memorandum* from Marvin H. McIntyre, February 10, 1936, OF 635; in Roosevelt Papers.

killing the ship canal on a vote of 108 to 62. When the final meager relief funds were expended, work on the canal ceased.

In the final political analysis, job creation during the nation's worst depression served the canal's friends little better than had any of the earlier defenses of it. The powerful intervention of Senator Fletcher moved the canal further than ever before, but Ickes' opposition, Roosevelt's ambivalence, and the senator's mortality combined to defeat the effort. The decade of the 1930s ended as it had begun, with quiet tranquility along what was left of the pristine Ocklawaha.

Like the legendary phoenix, however, the canal refused to stay dead. In fact, it proved to have more lives — and its defenders more rationales — than a Jacksonville alley cat on steroids.

During the early to mid 1930s, three powerful elements had conspired to drive the canal forward: the predominant economic interests of some of the state's most powerful leaders; an influential politician with access to resources; and a responsive national administration. After 1936, this constellation of interests dissipated. Fletcher died. South Florida outstripped north Florida in population, economic clout, and political influence; after 1936 conservative Democrats allied with Republicans to checkmate the New Deal. Influential Michigan Republican Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg became an effective critic of New Deal waste and environmental destruction. In Florida, racial change during the 1960s and 1970s further divided the Democratic party and opened the way to major gains by Republicans. Whereas the Democratic party earlier had waged intramural war over the canal based on regional and economic differences, Republicans were free to troll in the vote-rich waters for new targets of opportunity upset by both Democratic positions on the canal: national party foot-dragging on one side and local environmental opposition on the other.

The beginning of the Second World War brought a brief renewal of interest in the canal, this time because of military and strategic concerns. German U-boats prowled Gulf and Atlantic waters searching for easy maritime targets. So in July 1942 Congress authorized construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, though it appropriated no money to implement the project. A proposal to use locks and dams to prevent salt contamination of the water supply mitigated some south Florida opposition, but by the end of the war, the project remained pretty much where it had been at the end of 1936: unfunded and generally forgotten.

The cold war of the 1950s and 1960s with consequent development of the space program and its launching facilities at Cape Canaveral provided yet another rationale for canal construction. Rocket engine components departed Huntsville on barges that moved along the Tennessee River system to the Ohio, down the Mississippi to the Gulf, thence along the Gulf coast and around the Florida peninsula to the launch site. A cross-Florida canal could reduce the journey by hundreds of miles. By the 1960s, a friendly Democratic administration preoccupied with Florida's pivotal geographical position vis-a-vis Cuba occupied the White House. Once more a powerful Florida Democratic senator held court in Washington. President John F. Kennedy struck a deal with Senator George A. Smathers to renew canal construction. Privately, Kennedy considered the canal a piece of pork dangled before powerful Florida Democrats. Publicly he defended the project as a boost to the state's economy and the nation's defense.[15]

Problem was the Army Corps of Engineers' calculations challenged the canal's economic feasibility. This minor hitch was quickly overcome by yet another Corps recalculation which added the benefit of "land enhancement" to the economic value of the canal.[16]

With the problem of economic feasibility thus resolved, President Lyndon B. Johnson traveled to Palatka for the second groundbreaking in 1964. This one went better than the first had in 1935. A special remote hookup had allowed Roosevelt to explode the first charge of dynamite at the construction site. But Roosevelt hit the button prematurely, detonating the deafening explosion during a speech by the canal's most enthusiastic proponent. LBJ took no chances of a repeat, firing the charge on site and on cue (although preparations for the blast turned into theater when workers packed the explosion site with enough peat moss to create a satisfying spectacle for onlookers).

After a 30-year hiatus, contractors were now back at work creating mountainous piles of dirt as new machines called crusher-crawlers flattened thousands of cypress trees along the Ocklawaha. The new Rodman Dam slowly backed up the river into a sixteen mile long lake.

15. Craig Pittman, "Digging Ourselves into a Hole," St. Petersburg Times, October 31, 1999.
16. *Ibid.*

Destiny finally seemed to favor the builders, boosters, developers, power brokers, and pro-canal politicians. That is until the appearance of Marjorie Harris Carr, a housewife, environmental activist, and wife of field biologist Archie Carr of the University of Florida. Carr described her first trip on the Ocklawaha as a "dream-like" journey down a "canopy river," "spring-fed and swift." "Here, by God," she vowed later, "was a piece of Florida, a lovely natural area right in my back yard, that was being threatened for no good reason."[17]

In some respects Carr's standing up that day was as significant to Florida's modern environmental movement as Rosa Parks' sitting down on a Montgomery bus was to Alabama's modern Civil Rights Movement. Mobilized by Carr, environmental groups began to challenge canal construction. At first sneered at, snubbed, and largely ignored by state and federal officials, who accused them of blocking Florida's economic development for the sake of worthless scrub and palmetto, they turned to the courts. In 1969 the Environmental Defense Fund joined others in filing suit in the U.S. Court for the District of Columbia seeking an injunction against construction of the canal. On January 15, 1971, the District Court granted a preliminary injunction halting further construction. Four days later, President Richard M. Nixon signed an executive order suspending further work on the barge canal, effectively ending the project.

This last phase in the slow demise of the canal involved a Nixonian equivalent to Harold Ickes. Russell E. Train, a presidential aide, examined a number of Corps of Engineers projects and found many of them flawed by high construction costs and adverse environmental effects. As a result, Train recommended freezing funding for the canal. The Corps and the entire Florida congressional delegation opposed Train's recommendation.

But Republican Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr. supported Train. Engaged in nearly daily battles with his all-Democratic cabinet and a majority Democratic legislature, Kirk used unconventional strategy to keep his opponents off balance.[18] One example of his maverick streak involved his environmental interests. Although from Jacksonville, he connected not to that city's historic interest groups that favored the canal but to the city's growing conservatism, both

17. *Ibid.*
18. Tebeau, p. 447.

racial and political, in which ideology trumped pork. Whether opportunistically sensing the growing grassroots support for Marjorie Carr and her environmental crusade, or a convert to it himself, Kirk made clear to President Nixon how he felt about the canal. Among Democrats, Lawton M. Chiles, Jr. spread discontent with the canal during his 1970 senatorial walking tour across Florida.

Meanwhile, Marjorie Carr's relentless campaign gained traction. The same year that Kirk and Chiles mobilized opposition among Florida voters, *Reader's Digest* reached a broader audience with a negative essay about the canal. Even *Sports Illustrated* published an article trashing the project.

Perhaps President Nixon should be given no more credit for opposition to the canal than FDR should be given blame for his support. As with Roosevelt, Nixon's position reflected more concern about the convoluted terrain of American politics than the undulating course of the Ocklawaha. Four months after his passionate defense of Florida's "natural treasure" (the Ocklawaha, which, incidentally, was misspelled in his statement), Nixon dedicated the Tenn-Tom Canal, on the Tombigbee River between Alabama and Mississippi.[19] That project, sponsored by Alabama Congressman Tom Bevill, the pork king of another era of American politics and a powerful committee chairman of a still Democratic House of Representatives, involved many of the same issues as the Florida canal, cost much more to build than Corps of Engineer estimates, and never realized the predicted traffic or revenue.

When halted, the trans-Florida canal was one-third complete and had cost taxpayers $74 million.

In May 1990 U.S. Senators Bob Graham and Connie Mack — one a Democrat, the other a Republican — filed a bill providing for a 300 yard wide greenway corridor to be maintained along the former barge route. Demonstrating the shifting sands of maritime politics, the Florida congressional delegation this time unanimously endorsed the bill. The Florida legislature confirmed this Congressional decision on May 31 of that year. On November 28 President George Bush signed a law deauthorizing the cross-Florida canal and changing the nature of the now half-century-long project

19. For Nixon's cancellation statement, see "Statement About Halting Construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal," January 19, 1971, The American Presidency Project.

to recreation and conservation. Florida's governor concurred on January 22, 1991. To complete the ironic transformation of the "Big Ditch," the Cross Florida Greenway was officially renamed the Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway in 1998 in honor of the woman who spent much of her adult life opposing the canal. She did not live to receive the accolades for her efforts. Carr died one year before the rechristening of the route.[20] The 107 mile long pristine greenway now welcomes hikers, bikers, bird watchers, fishermen, and other nature enthusiasts.

So, what lessons can we learn from this instructive Florida story? In democratic America, the fate of mountains, rivers, forests, deltas, swamplands, bird and fish species, pristine coastlines and coral reefs, prized fishing grounds and rich animal habitat, all reside in democratic debate and are often determined by the quality of leadership within each interest group. The public need not concede the issue of natural domain exclusively to people who own the land and seek the highest profit from it, or the right of one special interest group against another to decide the use of national resources for generations still unborn.

Perhaps it would be better if there were some intrinsic, universally recognized value to the features of the natural world. But until such value can be agreed upon, we are relegated to deciding these issues within the messy, conflicted, flawed world of politics. Within that world, the fate of Florida's "big ditch" is one of the environmental movement's most instructive sagas.

Oh, one final word. Never think for a moment that politicians, corporate executives, and powerful special interests always win such contentious battles. It would be simplistic to conclude that the fate of the cross-Florida canal was ultimately determined by Marjorie Harris Carr. But if not for her, the outcome would certainly have been measurably different. Her story reminds even cynics that in America the life of one person really can make a difference.

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20. My chronology of the canal comes from "Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway – History," Florida Department of Environmental Protection.

The Pioneer African American Jurist Who Almost Became a Bishop: Florida's Judge James Dean, 1858-1914

By Canter Brown, Jr., and Larry E. Rivers

For a brief time the life and legacy of pioneering African American and Republican jurist James Dean returned to focus for Floridians in 2002 when Governor Jeb Bush posthumously reinstated the judge to the bench one hundred and thirteen years after Governor Francis P. Fleming had removed him from his Monroe County office. Dean's reputation for integrity and probity found itself refurbished, although published accounts provided only sparse details to shed light on the years prior to Dean's election, on his legal or African Methodist Episcopal (AME) ministerial careers after the controversy, and, for that matter, on the circumstances of the removal itself. Sources that subsequently have become more easily available for use by historians fortunately permit a far-more-detailed and accurate portrayal of James Dean and, by extension, most—if not all—African Americans who influenced Florida's development in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Justice requires that the stories of these men and women, including Judge Dean's, be told to ensure a full understanding of the diversity of Florida's experience and to honor those neglected by history. As Governor Bush noted

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in restoring Dean to honorable standing, "Irrespective of how long it's taken to right this wrong, it is more than appropriate to do so."[1]

James Dean's saga commenced on February 14, 1858, with his birth at Ocala, seemingly in slavery. Census records later listed his parents as Alabama-born Kelly Dean and his wife Minton (also Mintie or Minter) Young Dean, who came to Florida from Georgia. Given that the Deans did not formally marry until July 22, 1869, however, the question of James's actual parentage cannot conclusively be resolved. At some point prior to 1866, the youth was relocated to the rural community of Wellborn in Suwannee County. Settlement there dated in the American era to the 1830s or before, but only with the arrival of the Pensacola & Georgia Railroad in late summer 1860 was the neighborhood linked by rail eastward to Lake City (only a dozen miles from Wellborn) and on to Jacksonville and Fernandina. This opened a new era for transportation of crops and lumber, thereby creating the opportunities and encouraging the conditions that may have drawn the Deans or their owners. At Wellborn, Kelly Dean farmed—vegetables constituted a large part of the local agricultural production—while his son matured. James always remembered Wellborn as "my home."[2]

Religious life and commitments formed a basic part of James's youthful experiences and would continue to do so until his death. The Dean family belonged in the post-Civil War era to the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. This connection likely first arose thanks to King Stockton, a local AME minister who filled Wellborn-area religious needs in the absence of a regularly organized church and who lived in close proximity to the Deans. By the time James had reached age ten, the county seat at Live Oak, twelve miles or so to the west, boasted a regular AME congregation

1. *Palm Beach Post*, February 27, 2002; *Florida Bar News* 29 (March 15, 2002), 1, 8; *County Court Courier: Conference of County Court Judges of Florida* 7 (fall 2002), 9.
2. *Key West Daily Equator and Democrat*, Trade Edition, March 1889; 1870 and 1880 United States Decennial Censuses, Suwannee County, Florida (population schedules); Florida Railway and Navigation Company, *The Key Line* (New York, 1884), 62; Harold Borden Bennett, *Discovering Genealogical Roots in Suwannee County, Florida* (Bowie, Md., 1997), 102, 123; Tallahassee Genealogical Society, Inc., *Florida Voter Registration Lists, 1867-68* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1992), 243; James M. Denham and Canter Brown, Jr., *Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives: The Florida Reminiscences of George Gillett Keen and Sarah Pamela Williams* (Columbia, S.C., 2000), 35, 37, 175; *Fernandina East Floridian*, March 22, 29, September 6, 1860; Canter Brown, Jr., "The Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad, 1851-1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (April 1991), 411-21; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, November 28, 1878.

that drew worshippers from around the vicinity. In that assemblage and—as of 1869—sanctuary, Dean would have been exposed as a child to all of the leading lights of African Methodism in Florida. These included "Bishop" and State Senator Charles H. Pearce, State Senators Robert Meacham and William Bradwell, State Representative John Robert Scott, and many other men of prominence.[3]

Two individuals who pastored the Live Oak church—Thomas T. Thompson and George Washington Witherspoon—provided an immediate impact upon Dean's life, with future events hinting that Witherspoon exercised the greater influence. A charismatic preacher with political bases in relatively populous Gadsden and Jefferson Counties, Witherspoon served the "Live Oak District" during 1871-1873. The year following his departure he secured election to the Florida House of Representatives from Jefferson. After three terms he achieved the Republican nomination for one of Florida's two congressional seats. Tallies of votes seemed to confirm his election, but the United States House of Representatives denied him the position. "Mr. Witherspoon was the most popular colored man in the country districts in the state," an observer afterwards noted, "and whenever it was announced that Witherspoon would preach anywhere in the state, the roads would be full of women, children, horses and wagons."[4]

Informed speculation can provide some insight into the timing and origins of James Dean's personal religious commitments, ties that would become so important in his mature years. "Bishop" Pearce in early summer 1869 called for the AME Church's first

3. 1870 United States Decennial Census, Suwannee County, Florida (population schedule); Tallahassee Genealogical Society, Inc., *Florida Registration* Lists, 244; A. L. Lewis, *Biography of King Stockton: Born a Slave, Living 100 Years* (Jacksonville, Fla., 193?); Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord: The Beginnings of the AME Church in Florida, 1865-1895* (Gainesville, Fla., 2001), 23-61,64-66, 69, 79, 89, 109, 119, 124; Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1924* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1998), 1-28, 115, 109-110, 76, 123-24, 132, 141; idem, "'Where are now the hopes I cherished? The Life and Times of Robert Meacham," *Florida Historical* Quarterly 69 (July 1990), 1-36.

4. Rivers and Brown, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, 60, 66, 79, 89, 109, 119, 124; Canter Brown, Jr. "George Washington Witherspoon: Florida's Second Generation of Black Political Leadership," *A.M.E. Church Review* 119 (January-March 2003), 66-70; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, July 31, 1869; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, January 15, 1870, December 23, 1871, March 16, 1872.

"camp meeting" in Florida to be held at Live Oak on July eighth through sixteenth. His reasoning for selecting the site stemmed from the town's unique role in rail transportation; a line running north from Live Oak to Dupont, Georgia, offered Florida's only rail link through Georgia toward the North. The town's east-west connections meanwhile extended from the Apalachicola River to the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico (at Cedar Key). Given the relative ease of access, the event proved a tremendous success. "Our camp meeting lasted eight days, and the citizens, both white and colored, were not willing for us to break it up," John R. Scott recorded. "We had a heavenly time," he continued, "the people all say they have never before heard such good preaching and seen such a loving and orderly set of Christians together." Reportedly, an average of one thousand persons attended each day, with the Live Oak congregation counting a membership gain of "between fifty and sixty persons." Kelly and Minton Dean, although likely united already by operation of Florida law, formally wed six days after the meeting closed.[5]

While the Deans took their religion seriously—at least after summer 1869—they also took care to provide for their son's education. At Lake City the Freedmen's Bureau and, later, the National Freedmen's Relief Association operated a school beginning in summer 1865. Apparently, James benefited from lessons there until 1869 or 1870 when Suwannee County organized its first public schools. His experiences at the school touched James deeply and led him toward a career as a teacher. "Providence knew that we [with all] of our freedom would figure as naught in the scale of humanity without secular and religious education," he reflected in 1876, "therefore with other benevolent Institutions the system of public schools has been established." Suwannee County's classrooms had taken the precocious young man as far as they could by 1873, when he transferred to the Reverend Jerome B. Armstrong's school at Lake City. Meanwhile, the AME Church had acted to establish an institution of higher learning at Live Oak called, among other things at different times, Brown's Theological Institute and Brown's University of the State of Florida. Its aim was to train teachers as well as ministers. The fact that Dean remained

5. *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, July 31, 1869; *Jacksonville Florida Union*, July 22, 1869.

with Armstrong at Lake City only "for several weeks" suggests that classes of some sort had been initiated at Brown's University. It appears that Dean pursued his studies there until the school building was destroyed by hurricane winds in May 1874.[6]

The hurricane may have proved one of the most-significant turning points of Dean's young life. He told the story himself. "In December 1874, I entered Cookman Institute at Jacksonville," Dean related, "and spent two terms [years] therein." He continued, "On the 25th of March 1876, with a deep sympathy aroused for my people and my youthful heart heaving with great purpose, I departed from that Institute and stepped out on this land of flowers to grapple with king ignorance, who reigns in high places." Although not an AME initiative, the Cookman Institute nonetheless stood as Methodism's first successful attempt to offer what then represented higher education for African Americans in Florida. Founded in 1873 under the leadership of Principal Samuel B. Darnell, the school quickly attracted a host of top quality students filled to overflowing with promise. Several of Dean's classmates went on to earn medical degrees and helped to pioneer the professional practice of medicine in the state. More significantly for Dean, Cookman trained many of Florida's future black teachers and religious leaders. Numbering importantly among them was his Jacksonville pastor Abram Grant, a native of Suwannee County's neighbor Columbia County, who would become the initial Floridian elected to an AME bishopric. Marcellus M. Moore, the first Floridian to follow Grant's footsteps to an AME bishopric, attended as well.[7]

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6. "Letter from Florida—1865," *Colored American Magazine* 13 (August 1907), 118; *New York National Freedman*, January 15, March 15, 1866; Thomas D. Bailey, comp., *Narrative Reports of County Superintendents, 1869-70 to 1879-80* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1962), 16, 32-33, 50-51, 63-64; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, July 23, 1874; October 19, 1876; *Jacksonville Daily Florida Union*, July 19, 1876; Rivers and Brown, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, 68-69, 79-81, 86-89; idem, "'A Monument to the Progress of the Race': The Intellectual and Political Origins of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, 1865-1887," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 85 (summer 2006), 10, 12; *Savannah Advertiser-Republican*, May 20, 1874.

7. *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, October 19, 1876; S. B. Darnell, "Cookman Institute,"34-36, in *Tenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1878); John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah Whitmer Foster, *Beechers, Stowes, and Yankee Strangers: The Transformation of Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 1999), 80-81; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, January 24, 1911; September 2, October 11, 1918; Rivers and Brown, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, 185-86, 190; *Jacksonville Evening Times-Union*, July 9, 1895.

Also of significance for Dean's future, Jacksonville—and its suburb of LaVilla—offered a myriad of opportunities for educational experiences and also dozens of personalities to study as they set out to impact the state, region, and nation. Rapidly becoming Florida's principal urban center for African American business, professional practice, educational innovation, and leadership, Jacksonville nourished future men and women of mark that ran the gamut from James Weldon Johnson, first executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and his friend the civil rights attorney Judson Douglas Wetmore to Patrick H. Chappelle, the pioneer of black-owned vaudeville, and Eartha M. M. White, the "Angel of Mercy."[8]

Helping to foster this climate of growth and excellence were any number of individuals who had come to the community in the early 1870s. Of those who would touch Dean's life profoundly could be counted the first African American elected to the United States Congress John Willis Menard. After the House of Representatives refused to seat him, Menard had relocated to Jacksonville from New Orleans and pursued newspaper editing and publishing, government service, Republican political activism, poetry writing, and association with the AME Church. By 1873 Menard's future rival, the attorney Joseph E. Lee, also had entered the picture. A Philadelphia native, he had graduated from Howard University's law school prior to launching a Florida career that encompassed legal practice, political office, Republican leadership, and, eventually, the AME ministry. Lee,

8. Barbara Ann Richardson, "A History of Blacks in Jacksonville, Florida, 1860-1895: A Socio-Economic Study" (D.A. dissertation, Carnegie-Mellon University, 1975), 167-90; Patricia L. Kenney, "LaVilla Florida, 1866-1887," 185-203, in *The African American Heritage of Florida*, ed. by David R. Colburn and Jane Landers (Gainesville, Fla., 1995); Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 43-54; James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson* (New York, 1933), 5-31; Torrenzo H. Moore, "Florida's Judson Douglas Wetmore: Attorney, City Councilman and Advocate for African Americans" (graduate essay, Florida A&M University, 2003) (xerographic copy in collection of the authors); Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., "'The Art of Gathering a Crowd': Florida's Pat Chappelle and the Origins of Black-Owned Vaudeville," *Journal of African American History* 92 (spring 2007), 169-90; E. Murell Dawson, "Faith-Filled Legacies: Four Twentieth Century African American Women Who Helped to Forge Florida's Future," 232-38," in *Go Sound the Trumpet! Selections in Florida's African American History*, ed. by David H. Jackson, Jr., and Canter Brown, Jr. (Tampa, Fla., 2005).

a temperance advocate, also organized in Florida the International Order of Good Templars, remaining as its state head for decades thereafter.[9]

Little wonder, given this atmosphere and these personalities, that—filled with spirit and inspiration—James Dean upon his 1876 graduation from Cookman Institute "stepped out on this land of flowers to grapple with king ignorance." His goal upon arrival had been to become a teacher and that was the course he now set for himself. It seems that he began at Jacksonville, where he remained for two years. The fact that he reported meeting the millionaire William Astor at the Stanton Institute in spring 1878 hints service at that institution, a school that was rebounding from difficult times thanks to Principal James C. Waters. Waters also served after Abram Grant's departure for Tallahassee as pastor of Dean's Jacksonville congregation, the Mt. Zion AME Church. Joseph E. Lee, another member of the congregation, and AME icon John R. Scott, who by then held a federal appointment as Collector of the Port of St. Johns, may have assisted Dean's placement on the faculty.[10]

Dean's sights, though, remained on his home area, and he transferred to Live Oak after attending Cookman's commencement in 1878. First, however, he toured north Florida to examine the best of Florida's schools for African American children. He spent time with his friend Abram Grant at Tallahassee before venturing on to Lake City, Baldwin and, as a last stop, Gainesville and its Union Academy. Thereafter, he remained at Live Oak one year, teaching, delighting in politics, and serving his church. He exulted in the fact that his former Live Oak pastor Thomas T. Thompson had returned to the community and then sat on its inaugural town council. More importantly for his future work, he kept his religious commitments firmly in sight. "Let the depth and

9. John Willis Menard, *Lays in Summer Lands*, ed. by Larry Eugene Rivers, Richard Mathews, and Canter Brown, Jr. (Tampa, Fla., 2002), 91-116; Gary B. Goodwin, "Joseph E. Lee of Jacksonville, 1880-1920: African American Political Leadership in Florida" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1996); David M. Fahey, *Temperance and Racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb, and the Good Templars* (Lexington, Ky., 1996), 119-25. Also see Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley, Cal., 2005).

10. *Philadelphia Christian Recorder, August 30, 1877, June 27, November 28, 1878;* Rivers and Brown, "A Monument to the Progress of the Race," 17-18; John R. Scott to Joseph E. Lee, January 8, 1876, box 2, Joseph E. Lee Papers, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 132.

height of every exertion be to work for Christ, and to every one may be creditably erected a monument in honor of his work," he had written the previous year. Dean especially focused on the temperance cause and proudly aided Thompson in organizing a local chapter of the Good Templars. "We hope ere long," he reported to the AME Church's national organ in June 1878, "to be able to report the temperance banner as unfurled to the air in these parts, and a host of temperance advocates stretching forth hands against King Alcohol and all his adherents."[11]

A Live Oak base permitted Dean easy contact with his friends at Jacksonville and other places, and one or more of those individuals by summer 1879 had managed to secure him a federal position at Florida's largest and most-cosmopolitan city of Key West. This position later was described as "special inspector of customs," although entry-level political appointments normally were for positions such as night inspector. When Dean arrived at Key West soon after July first, his future friend Peter Bryant, a noted African American political leader of Tampa, already held such a position. John Willis Menard soon relocated to the city to run a newspaper while occupying a similar custom's job. In any event, Dean and Bryant had traveled together to the nation's capital by early August, where Bryant introduced his slightly younger colleague to highly placed friends, including John Wesley Cromwell, a teacher, lawyer, and publisher of Washington's *People's Advocate* newspaper. "Peter W. Bryant and Mr. J. Dean of Key West, Florida, are in the city," Cromwell noted in the *Advocate* on August second. "Mr. Bryant's acquaintances are glad to welcome him."[12]

Service at the custom house quickly involved Dean in the thick of local and state politics, and those involvements in a short time brought contacts that would shift his personal course dramatically.

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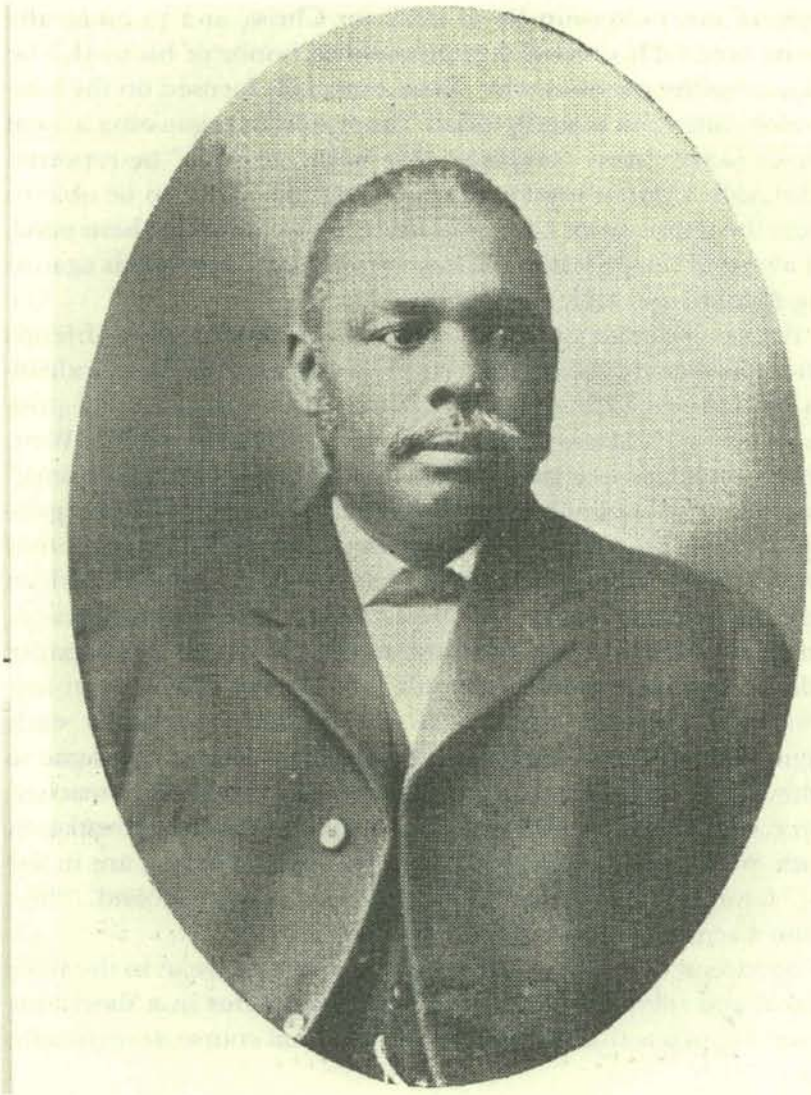
11. *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, August 30, 1877, June 27, August 29, November 28, 1878; *Jacksonville Weekly Sun & Press*, May 2, 1878.
12. *New York Age*, January 14, 1915; Canter Brown, Jr., and Barbara Gray Brown, *Family Records of the African American Pioneers of Tampa and Hillsborough County* (Tampa, Fla., 2003), 39-40; Menard, *Lays in Summer Lands*, 111-12; *Official Register of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1879); Jacqueline M. Moore, *Leading the Race: The Transformation of the Black Elite in the Nation's Capital, 1880-1920* (Charlottesville, Va., 1999), 15, 36, 110, 121, 194, 196, 201, 212; *Washington* (D.C.) *People's Advocate*, August 2, 1879; Larry E. Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., "African Americans in South Florida: A Home and a Haven for Reconstruction-era Leaders," *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida* 56 (1996), 12-13.



Judge James Dean. Image from *Pensacola Florida Sentinel* 1912 Annual Edition.

For one thing, as a Republican activist he almost certainly would have been introduced to former President Ulysses S. Grant during the Civil War hero's visit to the island in January 1880. Four months later Dean journeyed to Tallahassee and Monticello along with Menard as a Monroe County delegate to the party's First District Congressional Convention. There he successfully supported, with consequences that later would surface to his detriment,

the candidacy of his former pastor George W. Witherspoon for the nomination. This action led within days to Dean's selection as assistant secretary of the Republican State Convention and his election as a Florida delegate to the Republican National Convention held at Chicago on June second through eighth. Likely at that gathering Dean made the acquaintance of Grant's former campaign manager William Eaton Chandler who, in 1882, would receive President Chester Arthur's appointment as Secretary of the Navy before securing his own election to the United States Senate. Joseph E. Lee, who had become acquainted with Chandler during Florida's tumultuous ballot-counting controversy following the elections of 1876, probably introduced the two men.[13]

Given the close association that Dean thereafter enjoyed with Chandler, it seems likely that he (Chandler) paved the way for the up-and-coming activist to take the next serious step that would lead him after eight years to election as Monroe County judge. That step involved preparation for the practice of law. First, though, Dean chose not to return to Key West following the Republican convention. Instead, from a base at Wellborn, he labored during the campaign season on behalf of Witherspoon's candidacy. When Democratic voter fraud threw Witherspoon's subsequent victory into question, Dean traveled to Washington with his friend, where the older man launched ultimately unsuccessful efforts to secure the congressional seat. Soon, Chandler had arranged federal employment for Dean as a clerk in the Office of the Auditor of the Treasury for the Post Office Department while the eager young man studied the law. The former teacher's desire in this regard seemingly stemmed from Lee's influence, because Dean chose to pursue his degrees at Lee's alma mater Howard University.[14]

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13. *New York Tribune*, January 30, 1880; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, May 11, 18, 1880; *Official Proceedings of the National Republican Convention of 1868, 1872, 1876 and 1880* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1903), 525; William S. McFeely, *Grant: A Biography* (New York, 1981), 282, 295.

14. 1880 United States Decennial Census, Suwannee County, Florida (population schedule); Brown, "George Washington Witherspoon," 70; *Washington* (D.C.) *People's Advocate*, February 26, 1881; Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893* (Gainesville, Fla., 1976), 96; *New York Age*, January 14, 1915; James Dean to William Eaton Chandler, January 22, 1884, William Eaton Chandler Papers, Library of Congress.

Dean excelled at Howard. He received his bachelor of law degree in 1883 and master of law status the following year. In both instances he earned honors as valedictorian of his class. John Wesley Cromwell enthused about Dean's success and his single-minded pursuit of it. "Those who watched his course in life . . . know," Cromwell reported, "that while he was reading law he denied himself to all company or social enjoyment." T. Thomas Fortune, a friend from Dean's Jacksonville days who had gone on to publish leading race newspapers in New York City, joined Cromwell's tributes by offering a series of highly complimentary articles over the years. "Your correspondent cannot speak too highly," one item published in 1884 declared, "of the ability and promise of . . . James Dean." Among others, Fortune relied for his Florida reports on future United States consul Lemuel Walter Livingston, a Monticello native who had attended Cookman in the late 1870s and early 1880s before pursuing a medical degree at Howard beginning in 1882. Livingston also worked alongside Dean in Washington, and the two came to know each other well. "His record at the Howard University law school," Livingston observed in Fortune's *New York Age*, "might be likened, in comparison with the records of his associates, to Macauley's famous portrayal of the excellence of Boswell's Life of Johnson in comparison with other biographies: 'He has no second. He has distanced all his competitors so decidedly that it is not worth while to place them. Eclipse is first, and the rest nowhere.'"[15]

As Dean compiled his record of accomplishment at Howard, he kept a close eye on fractures developing within Florida's Republican Party. In the Sunshine State, Independents (predominantly black Republicans who embraced the possibilities of political alliance with moderate Democrats) challenged the authority of Regulars such as Joe Lee. The simmering problems came to a boil in early 1884 when Witherspoon and Menard joined Independent-minded colleagues in calling a "State Conference of the Colored Men of Florida" to be held at Gainesville on February fifth. Fearing the worst for his party from this initiative, Lee and his

15. *Key West Daily Equator & Democrat*, Trade Edition, March 1889; *New York Globe*, February 16, 1884; *New York* Age, November 24, 1888, quoting Washington (D.C.) *People's Advocate*; New *York Age*, November 3, 1888; Daniel Smith Lamb, comp. and ed., *Howard University Medical Department, Washington, D.C.: A Historical Biographical and Statistical Souvenir* (Washington, D.C., 1900), 192-93.

allies prepared either to capture control of the proceedings or else to undermine the conference's authority and influence. Because of his concerns and close association with both sides of the dispute, Dean inserted himself, along with Livingston, into the proceedings. Having sought and received financial assistance from Navy Secretary Chandler, Dean at the age of almost twenty-six managed election as the meeting's president. His address to the convention—one that stressed the urgency of ensuring educational opportunities for African Americans—struck such an even-toned and responsive chord that the gathering ordered it printed in its *Proceedings*. "We have met, then, to calmly, carefully, completely, and manly discuss our condition from every needed standpoint," he declared to delegates, "and to determine upon a prudent course of united action that will commend itself to the cordial support of all lovers of justice and fair play to our people, and of the prosperity of the State of Florida." An onlooker recorded, "Courteous, thoroughly posted in parliamentary law, and eloquent withal, he made a friend of every man in the convention." Thankful for Dean's leadership and that of his friend Livingston, the body elected the two young men as Florida's representatives on the Colored Men's National Executive Committee.[16]

Thereupon, Dean returned to Washington, D.C., in order to prepare for a legal practice. He reached an important milestone in October 1884 when he achieved admission to the bar of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Meanwhile, he continued to support himself through federal appointment, earning by mid-1885 the considerable sum of $1,200 per year as a clerk in the Office of the Sixth Auditor of the Treasury Department. Because Democrat Grover Cleveland assumed the presidency in March 1885, Dean's tenure may not have lasted long thereafter. Presumably, he practiced law for the next year or two. He also involved himself deeply in community activities. AME bishop Daniel A. Payne in 1881 had founded the city's Bethel Literary and Historical Association so that "the varied talents of young men and women could get opportunity for growth and development." The effort's

16. Rivers and Brown, "A Monument to the Race," 28; Williamson, *Florida Politics*, 96; Dean to Chandler, January 22, 1884; Menard, *Lays in Summer Lands*, 111-12; *The Proceedings of the State Conference of the Colored Men of Florida, Held at Gainesville, February 5, 1884* (Washington, D.C., 1884), 1-23; *New York Globe*, February 16, March 15, 1884.

outcome exceeded Payne's dreams and, in the words of a community historian, "The Bethel Literary and Historical Association became the center of black intellectual life in the capital." It is possible that Dean aided the organization of the society, and it is clear that he eventually served as its president. Additionally, the attorney devoted a great part of his time to the capital's Union Bethel AME Church. By late 1886 he had obligated himself for a portion of the church's debt for improvements such as stained glass windows. Taking his role as fundraiser very seriously, he had turned in $3,125 to retire the debt by April 30, 1887.[17]

All the while Dean awaited the right moment and opportunity to return to Florida, and he found them in summer 1887 when the principalship at Key West's Douglass school became vacant. Joseph E. Lee and William Middleton Artrell, the former Douglass principal who had relocated to Jacksonville to head the Stanton Institute, likely made the arrangements for Dean to assume the position. Although the two men would become adversaries, Lee and Artrell were united with Dean in support of the temperance movement and the Good Templars. However he came to the job, Dean utilized keenly honed political instincts as he progressed toward the island, visiting every friendly Florida editor that he could find along the way. The *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union* reported on September twenty-fourth, "The new principal of the Douglas School in Key West is a Washington lawyer." Five days later the publisher of the *Tampa Weekly Journal* announced, "Prof. Dean, late of Washington, D.C. gave me a call this morning." The man added, "He is a well educated and intelligent colored man, and goes to Key West to engage in the practice of law."[18]

Dean settled into the role of a Key West educator, but, as the Tampa editor suggested, the practice of law and politics commanded much of his attention. First, in 1887 he secured admission to

17. *Key West Daily Equator & Democrat*, Trade Edition, March 1889; *Official Register of the United States, Containing a List of Officers and Employees: Volume I, Legislative, Executive, Judicial* (Washington, D.C., 1885), 76; Richard Robert Wright, Jr., *Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1916), 367-69; Moore, *Leading the Race*, 66-67; James A. Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist Episcopal History* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1902), 376, 379.

18. Fahey, *Temperance and Racism*, 119-25; Rivers and Brown, "African Americans in South Florida," 8, 10; idem, "A Monument to the Race," 37; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, September 24, 1887; *Tampa Weekly Journal*, September 29, 1887.

the bars of Florida and of the federal courts in Florida. Quickly, his legal practice flourished to the extent that, after one year's service, he felt compelled to resign from the Douglass School. He managed, in the process, to transfer the principal's job to Lemuel W. Livingston, who earlier had become familiar to island residents through his service as Washington correspondent of Menard's *Key West News* (Editor Menard had relocated at mid-decade to Jacksonville). Dean's personal fortunes had progressed sufficiently by August 1888 to allow him a trip to the North, perhaps to weigh professional possibilities that might arise if Benjamin Harrison, the Republican presidential candidate, were to best Grover Cleveland in the November voting. At Philadelphia he impressed the editors of the AME national organ *The Christian Recorder*. "He takes a very high and intelligent view of the race question, regarding it as very serious," it informed readers, "he trusts in the better judgment of the whole American people to lead us out of this difficulty." At New York City, he touched base with Tim Fortune at the *New York Age*. "Counselor Jas. Dean of Key West, Fla., who was in the city during the week and dropped into THE AGE office, is one of the most talented and progressive young men of his State," Fortune declared. "In a short time he has built up a successful and extensive law practice, the growing demands of which recently compelled him to resign the position of principal of the Key West High School which he had filled with credit and distinction."[19]

As it happened, local politics embraced Dean before Harrison could achieve election much less assume the presidency. By that time the young lawyer had regularized his political standing after having associated with Independents or, as the *Christian Recorder* put it, "Mr. Dean is thoroughly republican in politics." This did not mean that Dean shunned political alliances outside the Republican fold, and, in fact, an opportunity of that nature existed at Key West in fall 1888. Many of the island's black Republicans had joined with adherents of the national labor union known as the Knights of Labor to turn back the tide of Democratic rule. The

19. *Key West Daily Equator & Democrat*, Trade Edition, March 1889; Walter W. Manley II, Canter Brown, Jr., and Eric W. Rise, *The Supreme Court of Florida and Its Predecessor Courts, 1821-1917* (Gainesville, Fla., 1997), 213, 326; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, October 10, 1891; *New York Globe*, September 29, 1883; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, August 23, 1888; *New York Age*, August 25, 1888.

coalition already controlled city government in Key West (and numerous other Florida towns and cities) and intended to extend its influence in county and state circles at the 1888 general election. Against this backdrop, the Monroe County Republican convention in late October nominated Dean "by acclamation" for the county judgeship. The ticket additionally included Charles F. Dupont, also an African American, for sheriff. "Mr. Dean is undoubtedly the best equipped young lawyer on the island," Livingstone informed *New York Age* readers. "His nomination is a fitting testimonial to worth and competency," he continued. "He has not only the respect and confidence of the Key West bar but is feared as an advocate."[20]

Although Knights of Labor-endorsed tickets in many parts of the state were defeated in November 1888, Monroe County produced a triumph, with Dean, Dupont, and other Knights candidates winning easily. In New York, Tim Fortune celebrated, as did John Wesley Cromwell in the nation's capital. "We learn of the election of James Dean, Esq., as County Judge of Monroe County, Florida," Cromwell wrote. "Anyone who has seen Mr. Dean recognizes in him a good type of the American Negro, whose intellectual achievements, whatever they may be, can be set down fully to the credit of the race." For Fortune, L. W. Livingston explained reaction locally. "Many whites utterly refused to be comforted because of the election of the colored judge," he related. "It was conceded alike by Democrats and Republicans that Mr. Dean was the best qualified of all the three candidates, he being the only lawyer among them, and I have been informed that many of the Democratic businessmen voted for him, which the returns seem to substantiate, but notwithstanding all this they don't like it simply because he's colored."[21]

The resentment against Dean's election on the part of Monroe County whites stemmed not so much from the idea of a black jurist as from the fact that county judges issued marriage licenses.

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20. *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, August 23, 1888; Canter Brown, Jr., "Prelude to the Poll Tax: Black Republicans and the Knights of Labor in 1880s Florida," 69-79, in *Florida's Heritage of Diversity: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1997); *New York Age*, November 3, 1888.
21. Brown, "Prelude to the Poll Tax," 80; *Key West Daily Equator & Democrat*, Trade Edition, March 1889; *New York Age*, November 24, 1888, quoting *Washington* (D.C.) *People's Advocate*; *New York Age*, December 1, 1888.

Following his swearing-in in January 1889, Dean would control this very intimate aspect of social and religious life. "It is reported that many of the young couples who have contemplated matrimony have been advised to content themselves with the pleasures of single blessedness for the next four years," Livingston noted, "when they will probably elect another white judge, or hie themselves away to the mainland and have the knot tied, where they will not run the risk of having their connubial bliss blighted by the periodical appearance of a ghost of a colored man."[22]

When Dean entered upon his office, it appeared that such concerns would wane with time. "They will get used to a colored judge," Livingston projected. What Dean did not count on, however, was that hidden enemies from his past now would seize upon the marriage license issue to drive him from office. And, he also did not foresee that problems flowing from a license issued to him would plague him for the remainder of his life.[23]

Regarding animosities held against the judge, Dean's most-dangerous enemies could be found, for the most part, in the Republican camp. At the time of his election, splits were widening in the state party between black Republicans and the "Lily Whites," who believed that African Americans should be excluded from the party. As Mathew M. Lewey, editor of the *Gainesville Florida Sentinel* explained, "[His election] caused Judge Dean to become an eyesore to almost every white republican in the county, who had heretofore figured conspicuously in the party." Beyond that, questions of personal animus sometimes drove Lily Whites to extreme actions. In Dean's case the white Republican was Eugene O. Locke, clerk of the United States courts at Key West. Locke bore a grudge against the newly seated judge arising out of his own failed candidacy for a United States congressional nomination in 1880. Believing that all Monroe delegates should have supported him, Locke seethed at the temerity of Dean, John W. Menard, and others in supporting George W. Witherspoon.[24]

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22. *New York Age*, December 1, 1888; *Key West Daily Equator & Democrat*, Trade Edition, March 1889.
23. *New York Age*, December 1, 1888.
24. Peter D. Klingman, *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1970* (Gainesville, Fla., 1984), 101, 108-111; *Jacksonville Florida Daily Times*, April 2, 1882; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, June 6, 1883; *New York Age*, August 17, 1889; *Gainesville Florida Sentinel*, November 14, 1890.

Editor Lewey provided information about what then happened. "Mr. E. O. Locke, the present clerk of the United States court, and Mr. G. Bowne Patterson, the present United States District Attorney," Lewey observed, "set to work to destroy the influence and break up the firm hold that Mr. Dean had upon the people of the county, acquired by his ability and integrity and by his upright and honorable course as a public man." Locke's attitudes against Dean seemingly hardened in spring 1889 when Bishop Benjamin W. Arnett appointed Witherspoon as pastor of the Key West AME congregation. Lewey explained the consequences. "Their first move against him [Dean] was to concoct a foul scheme to have him removed from the office of county judge," the newspaperman related. "They worked up the false and malicious complaint and the perjured and ex parte affidavits which they laid before Governor [Francis P.] Fleming by the aid of a few democrats, with a request for removal."[25]

Specifically, as reported by the *New York Age*, "The charge against [Dean] is that he knowingly and willfully issued license to a white man to marry a colored woman, which is proved to be false." Editor Fortune's Key West correspondent detailed:

> The truth of the case is that shortly after Mr. Dean entered upon his official duty as County Judge, a young man of bright complexion by the name of Antonio Gonzale[z] went into his office and applied for a marriage license. The man was a stranger to the Judge, and after asking him the usual questions about the ages of the parties he then asked him was he white or colored. He answered that he was a mulatto, likewise the lady whom he desired to marry. In answer to other questions that were asked of him, he stated positively that no one could come forward and prove that he was not a mulatto. After due diligence had been taken in the promises the license was granted. Some time after that in the month of May several false and malicious charges were trumped up by Eugene O. Locke, a lawyer here, and signed by a few sore-heads and sent to the Governor. Among them was the charge that he [Dean]

25. *Gainesville Florida Sentinel*, November 14, 1890; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, February 14, 1889; Brown, "George Washington Witherspoon," 72.

knowingly and willfully issued a license to Antonio Gonzale[z], a white man, to marry Annie Maloney, a colored woman.[26]

To his credit Governor Fleming hesitated to act upon the removal demand. As Lewey averred the following year, "It is now well known in Key West that the sentiment of the Governor was against taking any action in the matter, and that he was finally induced to act in the premises mainly on the consideration that the removal was urged, insisted upon and demanded by these gentlemen who had been the foremost white republicans in Monroe county." First, though, Fleming "sent the Judge a copy of the charges, as the law directs, and he submitted testimony to him to disprove them." Dean responded, "This man (Antonio Gonzalez) is a Cuban, and it is a notorious fact, that stands uncontradicted in this community, that nearly nine-tenths of the Cubans here are mulatto, and they are so treated by the Caucasians of this place, those of pure Spanish blood being the only pure whites that are unquestionably accepted as such to all intents and purposes." He added: "It is also a fact that large numbers of these mulatto Cubans pass for white. In fact, they are not white."[27]

In offering this defense, in the manner that he did, Dean blundered badly. "Dean's statement of the case to the governor," the *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union* reported, "aroused the anger of the Cubans." Many in the Key West Cuban community, a voting block that could throw local elections either to Democrats or Republicans, joined to reject the "reckless slander, uttered without foundation by James Dean." By petition they now demanded the judge's removal. "His conduct in thus resorting to slander and falsehood to protect him from the consequences of his official misconduct is palpable evidence of his moral unfitness to hold an office of trust and responsibility under your excellency's administration; and we trust you will relieve us of his official tyranny and misrepresentation." Fleming, apparently sensing a political opportunity of large proportions, acquiesced. He removed Dean from office, but he did not stop there. The Democrat against whom Dean had run in November 1888 was a Cuban native, Angel De Lono. In one stroke, by appointing De Lono to replace Dean, the governor pleased many

26. *New York Age*, August 17, 1889.
27. Ibid.; *Gainesville Florida Sentinel*, November 14, 1890.

Democrats, Cubans, and Lily Whites. He even pleased Locke on a person level, since the clerk and De Lono were associated closely in the work of the International Order of Odd Fellows. Locke expressed his thanks by publicly endorsing the governor's move.[28]

It should be noted, though, that Fleming's action most certainly did not please everyone. "Our city has been in a state of excitement for the past two weeks over the suspension of Judge Dean from office by Governor Fleming," a Key West correspondent recorded on July thirty-first. "The act is considered by all classes irrespective of race, nationality or politics," the correspondent—probably L. W. Livingston—insisted, "as an outrage perpetrated on him from mere race prejudice and not for malfeasance in office." The next day "a mass meeting of about 800 citizens was held in Jackson square with Jose De C. Palemino (colored Cuban) chairman." The *Times-Union* related what ensued. "They passed a resolution protesting against the action of the governor in removing Dean from the office of county judge," it observed. "Following is the resolution: 'That we hereby respectfully protest against the action of the governor of the state of Florida in this matter, and we earnestly request him to revoke said order until the said James Dean has been tried and convicted of said charge by due process of law in a court of competent jurisdiction.'"[29]

Such appeals proved of no avail. For a time Dean refused "to turn over his books to his successor until the right steps are taken in the matter." The issue then quickly moved into the local state courts (controlled by Democrats), as Dean sued "to determine the legality of the removal." Thereupon, a Lily White leader came to De Lono's defense. "As soon as this was done," a man going by the sobriquet "Observer" explained to the *Gainesville Florida Sentinel* in November 1890, "Mr. [G. Bowne] Patterson appeared in court as attorney for the democratic appointee, and did all in his power to bolster up his illegal and groundless claim to the office." Observer added, "[Dean] is still fighting in the Supreme Court of the State

28. *Gainesville Florida* Sentinel, November 14, 1890; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, July 24, 1889; *Tampa Tribune*, August 1, 1889; Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and The New* (reprint ed., Gainesville, Fla., 1973), 69, 82, 110, 118, 121, 138. On the political stance of Key West's Cuban community during the mid-to-late 1800s, see Consuelo E. Stebbins, *City of Intrigue, Nest of Revolution: A Documentary History of Key West in the Nineteenth Century* (Gainesville, Fla., 2007), 165-76.

29. *New York Age*, August 17, 1889; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, August 7, 1889.

of Florida at Tallahassee." When the Florida tribunal declined to become involved in the matter on Dean's behalf, the deposed judge turned, an item in the *New York Age* suggested, to the United States courts. The item, dated September 13, 1891, noted, "James Dean of Florida . . . recently argued his case on appeal before the Federal Supreme Court." If he did so, that panel, too, refused to come to his assistance.[30]

Other struggles by then had begun to consume Dean, and likely the most hurtful also concerned a marriage license. At about the time of his assumption of the judgeship and his subsequent removal, Dean had married. His bride Victoria J. Brooks Braff labored as a seamstress and dressmaker at Key West and lived with her mother Hannah Brooks, a midwife. It appears that Victoria had married about 1865 and then relocated to Pennsylvania where her son Thomas was born the following year. "She has had many years of Northern experience in Philadelphia and New York," a friendly chronicler wrote of her years later. By 1870 Victoria and Thomas had returned to Key West. Given James's AME Church commitments and the fact that Victoria reportedly held dear "Christian work on earth," they likely came to know one another through the island city's Bethel AME Church. In 1889 Victoria had attained at least age forty-one or forty-two. Her new husband was thirty-one.[31]

Unfortunately for both, the happy union soon dissolved into bitterness. Victoria accused her husband of "various acts of violence on her," although the Supreme Court of Florida found that "such charges were not sustained." An acquaintance of both later testified about James's perspective. "[He] said that he had made up his mind [by late 1891] that he would not live with [his wife] again because she was too old for him; that he was only thirty-two or thirty-four years old, and she was nearly fifty; that if it was only the age, he would not mind it, but the bad temper and age together made it so that he could not live with [her]." Victoria believed

30. *New York Age*, August 17, 1889, September 13, 1891; *Gainesville Florida Sentinel*, November 14, 1890.

31. *James Dean, Appellant*, v. *Victoria J. Dean, Appellee*, 36 *Florida Reports*, 492 (hereafter, *Dean* v. *Dean*); 1870 and 1900 United States Decennial Censuses, Monroe County, Florida (population schedules); Sara J. Duncan, *Progressive Missions in the South and Addresses: With Illustrations and Sketches of Missionary Workers and Ministers and Bishop's Wives* (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1906), 205.

Victoria Dean. Image found in Sara J. Duncan, *Progressive Missions in the South and Addresses* (Atlanta, 1906).

that an additional factor had entered their marriage with disastrous consequences. Once ejected from the bench James had recommenced his law practice, hiring a female "copyist" to assist him. Furious, Victoria demanded that her husband discharge the "young lady." Dean refused. The marital turmoil suddenly burst into public view in June 1891 when Dean was charged with "wife beating" by Key West Democratic officials. Anxious to dispose of the matter, James acknowledged that he had "chastised" his wife, pled guilty before a justice of the peace to a misdemeanor, and paid a five dollar fine. He thereafter filed for divorce in Monroe County circuit court based upon Victoria's "habitual indulgence of violent and ungovernable temper." In late 1891 or early 1892 Judge and soon-to-be Governor Henry L. Mitchell, a conservative

Democrat, rejected James's bill and refused to grant the divorce. Dean thereupon appealed to the Florida supreme court.[32]

Meanwhile, Dean's professional life also endured renewed turmoil. Having re-established his law practice in 1889, he soon found that the hostility of whites and the presence of other black lawyers—especially that of his old friend Peter W. Bryant, who was admitted to the local bar in January 1890—limited his potential workload. With Republican President Benjamin Harrison in the White House, he compensated by seeking a federal appointment. His Lily White enemies reacted rapidly. "The moment Mr. Dean became a candidate for appointment as postmaster at Key West," one newspaper recounted, "they sprang to their feet and fought him with unusual bitterness to the end and succeeded in defeating his appointment to that office." Then another reaction set in when "some of the leading men of the nation at Washington" became convinced that the "efforts to kill him politically were prompted by a selfish and unwarrantable prejudice against him on account of his color, which, if allowed to go on, would result in the utter ruin of the republican party of Monroe county." The outcome now weighed in Dean's favor. "The administration accepted this view of the case," the *Gainesville Florida Sentinel* averred, "and stamped its positive disapproval upon the course of these gentlemen [the Lily Whites] by appointing Judge Dean United States Immigration Agent for the Port of Key West, right in the face of their bitterest opposition to him."[33]

The political enmity displayed in Washington echoed conditions locally. Despite his removal from the bench Dean had remained secretary of the Monroe County Republican Executive Committee. According to one source, "Every conceivable scheme [was] tried in vain to dislodge him from that position." The most-heated and direct confrontation occurred at the Monroe County Republican Convention held in October 1890. The Lily White officeholders organized "the entire federal patronage of the county" to oust the former judge from his party post. Dean and his allies fought back and, in a raucous session,

32. *Dean* v. *Dean*; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, July 1, 1891.
33. *Tampa Journal*, January 12, 1890; Brown and Brown, *Family Records*, 40; *Gainesville Florida Sentinel*, November 14, 1890.

defeated their opponents and, further, managed Dean's election as chairman of the county party for the following two years. Noted the *Florida Times-Union*, "The negro lawyer, Dean, who led the party to victory two years ago . . . is the ablest politician in the republican party in this county."[34]

The success Dean enjoyed in Washington and Key West could not forestall the toll of other challenges and concerns. For a time, though, he remained engaged and offered leadership. The *New York Age* in March 1891 highlighted one speech that the judge recently had given at Key West. Referring to Dean as "one of the brainiest of our younger men," Tim Fortune quoted a portion of the now-veteran leader's encouraging and forthright remarks. "The poverty of the race as a whole in the past has been largely removed by the $225,000,000 of property which it now possesses," Dean had observed. He had added, "The cringing, nevertheless, and unmanly character which prevailed as a rule among its members twenty-five years ago is now being superseded by an unbending, stalwart, and aspiring manliness of character, which, with other general qualifications, make them the equals of other citizens of our country in more ways than one."[35]

As late as spring 1892 Dean continued to exercise Monroe County party control, although the political battles with the Lily White coalition—increasingly called "the custom-house faction"—continued. After an April 1892 victory, the *Times-Union* had this to say about the man. "It is conceded by politicians who ought to know that Dean has the upper hand," the report declared, "and it is more than likely that his delegation will be the one that is seated in the state convention." The report continued: "Apropos, Judge Dean is a colored man of much more than the average intelligence and is highly educated. Nearly four years ago he was elected county judge of this county, but was ousted from the position by members of his own party, because of his intelligence and his refusal to be whipped into line, and because he was in their way." It added, "He is courteous, patient and persevering and is biding his time." At the state convention, as it

34. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, October 26, 1890; *Gainesville Florida Sentinel*, November 14, 1890.
35. *New York Age*, March 14, 1891.

happened, Dean was seated and also named as state committeeman for Monroe County.[36]

Nonetheless, however patient and persevering he may have been, by the time of his return from the Republican state convention Dean was searching for alternatives to the status quo in Key West. Judge Mitchell recently had ruled against him in the divorce proceeding, his appeal to the supreme court would require years before the tribunal reached a decision, and he understandably was growing weary of party battles. Economics may have played a part, too, as the collector of customs John F. Horr, who had assumed reins of authority within the customhouse faction, had arranged about the time of Dean's June 1890 arrest to convince the secretary of the treasury to dismiss him from his Immigration Agent position. Adding to the pressures, in January 1892 Dean's longtime mentor, ally, and pastor George W. Witherspoon passed away. Then, during summer 1892, opportunity came knocking.[37]

Dean's opening for a new life originated in a July 1892 tragedy when Tampa's new Harlem Academy building, the city's principal school for African Americans, burned to the ground. Its backers among the city's growing and increasingly prosperous black middle class desired strong leadership and credentials from the man selected to oversee the rebuilding and continued operations of the institution. Probably through Tampa-native Peter W. Bryant's influence, they extended an offer during the summer that Dean accepted. By August twenty-second, a local newspaper would notice, "Col. [D]ean, the colored lawyer . . . came here recently from Key West." Presumably, Victoria Dean remained behind. At Tampa, at least insofar as surviving accounts suggest, local residents welcomed Dean to their community and accorded him respect. As they did, he performed his duties as principal and additionally practiced law. Carrying on with personal precedent, he also involved himself deeply in AME church work. In late August, for example, he conducted the Sunday School as part of ceremonies for the dedication of the city's new Allen Temple AME Church. Two months later he

36. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, April 6, 1892; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, April 12, 1892.

37. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, July 1, 1891; *Dean* v. *Dean*; Brown, "George Washington Witherspoon," 72.

presided at festivities called at the historic St. Paul AME Church to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the New World.[38]

At Tampa, Dean soon recognized a new and additional calling, one that had deep roots in his past but that now took him in a radically new direction. In February 1893 the AME South Florida Conference met at St. Paul under the leadership of Bishop Thomas M. D. Ward. Dean had known Ward from when the bishop had served the state during the mid-1870s. Accompanying Ward were two other friends of Dean's from his days at the Cookman Institute, Bishop Abram Grant and the Reverend Marcellus M. Moore, then presiding elder of the conference's Enterprise District. Grant especially stood in a position to influence Dean. As would be declared of him upon his death in 1911, "[He] was more than a Bishop of one of the churches among colored people." Tim Fortune, who also had come to know Grant in Jacksonville during the mid-1870s, explained. "His influence was beyond his church and beyond all denominations," Fortune wrote. He continued: "Commanding in appearance, resourceful in the work of organization, eloquent in speech and gifted as a presiding officer, Bishop Grant held his place in the affairs of his church, his race and his country with no apparent effort."[39]

Most likely from Grant's encouragement, with Bishop Ward and Presiding Elder Moore lending a hand, Dean accepted a call to the AME ministry. His acceptance and ordination as a deacon came amidst controversy, however, as many churchmen and laypersons considered the one-time judge's attempt to divorce his wife an abomination. Church records for the period remain difficult to come by, so Dean's assignments for the next several years

38. *Daily Tampa Tribune*, July 19, August 8, 22, September 1, October 19, 1892. On Tampa's black community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., "'Rejoicing in their Freedom': The Development of Tampa's African-American Community in the Post-Civil War Era," *Sunland Tribune: Journal of the Tampa Historical Society* 27 (2001), 5-18; Canter Brown, Jr., and Larry E. Rivers, "'The Negroes are there to stay': The Development of Tampa's African-American Community, 1891-1916," *Sunland Tribune: Journal of the Tampa Historical Society* 29 (2003), 57-76.

39. *Jacksonville Evening Telegraph*, February 28, 1893; Rivers and Brown, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, 82-100; *New York Age*, January 26, 1911.

are unknown. He may have accompanied Bishop Grant to his Texas assignment. That Dean remained in Florida seems likely, on the other hand, because in May 1894 he spoke at a Cookman Institute reunion. "The last, but masterly speech of the evening was delivered by ex-Judge James Dean, 'The marvelous Progress of Modern Civilization is Due to the Influence of Christianity,'" an account of the proceedings related. "Judge Dean captured his audience at the start and forcibly presented his claim, proving by history and reason that Christianity is the most powerful medium of the day." The next month Bishop Ward died, leaving his protégé Grant to supervise the Florida church. Grant depended upon Dean for assistance, and the former jurist accompanied the bishop to the various conference meetings held in the opening months of 1895. At Ocala in early March, Grant ordained his friend an elder and continued his appointment to the church's commission on education.[40]

Within months the controversy surrounding Dean's divorce reignited when, in summer 1895, the Supreme Court of Florida ruled against him. The panel's refusal to end his marriage left Dean in a personal, as well as professional, quandary. Abram Grant came to his assistance by soliciting Bishop James A. Handy's approval of the elder's transfer to North Carolina. As Ward had been, Handy probably was acquainted with his new charge. Within three years the bishop and Dean's other friends had arranged for him to be granted a Doctor of Divinity Degree, and Handy had placed him as presiding elder of the New Bern District. By 1900 Dean presided over the Western North Carolina Conference from Rocky Mount and likely already was serving as Handy's private secretary. Victoria Dean continued to live in Key West.[41]

As she did, another turning point loomed for the couple. It appears that, by early 1900, Handy realized that the church's general conference to be held in May would designate him bishop for

40. *Jacksonville Evening Times-Union*, May 10, 1894; Rivers and Brown, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, 193-94; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, February 26, March 3, 4, 5, 1895.

41. *Dean* v. *Dean*; Israel L. Butt, *History of African Methodism in Virginia; or Four Decades in the Old Dominion* (Hampton, Va., 1908), 173, 177, 183; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, March 7, 1901; 1900 United States Decennial Census, Nash County, North Carolina, and 1900 United States Decennial Census, Monroe County, Florida (population schedules).

Florida, and he determined to take Dean with him in the face of some continued opposition. First, in company with Marcellus M. Moore—who would be elected bishop in his own right that May—Dean attended the February meetings of the East Florida and South Florida Conferences. He probably visited the Florida Conference (sometimes called West Florida Conference) as well, but its minutes are unavailable. Following the general conference, Handy reassigned Dean to the Sunshine State but placed him at Pensacola in the pulpit of Allen Temple AME Church, a far distance geographically from his most-vocal critics. At Pensacola over the next several years the minister built a new $20,000 church, urged the cause of education in the African American community, and joined with others to found a local black businessmen's organization. Meanwhile, he continued to attend annual sessions of the East Florida, Central Florida, and South Florida Conferences.[42]

Dean's messages delivered at such conference sessions—what one observer called "very impressive sermons"—often dealt with various aspects of righteousness, atonement, and redemption. "He used as his theme The Duty of Watchfulness and the Progress of Godliness," recorded a man who attended the East Florida Conference at Jacksonville in March 1902. "This able pulpit divine brought before the members of his race some practical things touching their future," he continued. "He urged that they not only pray but be watchful, be careful of their own reputation, their own character, and live Godly lives." The man concluded, "He could see no reason why men who wanted to be something in life could not have honorable lives. He pointed out to them the purest and noblest character represented in the Bible, and told them to follow it."[43]

Only days later at Gainesville's Central Florida Conference meeting, Dean expanded upon the same themes after Bishop Handy personally had introduced him to those assembled. "He discussed the curse that awaits the unfruitful life and how to escape it," an onlooker observed. "He said that [there] are many unconverted men and women brought in touch with the Christians daily,

42. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, February 16, 19, 20, 26, March 1, 1900, March 7, 9, 1901, March 10, 17, 23, 1902; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, March 29, 1900, May 1, 1902; *Indianapolis Freeman*, January 25, 1902; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, October 29, 1902.

43. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, March 10, 1902.

and that they possessed more or less sound judgment and broad experience along all lines in general, but seemed to be almost thoughtless and indifferent concerning the stern realities of the future state." The onlooker further commented: "The speaker condemned envy, uncleanness, theft and urged that the men and women of his race live upright lives, making friends of their neighbors, having hatred for no man, but love for all. He said in this connection that in order to be fruitful in this world the two races should live in peace and harmony, for that was the only way to build up and accomplish anything."[44]

Whatever professional good was accomplished for Dean through the visitations and sermons, he appeared to be seeking to resolve profound personal issues as well. His marital status, of course, also required resolution and, at Pensacola if not earlier, Dean sought reconciliation with Victoria. She moved to Pensacola to be with him and there emerged as a formidable figure in church affairs. "She is one of the strong women of the missionary work in Florida," one writer noted. Mary F. Handy, Bishop Handy's wife, formed close ties of friendship as well as religious affiliation. Handy "pronounced [Victoria] one of the most earnest and successful laborers in the Women's missionary work in the State of Florida, and said that her methods would compare favorably with the best in the North."[45]

Fences mended and his marriage back on track, Dean by February 1903 believed that he had paved the way for a return to the peninsula as well as to higher office within the church. Handy accordingly transferred him to the presiding eldership of the East Florida Conference, with a headquarters in Jacksonville. Within days James and Victoria had relocated and set about implementing a plan to boost his candidacy for the position of secretary of the General Missionary Board of the A.M.E. Church, a stepping stone to a bishopric. He seemed to delight in the campaign at first, appearing at various church functions to speak and to sing in a "native African dialect." His opponents awaited him, though, particularly the Reverend John H. Dickerson, a conservative minister from Ocala who stood out as Florida's premier African American Masonic leader. In March Dickerson managed to convince acting

44. Ibid., March 17, 1902.
45. Duncan, *Progressive Missions*, 204-205.

Florida bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner (Handy was ailing) to transfer Dean immediately to the Central Florida Conference where Dickerson maintained significant influence. Tanner acceded; causing a stir that resounded through Florida and reached all the way to the church's main offices in Philadelphia. A furious Handy quickly countermanded the action, but lines had been drawn. In anticipation of the 1904 general conference, Dean thereafter moved to obtain endorsements and build support from each of the Florida conferences. Save for the Central Florida Conference he succeeded, but in Ocala Dickerson erected a brick wall to Dean's ambitions. "There will now be two factions throughout the State," a minister in attendance commented, "as there is a determination by the Dean faction to prevent, if possible, the seating of Rev. Dickerson in the General Conference, and there promises to be a [bitter] fight."[46]

Dean and Dickerson battled up to the general conference, where Dean fell short of his goal but nonetheless obtained the respectable position of Recording Secretary of the General Missionary Board. At the May 1904 gathering, Handy also designated Dean—who, by then, was pastoring at Jacksonville's prestigious Mt. Zion AME Church—as presiding elder of the Fernandina District, an appointment that Dickerson thought would be his. As luck would have it the conference designated Tanner as Florida's new bishop, and the prelate immediately cancelled Dean's presiding eldership and appointed him to a pastorate at Ocala "until further notice." A no-doubt satisfied Dickerson then assumed the position of state missionary, an excellent posting from which he could build his own support aimed at a bishopric.[47]

But Dean was not through with Tanner and Dickerson, and they were not through with Dean. At Ocala, Dean quickly teamed with his ally John W. Dukes to publish a newspaper that they called the *News Carrier*. This permitted Dean a voice at a time when church officialdom refused to afford him a platform. He did not hesitate to use it. "The News Carrier, a bright and lively weekly

46. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, February 7, 10, 1903; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, February 15, May 2, June 3, December 15, 18, 30, 1903; *Weekly Tallahassean*, December 11, 1903.

47. Duncan, *Progressive* Missions, 204; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, June 6, 1904, March 2, 1905.

paper that is published in the city of Ocala is regular in its visits to the widely increasing list of subscribers and readers," the *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis* informed its readers in March 1905. "The News Carrier is edited by Rev. James Dean, D.D., whose ability is generously displayed in the pointed editorials he furnishes," the item declared, "and the news columns are kept full of real news." Angered targets of his editorials and reporting, a group that likely included Dickerson, retaliated in summer 1905 in a manner that prompted Dean to have three men arrested in September "for criminal libel, because they had defamed my character." Thereupon, the Central Florida District erupted into open conflict, with Tanner in January 1906 suspending Dean "until 1907." Dean fought back, though, and prevailing sentiment forced the bishop in April to cancel the suspension. Still, a series of trials and attempted trials of Dean ensued, with Tanner and Dickerson finally compelled in January 1907 to accept dismissal of all charges against Dean "in the interest of the peace and harmony of the Conference." One minister announced, "The withdrawal of the case is received with great favor by all." Ultimately, in May 1908 the tensions abated when Moses B. Salter replaced Tanner as Florida's presiding bishop.[48]

The conflicts seem to have diminished Dean's interest in pastoring a congregation or enduring district and conference tumult. Following his January 1906 suspension he had opened a law and real estate office at Jacksonville, and it quickly flourished. After being reinstated to the clergy, he chose to continue his legal and business interests while serving out his four-year term on the General Missionary Board. Whether he pastored a congregation during the period does not appear upon the available record. He did aid the church by his support for Edward Waters College. Having helped to forestall its proposed merger with Atlanta's Morris Brown College in June 1903, he subsequently helped to find a site for the school and facilitated its rebuilding following destruction by Jacksonville's Great Fire of 1901. He continued to support the school by campaigning at church conferences for adequate funding and, likely, private fundraising. Beyond that, the man still known as "Judge Dean" pressed for black business growth and economic security. To further those causes, he helped organ-

48. *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, March 13, 1905, January 25, February 8, April 21, 1906, January 23, 29, 1907, February 26, 1909.

ization of a businessmen's league at Jacksonville in 1906 and provided advice and leadership for the Florida Negro Business League by the following year. His old friend Mathew M. Lewey headed the organization.[49]

Bishop Tanner's departure from Florida in 1908 does not appear to have fueled a desire on Dean's part to return immediately and actively to church position; rather, he and Victoria may have settled into a comfortable Jacksonville life where he pursued his legal and business affairs and only ministered occasionally. They had no children. He now had turned fifty years of age, and two decades had passed since his election as county judge. He had earned respect and prosperity. For the most part, he received both. For several years the couple lived quietly, although their own ages meant loss through the passing of friends from the scene. Among the first was fellow Jacksonville attorney John Wallace, a former state senator, Independent, and chronicler of Florida's Reconstruction history, who died in November 1908. Abram Grant followed on January 22, 1911, when he succumbed at Kansas City, Kansas. Marcellus Moore had predeceased both of them, dying at Jacksonville from Bright's Disease on November 23, 1900, just months after his elevation to the bishopric.[50]

Those passing from the scene included Victoria, who died in Jacksonville at about age sixty-two on March 28, 1910. Historical sources reveal little of her final years, although an obituary hints that she embraced Roman Catholicism late in life. "Mrs. V. J. Dean, the wife of Judge James Dean, passed away at an early hour this morning at her residence, 925 Pippin street," the *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis* reported. "Mrs. Dean was well known both in and out of the city, and has many friends who sympathize with the family in their present bereavement." The article continued: "The funeral will be held at the undertaking parlors [of Geter & Baker] tomorrow afternoon by Father Maher, of the Catholic Church, and the body will be shipped to Welborn for interment."[51]

In some way these life passages prompted Dean to revive his ambitions and to re-enter the mainstream of church affairs. Looking ahead to the 1912 AME general conference, he aimed

49. Ibid., June 3, 1903, October 13, 1904, May 7, 9, 1906; *Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat*, June 28, 1907.
50. *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, November 30, 1908; *Indianapolis Freeman*, February 4, 1911; *New York Times*, November 24, 1900.
51. *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, March 28, 1910.

once again to election as bishop. He first accepted the presiding eldership of the West Jacksonville District and either began or continued service as a trustee of Wilberforce University. In early 1911 he also made the rounds of the Florida conference meetings, seeking support and endorsements. He gained both except from the Central Florida Conference. The candidate thereupon directed himself to the Bishops' Council meeting at Wilberforce. "That Dr. Dean is a candidate for the bishopric in his church is well and widely known to all of his brethren in Florida, and also to thousands outside of his native State," one report declared in June. "It is well known to the more advanced ministers of the A. M. E. Church that the Bishops' Council, held at the close of the quadrennium is the place where the true slates are made, and those who are on that slate are the ones who have rockbound reasons to win out at the General Conference." The report's author added, "Dr. Dean is well known to all of the heads of the church and he has a good assurance that he is preferred for the sacred and responsible office of bishop." He concluded, "Dr. Dean is making his race for this position in the way that cannot reflect [poorly] upon him as a Christian minister nor yet upon the great church [for] which he [has] borne an unquestionable loyalty from boyhood days."[52]

Dean returned from the Bishops' Council sessions enthused about his chances of election. As one newspaper put it, "He returns to his Florida home with the highest hopes." The intraclergy split of past years then returned to haunt him. Bishop Salter, who appears to have supported Dean, fell ill. Acting in his place, Bishop Levi J. Coppin sided with Dean's opponents by stripping him of his presiding eldership and transferring him in early 1912 to the then-remote position at Daytona. Dean took the blow and, having been tested so often in the past, rebounded. "Dr. Dean is receiving the most sanguine encouragement in his race for bishop," the *Metropolis* related in April. At the Kansas City conference held the next month, though, his dreams failed to materialize. "The results of the election were not as many had predicted," one onlooker insisted, "a great disappointment being in the failure of . . . the Rev. Dr. James Dean, of Florida, who [was] known to have gone to the conference with a strong following."[53]

52. Ibid., February 3, June 7, 1911.
53. Ibid., February 28, April 18, May 18, 1912.

Dean's loss at Kansas City ushered him into his final years. He returned to Jacksonville a candidate for the presidency of Edward Waters College, but the appointment did not come his way. He sat on the church's national book concern committee and, additionally, served as national president of the Progressive Order of Men and Women. He participated as well in the Jacksonville Colored Bar Association, various Masonic orders, and the Howard University Alumni Association. Otherwise, Dean made a comfortable living practicing law, selling real estate, and making loans. As late as fall 1914 he appeared before the Supreme Court of Florida as counsel for a woman in an ejectment action, having won the case in Duval County circuit court.[54]

Judge James Dean died at Jacksonville on Saturday, December 19, 1914. He ended his life, the *New York News* declared, "as one of Jacksonville's most eminent citizens." His funeral services, held at Mt. Zion AME Church on December 23, attracted "a large concourse of people," many from long distances. Tributes were delivered from the Colored Civic League, the Baptist Minister's Union, the Progressive Order of Men and Women, the Colored Bar Association, and other organizations. The Reverend J. W. Dukes, Dean's "closest friend," spoke eloquently of the departed. The Reverend Dr. Alexander Scott's sermon, on behalf of the AME Church, used as its text "Let Me Die the Death of the Righteous and Let My Last Days Be Like This." Thereafter, "Hundreds filed by and took their last look on the face of him who so many knew in life." The remains then were escorted to the Geter & Baker funeral home "by Knights Templar and Mystic Shriners and Thirty-second Degree Masons." James Dean's mortal remains then were transported to Wellborn, to be interred "by the side of relatives in the family burial ground."[55]

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54. Ibid., May 18, 28, 1912, December 24, 1914; Wright, *Centennial Encyclopedia*, 73, 291, 296; James Dean to U. S. Commissioner, Bureau of Pensions, August 18, 1913, Albert Sammis Military Pension File, #503989, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; *J. E. Butts, Plaintiff in Error* v. *Lilly Mobley, Defendant in Error*, 68 *Florida Reports* 129.

55. *New York News*, January 7, 1915, clipping in Tuskegee Institute News Clippings Files, roll 237, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama (microfilm available at Coleman Library, Florida A&M University, Tallahassee); *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, December 23, 1914; *New York Age*, January 14, 1915; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, December 24, 1914; Charles Spencer Smith, (Philadelphia, 1922), 306.

James Dean lived as a remarkable man and died having earned respect and admiration. In fact, he died as a hero for many and clearly deserves to be remembered respectfully for contributions and accomplishments that created lasting, if sometimes unrecognized, legacies. There is more, however. The details of Dean's life highlight an important era in southern and United States history, while affording a close and insightful glimpse at how an African American man, likely born in poverty and slavery, could rise in the post-Reconstruction world to erudition, professional distinction, civic leadership, public office, and inspirational roles in the development and evolution of state, regional, and national institutions. Those details permit, as well, a sensitive understanding of the challenges, often monumental challenges, such a man faced but could—with will, talent, and determination—overcome in those same dynamic times. Personal complications such as those experienced and endured by Dean, including his attempts to divorce and the reverberations he experienced from them personally and in church and social affairs, also merit study and appreciation to a high degree, one that often passes without adequate attention. Florida and the study of Floridians such as James Dean thus provide laboratories, important laboratories, for explorations of meaning and understanding far beyond the state's geographical boundaries. James Dean may have been Florida's son, but he also was a son of the South and of the nation.

Doing the Job: The 1964 Desegregation of the Florida Army National Guard

by Thomas P. Honsa

The American civil rights movement usually brings to mind cities such as Montgomery, Birmingham, Memphis and Washington, D.C. In Florida, however, one of the most significant events of the civil rights era occurred without fanfare in the small, west coast town of Palmetto. It was here in 1964 that the color barrier was broken in one of the state's largest whites-only organizations, The Florida Army National Guard. For the first time in post-colonial history, African-Americans were enlisted into the state's military. Prior to American control, African Americans did play a military role in Florida. State guard officials claim that the first black militia unit in North America was formed under Spanish rule in 1683. The company of "free men of color" was commanded by a free black, Francisco Menendez until at least 1742. Free black Floridians also served the British during the American War for Independence and Spain again during the Second Period of Spanish Occupation. Historian Robert Hawk notes that while black units enrolled in the state militia from 1865 to 1901, "they received no state support and no encouragement to become active units."[1]

By the start of the 20th century officials across America were revisiting the role of civilian militias in America. In 1903 Congress

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1. Robert Hawk, *Florida's Black Militia,* <http://www.floridaguard.army.mil/history/read.asp?did=1293> (12 June 2007).

enacted legislation authorizing the replacement of militias with National Guard units, and Florida was the first state to implement the new law.[2] In Standing at Armageddon, Nell Painter observed that these new guard units gave middle and upper class men, products of the 19th century industrial revolution, the opportunity to become local military officers, dominate domestic security and quell labor unrest.[3] Florida's commitment to segregation meant that the new guard leaders were always white; it is hardly surprising that more than 60 years would pass before the Florida guard enlisted African Americans.

By the mid-1960s segregation in the National Guard was an issue gaining national significance. President Harry Truman ordered the desegregation of the active armed forces in 1948, but the policy did not apply to individual state guard units, which established and enforced their own enlistment and personnel policies. In fact, the General Staff's Committee on National Guard Policy specifically recommended against forced desegregation of the Guard, noting the tradition of local control and custom over state units.[4] New Jersey became the first state to desegregate its National Guard in 1947,[5] but most southern states refused. Civil Rights advocates quickly recognized the injustice in the policy. Director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Clarence Mitchell referred to segregated guard units as a "problem" as early as 1954.[6]

In 1962, Isham G. Newton conducted an extensive study of Guard recruitment practices. He situated the National Guard in its constitutional and historic context, noting the racially neutral language of the constitutional provision that created militias and the service of African Americans in all wars. In his discussion on the dual nature of the guard, he argued that the larger federal funding (95% by 1960) should provide the basis for extending mil-

2. Robert Hawk, *Florida's Army: Militia, State Troops, National Guard, 1565-1985* (Englewood, Fla: Pineapple Press, 1986), 126.
3. Nell Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: United States, 1877-1919* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 22.
4. Morris J. MacGregor, Jr., *Integration of the Armed Forces 1940-1965*, <http://www.history.army.mil/books/ingetration/IAF-FM.htm> (18 January 2008), Chapter 3, p. 3
5. GlobalSecurity. Org, <http//www.globalsecurity.org/military/agency/army/arng-history.htm> (17 January 2008).
6. Clarence Mitchell, "The Status of Racial Integration in the Armed Services," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Volume 23, No. 3 (Summer, 1954), 211.

itary integration to state units. To demonstrate the persistence of segregation in the National Guard, he mailed questionnaires to the Adjutants-General of the 50 state and District of Columbia Guard units. Sixteen states, eleven in the south, did not return the questionnaire. All except Texas, however, informally responded they had no "negroes in the State National Guard."[7] Newton attributed this to "the existence of unwritten racially restrictive policies related to recruitment and acceptance of minority group applicants."[8]

Richard J. Stillman concurred in Integration of the Negro in the U.S. Armed Forces. He reports that by 1965 only 539 of 122,669 of America's Guardsmen were non-white.[9] Stillman acknowledged that southern racial attitudes were a factor behind the figures, but pointed out additional subtleties in the issue. He attributed some racial disparities to population distributions. In one example, he noted that segregated housing policies helped state Guard leaders exclude African Americans from essentially local armories. In places like Idaho, segregation in Guard units reflected the miniscule black population in the state, whereas units like "Harlem's 369th Regiment is all-black because Negroes live there, have traditionally formed this historic regiment, and take pride in keeping it that way." He argued that southern efforts to recruit African Americans into the Guard were complicated by the non-violent nature of the civil rights movement there. "The political goals of Negroes in many areas place little emphasis on military demands," he wrote.[10] Moreover, his survey found that African-Americans interested in opportunities offered by the service were more inclined to join the regular military.[11]

By 1961, Civil Rights groups were exerting pressure on President John F. Kennedy to address the issue, and the NAACP called on federal authorities to withhold funds from states with white-only guards.[12] As Morris MacGregor noted in *Integration of*

7. Isham Newton, "The Negro and the National Guard," Phylon, (1st Qtr, 1962), 26,
8. Ibid., p. 22.
9. Richard J. Stillman, *Integration of the Negro in the U.S. Armed Forces* (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1968), 98.
10. Ibid., 105.
11. Ibid., 106.
12. MacGregor, chapter 20, p. 9.

the Armed Forces 1940-1965, state officials rejected the demand in language that emphasized the independence of state units from federal authority: "the Adjutant General of Florida declared that since the guard was a volunteer organization and his state had always drawn its members from among white citizens, Florida was under no obligation to enlist black men."[13] On June 24, 1962, however, Kennedy announced the formation of the President's Committee on Equality of Opportunity in the Armed Forces, headed by prominent Washington attorney Gerhard Gesell.[14] Included on the committee were men such as Whitney Young, Abe Fortas and Benjamin Muse, all with a background in both law and civil rights.[15]

By the time the committee released its final report in November of 1964, Lyndon Johnson was President. Over political objections from such prominent officials as Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, the report urged the President to declare the desegregation of the National Guard in the best interest of the country. MacGregor cited the committee's belief that desegregation was imperative because guard membership offered "a distinct advantage for some individuals, providing the chance to perform their military obligation without a lengthy time away from home or work." By the time the report was issued, though, most southern states, including Florida, had enlisted African Americans into their guard units.[16]

There is little documentary information on specific enlistment policies for the Florida Guard; there are no records on desegregation in the headquarters archives in St. Augustine.[17] National Guard historian John Listman noted that before leaving office in 1968, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara raised the subject of desegregation with state guard commanders, but there are no written desegregation directives for Florida or any other state in the National Guard archives.[18] Historian Renee Hylton points out that the lack of federal records is not surprising, since the state unit was

13. Ibid.
14. Bruce Lambert, "Judge Gerhard Gesell Dies at 82; Oversaw Big Cases," *New York Times*, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F0CE1DF163DF932A15751C0A965958260> (19 January 2008).
15. MacGregor, Chapter 21, p. 15.
16. Ibid.
17. Col. Greg Moore, Interview with author, 5 July 2007.
18. John Listman, email message to author, 27 June 2007.

not mobilized to fight in Vietnam, and the governor remained in command of the guard during the period under question.[19] A Department of Defense memorandum based on "word of mouth" suggests that a lone African American joined the Florida guard in 1963.[20] There is, however, no written or even anecdotal evidence in St. Augustine identifying this person. Additionally, Florida's ambiguous racial classification at the time makes it difficult to determine who qualified as African American. One could be considered a "full negro" if his or her great grandmother was black.[21] Vague classifications raise the possibility that state officials simply told federal authorities what they wanted to hear, knowing their reports were impossible to challenge.

The story of the men who desegregated Florida's National Guard therefore remains primarily an oral tradition and Palmetto is the first recognized desegregated National Guard unit in Florida. The story of the unit reveals much about the character of west central Florida at the time and says a great deal about the men, both black and white, who served in the guard. Additionally, the account of how and why the men desegregated the guard challenges the popular misconception that the struggle for black equality in America was a series of well-publicized, dramatic milestones that paved the way for future generations. The white guardsmen who oversaw the desegregation efforts and the African Americans who integrated the Florida National Guard remembered their experiences in terms of personal decisions, not as historic, pathbreaking efforts. In the eyes of those who crossed the color barrier into the guard, the real work, and the real challenges, started once they enlisted.

Captain Don Flowers, a veteran of nearly 100 World War II combat air missions, commanded what became Florida's first desegregated unit. In a 1994 interview, he recalled that federal attention to the racial composition of state units such as Florida's was hardly unexpected, and he asserted his readiness to participate in the process. "I think people in St. Augustine could see the

19. Renee Hylton, email message to author, 27 June 2007.
20. US Department of Defense, *Year End Report on Integration of Negroes in the National Guard* (Washington, DC) 1963.
21. William D. Zabel, "Inter-Racialism and the Law." *In Interracialism: Black-White Intermarriage in American History*, ed. Werner Sollors (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), 57.

handwriting on the wall," he remembered. "We all knew this was going to happen anyway. Besides, headquarters was pushing us at the time to build our strength up" to deal with state emergencies.[22] The Florida guard had been particularly active since the end of World War II, especially during hurricane seasons. From 1946 to 1965 guard units deployed to deal with twelve hurricanes, including 1960's Donna and 1964's Dora. Additionally, they were called out to cope with three major floods and five tornadoes.[23] The time commitment required for guard service had reduced recruitment as federal regulations required guardsmen to undergo full time basic training and a six- to eight-year service contract.[24]

Sergeant Johnsie McGuire, also white, was the company's 29-year-old Administrative Supply Technician. He was a full-time employee of the National Guard, and his duties included running the unit Monday to Friday, along with recruiting and enlisting new members. He also felt that the time was right for integration of the unit, and thought sooner was better than later:

> There was much discussion about it. It was really a matter of reading the handwriting on the wall. Those of us who were in a position to make a difference as far as the unit was concerned basically had the idea that a job is a job and the law is the law, and this is what's going to happen. Instead of having something shoved down our throats we figured we as a unit would probably be better off taking the initiative.[25]

Jim Kanzler (white) was B company's First Sergeant, and a Palmetto postal worker. He had also given thought to the possibility of desegregating the guard. "I don't remember any orders ever coming down about it, but some of the sergeants talked about it. The regular army had integrated and we wondered if the guard ever would and how they would do it," he recalled in a 2007 interview.[26] On Kanzler's postal staff was J.R. Green, III, a member of the town's all-black Masonic Lodge #487. "We had a fellow [who heard] about these guys who may want to join the National

22. Don Flowers, Interview with author, 14 November 1994.
23. Hawk, 198.
24. Ibid., 195.
25. Johnsie McGuire, Interview with author, 21 November 1994.
26. Jim Kanzler, Interview with author, 3 July 2007.

Guard," says Kanzler. "Of course, I had no idea at the time they were black," he adds, somewhat disingenuously.[27] Kanzler told Green to have the men contact him. A short time later Kary Green (no relation to J.R.) called Kanzler.

Green was 31 years old at the time and had served two years in the regular army in the early 1950s. He served in both the Eighth Armored and First Infantry Divisions and had been stationed in Germany. After returning to the United States, Green served six years in the reserves. He says he saw the National Guard as a good part-time job:

> I had to find some way of sending my kids to college eventually. My wife graduated [from Florida A&M University] and the deal was I kept the kids while she was in school. Well, when she graduated she couldn't find a job. She finally had to take a job with Health and Rehabilitative Services in West Palm Beach. When she finished her probation in six months, she put in for a transfer to Pinellas county and a move back home. She eventually got it, but it took until 1964. In the meantime, this was a way for me to get a little extra income and further my own military career.[28]

Green felt he would be the kind of candidate Kanzler was looking for to desegregate the guard; "Kanzler was looking for... fair people who knew the system and could handle it."[29]

Green contacted friends, alerting them to the opportunity to desegregate the guard and earn some extra money. One of those friends was 35-year-old Govan Kelly. Kelly, who died in 2005, was a long-time resident of Palmetto, a member of Lodge #487, and had also served in the U.S. Army, driving a truck in Korea from 1950 to 1952. He was driving a truck for a local building supply firm in 1964 and remembered Green's call well:

> Kary talked me into it. He came to me and said the National Guard was looking for someone to integrate it, and asked if I was interested. I went to school with Kary, and he and I had been good friends for years. I would

27. Jim Kanzler, Interview with author, 14 November 1994.
28. Kary Green, Interview with author, 15 November 1994.
29. Ibid.

> probably say I joined because Kary asked me to, and because he was joining. I went in with a group, and that was the only way I would have done it.[30]

Another of Green's friends was 33-year-old Lonnie Dixon. Dixon was a member of Bradenton's all-Black Masonic Lodge #490. He, too, was a Korean War veteran and had lived most of his life in Manatee County. Like Green, he saw the guard mainly as a way to make a better life for his children. "I really wanted to see what the National Guard was like," he remembers, "I also wanted to put my children through college. For me it was an opportunity."[31]

A fourth African-American who chose to join the group was 27-year-old Azell Johnson. He knew the other men and says he decided the time and opportunity was right for his own reasons:

> I never thought of it as being the first, or in the group of the first, blacks in the National Guard. I began to think about it, though as time passed on. . . . Remember this was quite a shock. I don't even think we totally realized it at the time.[32]

Herman Randall, another enlistee, agreed. "We weren't what you would call Jackie Robinson types," he says. Randall was a Korean War veteran who had moved to Palmetto after his discharge from the army in order to help run his family's business. The guard was one way he could continue his military experience and still meet his personal obligations. "We were all mature, stable-minded adults and veterans. We'd been through it before. We were well-disciplined."[33] In all, six African-Americans chose to cross the color line and desegregate Florida's National Guard at once. Kary Green, Kelly, Dixon, Randall and Johnson were joined by James Bush, Jr. McGuire enlisted them on November 2, 1964.[34]

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30. Govan Kelly, Interview with author, 27 November 1994.
31. Lonnie Dixon, Interview with author, 20 November 1994.
32. Azell Johnson, Interview with author, 22 November 1994.
33. Herman Randall, interview with the author, 2 July 2007.
34. Bush has since passed away. Most of those directly involved recall an African-American named Martin joined around the same time. It is not clearly remembered whether Martin was his first or last name, but the consensus is he enlisted shortly after the original six.

All knew to expect some level of trouble. Before their enlistment, Kanzler sat down with the men and told them what they already knew, that they could be in for a rough time. Kanzler pointed out that even though all the inductees had experience in the integrated regular army, racial feelings might run stronger in a southern part-time National Guard unit. Interracial military contact was less intense, he says, and deeply held feelings might be reinforced when off-duty:

> I laid it on the line when they came to sign up. I said, 'You better understand you're black. You're starting something here. I hope you can take the word nigger and some other things they're going to say.' To the best of my memory only one guy used that word besides me. I used it with some of the white guys for discipline purposes, telling them what not to say.[35]

The men clearly remember that first meeting with Kanzler and praise him for his candor and forthrightness. Green says he remembers the meeting particularly well:

> He discussed the N-word with us. He asked what we thought and could we deal with people using it. I know for myself I didn't promise anything. I wasn't about to go into the situation saying I was going to be somebody's lackey dog. My feeling was this was the federal government. I'd been in the army, and I was going to be treated just like everybody else. . . . This is America, and I felt this was an opportunity to further my military career.[36]

Kelly also remembered the talk with Kanzler. "He was real good the whole time...He let us know it would be hard on us."[37]

It was hard, especially at first, and especially for Kelly. While the rest of the new inductees went into mess detail, Kelly took his post as an infantryman. His was the only black face seen in the field, and he was the target of repeated belittlement and snubs. "I didn't want to cook...But a lot of times back then I wish I had," he laughed.[38] He remembered most of his early problems occurred in the field:

35. Kanzler, Interview.
36. Green, Interview.
37. Kelly, Interview.
38. Ibid.

> My first experience with any problems was when we went into the field for the first time. We were in two-man tents. They lined us up in two lines, facing each other. The man in front of us was the man we were supposed to tent with. The guy I was supposed to be with refused. I just sort of figured 'all right,' and I slept in my one-half of the tent by myself. It kind of surprised me at the time. I thought the first sergeant would have made him do it, but he didn't.[39]

Kelly recalled another incident that occurred when he was on guard duty a few months later. He went back into his tent around 10:00 p.m., and his tent-mate asked what time it was. When Kelly told him, the man realized he was bunking with a black and within five minutes had left the tent and did not return all night. Kelly said, "the next day it was the two of us together in the field all day, and neither of us said one word to the other. All day we just worked in silence."[40]

Not all of the racial slights directed against Kelly occurred in the field. On a trip home from Camp Blanding the line of trucks they were riding in stopped. The five whites riding with Kelly jumped off the back of the truck and ran to one further up the line. Kelly spent the rest of the ride home by himself. "I used to wonder why they just didn't tell me what they were thinking or what they were feeling," he recalled. "To tell you the truth, my feelings were sort of hurt."[41]

Despite all the unspoken insults, Kelly stated he encountered only one physical altercation in his six years in the guard. Two brothers confronted and insulted him in the field. He refused to back down. They stood there staring and cursing at one another until tempers finally cooled, and the incident subsided:

> I was under a lot of pressure, myself. I used to have headaches every day. There were a lot of little things that you try to envision beforehand. You can't know every one, though. Like when I finally found a white man who would share the same tent with me, he kept his rifle between me and him the whole night.[42]

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39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Kelly, Interview.

Green also experienced difficulties after joining the guard. He says, though, that it was not the blacks who had the problems; it was the whites. The age and veteran status of the new men helped them deal with the slights, even when some whites left the guard because of the presence of blacks. The support of the company leadership proved critical, and Green remembers that "Sergeant Kanzler backed us up all the way."[43]

Green asserts, however, that the men of B Company were not as much a problem as guardsmen from other units, especially those from Ft. Myers and Arcadia. "They always had a little smile or smirk when they were around," he remembers. "As long as they were smiling it was okay. It was when they got drunk . . . then it got bad. But our unit closed ranks."[44] An incident Green remembers clearly involved guardsmen from outside the local unit:

> I remember there were two of us they sent up to Camp Blanding for school. It was me and another guy, a white fellow. We went up there, and they had to provide sleeping quarters. Well, I was the only black in a room full of whites. Me and the other fellow I went up with bunked right next to one another. The other ones, though, there were always five or six empty bunks between us and them. They slept in the same room but wouldn't sleep in the same area as me.[45]

Like Kelly, Green says physical threats were practically nonexistent. He attributes that to not only his regular army experience, but also his rank. He entered the guard as a corporal and made sergeant within his first year.

That rank led to some problems for Green. Kanzler remembers one incident in which a white man refused to work under the black company mess steward:

> There was this one guy assigned to KP. He walked off duty and said, 'I'm not working for any nigger.' He got about halfway across the drill floor when I caught him, turned him around and said, 'How about you go and apologize to Sgt. Green?'[46]

43. Green, Interview.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Kanzler, Interview.

Randal, who retired from the guard in 1987 as a staff sergeant, says he also encountered problems as he gained more responsibility. Some of his men, he feels, had probably never spent an extended amount of time with African-Americans.

> They just knew what their families had told them. They found out the hard way that people of color aren't dumb and all the other things they'd heard. We weren't out to rape their women and all that. They came to question all the things they'd been taught and that had to be hard, it had to be kind of confusing.[47]

Randall remembers calling his detail together once and telling them he could not treat them all the same. "You should have seen their eyes pop. But then I said, 'I can treat you all fairly.' From that time on those guys really put out for me."[48]

Johnson, meanwhile, says the reaction he received upon entering the guard was almost uniformly positive. He entered with the attitude he would try one six-year enlistment term and see how it went and calls his reception into B company warm and friendly. Most of his military experience had been as the assistant chief of admission and disposition at the army hospital on Okinawa. He dealt primarily with officers and had a very positive view of military life in general. He says that attitude made all the difference in the guard:

> We had that military background and that was important. We knew how to wear the uniform and of course, we had some extra patches [from regular army service] on our sleeves and people would come up and say, 'What's that patch for?' and 'Where did you get that one?' You combine that with the fact we were a little bit older and a lot of the young white soldiers just didn't have the impetus to come up and start trouble.[49]

Johnson says Bush was particularly noteworthy for the care he took toward his uniform. Bush's uniforms, he says, were tailored and meticulously measured, even to determining exactly how much of pant leg to stuff into his boots.[50]

47. Randall Interview
48. Ibid.
49. Johnson Interview
50. Ibid.

The newly enlisted blacks were not the only ones to suffer from adversity after desegregating the guard. The three white men most responsible for bringing them in, Flowers, McGuire and Kanzler, had to face negative situations as well. The difficult task of making desegregation as smooth as possible for the whites in the outfit fell to Kanzler. He recalls that there was a lot of discussion among the men about the newcomers, but there was never any physical violence. He points out, however, that their inclusion was hardly smooth. "Some of the platoon sergeants and squad leaders said they didn't want them," said Kanzler. "They had to let them in. I was the First Sergeant. I had power. And at that time I was seen as someone who could be rather mean when I had to be."[51] Kanzler also recalls verbal abuse he received from other whites in the National Guard who discovered he had helped enlist the blacks:

> There were never any threats or anything in writing. I remember being told by some people 'You can be busted' or 'You can be discharged.' But that was really individuals, nothing official. And I was never really afraid. I knew where a lot of skeletons were buried. After 16 years you know who drinks what kind of whiskey and what people do at camp.[52]

Flowers also recalls receiving an unofficial reprimand after the blacks enlisted. One colonel called Flowers and gave him trouble. "He said `My God, Flowers. What are you doing enlisting six at one time?'" Flowers laughs. "Who knows, maybe my doing this was the reason I retired as just a major."[53]

To a man, the first blacks in the Florida National Guard say the adjustment period after they enlisted was difficult but not dangerous. To them, breaking the color line was just a beginning. The true advance in civil rights and black opportunity could come about only if they were able to succeed in the guard. Success to them meant a long-term commitment and professional advancement. Moving up through the ranks and perhaps even eventual retirement were their true goals when they joined. They realized the only way they could do this was to maintain the highest possible standards of professionalism and performance. This, they say, was their real contribution to the civil rights movement.

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51. Kanzler, Interview.
52. Ibid.
53. Flowers, Interview.

"It was our game-plan," says Johnson. "We chose not to let anything stop us." According to Johnson and others, the men discussed their role in the guard and what desegregation meant to them. They reached a consensus, he says, that they needed to earn respect and recognition in the guard. The way to do that was to become active, productive and integral parts of the unit. "We had the mindset that we weren't going to let somebody's attitude be a block or hindrance to our advancement," he says. "The army says, if you equip yourself, you'll move. That's what we were trying to do."[54]

Dixon echoes those sentiments. He says that even though their enlistment did not generate a public negative reaction, they still were not sure how far they could move up in the guard. They were, however, determined to find out. He says the only way to do that was to do the job the guard asked him to do:

> There really hadn't been a big blow-up over what we did, but I'm sure it had to be easier for the people who came after us to join the guard. After a period of time people see you're in there to do a job, and you do it. That builds respect in people. Eventually people became real receptive, and some of those who had doubts finally accepted us. They realized we had a role to play in the guard. We did our jobs and, I think, served as a model.[55]

Dixon points out that over time, it became increasingly easier to be black in the Florida National Guard, and time was an important consideration in his mind. The enlistees' commitment to the guard let people know they were not in just to change the guard but to contribute to it. "It wouldn't have worked," he says, "if we'd stayed just two weeks."[56]

The first inductee to advance significantly was Green. By the summer of 1965, he was a sergeant and B Company's mess steward. The promotion put him in charge of the unit's food and its preparation and gave him command over the kitchen staff. The kitchen staff was made up of both blacks and whites. While there were problems, Green says, he always felt equipped to deal with them. "I think my experience and my leadership really helped me," says Green. "I had been with the Big Red One [the famous U.S. Army

54. Johnson, Interview.
55. Dixon, Interview.
56. Ibid.

1st Infantry Division] in Germany, and I was proud to be a part of that unit. . . nobody cared about color there."[57] His regular army experience, taught him the kinds of threats, such as the traditional peeling of potatoes, a mess steward could use to work his will on a kitchen staff. That, plus his sergeant's stripes and the backing of Flowers and Kanzler, gave Green real authority over the men of the mess detail.[58]

Kelly's experience with promotion did not go as smoothly as Green's. He claimed that at one point during his six years in the guard, he was promoted to squad leader, but his tenure at that position may have been artificially shortened. The reason, he felt, was that the squad's whites repeatedly questioned having to serve under black leadership. "I knew there would be groups of people talking about me over here when I was standing over there."[59] There were several times Kelly thought of joining the other blacks in the mess detail, and he said the black inductees discussed the matter. "There were a few times I almost went into cooking," Kelly said. "I used to go to Kary and he would say `Hang on. You know why we're doing this.'"[60]

The most dramatic story of advancement in the guard is Johnson's, the Florida Army National Guard's first black officer. He says his efforts began on a Saturday morning in 1965 as he was sweeping the hall outside Kanzler's office in the Palmetto National Guard Armory. The first sergeant was inside talking to several white men about their qualifications for the Officers Candidate School (OCS) the state guard ran at the time. "Well, I wanted to be an officer even then," says Johnson. "Most of my duty overseas had been dealing with officers, and I knew they got the gravy in the military."[61] Eventually the other men left Kanzler's office, and Johnson took the opportunity to make his feelings known. According to Johnson, Kanzler initially dismissed the possibility. "He looked at me and said, `You can't do that. It just isn't done.' I don't think he took me seriously."[62]

57. Green, Interview.
58. Ibid.
59. Kelly, Interview.
60. Ibid.
61. Johnson, Interview.
62. Ibid.

Kanzler admits his surprise. "There's no question I was taken aback," he says. "He most definitely was the first black to ask, and he wasn't really what we considered officer candidate material at the time." Kanzler points out that, in 1964, the Florida National Guard generally considered officer candidates to be white sergeants with some college education. "We realized, though, we had no right to say who could and couldn't apply."[63]

Johnson persisted in his efforts to get into the school, however, and contacted McGuire, who told him to come back during the week. They filled out the required applications in McGuire's office and sent them to battalion headquarters where they were rejected. "I think it had something to do with incomplete information on one of the forms," says Johnson.[64] They corrected the forms and filed again, and the application was then rejected by Florida National Guard headquarters. Again they submitted the applications, which were approved by battalion and state officials, and finally by the National Guard Bureau in Washington, D.C. The entire procedure took about six months. "It was a runaround, sure," says Johnson.[65]

Before going to OCS, Johnson says he had to appear before an officers' review board at battalion headquarters in St. Petersburg:

> The looked at my record in the regular army and my good conduct medal and overseas duty and National Guard service and all like that. I don't know whether they were trying to discourage me or feel me out or what, but they told me 'No black has ever done this before, and you should be ready for all the problems you'll encounter.' But the more they came on like that the more determined I was to do it.[66]

Johnson says he reported to OCS at Camp Blanding in north Florida in 1966, and says it was a day he will always remember. He was the only black in a group of around 125 guardsmen who reported for school. From the beginning there were some officers at the school who wanted him out. "I remember one of them said at 0630 the next day he wanted me to have 'all my shit packed and

63. Jim Kanzler, Interview with author, 1 December 1994.
64. Johnson, Interview.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.

be at the front gate ready to go.' I told him 'I'll be here when you leave.' That's the only problem I had with him."[67] Johnson says he was determined not to let anything get in the way of his becoming a National Guard officer. "It was kind of tough at times, but I knew I couldn't let it become a decision-making factor for me," he states. "I had a mission, a purpose. There was nothing they could do to run me out of there."[68] Johnson graduated from OCS in June of 1966. By this time his unit had become an artillery outfit, and 2nd Lieutenant Azell Johnson was assigned to command Bradenton's service battery of the 116th Field Artillery. He was the first black unit commander in Florida National Guard history. "There were a few who had difficulties taking orders from a black man," he remembers, "but they were the ones with the problem. I had the bars right here [pointing to his shoulder]. It didn't bother me."[69]

How did the local community react to the desegregation of the state National Guard? Then, as today, there seems to have been little publicity over the matter. Johnson says the men involved never made an issue of it, and many in the black community were unaware it had happened. "Our black friends used to ask us why we did it," he says, "but every now and then someone would come over and say 'Hey, how's it going?' and 'You're doing great.' There was a lot of pride."[70]

McGuire also remembers the community reaction as understated and subdued:

> It surprised a lot of people in the community that it went as well as it did. You enlist six black men into the Florida National Guard, and they are the first. I think a lot of people were very surprised the unit got on as well as it did without serious incident. I remember Gordon Alderman was the mayor of Palmetto at the time. His family lived here forever. He expressed many times to me how commendable it was how well we got along with each other.[71]

McGuire also remembers a lot of surprise that Palmetto was home of the first Florida guard unit to desegregate. He also notes that people's disbelief eventually turned into grudging admiration over

67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Johnson, Interview.
71. McGuire, Interview.

their courage to be the first. "As far as a lot of `Oh no, you've really gone and stepped in it now,' I don't remember a lot of that. But of course I wasn't listening for it."[72]

Dixon had become a guard recruiter by 1968, and he remembers the reaction of other communities to their enlistment. At this time, many National Guard units were trying to integrate, and Dixon says those in Miami and West Palm Beach were having a particularly tough time enlisting black members. "I don't think there was anything special about us," he says. "We just went in with a job to do, and we decided to stay in and do it."[73]

That statement is indicative of the men who desegregated the Florida National Guard. They felt then, and feel now, that succeeding in the guard was the path to inter-racial success. Just being guardsmen was not enough; they had to excel in the guard. That success, however, was very personal at the time. They did not feel an overwhelming sense of mission or that they were making bold steps in the civil rights movement. They saw themselves as six men who joined the National Guard because it made professional and personal sense at the time. They were, of course, aware of their color and that they were the only blacks in the guard. That was not, however, their main concern. Green sums up the feelings of most in the group when he says, "We didn't really think about integration or civil rights at the time. We just felt we were entitled to the same rights and privileges as anyone else in America."[74]

"Absolutely," echoes Randall. "My attitude was if you won't let me in the front door than damn it, I'll go around the back. And once I get a foot in that door you won't ever close it."[75]

With the passage of time all those involved have developed an appreciation for what they accomplished. Thirty years after the fact, the men now talk freely about the legacy of what they did. They contemplate its meaning and its place in the civil rights movement. In 1964, they did what they thought was right for them at the time. Today, they see what they did as being right for the country, and for the generation of black Americans who have followed them.

72. Ibid.
73. Dixon, Interview.
74. Green, Interview.
75. Randall, Interview.

Green has given it some thought. "We opened the way for a lot of young black men in Florida," he states. "It was a chance for us to show the people of Florida that we belong and that we can do the job as well as anybody."[76]

Kelly had a similar view. The guard provided a financial opportunity for him in 1964, and he was happy to take it. He realized at the time they were breaking a color line, but they had no sense of history. "We made history," he recalled, "but the truth is we never really thought about it."[77]

Johnson agrees. While he admits they knew they were desegregating the Florida National Guard and that their presence could change the guard for all time, their priority was doing a good job and gaining acceptance from their white guard comrades. If they failed, it could actually be more difficult for blacks to join in the future. That is why, he says, their role in the civil rights movement was rarely at the front of their minds:

> It was never my intention to make a big deal out of it. Now, 30 years later, I do take pride in saying I was the first black Officers Candidate School graduate and the first black unit commander, along with being one of a group of the first blacks in the guard.[78]

The incident has also left a lasting impression on McGuire. The white, full-time sergeant says the enlistment of Bush, Dixon, Green, Kelly, Randall and Johnson was good for the guard. He also says that while it was an historic event, it meant more to him personally. "It will always be significant that six friends were enlisted and the fact that they were black and also the fact they have become some of the best friends you could have in the world."[79] He also says the personality of the inductees made a major difference in their success in the guard:

> If there had been belligerency on our part or on the part of the six guys of the different race, it could have been much different. By the grace of God we were able to find guys we knew, and folks we knew were real people. These

76. Green, Interview.
77. Kelly, Interview.
78. Johnson, Interview.
79. McGuire, Interview.

were men who were interested in trying to make things work and to show their professionalism.[80]

While B Company's white officers and non-commissioned officers invited and supported the efforts at integration, they are quick to quell any suggestion that they deserve most of the credit. "Absolutely not," says Kanzler. "We didn't do it for them; I guarantee you that"[81] In fact, he says the guard may have gained as much from the African-American enlistees as they gained from the guard. "If it hadn't taken place the guard would have been worse off. We would have been lost without some of these guys' experiences."[82] Green takes offense at the idea he and his friends were doing the bidding of white men when they enlisted. "I didn't like being called an 'Uncle Tom' or people saying I was hand-picked to integrate the guard," he bristles. "I know damn well I wasn't. There was simply an opportunity there."[83]

One can learn much from the integration of Florida's National Guard in 1964. The event says a great deal about the guard and the men who served in it, and it leads one to think about contemporary perceptions of the civil rights movement in general. The incident points out the professionalism on the part of some guard members. They understood the trend toward desegregation and decided on a proactive rather than reactive strategy. Such behavior casts doubt on the image of the stereotypical National Guardsman playing soldier on the weekend, and highlights the motives of government officials who supported the civil rights movement. The whites who accepted the blacks into the Florida National Guard claim to have done so not out of a spirit of racial harmony, but simply out of professionalism. They felt their responsibility was to be as colorblind as possible, not for the good of the country, but for the good of the Guard and their own professional standing.

Far more importantly, however, the incident raises interesting questions about the everyday nature of the civil rights movement. It has been nearly forty years since the death of Dr. Martin Luther King and over fifty since the Montgomery bus boycotts. In that time, many have come to see the civil rights movement as an issue

80. Ibid.
81. Kanzler, Interview, 1994.
82. Kanzler, Interview, 2007.
83. Green, Interview.

dominated by larger-than-life characters committed to heroic deeds. Certainly, that is accurate to an extent, but one cannot help but wonder how many of the advances made by black Americans over the past fifty years resemble those made in the Florida National Guard. How many historical accomplishments, one must wonder, can today be credited to people who simply saw an opportunity to do a job and make the lives of their children a little bit better? How often were these opportunities presented by people who felt they were simply doing their jobs? It does not diminish the work of Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, or Malcolm X to elevate the efforts of James Bush, Lonnie Dixon, Kary Green, Azell Johnson, Herman Randall, and Govan Kelly.

These men, in their way, were also civil rights activists. They would have barely considered it at the time, and perhaps they still would have trouble seeing it that way. They solidified their own financial standing by taking advantage of the opportunity to join the Florida National Guard. They also, however, contributed to the movement by doing what they felt was right. They recognized they were the first blacks to enlist, and that they were opening the door for others to follow. That, however, was secondary to their initial goal. Their aspiration was not to make a noble statement by breaking the color line in Florida's military, but to win over their white guard colleagues with their perseverance, professionalism and pride. Over forty years later, Randall recognizes the historic nature of their enlistment, but he sums up the feelings they all say they felt at the time, "I didn't go in to make waves. I just had a job to do." [84]

84. Randall, Interview.

The Florida Classroom[1]

Designing History: An Interactive Exploration of the 1930s Florida Ship Canal

By Chris Beckmann, Steven Noll, and David Tegeder

Typically the study of Florida history in the state's schools begins and ends in the fourth grade. Students learn that St. Augustine predates Jamestown, the Seminole Wars were the deadliest and costliest Indian conflicts in American history, Olustee was the only major Civil War battle fought on Florida soil, and 1920's Miami was the center of the first Florida land boom. Unfortunately most high school curricula do not build upon that base and place little emphasis upon the important place of Florida history within the larger national historical narrative. Discussions of race often ignore Rosewood and the significance of Harry T. Moore to the Civil Rights struggle. Joe McCarthy overwhelms all examinations of Cold War domestic policy, pushing aside investigations into the seminal 1950 senate primary campaign involving

1 Editor's Note: The Florida Classroom will be an occasional inclusion in the Florida Historical Quarterly. It is hoped that the material provided in this article will be useful to state teachers and students as they integrate Florida history into larger national and global history.

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Claude "Red" Pepper and George Smathers. Levittown is the archetype for an analysis of post war suburbia while the later explosive growth of Florida, as epicenter of the Sunbelt, is often overlooked. The New Deal is presented as a series of successful government programs with long lasting, tangible results. From Social Security to the Grand Coulee Dam, from post office murals to the TVA, the New Deal profoundly reshaped America. Florida was a major recipient of Franklin Roosevelt's largess. Nearly every county can point to a library, public school, or state park created in the 1930's with federal funds, many of which are still utilized by residents and tourists.

The most ambitious Florida project, the $5 million Florida Ship Canal, is a rare example of a failed New Deal project. Begun in 1935 and stopped less than a year later, the canal was designed both to expedite shipping between the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean and to provide employment opportunities during the Great Depression. The debate over the canal divided the state and revolved around issues that would resonate throughout both Florida and the nation for the remainder of the century and beyond. Touching on concerns about economic growth and the environment, profligate government spending, and the increasing role of the federal government in the lives of everyday citizens, the canal was the major political story in Florida in the 1930s. Sadly, today it is almost forgotten. This short essay and the attendant lesson materials provide an opportunity to resurrect this story and integrate it back into the mainstream of the high school American history curriculum.

The dream of a man-made cross peninsular waterway began long before the time of Franklin Roosevelt. Both the Spanish and the British contemplated a canal across colonial Florida to connect the Gulf and the Atlantic. However, calls for such an undertaking did not begin in earnest until the acquisition of Florida by the United States in 1821. These requests necessitated an on-going series of surveys by the Army Corps of Engineers for the most appropriate location for such a canal. For the next 110 years, the Corps issued numerous reports and recommendations that suggested as many as twenty eight different routes across the peninsula. The routes varied in length from less than 100 miles to the grandiose scheme of over 200 miles connecting the St. Marks River in northern Florida to the mouth of the St. Marys River in Fernandina on the Atlantic. A 1932 Corps report concluded that

route 13-B was the most desirable, practical, and economical path for a ship canal. This thirty foot deep cut would allow ocean-going vessels to sail directly through the Florida peninsula at the rate of one ship per hour. Route 13-B followed the St. Johns River from its entry into the Atlantic Ocean down to the city of Palatka, then along the Ocklawaha River to a point near Silver Springs. It then continued westward, cutting a swath of land across the heart of the peninsula south of Ocala to Dunnellon. There, the canal met the Withlacoochee River and followed that watercourse until it entered the Gulf of Mexico at Inglis. All told, the proposed waterway would be longer than the Suez Canal and displace more dirt than the Panama.

Economic boosters within Florida pushed mightily for government support for canal construction. It took the Great Depression and the need for jobs, however, to convince officials to fund the waterway. Spurred on by Florida Senators Park Trammell and Duncan Fletcher, President Roosevelt allocated $5 million on August 30, 1935 to begin the canal. The ditch was to be a ship canal- a 30 foot deep slash across the Florida peninsula, with no need for locks or dams. Always the consummate politician, Roosevelt took advantage of a natural disaster off the coast of Florida to rally support for his decision. Following the grounding of the cruise ship Dixie in the Labor Day hurricane of September 2, 1935, Roosevelt announced the next day that the canal would prevent such occurrences in the future.

Under the auspices of the Army Corps of Engineers, work began almost immediately in clearing the land and excavating the canal. The Corps built Camp Roosevelt located approximately four mile south of Ocala to house the almost five thousand workers engaged in canal constructions. The Camp provided housing and meals for the mostly all male crews and each man earned $10.80 per week. These workers came from all over the state with the hope of steady work. Though the canal was expected to employ 20,000 workers over five years, this figure barely make a dent in a state where unemployment reached 25% in 1935. By mid-1936, working by hand and with horse and mule-drawn equipment, as well as primitive earth-moving equipment, workers cut a ten mile path through the Central Florida Ridge south of Ocala, removing approximately 13 million cubic yards of dirt. Concerns about the project's ever expanding costs and its effect on Florida's ground water halted the project in June 1936. Michigan's

Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg led the assault on the canal as a profligate waste of government resources. Vandenberg viewed the canal as another example of FDR's frivolous New Deal policies leading to out of control government debt and disturbing socialistic economic tendencies. Florida citrus and vegetable growers condemned the deep waterway as a source of salt water intrusion into the water supply necessary for them to grow their crops. With Florida's economy still heavily dependent upon agriculture, theirs was a forceful voice in opposition to the canal. Additionally, conservation groups such as local garden clubs and the Audubon Society, often comprised of middle and upper class women, challenged the project as a threat to the pristine beauty of the peninsula and an economic threat to Florida's tourism industry. The combined efforts of these dissenters in both Washington and Florida persuaded the Senate to cut off funding for the project in June 1936 by the slim margin of 36 to 35. By this time, even Roosevelt had lost his enthusiasm for the project given the array of forces in opposition. He refused to provide emergency funds through the executive branch that would have sustained the canal. For all intents and purposes, the ship canal was dead.

Yet, like a vampire that could never die, the idea of a canal persisted. In the early 1940s, supporters called for renewed canal construction by tying the project to the protection of gasoline barges from the predation of German U-boats off Florida's coastline. They also developed a new model for construction- a shallow (12') barge canal with locks and dams, whose cut through Florida would not be nearly as intrusive as the 1930s ship canal. Thus, the Florida aquifer would not be harmed by salt water intrusion. In 1942, Congress authorized the barge canal but appropriated no funding for the project. It took 20 more years for funding to finally come through and construction finally began in February 1964. The 1960s saw a repeat of the contentious debate over canal construction, as a nascent environmental movement headed by Marjorie Harris Carr, challenged the building of the waterway. In January 1971 President Richard Nixon halted canal construction because of its danger to the Florida environment. At this point, less than one third of it had been completed. In 1991, after twenty more years of political acrimony over the disposition of the canal and its adjacent lands and infrastructure, the state of Florida established a 107 mile linear park along the path of the canal. In 1998, recognizing the importance of Marjorie Carr in this process, Florida named the park after her.

This environmentally-friendly greenway marked an ironic end to a canal project that would have created significant deleterious consequences for Florida's ecology. But like so much about this endless saga, there was no "clean" ending. Controversy still remains and is currently focused upon the future of the canal's existing infrastructure, most notably the fate of Kirkpatrick Dam and Rodman Reservoir on the Ocklawaha River. The heirs of Marjorie Carr's environmental vision want the dam removed and the river restored to its natural flow; conversely, proponents of maintaining the dam view the reservoir as a well-established ecosystem and a productive bass fishing area with significant economic value to the surrounding region. Therefore the concerns and issues of 2008 remain remarkably similar to those voiced in the 1930s.

While the ship canal saga makes an engaging Florida history lecture topic, the contentious debate over construction waged from the halls of Congress to the citrus growing associations of Florida in the 1930s can be recreated in the classroom to invest students with a genuine sense of historical relevance and a deep understanding of how and why government programs are launched, promoted, challenged, and, in this case, ultimately abandoned. This quasi-historical (the 1935 town hall meeting the students participate in never actually occurred) reenactment shares some similarities with the case study and problem-based learning methods currently in vogue in its emphasis upon student collaboration with the instructor operating as a classroom facilitator. However, while much of the case study and problem-based applications focus upon medical school training, the ship canal lesson suggests myriad opportunities to enliven the history classroom. Students adopt historical personae and, working in groups, analyze primary documents related to or produced by an historical character. The instructor/facilitator assists the groups in their document explication by asking leading questions so that the texts are clearly understood within the context of the 1930s.

Even the most informed and gracefully executed lecture does not allow the student to truly appreciate the peculiar nature of historical causality. History lectures intimate inevitability no matter how many times the instructor reminds the audience that the figures at the time could not know the final outcome of their actions. The interactive recreation, on the other hand, places students directly inside an unfolding debate. They assume the roles of passionate defender and heartfelt critic and the arguments they pre-

pare and present illustrate the depth and complexity of policy-making that not only enhances their appreciation for historical controversy but also hones their ability to analyze current disputes with a greater sensitivity to nuance and the complex costs of continuing or discontinuing various programs or policies. The following lesson plan includes all the materials necessary to take your students back to 1930s Ocala, Florida where forgotten men dreamed of jobs, Palatka boosters of the next great world port, and President Roosevelt of votes. On the other side, Senator Vandenberg feared massive government waste, citrus growers aquifer degradation, and garden clubbers the transformation of Florida into a desert. Finally students might also apply some of the lessons of this historic debate to today's battles over Florida's future as agricultural, housing, retail, and tourist interests vie to place their large and overlapping footprints upon the state.

To Build or Not to Build: The Florida Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal of the 1930s

Introduction:

An all-water passage through Florida was a dream of Spanish, British and American settlers on the peninsula since the sixteenth century. Economic, political, and technological factors combined in the 1930s to initiate construction of a ship canal in north Florida that would, according to President Franklin Roosevelt, "forever make it unnecessary for sea goers to risk their lives in circumnavigation of Florida's long, hurricane-blistered thumb." Construction began in September 1935 but a close Senate vote in March 1936 withdrew essential funding and killed the project. An examination of the heated political debate over construction reveals how the clash of local and national interests forged New Deal policy during the Great Depression and also offers a comparative model for other grandiose but successful projects like the TVA.

Time Frame and Procedure:

This unit is designed for two class periods. On day one, the instructor will present an historical survey of the canal corridor, based on the above story, emphasizing the following topics: the nineteenth and early twentieth century Ocklawaha River basin, the 1930s Florida-Atlantic Ship Canal within the wider context of the

New Deal, the effort to resurrect the project as a barge canal in the 1960s and the transformation of the corridor into a greenway. At the end of this class, each student will receive a sheet with thumbnail sketches of the following individuals with distinct stakes in the project: President Roosevelt, Senator Vandenberg, a Florida unemployed "forgotten man," Senator Claude Pepper, Florida Citrus Grower, Miami Garden Club member. The students are instructed to read all sketches in preparation for the next class.

On day two, students will be placed into groups of two to four depending on class size and assigned a particular historical figure from the aforementioned list. Each group will receive two worksheets and two documents related to that individual and they have approximately fifteen minutes to digest both documents, fill out the worksheet, and frame an historically accurate argument for or against construction consistent with their subject. During this document analysis portion of the class, the teacher/facilitator will assist groups of students in delineating the particular positions. Prior to the presentations, the teacher will set the appropriate historical stage by telling the student/historical characters that they have been invited to a public forum in Ocala, Florida in the late 1930s to discuss this project. The teacher/facilitator will serve as moderator (inviting speakers to the podium) and a local newspaper reporter posing questions to prompt the speakers and the audience towards the essential elements of the debate. A spokesperson from each group will present his/her character's position on canal construction in three minutes. Other spokespersons/historical characters are encouraged to challenge their rivals. And at the end of the class, the teacher/facilitator will evaluate each performance and explain why the project was ultimately abandoned.

Objectives:

1. To understand the scope and scale of a major (but often overlooked) New Deal project.

2. To appreciate the complex and conflicting web of political, economic, and social interests (and individuals) that converge and conflict to make and (in this case) break federal government policy and programs.

3. To adopt a specific historical persona in order to "see" the past more clearly (genuinely) through his/her eyes.

4. To formulate a coherent argument based upon primary source document analysis.

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Online Resources:

Sites checked for accuracy as of February 2008.

http://www.fladefenders.org/publications/restoring3.html
Florida Defenders of the Environment (FDE) site
A short concise history of the canal battle of the 1960s with special emphasis on the future of Ocklawaha basin.

http://www.dep.state.fl.us/gwt/cfg/history.htm
Florida DEP Cross Florida Greenway site
Timeline of construction with photos from 1930s to present.

http://www.saj.usace.army.mil/digitalproject/dpn/sajn_006.htm
Army Corps of Engineers site regarding the Canal
This site contains data and maps pertaining to canal construction.

http://www.floridamemory.com/PhotographicCollection/
Florida State Photographic Archives
Search under titles "florida ship canal" and "cross florida barge canal" for images and maps related to the project.

http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpaintro/wpahome.html
Library of Congress Federal Writers Project interviews
Search for interviews with Florida workers from the 1930s to enhance Forgotten Man themes.

Published Sources:

These resources can be found in most Florida public libraries.

Florida Historical Quarterly, special issue on the Cross Florida Barge Canal, Summer 2004, Volume 83, Number 1.

The on-line version of the FHQ only goes up to 2003.

Lee Irby, "A Passion for Wild Things: Marjorie Harris Carr and the Fight to Free a River," in Making Waves: Female Activists in Twentieth Century Florida (University Press of Florida 2003).

Nelson Blake, Land into Water – Water into Land: A History of Water Management in Florida (University Press of Florida, 1980).

These resources can be found in a Florida university library.

Luther Carter, The Florida Experience: Land and Water Policy in a Growth State (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

H. H. Buckman, A Documentary History of the Florida Canal (US Government Printing Service 1936).

This is a compendium of primary source documents regarding the 1930s ship canal- though rather difficult to find, it is a treasure trove of information.

Student Worksheet

Students:

Biographical Subject:

Identify the type of documents in your group packet (example, letter, newspaper article or editorial, government document, cartoon)

Who wrote it?

What does this document say about the canal project?

What does this document reveal about your subject and their perspective on the canal?

Using specific examples from your sources, defend your subject's position with regard to the project in your brief presentation.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

President Franklin Roosevelt:
Father of the New Deal, Roosevelt believed active government intervention could lift the United States out of the Great Depression. Believed massive public works projects would alleviate unemployment in the short run while benefitting society in the long run.

Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI):
Conservative mid-western Republican, Vandenberg opposed the New Deal because it represented increased federal government power and encouraged wasteful government spending.

Senator Claude Pepper (D-FL):
Ardent New Deal supporter, Pepper encouraged the development of government projects to help the people of Florida.

Unemployed Forgotten Man:
One of 13 million unemployed laborers throughout the nation. Facing hard times with little or no support, he turns to the government for relief efforts. In Florida, as it is throughout the South, government programs are few and poorly funded.

Florida Citrus Grower:
As a member of Florida's leading industry, this man is dependent on fertile agricultural land for his livelihood. A powerful figure on the Florida political scene, growers would resist any threat to their industry.

Miami Garden Club member:
Often dismissed as "bird watchers" and "butterfly catchers," Garden Club women articulated an early appreciation for the beauty of a natural Florida.

Ship Documents Primary Sources Guide

Documents for Class Exercise (1-12)

FDR—Document 1: Telegram to FDR from Ocala newspaper, September 8, 1935-
Primary Source document Page 85

Ask students what a telegram is. Why would this form of communication be used? What does the newspaper propose to FDR and why?

FDR—Document 2: Letter to FDR, September 11, 1935
Primary Source document Page 86-87

Have students determine author. What is the relationship of the author to Roosevelt and to Florida? What is the tone of the letter?

Senator Arthur Vandenberg—Document 3: Letter to Sidney Story, February 26, 1936
Primary Source document Page 88

Have students determine author (look at initials at bottom of page). Why is Vandenberg opposed to the canal? Who is Story and does it matter? (Not really). But why is Vandenberg writing to someone from Chicago about the ship canal?

Senator Arthur Vandenberg—Document 4: Letter to editor of Lakeland Ledger, May 16, 1936
Primary Source document Page 89-90

Paragraph one is mostly irrelevant, instead have students focus upon the long second paragraph. Have students discuss the strategies involved in the opposition campaign. Why would Vandenberg demand confidentiality?

Senator Claude Pepper—Document 5: Letter to Edgar Phillips, May 2, 1939
Primary Source document Page 91-92

Have students determine author (again note initials at bottom of page). While this document appears anachronistic, (regarding the date of the letter) ask students to comment upon the engineering issues raised & why they would be relevant to the 1935 debate.

How might these points be applied to the earlier debate? What does this letter suggest about the use of scientific expertise? For instance, proponents and opponents both have their own experts upon which they rely to verify their claims- what does this tell students about the veracity of scientific "facts?"

Senator Claude Pepper—Document 6: Newspaper article, April 11, 1940

Primary Source document Page 93

Again- have students talk about the date of this piece & how it relates to the 1935 debate. Does the argument made by Pepper in 1940 have resonance in 1935? How does a public document like a newspaper differ in tone and message from private correspondence like letters & telegrams? What does this article reveal about new rationale for building the canal?

Forgotten Man—Document 7: Letter to FDR, December 27, 1935

Primary Source document Page 94-95

Have students determine author (look at heading). For whom is the author speaking? Why does he want to build the canal? Why is this argument appealing to FDR?

Forgotten Man—Document 8: Memo to FDR, October 24, 1935

Primary Source document Page 96

Have students determine author and what is his office? Why does he feel the canal is necessary? Who will it benefit? What specific data does he offer?

Florida Citrus Growers—Document 9: Letter to Claude Pepper, April 6, 1939

Primary Source document Page 97

Who does the author of the letter represent? This is another anachronistic document (regarding the date) ; however, ask students to glean the arguments offered in opposition to the project. What specific data does the author offer to back his or her case.

Florida Citrus Growers—Document 10: Public speech, June 12, 1935

Primary Source document Page 98

Who made the speech and who is he addressing? What is the message of the speech and what is the tone of the speech so different from that of the letters previously viewed? Account for the differences in tone between documents nine and ten. Nine is a private communication to a senator in favor of the canal; ten is a public speech to a friendly audience.

Garden Clubs—Document 11: Press Release, October 8, 1935

Primary Source document Page 99

Who is releasing this information? What is the basis for their opposition to the canal?

Garden Clubs—Document 12: Resolution, January 18, 1939

Primary Source document Page 100

Another anachronistic document (again regarding the date), focus students on issues rather than date. Have students focus on the fact that documents from 1939 testify to the continuing debate ranging over many of the same subjects. What is the purpose of such a a resolution? Why the formal language? What arguments are offered in opposition to the canal? While citrus growers and garden club members both oppose the project, how do their arguments differ (economic concerns versus natural preservation)?

Documents Illustrating Continuing Debate (13, 14)

13 and 14: Letters to the Editor Gainesville Sun, March 6, 2005 and March 11, 2005

Primary Source document Page 101-102

What is the purpose of a letter to the editor? How does each person feel about retaining the dam and reservoir? What reasons do they give to support their positions? How do these documents show that the issues raised during the debate of the 1930s still have relevance in 2005?

Telegram to FDR from Ocala newspaper, September 8, 1935:

RECEIVED AT
6 NORTH MARKET STREET
POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
TELEPHONE
"POSTAL TELEGRAPH"

STANDARD TIME
INDICATED ON THIS MESSAGE

Postal Telegraph

The International System

Commercial Cables · All America Cables · Mackay Radio

This is a full rate Telegram, Cablegram or Radiogram unless otherwise indicated by signal in the check or in the address.

DL	DAY LETTER
NL	NIGHT LETTER
NM	NIGHT MESSAGE
LCO	DEFERRED CABLE
NLT	NIGHT CABLE LETTER
	RADIOGRAM

1935 SEP 9 AM 7 07

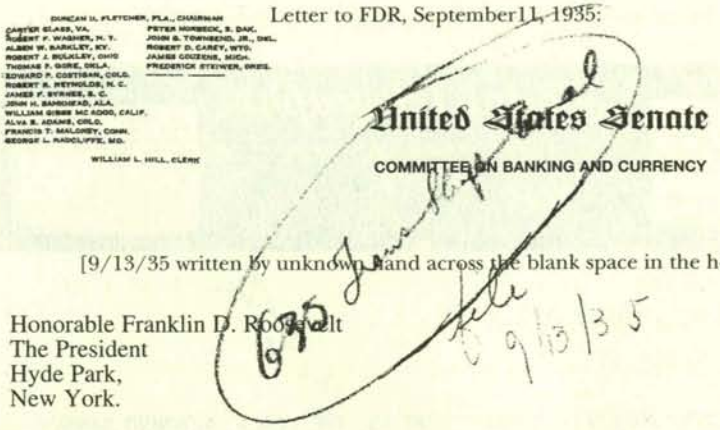
HON FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT=

HYDEPARK NY=

THIS WEEK PROBABLY FRIDAY SEPT ~~13~~ THE OCALA MORNING BANNER IS ISSUING A SPECIAL EDITION IN CONNECTION WITH CELEBRATION OF START OF WORK ON CROSS FLORIDA CANAL AWARE (AND GRATEFUL) OF YOU[sic] DECIDING INFLUENCE IN GETTING THIS PROJECT UNDER WAY WE WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE SOME EXPRESSION FROM YOU WHICH WE MIGHT PUBLISH IN THAT EDITON INCIDENTLY A MOVMENT IS ON FOOT HERE FIRST SUGGESTED BY THIS PAPER TO NAME THE WATERWAY THE ROOSEVELT CANAL IN RECOGNITION OF THE PART YOU HAVE PLAYED I N THE UNDERTAKING=

HARRIS POWER EDITOR OCALA MORNING BANNER

Letter to FDR, September 11, 1935:



[9/13/35 written by unknown hand across the blank space in the heading]

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The President
Hyde Park,
New York.

My dear Mr. President:

In the matter of the Florida Canal, I have been advised by the Press Section of Applications and Information that you have authorized an allotment of $5,000,000 to this project.

I am indeed gratified, and the people of the whole region are made happy, by your recognition of this great national improvement, and I know that this feeling is shared by people generally in many States of the Union. With the possible exception of a few selfish interests, all will applaud your action. Because of the permanent and increasing usefulness of the Canal, I am confident that it will appear in the future as the outstanding public work of your administration.

Press comment over a very wide area is most favorable. I attach hereto an editorial by Mr. Arthur Brisbane and clipping from the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, which are fair samples of the national approbation with which this allotment has been received.

–2–

There is some disappointment that the allotment was not much larger. Not only because of its evident immediate necessity, but because of its availability for work relief on a scale many times that permitted by this present allotment. I trust that you propose presently to make additional and much larger allocations. I am convinced, Mr. President, that the vigorous prosecution of this work, commanding, as it does, continuing national interest and attention, adding permanently to the national wealth, will do more to increase and consolidate public confidence in the soundness and usefulness of the Works Relief Program than work on any other project I know about. I think you will find this to be true from New England to Texas and throughout the Mississippi Valley.

I am at your service for further discussion of anything desired in connection with this great enterprise.

Very sincerely yours,

Duncan U. Fletcher

[signed] Duncan U. Fletcher

(Enclosures-2.)

Senator Arthur Vandenberg to Sidney Story, February 26, 1936

COPY

[stamped February 26th, 1936]

Mr. Sidney Story,
Traffic Club Palmer House,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Story:

This will reply to your inquiry of February 22nd. I have not yet made a speech in the Senate on the Florida Canal, because the issue has not yet reached debate. Therefore, I cannot send you the exhibit you request. But in a general way I am glad to give you my general reasons for opposition to the Florida project.

In the first place, I object to the use of emergency relief funds as a springboard from which to project us into long time commitments out of the regular budgetary revenues of the government. This Florida Canal is started with five million dollars from WPA. Thus, it is presumed to commit the government to the project. The remainder of the cost—which will be anything from one hundred and fifty million to two hundred million dollars—must come out of regular rivers and harbors allocations hereafter. I emphatically object to this method of creating major public works by executive order.

In the second place, this is the first major waterway in the history of the United States ever commenced without a conclusive report form the Board of Rivers and Harbors Engineers and an enabling Act of Congress. I object to any desertion of our time honored formula which is our only defense against exploitation.

In the third place, I am opposed to the Florida Canal itself, because it is inherently unsound and is not economically justified. It will be two hundred miles long and all the way it will be restricted water. The leading ship operators in Florida and Gulf waters emphatically assert that they will not use the canal because it does not offer compensatory savings. Therefore, in my judgment, the canal will be nothing better than a colossal "white elephant" on Uncle Sam's hands.

In the fourth place, two-thirds of Florida itself is opposed to the canal because it thinks this cut across the northern part of the State will infiltrate Florida's ground water supply with salt water and thus jeopardize the entire citrus fruit industry. If this should be the result—in spite of WPA engineering optimism to the contrary—the subsequent damages which shall be sought from the Federal Government would amount to an incalculable sum.

I suspect you will agree with me that these reasons suffice for my attitude.

Cordially and faithfully,

ARV-D

Senator Arthur Vandenberg to Sidney Story, February 26, 1936

COPY

May 16th, 1936

Mr. Edwin F. Thomas,
Lakeland Ledger & Star Telegram
Lakeland, Florida

My dear Friend:

Thanks for your letter of May 14th. I am familiar with the Gunter statement. I used some portions of it in my original speech against the Florida Canal. I agree with you that it is very persuasive.

You probably have noted that the Administration has re-opened this matter and is now asking to disinter the canal project. The latest Resolution on the subject is exceedingly adroit and I would not be surprised—I am sorry to say—if the President succeeds in getting his big Party majority in line behind this last minute adventure. I wish the opposition of Central and Southern Florida were a little more vocal in an organized way Northern Florida has never let up in its propaganda and its solicitation ever since we beat the Canal last time. Senators who lined up with me before have been campaigned for weeks and every possible kind of pressure has been put upon them to change their attitude. In the absence of effective counter-demonstrations, it will be surprising if a few votes at least have not been jeopardized. I am told that your Governor has been exerting strong efforts in behalf of the Canal. From my viewpoint, there has never been an adequate mobilization of the anti-canal sentiment which I know dominates Central and Southern Florida. There ought to be a ringing challenge from this area, protesting against this back-door effort to salvage this indefensible and hazardous scheme. Unfortunately, however, there is scarcely time to do it because the Senate Commerce Committee is slated to take up the new Resolution at its meeting next Wednesday. Somebody ought to make it his business to get telegrams of protest into my hands from every Chamber of Commerce and every Luncheon Club and every available political organization and every Woman's

Club, etc., in Central and Southern Florida. I am not trying "to wish" this task on you; but I am indicating to you how the prospective battle looks to me. Of course these comments are personal and confidential to you so far as I am concerned. Needless to add, I intend to continue to fight this atrocity to the bitter end.

Cordially and faithfully,

ARV-D

Senator Claude Pepper letter to Edgar Phillips, May 2, 1939:

May 2, 1939

Florida Ship Canal

Hon. Edgar John Phillips
Clearwater, Florida

Dear Edgar:

Please forgive the pressure of things here delaying my acknowledgement of your letter of the 14th.

Edgar, you know perfectly well that I wouldn't be for the Florida Ship Canal as I am if I didn't think it was a good thing, and not a harmful thing to the State of Florida. The Army Engineers have spent a great deal of money and made exhaustive research as to the effect of the construction of the canal upon the vegetation and the water supply of Florida. They have concluded that it will not have any harmful effect other than to cause perhaps a deepening of wells in the immediate vicinity of the canal. The United States Geological Survey also says the same thing.

I don't know of any Federal agency to whom you can give notice as you suggest in your letter which would have any legal significance, but if you wanted to convey the views you express to some Government agency I assume the Army Engineers would be the proper one to address. I know the Army Engineers say definitely that there would be no harm to Silver Springs and Rainbow Springs from the canal's construction, taking into consideration the safeguards which the Army Engineers are to construct. If you wanted to get probably the most reliable information available on this subject

COPY

I would suggest that you write Lt. Col. B.B. Somervell, whom you can reach through the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Washington, D.C.

Naturally, I am grateful for the kind sentiments you convey toward me, and I may add that I am in hearty accord with what you say about the International situation.

Very sincerely yours,

CP: RS

Pepper Tells Senate Florida Canal Is Vital To Defense of Nation

WASHINGTON, April 11—Senator Claude Pepper of Florida yesterday told the senate a prolonged delay in starting work on the $200,000,000 Florida ship canal project "would be a grave and most imprudent omission in our plans for national defense."

He asserted the European conflict offered proof of the "pivotal importance" of steps to keep the merchant marine afloat in times of war. One of the Florida canal's functions, he said, would be to protect the merchant ship.

"It is with the expectation that it may again, in due course, become the subject of consideration by this body, and with the hope that a fuller knowledge of its value and necessity may win the approval of the senate, that I call it to your attention at this time," Pepper said.

LESSON FROM EUROPE

"The events in Europe during the past 48 hours have emphasized anew the danger to the whole world of the armed conflict now in progress across the Atlantic. Again there has been vividly demonstrated the fact that neutrality without adequate defense cannot guarantee a nation from being drawn into this conflict.

"I am certain that I speak the minds of all of us when I say that our every endeavor should be and is, I think, to prevent the catastrophe of our being forced to enter this struggle. The wise neutrality provision adopted by the congress and enforced by the administration have been necessarily the first step in our policy of avoiding the possibility of involvement. That this step alone is not sufficient to meet the demands of prudence is witnessed to by the actions of congress in providing for expanded programs for our national defense.

It has been said by more than one high authority that the lesson of the World war and that of the present conflict is that for any country of great area and extended coast line, the problem of keeping afloat it's [sic] merchant marine in time of war is of pivotal importance. A little reflection will show that this is a very cornerstone of the war strategy of both Germany and the Allies today. If Germany is to be defeated in the long run, the Allies must make good their attempts to shut off her water-borne transport. Few can doubt that if Germany should succeed in sweeping from the seas the merchant fleets of the Allies, that she would emerge victorious.

IMPORTANCE OF SHIPS

That this principle holds equally for our own country is not only the considered opinion of experts, but it is abundantly demonstrated by the history of the white man on this continent. It is evident in the struggles between France and England and Spain for control of North America. The inability of Great Britain to make complete blockade of our coasts enabled us to win the wars of the Revolution and of 181. The disappearance of Confederate ships from the high seas spelled absolute disaster to the South in the Civil War. Today the physical factors of our great geographical extent and the lack of a real balance in our development and pop-. . . this principle to us, and multiply the necessity for measures which will cause it to operate in our favor. We are told by those who should know, and I believe it to be true, that we could not be the victor in any major struggle forced upon us in which we could not adequately defend our merchant shipping, particularly the vast traffic between our Atlantic Gulf and Pacific areas. Even in 1918, with strong allies to assist us, and with the enemy more than 3,000 miles distant, we were forced to rely on ocean coastal transport for the carriage of approximately 40 per cent of our war materials and supplies transported from one part of the country to another.

* * *

The great bulk of our coastal shipping during wartime will necessarily move, as it does today, via the Panama canal and the Gulf-Caribbean area. No scheme for our national defense can be adequate, which does not provide for the defense of this movement. To ignore the necessity for this is to court disaster.

It is not my purpose in these brief remarks to go into technical details. But it can be show that under the most favorable conditions of warfare with major opponents, we could not expect to escape the hazard of merchant ship losses comparable with those now being suffered by the Allies from the partially throttled effort of the German navy. This is especially true in view of the fact that the density of our merchant ship traffic emerging into the Atlantic from the Gulf-Caribbean area will be much grater than that of any ship traffic lane entering the United Kingdom.

Up to March 2 last, the Allies and neutrals have suffered the loss of 401 merchant ships and cargoes with a total value of nearly nine hundred million dollars. That, in the first six months of the war.

In time of war, the U.S. would have afloat at all times in the coastal shipping of which I have referred ships and cargoes to the value of nearly one billion dollars with an annual value of four and one-half billions. That is the mere property risk with which we are faced.

It has been shown, upon competent authority, that we could not reasonably expect in war, under existing circumstances to lose merchant ships and cargoes valued at less than eight hundred million dollars per year. This estimate makes due allowance for the fact that we are separated from any potential enemy by thousands of miles of ocean, and also assumes that this shipping will have all of the protection which a powerful and efficient navy can be expected to give."

Letter to FDR from W.J. Sears, December 27, 1935:

SEARS
4—FLORIDA

NAVAL AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEES:
PRIVATE BILLS NO. 1, CHAIRMAN
MARINE CORPS
NAVAL ACADEMY
PERSONNEL
REORGANIZATION AND ECONOMY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Jacksonville, Florida
December 27, 1935

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The President
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

I have refrained from worrying you about the Canal, for I remember the conferences we have had and I know your interest in seeing the Canal completed. I have cooperated with Senator Fletcher and the rest of the delegation in every way possible working for the Canal, and I believe you will agree with me when I state no one could have been more earnest or sincere in his effort to secure the completion of the Canal at the earliest date possible than I have been.

For the past year, I have assured my friends that when work on the Canal was started it would practically take care of the relief problem in Florida, and many of them refused to go on the relief roll, although they really were in need of assistance, believing that as assured by me they could secure employment on the Canal. Now I find only those who were on the relief roll as of November 1, except 10%, can secure employment on PWA work or the Canal, and to my mind this is unfair to those who were entitled to get on the relief roll and should have been on the relief roll many months ago.

I am only writing to you at this time because of the clipping which appeared in this morning's Times-Union and which I am enclosing. I hope this information is not correct, and I sincerely trust you may see your way clear to have an additional allotment made for work on the Canal in order that no one will be laid off and that additional worthy and needy men may secure employment. I have remained in Florida during the entire recess, talking, sympathizing with and discussing conditions with the unemployed, and I frankly feel that such time as I may have spent in explaining conditions to my constituents and showing them why they must and should be patient

-2-

has been well spent. I therefore again sincerely urge and trust that you may see your way clear, as above stated, to have an additional allotment made at the earliest possible moment.

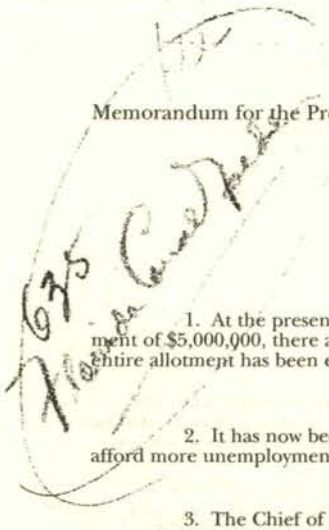
I noticed in the paper a few days ago that next Spring you would come to Florida on a fishing trip, as per your promise to me, and I trust nothing will make it impossible for you to make this trip.

I sincerely trust you and yours had a Merry Christmas, and may I wish for you and them a Happy New Year in order that you may carry on the wonderful work you have been doing.

Sincerely yours,

W. J. Sears

WJS/ML
Encl.



Memorandum for the President, October 24, 1935/35

The Florida Canal

1. At the present time, seven weeks after approval of the initial allotment of $5,000,000, there are 4,341 men directly at work on the job, and the entire allotment has been expended or committed.

2. It has now been demonstrated that this project can continue to afford more unemployment relief than any other.

3. The Chief of Engineers reports that an immediate additional allotment of $20,000,000 to be expended over the next nine months is necessary to advantageously prosecute the work.

4. The Canal is the outstanding public work of the Government which is national in scope and character.

5. It has been received throughout the country with an impressive unanimity of favorable opinion, as shown by

a. A survey of the press. (1,000 newspapers. See attached memorandum and map).

b. A memorial of approval which is being presented to the President by more than sixty senators and governors, representing 37 states.

6. The W.P.A. Administrator for Florida reports that there is sufficient unemployed on the relief rolls in Florida and available to this project to absorb an additional allotment of $20,000,000.

Duncan Fletcher

Duncan U. Fletcher

W.C. Van Clief, President D.D. Colley, Secretary Frank J. Poitras, Manager

FLORENCE CITRUS GROWERS ASSOCIATION

AFFILIATED WITH THE FLORIDA CITRUS EXCHANGE

FLORENCE VILLA, FLORIDA

April 6, 1939

Hon. Claude Pepper
Senate Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We, the members of the Florence Citrus Growers Association, affiliated with the Florida Citrus Exchange, an organization composed of 90 members, owning 4,000 acres of citrus groves, and shipping annually 500,000 boxes of fruit, most vigorously protest against the construction of the contemplated Cross-State Canal.

As the result of a study of competent engineers, they have announced that if a canal is cut, there is a strong possibility that the underground water table, artesian wells, etc., would be adversely affected.

This would be a damage that no expenditure of money could remedy and would just about mean ruination to our citrus industry and other agricultural interests.

Whatever virtues the enterprise might have as a war measure of slight aid to shipping would be bitterly lost by the expenditure of the tremendous sum of $200,000,000, which might result in the dereliction of our groves and homes.

We earnestly appeal to you to use all of your strength and influence to oppose the construction of this Cross-State Canal.

Yours very truly,

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

Florida Citrus Growers, public speech, June 12, 1935

An address by Marvin H. Walker, Editor of The Florida Grower, at Winter Haven, June 12, 1935

The following was an address before a meeting of the Winter Haven Chamber of Commerce.

If a Mephistopheles, envious of the beauties of this land of fruits and flowers, wanted to make Florida a part of the kingdom of the devil and to visit some cruel and lasting punishment upon its people, he could cunningly achieve his diabolical purpose by poisoning the waters they drink and use to raise their crops.

This would not be hard to do. Florida is surrounded by vast seas of salt water. Such is the geological formation of the rock strata distributing most of its fresh waters that they could easily be polluted by digging a big ditch to let in the salt water. The salt would seep in not only from the top of this porous rock but from the bottom, too, because the drainage of fresh waters by this ditch would relieve the pressure which now keeps salt waters below the depth of most wells.

Picturing the imaginary economic benefits of such a waterway to the gullible people, short-sighted in their greed for profit, this Mephistopheles, like the one of Faust, might even get his victims to carry out his nefarious plan. When the damage was done he could enjoy the "mephitic vapors of hell" in the rotting of oranges and carcasses on the parched sands of an empire once abundant in plant and animal life. In the big ditch separating the world from this infernal region of Florida's wasted splendors and dead hopes he would have a River Styx. An appropriate name for it would be the Stygian Canal.

No one wants a calamity. But the building of a sea-level ship canal across this state may have consequences just as damaging to the property rights of some of its citizens. Those who propose this surgical operation on our landscape have allowed their enthusiasm to blind them to the great danger in disturbing the fine balance between our fresh and salt waters. They are so busy thinking of the $150,000,000 and more that will be spent in building this canal that they hear not the warnings of every competent geologist who has studied this situation that Florida may suffer immeasurable and everlasting damage to its water supply.

It requires a knowledge of the state's geology to fully appreciate the seriousness of this problem. Most of our water for domestic consumption and the irrigation of farm crops is obtained from wells which tap the Ocala limestone. All but 12 of the 175 public water systems of the state draw their supply from wells; and most of these wells, like those at Ocala, Jacksonville, Orlando, Sanford, St. Petersburg, Bradenton, and Sarasota, reach down to this particular rock formation.

. . .

Why, in heaven's name, build a sea-level ship canal for barges which do not need more than 8 or 9 feet of water? And if we are to have a canal across Florida, why not dig it through a part of the state where it will serve our shipping interests and not destroy our water supply? I believe that Florida should develop its waterways. Some day I hope to see built across this state a shallow barge canal, lifted over high elevations by a series of locks, which will connect the Atlantic and Gulf . . . . In my opinion, the dangers to their water supply is sufficient reason for Florida's people to oppose the construction of this canal. In its pollution of our fresh waters it would be a greater calamity than any freeze or hurricane which has come to this state.

Garden Clubs, Press Release, October 8, 1935

10/11/35

Sanford, October 8, 1935, Special - The National Association of Audubon Societies now joins the opposition to the Florida cross-state canal, according to advices received here by the Central and South Florida Water Conservation Committee.

In a letter received from New York headquarters of this National wild life preservation organization, the statement is made: "If there is any possibility of minimizing the dangers of the canal so far as water-levels and wild-life habitats are concerned, we will want all the support that can be mustered."

The devastating effects of earlier activities of the U.S. Army Engineers upon wild life and fish in other sections of the country are set forth in an article of the Saturday Evening Post, September 21, by Jay N. Darling, director of the U.S. Biological Survey. Very wealthy and not seeking public office, Mr. Darling became the head of the U.S. Biological Survey at the request of his personal friend, President Roosevelt. In this article, he tells how other government agencies, including the U.S. Army Engineers, working at cross purposes and with complete disregard for the later consequences of their "improvements" have largely nullified his efforts.

Geo. Morgan, Oviedo, a member of the Central and South Florida Water Conservation Committee, says, "It is doubtful if but very few in Florida anticipate the effect which the lowered water table to result from the cutting of this canal must exert upon lakes and streams, in addition to its effect upon citrus groves and crop acreage."

. . . . .

Garden Clubs, Resolution, January 18, 1939:

MIAMI BEACH GARDEN CLUB

Miami Beach, Florida

WHEREAS the building of the Florida cross-state canal will be of little value to the State of Florida, with the exception of the money expended in its construction and this could be used upon far more worthwhile projects, and the canal is not desired by the shipping interests and will be of very little value to them,

AND WHEREAS the said canal will be a positive detriment to the southern half of Florida in that it will make the southern half of Florida an island and will force the building of a number of expensive bridges and will endanger the water supply of southern Florida and may cause untold misery and suffering among its inhabitants,

AND WHEREAS the Miami Beach Garden Club is particularly interested not only in the health of the people of Southern Florida but in the beautiful flowers and shrubs that have made this section a garden spot of the world, and for the reason that a shortage of water will cause all garden projects to have to be abandoned as all water would have to be conserved for the use of the inhabitants and would render our lovely surroundings, in comparison with the present, a barren waste,

AND WHEREAS because of these very dangerous consequences and many others, and because of the doubtful value of the project even without these dangers, but because of the enormous expenses involved,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Miami Beach Garden Club does hereby oppose the building of the Florida cross-state canal or the expenditure of any further money upon it, and we request and beg of the President of the United States and of the Governor of the State of Florida and Congress that this project be permanently abandoned, and we request our senators and representatives in Congress to oppose the building of said canal, and we urge all forward-looking citizens in Florida to use their influence in its opposition.

The above resolution was duly adopted by the Miami Beach Garden Club at its meeting on the 18th day of January A.D. 1939

Corresponding Secretary,

Continuing Debate: Letters to the Editor, Gainesville Sun, March 6 and March 11, 2005:

Letter to the Editor, Gainesville Sun
March 6, 2005

The Sun buries its 'save Rodman Reservoir' articles

March 06, 2005
8:03AM

It looks as if the annual battle over Rodman Reservoir is cranking up again. This time the "Destroyers" are touting the economics of destruction.

Where did that approach come from, the Bush camp? Sounds like a copy of the Bush "save Social Security" plan with different words.

Rodman Reservoir is already a goldmine for the local economy. It supports many businesses that sell bait, boats, motors, fuel, fishing gear, campgrounds and camping supplies, food and lodging.

Bass fishing, whether in tournaments or alone, is a real moneymaker, especially for Putnam and Marion counties. With people coming from all over the eastern part of the United States, the entire state benefits.

Years ago, when I lived in North Carolina, my family vacation was built around two weeks in Central Florida–four or five days on Rodman and four or five days in the theme parks in Orlando and Ocala. I spent freely, leaving many dollars in the Florida economy.

Looking back, I notice that The Gainesville Sun always puts articles that favor the destruction of Rodman Reservoir on the front page of the local section and buries "save Rodman" articles deep inside. Why is that? Could The Sun have an agenda?

Ecologically, the Ocklawaha and the St. Johns rivers are better with Rodman's dam. The abundance of wildlife, from fish to gators, birds and otters, speaks for itself. A big plus is that Rodman filters out pollutants as the waters flow through the aquatic weeds. As a result, the water that flows into the St. Johns river is crystal-clear and pure.

If it ain't broke, don't fix it.

Richard Coleman
Gainesville

Continuing Debate: *Letters to the Editor, Gainesville Sun*, March 6 and March 11, 2005:

Letter to the Editor, Gainesville Sun
March 11, 2005

Get rid of the Rodman

On Feb. 19, supporters for the restoration of the Ocklawaha River attended a rally at Ravine Gardens State Park in Palatka. The program featured Dale Crider and other talented musicians, as well as the eloquent voice of award-winning journalist Al Burt.

Burt was a roving Florida columnist for the Miami Herald for many years, and his talk brought back fond memories of a Florida that has been lost: like driving down A1A and being able to see the ocean.

Burt's talk reminded us why we love this part of Florida so much, whether it be hiking along a 200-feet-high bluff above the Apalachicola River, kayaking through an ancient seascape on the black waters of the Suwannee River, or swimming in one of the crystal-clear springs that feed the Ichetucknee River.

Al could remember what the Ocklawaha was like before the Rodman Dam was built in 1968 as part of the ill-advised Cross Florida Barge Canal. The reservoir it created is now a shallow, weed-choked, stump-infested impoundment.

The Legislature has wasted millions of dollars to maintain this pond and the 9,000 acres of river and flood-plain forest. Low oxygen levels have plagued the reservoir, resulting in three major fish kills.

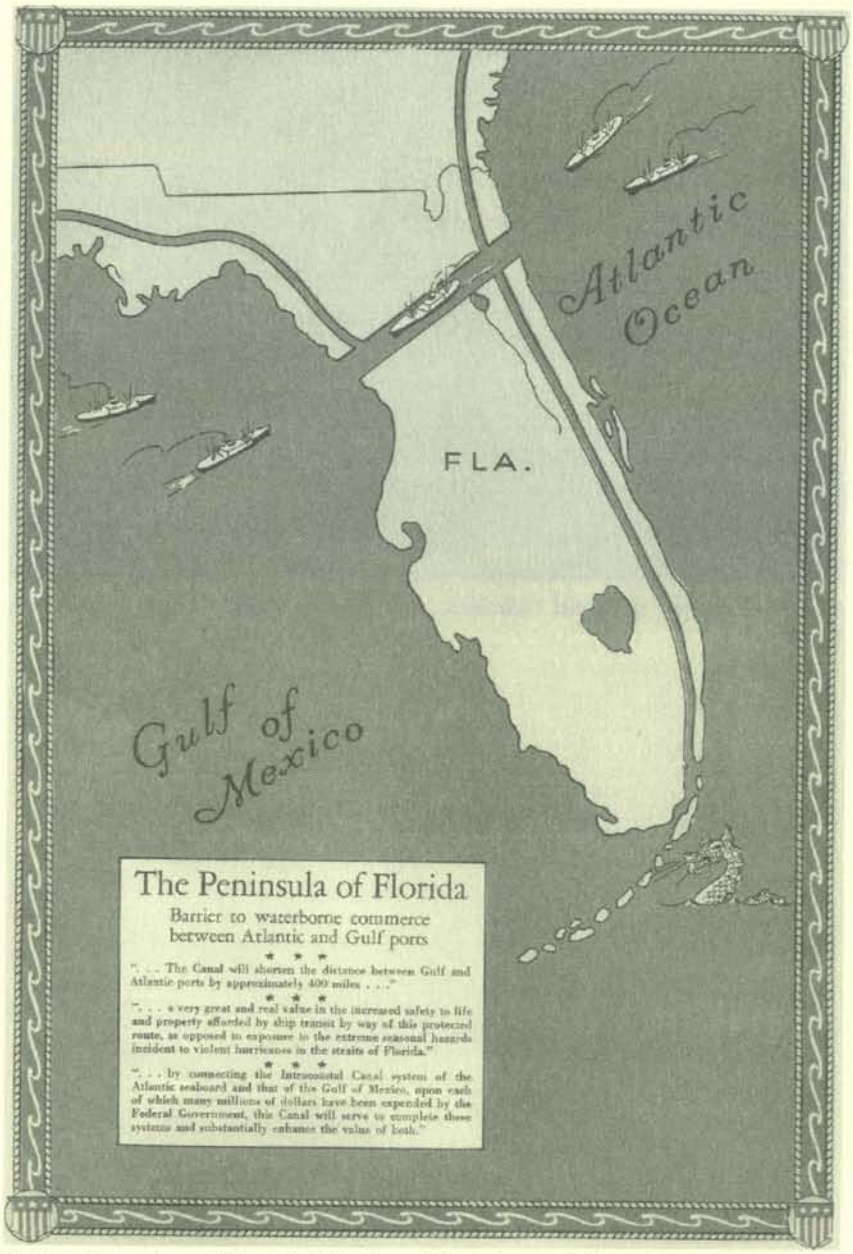
The popular game fish that once represented the majority of fish in the Rodman Reservoir now constitute 16 percent of the fish population.

The Putnam County Environmental Council is attempting to demonstrate the positive impact that ecotourism would have on this area, and the state has plans to develop Blue Springs when the river is restored.

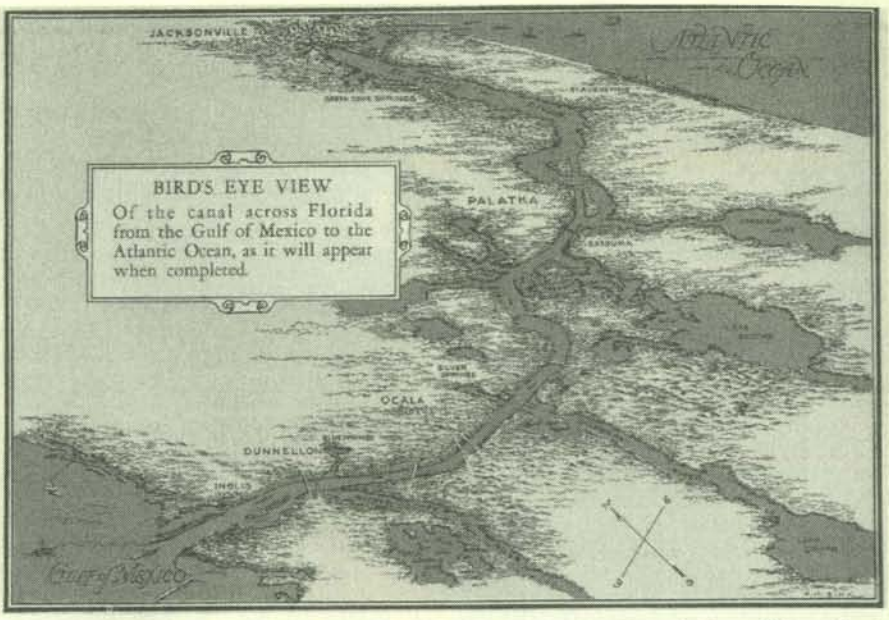
Access points along the river will be provided for fellow ecotravelers to enjoy canoeing, kayaking, birding and bank fishing. Even Gov. Jeb Bush supports the removal of the Rodman. He has been blocked by the Florida Legislature.

To quote Al Burt, it's time to remove the Rodman Dam, "the Dam shame."

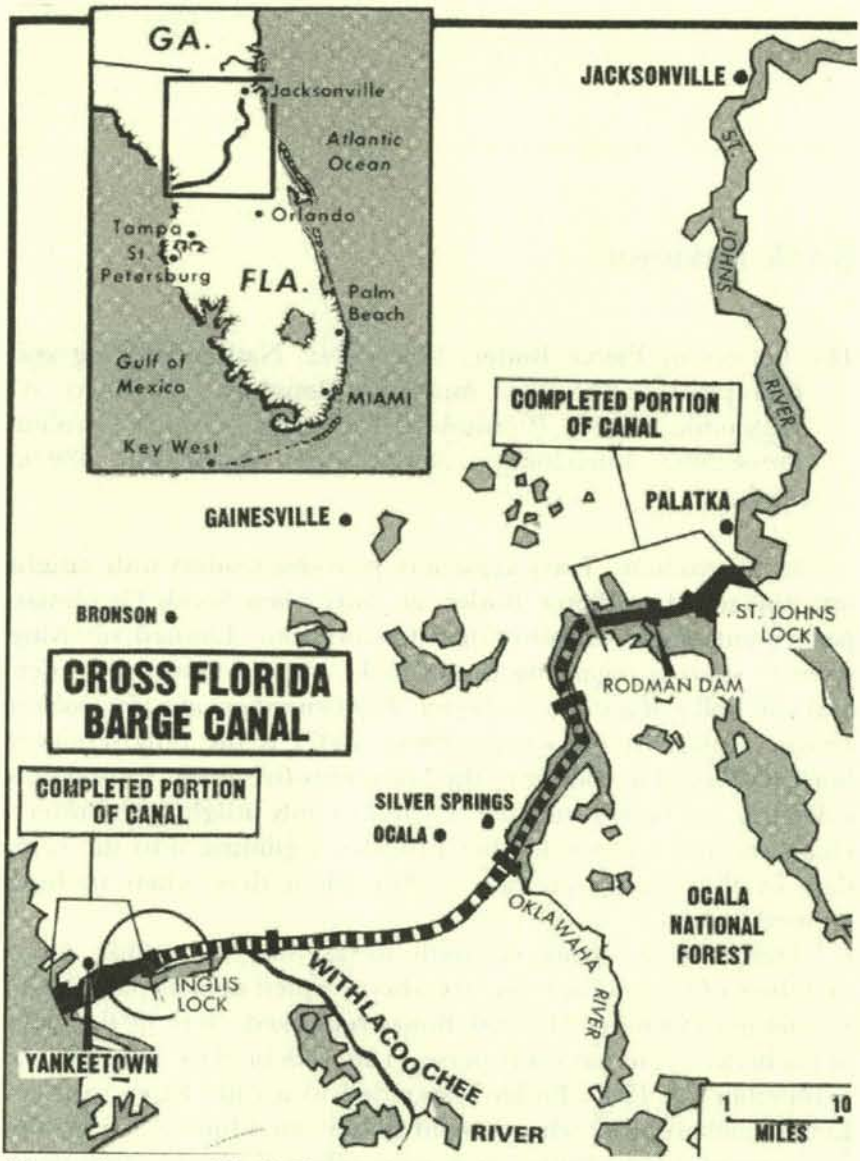
Will Warner
Melrose



Photograph courtesy of Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.



Photograph courtesy of Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.



Photograph courtesy of Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

Book Reviews

The Letters of Pierce Butler, 1790-1794: Nation Building and Enterprise in the New American Republic. By Terry W. Lipscomb, Editor. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007. Introduction, Notes, Index. Pp. xv, 370. $39.95 cloth.)

In this volume, Terry Lipscomb provides readers with insight into the world of Pierce Butler, an outspoken South Carolinian participant at the Constitutional Convention. Limited surviving primary sources regarding Butler make him an elusive Founder. Malcom Bell's *Major Butler's Legacy: Five Generations of a Slaveholding Family* (University of Georgia Press, 1987) is the only scholarly book published on Butler in the last twenty-five years. Lipscomb's collection of correspondence reveals not only insight into Butler's character and sentiments, but provides a glimpse into the early days of the young republic, 1790-1794, a time when nothing seemed certain.

Pierce Butler strove earnestly to pay his bills, unlike many members of the southern gentry who accepted debt as part of life. In a letter of October 31, 1790, Butler remarked, "It is the first wish of my breast . . . to pay every person I am indebted to" (74-75). On September 23, 1790, Butler responded to a rude letter from an English haberdasher who claimed Butler owed him £2.5.6 for the purchase of a hat. Butler took great offense; he had often done business with this hatter but always paid in cash. To insinuate that Butler owed money for a hat was a personal affront. Butler's silent partnership with Daniel Bourdeaux, head partner of a European shipping firm, troubled Butler greatly throughout 1790 and 1791. Bourdeaux was unable to repay a loan and avoided his creditor, jeopardizing Butler's good name and credit. "Can You lay Your

head on Your pillow and sleep while such an Acct remains unsettled," he wrote to Bourdeaux on January 29, 1791 (96), signifying Butler's sense of betrayal.

This collection also addresses national economic issues. Concerning Hamilton's proposed Bank of the United States, Butler feared the abuse that would come from such a powerful institution. Butler repeatedly demonstrated apprehension over the issue of the federal assumption of state debts in return for a southern national capital. He realized that the bill would bring financial relief to his home state but also believed that Carolinians would regret it in the future. "Nothing ever appeared more clear to me," he presciently observed on March 31, 1790, "than that posterity will be sorry for the assumption, that is in Carolina" (22). Both of these financial issues were indicative of his anxiety over the "self-interestedness of the Eastern States" (15).

Sprinkled throughout Butler's correspondence the reader finds references to the Indian problem. As a Carolinian, he primarily wrote concerning the Creeks. While he hoped for peace between whites and the Creeks, he firmly believed that peace would only come when Indians lived in fear of whites. "There will be no lasting peace with the Creeks," he wrote on November 22, 1792, "'till we convince them we can flog them" (214).

Whether one was pro-French or not, American politicians closely followed the events of the French Revolution. Many hoped that republicanism would flourish in France as in the United States. Butler's continued references to France bears witness to his close attention to events there. He believed the French cause was just and prayed for their deliverance.

Senator Butler felt those entrusted with public office had a great responsibility to the citizenry. Not to work on behalf of the people was unconscionable. Life as a politician in the 1790s was much less glamorous than it is today and commonly came at great personal expense. Several times, Butler lamented the Senate's lack of progress and communicated his desire to return to private life unless the Senate passed noteworthy legislation. While this was partially a self-interested concern, Butler's willingness to give up his office demonstrated that voters could trust him.

In preparing this work, Lipscomb employed many other sources that complement Butler's letters, a total of over sixteen pages worth of primary sources. These documents place the contents of Butler's letters in their proper context. Rarely is the read-

er puzzled by a passage. The explanatory notes are useful and enlightening and demonstrate many hours of outside research. Additionally, the introduction—although a bit lengthy—helps the reader gain maximum benefit from the remainder of the text. This reviewer favors a topical arrangement of the letters rather than a chronological one. This, however, is a matter of personal preference and not a deficiency. This work is heavy on the first three years with much fewer letters for the last two, a matter of the survival of documents rather than a deletion by the editor.

A brief review cannot cover the many topics Butler addresses. Thanks to Lipscomb, readers also learn of Butler's unease over European events, his character, his sense of obligation and honor, and his esteem for those he loves—both friends and family. The polarization of American politics saddened Butler. He believed that Americans should respect John Adams for his contributions as a Founder, for example. Although Butler personally disagreed with Adams's politics, he was appalled at the non-Federalists who treated Adams disrespectfully. Most touching is Butler's grief over his wife's death. The reader senses Butler's grief and is filled with compassion as he reads these heart-rending letters.

Lipscomb has edited a volume that benefits history hobbyists as well as academics. These letters capture the outlook of a noteworthy—yet underutilized—Founder. The reader does not merely learn about Butler, but he gains insight into southerners, the gentry, non-Federalists, and the apprehensions—foreign and domestic, social and economic—Americans faced in this era. Readers see Butler as a husband, father, and friend as well as a senator, landholder, businessman, and civic leader. Lipscomb's presentations of Butler's letters describe not only an admirable man but also the nation in which he lived. This work is a fine addition to any library.

Rusty Bouseman *Oklahoma State University*

The Metal Life Car: The Inventor, the Impostor, and the Business of Lifesaving. By George E. Buker. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2008. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 224. $29.95 cloth.)

In "The Metal Life Car," George Buker recounts the ingenuity and struggles of Joseph Francis, inventor of the corrugated metal

boat. In the process, Buker also makes a significant contribution to the history of Florida's Seminole Wars. Francis, born in 1801, entered boatbuilding at an early age and focused his endeavors on manufacturing a better life boat. In the days before radar and electronic navigation, shipwrecks along the dangerous capes and shoals of the eastern seaboard were common and very often resulted in significant loss of life. One of the factors that made these wrecks so tragic was that many of the victims died within sight of land, their demise witnessed by anguished onlookers who had no way to cross the sandbars, reefs, or pounding surf to reach those who were stranded on the doomed vessels. Francis understood that one of the problems was the inability of wooden boats to withstand the pounding that often accompanied abandon-ship or rescue operations. He also realized that sturdy wooden boats tended to be very heavy, often too heavy to be handled effectively in rough seas or when a ship was grounded and listing far over or breaking apart. Francis's solution was to construct boats out of stamped sheets of iron or copper. His real breakthrough, however, was in the use of large hydraulic presses to form the plates and corrugate them, making the boats both light and strong. To a lesser degree, the book also tells the parallel story of the founding of the United States Live-Saving Service, a government agency instituted to help in the rescue of passengers and crews of shipwrecked vessels. The result of Joseph Francis's efforts to produce a better lifeboat culminated in the Metal Life Car, a totally enclosed boat that was used to carry survivors from ship to shore in conditions that would have been impossible for any other vessel. After telling the tale of how Francis's life boats came to be, the author goes into their many applications, from exploring the Dead Sea to use by the army in the Third Seminole War. He also gives details of their evolution into wagons and pontoon bridges and relates how bureaucratic problems excluded these valuable vessels from widespread use in the Civil War.

Any good story must have a villain, and Buker supplies him in the form of Capt. Douglass Ottinger of the United States Revenue Marine Service, the forerunner of the Coast Guard. Ottinger was one of the officers who helped found the Life-Saving Service, and when applying for a pension from Congress, Ottinger claimed he had invented the enclosed Metal Life Car, and that his vessel instead of Francis's had been used in one of the most celebrated rescues. The final portion of this interesting volume is devoted to

the legal battles between these two proud men, a confrontation often carried out in the halls of Congress.

If the book has a fault, it is in the lack of information that would have answered some inevitable questions. How extensive was the loss of life and property from shipwrecks in the early nineteenth century? A few statistics would have filled in the gaps, and some details concerning the most tragic losses would have drawn the reader more emotionally into the story. How did the Revenue Service and the Life-Saving Service evolve into the Coast Guard? A paragraph or two would have helped close the tale.

One of the book's major strong points initially appears to be a minor distraction. Many students of Florida history are familiar with Buker's *Swamp Sailors of the Second Seminole War* (University Press of Florida, 1997), the authoritative work on the role of the U.S. Navy in that tragic conflict. In *The Metal Life Car* two of the twelve chapters are devoted to the use of Francis's boats both before and during the Third Seminole War. Indeed, the author seems to spend more time on the causes, strategy, and campaigns of the war than in relating how Francis's boats were used in the conflict. While some readers may see this as an annoying distraction, we believe many will see these two chapters as a sequel to the excellent work done in *Swamp Sailors*. It isn't often we can recommend a book on maritime history to people who study the Indian Wars.

John Missall *Ft. Myers, Florida*

Florida's Civil War: Explorations into Conflict, Interpretations and Memory. By Irvin D. S. Winsboro. (Cocoa, Fl: Florida Historical Society Press, 2007. Foreword, introduction, acknowledgements, map, epilogue. Pp. vi, 219. $14.95 paper).

Zack Waters' statement that "Florida...had contributed much to the southern cause and had been consistently treated as the stepchild of the Confederacy" is the focal point of *Florida's Civil War: Explorations into Conflict, Interpretations, and Memory* (151). Most Civil War studies leave out Florida. Many texts, including the seminal work published by William Watson Davis in 1913, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, give specifics of wins and losses, and detail the loss of real and personal property in Florida. Beyond this, Florida is largely overlooked, perhaps due to its small

population and geographic distance from major battles. Irvin D.S. Winsboro has compiled twelve articles from the archives of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* to demonstrate the importance of Florida's role within the larger view of the Civil War as well as the evolution of scholarship on Florida.

These selections show that in omitting Florida, Civil War historians have done an injustice to the historical record. A deeper understanding of the Civil War in Florida is necessary, and to this end Winsboro has selected works that demonstrate the impact events in Florida had upon the entire conflict. Each generation of Floridians since the close of the war has been affected by the event, in turn reshaping the state's culture and consciousness. In addressing the narrowly focused issue of Florida's role in the Civil War through well-selected articles such as Ella Lonn's "The Extent and Importance of Federal Naval Raids on Salt Making in Florida" and Tracy Revels' "Grander in Her Daughters: Florida's Women during the Civil War", this work contains original scholarship and critical shifts in the interpretation of the war.

Drawing upon writings spanning over ninety years of published Florida history, Winsboro elects to organize the articles in chronological order, packaging each of them in the order of their publication date. While this method helps in illustrating the shifts in thought prevalent among Florida historians, a thematic approach would have lent greater clarity and synthesis among the arguments. The compilation does successfully add needed depth to this topic by bringing under-analyzed aspects of the war to the forefront, evidenced in two poignant pieces discussing the oft-overlooked Battle of Olustee, and calling for Civil War historians to explore Florida's legacy to "The Cause." Providing scholarly views of overlooked historical topics, rather than conjectural recounting and interpretations of the Civil War in Florida, the information provided will be of special interest to scholars hoping to glean a fuller picture of America's great sectional crisis. Many of these articles center on groundbreaking new aspects of the conflict, such as Robert A. Taylor's discussion of food supplies in "Rebel Beef: Florida Cattle and the Confederate Army," and they add significantly to both the theoretical and practical discussions of both Florida history and Civil War history.

This work offers a portal to an expanded future historiography of Florida's involvement in the Civil War, and should impact the next generation's definition and redefinition of the struggle in the

southernmost Confederate state. Winsboro offers a valuable tool, which could be used in the high school or college classroom. Educators will put the innovative perspectives offered within this work to great use, further developing the knowledge of how the Civil War affected this region directly, and how this region directly affected the Civil War. Aficionados, scholars and laypersons should be able to overcome the limitations imposed by its composition of dissimilar essays to find that the book gives them reason to reconsider and expand their conceptions of regional history.

The twelve articles expand our understanding of Florida's Civil War legacy by pushing Florida-specific history to the forefront and encouraging a re-evaluation of the interdependent structure of the South. Weaving the theme of Florida's vital importance to the Confederate war effort throughout the book, the authors show that Florida beef and fish kept the Rebel army provisioned; Florida troops gallantly fought and defended Richmond itself against the strong Union armies; and Florida actions forced the Union army occupy large stretches of territory and the Union Navy to blockade and destroy profitable salt operations on the coasts.

Like many compilations of this sort, the articles, while linked by the common theme of Civil War and Florida history, do not always fit together. Some arguments are stronger than others, and the book presents an unbalanced glimpse into a hidden historiography. Early popular observations on the region are presented Sarah L. Jones' diary excerpt titled "Governor Milton and Family: A Contemporary Picture of Life in Florida During the War, by an English Tutor," and revisionist opinions are captured in "Deprivation, Disaffection, and Desertion in Confederate Florida" by John E. Reiger. The organizational clarity lacking in this work is unintentionally representative of the ambiguity that characterizes Florida historiography. The beginning of the century saw the *Florida Historical Quarterly* publishing military and political commentary in a narrative form. By the turn of the next century, discussion had evolved into scholarly, professional social-cultural history. Winsboro brings this transformation to light in a well presented anthology delivering upon its promise; that the next generation of Floridians will re-evaluate the state's history and role during the Civil War. That generation will find this book a useful tool to draw upon when attempting to deliver their charge.

Daniel R. Lewis *University of Central Florida*

Fenians, Freedmen, and Southern Whites: Race and Nationality in the Era of Reconstruction. By Mitchell Snay (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp ix, 218. $40 Cloth.)

Mitchell Snay attempts to reexamine the tumultuous period of Reconstruction in terms of nationalism. In particular, he tries to figure out if European-style ethnic nationalism played any role in the events of the era. To achieve this, he examines three "minority" groups, Irish Americans, African Americans, and southern whites. Each one had a heightened sense of identity after the War and all three, but particularly southern whites and blacks, saw themselves on the margins of Reconstruction politics dominated by northern white Republicans and sought to change that status. As a result, Snay concludes, the Reconstruction era "was not so much a question of home rule but who should rule at home" (176).

Snay begins by trying to place these three groups in the context of Reconstruction politics. The massive post-War changes in legal status, race and class relations etc., made it extremely difficult for a group such as Irish-American nationalists to separate their cause from the dominant political narrative. The Fenian Brotherhood, for example, a mass organization of Irish-Americans dedicated to the violent overthrow of British rule in Ireland, tried to separate Irish causes from American ones, but the leadership found it impossible to do so. Having set the Reconstruction scene Snay looks for commonalities in the structures of the three groups, focusing on the Union League representing African Americans, the Ku Klux Klan for southern whites, and the aforementioned Fenian Brotherhood for Irish Americans. He analyzes their organizational and political activities in a chapter entitled: "The Political Culture of Countersubversion." This title is apt because he finds similarities in their secretive nature (although the Fenians were fairly open in America and thus riddled with paid British informers), their organizational structures, and in their rhetoric extolling a glorious past and a promising future. He makes a strong case for the ideological significance of both the Klan and the Fenians, who are often dismissed in the scholarship as merely a group of violent thugs in the Klan's case, or quixotic romantics in the case of the Fenians. For the Union League, which scholars have long recognized as politically significant, Snay takes the oppo-

site tack and acknowledges the often militant and military nature of that organization.

Accepting Eric Foner's charge that scholars of Reconstruction take class seriously in their analysis, Snay devotes a chapter to the subject. He usefully focuses on how land, and who controlled it, comprised a major element of southern white and black identity. It was also rapidly becoming one in Irish identity, which resulted in the formation of the Irish Land League in 1879. This date, however, shows that in the late 1860s and early 1870s, land reform was not central to Fenian ideology. Although most members had been Irish tenant farmers or their sons, the movement's leadership still focused on a political nationalism. Indeed, only John Mitchel, who had been a leader of the "Young Ireland" rebellion of 1848 and an ardent Confederate endorsed a economic nationalism.

Moving from class to ethnicity, Snay finds, to his surprise, "the relative weakness of ethnic nationalism" during Reconstruction. Although many Union leagues contained white members, he, nonetheless, believes, they offered the best chance of a viable ethnic nationalism. The leagues became synonymous with black political activity and some white opponents even accused them of trying to ignite a "race war" (122). Despite their encouragement of a black political identity, however, Snay shows how African-American leaders refused to endorse a racial separatism as the solution to their problems. On the contrary, for the most part, they remained married to the idea of biracial society. Somewhat ironically, it was white southerners who "came closest to achieving some semblance of ethnic nationalism during Reconstruction," but they too eventually rejected it (131). The racism often central to their opposition to Radical rule, as well as efforts to attract immigrant white labor to replace blacks, indicate an attempt to truly make the South a "white man's country." But, Snay notes, most whites accepted that blacks could not be removed from the South and the region would have to remain a biracial one, although with white supremacy at its center. The Fenians also embraced a certain universal type of nationalism rather than just an explicit Irish one, expressing support for causes of national independence beyond Ireland.

Having rejected class and ethnicity, Snay finds that the most common expression of nationalism during Reconstruction was a civic one. The roots of this strong civic nationalism lay in the outburst of patriotism during the Civil War. This patriotism led to a more active

central state, a state that eventually organized a massive and unprecedented war effort and freed the slaves. This civic nationalism linked to emancipation was very attractive to African Americans. They adopted all the icons of the United States; the flag, the Fourth of July, etc., and most importantly the American republican system. In particular, African Americans embraced the franchise granted to them under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Southern opponents of Reconstruction, in turn, replied in civic terms. They saw the Fourth as a symbol of their own impotence in the post-Civil War South with one commentator calling for "the sack cloth of humiliation" (146) to be worn on the national holiday. They also complained of the disfranchisement of former Confederates. These whites, however, eventually accepted the republican system mixed with targeted violence as the way to "redemption" from Radical rule. The Fenians also endorsed some of the republican ideals of the United States as a role model for how to run an independent Ireland. They also claimed the benefits of American citizenship when arrested by the British in Ireland or Canada. In conclusion, Snay believes that "the normative nationalism represented by the Republican Party thus channeled separatist impulses along the lines of civic nationalism while discouraging them along ethnic lines" (170).

Snay has produced a provocative and innovative book. His examination of Reconstruction through the milieu of nineteenth-century nationalism is valuable. His comparative use of Irish and American nationalism helps him in that task. As a result, he places the Reconstruction story in a much broader context and tries to move us away from American exceptionalism. Despite this increased contextualising, however, Snay ultimately comes down on the side of Reconstruction being a unique American story. His emphasis on civic nationalism leads him in this direction. He, however, dismisses ethnic/racial nationalism too easily. Racial solidarity rather than true faith in the American system is what united white opposition to Reconstruction. This opposition succeeded because many in the North, including strong Unionists, embraced the racism implicit and explicit in the redeemer cause. Use of Ed Blum's work *Reforging the White Republic: Race Religion and American Nationalism, 1865-1890* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), would have been instructive here.

Similarly, his belief in Irish Americans' embrace of civic nationalism is too strong. He relies heavily on Michael Scanlon, editor of the *Irish Republic* in Chicago. Scanlon was a rare com-

modity in post-Civil America, a devout Irish-American Republican. Most Irish Americans opposed Radical Reconstruction seeing it as akin to British rule in Ireland. Snay does recognize the virulent Republican opponent John Mitchel as "influential" but he was more than that. He became part of the pantheon of nineteenth-century Irish nationalism getting himself elected and reelected as M. P. for County Tipperary in 1875 despite being declared a felon by Parliament. He remained a hero of Irish nationalists into the twentieth century and was seen as one of the intellectual founders of the movement, which scholars are increasingly recognizing as very racial in nature. Nonetheless, despite this criticism, Snay is to be commended for exploring nationality in Reconstruction and for providing scholars with a new angle in which to look profitably at an old topic.

David T. Gleeson *College of Charleston*

Florida's Big Dig: The Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway from Jacksonville to Miami, 1881-1935. By William G. Crawford, Jr. (Cocoa, FL: Florida Historical Society Press, 2006. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xxiii, 371. $34.95 cloth, $29.95 paper.)

Today, the Intracoastal Waterway is as much a part of Florida as the Everglades and Disney World. As pleasure boats ply this protected passage along the state's east coast, few give any thought to the long and difficult process of its construction and development. Those with some knowledge of Florida history recognize the importance of Henry Flagler, through his building of the Florida East Coast Railway, to the establishment of modern Florida in the years surrounding the turn of the 20th century. In this book, William Crawford makes a convincing case that the almost forgotten developers of the Intracoastal Waterway, through their Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company, deserve a place next to Flagler as important figures in turning Florida from an isolated backwater frontier to a vacation paradise and a state with a population of over 18 million people.

Crawford's tale is a well-documented narrative of the waterway from its inception in the 1880s until its takeover by the federal government in 1929. The author spends little time on the social context of this enterprise; instead he crafts a composite biography of the

entrepreneurs who saw the building of this waterway as "the greatest enterprise of the day" (19). Gilded Age Florida was a state with little economic growth and few sources of capital to stimulate the moribund economy. But it did possess hundreds of thousands of acres of uninhabited land, much of it labeled as "swampland," which the state would grant or mortgage or sell to northern capitalists in exchange for promises of future development. Historians are still debating whether these individuals were visionaries or exploiters, or some combination of both, but they were crucial in providing economic opportunity to Florida. Among them were the New Englanders associated with the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company. Crawford goes into voluminous, at times mind-numbing, detail about the personal and financial lives of these individuals, but he remains right on target as he fills in the missing pieces of the tangled web of relationships between them and influential Florida lawyers, businessmen, and government officials. Without government backing, the waterway enterprise would never have achieved any measure of success. Company officials remained amazingly adept at convincing state officials that completion of dredging and digging was right around the corner and the granting of more state land was essential to the finalization of the project. Crawford is especially good at pointing out the close, almost incestuous, relationships, between government and private business—there certainly was no clearly delineated line between public interest and private gain, as in the case of Pleasants White, a canal company lawyer and former Florida judge and Commissioner of Lands and Immigration.

Like Flagler's railroad, the canal project was as much a land company as a transportation network. Assuming the waterway would provide access to lands in central and southern Florida, company owners and investors spent much of their time in the selling of property granted to them by the state. Under the auspices of the Boston and Atlantic Coast Land Company (owned and operated by canal backers), thousands of acres of land from Titusville to Miami were offered in small parcels to farmers and potential homeowners. This acreage, of course, would only have value if it were linked to northern markets. These connections would be made by either Flagler's railroad or the waterway itself, as the enterprises competed in their quest to develop southeast Florida. In 1910 and 1912, Flagler went to court in Florida and sued the canal company over disputed lands granted by the state. A year later, both suits were dismissed, but the company had to turn over

20,000 acres to Flagler's railroad. "In the final analysis," Crawford concludes, "competition between the two enterprises lowered land prices and transportation charges for newly arriving settlers all along the Florida east coast" (342).

While opportunities for land development certainly enticed investors in the canal company, the construction of the project remained paramount to the ultimate goal of a profit-making connected waterway between Jacksonville and Miami. Company officials consistently underestimated the time, effort, and expense necessary to complete the Intracoastal. Though it appears today as a seamless, continuous, almost natural "river," it took much digging, dredging, and re-shaping of the land to complete the project. Especially difficult was establishing the 30-mile connection between the Halifax and Matanzas River, from St. Augustine to Ormond Beach. Originally planned to take less than five years, this part of the project took over 30 years and finally was completed in 1913. This timing was propitious, as the nation was overtaken with a second bout of "canal fever" in the 1910s (the first occurring in the 1820s with the completion of the Erie Canal). National experts saw cheap water transportation as an alternative to the monopolistic practices of railroads and organized in groups like the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association to encourage the continued development of rivers and canals. With this support, the project was finally opened as a toll waterway in 1913. Little profit was realized and, almost immediately, company officers and state officials pushed for a federal takeover. After years of bureaucratic wrangling and contentious litigation, the Army Corps of Engineers assumed control in 1929 and made the waterway a free route. It remains in that capacity today.

This is an important and under-examined topic of Florida history. Crawford is to be commended for his diligent and comprehensive research, especially examining the arcane real estate transactions between the company, investors, banks, and the state of Florida. At times, however, he becomes entangled in the complex webs of business dealings and loses sight of the big picture of the importance of this project to the development of Florida. More judicious editing would have caught many of these indulgences and given the book a tighter, and stronger, focus. That said, this work is the starting point for anyone interested in the story behind the Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway.

Steven Noll *University of Florida*

If It Takes All Summer: Martin Luther King, the KKK, and States' Rights in St. Augustine, 1964. By Dan Warren, Foreword by Morris Dees. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index, photographs; Pp. ix, 210. $29.95 cloth.)

St. Augustine, Florida, was a dangerous city in the summer of 1964. I know: as an adolescent, I visited there with my family, including my father, who was a *New York Times* correspondent covering the civil rights demonstrations and their bloody aftermath. I recall the terrifying experience in "Battle for St. Augustine 1964: Public Record and Personal Recollection" (*Florida Historical Quarterly* Spring 2006). To provide context for the article, I relied heavily upon *Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine, Florida, 1877-1980* (1985) by David Colburn. In *It Takes All Summer*, Dan Warren also cites Colburn; however, Warren's book is the first to concentrate solely on St. Augustine 1964. Also, Warren provides a unique insider's perspective—that of a state attorney at the time, a white southerner "morally inoculated" against "the virus of racism" (140) by his parents' teaching of tolerance, and his education at Quaker-founded Guilford College. Though much of the book's information is not new, Warren's observations and personal reflections make it a compelling read and, as Morris Dees states in the foreword, "an important addition to the historical record of the [civil rights] movement."

Warren breaks his well-written and compelling memoir into nine chapters, which follow his book's subtitle in concentrating on the characters in this drama: Martin Luther King, the Ku Klux Klan, and those taunting states' rights. "It takes all summer" is a quote from King, revealing his determination to break the segregationists' hold on St. Augustine that summer of 1964. Warren begins by establishing the backdrop for the racial tension there: a highly segregated city whose city leaders were intent on excluding blacks, one quarter of the city's population, as they made preparations for the 1965 quadricentennial celebration of the founding of St. Augustine, the nation's oldest continuously occupied city. In contrast, Warren points out, the leaders in neighboring counties made inroads into creating a dialogue between the races and breaking down racial barriers. Symbolic of the intractability of the white establishment in St. Augustine was the *St. Augustine Record*, the city's segregationist newspaper, whose articles Warren com-

pares to the more moderate and more accurate *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, which Warren frequently cites as a cross reference to his own recollections.

After setting up the background of the exclusion of the black community that fueled black protest and in turn ignited nightly acts of violence by the Klan, Warren details his own involvement in the struggle. He explains his "Birth of a Social Conscience" (the title of the third chapter), how he became such a progressive southerner and an important player in 1964. He grew up in Greensboro, North Carolina, and did not challenge racial segregation until he attended Guilford College, where he learned to question the status quo. In 1961 after completing law school and opening a private practice in Daytona Beach, Florida, Warren at thirty-six was appointed by Governor Bryant as state attorney of the large Seventh Judicial Court. When matters reached a boiling point in St. Augustine, in June 1964, Bryant named Warren as his personal representative to deal with the crisis. Warren proceeded to take immediate action toward establishing a St. Augustine biracial committee, one of King's demands. Warren believed that one of his duties was to protect demonstrators, including the Klan, whom he documents were rarely peaceful. Due to threats from Klan members, Warren was so frightened for his safety and that of his family that he carried a gun in his car. Ultimately, he acted as a middleman in negotiations with both Martin Luther King and Hoss Manucy, a St. Augustine pig farmer who led the local Klan that ultimately terrorized and took over the city.

As state attorney, Warren, not surprisingly, details the conflict between dictates of a federal judge vs. executive orders from the governor on the subject of night-time marches by civil right demonstrators. The chapter "State Versus Federal Control" at first gets a bit bogged down in the legal process for the lay reader but does clarify the importance of the states' rights argument and also includes fascinating description of the behind-the-scenes success of infiltration of the Klan. Warren's emphasis remains with the local scene, of which he had first- hand knowledge, but he does admit that he "had failed to understand or even consider the national implications of King's movement" (120) and thought that the events in St. Augustine were only of local importance. Only later did he realize that, actually, the city was a microcosm of the conditions throughout the segregated South and that King was thinking beyond Florida to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which

mandated integration of all public establishments and prohibited segregation in public schools. Only in hindsight did Warren understand the "dimension" and "wisdom" in King's statement, "I want out of St. Augustine, but I must come out with honor'" (174). Warren says, "There wasn't much honor for anyone in St. Augustine, but there is no question in my mind that King came out a winner and with honor" (174-5). Some of the most intriguing parts of the book are Warren's honest reflections four decades after the events as he juxtaposes the past and the present.

Warren highlights the important role of the everyday heroes who put themselves in harm's way during the summer of 1964, such as Robert Hayling, a local black dentist, whose activism resulted in Klan beatings, and George Allen, a white reporter at the *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, who wrote a series of articles that "revealed to his readers the story behind the headlines" (157). Others did not act so courageously, according to Warren: St. Augustine's elected officials, businessmen, and local white clergy were often silent, guilty of an "absence of authority" (177).

Warren concludes with the chapter "Recrimination and Recovery," where he discusses his February 1965 speech to Boston College of Law and School of Theology on the theme of the "moral dilemma of a southern prosecutor during times of racial crisis" (176). In this act of speaking up, Warren begins the process that he continues by writing his memoir: providing context and insight into a tumultuous, and ultimately very significant, year in Florida history.

Claudia S. Slate *Florida Southern College*

Telling Histories: Black Women Historians in the Ivory Tower. Deborah Gray White, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). Pp. 305. Acknowledgements, introduction, notes, contributors. $21.95 cloth.

Black women's graduate school attendance, faculty participation, and published scholarship have increased significantly since the 1980s. *Telling Histories: Black Women Historians in the Ivory Tower* offers personalized insights from seventeen women who have been central to the growth of this knowledge base. Sharing stories that are deeply personal, theoretically intriguing, and powerfully political, these authors illuminate how, first as graduate students and

then as professional historians, they navigated institutions of higher education, a world mainly concerned with and dominated by whites and men. Organized by the years contributors earned their PhDs, the contribution is multi-generational, acknowledging distinguished professors who built the "infrastructure" of Black women's history (77, 151).

The contributors (in alphabetical order) are Mia Bay, Elsa Barkley Brown, Leslie Brown, Crystal N. Feimster, Sharon Harley, Wanda A. Hendricks, Darlene Clark Hine, Chana Kai Lee, Jennifer L. Morgan, Nell Irvin Painter, Merline Pitre, Barbara Ransby, Julie Saville, Brenda Elaine Stevenson, Ula Taylor, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, Deborah Gray White. The chapters represent chronological bookends: Painter was the first of this group to earn the degree and in turn mentored Feimster, the final chapter contributor, at Princeton. Whether at Howard, Harvard, or Berkeley, Duke or Yale, these women have survived professionally, in part, because they are affiliated with elite institutions.

Though the overarching story represents Black women as a group, rich contrasts exist in research interest, essay style, and identity characteristics revealed. Dissertation foci include biography (Frederick Douglass, Ella Baker, Amy Jaques Garvey, Fannie Lou Hamer), geographical studies (Washington, DC, Durham, NC, Indiana, Texas, North Carolina, Kansas migration, Virginia), social/political topics (suffrage, labor, race ideologies, enslaved women, and lynching), or some combination of black women in a particular space, movement, and time. The books and journal articles subsequently published extended the original dissertation contributions to compile a cornerstone bibliographic reference to major works in the foundation of the field. There are also personal differences between women, where African American woman often means southern or urban, it means also interracial, lesbian, or immigrant. Discussions take place, about hair texture or skin color for example, that simply do not occur in any depth from scholars who have no experiential connection to black families and communities. While these scholars often operate outside of the mainstream discipline of U.S. history, these are insider perspectives of black history.

Some essays detail thought processes behind directions in research; some open doors into the wave of emotions behind why fabled strong black women are reluctant to "cry wet tears" or admit being frail and dejected by the strain of academe (99, 173). Some

authors were mentored by heavy hitters like John Hope Franklin, August Meier, and John Blassingame; yet one of the main observations is the lack of black women faculty mentors to help offer perspectives of both race and gender dynamics. Often they experienced being the only black student, woman, or black faculty in a department but as the book unfolds, we witness the emergence of a body of role models for the next generation.

For these women, the sacrifice of training for a PhD entailed ignoring family pressures to do something more "productive," and constantly having to defend their work from attack because it decentered white male structural approaches to history. There was also the demand to prove their worth to those who believed they were undeserving affirmative action hires (73, 152, 156, 161). Even within black history circles, it was necessary to legitimate a focus on women, which some considered "Mickey Mouse" scholarship (51, 77, 94, 152, 194). Though some experienced measured encouragement, most had to fight inside and outside of the job. Many authors represent the "desegregation generation" (60, 73, 137, 158, 253) and having overcome systemic barriers, were then told they were "womanish" or "arrogant" when they insisted on doing their work their way (167, 255).

In *Telling Histories*, authors also show how students often denigrate black women professors to first name basis when other professors are addressed as "Professor X or Professor Y" signaling an almost universal understanding that black women professionals are not as qualified as their peers and deserve less respect. One student felt empowered to scrawl on a public wall "I hate professor so-and-so, she is a stupid liberal bitch" (144). Students in survey classes challenge professors in overt ways boldly questioning authenticity, facts, or judgment, present especially inappropriate attacks on course evaluations or, on the other spectrum, become enamored with the professor as a confidant, only to seek personal counseling instead of academic advising (154-55).

Publishing has offered unique barriers. Investigation, construction, and interpretation of history is a matter of perspective. How historians have approached the relationship of Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings offers a prime example. Initially some esteemed historians refused to admit any relationship between the two and when DNA evidence was presented, the some mainstream historians attempted to characterize the relationship as a "romance" and go so far as to comment that Hemings was "barely

a slave" (197). The women in this volume offer U.S. history alternative interpretations by establishing a body of work focused on black women.

Black women's work does not garner adequate professional citation or acknowledgement (141). "Peer review" for professional journals is sometimes based on racist and sexist opinions of perceived readers' interest and lack of diversity on review boards (or a token few) translates into what I have called "extraordinary scrutiny" for black women's work (11, 97, 165, 195). Access to sabbatical, admittance to archives and historical societies, conference invites, distinguished professorships, and fellowship or grant awards are also prohibitive, discriminatory, and exclusive areas for these authors (156-57). To move beyond these exclusions, most authors mentioned two organizations that have been essential to their networking abilities: the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH) and the Association of Black Women Historians (ABWH). Visibility and agency are strong themes, as are vindication and professional autonomy.

Barriers to becoming a tenured full professor include marriage, motherhood, family care taking responsibilities, campus service or administrative duties, race uplift efforts, and community activism (4, 62, 117-18, 162, 175). In some cases health issues played a significant role. A stroke (of which one author's colleagues doubted the severity and demanded her immediate return to work), loss of a close relative (being orphaned young or in one case losing a father and a sister on the same day), or a miscarriage (or multiple miscarriages) impacted professional development. Dealing with human tragedy is hard enough without oppressive attitudes and behaviors at work. These stories closely resemble past memoirs and autobiographical reflections by historic black women scholars like Fanny Jackson Coppin, Mary Church Terrell, Zora Neale Hurston, Rose Butler Browne, Lena Morton, and Pauli Murray. Some seem to tell this personal side with reluctance, anger, frustration, and some also with relief—as if to lay a burden down.

Though countless affronts plague Black women regularly, this book is not simply a log of grievances. The detailed accounts offer theoretical alternatives to top-down approaches to historical scholarship. In particular, authors challenge the longstanding "objective" approach in favor of intimately identifying with their work as "relational and contradictory, defined more by historical process of interaction and encounter than by actualization of preformu-

lated, individual tendencies" (135). These authors represent scholarship of connection rather than scholarship of abstraction. Most importantly, there are a range of historiographical approaches and a spectrum of insights specifically regarding black women's formal and informal intellectual history (195).

Campus climates in the South did not allow black students to enroll until the 1960s, making academic paradigm shifts a continuing struggle, so it is not surprising that only three of the seventeen women earned their graduate degrees in the South. To bring the topic close to home, Florida hosts few black women historians. A survey of the Florida State University System history department website faculty listings shows that out of approximately two hundred twenty-one history faculty listed in the state, only six Black women historians or those *explicitly* studying Black women's history are present. These numbers show that in Florida, as on the national level, "could-be" black women historians, experience a "gulf between exceptional qualifications and muted professional opportunities" (1).

Telling Histories is dedicated to Anna Julia Cooper and Marion Thompson Wright, the first two black women to earn the doctorate in history (Cooper in 1925 and Wright in 1941), neither of whom were afforded formal positions as esteemed professors of history. The book also appears to be dedicated to numerous contemporary black women scholars who labor in obscurity with low pay, no prestige, and little time to hone their craft. This book argues for a change in the intellectual landscape; perhaps the next generation of scholars will be allowed to contribute to the discipline in a manner fitting their capacity. In addition, a disciplinary comparison might be of interest: a new edited volume of black women law professors, *Outsider Within: Black Women in the Legal Academy after Brown v. Board*, could allow stunning contrast and confirmation of these perspectives.

There should be multiple audiences for this text. It is written in a straightforward manner and published at a paperback price, so it will be easily accessible for undergraduate courses as well as for popular audiences. However, ample theoretical and methodological questions are raised and answered in the work making it valuable for graduate student training as well. Though the format is descriptive, authors provide analysis about evolution in trends of scholarship and lessons in historiography valuable to historians at all professional stages.

Stephanie Y. Evans *University of Florida*

Southern Comforts: Rooted in a Florida Place. By Sudye Cauthen. (Santa Fe, NM: The Center for American Places, 2007. Preface, illustrations, maps, notes, glossary, index. Pp. xvii, 194. $29.95 cloth.)

Memoirs of place often tend to trade on a sense of nostalgia, loss, change, and regret. The place is always one diminished in some way, in comparison with its past. The tone of Sudye Cauthen's *Southern Comforts* is refreshingly more complex than that. As one might expect in a good memoir, the author comes to understand her place, including its contradictions and hidden aspects, as the book develops. The loss of place she inevitably documents is ultimately the occasion for freedom rather than regret, as she finds ways to incorporate what was, both the good and bad, with what is, both the good and bad. And her Uncle Orion's answer to her question "is this all there is?" could serve as epigraph to the quest at the core of the book: "Oh, Hon-eee, you in this with the rest of us" (156).

Cauthen's memoir is about Alachua, both the county and the town. The book is organized into two major parts, one focusing on the countryside and the other on the town, and a third briefer part that revisits the changed place today. The two major parts can be seen as relating in several ways – a move from the wider rural area to the narrower "urban" area; a move in time, from an account of the layers of meaning of the land to a more conscious perspective brought by the distance of the author in later years; and, a move from the construction of a set of primary documents of the author's past, having the feel of immediacy, to a more aware account of the social factors that made the place what it is. Race, for instance, plays only an implicit role in the first part, but is explicit (indeed, central) in the second. In the first part, Letha DeCoursey tells stories of raising kids and making do as the granddaughter of emancipated slaves; in the second part, the stories Letha's sister Rebecca and others tell about injustice and marginalization serve to highlight the racial divide that lingers and is inscribed on the town's geography.

So, what kind of a place is Cauthen's Alachua? It is a place of back roads, and the people who choose to live on them. Culture bends to nature, rather than dominating it. She compresses a long history in well written scenes that draw connections over time (I kept thinking of John Hanson Mitchell's *Ceremonial Time*, which

charts one square mile, "Scratch Flat," over 15,000 years of history). Cauthen both sketches the activities of ordinary people and also shows how those activities change over time and evolve into new ways. But, for Cauthen, what ties all this together is the question of why she keeps being drawn back to a place which, consciously, she has tried to leave for decades.

Cauthen's self-questioning moves *Southern Comforts* out of straight memoir and toward something else. The dust jacket pegs that "something else" as social analysis, and one reviewer quoted on the back calls it "history and wisdom." As the alternate focus to memoir, neither of these feels quite right. The sensibility shares more with nature writing than it does with anything as systematic as social analysis; Cauthen allows the familiarity of her home ground to become unfamiliar, both through her physical distance from the place throughout her life and the reflective distance evidenced as we move through the book, and she also allows the unfamiliarity of that little old place to become familiar, through narratives which create compelling characters and, more important, which create a place that is not so much lost in the past as it is woven into her life.

One strength of this book is that the picture of Alachua becomes a layered and complex one. While there may have been good old days, we get a sense of struggle and pain right from the beginning. While there is loss over time—"Being back in Alachua is like that, like watching a loved relative die, bit by bit" (9)—there is also realization. The loss of place, like the loss of the many relatives Cauthen chronicles, is never just personal tragedy, but is always the occasion for recognizing another layer of meaning that those who live in a place intuitively feel. The kind of people introduced in the first half as just characters in a reminiscence raise questions in the second half about what it means to be from a place and who gets to define what that place means. While there are elements of oral history and personal memory in this book, it should be taken first as creative non-fiction, in the sense that the craft of writing and the attention to structure are what makes the points here, rather than any deliberate sense of argument.

And so, what does this work contribute to the historical project, and has Cauthen succeeded in making us care about this place? Clearly, the more one is familiar with Alachua, the more resonant the writing will be. But *Southern Comforts* simultaneously evokes a complex Florida that is neither just a place of regret nor

of desire. By the final part of the book, there is certainly regret, as the Alachua of back roads has given way to restaurants and stores. Cauthen's home, both literally and figuratively, has become a memory—her house was moved and became "Angel Gardens Café" and Alachua town itself is unrecognizable. But there is also hope—she has to chasten herself for thinking negatively, and is glad that "the 1980s face of Alachua with its boarded-up buildings and small thinking appears to have been replaced by so handsome and striking a visage" (151-2).

Cauthen's Alachua might have been reduced to an elegy, and that would have been the easy story. Instead, she gives us a good example of how creative work can provide a historically rich view of a place.

Bruce B. Janz *University of Central Florida*

Beach Racers: Daytona Before NASCAR. By Dick Punnett. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008. Pp. 168. Acknowledgments, introduction, prologue, epilogue, photographs, appendix, bibliography, index. $25.00 paper.)

In 1997 Dick Punnett, with the assistance of Yvonne Punnett, released *Racing on the Rim: A History of the Annual Automobile Racing Tournaments Held on the Sands of the Ormond-Daytona Beach, Florida, 1903–1910.* The Punnetts published the book through their own Tomoka Press in Ormond Beach. The University Press of Florida has now re-released the book, virtually unaltered, as *Beach Racers: Daytona Before NASCAR.* Though the original edition is still available (according to the Global Books in Print database), the new version makes conveniently accessible this valuable and interesting work.

Automobile racing in Florida grew out of the state's tourism industry. In December 1902 C. W. Birchwood, a tourist who brought a car to the Ormond-Daytona beach as early as 1900, published an article in *Automobile Magazine* touting Florida and the Ormond-Daytona beach as a good spot for a wintertime automobile racing meet. Another tourist and retiree took up the cause in early 1903 and published similar articles in several publications around the country. It was *Automobile Magazine* that took the initiative, though. It sent one of its correspondents, "Senator" William J. Morgan, to Florida to arrange a meet. It took place March 26–28,

1903, and each winter through 1910 likewise featured a series of races and time trials on the beach, usually under Morgan's management.

The racing meets comprised a wide variety of events. Initially racers focused on time trials, trying to lower the time needed to cover one mile, five miles, ten miles, and so on. The long expanses of hard sand made the beach the ideal place for flat-out speed runs by both automobiles and motorcycles. By 1908 the format had shifted to emphasize distance racing. Short bursts of speed by steam-powered cars or massive vehicles designed especially for brief sprints would no longer grab all the headlines. The highlight of that year was a 300-mile race won at a record-setting pace by Emanuel Cedrino. In fact, records of one sort or another fell virtually every year, and an appendix explains these records in detail. The gatherings waned as the sport of racing evolved toward closed circuits, such as the one that debuted at Indianapolis in 1909.

The historic racing tournaments in Florida took place due to the interest of two groups of men: northern sportsmen who could afford to ship racing machines and the latest stock models to Florida and budding industrialists looking to test their latest creations. Men such as William K. Vanderbilt Jr., Alfred G. Vanderbilt, David Bruce-Brown, and Hugh de Laussat Willoughby pursued automobile racing for the thrill of it. But not all racers were wealthy amateurs. The meets also included a who's who of the pioneers of automobile design and manufacturing. Americans Henry Ford, Louis Chevrolet, Ray Harroun, and J. Walter Christie piloted cars, as did Italy's Vincenzo Lancia. Other manufacturers, such as Ransom E. Olds and the twin brothers F. E. and F. O. Stanley, put their cars into competition with hired drivers at the wheel. Early aviation industrialist Glenn H. Curtiss, who was first a motorcycle maker, drove his motorcycles in races and time trials on the beach, while Guy Vaughan, future president of the Curtiss-Wright Corporation, raced a Darracq car in 1906. Of course, some drivers took the events more seriously than others did. In 1906 Ralph Owen, driving an Oldsmobile, competed in a 100-mile race while accompanied by two women as passengers.

Punnett aims this book squarely at a general audience. There are no footnotes (though there is an informative bibliography), and the writing is crisp and the stories well told. He

organizes the narrative around the annual events, with a chapter devoted to each year. Scattered throughout the text are a plethora of informative sidebars, historical vignettes, and personality profiles that enrich the basic year-by-year layout. Perhaps most interesting, though, are the well-chosen photographs that bring to life these men and, more important, their fabulous machines. The great variety within early automotive design comes to light here, and one senses the excitement that must have greeted the arrival each year of these fast, loud vehicles and their goggle-bedecked chauffeurs. Photographs of the remains of spectacular crashes remind one too of the dangers these men faced.

Professional historians are not the readers for whom this book is intended, but they will nonetheless turn up rich material for analysis if they are interested in the development of the tourist industry, automobile racing, or automotive technology. And professionals and laypersons alike will find plenty of fine racing tales in this labor of love by Dick Punnett.

Randal L. Hall *Rice University*

The Rise and Fall of Dodgertown: 60 Years of Baseball in Vero Beach. By Rody Johnson. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008. Pp. 312. Preface, acknowledgements, afterword, photographs, bibliographic essay, references, index. $24.95 cloth.)

In the preface to this often absorbing saga about one of Florida's oldest and most revered training sites, Rody Johnson shares a warm personal detail. As a teenager in 1948 when Dodgertown first opened, "Branch Rickey helped me pick out a catcher's mitt in my father's sporting goods store" (xi). It had long been a dream of the legendary baseball executive to find a college-like center where the hundreds of his minor and major leaguers could learn the game properly. When Rickey learned that a World War II naval training base was available in Vero Beach, he made fast friends with Bud Holman, a local aviation executive and member of the board of Eastern Airlines. "My dad didn't know first base from second base," Bud's son Bump, who later became the pilot of the Dodger team plane, told Johnson, "but he got on an Eastern flight out of Vero to New York" to meet Rickey in Brooklyn (9). What resulted soon thereafter was an

unusual arrangement in which the Dodgers would pay the city of Vero Beach a rental fee of only one dollar a year for use of the base's facilities, but agreed to pay for improvements to the housing and playing fields and to donate the proceeds from one exhibition game to the city's airport fund.

How appropriate it was that in the first exhibition game played by the Dodgers in Vero Beach in 1948 Jackie Robinson, fresh off his sensational 1947 Rookie of the Year season, hit Brooklyn's first home run. Locally, segregation was still in full flower, and drawing on an unpublished manuscript by sportswriter Joe Hendrickson who covered many Dodgertown spring trainings, Johnson adds revealing detail to the pressures, inconveniences and lingering threats faced by Robinson, pitcher Don Newcombe and other pioneering Brooklyn black players.

In bringing back to life Bud and Bump Holman, Johnson has done another good deed for history. Bud Holman may not have known much about baseball when he got involved with Dodgertown but he was soon on the team board of directors. When a 6,000 seat stadium was erected in time for 1953 spring training, Walter O'Malley, who had ousted Branch Rickey from power after the 1950 season, insisted that the new field be called Holman Stadium. Initially opposed to Dodgertown because of its expense, O'Malley grew to love the facility and he happily wrote out a check for $21 to extend the lease through 1974. Johnson provides another good detail about the creation in 1954 of a Dodgertown Summer Camp for Boys at which Walter's son Peter O'Malley received his first executive experience on his path towards the team presidency. Three years later it was at Bud Holman's ranch 30 miles outside Vero Beach that O'Malley met secretly with officials from Los Angeles to finalize the plans for the stunning uprooting of the franchise from Brooklyn to southern California after that season.

Maybe because the author could not find enough drama in the transplanted Los Angeles Dodgers' first decades in Vero, his narrative loses bite in its middle sections. It becomes largely a chronological listing of events in Dodger seasons and occasionally in Vero Beach politics without much analysis. There are unfortunate lapses in the writing. Where in 1956 Walter O'Malley is vividly quoted exhorting his Brooklyn Dodger players before an exhibition series against the Japanese, "I want you to remember Pearl Harbor" (59), O'Malley is reduced in 1970 to superficial

praise by the builder of a Dodgertown golf course as "an inspiration during the construction" (115).

Another missed opportunity is Johnson's failure to probe the social issues that beginning in the 1960s engulfed the previously cloistered world of baseball, among them, racial protest, the rise of a strong players union, and the growth of drug usage. He does make mention of lifelong Dodger player and coach Al Campanis's unfortunate comment on national television in 1986 that black people lacked the "necessities" to work in the front office. He concedes that Campanis had always treated black players fairly, helping Jackie Robinson to learn to play second base and recommending Jim Gilliam as a coach. But Johnson closes his brief discussion by citing Peter O'Malley's defense of firing Campanis because his remarks were "so far removed and so distant from what this organization believes" (153).

When the author turns to the last chapters of his story, the perhaps inevitable departure of the Dodgers to an Arizona home closer to their fan base, Johnson's narrative happily picks up again. His portrait of Peter O'Malley is engaging and poignant as the heir to the last family-run business in baseball became increasingly outside the loop of the baseball hierarchy. A moderate on labor issues, he was in the minority of owners who tried to avoid the crippling 1994 baseball strike that led to the cancellation of the World Series. In 1998 O'Malley finally sold the team yet before the sale to Rupert Murdoch's Fox News Corporation was completed, O'Malley gave three-year contracts to some loyal executives to provide security in a time of upheaval. Once Murdoch took over, the drumbeat for a spring training center closer to Los Angeles increased. Johnson chronicles well the almost comical game of musical chairs among Fox executives during Murdoch's unsuccessful tenure that ended in 2004 with the sale of the team to Boston real estate developer Frank McCourt. Johnson also does a good job at explaining both the tug of war among different potential spring training suitors in Arizona and the labyrinthine relationships among Vero Beach city government, Indian River county authorities and local aviation interests. With the paternal leadership of the Dodger organization under Rickey and then O'Malley long gone so was the larger sense of baseball's importance in the Vero Beach community.

After 2008 spring training the Dodgers made the official announcement that they were heading to the Phoenix suburb of

Glendale to share a new complex with the Chicago White Sox. The future of Dodgertown and baseball in Vero Beach remains at press time very much in limbo. But thanks to Rody Johnson's book we will always be able to remember a special time of the last part of the 20th century when "the crack of bats, the voices of the coaches, the chatter of the infielders swept across the fields . . . [and] the air smelled of freshly cut grass . . . and of orange blossoms from the nearby citrus trees" (12).

Lee Lowenfish *Columbia University, New York City*

End Notes

In Memorium

William (Bill) M. Goza JD, LHD died May 6 in Gainesville. Born in Madison. Florida, August 18, 1917, Mr. Goza was a 5th generation Floridian and direct descendent of John Francis Webb, a signer of the Florida Constitution. He had a distinguished and varied career as a lawyer, judge, and teacher. His avocation was history and forensic science and he was instrumental in fund raising for the founding of the C. A. Pound Human Identification Laboratory at the University of Florida.

Mr. Goza moved from Madison to Clearwater at the age of three, and graduated with a B.S. in business administration from the University of Florida in 1938 where he was a member of the Blue Key, Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity, and president of the John Marshall Debating Society. He then went on to earn his J.D. from the University of Florida Law School in 1941 and was inducted into the Hall of Fame the same year. Enlisting in the army during World War II, he served as a First Lieutenant as Battery Commander of the 54th Armored Field Artillery.

After the War, Goza returned home to practice law in Clearwater, serving as a municipal judge, city attorney and founding the law firm Goza and Hall, PA. He is a Retired Fellow of tine Jurisprudence Section of AAFS and had been affiliated with AAFS since 1989. Mr. Gory also served as president of the Clearwater Bar Association and president of both the Clearwater Junior and Senior Chambers of Commerce. In 1970, he was named "Mr. Clearwater" in recognition of his contributions to the city of Clearwater.

Although a successful attorney, Mr. Goza's true passion was Florida history and forensic science and his contributions are

numerous. Twice President of the Florida Historical Society, he was a student of the Seminole Indians and a Board member of the Seminole War Foundation, participating in the Dade Battle Talks, the Ft. King Road march, and the Prince Diary Acquisition at the University of Florida. His interest in anthropology and forensic science led to a collegial relationship with Dr. William R. Maples, the first director of the Pound Identification Laboratory at the University of Florida. Along with Dr. Maples, Mr. Goza participated in the investigations of the circumstances surrounding the deaths of President Zachary Taylor, Francisco Pizzaro, the family of Czar Nicholas IL and Joseph Merrier "'Elephant Man." His work led him to become a fellow of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences and associate director of the Maples Center for Forensic Medicine.

As a philanthropist, Goza was responsible for restoring the Wardlaw-Smith house in Madison, FL; the house is now the Wardlaw-Smith-Goza (WSG) Conference Center. In addition he was a long-time supporter of the University of Florida, donating his extensive collection of rare and unique items such as historical newspapers, imprints, photographs, archaeological reports, and books. In 1976 he received the Distinguished Alumnus Award and in 1985 received an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters. In a recent interview he stated. "I have many fond memories of my days as a Gator and I am thankful every day for the opportunities the University of Florida has granted me."

Bill Goza is survived by his sister Hazel McLeod, his wife, Sue, two daughters, Anne Folsom and Mary Rouse, a devoted son-in-law and good friend, Wayne Folsom, three grandchildren, a niece and nephew.

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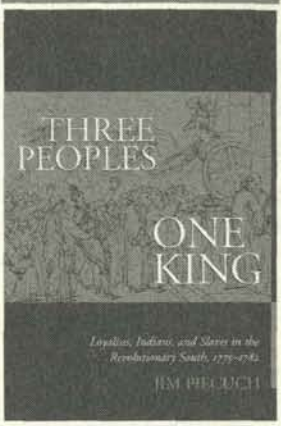

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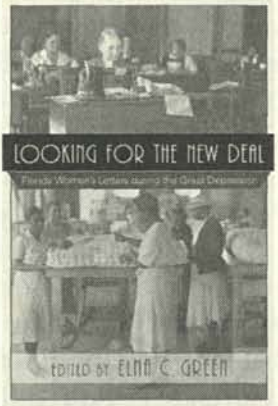

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