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Cover Illustration: Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings with dog and rifle.
Image courtesy of the *Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Papers*, Special and
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American Gibraltar: Key West during World War II

by Abraham H. Gibson

As visitors and locals alike will attest, there is no other place in America quite like Key West. Separated from the Florida peninsula by more than a hundred miles, the island city lies closer to Havana than Miami. The archipelago to which it belongs not only boasts the only tropical climate in the lower forty-eight, but also features flora and fauna found nowhere else on Earth. Even the ground underfoot is unique. A mere hundred thousand years ago, Key West was not only underwater, but alive. Its entire surface teemed with millions of tiny coral which slowly built the island's limestone bedrock over countless millennia.

And yet, despite its quirks, Key West just may be the most American city of all. Throughout its remarkable history, the island city has provided a curiously consistent microcosmic view of the greater United States. What is more, the city's insular nature exaggerates national trends, rendering Key West an island of extremes. The effect is most pronounced during the nation's sharpest turns of fortune. When the United States enjoyed its greatest burst of economic expansion during the fabled Gilded Age, no other city in the nation boasted more wealth per capita than Key West.¹ Rooted in a thriving cigar industry, the island's

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1. Maureen Ogle, *Key West: History of an Island of Dreams* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 84; Gary Boulard, "'State of Emergency': Key West in the Great Depression," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 67, no. 2 (1988), 169.

economy added scores of factories, thousands of jobs, and millions of dollars. But if Key West enjoyed exaggerated wealth during the good years, its want was no less extreme during the bad ones. When the nation's economy crumbled during the Great Depression, no other city fell further than Key West. The island lost all of its industry, most of its jobs, and a third of its population. Significantly, the response to this crisis likewise amplified national trends, as the Roosevelt administration poured New Deal money into the city with a singularly intense focus. While federal assistance ameliorated the city's moribund economy, Key West soon discovered (as did the rest of the nation) that nothing transforms an economy like world war.

Although Key West has attracted its share of historians, none have focused exclusively on the island's development during World War II. To be sure, several have studied Key West during the 1930s. Garry Boulard examines the city's crushing poverty during the Great Depression, for example, while Durward Long details its inspiring rebound during the New Deal. But neither historian addresses the still more radical events of the early 1940s.² Other histories mention the war, but only within a larger context. Clayton Roth, Jr. reviews 150 years of defense at Key West, but his broad approach affords World War II scarcely two pages.³ Similarly, Maureen Ogle provides an authoritative history of the island spanning several hundred years, but World War II comprises only a fraction of her narrative.⁴

Meanwhile, historians of World War II have long recognized the war's profound influence on the American home front, but they have generally paid Key West little heed.⁵ A growing number

2. See Boulard, "State of Emergency," 166-183; Durward Long, "Key West and the New Deal, 1934-1936," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 46, no. 3 (1968): 209-218; William C. Barnet, "Inventing the Conch Republic: The Creation of Key West as an Escape from Modern America," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 88, no. 2 (2009): 139-172.

3. Clayton D. Roth, "150 Years of Defense Activity at Key West, 1820-1970," *Tequesta*, no. XXX (1970): 33-51.

4. Ogle, *Key West*.

5. There is a large historiography addressing the American home front during World War II, including: Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front, U. S. A.: America during World War II* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1986); Stephen Ambrose, *Americans at War* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997); John Jeffries, *Wartime America: the World War II Home Front* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Publisher, 1996); William L. O'Neill, *A Democracy at War: America's Fight at Home and Abroad in World War II* (New York: Free Press, 1993); John M. Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1976); Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972).

have highlighted the war's unique impact on the American South, though most have overlooked its effect on the region's southernmost frontier.⁶ Gary Mormino references the island city in his excellent study of Florida during World War II, but his analysis of Key West is limited by his statewide scope.⁷ Daniel Hutchinson discusses Key West in considerable detail in his recent dissertation, though his interests are otherwise much broader.⁸ His research reveals that military bases transformed communities throughout the South (among them Key West), and that fissures often appeared along similar political, racial, and gendered lines.

Like other "war-boom communities," Key West endured a number of radical changes during the Second World War.⁹ When

6. Neil R. McMillen, ed., *Remaking Dixie: the Impact of World War II on the American South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997); Pete Daniel, "Going among Strangers: Southern Reactions to World War II," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 3 (1990): 886-911; Morton Sosna, "More Important than the Civil War? The Impact of World War II on the South," *Perspectives on the American South: an Annual Review of Society, Politics, and Culture* 4, ed. James C. Cobb and Charles Reagan Wilson (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1987), 150-153; Morton Sosna, "The GI's South and the North-South Dialogue in World War II," in *Developing Dixie: Modernization in a Traditional Society*, ed. William B. Moore, Jr., Joseph F. Tripp, and Lyon G. Tyler, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988), 311-326.
7. Gary R. Mormino, "World War II," in *The New History of Florida*, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996). Others addressing Florida on a statewide level during World War II include: Glenn Ferguson, "Florida State Defense: Civilians and Civilian Defense in World War II," (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University 1999); Gary R. Mormino, "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow: Racial Violence and Reform in World War II Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 73, no. 1 (1994): 23-42; Ben F. Rogers, "Florida in World War II: Tourists and Citrus," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 39, no. 1 (1960): 34-41.
8. Daniel Hutchinson, "Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South during World War II," (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2011).
9. Many of the foundational works addressing the effects of World War II on specific communities appeared soon after the war, including: Robert J. Havighurst and H. Gerton Morgan, *The Social History of a War-Boom Community* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951); Charles F. Marsh, *The Hampton Roads Communities in World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951); Marvin W. Schlegel, *Conscripted City: Norfolk in World War II* (Norfolk, VA: Norfolk War History Commission, 1951). More recently, several works have addressed Florida communities during World War II, including: Gary Mormino, "Midas Returns: Miami goes to War, 1941-1945," *Tequesta*, LVII (1997): 5-52; Eileen J. Babb, "Women and War: St. Petersburg Women during World War II," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 73, no. 1 (1994): 43-61; David J. Coles, "'Hell-By-The-Sea': Florida's Camp Gordon Johnston in World War II," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 73, no. 1 (1994): 1-22; James R. McGovern, "Pensacola, Florida: A Military City in the New South," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 59, no. 1 (1980): 24-41.

the war began, the Key West Naval Operating Base occupied just 50 acres on the northwestern edge of the island.¹⁰ By the end of the war, it sprawled across more than 3,200 acres. The navy spent over \$70 million in Key West during the course of the war, and more than 14,000 ships passed through the island's harbor. It was a dizzying time, when the number of people living on the island doubled and sometimes tripled the pre-war population.¹¹ Yet Key West soon discovered (as did the rest of the nation) that the wartime boom offered mixed blessings.

Shifting Winds of Fortune (1823-1939)

The United States Navy first established a presence at Key West in 1823, when there were approximately one hundred people living on the island.¹² Pirates dominated the Florida Straits, much to the chagrin of the young republic. In response to this menace, the U.S. Navy established an anti-piracy campaign based at Key West, granting Commodore David Porter command over "the most remote settlement of the southern frontier." Under Porter's direction, a squadron of swift vessels (known as the "Mosquito Fleet") pursued and attacked pirate ships operating in the waters between Florida and Cuba.¹³ Sometimes engaging in hand-to-hand combat, Porter and his squadron eliminated piracy from the region in less than a year.¹⁴ Reflecting on his experience in a report he filed with the War Department in 1829, Porter declared the harbor at Key West "the best harbor within the limits of the United States, or its territories, to the south of the Chesapeake." Seven years at sea had convinced him that "the advantages of its location as a military and naval station have no equal except in Gibraltar."¹⁵

10. Before proceeding, a note of clarification is warranted. Given Key West's strategic importance during World War II, the navy maintained dozens of autonomous offices at Key West, among them the Naval Air Station, the Sound School, and the Naval Hospital. Each prong fell under the jurisdiction of the Key West Naval Operating Base. Therefore, unless otherwise noted, allusions to the "naval base" refer to this broadest entity.

11. J. R. Mickler, *Key West in World War II: A History of the Naval Station and the Naval Operating Base* (Key West, FL: Naval Station and Naval Operating Base, 1945), i.

12. Ogle, *Key West*, 15.

13. Frederick Davis, "Pioneer Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 25, no. 1 (1946): 64-66.

14. Ogle, *Key West*, 15.

15. David Porter, "Letter to Congress, December 29, 1829," *Public Documents Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States, First Session of the Twenty-Fourth Congress*, vol. V, doc. no. 359 (December 7, 1835), 13-15.

As Key West's population crept steadily upward over the next hundred years, war visited the island several more times. Although Florida seceded from the Union in 1861, federal troops retained control of Fort Zachary Taylor in Key West throughout the Civil War, assisting in the blockade of Southern ports.¹⁶ During the 1870s, thousands of Cubans took refuge on the island while their nearby homeland was engaged in the bloody Ten Years' War.¹⁷ In the late 1890s, the United States was drawn into war with Spain when the *Maine* (which had sailed from Key West) exploded in Havana harbor. Bodies recovered from the scene were brought to Key West and buried in the city cemetery. In the weeks thereafter, every available vessel was sent to Key West, which played a vitally important role in the Spanish-American War.¹⁸ Reflecting on his participation in the blockade of Havana, Commodore William H. Beehler championed the island's strategic importance and harkened Porter's century-old comparison. "This should be the American Gibraltar," he wrote in 1910. "As England has secured domination over Europe by means of her strategic base at Gibraltar," Beehler continued, "so must we adopt this geographical position for the command of the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, and all the approaches to the Panama Canal, at the southern point of the United States."¹⁹

Although Key West had reaped benefits each time the nation went to war, the strategically located island found itself in an especially fortunate position just prior to the First World War. In 1912, workers with Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway finished construction of the Over-Sea Railroad, an engineering marvel that stretched across more than 120 miles of islands and water, allowing trade between Key West and the mainland to

16. Jefferson Beale Brown, *Key West: the Old and the New* (St. Augustine, FL: The Record Company, 1912), 90-98.

17. Antonio Rafael de la Cova, "Cuban Exiles in Key West during the Ten Years' War, 1868-1878," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 89, no. 3 (2011): 287-319; Gerald Poyo, "Key West and the Cuban Ten Years War," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 57, no. 3 (1979): 289-307; Consuelo E. Stebbins, "The Cuban Insurgent Colony of Key West, 1868-1895," *Tequesta*, no. LXVI (2006): 5-27.

18. William J. Schellings, "Key West and the Spanish American War," *Tequesta*, no. XX (1960): 19-29; Ogle, *Key West*, 102-109; Brown, *Key West: the Old and the New*, 144-146.

19. William H. Beehler, "The American Gibraltar," *The Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* (1910), 235. Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida

flourish.²⁰ Its significance cannot be overstated; for the first time since the Pleistocene, the Florida Keys were again peninsular. Meanwhile, Key West also benefited from the completion of the Panama Canal, roughly one thousand miles to the south (Figure 1). "With the opening of the Panama Canal a few weeks ago, Key West has begun to feel an increase in shipping to and from this port," city boosters proclaimed in 1914. Traffic increased dramatically in the years thereafter, as the Great War placed unprecedented demands on resource mobilization.²¹ Although the battlefield never approached the shores of Key West, the navy established both a submarine basin and an air-patrol station on the island. In short order, "The city was filled to overflowing not only with military personnel but with families of servicemen and tourists."²²

While the island's reliance on defense spending reaped high rewards during times of war, it left the city economically exposed during times of peace. Difficulties began in 1926, when the collapse of the real-estate boom dragged Florida into the Great Depression several years earlier than other parts of the country.²³ The challenges were further exacerbated when the navy, motivated by economic pressures and adhering to isolationist policies, deactivated its base at Key West in 1930.²⁴ If the island city enjoyed exaggerated wealth during fat years, its suffering was likewise extreme during lean ones. "Few Florida communities were as severely affected by the depression as was Key West," writes historian Durward Long.²⁵

But the navy did not bear exclusive responsibility for the decline of Key West. A host of other factors also contributed. For example, new tariffs prompted pineapple canners to abandon their operations in the Keys, the once-robust sponging industry left Key West in favor of more fertile grounds in Tarpon Springs, and even the city's long-established cigar industry moved its operations to Tampa.²⁶ In just ten years, the city lost more than 14,000 pay-rolled

20. George Chapin, *Key West Extension of the Florida East Coast Railway: Official Program and Souvenir* (St. Augustine, FL: The Record Company, 1912). Special Collections, Florida State University.

21. J.A. Willis, *New and Greater Key West* (St. Augustine, FL: The Record Company, 1914), 4. Special Collections, Florida State University.

22. Louise White and Nora Smiley, *History of Key West* (St. Petersburg, FL: Great Outdoors Publishing, 1959), 70.

23. Long, "Key West and the New Deal," 209.

24. "Army and Navy: Key West Closed," *Time*, October 6, 1930, 16.

25. Long, "Key West and the New Deal," 209.

26. "States and Cities: At Caya Hueso," *Time*, July 16, 1934, 13.

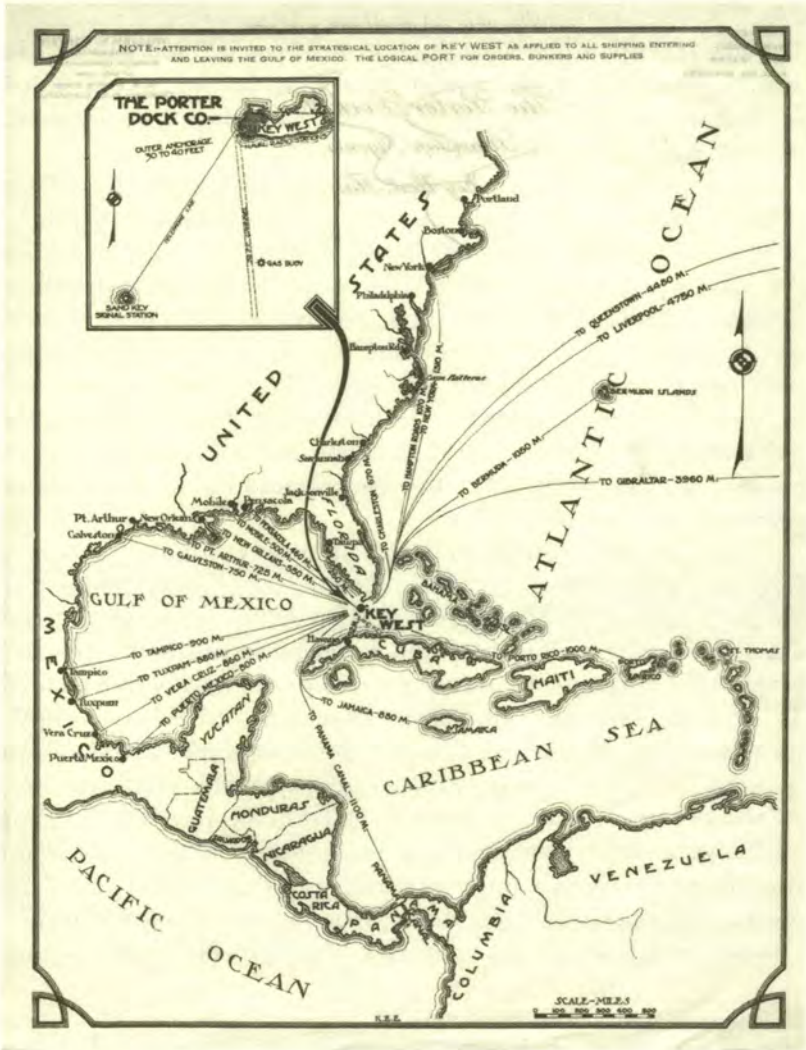


Figure 1. Map showing Key West's strategic location, circa 1920. This image adorned the stationary of the Porter Dock Company in Key West. The note inscribed across the top reads: "Attention is invited to the strategical location of Key West as applied to all shipping entering and leaving the Gulf of Mexico. The logical port for orders, bunkers, and supplies. Image available in Key West Chamber of Commerce Records (1920-1943); Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

jobs.²⁷ Not surprisingly, the population plummeted accordingly. Though 18,749 residents had lived in Key West in 1920, just 12,831 of them remained ten years later.²⁸ By 1934, half of the city relied on federal assistance for survival. As *Time* magazine reported, "Poverty has whipped Key West to its knees."²⁹

Overwhelmed by their city's plight, desperate Key West officials petitioned the state for emergency assistance on July 2, 1934.³⁰ In response Governor David Sholz placed the city under the jurisdiction of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). Julius Stone, the FERA administrator charged with rehabilitating the city, emphasized the city's tourism potential. "The thing to do," he announced, "is to make Key West so attractive as to revive the tourist trade." Indeed, while Porter and Beehler compared Key West to Gibraltar, Stone invoked comparisons to another oceanic landmark. "Key West should be the Bermuda of America," he proclaimed.³¹

That summer, FERA initiated an unprecedented recovery program in Key West. Dubbed "the New Deal in miniature" by *Harper's Monthly*, the government poured money into repairing the city's vernacular architecture and fostering its aesthetic appeal.³² Meanwhile, citizens volunteered thousands of hours of free labor.³³ Their hard work paid immediate dividends. In February 1935, locals welcomed 8,580 visitors to the city, double the busiest month of 1934.³⁴ Not everyone agreed with the FERA plan, however. "If the government really wants to rehabilitate Key West," Victor Moffat wrote in an open letter to Julius Stone, "all they have to do is transfer 5,000 service men here, and keep that number here." As Moffat explained, "this island has always been a military island."³⁵ Others resented the government's plan for different reasons.

27. Boulard, "State of Emergency," 168-169.

28. *The Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Part I, US Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), 212.

29. "States and Cities: At Caya Hueso," *Time*, July 16, 1934, 13.

30. "Key West asks aid in Economic Crisis," *New York Times*, July 5, 1934, 19.

31. "States and Cities: At Caya Hueso," *Time*, July 16, 1934, 13.

32. Quoted in Boulard, "State of Emergency," 175. For more on Key West's extraordinary transformation into a destination mecca, see: Barnett, "Inventing the Conch Republic," 139-172.

33. Long, "Key West and the New Deal," 214.

34. Albert C. Manucy and Joe Hale, "Three Key West Winter Seasons, 1934-1936" (Key West: n. p., 1936), 3, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

35. V. R. Moffat, "Attention - Uncle Sam," *Florida Motorist* (October, 1934), 28.

Writing to a friend in early 1935, Katy Dos Passos complained that "the New Dealers are here (and) have stirred up all the old art trash and phoney uplifters that sank to the bottom after the war." She reported with pity and disgust that sight-seeing tours invited out-of-towners to gawk at the house where Ernest Hemingway still lived.³⁶

Though Hemingway likewise disparaged FERA's efforts, he forgot such trivial complaints when a category-five hurricane pounded the Florida Keys on Labor Day, 1935. Registering the lowest barometric reading in North American history, the hurricane made landfall on Craig Key, just south of Lower Matecumbe, halfway between Key West and Miami.³⁷ The storm killed more than 400 people on the sparsely populated islands, many of them World War I veterans who had been working on an overseas roadway. Hemingway, who assisted in the recovery, described the carnage in a letter to a friend. "It was as bad as the war," he wrote, but "worse really because (it was) so stupid and avoidable."³⁸ Aside from the horrific loss of life, the hurricane also devastated the fledgling tourism trade in Key West. Its tracks badly damaged by the storm, the Over-sea Railroad ceased operation in 1935, leaving the city's 13,000 inhabitants "virtually stranded." Some estimates suggested that half of the island's population would relocate when WPA projects ceased, although there was "vague talk" of the state appropriating the railroad's old right-of-way and converting it into a roadway for automobiles. "Unless it does so," *Time* magazine reported, "Key West, the last jewel inserted in the Flagler crown of empire, is liable to become a ghost city, reverting to sand & sea."³⁹

"The Rumble of a Distant Drum" (1939-1941)

As many had predicted, the state of Florida bought the remnants of the Over-sea Railroad in 1936. Over the next two years, workers converted several railway bridges into roadway bridges for vehicular traffic, thereby reestablishing a vital artery with the mainland.

36. Linda Patterson Miller, *Letters from the Lost Generation: Gerald and Sara Murphy and Friends* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 109-110.

37. Thomas Neil Knowles, *Category 5: The 1935 Labor Day Hurricane* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), 196; Willie Drye, *Storm of the Century: The Labor Day Hurricane of 1935* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2002), 156-157.

38. Miller, *Letters from the Lost Generation*, 143.

39. "Abandoned Keys," *Time*, February 24, 1936, 63-64.

The road promised to give the recovery process a significant boost. When the Overseas Highway was finally completed in April 1938, the United States possessed seventy percent of the world's automobiles.⁴⁰ Newspapers across the nation celebrated the easy access to the Keys' famed fishing grounds, and heralded the novelty of "saltwater travel by automobile."⁴¹ Visited by 35,000 tourists during the previous three years, the island welcomed 1,100 automobiles on the highway's first day of operation.⁴²

The Overseas Highway received its best coverage, however, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt traveled down its lanes in an open-air convertible less than a year after it opened. This was not his first trip to the Florida Keys. He had first visited the islands in 1917, when he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy.⁴³ Roosevelt returned several times throughout the 1920s, fishing and swimming from a houseboat he owned (Figure 2).⁴⁴ It was official business, however, that prompted the President's stylish return to Key West in early 1939. After a brief tour of the city he helped rehabilitate, Roosevelt planned to board the cruiser *Houston* in order to observe a series of naval war games titled Fleet Problem XX, which were already in progress.⁴⁵ Despite these stated intentions, the press suspected otherwise. Roosevelt's fishing prowess was well known, and reporters predicted his working vacation would entail more vacation than work. "The official reason assigned for the President's cruise at this time is his desire to see the fleet maneuvers," the *New York Times* reported, but "it is likely that President Roosevelt will do more fishing than study of naval games."⁴⁶

On the contrary, the President had every reason to take the war games very seriously. Just days earlier, Germany had launched a 35,000-ton battleship named *Bismarck*, "the largest and heaviest

40. A. A. Hoehling, *Home Front, U.S.A.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1966), 47.

41. Harris G. Sims, "Down Florida's Bright Trails," *New York Times*, January 15, 1939, xx.

42. "Transport: Last Resort," *Time*, Monday, April 11, 1938, 50.

43. Elliot Roosevelt, ed., *FDR: His Personal Letters, 1905-1928* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948), 343.

44. Roosevelt actually co-owned the houseboat, *Larocco*, with his longtime friend, John Lawrence. His visit to the Florida Keys in 1923 helped convince him of water's therapeutic qualities (more than a year before his first visit to Warm Springs, Georgia). Elliot Roosevelt, ed., *FDR: His Personal Letters*, 534-609.

45. Albert A. Nofi, *To Train the Fleet for War: The U. S. Navy Fleet Problems, 1923-1940* (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 2010), 229-250.

46. "President Leaves for Cruiser Trip," *New York Times*, February 17, 1939, 7.



Figure 2. Franklin D. Roosevelt in Florida, 1926. Franklin Delano Roosevelt helped reel in this 500-pound jewfish while fishing in the Florida Keys on March 21, 1926. Image courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum Marist College, Hyde Park, New York.

warship ever completed by any European nation."⁴⁷ The ship was unveiled with significant fanfare before most of the nation's highest-ranking government and military officials.⁴⁸ The launching of the *Bismarck* was but the latest grandiose gesture from an increasingly hostile German state. Other nations responded to this type of ratcheting in kind. Whereas the world had spent only \$4 billion on instruments of war in 1933, armament spending exceeded \$17 billion in 1938.⁴⁹ Soon after arriving in Key West, the President and a caravan that included Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Naval Operations, proceeded immediately to the island's naval facilities. The buildings had deteriorated badly since Roosevelt's initial visit twenty years earlier. Now, troubling reports from abroad prompted him to reassess the base's strategic importance. As he toured the grounds of the deserted base, the *Bismarck* was no doubt fresh in his memory.

Before boarding the *Houston*, Roosevelt performed at least one ceremonial duty. Sitting in the back of a convertible on the streets of Key West, the President made a special radio address opening the World's Fair in San Francisco, which showcased the city's brand new Golden Gate Bridge.⁵⁰ Sporting a sunburned face, the President later spoke to members of the press, brushing aside questions about whom he would appoint to succeed Justice Louis Brandeis on the Supreme Court.⁵¹ When reporters asked Roosevelt if he looked forward to fishing, he replied in the affirmative, but also indicated that developments in Europe might hasten his return sooner than he would like. The President did not elaborate, and reporters were left guessing what he meant. Though smiling for the cameras, Roosevelt displayed an "obvious concern over the possibility of a new international crisis."⁵²

The President's off-the-cuff comment raised eyebrows on the docks of Key West and made headlines across the nation. William Borah, renowned isolationist senator from Idaho and oldest

47. Jack Brower, *Battleship Bismarck* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2005), 6.

48. *Ibid.*, 8.

49. "More Arms: Billions for Defense," *New York Times*, February 19, 1939, 65.

50. Jack James and Earle Weller, *Treasure Island: 'The Magic City,' 1939-1940, The Story of the Golden Gate International Exposition* (San Francisco: Pisani Printing and Publishing Company, 1941), 67; See also "President Leaves for Cruiser Trip," *New York Times*, February 17, 1939, 7.

51. Felix Belair, Jr., "Roosevelt Enters Zone of War Game," *New York Times*, February 21, 1939, 1.

52. "Crisis may Hasten Roosevelt Return," *New York Times*, February 19, 1939, 34.

member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, tried to assure concerned citizens that they had nothing to fear from turmoil in Europe. "What could that possibly have to do with us?" he asked. "I venture to say," he continued, "that the totalitarian nations will not put forth any threat against the United States or affecting the United States which need shorten the President's visit a single hour." The senator concluded that "the people of Europe are more and more for peace. They are less and less disturbed by war-bluffing speeches of the leaders."⁵³ Roosevelt's ominous announcement likewise surprised many in the international community, who had seen several months pass without any overt militaristic posturing (the *Bismarck* notwithstanding). The British press reported that "no particularly alarming news" had been recently disclosed, and that, in fact, "the outlook was slightly more hopeful than it had been." In Berlin, the press reported that Germany had done nothing to prompt Roosevelt's foreboding remarks, even suggesting that the comments were a deliberate effort to "stimulate the armaments market."⁵⁴

Sailing from Key West aboard the *Houston*, Roosevelt joined Fleet Problem XX, which brought the entire fleet into the Atlantic for the first time in five years. The exercise included 134 ships, 600 planes, 3,210 officers and 49,445 sailors.⁵⁵ Although Fleet Problem XX was originally intended to coordinate defense of the Panama Canal, Roosevelt widened the scope of the games soon after his arrival. Spreading the fleet across a huge swath of the Atlantic Ocean, Roosevelt sought to simulate the defense of the United States and the Caribbean from a European invasion.⁵⁶ The reasons behind Fleet Problem XX were twofold: It enabled the navy to identify weak points in its defense, but it also sent a muscle-flexing message to Germany. "If this Navy—this strong right arm of ours—is obviously strong, the folly of testing it is equally obvious," remarked Charles Edison, Assistant Secretary of the Navy and son of the famous inventor.⁵⁷ Alas, the maneuvers did little to dissuade Hitler from his aggressive agenda. Less than a month after Fleet

53. "Crisis may Hasten Roosevelt Return," 34.

54. "Roosevelt's Fears Mystify Europe," *New York Times*, February 20, 1939, 1.

55. "National Defense: Strong Arm," *Time*, February 20, 1939, 12-13.

56. Felix Belair, Jr. "President Widens Fleet War Games," *New York Times*, February 22, 1939, 1.

57. "National Defense: Strong Arm," *Time*, February 20, 1939, 12-14; See also Nofi, *To Train the Fleet for War*, 239.

Problem XX (and on the Ides of March, no less), Germany took the rest of Czechoslovakia.

As the situation in Europe deteriorated, word spread throughout Key West that the island's navy base might soon reopen. Mickler described the island during this period with dramatic flair, remarking that it was suddenly "possible to hear the rumble of a distant drum."⁵⁸ The economic implications were obvious, and observers anxiously predicted that the city might yet "get another whiff of prosperity out of rearmament."⁵⁹ Sure enough, when Germany invaded Poland on September 1, the U.S. Navy initiated the first of several major changes to its Key West base, which had been operating on "bare maintenance" status for years.⁶⁰ The Secretary of the Navy immediately closed the base to all visitors and ordered private yachts to vacate the submarine basin at once.⁶¹ That same month, Roosevelt directed the navy to establish a Neutrality Patrol that would monitor domestic shipping lanes. By September 20, 1939, forty destroyers and fifteen submarines were patrolling America's east coast on a daily basis.⁶² Two weeks later, neutrality became a hemispheric policy when the Conference of Foreign Ministers of American Republics signed the Act of Panama.⁶³ Because no other nation in the Americas possessed a comparable navy, the burden of enforcement fell to the United States. The policy was tested a few weeks later when a foreign submarine and two vessels were spotted twenty miles off the coast of Key West. The *Reuben James* sped out from the Key West harbor, but the vessels disappeared and confrontation never materialized.⁶⁴

Commander Granville B. Hoey officially reactivated the Key West naval base a few weeks later, on November 1, 1939.⁶⁵ Taking a census on that first day, Hoey noted that the material structures were ill-prepared for modern warfare. "It is true that there are buildings here," Hoey wrote, "but most of them, with the exception

58. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 1.

59. "Small-Scale Model of Pan-America," *New York Times*, February 21, 1939, 14.

60. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, vi.

61. *Ibid.*, 1.

62. William Scarborough, "The Neutrality Patrol: to Keep us out of World War II?" *Naval Aviation News* (March-April 1990), 19-20.

63. Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of the United States Naval Operations in World War II, volume 1: The Battle of the Atlantic* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), 14.

64. "U Boat, Two Tankers seen off Key West," *New York Times*, October 10, 1939, 2.

65. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 1.

of the machine shops, were empty."⁶⁶ Sitting on fifty acres near the western end of the island, the base was badly in need of repair. The restoration process began almost immediately. "These prelude-to-war months were of constantly widening horizons at the Key West Station," recalled Mickler. "For each new activity commenced, orders for two more seemed to follow immediately." This growth continued in 1940, when the East Coast Sound School, later known as the Fleet Sonar School, was transferred from Connecticut to Key West. At the school, select sailors were trained in sonar and then dispersed on ships around the world to ply their trade. As activity increased at the naval base, Key West welcomed a seemingly endless stream of vessels into its port (Figure 3). In June 1940, 882 merchant ships passed through Key West, with an estimated average tonnage of 148,000 daily—twice the average through the Panama Canal.⁶⁷

The merchant traffic that passed through Key West was protected



Figure 3. The U.S. Navy at Key West, 1940. This postcard by F. Townsend Morgan captures the island's busy harbor on the eve of war. Morgan first arrived in Key West as a hired artist for the Works Progress Administration. He remained on the island until 1949. Image courtesy of the Monroe County Library, Key West, Florida.

by the rapidly expanding Neutrality Patrol. Consisting of roughly 125 surface vessels in December 1940, the Neutrality Patrol kept constant vigil over domestic shipping lanes, from Canada to the

66. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 2.

67. *Ibid.*, 4-5.

southern Caribbean. Among its resources were three battleships (the *New York*, the *Texas*, and the *Arkansas*), a large number of aircraft carriers, destroyers, submarines and auxiliaries. Overhead, roughly fifty bombers and a few blimps patrolled the airways over critical oceanic junctures.⁶⁸ Key West played an increasingly pivotal role in this effort. In the closing weeks of December 1940, the naval base received three submarines, the first such vessels housed there since the Great War.⁶⁹ The implications were not lost on citizens, who celebrated the arrival of the submarines with a parade.⁷⁰ The Key West Naval Air Station was established around the same time, and twelve long-range bombers arrived on December 30 1940.⁷¹ By February 1941, more than a thousand personnel were on active duty at the Key West Naval Station and Naval Air Station.⁷² In addition, the navy also employed a large number of civilians. Winifred Shine, a local woman who began working at the naval base as a Civil Service employee in 1941, likened the base to a "beehive of activity." As she later recalled, the harbor was constantly busy with warships, tugboats, vintage four-stack destroyers, submarines, mine sweepers, mine layers, and, on occasion, pods of curious dolphins.⁷³ By the summer of 1941, the navy had already spent \$7,000,000 on defense projects in Key West.⁷⁴

As sailors, soldiers, and defense workers descended on the island, so too did a record number of tourists. Every carload of people that drove across the Overseas Highway during those early years contributed money to the city's coffers, as a toll charged one dollar for each automobile and its driver, plus twenty-five cents for each additional passenger.⁷⁵ At least 1,500 people travelled on the highway during the Labor Day weekend of 1941, a fifty percent increase over the same

68. Harold B. Hinton, "Neutrality Patrol Schools Navy," *New York Times*, December 1, 1940, E5.

69. "Key West to be Submarine Base," *New York Times*, November 24, 1940, 38.

70. "Navy Bombers at Key West," *New York Times*, December 30, 1940, 9.

71. Scarborough, "The Neutrality Patrol: to Keep Us Out of World War II?," 21.

72. Ogle, *Key West*, 190.

73. Winifred Shine Fryzel, "Experiences of World War II Taught Valuable Lessons," *Florida Keys Sea Heritage Journal*, 3, no.2 (1992/1993): 10.

74. Wanda MacDowell, "Defense Booms Key West, No Longer 'Forgotten City,'" May 23, 1941. Key West Chamber of Commerce Records, 1920-1943, folder 3. Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

75. White and Smiley, *History of Key West*, 73.

weekend a year earlier.⁷⁶ Another 20,000 people used the Overseas Highway in November 1941, a forty percent increase over the previous November.⁷⁷ This was an utterly new experience in American history, driving to a Caribbean island. Comprising the nation's southernmost frontier, Key West was, quite literally, the end of the road, "the farthest one could drive without a passport."⁷⁸

Whether they travelled via ship, plane, or automobile, visitors arriving in Key West discovered a city unlike any other in the United States. Stephen Singleton, chair of the Key West Chamber of Commerce, estimated that the island's pre-war population was "equally distributed among native whites, Cuban-Americans, and Negroes."⁷⁹ Attempts to provide a more accurate account of the island's demographics often ran into difficulties. In 1929, Elmer Holmes Davis, a writer for *Harper's*, divided the population among three different groups: Cubans, Conchs (described as immigrants of European ancestry who had arrived in Key West via the Bahamas), and Americans (with a "negligible minority of Negroes").⁸⁰ During the New Deal, the Department of Research and Statistics divided the population between two races (76% white, 24% black) and among three areas of extraction (55% American, 26% Latin, 19% Other). Even so, the department's director acknowledged that census categories failed to capture the island's diversity. "Under 'extraction' the classification is not racial, but cultural and linguistic," Harold Ballou explained. "A number of negroes (*sic*) are thus of 'Latin' extraction, others are 'American' and some classified under 'Other' may either be either whites or negroes (*sic*) from the Bahamas, etc., Chinese, etc." Further complicating matters, Ballou continued, "A number of individuals claiming to be citizens are still technically aliens, never having taken out citizenship papers, but in many such cases, the individual has lived in Key West the greater part of his life."⁸¹

76. "Bridge Toll Collections Continuing to Mount," *Key West Citizen*, October 3, 1941, 1.

77. "Overseas Highway Toll Collections on Increase," *Key West Citizen*, December 4, 1941, 1.

78. Hal Crowther, *Gather at the River: Notes from the post-Millennial South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 103.

79. Stephen C. Singleton, "Letter to Selden C. Menefee," March 15, 1940. Key West Chamber of Commerce Records, 1920-1943, folder 4. Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

80. Elmer Holmes Davis, "Another Caribbean Conquest," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (January, 1929), 170.

81. Harold Ballou, "Key West Census Figures, Department of Research and Statistics, August 1, 1934," *Key West Writers Program*, 153. Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

This heterogeneous population generally welcomed the growing number of visitors who infused ever more currency into the city's still convalescent economy. Few industries blossomed like the island's houses of questionable repute. Like many other exotic ports of call, Key West had long taken a lenient stand toward its vibrant red-light district. Though barely seven square miles in area, the island supported no fewer than seven brothels in 1941.⁸² Civic leaders were forced to reconsider their lenient position, however, when a young prostitute was murdered in an upstairs room at Alice's, an infamous brothel where all of the girls wore "virginal white" and spoke with charming Southern accents.⁸³ The young woman was strangled with a pair of silk underwear, which were pulled tight around her neck and held fast with a toothbrush.⁸⁴ As the salacious details appeared in newspapers across the nation, police in Key West struggled to identify suspects among the island's transient swarm of sailors and tourists. The case was thought solved a year later when an ex-sailor named Richard Patrick Leroy reportedly confessed to the crime. He was eventually acquitted, however, when it was determined that his confession was part of an ill-advised attempt to gain sympathy from an estranged lover.⁸⁵

As tourists arrived via the highway and sailors trafficked in from the sea, the population of Key West rose for the first time in decades.⁸⁶ Not surprisingly, the growing population placed an ever greater strain on Key West's limited supply of water. Unlike the majority of Florida Keys, the island of Key West benefited from two freshwater springs that bubbled up from the Biscayne Aquifer.⁸⁷ These wells had proved of significant interest to pirates two hundred years earlier, but they could not keep pace with twentieth-century demand. The city sometimes shipped fresh water in on trains and barges, though the majority of Key West citizens drew their water from rain that collected in cisterns. The city's tourism literature celebrated the fact

82. Simpleton, "Not Remedial," *Key West Citizen*, January 20, 1942, 2.

83. Dorothy Raymer, *Key West Collection* (Key West, FL: Key West Island Bookstore, 1981), 3.

84. "Man Confesses Slaying at Key West," *St. Petersburg Times*, April 1, 1942, 12.

85. "Acquit Sailor of Florida Killing," *Lewiston Daily Sun*, July 25, 1942, 2.

86. *The Seventh Census of the State of Florida, 1945: taken in accordance with the provisions of chapter 22515 Laws of Florida, Act of Legislature of 1945* (Tallahassee, FL: N. Mayo, Commissioner of Agriculture, 1946), 11.

87. T.R. Beaven and F.W. Meyer, *Record of Wells in the Floridian Aquifer in Dade and Monroe Counties, Florida* (Washington, D.C.: United States Geological Survey, 1978), 1.

in creative fashion. "We drink the best water in the world," one local bragged, "it comes straight from heaven."⁸⁸ The naval base collected the seasonal manna in two 312,000-gallon cisterns. A distilling plant provided the navy an additional 35,000 gallons of water per day, but it did little to match demand as the station's pre-war complement of 3,300 souls grew. As Mickler observed, "water was liquid gold."⁸⁹ Thus, on March 18, 1941, the navy announced plans to build a 130-mile-long pipeline that would supply Key West with fresh water from the mainland. As construction of the aqueduct began in December 1941, the island's citizens celebrated. "At long last," the *Key West Citizen* declared, "Key West's long struggle for a constant source of fresh water (is) one step nearer success."⁹⁰

Although the United States was still technically neutral in November 1941, the war had already transformed Key West in a number of profound ways. The city's heterogeneous population welcomed thousands of strangers into their midst. Sailors trafficked in from the sea, while tourists and defense workers poured in over the recently completed highway. For the first time in years, the island's industries (red-light or otherwise) were thriving once more. For many residents, the windfall harkened memories of the previous world war, which had generated great wealth on Key West but never any real threat of danger. As they would soon discover, however, nothing is predictable when the world is at war.

War Comes to the Keys (1942)

Like the rest of their countrymen, the people of Key West were shocked when they learned that Japan had launched a surprise attack on the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor. The news proved especially unnerving in Key West, which also possessed a frontier naval base. In response to the attacks, the navy imposed mandatory blackouts throughout Key West, and Marines were stationed at critical points along the Overseas Highway. On December 9, 1941, seventy-five army trucks rumbled into town carrying more than 1,500 soldiers, the largest movement of troops in the history of the island.⁹¹ At

88. Maude Haynes Hollowell, *Go to Sea: Key West, Gibraltar of America* (Key West, FL: n. p., 1939), 1. Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

89. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 24.

90. "And what of the Road?" *Key West Citizen*, October 1, 1941, 1.

91. "Fifteen Hundred Army Troops arrive in Key West," *Key West Citizen*, December 10, 1941, 1.

a public meeting in the City Hall a day after the attack, Captain Russell Crenshaw, commandant of the naval station, assured a crowd of several hundred nervous citizens that Key West was in no immediate danger of attack.⁹² Just to be sure, however, Lieutenant Commander A.F Winslow of the navy instructed them on methods to combat chemical warfare, incendiary bombs, and gas attacks.⁹³ Meanwhile, the tugboat *Willett*, commanded by Captain Edward Mumford, left Key West to help clear wreckage from the shallows at Pearl Harbor.⁹⁴

Though most citizens enthusiastically supported the war effort, they sometimes bristled under the changes which attended the nation's entrance into war. The first cries of protest arose in January 1942, when the navy asked city leaders to shut down the island's famed red-light district. Despite the island's longstanding leniency toward the world's oldest profession, Captain Crenshaw deemed prostitution a menace to the health, welfare, and efficiency of navy personnel.⁹⁵ Though the military advocated a similar course of action in other war-production communities, the situation was especially precarious in Key West. After all, Florida reported a higher rate of venereal disease than any other state in the union, and no locale boasted a higher incidence of disease than Key West's umbilical anchor on the mainland, Miami.⁹⁶ These facts convinced the navy that steps had to be taken to avoid a potential epidemic.

Despite this rationale, navy officials acknowledged that "there is practically no community support for a program of repression of prostitution."⁹⁷ Sheriff Berlin Sawyer and his deputies agreed to abide by the navy's wishes, but they also went on record against the

92. "Captain Crenshaw said Key West was in No Immediate Danger of Enemy Attack," *Key West Citizen*, December 10, 1941, 1.

93. "Key West ready to play its part in War Program," *Key West Citizen*, December 8, 1941, 1-2.

94. "Wrecking Tug Leaving for Pearl Harbor," *Key West Citizen*, December 9, 1941, 1.

95. Paul D. Jones, "Field Trip to Key West," February 27, 1942, 1, RG 215—Office of Community War Services, Entry 3, Box 76, File—Region VII, Florida—Key West, National Archives.

96. "Albert Carey Tells Council of City's Ills," *Key West Citizen*, n. d., RG 212 - Committee for Congested Production Areas, Entry 16, Box 2, File—Key West, Florida, National Archives; see also: Capt. R. S. Crenshaw, letter dated April 18, 1942. RG 215—Office of Community War Services, Entry 3, Box 75, File—Region VII, Florida—General, National Archives.

97. Paul D. Jones, "Field Trip to Key West," February 27, 1942, 5, RG 215—Office of Community War Services, Entry 3, Box 76, File—Region VII, Florida—Key West, National Archives.

policy, calling prostitution a "necessary evil in a military center."⁹⁸ Many worried that the navy's decision would merely decentralize the industry, driving "the seven known brothels into perhaps fifty unknown." Nor would it do any good to exile prostitutes, one citizen observed, because "others will be here to take their place in a few days, augmenting the present crowd of women that infest all the bars up and down Duval Street."⁹⁹ Citizens like J. R. Deland insisted that an island full of frustrated sailors was capable of anything, and thus defended prostitution in the name of family values. "Take away their bawdy houses and you leave them no place to satisfy their beastial desires except in some dark lane with your innocent daughters," he warned.¹⁰⁰

While the people of Key West debated the merits of organized prostitution, the enemy was already en route to their shores. Hitler had ordered U-boats to the American coasts on December 12, just days after the United States formally entered World War II. The operation, given the chilling name *Paukensschlag* ("drumbeat"), was commanded by Karl Doenitz.¹⁰¹ "Doenitz's strategy was simple," Maingot explains; "(sink) the largest number of ships in the shortest span of time." Doing so would not only preoccupy the Americans, Doenitz reasoned, but would also disrupt the vital lanes through which oil and other materials were shipped.¹⁰²

The first attack in American waters occurred on January 12, 1942, when a German U-boat torpedoed the British passenger steamer *Cyclops* about 300 miles east of Cape Cod. Four days later, the navy confirmed that an American tanker had been torpedoed sixty miles off the coast of Block Island, practically in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty.¹⁰³ Scrambling to fortify its southeastern shores, the navy established the Gulf Sea Frontier (GSF) on February 6, 1942.¹⁰⁴ Headquartered in Key West, the GSF was charged with protecting "the Florida Coast and Straits, most of the

98. Jones, "Field Trip to Key West," 2.

99. Simpleton, "Not Remedial," *Key West Citizen*, January 20, 1942, 2.

100. J. R. Deland, "Prostitution Problem," *Key West Citizen*, January 20, 1942, 2.

101. Michael Gannon, *Operation Drumbeat: the Dramatic True Story of Germany's First U-Boat Attacks Along the American Coast in World War II* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2009), 71.

102. Anthony Maingot, *The United States and the Caribbean: Challenges of an Asymmetrical Relationship* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), 57.

103. Morison, *Battle of the Atlantic*, 126.

104. Russell Crenshaw, "Introduction," *Gulf Sea Frontier War Diary*, March 31, 1942, 2.

Bahamas, the entire Gulf of Mexico, the Yucatan Channel and most of Cuba."¹⁰⁵ Despite preparations, the war arrived in Florida waters a month later when Nazi submarines sank the *Pan Massachusetts* off the coast of Cape Canaveral on February 19, 1942.¹⁰⁶ Over the next three days, three more ships were torpedoed off the coast of Palm Beach.¹⁰⁷

The United States was woefully ill-prepared for the U-boat onslaught. Time and again, American ships were torpedoed in the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean. Because Key West touched all three of these theaters, its citizens were confronted with war more frequently than most Americans. These reality checks often took the form of weakened sailors staggering ashore with harrowing tales. The *Leif*, a merchant vessel controlled by Nordstraship and chartered to the Bull Line Steamship Company of New York, was among the many ships sunk during the first week of May. Ten survivors were picked up after 52 hours in a lifeboat and brought to Key West. Most of their fellow crew members remained missing, including the ship's lone American: Martin Stuart of Brooklyn. "There was only one torpedo, but one was enough," Holm Brynildser, master of the vessel, recounted upon his arrival in Key West. It had all happened so fast, he said, that none of the crew had seen the submarine.¹⁰⁸

Just days after the sinking of the *Leif*, more survivors were brought to Key West when two merchant ships were torpedoed off the Florida coast within sight of one another. Thirty-eight sailors had been aboard one of the ships, though only ten survived. The other ship fared even worse. Among its crew of thirty-two sailors, only four survived. One of them, Preston Carpenter of Texas, informed navy personnel in Key West that he had seen the submarine when it surfaced. It was "freshly painted, without a spot of rust on her," he recalled. "She was painted gray and a large black swastika was painted on the conning tower." Carpenter seethed with anger when he recounted how the surfaced submarine gunned down his fellow sailors. "I could see the machine gun as it moved from one direction to another," he recalled, "aiming bullets directly at the

105. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 135.

106. Ibid., 128; See also Tom Hambright, "German U-Boats Assault Florida Keys," *Florida Keys Sea Heritage Journal*, 2, no. 4 (1992), 1.

107. Crenshaw, "Introduction," *Gulf Sea Frontier War Diary*, March 31, 1942, 4.

108. "Four More Ships Lost," *New York Times*, May 7, 1942, 1.

men in the forecastle."¹⁰⁹ He vowed to return to the sea so that he might avenge his fallen mates.

As the month progressed, more and more survivors came ashore at Key West. On May 18, German soldiers taunted the victims of a shipwreck as they bobbed in the water. A submarine crewman hoisted the Nazi flag and gave the German salute as American seamen swam for their lives. "They wanted to make darned sure we knew their identity," Leonard Shearer recalled from his hospital bed in Key West.¹¹⁰ Other survivors shared similar stories. That same week, for example, an American merchant ship managed to stay afloat when a torpedo glanced off its side. The submarine then assailed the ship with gunfire. Only twenty-one of the original forty-seven passengers survived. Among them was a 16-month-old infant, nicknamed "Shipwreck Kelly" by his parents. Once on dry land in Key West, the child's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Cupples of Mount Cory, Ohio, reported that the commander of the submarine had taunted them. "You can thank Mr. Roosevelt for this," he told them in broken English.¹¹¹ When another ship was sunk in the area five days later, the U-boat commander again addressed survivors bobbing in the water. "He said it was a pity what he had done," survivors recalled, "but that we had no one to blame but Mr. Roosevelt."¹¹²

Because these attacks often claimed more lives than they spared, individuals landing in Key West told amazing stories of survival. Two crewmen recounted how they survived an attack that claimed most of their fellow shipmates by hiding in the water tank of their burning ship until the flames subsided. They were later rescued from the smoldering vessel just minutes before it sank.¹¹³ Perhaps the most amazing survival story, however, belonged to twenty-three-year-old Harley Archie Olson. After his ship was torpedoed on April 19, he jumped into the water and took refuge in a nearby life raft. Separated from his crewmates, Olson collected rations from two nearby rafts. A fateful decision, it turned out, for he spent the next twenty-nine days

109. "Three ships torpedoed, 56 men missing," *New York Times*, May 9, 1942, 6.

110. "Swastika waved at Ship Survivors," *New York Times*, May 25, 1942, 6.

111. "63 Die on 3 U. S. Ships Torpedoed in Gulf," *New York Times*, May 24, 1942, 1. See also Homer H. Hickam, *Torpedo Junction: U-Boat War off America's East Coast, 1942* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute), 219.

112. "Submarine Denies Water to Victims," *New York Times*, May 29, 1942, 5.

113. "33 Men Drown when Subs Sink Two Ships in Gulf," *St. Petersburg Times*, May 20, 1942, 7.

alone, adrift at sea. Even after he was discovered and taken to Key West, Olson remained in federal custody. The British skipper who saved him had evidently taken Olson for a spy, not believing that any man could survive a month at sea in such good condition. When it became clear that Olson was, in fact, American, he was released and hailed as a hero. Later that year, he was profiled in *None More Courageous*, a wonderful piece of American propaganda celebrating heroism in the young war.¹¹⁴

Despite these tales of bravery, Germany was clearly winning the Battle of the Atlantic. Between January and May, 1942, there were never more than forty U-boats operating in the western half of the Atlantic.¹¹⁵ Even so, U-boats sank an astounding 568 Allied ships during that period. The month of May proved an especially brutal month in the GSF, where losses totaled 49 ships and over 200,000 gross tons. This was the worst month that any naval frontier would endure throughout the entire war.¹¹⁶ Things improved but slightly in June, when U-boats sank an additional 25 ships in Florida waters. Two were sunk within six miles of Key West.¹¹⁷ The German fleet was so successful that they referred to this period as the "Second Happy Time." In the summer of 1942, Doenitz informed Hitler that "our submarines are operating close inshore along the coast of the United States of America, so that bathers and sometimes entire coastal cities are witness to that drama of war, whose visual climaxes are constituted by the red glorioles of blazing tankers."¹¹⁸ Doenitz had every reason to gloat. His submarines sank more than a hundred ships in the Gulf Sea Frontier, twenty-five of them between Key West and Daytona.¹¹⁹ These losses not only hurt morale but were militarily debilitating. General George C. Marshall conceded that "the losses by submarines off our Atlantic seaboard and in the Caribbean now threaten our entire war effort."¹²⁰ Winston Churchill was similarly unnerved. "The only thing that ever really frightened

114. Stewart Holbrook, *None More Courageous: American War Heroes of Today* (New York: Stratford Press, 1942). See also "An Odd Sea Tale," *New York Times*, May 29, 1942, 5.

115. Morison, *Battle of Britain*, 128.

116. *Ibid.*, 137.

117. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 128-9.

118. Morison, *Battle of Britain*, 157.

119. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 129; Gary Mormino, "Midas Returns: Miami goes to War," 8.

me during the war was the U-boat peril," he later opined. "I was even more anxious about this battle than I had been about the glorious air fight called the Battle of Britain."¹²¹

Fortunately, the same summer that arrived with such terrifying bluster ended on a much more stable note. Following the peak of 49 attacks in May, the number decreased sharply each of the following months.¹²² Several factors contributed to the United States' improving fortunes on the maritime front. For example, the Allied counter-offensive gained invaluable assistance when the Enigma machine broke the U-boats' code.¹²³ The situation also improved when military officials began demanding more diligent enforcement of coastal blackouts. "One of the most reprehensible failures on our part was the neglect of local communities to dim their waterfront lights... until three months after the submarine offensive started," Morison later lamented.¹²⁴ Despite its naval connections, Key West was among the guilty cities. One naval officer reported that the lights of Key West were plainly visible over 30 miles from harbor.¹²⁵

To its credit, however, Key West instituted several anti-submarine measures that protected waters both locally and abroad. For example, the navy planted a total of 3,460 Mark VI mines in the waters north and west of Key West in April. Though U-boat attacks continued in the months thereafter, the minefield's existence narrowed the area on which attention was focused.¹²⁶ On a much broader front, the Key West Sound School trained thousands of sailors to detect submarines using sonar equipment. Prior to the war, the school had produced 130 sound operators per month. During the first three weeks of 1942, more than 900 enlisted men graduated from the school's basic sound training. The sound school also helped U.S. Allies, training more than a thousand men from seven different navies during the war.¹²⁷ Meanwhile, the man most closely associated with Key West initiated his own anti-submarine campaign that was symbolically brazen, if not terribly effective. Operating from a ranch

120. Quoted in Maingot, *The United States and the Caribbean*, 58.

121. Richard Langworth, *Churchill by Himself: the Definitive Collection of Quotations* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008), 305.

122. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 129.

123. Maingot, *The United States and the Caribbean*, 61.

124. Morison, *Battle of Britain*, 129.

125. "State Ports Criticized for Poor Dimouts," *St Petersburg Times*, July 9, 1942, 8.

126. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 125.

127. Morison, *Battle of the Atlantic*, 215.

just outside Havana, Ernest Hemingway spent large parts of 1942 and 1943 patrolling the straits between Cuba and the Florida Keys on his fishing boat, *Pilar*, armed with little more than a few machine guns, a handful of grenades, and an inordinate amount ofchutzpah.¹²⁸

Perhaps no measure contributed more to the navy's campaign against U-boats than the decision to organize all merchant ships into convoys and provide them with security escorts. This new policy affected Key West in several ways. In June 1942, the navy transferred command of the GSF from Key West to Miami. Though the move was made for logistical reasons (telephone lines between the island and the mainland were "unreliable" and unnecessarily exposed), it did little to undermine the island's significance in the war. Quickly emerging as an important convoy assembly point, the waters around Key West were soon busier than ever.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, bombers and blimps patrolled the skies with greater efficiency. Proving critical to the war effort, each blimp patrolled an area of 2,000 square miles every twelve hours, spotting U-boats at depths of over 70 feet.¹³⁰

As each of these measures took effect, conditions in the waters surrounding Key West improved dramatically. After losing more than a hundred ships during the spring and early summer, the GSF reported just one sinking in September and none during the rest of the year. There were only five successful U-boat attacks in all of 1943, though one of them remains etched in the annals of naval history.¹³¹ On the night of July 18, 1943, a navy blimp (*K-74*) engaged in battle with a German submarine (*U-134*) forty miles southwest of Key West, the first and only such battle in recorded history.¹³² Although the *K-74* delivered several depth charges, gunners on the U-boat fired back on the airship and knocked out its starboard engine. Under heavy fire, the blimp crashed into the water. The battle claimed the life of one crewman, and the others were rescued after treading water (and fighting sharks) for almost twenty hours.¹³³

128. Terry Mort, *The Hemingway Patrols: Ernest Hemingway and his Hunt for U-boats* (New York: Scribner, 2009), passim.

129. Morison, *Battle of Britain*, 135.

130. *Ibid.*, 142.

131. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 129.

132. Frederick Simpich, "From Indian Canoes to Submarines at Key West," *National Geographic* (January, 1950), 50.

133. There is some disagreement among historians about whether or not the *K-74* actually dropped its depth charges, although Atwood produces convincing evidence that it did so successfully. See Anthony Atwood, "An Incident at Sea: the Historic Combat between U. S. Navy Blimp *K-74* and U-Boat 134," Master's

A Community Transformed (1943-1945)

As the U-boat menace waned and then disappeared, Key West had more than one reason to celebrate. On September 22, 1942, the first drops of water dribbled in through the new navy-built aqueduct and into the city. By the end of the month, 1.5 million gallons of water gushed through the pipe every day, and that number would soon double.¹³⁴ The city's economy was running on all cylinders for the first time in decades. "Key West is now a boom town," Pauline Hemingway wrote to a friend, "with wages in the clouds and housing accommodations in the gutter."¹³⁵ Though fewer than 13,000 people had lived in Key West in 1940, the island's population skyrocketed as the naval base transformed into a vital hub for oceangoing convoys and ship repairs.¹³⁶ By early 1943, ration board officers estimated that the population had climbed to over 31,000.¹³⁷ This number did not include army and navy personnel, who usually numbered around 10,000. All told, when Key West was at its busiest, more than 45,000 people crammed onto the tiny island.¹³⁸

Calling Key West "hopelessly overcrowded," the Office of Community War Services (OCWS) identified housing as the most urgent problem confronting the island community. Every room on the island was accounted for, and when one became available, defense laborers took precedent. Even so, many skilled workers arrived on the island, found no place to stay, and caught the next bus out of town.¹³⁹ Throughout the war, the Manpower Commission counted thousands of jobs in Key West for which there

Thesis, Florida International University, 2003; Tom Hambright, "German U-Boats Assault Florida Keys," *Florida Keys Sea Heritage Journal*, 2, no. 4 (1992): 10-11; Gaylord T. M. Kelshall, *The U-Boat War in the Caribbean* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994), 342; Jim Wiggins, *Florida and World War II: a Personal Recollection* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2008), 71.

134. Carston R. Heinlein, "Key West Search for Water, Part III," *Florida Keys Sea Heritage Journal*, 16, no. 3 (2006): 1-16.

135. Miller, *Letters from the Lost Generation*, 283.

136. *The Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Part I, US Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), 212.

137. "Report on Key West, Florida War Area," October 1, 1943, 1, RG—215, Office of Community War Services, Entry 3, Box 81, Folder K-L, National Archives.

138. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, ii.

139. "Housing Problem still Unsolved," *Key West Citizen*, March 13, 1944, RG 212—Committee for Congested Production Areas, Entry 16, Box 2, File—Key West, Florida, National Archives.

was pressing demand but no more supply.¹⁴⁰ Hoping to ameliorate the dreadful housing situation, city officials begged tourists to take their business elsewhere. Though tourists had helped rescue the island from poverty in the mid-1930s, they now clogged a vital war production area. The Key West Chamber of Commerce politely explained that there was simply no room for anyone else, but people continued to pour into the city. Those who arrived in Key West without accommodations had to improvise, often sleeping in cars, on the beach, or in upright chairs in hotel lobbies.¹⁴¹

The population boom ensured economic growth, but citizens soon discovered that prosperity came at a price. There were "three and four house robberies every night," Pauline Hemingway wrote, "with the police force consisting of three very baffled men leaping around to one place after another where the robber has just operated and disappeared."¹⁴² An editorial in the *Key West Citizen* implored both the police and the citizenry to clean up the town. "It is a new experience for Key Westers to have their wallets snatched from their pockets," the editorial observed, but "thousands of strangers are in our midst." Blaming "the rascals who have drifted in here from all over the country," the paper demanded that law enforcement "curb the crime wave that has been gathering volume in our community."¹⁴³

The soaring population also presented a number of challenges to Key West's outdated infrastructure. The island's humble garbage collection services remained badly overtaxed throughout most of the war, and wet trash sometimes simmered in the tropical sun for weeks without collection. As one official with the OCWS noted, "the downtown streets were littered with paper and trash. This alone, with standing water on the edge of the streets, gave the central part of town a most offensive odor."¹⁴⁴ Others remarked that living conditions "bordered on the general level of a slum."¹⁴⁵

140. "Labor Market Development Report, Key West Area," April 30, 1943, Florida Industrial Commission, War Manpower Commission Reports, Box 2, File 1, State Archives of Florida.

141. Stu Morrison, "Key West's 'Stay Away' Plea Futile," *Miami Herald*, August 13, 1944, 8B, RG 212—Committee for Congested Production Areas, Entry 16, Box 2, File—Key West, Florida, National Archives.

142. Miller, *Letters from the Lost Generation*, 283.

143. "Clean up the Town," *Key West Citizen*, January 1, 1943, 2.

144. "Report on Key West, Florida War Area," October 1, 1943, 14, RG—215, Office of Community War Services, Entry 3, Box 81, Folder K-L, National Archives.

Medical services failed to keep pace with the island's rapid growth. Although the naval hospital had opened in November 1942 (just in time to accept soldiers from Guadalcanal), there remained no hospital for civilians.¹⁴⁶ Making matters worse, there was but a handful of doctors on the island, and most of them were retired, infirm, or otherwise incapacitated. Local authorities informed the federal officials that the medical services available in Key West were "about equal to those which would be provided by two well-qualified physicians working on a full-time basis," and estimated that there was only one physician for every 18,000 people.¹⁴⁷ Thus, in April 1943, the Federal Works Agency (FWA) approved construction of a municipal hospital and a health clinic to serve the citizens of Key West.¹⁴⁸

Although sailors and civilians stood united in the war effort, tensions between them remained (Figure 4).¹⁴⁹ Bernard "Bunny" Pemstein, a young navy recruit from Massachusetts stationed at the naval hospital, described his impression of the island in a letter to his parents: "The liberty town STINKS," he wrote in October 1943. "One lousy street. Nothing to do but drink."¹⁵⁰ According to Robert Roberge, who spent several weeks on the island while training at the Sound School, there was very little interaction between the military and civilians. "There just wasn't a normal civilian population there in those days," he recalled years later. "There was some, but we never came in contact with them."¹⁵¹ According to Carlton Smith, however, the separation was deliberate. "In the opinion of us soldier boys," he revealed, the

145. Walter W. Argow, "Field Report—Key West, Florida," August 17, 1943, 1, RG 215—Office of Community War Services, Entry 3, Box 76, File—Region VII, Florida—KeyWest, National Archives.

146. Carston R. Heinlein, "Key West's Naval Hospital," *Florida Keys Sea Heritage Journal*, 3, no. 1 (1992): 8-12.

147. "Report on Key West, Florida War Area," October 1, 1943, 15-17, RG—215, Office of Community War Services, Entry 3, Box 81, Folder K-L, National Archives.

148. "Hospital OK'd for Key West," *Key West Citizen*, April 3, 1943, Florida State Board of Health, Newspaper Clippings, Folder—1943, part II, State Archives of Florida.

149. "Report on Key West, Florida War Area," October 1, 1943, 11, RG—215, Office of Community War Services, Entry 3, Box 81, Folder K-L, National Archives.

150. Bernard L. Pemstein, letter to parents, October 22, 1943. B.L. Pemstein Papers, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

151. Walter L. Roberge, Jr., interview transcript, April 10, 2000, Reichart Program for Oral History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL.

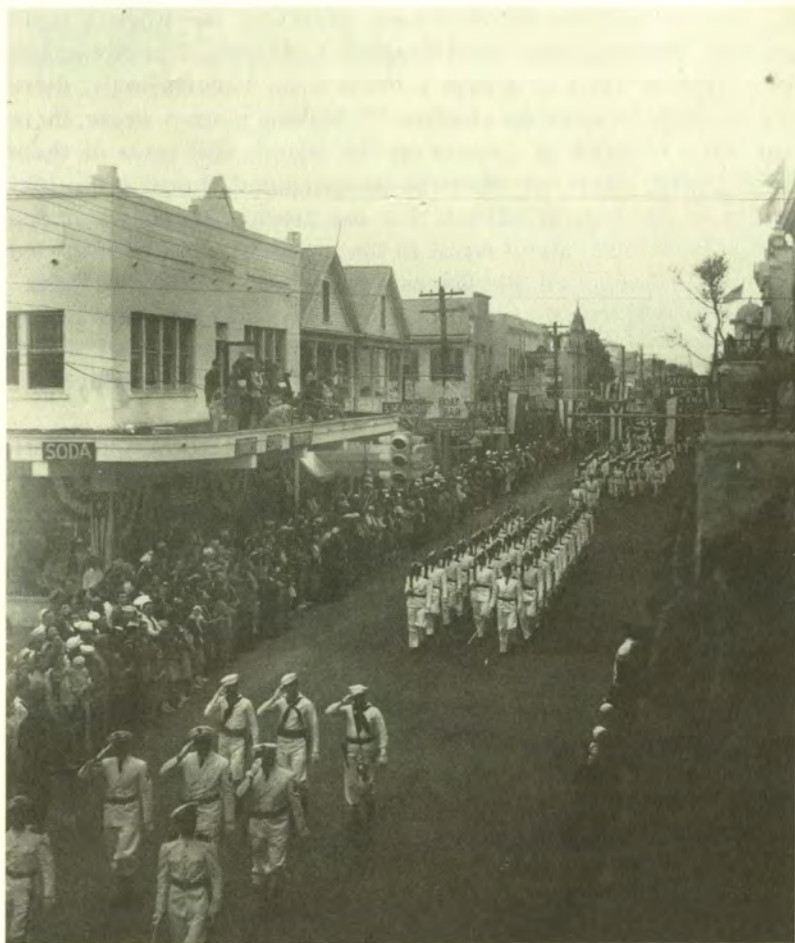


Figure 4. Navy Day Parade, October 21, 1943. This photograph of the Navy Day Parade was taken on October 21, 1943, at the corner of Duval Street and Fleming Avenue. American flags and Cuban flags hang in the background. *Image courtesy of the Monroe County Library, Key West, Florida.*

locals "weren't to be trusted."¹⁵² William Hornung, who also was stationed at Key West, agreed. In his opinion, "it was another one of those Navy towns and the local natives did not like the sailors."¹⁵³

152. Carlton M. Smith, interview transcript, October 7, 1999, Reichart Program for Oral History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL.

153. William G. Hornung, Manuscript, Tom Brokaw Collection, World War II Institute, Florida State University.

That antagonism sometimes manifested itself in dangerous ways. D. W. Bolstad, seaman second class, discovered as much when he was beaten, choked, and robbed while walking back to the base late one night after the bars had closed.¹⁵⁴

Despite this mutual distrust, liaisons between sailors and civilians persisted. Although the island's red-light district had been closed since the beginning of the war, the OCWS reported that prostitutes continued to shuttle in from the mainland. "I am advised that these women generally charge for their services and usually before they can be arrested leave town," OCWS field representative Theodore Eslick informed his boss, Elliot Ness.¹⁵⁵ Others were more concerned about the behavior of non-professional "victory girls," who they felt undermined the war effort in Key West. "The high-pitched tension of war-time living and misguided ideas of patriotism have developed in our communities a vicious abandonment to loose living among local teenage girls," explained Dr. Henry Hanson, State Health Officer.¹⁵⁶ Others reported similar behavior. "Key West is running over with women who have come here from various parts of the country for the sole purpose of meeting sailors, getting them drunk and marrying them," complained Judge Raymond H. Lord. He was tired of these drunken dalliances ending at his doorstep, where inebriated couples demanded to be wed. "In the future," he assured the city, "I'm going to call the police and let them take the women to jail."¹⁵⁷

Although Key West remained in a state of sustained "saturation" throughout most of the war, conditions were otherwise

154. "Seamen Choked, Slugged, Robbed," *Key West Citizen*, February 8, 1943.

155. Theodore P. Eslick, "Field Report—Key West, Florida," January 21, 1944, RG 215—Office of Community War Services, Entry 3, Box 76, File—Region VII, Florida—Key West, National Archives.

156. "Doctors Blame 'Victory Girls' for Diseases," *Pensacola News*, September 26, 1943, Florida State Board of Health, Newspaper Clippings, Folder—1943, part II, State Archives of Florida.

157. "Marriage Racket is Criticized by Monroe Judge," *St Petersburg Times*, January 5, 1945, 9.

158. "Key West Evidently has Great Charm; Visitors Arrive Despite Limited Accommodations in City," *Key West Citizen*, 1, RG 212—Committee for Congested Production Areas, Entry 16, Box 2, File—Key West, Florida, National Archives.

improving.¹⁵⁸ In June 1944, the FWA agreed to fund the city's garbage collection for six months, with the understanding that the municipal government would again assume control thereafter.¹⁵⁹ Meanwhile, the Federal Housing Authority rapidly constructed several hundred new housing units on the eastern edge of the island.¹⁶⁰ By late July, the U-boat threat was sufficiently remote that the navy collected the mines it had placed around Key West just a few years earlier. While most mines were swept or destroyed by conventional means, several dozen were detonated by machine-gun fire from floating blimps.¹⁶¹ Meanwhile, civic leaders who sensed that an Allied victory was close at hand began to plan accordingly. The same individuals who had turned tourists away for years now prepared to lure them back. "We have cooperated in the war effort with a campaign urging visitors to stay away" the Key West Chamber of Commerce announced, but "the end of the war will make ample facilities available for visitors."¹⁶² Entrepreneurs began to openly explore the possibility of converting decommissioned naval vessels into automobile ferries with service to Havana.¹⁶³ Indeed, these were heady times on the streets of Key West. "Since war started you can almost hear this Gulf hum!" one resident exclaimed. "More people scrambling, more money spent than even in the big Spindletop oil boom."¹⁶⁴

At long last, the United States and its allies secured victory in August 1945. The war finally over, residents of Key West were finally afforded an opportunity to reflect on their collective experience. The island's financial windfall mirrored a nationwide pattern. Between 1940 and 1945, federal expenditures soared from \$9 billion to \$98 billion, the nation's per capita income doubled, from \$1,231 to \$2,390, and the number of federal employees quadrupled.¹⁶⁵

159. "Garbage Fund at Key West gets Approved," *Miami Herald*, June 4, 1944, RG 212—Committee for Congested Production Areas, Entry 16, Box 2, File—Key West, Florida, National Archives.

160. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, 120-121.

161. *Ibid.*, 127.

162. "Time has Come for Key West to Lure Tourists to City," *Key West Citizen*, September 9, 1944, RG 212—Committee for Congested Production Areas, Entry 16, Box 2, File Key West, Florida, National Archives.

163. "Car Ferry Planned for US, West Indies," *New York Times*, October 1, 1944, 44.

164. Frederick Simpich, "How We Use the Gulf," *National Geographic* (January 1944), 1.

165. Mormino, "World War II," 326; Ambrose, *Americans at War*, 141; Mormino, "Midas Returns: Miami Goes to War," 21.

Few places epitomized these dramatic transformations like Key West. During the war, the Key West naval base spent more than \$32 million on construction and maintenance, roughly \$12 million in military payrolls, and another \$30 million in civilian paychecks.¹⁶⁶ Meanwhile, the navy increased its holdings in Key West by a factor of sixty. Covering just 50 acres when it reopened in 1939, the Key West Naval Operating Base covered more than 3,200 acres by the end of the war.¹⁶⁷ The navy added most of that acreage when it assumed control of the airfield on Boca Chica, but much of the new land was, well, *new land*. After all, Fleming Key was scarcely more than a sandbar before the navy constructed the island from dredging in 1942.¹⁶⁸ Despite these transformations, however, other changes were more profound. In addition to the 882 men killed or wounded in the GSF during the war, the Key West community had also lost many of its best and brightest.¹⁶⁹ Thirty army soldiers who called Key West home were killed during the war, and more than a dozen Key Westers were killed while serving in the navy.¹⁷⁰

While a world without war promised a brighter future for many, it also suggested a host of unknowns. The people of Key West had endured transitions to peace before, and not always successfully. But those were worries for another day. The island had earned the right to celebrate in the fall of 1945. Surveying the vibrant island less than a month after the war ended, Mickler proudly touted the city's accomplishments. "In World War II," he wrote, "Key West played to the hilt the role its first Naval Station Commander had cast for it more than a century ago—the Gibraltar of the Gulf."¹⁷¹

166. Ogle, *Key West*, 199.

167. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, i.

168. Ibid, 11. Although Fleming Key comprised little more than 25 acres prior to the war, the navy added more than 200 additional acres by the end of 1943.

169. "U-Boats Attacked 111 Ships and Sank 92 along Gulf-Sea Frontier During the War," *New York Times*, June 4, 1945, 9.

170. *Florida Fatal Casualties (all services) in World War I, World War II* (St. Augustine, FL: State Arsenal, 1980-1989).

171. Mickler, *Key West in World War II*, ii.

Pragmatism, Seminoles, and Science: Opposition to Progressive Everglades Drainage

by Chris Wilhelm

Floridians have always had complex, contentious, and dynamic relationships with the Everglades. Most Floridians in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century saw the Everglades as a wasteland and supported draining useless swamp in order to facilitate economic progress. The publication of Marjory Stoneman Douglas' *The Everglades: River of Grass* (1947) and the advent of modern environmentalism encouraged Floridians to reconsider the identity and value of the Everglades, seeing it as a 'river of grass' that needed protection and restoration. These two views, however, only scratch the surface of the multiplicity of ways Floridians have perceived and interacted with the Everglades. Even before the publication of Douglas' seminal book, Floridians expressed a wide range of opinions on the value of the Everglades and the efficacy of drainage. Neither modern environmentalism, nor the ideals of the Progressive Era conservation movement neatly encompass the variety of perceptions Floridians had of the Everglades. Just as the Everglades is made up of a multiplicity of landscapes and ecosystems, Floridians have perceived and interpreted the Everglades in many different ways.¹

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1. Marjory Stoneman Douglas, *The Everglades: River of Grass* (Sarasota FL: Pineapple Press, 1947). For information on perceptions of the Everglades see: Nelson Blake, *Land Into Water/Water Into Land: A History of Water Management in Florida* (Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 1980); David McCally, *The Everglades: An Environmental History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999);

These diverse perspectives can be seen in a variety of formats. Early twentieth-century juvenile literature about the Everglades, the fight for Everglades National Park, and as this article examines, opposition to the drainage of the Everglades, represent some of these perspectives.² Opposition to drainage came from three main sources: progressive conservationists, Seminole activists, and members of the scientific community. In the course of their attacks on drainage, these critics crafted three different identities for the Everglades. Understanding these past perceptions of the Everglades can help to inform present-day concerns about restoration, and provide nuance and complexity to present views of the Everglades.

Frank Stoneman, Marjory Stoneman Douglas' father and editor of a Miami newspaper, criticized drainage for not measuring up to the progressive ideals of efficiency, democracy, and pragmatism, illustrating that even within the conservation movement, attitudes towards drainage differed. Stoneman's view of the Everglades was almost identical to that of Progressive reformers who advocated for drainage. Both were products of the Progressive Era's belief in science, efficiency, and expertise. Progressives like Stoneman and drainage advocates like Florida Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward saw the Everglades, and all of nature by extension, as something that humans could control and improve. Stoneman and drainage proponents both saw the Everglades as a wasteland that could be utilized more efficiently by humans; however, implicit in Stoneman's views was an Everglades that was too big and too large to be efficiently and easily altered by human activity.

Michael Grunwald, *The Swamp: The Everglades, Florida, and the Politics of Paradise* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbooks, 2006); and Jack Davis, *An Everglades Providence: Marjory Stoneman Douglas and the Environmental Century* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009).

2. Early 20th century juvenile literature on the Everglades includes: Captain Fred Whittaker, *Alligator Ike: or, The Secret of the Everglade: A Tale of the Outlaws of the Okeechobee* (New York: Beadle & Adams, 1883); F. A. Ober, *The Knockabout Club in the Everglades: the Adventures of the Club in Exploring Lake Okechobee* (sic) (Boston: Esters, 1887); Kirk Munroe, *Canoemates: A Story of the Florida Reef and Everglades* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1893); St. George Rathbone, *The Boy Cruisers: or, Paddling in Florida* (New York: Burt, 1893); A. W. Dimock, *Dick in the Everglades* (New York: Fredrick A. Stokes Company, 1909); and Rev. Henry S. Spalding S.J., *Held in the Everglades* (New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1919). For information on the creation of Everglades National Park see: Grunwald, *The Swamp*, 206-215; Davis, *An Everglades Providence*, 327-343, 366-394; and Chris Wilhelm, "Prophet of the Glades: Ernest Coe and the Fight for Everglades National Park," (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2010).

Minnie Moore-Willson, a Seminole rights activist and author, fought against drainage because she believed it would facilitate the further destruction of the Seminoles traditional culture and lifestyles.³ This attitude was an anomaly within the Progressive Era. During a period when most supported the assimilation of Native Americans, Moore-Willson advocated for the protection of native culture. Moore-Willson connected the culture of the Seminoles to their relationships with the Everglades and feared that further white settlement of the Glades would lead to the destruction of the Seminoles. She saw the Everglades as the natural home of the Seminole Indians, an unchanging and static landscape that only Seminoles could understand and live in. She saw the Seminoles as a part of nature and argued that if left alone they would live in harmony with the Everglades.

John Kunkel Small, a New York botanist, and other local scientists and naturalists criticized drainage as well. Their quiet criticisms, often buried in books about the nature of the Everglades, demonstrated that drainage was destroying the area's flora and fauna.⁴ These scientists argued that the Everglades' biological and botanical contents had scientific and inherent value and needed to be protected. Small's studies of the Everglades were an important predecessor to later ecological studies of the Everglades' biota. His criticisms of drainage likewise foreshadow those of later environmentalists who fought to protect and restore the Everglades, yet it is worth noting that Small was not an ecologist and did not write about the relationships between the drainage of the upper Glades and conditions in the lower Glades. Small saw the Everglades in terms of its biological diversity and scientific significance. To Small the Everglades was a repository of unique biological specimens to be cataloged and researched.

Opposition to drainage represented a minority view as Progressive conservationists were generally supportive of this venture. Although preservationists like John Muir argued that representative sections of

3. Moore-Willson's most notable publication was Minnie Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida* (New York, 1896). The book was published multiple times after 1896.

4. John Kunkel Small, *From Eden to Sahara* (Lancaster, PA: The Science Press Printing Company, 1929); Charles Torrey Simpson, *In Lower Florida Wilds: A Naturalist's Observations on the Life, Physical Geography and Geology of the More Tropical Part of the State* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920); Harold Bailey, *The Birds of Florida* (Baltimore: William and Wilkins, 1925).

important and aesthetically significant areas, like the Yosemite Valley, needed to be protected from any type of commercial exploitation, other conservationists, such as Gifford Pinchot, viewed this issue through a more pragmatic lens. Pinchot, the first chief of the U.S. Forest Service and a close advisor to President Theodore Roosevelt, justified the exploitation of natural resources as an essential part of American capitalism. However, he argued that this exploitation needed to be limited, efficient, and pragmatic. Essentially, Pinchot argued for the efficient use of resources as determined by experts. The Progressive conservation movement was an attempt to apply the values of efficiency, professionalism, and pragmatism to the natural world.⁵

The drainage of the Everglades was a quintessential Progressive Era conservationist project. Drainage advocates like Governor Broward argued that the resources of the Everglades could be used more efficiently. Specifically, he wanted to drain the Glades and use the reclaimed land for agriculture. He advocated for the construction of canals in the Everglades and ran for Governor in 1904 on the platform 'water will run downhill!' According to Broward, land exposed by drainage would be sold to small farmers who would create a Jeffersonian agrarian utopia. However, Broward's vision of an agricultural empire arising from the swampy Everglades was never wholly accomplished and drainage was never fully successful in accomplishing its goals.⁶

5. On definitions of Progressivism see Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order: 1870-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1968); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Knopf, 1955); James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900-1918* (Boston: Beacon, 1968); Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (New York: Free Press, 1963); and Richard L. McCormick, "The Discovery that Business Corrupts Politics: A Reappraisal of the Origins of Progressivism," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 86, No. 2 (April, 1981), 247-274. On Progressive Era conservation and the Hetch Hetchy debate see: Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); Char Miller, *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism* (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 2001); Robert Righter, *The Battle over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Donald Worster, *A Passion for Nature: The Life of John Muir* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Stephan Fox, *The American Conservation Movement: John Muir and His Legacy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981) and Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967).
6. Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1950), 240-260.

Everglades drainage has a long and complicated history. Many attempts were made to drain the Everglades, but ultimately all of them failed. These efforts did, however, succeed in radically altering the ecosystems of the area. The first attempt to drain these wetlands and convert the swamp to farmland was initiated in 1881 by land speculator Hamilton Disston. This unsuccessful effort had been abandoned by 1893. Governor Broward restarted drainage efforts in 1904, but his attempts were plagued by scandals involving land companies, engineers, and government officials. By 1912 the project was being reconsidered. The incoming governor, Park Trammell, restarted drainage under a new set of plans in 1913. This drainage effort, which was more meticulously and realistically planned than the previous two attempts, also failed to accomplish its stated goals and was ended by 1927.⁷

Attempts to drain the Everglades were not pursued again after this date, although the belief that humans could control the Everglades' water persisted. After two disastrous hurricanes in 1926 and 1928 destroyed much of the agriculture around Lake Okeechobee, the state of Florida induced the federal government to take an active role in controlling the Everglades' water. Between 1929 and 1948, the Army Corps of Engineers implemented the first flood control plans in the Everglades. The goal was not to drain the Everglades to create farmland, but rather to control water in the Everglades to prevent flooding in the existing agricultural and urban areas in South Florida. After 1948 these efforts continued in a much expanded form as Florida and the Corps successfully implemented a comprehensive system of water control in southern Florida.⁸

Although drainage had failed, all of these efforts to control the Everglades' water, both before and after 1929, significantly altered the landscapes and ecosystems of the region. Efforts to undo these actions and restore the Everglades' natural flow of water have been slowly ongoing since the 1990s. The Comprehensive Everglades

7. Accounts of drainage include: McCally, 89-136; Jeffrey Glenn Strickland, "The Origins of Everglades Drainage in the Progressive Era: Local State and Federal Cooperation and Conflict." M.A. Thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 1999; Blake, *Land into Water/Water into Land*.

8. McCally, 138-153.

Restoration Plan (CERP) aims to increase the amount of water that flows to the historic Everglades, as well as to improve water quality in the Everglades, but CERP also prioritizes the water needs of Florida's agricultural industry and urban South Florida. Additionally, CERP has not been fully funded and much of this restoration has been delayed. As a consequence, much of the promised restoration of the Everglades has not yet been undertaken.⁹

While drainage was a Progressive Era attempt to more scientifically and efficiently use natural resources, the recent efforts to restore the Everglades are wholly consistent with the tenets of modern environmentalism. Since at least 1947, when Marjory Stoneman Douglas published *The Everglades: River of Grass*, Floridians have been willing to consider the natural rights of the Everglades, and have possessed a greater understanding of the importance of water to these ecosystems. Historians' understanding of the Everglades frequently revolves around these two poles of the Everglades as a wasteland or as a 'river of grass,' or more broadly speaking, as a Progressive Era perception of the Glades versus a ecological understanding of the area.

However, this dichotomy oversimplifies the matter and ignores the diverse ways Floridians have viewed the Everglades. Just as David McCally has called for discarding the 'river of grass' metaphor in favor of a more nuanced and complicated identity for the Everglades, historians need to explore the nuance and complexity of the different identities Floridians have assigned to the Everglades throughout history.¹⁰ Opposition to Everglades drainage has not yet been explored by historians in detail, yet the arguments made by Frank Stoneman, Minnie Moore-Willson, and

9. Steven M. Davis and John C. Ogden, *Everglades: The Ecosystem and its Restoration* (Delray Beach, FL: St. Lucie Press, 1994), especially 3-8, 47-84, 741-797; William R. Lowry, *Repairing Paradise: The Restoration of Nature in America's National Parks* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 107-156; Alice L. Clarke and George H. Dalrymple, "\$7.8 Billion for Everglades Restoration: Why Do Environmentalists Look so Worried?" *Population and Environment*, 24, no. 6, Restoring the Florida Everglades: Balancing Population and Environment (July 2003): 541-569; and George A. Gonzalez, "The Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan: Environmental or Economic Sustainability?" *Polity*, 37, no. 4 (October 2005), 466-490.
10. McCally, 179-81.

John Kunkel Small concerning drainage illustrate the diversity of attitudes towards the Everglades.¹¹

Frank Stoneman played a pivotal role in the early history of the preservation of the Everglades. As editor of the newspaper that would eventually become *The Miami Herald*, he criticized attempts to drain the Everglades as early as 1906, and in the 1930s vigorously supported the creation of Everglades National Park. Initially Stoneman was enthusiastic about Governor Broward's drainage plans when they were first announced, but he soon became disillusioned with both drainage and the Broward administration. Although others have examined Stoneman's critique of Everglades drainage, none have done so within the context of other drainage opponents. When seen within the context of Minnie Moore-Willson's and John Kunkel Small's criticisms, Stoneman's attitude towards this venture appears more consistent with Progressive Era attitudes towards nature. His critiques, situated within the conservationist perspective illustrate the flexibility and conditionality of values like pragmatism, efficiency, and a belief in expertise—the same values that Governor Broward used to justify drainage.¹²

Stoneman opposed Broward's plans for drainage because he thought they were impractical and inefficient. He argued that they were too costly and overly optimistic, and thought Broward's drainage efforts were poorly planned or not planned at all. Although Broward repeatedly stated that drainage would keep the Everglades out of the hands of large corporations, Stoneman pointed out that drainage was actually benefiting these very companies. Stoneman was not opposed to drainage in principle, but rather thought the issue needed to be studied further and then executed more intelligently and efficiently.

Stoneman's critique of drainage was consistent with the values of the Progressive Era. Based on his observations of local

11. Works that discuss opposition to Everglades drainage largely focus on opposition from railroad companies and other large corporations that owned large sections of land in the Everglades. Governor Broward's drainage plans necessitated new taxes on Everglades land, which these companies did not want to pay. Works that discuss this aspect of opposition include McCally, 91-93, and Proctor, 241-242.

12. For other accounts of Stoneman's opposition to drainage see Christopher F. Meindl, "Frank Stoneman and the Florida Everglades During the Early 20th Century," *The Florida Geographer*, 29 (1998): 44-54; Davis, 116-118, 122-124, 143-4, 148-149, 151.

conditions, Stoneman saw that drainage was not living up to these ideals and argued that the project was being conducted inefficiently, unscientifically, and in an impractical manner. Although Stoneman and Broward clashed frequently on this issue, their underlying perspectives of the Everglades were similar and consistent with Progressive Era perceptions of the natural world. They both thought that the Everglades did not need to be preserved or protected, but rather needed to be efficiently exploited for the benefit of humans. Stoneman and Broward both believed that humans could improve nature, they only differed on the specifics of how to best accomplish these goals. Stoneman thought draining the Everglades would be difficult and complicated, while Broward thought it would be easy and simple. Stoneman saw the Everglades as too massive a landscape to be easily altered and controlled.

To Frank Stoneman, drainage had simply not worked. In his editorials, Stoneman repeatedly pointed out the failures of Broward's drainage plans. In October of 1908, South Florida was subjected to heavy rains that, according to Stoneman, provided "an excellent opportunity to observe the results of the drainage operations." As a result of these rains, he reported that "not only are the State's drainage canals swollen, but they are out of their banks, the water being from two to three feet over them forming one great expanse of inundation... It is water, water, water everywhere." After three years of operations, the state had failed to move water quickly and efficiently out of the Everglades, and the problem of overflowing canals persisted for months. In December 1908 Stoneman noted that although there had been "almost, if not quite three years of constant work" on the drainage effort, "all the small rivers and creeks from the Hillsborough, south, are at the present moment running almost bank full."¹³

Stoneman argued that drainage was a complicated problem that needed to be further studied by scientists, engineers, and other experts. He noted that "no scientific investigation had ever been made of the Everglades." All that existed on the topic in 1908 was Broward's own campaign literature which "could not be said to give exact and accurate information on the subject." According to

13. Frank Stoneman, untitled editorial, *Miami Morning News-Record* (MMNR), October 7, 1908; Stoneman, "State's Drainage Canals Cannot Carry Off Water," *MMNR*, October 8, 1908; Stoneman, "What Has Been Accomplished," *MMNR*, December 6, 1908.

Stoneman, this campaign material was the source of "all statements that now find their way into print" pertaining to drainage. He called this material "musty," and "long out of date," and compared it to "an ancient map." Since drainage had been initiated by Broward in 1904, Stoneman observed "nothing new has been learned of the Everglades; no investigations have been made to establish the value of the soils; no surveys made to ascertain if the scheme is practicable—nothing."¹⁴

Stoneman assailed Broward's lack of planning and study concerning the issue. In an editorial entitled "Forethought," he wrote that "in planning for the state drainage operations it is evident that the authorities followed strictly the scriptural injunction to 'take no thought for the morrow.'" Elsewhere Stoneman noted that the policy of the administration is "to plunge ahead as fast and as far as time and funds will permit," and that drainage "has been pushed on through three years of work without any definite plan or objective point." He argued that Broward's drainage plan was "started with no definite knowledge, [and] no definite plans," and that "the drainage operations have been carried on in a heedless reckless way that is the astonishment and amusement of the engineering world."¹⁵

More study was needed because there were many unknowns concerning the effects of drainage. According to Stoneman, "the value of the soil after it is freed from the water" was a "grave question, still unsettled." In fact, it was even possible that drainage might harm agriculture in South Florida. Stoneman wrote that tomato and vegetable farmers along the edge of the Everglades believed "that they are protected by the waters of the Everglades and that the continual rise and fall of the waters, varying from times of drought to times of heavy rainfall, has a good effect on the soil and that thereby their crops are enlarged." Stoneman compared the seasonal fluctuations of the Everglades to the flooding of the Nile. He wrote that every year the lands around the Everglades are "inundated and the low and flat lands around them are overflowed, and for weeks thousands of acres of land are under water." These

14. Stoneman, "Discussion Only Begun," *MMNR*, October 24, 1908; Stoneman, "They Appeal to Antiquity," *MMNR*, December 19, 1908; Stoneman, "A Risky Proposition," *MMNR*, October 16, 1908.

15. Stoneman, "Forethought," *MMNR*, November 4, 1908; Stoneman, "What is the Reason," *MMNR*, November 17, 1908; Stoneman, "A Few Facts," *MMNR*, January 2, 1909; Stoneman, "Shifting Plans," *MMNR*, January 1, 1909.

were the lands farmers were most eager to purchase because they knew "that many of diseases of plants are removed by this overflow, and that the action of the standing water is beneficial to soil and to crops."¹⁶

Still, Stoneman was not opposed to drainage in principle. In 1908 he wrote that he had "never opposed drainage of the Everglades, per se," but only pointed out its flaws and "advised careful investigation." Although he was opposed to "the state drainage scheme," he was "in favor of experiments being made to ascertain just what can be accomplished in the way of draining small quantities of land and then ascertaining the value of the land for cultivation after it is reclaimed." Like Governor Broward, he saw the Everglades as a landscape that could be improved by human activity. Stoneman, however, wanted drainage to be undertaken in a more systematic and careful manner.¹⁷

In various editorials, Stoneman suggested alternative plans for draining the Everglades. One possible route copied the drainage methods employed in the Louisiana bayous. He wrote that Louisianaians first "experimented with one or two very small areas of land. They removed the water by digging sufficient canals. They provided protection against any inflowing of the water. In some places they found that the land they had uncovered was rich in fertile quantities and profitable for cultivation. Then they drained other portions of the state." Louisiana also required "a special course of drainage engineering in its leading university, so that any drainage to be undertaken must be under scientific superintendence and management."¹⁸

Stoneman also addressed the costs and transparency of Everglades drainage in his criticism. He noted that the costs of drainage were secret, and wrote that government officials needed to be honest about how public monies were spent. In an editorial entitled "Open the Books," Stoneman wrote that "no figures of the cost of the drainage have, as yet, been given publicity," and that "the people should be informed of the cost of the operations." Elsewhere he compared the Broward administration to a sphinx

16. Stoneman, "A Risky Proposition," *MMNR*, October 16, 1908; Stoneman, "Opinions of Growers," *MMNR*, November 6, 1908; Stoneman, "Do They Want It," *MMNR*, November 25, 1908.

17. Stoneman, "Those Resolutions," *MMNR*, October 21, 1908; Stoneman, "The Scheme of Schemers," *MMNR*, October 23, 1908.

18. Stoneman, "The Folly of the Pelicans," *MMNR*, October 25, 1908.

that refused to discuss drainage with the public. In other editorials with titles such as, "Ignores the People," "The People are Curious," and "Keeping the People in Ignorance," Stoneman hammered Governor Broward for refusing to inform the citizens of Florida about the costs of drainage.¹⁹

Stoneman also criticized Broward's claims that drainage would keep the Everglades out of the hands of large corporations. He wrote that "Broward, when running for governor, stated often and emphatically, that he would never surrender an acre of the Everglades to the corporations ... yet, every deal, of any importance, made by the governor for the disposition of the Everglades, has been made with corporations." He concluded that "under the governor's present plan no one but corporations will eventually own and control the Everglades." Stoneman even suggested that the impetus for these drainage schemes may have come from "the real estate speculator who is thriving on his commissions from the sale of lands now under water."²⁰

As historian Jack Davis has noted, Stoneman's criticisms concerning drainage were eventually shared by the editors of other Florida newspapers, especially after it became evident that Broward's wild claims about drainage were not being fulfilled. However, others like Minnie Moore-Willson criticized drainage from a radically different perspective that reflected very different ideas about the identity of the Everglades.²¹

Moore-Willson was an Anglo-American writer and Seminole rights activist who was also active in conservation causes and was a life-long member of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs (FFWC). She and her husband, James Willson, were the two most important Seminole rights activists of the early 20th century. They were the leading members of the Friends of the Florida Seminoles, an organization based in Kissimmee that fought to protect and expand the Seminole's land rights in Florida. Although James Willson was probably the more effective Seminole advocate,

19. Stoneman, "Open the Books," *MMNR*, November 7, 1908; Stoneman, "The Sphinx and the Cuttlefish," *MMNR*, December 1, 1908; Stoneman, "Ignores the People," *MMNR*, December 3, 1908; Stoneman, "The People are Curious," *MMNR*, December 8, 1908; Stoneman, "Keeping the People in Ignorance," *MMNR*, December 20, 1908.

20. Stoneman, "Owners of the Land," *MMNR*, November 13, 1908; FS, "Who Wants It?," *MMNR*, December 16, 1908.

21. Davis, *An Everglades Providence*, 123-124.

Minnie Moore-Willson was the better known of the two due to her prolific writing. Her most famous publication was *The Seminoles of Florida*, a book that went through multiple printings throughout the early 1900s, but Moore-Willson also published in periodicals such as *The Red Man*, and wrote fiction and local history. The couple also played a key role in the successful push for a Florida Seminole Land bill, which eventually deeded 100,000 acres of undrained land in the southwestern section of Florida to the Seminoles in 1917.²²

Minnie Moore-Willson was an acerbic, strident, and passionate advocate for the Seminoles. Seminole historian Harry Kersey described her as "usually provocative, often abrasive, but always interesting," and noted that because of "her outspoken, no-holds-barred push" for Seminole rights, she sometimes attracted enemies, not only among the members of the state legislature, but also among the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs. She particularly came into conflict with May Mann Jennings, the wife of Governor William Jennings (1901-1905) and the long-time president of the FFWC, in the course of the fight for the Seminole Land Bill of 1917. Although Kersey explored these conflicts within the context of Willson's abrasiveness, the central quarrel between these activists revolved around differing opinions about the future of the Seminoles and the future of the Everglades. Jennings believed that the Seminoles should assimilate into American society. Therefore she wanted the Seminoles to receive drained land that assimilated Seminoles could use for agriculture. Moore-Willson, however, opposed assimilation and wanted the Seminoles' traditional culture and the Everglades preserved. She connected the fate of the Seminoles to the fate of the Everglades, and saw drainage as a force that would destroy both, bringing Anglo-American settlers into the Everglades and destroying the Seminoles' hunting and trapping grounds.²³

Moore-Willson believed that the Everglades was the rightful home of the Seminoles and that drainage would further encroach upon their land and culture. Although most Indian activists during the Progressive Era sought to assimilate Native Americans,

22. Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida* (New York, 1896); Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "The 'Friends of the Florida Seminoles' Society: 1899-1926," *Tequesta* 34 (1974), 5-7, 12-18.

23. Kersey, "The Friends of the Florida Seminoles' Society," 13.

Moore-Willson wanted to preserve the Seminoles' native ways of life. She believed that their culture and traditions were rooted in their relationships with the Everglades and believed that drainage would destroy their land and pave the way for further white settlement and Indian removal in Florida. She saw the Everglades as the rightful home of the Seminoles and her perceptions of the Everglades and her opposition to drainage were rooted in her interactions with the Seminoles. In contrast to Frank Stoneman, who saw these wetlands as a resource to be exploited efficiently, Moore-Willson perceived the Everglades as an edenic and exotic landscape where only a people as exotic as the Seminoles could dwell. To Moore-Willson, nature was an unchanging landscape that Anglo-Americans destroyed while the Seminoles were noble savages or "ecological Indians" who lived in harmony with nature before being corrupted by contact with Euro-Americans.²⁴

In 1913 Moore-Willson wrote in the magazine *The Red Man* that although "more than seventy years ago the Government recognized the Seminoles in a treaty, granting all the vast domain of the Okuchobee [sic] country to them," drainage and the encroachment of the white man were destroying their ways of life. She argued that "to-day dynamite blasts shake the very pans and kettles hanging around the wigwams and the big dredges groan an accompaniment, as it were, to the death song, the recession of the Seminole." This article explained how drainage, "encroaching civilization," "and the Caucasians' eternal 'move on, move on,'" were destroying the Seminoles and their culture.²⁵

This article assailed the drainage efforts that were "driving these original owners farther and farther into the wilds of the swamp."²⁶ This assertion that the Seminoles were the "original owners" of the Everglades was central to Moore-Willson's views of the Everglades. However, the Seminoles were actually newcomers to the Everglades and this error was typical of Moore-Willson's poor understanding of Seminole history.²⁷ To Moore-Willson, the Seminole was "the

24. See Shepard Kresh, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000) and Michael E. Harkin and David Rich Lewis, eds, *Native Americans and the Environment: Perspectives on the Ecological Indian* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

25. Moore-Willson, "The Seminoles of Florida," *The Red Man*, 7 (October 1913), 80, 82.

26. *Ibid.*, 81-82.

27. Kersey wrote that Moore-Willson's *The Seminoles of Florida* was "poorly written, undocumented, maudlin creampuff, and almost totally unreliable for its

true key bearer [of the Everglades] and knows every foot of this interminable morass." The drainage plans undertaken in the 1910s and '20s "forgot to regard her silent, peaceable dwellers, who are the only Americans who could live happily and successfully amid these morasses and game-laden forests."²⁸

In a 1915 article entitled, "The Florida Seminoles and Their Rights in the Everglades," Moore-Willson connected the need for a Seminole land bill and the continued absence of any state protection for the Seminoles to the greed of speculators and the drainage of the Everglades. Moore-Willson was not concerned, as Frank Stoneman was, with the practicality or cost of Everglades drainage. In fact, she was dismissive of the particulars of drainage, and instead emphasized that drainage was destroying Seminole culture. She wrote:

it is not a question of whether the 'Glades can be successfully drained. It is not a question of subterranean lakes that would require the locks and gates of Pluto's region to cut the water off. It is not a question of \$23,000,000 to complete the drainage. It is not a question of whether bonds can be sold or not, nor of the enormous 'DRAINAGE TAX' that may continue for half a century, nor of U.S. Court indictments and all the propaganda that combine to make the Everglade problem a staggering one.²⁹

This denunciation of drainage pointed out all the failures, costs, and difficulties of drainage, reminding readers of Stoneman's criticisms of this venture, but at the same time deemphasized these concerns as secondary to the effect drainage had on the Seminoles. To Moore-Willson drainage was simply "a crime against an innocent people that is robbing the Everglade country of a success and a triumph."³⁰ Moore-Willson wrote an entire article about this issue entitled "Why Drain the Everglades?: A Travesty on the Great Seal

ethnohistorical content—yet perfectly attuned to the national sentiment for reform of federal Indian policies at the end of the nineteenth century. It thus became a best seller that went through several printings." Kersey, "The 'Friends of the Florida Seminoles,'" 13.

28. Moore-Willson, "The Seminoles of Florida," 81-82.

29. Moore-Willson, "The Florida Seminoles and Their Rights in the Everglades," 4, Minnie Moore-Willson Papers (MMWP), University of Miami, Richter Library, Florida Collection.

30. Ibid.

of Florida." Here Moore-Willson again reviewed the failures of drainage. She discussed the deviousness of land speculators who sold flooded lands by the acre and the difficulties that further drainage would present, concluding that "there seems no really good reason at present for drainage of the Everglades." She argued that instead of draining the Everglades, these wetlands should be held by the government, "forever for the native red people, for her wild animal life and as a winter home for the migratory birds of the North American Continent." By connecting the plight of the Seminoles to the fate of migratory birds, Moore-Willson hoped to gain the support of other organizations she belonged to, like the Florida Audubon Society and the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs.³¹

One of the attempts to connect the two efforts was an article entitled "The Birds of the Everglades and Their Neighbors, the Seminoles." In this work, Moore-Willson contended that before the advent of white men, Seminoles did not hunt these wading birds, because "the red man was as much a part of nature as the birds and animals about him—for each protected the other." Moore-Willson argued that "the Seminoles in Florida's primeval days conserved the game by the rigid laws as taught them by their ancestors."³²

Although this effort was certainly a wise political strategy, it had the potential to backfire. Many Seminoles were engaged in the plume trade and actively hunted these birds. Moore-Willson opposed drainage to ensure that Seminoles would be able to continue to hunt on their traditional lands, but these birds were one of the species they hunted. As Harry Kersey explains in *Pelts, Plumes and Hides*, beginning in the late nineteenth century, Seminoles became more connected to the market economy through white traders. The plumes of wading birds were among the items Seminoles traded as they became more engaged in the market economy.³³

31. Moore-Willson, "Why Drain the Everglades?: A Travesty on the Great Seal of Florida," 4, 6, MMWP; Todd Persons, *The First One Hundred Years: Being a Description of The Origins, History and Prospects of the Florida Audubon Society and its First Seventy-Five Years* (The Florida Audubon Society, 1975).

32. Moore-Willson, "The Birds of the Everglades and Their Neighbors, The Seminoles," 1920, MMWP.

33. Harry A Kersey, Jr., *Pelts, Plumes and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930* (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1975).

Moore-Willson did not discuss the fact that Seminoles engaged in this activity and it seems to have been ignored by other groups like the Florida Audubon Society and the FFWC who should have been aware of the Seminole complicity in the plume bird destruction. The question also remains unexplored by historians. For example, neither Harry Kersey nor Leslie Kemp Poole discuss any vocal opposition to Seminole hunting activities in their work on the topic.³⁴ Perhaps Florida's Audubon activists, and Moore-Willson herself, believed that if the Seminoles were left alone and given land they would abandon any modern practices they had adopted and return to more traditional style of living. Likewise, assimilationists likely believed that if these Seminoles were given land suitable for agriculture and animal husbandry, they would abandon these hunting activities.

Moore-Willson's ideas about preservation, nature, and Native Americans had much in common with those of the 19th century painter and author George Catlin. Catlin traveled to the West repeatedly to document the traditional cultures of Native Americans through the medium of painting. Catlin's art also challenged negative stereotypes of Indians. Through his art and writings, Catlin expressed his desire for the protection of native culture and the lands on which natives lived. In fact, Catlin is the first American to suggest the idea of a national park, although his concept of a national park included the presence of Native Americans. In his book *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (1841), Catlin advocated for the creation of "a nation's Park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of nature's beauty!"³⁵

Catlin's concept of a park that included the presence of Native Americans was one that has not been accepted until very recently. As Mark David Spence shows in *Dispossessing the Wilderness* (1999), the creation of national parks always entailed the removal of Native Americans from these lands. The concept of wilderness also assumes the absence of any human presence, including that of Indians. This trend is true for all national parks in the

34. Kersey, *Pelts, Plumes and Hides*; Leslie Kemp Poole, "The Women of the Early Florida Audubon Society: Agents of History in the Fight to Save State Birds," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 3 (Winter 2007): 297-323.

35. Brian W. Dippie and George Gurney, *George Catlin and His Indian Gallery* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002); George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians* (London 1844), 262.

United States, with the exception of recently created parks in Alaska. Spence finds that every important environmental thinker except for George Catlin, agreed that Indians did not belong in national parks. Catlin saw parks as legal entities that would not only protect natural areas, but would also protect native cultures. Catlin understood nature and wilderness as concepts that included the presence of Native Americans. Catlin, like Moore-Willson, also believed that Native Americans were noble savages or "ecological Indians" who lived harmoniously with nature.³⁶

Catlin urged the federal government to protect Western tribes and lands, just as Moore-Willson lobbied the state government to establish a preserve for the Seminoles. As a result of the efforts of Moore-Wilson and the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, the state of Florida created a 100,000-acre reservation in the lower southwest corner of the Everglades in 1917. However, few Seminoles ever used this land and even fewer actually lived on this reservation. By the 1930s, as the push for a national park in the Everglades grew, the Seminoles persuaded the state of Florida to trade this reservation for the current Seminole reservations in Hollywood, Florida. Although Minnie Moore-Willson looked positively towards the creation of Everglades National Park, she soon realized that the park would not protect Seminoles, but would rather exclude them from what she thought were their traditional hunting grounds. The creation of all national parks, except for recent parks in Alaska, entailed the removal of Native Americans. The creation of Everglades National Park was consistent with this historical trend, and Seminoles were removed and banned from hunting in the park just after the its creation.³⁷

Minnie Moore-Willson was an active member of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, although she frequently came into conflict with the club leadership over the issues of Seminole rights and Everglades drainage. She particularly clashed with May Mann Jennings, the long-time president of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs and the wife of former governor William S. Jennings. Governor Jennings was almost as ardent a drainage advocate as his

36. Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

37. On Native Americans in national parks see Spence; Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 238-240; and Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians & National Parks* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998).

successor, Governor Broward, and according to Linda Vance, May Mann Jennings' biographer, "May supported her husband's plans for the Everglades, visualizing a land of milk and honey rising out of the swampy vastness of South Florida." Jennings also "promoted the drainage project whenever she could," and, along with her husband, owned large tracts of lands in the Everglades and shares in several land companies such as the Dade Muck Land Company and the Artesian Farm Company of Middleburg.³⁸

While Jennings and Moore-Willson worked together to secure land for the Seminoles in the Everglades, the two had radically different ideas about what type of land would be most appropriate for this use. These ideas were connected to their differing views of the Everglades and their opposing attitudes towards drainage. Jennings supported a policy of Seminole assimilation, consistent with Progressive Era attitudes towards Native Americans. She wanted the Seminoles to receive drained land from the legislature so that they could begin farming and receive a vocational education consistent with mainstream American cultural and religious beliefs. Jennings wrote to Moore-Willson that "I do not approve of asking the Legislature for worthless land," by which she meant undrained land. Jennings desired "a policy of setting aside a good piece of land...(and) starting the agricultural and industrial training." Jennings wanted a Seminole reservation that would inculcate American values like private property, industry, and ownership in the Seminoles. To Jennings, draining the Everglades and establishing a reservation on drained land would facilitate assimilation.³⁹

Jennings and Moore-Willson also had notably different styles of political activism. Jennings, who was labeled a "genteel activist" by her biographer, believed that women could best affect politics by influencing powerful male politicians through "family and friendship connections." Jennings sought a limited public role for women, while Moore-Willson, through her writings and speeches,

38. Linda D. Vance, *May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1985), 39, 51-2.

39. Fredrick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Russel Lawrence Bush, "Progressive Era Bureaucrats and the Unity of Twentieth-Century Indian Policy," in *American Indians in American History, 1870-2001*, ed. Sterling Evans (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002); May Mann Jennings to Moore-Willson, May 12, 1915, MMWP, Richter Library, University of Miami.

took on a more expansive public and political role. Moore-Willson did not attempt to influence male politicians through family connections, but instead tried to influence them directly. While Jennings was constrained, polite, and patient in her dealings with Florida politicians (she had close personal relationships with many of them) Moore-Willson was more active, vocal, and critical to the legislature. The differences in style also contributed to the conflict between these two activists.⁴⁰

Jennings chided Moore-Willson about her tone before the Florida legislature, writing to her that "as I have mentioned to you before, antagonism never accomplishes anything." She informed Moore-Willson that "I could not permit an attack on the officials to be made in the name of the Federation, and of course if you still persist in taking that course, you would have to do it as an individual, and could not use our Federation for that purpose."⁴¹

This antagonism also manifested itself within the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs. In 1915 Moore-Willson was invited to give a speech to the federation concerning the Seminoles. In this speech, entitled "The Indians' Rights in the Everglades," Moore-Willson repeated her arguments about the Seminoles and drainage. According to Moore-Willson, the Seminoles were "the only Americans who have a genuine right to this location and ... should live happily and successfully amid these morasses and game laden forests." She appealed to the patriotism of her audience stating that "to spare these Everglades to the original owners ... would certainly bring honor and credit ... to our country." She ended her speech with the warning "Alas, for the remorse of a nation or a state, when a Higher Court than earth's says: 'too late, too late!'"⁴²

In this speech she hit upon the familiar themes of corporate greed, the waste of "millions of dollars," and the "enormous drainage taxes" that had been passed by the legislature. She again tried to connect efforts to protect Florida's birds to her own attempts to set aside Everglades land for the Seminoles. She told the Federation, which had worked to establish bird refuges in Florida, that "the Florida Everglades has been the home of countless thousands of migrating birds." She argued that "with

40. Vance, *May Mann Jennings*, 81.

41. May Mann Jennings to Moore-Willson, May 12, 1915, MMWP.

42. Moore-Willson, "The Indian's Rights in the Everglades," MMWP.

stricter laws and better game wardens, our feathered friends are returning to these waterways, and if reclamation could be stopped at this time, these weird and wonderful swamps and forests could be made of lasting value for bird protection."⁴³

According to Moore-Willson, the speech "was received with much applause and a copy of the article requested for the Federation page," but evidently "some power higher up objected and it was not permitted to appear." She fired off a letter to Ivy Stranahan, the chairman of the Federation Seminole Indian Committee, complaining about this treatment and stating that "within the inner circles' of our Federation there is marked opposition to these Indians having Everglade Land." She even told Stranahan that "it will be necessary to win over to our view-point [sic] this opposing official in the Federation; or else we all work to eliminate this influence by retiring this person to a less influential position." Moore-Willson did not name Jennings specifically, but her future actions make it likely that she was indeed referring to the president of the Federation.⁴⁴

Throughout the next few years, Minnie Moore-Willson and her husband James Willson investigated the land holdings of the Jennings in the hopes of uncovering scandalous information relating to drainage and land sales in the Everglades. In 1915 Moore-Willson wrote to M.K. Sniffen of the Indian Rights Association asking for help in determining the Jennings' financial relationship to the drainage efforts. She wrote that Jennings, whom she called a "stumbling block" to her efforts to secure lands for the Seminoles, owned "100,000 acres of Everglade land," and asked Sniffen to find the record of this land purchase and any other relevant information. She told Sniffen, "I am quite ready to believe that the Everglade Drainage scheme will have to be investigated, – at least, that it ought to be, – and it may be that Mr. Jennings will not welcome such a step."⁴⁵

James Willson also investigated the Jennings' land holdings. He wrote to P. A. Vans Agnew, another member of the Friends of the Florida Seminoles, that "it has been claimed that Mr. Jennings purchased a hundred thousand acres of the Everglade land,

43. Moore-Willson, "The Indian's Rights in the Everglades," MMWP.

44. Moore-Willson to Ivy Stranahan, October 13, 1915, MMWP. Emphasis in original.

45. Moore-Willson to MK Sniffen, December 12, 1915, MMWP.

about in Townships 55, 56, 57 and 58, probably in Range 31, for 27 cents an acre." Wilson asked if Agnew could find "the date of this purchase, and from whom. In other words, where could I find the records for it?" He also wrote to Lucien Spencer, a Special Commissioner at the United States Indian Service, asking for information concerning the Jennings' land. Although these efforts did not result in any evidence of a conspiracy or scandal, these inquiries illustrate the lengths Moore-Willson was willing to go to fight against Everglades drainage, and the antagonism that existed between these two families.⁴⁶

The Seminole reservation established in 1917 conformed to Moore-Willson's vision, but this reservation was short-lived and rarely used by the Seminoles. Although Moore-Willson seemed to have won this battle, Jennings continued to play a major role in Everglades preservation long after Moore-Willson's political career ended. Jennings played a pivotal role in the creation of Royal Palm State Park in 1916, which would eventually become a part of Everglades National Park. She was a member of the Everglades National Park Committee, and as chair of the FFWC's Conservation Committee from 1917 to 1936, she oversaw dozens of other campaigns, including the establishment of the State Board of Forestry. While Moore-Willson's vision for the Everglades may have facilitated its preservation, Jennings was the more successful politician, largely because her political methods earned her friends and goodwill, while Moore-Willson alienated and angered politicians and other activists.

While Minnie Moore-Willson saw the Everglades as the rightful home of the Seminoles, John Kunkel Small saw the Everglades as a biological treasure trove. Small was critical of drainage, but was mostly concerned with scientific research and rarely ventured into the realm of politics. He served as a scientific advisor for the Royal Palm State Park and supported the creation of a national park in the Everglades, but was primarily a botanist who studied the flora of the Everglades. Throughout the course of his career he published over 450 articles and books on Everglades flora and collected more than 60,000 specimens for the New York Botanical Gardens collections. Although his own research in the Everglades was intimately connected with drainage he did not publish his

46. James Willson to P.A. Vans Agnew, January 13, 1916; and Lucien Spencer to James Willson, January 6, 1916, MMWP.

thoughts on drainage until 1929 in the book for which he is most popularly known, *From Eden To Sahara*.⁴⁷

Small was also the first curator of the Museums at the New York Botanical Garden, an institution that Sharon Kingsland has identified as central to the emergence of ecology as an independent scientific field in the United States. In *The Evolution of American Ecology* (2005), Kingsland argues that the New York Botanical Garden "was primarily a center of taxonomic work," but played a large role in the development of American botany and ecology. Kingsland argues that ecology was largely an outgrowth of the development of botany in the United States. Botanists and taxonomists, like Small, sought to identify and classify new plant species within a taxonomic system. As a result, they increasingly began to study how these species interacted with their environments and evolved amidst their surroundings. This focus on a species' relationship with its environment led to the growth of ecology as an independent scientific field.⁴⁸

Small laid the scientific and intellectual groundwork that later Everglades activists and scientists would build upon. Small was not an ecologist, but his research created a body of knowledge about the plant life of the Everglades that later informed ecologists. Likewise, Small was not an activist, yet his criticisms of drainage and his scientifically-informed views of the Everglades influenced later activists who fought for the preservation of the Everglades. The publication of *From Eden to Sahara* had a particularly large impact on many Floridians who were concerned about the fate of the Everglades in the 1930s.

Small served as an advisor to the Royal Palm State Park and frequently communicated with many later Everglades advocates like Ernest Coe. Small preferred a private life however and was unwilling to take on a broader public role. When Small was listed as a speaker at the dedication of Royal Palm State Park, he wrote adamantly to May Mann Jennings that "I did not consent to speak at the Royal Palm dedication ceremonies. I am willing to work a lot and write some; but never speak!" Despite his fierce dedication to

47. See John Hendley Barnhart, *Bibliography of John Kunkel Small*, (New York: 1935); John Kunkel Small, *From Eden to Sahara* (Lancaster, PA: The Science Press Printing Company, 1929).

48. Sharon E. Kingsland, *The Evolution of American Ecology, 1890-2000* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005) 18.

privacy, Small played an important role in the fight for Everglades National Park. Ernest Coe, the central figure in that fight, frequently cited Small as an influence on his own perceptions of the Everglades. After reading *From Eden To Sahara*, Coe wrote to Small praising the book, stating that it came "from the pen of one so well informed and whose opinion carries such weight" that it should "awaken every loyal reader to action."⁴⁹

Small's perceptions of the Everglades, and his opposition to drainage were rooted in his scientific studies of the area. He neither saw the Everglades as a resource that needed to be exploited efficiently nor as a refuge for Native Americans, but instead viewed the region as a unique biological landscape and scientific resource that needed to be studied, cataloged, and analyzed. He wrote that the area was a "natural history museum," that should be protected because of its scientific and educational value. Small's scientific perspective on the Everglades foreshadowed later ecological methods of perceiving nature. Although Small did not emphasize the relationships between organisms and their environment, his scientific analysis and categorization of the Everglades' flora provided the data necessary to discuss the Everglades in terms of its ecology. Unfortunately, drainage was destroying the area's flora, and the possibilities for further research.⁵⁰

Although Small was an extremely prolific writer he primarily published in scientific journals and rarely addressed a broader audience. *From Eden to Sahara* was one of his only attempts to communicate with the general public. This book chronicles one of Small's many botanical explorations into Florida during the period between April and May of 1922. Here, he chronicled the destruction of the Everglades and laid the blame squarely on the shoulders of humans. He argued that drainage, and the fires that occurred in the Everglades due to drainage, were turning Florida from a paradise to a barren desert.

Small concluded his book with a lamentation. He wrote that Florida was "yesterday a botanical paradise" but that because of

49. John Kunkel Small to May Mann Jennings, October 31, 1916, John Kunkel Small Papers, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee; Ernest Coe to John Kunkel Small, November 6, 1929, University of Miami Presidential Archives, Richter Library Special Collections, University of Miami; also see Linda Vance, "May Mann Jennings and Royal Palm State Park," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 55, no. 1 (July, 1976), 1-17.

50. Small, *From Eden to Sahara*, 114.

drainage would "tomorrow, [be] the desert!" Small wrote that he was "forcibly impressed with the terrible destruction which is returning Florida to its primitive geological condition, namely, a barren desert. DRAINAGE and FIRE! The two processes are tending to eliminate native life from the state."⁵¹

Small's solution to this problem was one, that by 1929, was gaining a great deal of attention in Florida. He wrote that "as much as possible of this natural history museum should be preserved, not only for its beauty, but also for its educational value ... Many localities whose natural features, now destroyed, are not duplicated elsewhere, could easily have been made state or federal reservations ... Steps for protection of selected areas should be taken at once by the state and federal governments. It is not too late to act." By the time Small's book was published, the Everglades National Park Association had already been formed, and by 1934 that organization was successful in getting the federal government to authorize the creation of a national park in the Everglades. This park was finally established in 1947 after more than two decades of work by Floridians concerned about the Everglades.⁵²

Small was not the only member of the scientific community warning about the destructive effects of drainage. Two other important scientists shared their views about drainage, although they were even less outspoken about the issue than was Small. Charles Torrey Simpson, a naturalist from South Florida and a friend of Small's, and Harold H. Bailey, an ornithologist, both published books about the Everglades' nature that contained criticisms of these drainage efforts.

Charles Torrey Simpson's book, *In Lower Florida Wilds* (1920) was based on 20 years of his travels and explorations in the Everglades. Simpson noted that during many of these travels, Small was his "companion and mentor." Although most of the book focused on the nature of southern Florida, Simpson also noted that these "Florida wilds," were disappearing because of human activity. He wrote that "there is something very distressing in the gradual passing of the wilds, the destruction of the forests, (and) the draining of the swamps and lowlands." Simpson lamented that "soon this vast, lonely, beautiful waste will be reclaimed and tamed;

51. Small, *From Eden to Sahara*, 3, 112, 82. Emphasis in the original.

52. *Ibid.*, 114.

soon it will be furrowed by canals and highways and spanned by steel rails."⁵³

Harold H. Bailey also wrote on the Everglades' nature and noted the destructive effects of human activity. Bailey's *The Birds of Florida* (1925) is an illustrated guide to 425 birds found in South Florida. Most of the book is a description of these birds, their appearance, their mating and reproductive habits, and their diet, habitat, and migratory patterns. However, Bailey also briefly mentioned the effects of drainage on specific bird species. In the book's introduction Bailey described the "destructive factors" that were leading to the disappearance of these birds. Although he noted that "a certain amount of drainage of South Florida is necessary," he also argued that drainage, along with "forest fires and automobiles, together with good roads, are now, and will continue to be, the main factors in diminishing ... Florida's wild life."⁵⁴

There were some bird species that Bailey saw as particularly at risk from drainage efforts. The Cape Sable Seaside Sparrow, a species of sparrow only found in the Everglades, was one of these. According to Bailey, "great drainage projects are developing at and around their habitat." Because of this, it was possible that these birds "will be driven elsewhere, or disappear altogether." Drainage was also "fast destroying" the natural habitat of the Florida Turkey. The Anhinga, or Snake Bird was also at risk. Bailey wrote that "the drainage of many of its best habitat ponds, sloughs, and creeks is driving it farther into the wilds each year."⁵⁵

Although Small, Simpson and Bailey were all critical of drainage, none of the men spoke out publicly or forcefully against drainage. The statements that Bailey and Simpson made were buried in their texts and could easily be ignored by unreceptive readers. Although Small's book focused on the issue more forcefully, it was published too late to have an effect on the drainage efforts of the Progressive Era. Additionally, all these scientists saw drainage within its local context. They saw how drainage destroyed local habitats, but were not yet aware of the larger effects of drainage. Today, we understand that drainage and water control in the northern sections of the

53. Charles Torrey Simpson, *In Lower Florida Wilds* (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1920), vi, 140-1.

54. Bailey, *The Birds of Florida*, vii.

55. *Ibid.*, 105, 60, 118.

Everglades deprive the southern sections of the Glades of the water that is so essential to the ecological health of the region as a whole.

However, it was not till the 1930s and '40s when scientists like Garald Parker of the U.S. Geological Survey and Daniel Beard of the National Park Service began to explore the connections between drainage and water levels in the undrained southern sections of the Glades. These views were soon popularized in 1947 by Marjory Stoneman Douglas. Her classic book not only laid the foundation for a modern understanding of the Everglades' water flow, but also provided later Everglades activists with the intellectual basis for the more recent attempts to restore the wetland and its natural flow of water.⁵⁶

These restoration efforts, however, would not take effect until decades after the publication of Douglas' book. Although drainage had been declared a failure and was abandoned in 1927, Floridians continued to believe that human engineering could control the Everglades' water. After 1927, water control efforts in Florida continued as state and federal governments instituted flood and comprehensive water control systems. The idea underlying drainage, that humans can control and improve the environment, has never been wholly abandoned in Florida. Water control for the benefit of agricultural areas and urban populations are still prioritized over restoration efforts that remain largely stalled and unfunded.

Despite this overwhelming belief that water could be efficiently controlled, some individuals did criticize these early drainage efforts. Frank Stoneman criticized drainage from the very same progressive conservationist ideology that drainage advocates used to justify their efforts. Minnie Moore-Willson saw drainage as a threat to the culture and existence of the Seminole Indians. John Kunkel Small's scientific perspective of the Everglades foreshadowed modern environmentalism in some ways, focusing on the taxonomic classification of the Everglades' flora, and laying the groundwork for later studies of the Everglades.

Historians usually point to the controversy over the damming of the Hetch-Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park as indicative of the divisions within the Progressive Era conservation movement. Those who wanted to dam the river argued that the resources of

56. Wilhelm, "Prophet of the Glades," 133-137; Davis, *An Everglades Providence*, 355-359.

the Valley could be more efficiently used by humans, while those who opposed the dam argued that the Valley had an aesthetic and spiritual value that a dam would destroy. Draining the Everglades was a similar Progressive Era attempt to more efficiently use resources, however, those opposed to drainage used very different types of arguments. No one discussed the aesthetic value of the Everglades or argued that the area should be preserved because of its inspirational value as a tourist attraction. Even those who criticized drainage, like Stoneman, Moore-Willson, and Small, were unwilling to see any aesthetic value in the Everglades. Instead their arguments derived from diverse sources, including a belief in pragmatism and the values of efficiency, a desire to protect the traditional lifestyle of the Seminole Indians, and the belief that biological and botanical specimens had an inherent right to exist outside of any human value system.

Environmental politics has too often been subjected to artificial dichotomies of opposing viewpoints: conservation or preservation; Progressive Era beliefs or modern environmentalism; and ecological perspectives or a desire to exploit natural resources. However, the diversity of views concerning the drainage of the Everglades illustrates the complexity and nuance inherent in the multiplicity of ways humans perceive the natural world.

“Industrious, Thrifty and Ambitious”: Jacksonville’s African American Businesspeople during the Jim Crow Era

by David H. Jackson, Jr.

“**T**he negro in Jacksonville has made wonderful progress in his efforts to adjust himself to the many demands of present day civilization. He is industrious, thrifty, and ambitious and striving in every way to reach the highest degree of development, commercially, religiously, socially, and educationally. He has made a wonderful beginning and no doubt the future will bring much greater accomplishments.”¹

J. A. Thomas, 1926

While modern-day Florida conjures images of Disney World and sunny beaches, the black experience in the Sunshine State from around 1880 to 1930 was not so bright. Race relations in Florida were equal to, if not harsher than, other Southern states. Consequently, understanding race relations in Florida must be contextualized in reference to the mores, traditions, and values

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1. J. A. Thomas, “The Present Day Story of the Negro in Jacksonville,” in *The National Negro Blue Book* (Jacksonville: Florida Blue Book Publishing Company, 1926), unpaginated.

that governed the South as a whole and wreaked terror against black people in large measure.²

Despite the odds against them during the era of Jim Crow segregation, African Americans in Jacksonville made remarkable economic strides.³ This was especially the case with middle-class black businesspeople, many of whom were devout followers of Booker T. Washington's philosophy of self-reliance, thrift, sobriety, hard work and self-help. They attained formal educations, worked in respected occupations, and accumulated wealth. These so-called "aristocrats of color" were mostly self-made men and women who lived by strict rules that guided their etiquette, manners, and dress, and mirrored the standards and perceived behaviors of the white middle-class. Factors like family lineage, education, wealth, occupation, church affiliation, grandeur of homes, and skin color were often of great importance among the black middle class business community. Over time, however, skin tone among this group did not matter nearly as much as economic security, income, and business achievement. Just as with blacks in other cities throughout the nation, Jacksonville's African American businesspeople and professionals who formed its middle-class offered "quiet resistance" to subjugation by providing goods and services that helped to sustain the city's black community during the Jim Crow era.⁴

As historian Mark S. Foster observed, "aside from biographies of distinguished blacks, most scholars have concentrated on the masses of blacks who suffered relentless oppression, grinding poverty, and distressingly narrow opportunities for improving

2. See, for example, Irvin D. S. Winsboro, ed., *Old South, New South, or Down South: Florida and the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2009).
3. Canter Brown, Jr., "Bishop Payne and Resistance to Jim Crow in Florida During the 1880s," *Northeast Florida History* 2 (1994): 23-27; James B. Crooks, "Jacksonville in the Progressive Era Responses to Urban Growth," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (July 1986): 59-72.
4. David H. Jackson, Jr., *A Chief Lieutenant of the Tuskegee Machine: Charles Banks of Mississippi* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 16-17. For a definitive study on this subject see Willard Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990). For information on "quiet resistance," see Kenneth W. Goings and Eugene M. O'Connor, "Lessons Learned: The Role of the Classics at Black Colleges and Universities," *Journal of Negro Education* 79, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 521-531, especially pages 527-528; and Kenneth W. Goings and Eugene O'Connor, "'Tell Them We Are Rising': African Americans and the Classics," *Amphora* 4, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 6-7, 12-13.

their circumstances during the 'Jim Crow' era. Certainly the experiences of the downtrodden deserve attention," he concluded, "but so do lives of those who defied all the odds and gained wealth."⁵ Indeed, there are many studies that already address the black working-class in Jacksonville and the challenges they faced. This essay instead seeks to feature the lives of blacks who attained some success during the era. Ultimately, this is a story of African American agency and what the middle-class business segment of Jacksonville's black population achieved despite the odds against them. The response from this group can be described as "forced agency," as it was necessitated largely by the psychological, social, and physical violence occurring in Florida and throughout the South during this time.⁶

In addition, this study examines how African Americans who gained status and wealth utilized both to improve the lives of blacks in general. These people were not only concerned with the growth and profitability of their businesses; they were also concerned with civic and community betterment, and resisting and undermining Jim Crow in whatever ways they could. Through their business endeavors they gave African Americans "private space to buttress battered dignity, nurture positive self-images, sharpen skills, and demonstrate expertise."⁷

Finally, this work also provides a rare glimpse into the founding and activities of the Florida State Negro Business League (FSNBL), the Jacksonville Negro Business League (a local affiliate), and their participation with the National Negro Business League (NNBL).

5. Mark S. Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow': Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945," *Journal of Negro History* 84, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 130.

6. For studies that discuss Jacksonville's working-class, see Abel Bartley, *Keeping the Faith: Race, Politics, and Social Development in Jacksonville, Florida, 1940-1970* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000); Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire, 1901-1919* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991); Crooks, *Jacksonville: The Consolidation Story, From Civil Rights to the Jaguars* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Crooks, "Jacksonville in the Progressive Era": 59-72; and Crooks, "Changing Face of Jacksonville, Florida: 1900-1910," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (April 1984): 439-463. For information on "forced agency," see Darlene Clark Hine, "Black Professionals and Race Consciousness: Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 1890-1950," *Journal of American History* 89, no. 4 (March 2003): 1279-1294.

7. Hine, "Black Professionals and Race Consciousness," 1280.

The roles of these groups are significant because according to one expert on the subject, "the available evidence is meager for assessing the local leagues over the entire sixteen years that [Booker T.] Washington was president of the national body."⁸

Many black Floridians understood they had a clearly defined "place" in society. Wherever they turned, African Americans faced segregation. More often than not, Jim Crow customs and laws required not merely separation but exclusion. At funerals, weddings, courtrooms, public facilities, and other places of social gathering, these measures dictated that the different racial groups rarely integrated. Jim Crow codes prohibited any form of interracial activity that might have implied equality. Maintaining segregation required a combination of political and economic strategies that whites controlled.⁹

The Democratic Party, which dominated Florida politics at all levels, utilized a number of tools to disfranchise black voters in the state. In 1889, the state adopted multiple ballot box laws and used the poll tax to effectively reduce the African American voting population and eliminate their influence. White Floridians were emboldened by the U.S. Supreme Court's refusal to overturn the 1890 Mississippi Constitution, which included literacy tests, poll taxes, and understanding clauses, and the 1898 Louisiana Constitution that created the Grandfather Clause which allowed whites to vote, but disfranchised former slaves. By 1895, laws based on these strategies had become so entrenched that Florida legislators did not see the need to codify the disfranchisement of blacks during the state's constitutional convention. Like racial segregation and notions of white supremacy, disfranchisement relegated the black population to second-class status and consistently reminded them of their inferior position in the social order.¹⁰

In addition to disfranchisement, black Floridians became victims of white economic and occupational discrimination. In this effort, whites established black codes to ensure the presence of a stable, subordinate labor force. Reconstruction-era black codes designated employees as "servants" and employers as "masters,"

8. Michael B. Boston, *The Business Strategy of Booker T. Washington, Its Development and Implementation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 101.

9. Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*, passim.

10. Bartley, *Keeping the Faith*, 7-8.

and prevented African Americans from vagrancy or loitering, effectively forcing blacks to work whether they wanted to or not. Among other things, black codes permitted corporal punishment, restricted blacks from intermarriage, using firearms or drinking alcohol, and limited the areas in which they could rent or purchase property. A major goal of white supremacists was to keep blacks in a subordinate "place" so they would always provide a pliable and exploitable labor force.¹¹

By 1870, the legacy of slavery had hampered black people's ability to compete for jobs and although they held a growing 3,989 to 2,923 numerical majority over whites in Jacksonville, very few African Americans could take advantage of those opportunities. By 1894, some 85 percent of the city's blacks found themselves working as manual laborers. In comparison, only 16 percent of white workers in the city were unskilled.¹²

Although racial exploitation, intimidation, and intolerance were no strangers to black Floridians, after the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896 established the legal principle of "separate but equal," Florida began to codify its segregation laws more rigidly. African Americans could not stay at "white" hotels, were not to be treated at "white" hospitals, were not buried in "white" cemeteries and could not attend "white" schools. Although black and white lives clearly were separate, they were not equal. The disparate funding of public education in Jacksonville is a case in point. In 1900, the Duval County Board of Public Instruction, the state's largest school system, spent twice as much on the education of white students than it did on black students; the district paid \$12.08 to educate each white child in the county, but only \$5.47 per black child.¹³

11. See Jerrell H. Shofner, "Custom, Law, and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's 'Black Code,'" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (January, 1977): 277-298 and Joe M. Richardson, "Florida Black Codes," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (April 1969): 365-379. For information on black codes in the South, see Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine, and Stanley Harrold, *The African American Odyssey* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, 2003), 272; John Hope Franklin and Alfred Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994), 225; Hine, "Black Professionals and Race Consciousness," 1280.

12. Bartley, *Keeping the Faith*, 9.

13. Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 13-14. See also Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 268; Patricia L. Kenney, "LaVilla, Florida, 1866-1887: Reconstruction Dreams and the Formation of a Black Community," in *The African American Heritage of Florida*, ed. David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 185-206.

Moreover, throughout the South thousands of African Americans were arrested, tried, and convicted for numerous crimes that white lawmakers considered more likely to be committed by blacks. "The theft of a pig could now mean a few years of hard labor instead of a beating behind the barn," one scholar found. Southern politicians developed the convict-lease system in the late nineteenth century under which states leased convicts to planters and businessmen to clear swamps, tend cotton, mine coal, harvest turpentine, and perform other manual labor tasks. The planter or company had to house, clothe, and feed the convicts, but did not pay them. The system proved to be quite profitable, relieving the state of the costs of housing these inmates while enriching the state coffers with the income from their labor. The system became so remunerative that police officers were encouraged to charge blacks with any number of crimes to meet the demand.¹⁴

Racial violence and terrorism reminded blacks of their precarious situation.¹⁵ According to Stewart Tolney and E. M. Beck, between 1882 and 1930, African Americans, particularly black men, were more likely to be lynched in Florida than in any other Southern state. Florida led the nation with eleven lynchings in 1920 and for every 100,000 African Americans in Florida, 79.8 were lynched. By contrast, during this same period, Mississippi, more frequently associated with terrorism against blacks, had a ratio of 52.8 per 100,000.¹⁶

While mob violence in Jacksonville remained more the exception than the rule, it did occur. For instance, on July 4, 1910, jubilant African Americans were attacked by white gangs for celebrating boxing champion Jack Johnson's defeat of Jim Jeffries.¹⁷ Moreover, Jacksonville almost became the scene of a lynching in 1912 when Eugene Baxter, described in the city's white

14. David Oshinsky, *Worse than Slavery: Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 32, 35; Hine and Harrold, *African American Odyssey*, 329.

15. For studies of violence against black Floridians during this era, see Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*; David H. Jackson, Jr., "Forum: Reconsidering Race Relations in Early Twentieth Century Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (Winter 2001): 379-380; William Warren Rogers and James M. Denham, *Florida Sheriffs: A History 1821-1945* (Tallahassee, FL: Sentry Press, 2001), 160-177.

16. Stewart E. Tolney and E. M. Beck, *Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 37-38; Rogers and Denham, *Florida Sheriffs*, 162.

17. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 5-6, 1910; See Crooks, "Jacksonville in the Progressive Era," 69.

newspaper as "a tall light-skinned darky," was charged with robbing and murdering Simon Silverstein, a white grocer. Accused of beating Silverstein's son, daughter, and wife as well, Baxter, his two roommates (Tom White and Sam Richardson), and two other blacks were later arrested.¹⁸ When white citizens in Jacksonville learned of this incident, they were outraged. A mob formed and repeatedly tried to storm the jail and kidnap the prisoners. Fortunately for the accused, this mob action caused Judge R. M. Call to take the necessary steps to "save Duval County from the disgrace of a lynching." Judge Call had Baxter, White, and Richardson moved from the jail on March 7 and sent far away from Jacksonville. Nevertheless, the citizens were promised "an immediate trial and punishment, if the prisoners are found guilty," and in the South a guilty verdict was virtually assured.¹⁹ Other African Americans were not as fortunate in escaping death at the hands of Florida mobs.

Two Jacksonville blacks were lynched during the post-war year of 1919 on the heels of what the city's multi-talented James Weldon Johnson called the "Red Summer," a year in which the country witnessed approximately twenty-five race riots. Accused of killing a white man, the men were arrested by police on September 6, 1919. A couple of days later, white vigilantes overpowered the sheriff, took the men from jail, and shot them to death. The perpetrators of this act took one of the dead bodies, tied it to the back of an automobile and dragged it through the city, leaving it in front of the fashionable Windsor Hotel.²⁰

In the face of these challenges, blacks in Jacksonville found ways to carve out a separate existence during this time. In Clement Richardson's *National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race* (1919), a disproportionate number of the people, organizations, and structures he focused on to highlight black progress in Florida were in Jacksonville.²¹ James Weldon Johnson recalled that during his childhood, conditions in the city were pleasant and "free from

18. Jacksonville *Evening Metropolis*, March 7-8, 1912.

19. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1912; *St. Petersburg Daily Times*, March 9, 1912; *The Tuskegee Student*, March 16, 1912; Crooks, "Jacksonville in the Progressive Era," 69-70.

20. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 5-6, 1910; Crooks, "Jacksonville in the Progressive Era," 69; Ortíz, *Emancipation Betrayed*, 65.

21. Clement Richardson, ed., *The National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race* (Montgomery, AL: National Publishing, 1919), 470.

undue fear of or esteem for white people as a race." He also remembered the late-nineteenth century Jacksonville of his youth "as a good town for Negroes." Johnson could make these assertions partially because of the parallel institutions black businesspeople created in the city. Moreover, the substantial accomplishments of the black elite meant more than individual achievement. Indeed, they signaled the progress of a race; a race only one or two generations from slavery that white racists claimed was regressing into barbarism in the absence of slavery.²²

Many historians have followed Rayford Logan's interpretation of the "nadir," the period from the end of Reconstruction through the Progressive Era that is considered to be the most oppressive, dangerous, and violent time in African American history outside of slavery. Blacks during this era have been portrayed as objects of history, always having things done *to* them, and as Kenneth Goings and Eugene O'Connor have asserted, "they were never or rarely portrayed as the agents of their own history." However, this nadir also produced years of black insurgency, as demonstrated by the accomplishments of African American professionals, merchants, and skilled artisans in Jacksonville largely through "quiet resistance," but resistance nonetheless.²³

By 1895, Jacksonville had become Florida's largest city, and by 1900 more than 28,000 people lived within the city limits and thousands more occupied adjoining suburbs. Including the suburbs, 50 percent of the residents were African Americans. One newspaper commenting on this demographic stated that "this city is the metropolis of the state of Florida and the Negroes are well represented." There were sixty African American churches in the city and several educational institutions including Cookman

22. Johnson, however, considered twentieth century Jacksonville "one hundred percent Cracker town." James Weldon Johnson, *Along this Way* (New York: Viking Press, 1933), 45; Bernard Eisenberg, "Only for the Bourgeois? James Weldon Johnson and the NAACP, 1916-1930," *Phylon* 43, no. 2 (Second Quarter, 1982): 110-111. For information on white ideas on black regression, see Charles Carroll, *The Negro a Beast or in the Image of God* (Miami: Mnemosyne, 1900).

23. Leon F. Litwack, *How Free is Free? The Long Death of Jim Crow* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 6; Goings and O'Connor, "Lessons Learned: The Role of the Classics at Black Colleges and Universities," 521-522, 527. See also Kenneth W. Goings and Gerald L. Smith, "Unhidden Transcripts: Memphis and African American Agency, 1862-1920," *Journal of Urban History* 21 (March 1995): 372-394; Goings and O'Connor, "Tell Them We Are Rising," 6-7, 12-13.

Institute, Edward Waters College, Boylan Industrial Home for Girls, Florida Baptist College, and Stanton High School.²⁴

A December 1901 article published in the *Indianapolis Freeman* titled "Jacksonville in the Lead: From a Standpoint of Negro Business Enterprises" featured the successes of the city's African American businessmen. The writer had been to Montgomery, Alabama, and Savannah, Georgia, and said that although he was surprised by what he saw in those cities, his experiences in Jacksonville dwarfed them, particularly as they related to how well the black businesspeople in the city were in touch with the pulse of their community. The writer then went on to highlight several of the black community's business leaders.²⁵

Henry James, identified as Jacksonville's leading baker, employed eight people, ran two delivery wagons, and also manufactured ice cream. S. A. Hall had a seafood business that employed six men and sold clams, oysters, shrimp and crabs. The firm of Davis & Robinson reportedly furnished two-thirds of the ships entering Jacksonville's ports and all of the Pullman buffet cars with eggs, poultry, fruit, vegetables, ice, milk and cream. This firm employed fifteen people and generated ninety percent of their sales from white businesses.²⁶ Likewise, James' Restaurant, located at 102 Bridge Street, served black and white customers. To the surprise of J. D. Howard, a reporter for the *Indianapolis Freeman* who visited the place, while black customers received service in the front of the restaurant, "he has a place in the rear of his establishment where white customers are served and strange to say under these strange and diametrically opposite conditions from accepted customs serves no less than fifty whites at each meal."²⁷

All over the state black entrepreneurs and professionals created businesses to serve their segregated communities. In doing so, they also created a viable black middle-class. But more importantly, these businesspeople provided African Americans with alternatives that shielded them from the daily humiliation of

24. Canter Brown, Jr., "Dr. James Alpheus Butler: An African American Pioneer of Miami Medicine," *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida* 66 (2006): 57. For quote see the Washington (D.C.) *Colored American*, January 20, 1900. For information on schools see Crooks, "Changing Face of Jacksonville, Florida: 1900-1910," 456-457.

25. *Indianapolis Freeman*, December 14, 1901. Jacksonville had an established black middle-class by 1900 according to Crooks, *Jacksonville after the Fire*, 13.

26. *Indianapolis Freeman*, December 14, 1901.

27. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1901.

Jim Crow. When they patronized black-owned businesses they were treated with respect and could keep their dignity in tact.

After being barred from serving on boards of trade and chambers of commerce in their cities, on May 30-31, 1906, leading African American businesspeople organized the FSNBL in Jacksonville, the state affiliate of Booker T. Washington's NNBL. This group operated as a black chamber of commerce. Washington had founded the NNBL in Boston in 1900 to stimulate black business development throughout the country. At the close of that meeting, Washington issued a charge to those in attendance:

My friends, I must not detain you longer, but I must make a single request, and that is that you take the spirit of this meeting into your homes, to your immediate localities; that you take the resolutions which you will find printed and distributed, plenty of them here, to your homes; that you take the spirit of this meeting, the suggestions that the committee have put in print, and that in each community you try to plant the spirit to form an organization that will result in the employment of the colored people where you live.²⁸

Although not the wealthiest African American, Washington became the most influential black leader in the nation. His control over the black press; his support of and influence with the Talented Tenth and white philanthropists; his role as advisor to presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft; his creation of Tuskegee Institute, the Tuskegee Farmer's Conference, and the NNBL; as well as his close connections with black bishops, ministers, educators, and Masonic leaders all gave Washington an inordinate amount of power.²⁹

Washington gained a number of critics, then and now, because of his ideas on racial uplift. Some criticized him for his philosophy of education while others criticized his emphasis on economic

28. Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, August 23-24, 1900, 213-214, National Negro Business League Papers, Microfilm Collection, Ned R. McWherter Library, University of Memphis (hereafter cited as NNBL Papers); Boston, *Business Strategy of Booker T. Washington*, 96.

29. David H. Jackson, Jr., *Booker T. Washington and the Struggle Against White Supremacy: The Southern Educational Tours, 1908-1912* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 8-9.

improvement. As recently as 2010, historian Michael West asserted that "there is a long tradition of giving Washington more credit than is his due regarding economics; after all, he neither invented black entrepreneurialism nor effected any significant transfer of capital into black hands, except for what went into the coffers of his patronage and propaganda enterprise, the Tuskegee machine." However, Michael Boston's brilliant work, *The Business Strategy of Booker T. Washington: Its Development and Implementation* (2010) contradicts that argument and demonstrates that Washington had a great influence on stimulating the growth of black businesses throughout the United States and ensuring that capital flowed to some.³⁰

The general aims of the NNBL included economic development and independence, racial pride, and self-help.³¹ The program from the third annual meeting, held in Richmond, Virginia, cogently provided the organization's purpose:

The object is to inform, as best we may, the world of the progress the Negro is making in every part of the country, and to stimulate local business enterprises through its annual meetings and in any other manner deemed wise; to encourage the organization of local business for the purpose of furthering commercial growth in all places where such organizations are deemed needful and wise.³²

Significantly, the NNBL not only served as a stimulus for business in the African American community, but also as an incubator for other black organizations like the National Negro Bankers' Association, the National Negro Funeral Directors' Association, the National Negro Bar Association, the National Association of Negro Insurance Men, and the National Negro Press Association. Professionals ranging from doctors and lawyers, to bankers, barbers, and farmers all participated in the league.³³

30. Michael R. West, review of David H. Jackson, Jr., *Booker T. Washington and the Struggle Against White Supremacy* in the *Journal of American History* 97, no. 1 (June 2010): 201; Boston, *The Business Strategy of Booker T. Washington*. See also Jackson, *A Chief Lieutenant of the Tuskegee Machine*, 175-182.

31. Jackson, *A Chief Lieutenant of the Tuskegee Machine*, 91; David H. Jackson, Jr., "Booker T. Washington's Tour of the Sunshine State, March 1912," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 81, no. 3 (Winter 2003): 260-263.

32. Report of the Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, August 25-27, 1902, NNBL Papers.

33. Emmett J. Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe, *Booker T. Washington: Builder of a Civilization* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1918), 221.

Inspired by Washington's leadership, and in response to Jim Crow segregation on May 30-31, one hundred and forty-three delegates from across the state attended the inaugural meeting of the Florida league. During the two-day event, various business people discussed issues and presented papers on the livery business, dentistry, journalism, general merchandising, banking, the drug business, the realty business, women in business, the shoe business, and many other topics. The Florida league represents one of the earliest efforts to organize a state league as part of the NNBL.³⁴

At the meeting, the Florida delegates elected twelve officers and nine executive committee members of which one-third of the former and four of the latter were from Jacksonville. Of the Jacksonville contingent, John H. Dickerson became first vice president; Charles C. Manigault, corresponding secretary; Reverend R. B. Brooks, treasurer; and Reverend F. W. Lancaster, organizer. The Jacksonville party serving on the executive committee consisted of R. R. Robinson, Joseph H. Blodgett, James Seth Hills, and Reverend C. N. Lee.³⁵

Matthew M. Lewey of Pensacola became president of the state league. Lewey had worked as a teacher, postmaster, Mayor of Newnansville, Florida, served in the Florida House of Representatives, and became one of the first licensed African American lawyers in the state. He also published *The Florida Sentinel*, one of the state's earliest black newspapers. After living in Pensacola for several years, Lewey moved to Jacksonville in 1914 where he continued to publish his popular paper.³⁶

The Jacksonville Business League was invited to exhibit photographs of black businesspeople and their companies, all labeled accordingly, at the second annual meeting of the NNBL held at Chicago in August of 1901. This provided the city's

34. Report of the Seventh Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, August 29-31, 1906, NNBL Papers, 133; Report of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, August 16-18, 1911, Little Rock, Arkansas, NNBL Papers, 126; *Tuskegee Student*, January 18, 1908; Crooks, *Jacksonville after the Fire*, 89.

35. Report of the Seventh Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, 134. For more information on Manigault, see Edward N. Akin, "When a Minority Becomes the Majority: Blacks in Jacksonville Politics, 1887-1907," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (October 1974): 140-142.

36. Third Annual Session of the National Negro Business League, August 25-27, 1902; Darius J. Young, "Florida's Pioneer African American Attorneys during the Post-Civil War Era," (Master's Thesis, Florida A&M University, 2005), 60-82.

black businesspeople with an opportunity to show members of the league from across the country the progress of the race in Jacksonville. Consequently, a number of delegates from the city attended this meeting. In a story published several days after the meeting, the *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis* noted that the display put forth by the Jacksonville league "took well, and made a big hit for Jacksonville." Another observer opined: "There never was a time when the young men of Jacksonville were more on the alert for a wise utilization of business opportunities than at present, and the older heads are fully awake, with both eyes wide open."³⁷ More important, the event gave African American businesspeople from Jacksonville an opportunity to place black prosperity on display, which helped to counter prevailing white propaganda that blacks were uncivilized, degenerating since the end of slavery, and not making any progress.³⁸

In 1911 at the FSNBL meeting in Live Oak, the group invited Booker T. Washington to tour the state so he could see the progress that Florida's blacks were making. During March of 1912 the Tuskegee leader visited Pensacola, Tallahassee, Lake City, Ocala, Tampa, Lakeland, Eatonville, Daytona, and Jacksonville, and made a number of whistle stops along the way. Washington spoke to tens of thousands of black and white people on his visit and was impressed by the advancements being made by Florida blacks, especially in business development, in places like Jacksonville.³⁹

Jacksonville became the last and most colorful stop on Washington's tour. Some people considered it "the biggest event of the kind that has been witnessed in the city for many years." He spoke to some 2,500 black and white people at the Duval Theater. In comparing the black business community in Jacksonville to another Florida city with a very prominent black business class, one writer opined that "Jacksonville not only surpasses Ocala in business, thrift, and general progress among the colored people but equals any other city of its size in these respects and indeed outstrips most cities." The writer went further to state that Jacksonville provided

37. *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, August 15 and 28, 1901, September 26 and 30, 1901.

38. Boston, *Business Strategy of Booker T. Washington*, 109.

39. *Tuskegee Student*, February 17, March 2 and 16, 1912; Report of the Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, August 25-27, 1902.

an example of what African Americans could accomplish "under good conditions and with fair educational facilities."⁴⁰

Only four months after Washington's visit, leading black businessmen in Jacksonville organized the Colored Board of Trade in a further effort to better address the commercial needs of the African American community. Doubtless, these men and women embraced the business ideas and philosophy of Washington and the NNBL and were inspired by his visit.⁴¹ The Jacksonville Negro Business League, perhaps the strongest local league in the state, had expended a considerable amount of time preparing for that visit, and a number of Jacksonville's leading black citizens were members.⁴²

The following year at the 1913 NNBL meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Jacksonville businessman Joseph Blodgett presented remarks during one of the plenary sessions. The master of ceremonies introduced Blodgett as a Floridian who "is a large property owner and one of the most wealthy and successful business men of our race."⁴³ In his comments, Blodgett attempted to cajole young men into moving to the South so they could make lots of money. Then he asserted: "After you have built a home for yourself, established yourself in business, put a little money in the bank, and invest a few thousand in real estate and government bonds, then, like your humble servant, you can afford to buy your little wife a \$5500 Packard automobile for her social enjoyment. You can take her to Saratoga and stay a few months. . . ." His remarks were followed by laughter and applause. In a more serious tone, Blodgett encouraged each person to open a bank account, purchase land, become his own landlord, operate an honorable business, and live in fear of God.⁴⁴

According to United States Census Bureau figures, blacks in Jacksonville continued to comprise the majority of the population

40. Jacksonville *Evening Metropolis*, March 4, 5, and 6, 1912; *Chicago Defender*, March 16, 1912; "The Washington Tour in Florida," *Southern Workman* 41 (April 1912): 200.

41. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, July 11, 1912; Crooks, *Jacksonville after the Fire*, 16, 85.

42. Jacksonville *Evening Metropolis*, March 4, 5, and 6, 1912, August 1, 1901.

43. Report of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the NNBL, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 20-22, 1913, 257, NNBL Papers.

44. Report of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the NNBL, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1913, 258-259.

from 1870 to 1910. This fact put Jacksonville blacks in position to take the lead among African Americans in the state in many ways. The city soon was dubbed the "Gateway to Florida" because many African Americans considered it "the gateway to business and commerce for Florida Negroes." George A. Powell, a writer for the widely-circulated *Crisis* magazine, the organ of the NAACP, reiterated this point after he visited Jacksonville and commented that "ever since emancipation, Negroes in Jacksonville have set the pace for other parts of the state in their courageous venturing into various types of business." By 1910 the City Directory listed 342 small businesses owned by African Americans, nearly twice as many as identified nine years prior. Significantly, this growth parallels the expansion of the NNBL which began in 1900. One might infer from this growth an embrace of Washington's business philosophy as espoused through the Jacksonville Business League.⁴⁵

African American businesspeople and professionals felt compelled to use some of their knowledge and wealth to help advance the community. In his book *The Negro Professional Man and the Community* (1934), which focuses mainly on African American doctors and lawyers throughout the country, Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History, asserted he was "not particularly concerned with how much medicine or law one knows, but with what he does with what he has acquired; not so much with the question as to how great a physician or lawyer he may be as with how useful a man he is in the community."⁴⁶

45. By 1942, there were sixteen barber shops, twenty-seven beauty parlors, two bakeries, eight barbecue stands, nine smoke shops, twenty-four confectioneries and sundries, one upholstery, four department stores, one employment agency, three drug stores, eight hotels, one book store, sixteen shoe-repair and shoe-shine parlors, four sewing shops, seven real estate brokers, two newspapers, thirty-five grocery stores, one jewelry store, one music store, twenty-seven wood-ice-and-coal dealers, and eight funeral homes, among other black enterprises. Together, these firms employed well over 2,000 people. See George W. Powell, "Business in Jacksonville," *Crisis* (January 1942), 9-10; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States*, 1870, U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Tenth Census of the United States*, 1880, U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh Census of the United States*, 1890, U. S. Bureau of Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States*, 1900; U. S. Bureau of Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, 1910; Crooks, "Changing Face of Jacksonville," 439, 462; Akin, "When a Minority Becomes the Majority," 123-145.

46. Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro Professional Man and His Community: With Special Emphasis on the Physician and the Lawyer* (Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1934), xi.

A growing black professional class served the needs of the African American community in Jacksonville.⁴⁷ Historian Canter Brown, Jr., has identified Dr. Alexander H. Darnes "as Florida's first black medical doctor." Darnes, a native of St. Augustine, attended the Howard University School of Medicine and graduated in 1880 with his medical degree. That same year he opened his medical practice in Jacksonville. Dr. Darnes is worth noting here not only because he became the first black medical doctor in Florida, but also because he chose Jacksonville as the ideal place to start his professional career. By 1926, the number of black physicians in the city had grown to nineteen.⁴⁸

African Americans appreciated having black doctors who could attend to their medical concerns. Many blacks did not trust white medical professionals and were horrified by news of other blacks who died at the hands of white doctors in white hospitals or died after being refused service like the father of NAACP leader Walter White, and Juliette Derricotte, Dean of Women at Fisk University.⁴⁹ Moreover, proper racial etiquette forbade black doctors from treating white patients, so black physicians almost exclusively worked on patients of their own race. Highly publicized incidences like these reminded black people that race remained a major obstacle before them and reinforced the fact that African Americans had to unite and provide quality services for themselves.⁵⁰

Alexander Darnes surely paved the way for other black physicians in Jacksonville like James Seth Hills, among others.⁵¹

47. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, December 14, 1901; Brown, "Dr. James Alpheus Butler," 56, 58. Dr. James Alpheus Butler graduated from Howard University Medical School and Dr. Andrew L. Pierce finished Meharry Medical College before establishing their practices in the city. Other black physicians like William Commodore Smalls, Arthur Walls Smith, and James Seth Hills also had successful practices and were highly respected professionals. Doctor Henry A. Anderson became a popular dentist in the city.

48. Dr. Darnes is discussed in Canter Brown's article, "Dr. James Alpheus Butler," 55; Thomas, "Present Day Story of the Negro in Jacksonville."

49. Kenneth Janken, *White: A Biography of Walter White, Mr. NAACP* (New York: New Press, 2003), 69, 168. Spencie Love, *One Blood: The Death and Resurrection of Charles R. Drew* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 49; Vanessa N. Gamble, *Making a Place for Ourselves: The Black Hospital Movement, 1920-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 46-47.

50. For an authoritative study on southern black physicians, see Thomas J. Ward, Jr., *Black Physicians in the Jim Crow South* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2003).

51. Other Jacksonville physicians include Arthur Walls Smith, John Darius Crum, Jr., and William Commodore Smalls. See Proceedings of the National Negro Business League, Boston, Massachusetts, August 23-24, 1900, NNBL Papers, 62.

Contrary to myths and stereotypes about black incompetence and ill-training, a more in depth examination of a few of Jacksonville's medical professionals illuminates their backgrounds and preparation. Hills came into this world on May 19, 1872 in Gainesville. At age eleven he began working in a cigar factory and did so for seven years, earning money to go to college. After finishing public school, he graduated from Cookman Institute and then entered Walden College in Nashville. From there, he entered and graduated from Long Island College Hospital in New York. Hills interned at Freedmen's Hospital in Washington, D.C., in 1894 and 1895, and then took a post-graduate course in Europe for one year, studying in England, Ireland, France, and Germany. In 1896 he moved to Jacksonville, Florida, and began his surgical practice. He also served as the surgeon for the Clyde Steamship Line for thirteen years and for the Jacksonville Traction Company for eleven years, which provided him with steady clientele.⁵²

Dr. James Alpheus Butler experienced similar success in Jacksonville. Born in Key West on August 4, 1878, Butler finished the Douglass School in Key West and then attended Central Tennessee College (later Walden College) in Nashville. He entered Meharry Medical College in 1896 but transferred to Howard University Medical College two years later to complete his studies. Butler moved to Jacksonville in 1900 and immediately established his practice there. When African American physicians met in April 1902 to re-establish a state medical association, Butler and Hills were so well respected by their peers across the state that they were chosen to serve on the executive committee. Due to the great fire at Jacksonville in 1901, mounting competition from other black physicians, and personal family matters in Key West, Butler relocated to Miami.⁵³

Blacks in Jacksonville very much respected their physicians' medical knowledge and skill. A Jacksonville newspaper shared the following perspective on the matter:

The remarkable success with which Jacksonville's colored physicians meet in handling the numerous cases of malignant malarial fevers...fully proves to the public that

52. See Brown, "Dr. James Alpheus Butler," 55; John A. Kenney, *The Negro in Medicine* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Institute, 1912), 28; Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 380.

53. Brown, "Dr. James Alpheus Butler," 56-59.

they are men whose ability in the science and practice of medicine is not dependent alone upon the fact that they are regularly authorized practitioners, under certificates of the State Board of Medical Examiners, that has given each of them the legal tests. Many of the cures effected by these physicians required nothing but thorough skill and knowledge, which, be it said to their credit, have not been lacking in any instance. They are regular graduates from reputable medical colleges, and this public can cheerfully attest to their ability and good judgment as physicians.⁵⁴

Another physician, Minor Francis McCleary, born January 22, 1876 in Fernandina, Florida, attended the public schools in Fernandina and then enrolled in Central Tennessee College. After graduation, he enrolled at Meharry Medical College to fulfill his boyhood dream of becoming a physician. With his Meharry diploma in hand, he completed a post-graduate course at the Rush Medical College in Chicago. Next, he moved to Kansas City, Missouri, where he worked for one year in the medical college before moving to Key West, Florida, where he served as assistant to the Marine Physician at Key West for five years. In 1907, he moved to Jacksonville and began work as a surgeon, though he also engaged in general practice. His success in medicine allowed him to accumulate real estate holdings totaling \$30,000, a very substantial sum for the time.⁵⁵

Similarly, black attorneys found themselves working for their community, while simultaneously trying to eke out a comfortable living. The small number of African American lawyers faced formidable obstacles. According to a 1937 study by the National Bar Association, there were approximately 1,250 African American lawyers to serve almost 12,000,000 blacks. Even in Washington, D.C., where the largest concentration of black attorneys existed, there were only around 225. In New York City there were only 112 (mostly in Harlem) and shockingly, throughout the entire South, there were only about 200 African American lawyers. To make matters worse, because of economic limitations inherent within the Jim Crow legal system, more than half of all black lawyers were

54. Jacksonville *Evening Metropolis*, October 17, 1901.

55. Richardson, *National Cyclopaedia*, 376.

"sundowners," meaning they had "day" jobs and worked as lawyers by night.⁵⁶

Nonetheless, Jacksonville became home to several black attorneys, including Judson Douglas Wetmore, Joseph E. Lee, John Wallace, F. Cornelius Thomas, John Mitchell, James Weldon Johnson, George E. Ross, and T. G. Ewing. These men, and others, successfully defended the race and provided legal representation for the community. A number of these black attorneys worked for black businesses and organizations such as banks, insurance companies, churches, fraternal orders and benevolent associations. Some, like Simuel Decatur McGill, even gained national reputations as excellent criminal defense lawyers. Nevertheless, as historian Leon Litwack noted, African Americans realized that "even as whites scorned black incompetence, they feared evidence of black competence, assertion, independence, and ambition."⁵⁷

Simuel McGill was born in Quincy, Florida, on April 23, 1878. He graduated from Edward Waters College, an African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church school, and attended Dummer Academy in South Byfield, Massachusetts. He continued his studies at Harvard University and Boston University, earning a law degree at the latter in 1907. He began practicing law in Jacksonville one year later. McGill worked as an attorney for a number of black organizations including the Citizens Industrial Insurance Company, the Eleventh Episcopal District of the A.M.E. Church (comprising the entire state of Florida), the Grand Lodge Knights of Pythias of Florida, and the Grand Court Order of Calanthe of Florida, which provided him with "a substantial corporate retainer," according to historian John Clay Smith, Jr. He also served as the recording secretary for the National Negro Bar Association which gave him national exposure among African American lawyers throughout the country.⁵⁸

In addition to providing legal support for black businesses and organizations, McGill took on a number of cases representing

56. John Clay Smith, Jr., *Emancipation: the Making of the Black Lawyer, 1844-1944* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 565.

57. Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, 62; Akin, "When a Minority Becomes the Majority," 140; Litwack, *How Free is Free*, 24.

58. Thomas Yenser, ed., *Who's Who in Colored America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Persons of African Descent in America* (Brooklyn: Who's Who in Colored America, 1938), 350; *Chicago Defender*, July 20, 1918 and May 1, 1920; Smith, *Emancipation*, 280.

black defendants and won many, some of which he argued before the Florida Supreme Court. One such case involved a ten-year-old black child named Alfonso Urolia who on August 3, 1925 went with a crowd of picnic goers to Manhattan Beach, a black resort twenty miles from Jacksonville. He had a round trip ticket for the Florida East Coast Railroad, so at the end of the outing he attempted to board the train again. However, since so many people were waiting, the locomotive stopped for only a few minutes. Before Urolia successfully climbed the steps of the coach, the train, without warning or signal, made a sudden jerk and he was thrown beneath the railcar. As the locomotive left the station, the train crushed one of his legs. The train never stopped.⁵⁹

In keeping with the racial attitudes of the time, the railroad company denied any liability, claiming the injury was due to Urolia's negligence. Just under a year later on April 5, 1926, after being retained by Urolia's family, McGill filed suit against the company. After three days of trial, the lawyer argued his case so convincingly that, on January 10, 1928, an all-white male jury returned a verdict against the railroad company in favor of Urolia and awarded him \$15,000 in damages, reportedly the largest amount ever given to an African American by a Florida court. The railroad company appealed the case to the Florida Supreme Court on the premise that the award was excessive and the result of prejudice of the jury toward the company, but the Court affirmed the lower court's decision and they had to pay. McGill's achievement in some respects typifies the work, successes, and challenges faced by black lawyers.⁶⁰ Even with the assistance of black attorneys on the legal front, however, African Americans had other needs.

Throughout the South, black insurance companies provided a critical service to their communities. During this period, published studies presented African Americans as poor insurance risks. Frederick L. Hoffman's *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* (1896), is a significant example. He argued that due to living conditions, social diseases, and other undesirable circumstances, it would be unwise for companies to insure blacks. While a few white insurance companies still wrote policies for African Americans,

59. Fitzhugh Lee Styles, *Negroes and the Law in the Race's Battle for Liberty, Equality and Justice Under the Constitution of the United States* (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1937), 164. See also *Chicago Defender*, July 3, 1926, and October 16 and 23, 1926.

60. Styles, *Negroes and the Law*, 164-165.

most did not. Denied the protection these companies offered, black businessmen started their own companies to fill this need.⁶¹ Ultimately, having insurance coverage helped to mitigate the burdensome expenses black families faced as they tried to provide their loved ones with respectable burials.

William Sumter founded the Union Mutual Insurance Company in 1904. This company grew from ten employees in 1900 to about 125 with forty agencies throughout the state by 1919. Likewise, Jacksonville's Abraham Lincoln Lewis, real estate mogul and a founder of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company, accumulated considerable wealth through various business ventures. Lewis was born in Madison County, Florida, in 1865 and moved to Jacksonville in 1876, receiving his formal schooling in the Duval County public schools. Lewis, along with Reverend Elias J. Gregg, Reverend J. Milton Walden, Dr. Arthur W. Smith, Edward W. Watson, Alfred W. Price, and James F. Valentine, organized the Afro-American Industrial Benefit Association in March, 1901. This association later became the Afro-American Life Insurance Company with its first office opening at 14 Ocean Street. In two years time the company had outgrown the Ocean Street location and moved to a larger building at 600 Main Street. With even more growth, the company eventually settled at 105 East Union Street in 1908.⁶²

Jacksonville blacks especially benefited from the Union Mutual Insurance Company and the Afro-American Life Insurance Company because, as indicated above, whites generally would not write policies for blacks in the city. In the absence of African American insurance companies, Jacksonville's black citizens surely would have been more limited in terms of their options. Mary McLeod Bethune realized the significance of black insurance and became a stockholder and a director of Lewis's company, which lent more credibility to the endeavor. The company soon grew to 81 branch offices throughout the state and had buildings not only in Jacksonville but also in Tampa and Miami. It remained a very profitable endeavor and its president reaped huge financial

61. Hoffman's book is cited in Carter G. Woodson, "Insurance Business among Negroes," *Journal of Negro History* 14, no. 2 (April 1929): 211-212.

62. Woodson also identified the Peoples Industrial Life Insurance Company as a black-owned and functioning insurance provider in Jacksonville. See Woodson, "Insurance Business among Negroes," 217; Richardson, *National Cyclopaedia*, 470; Bartley, *Keeping the Faith*, 10; "Jacksonville's First Citizen," *Crisis* (January 1942): 24.

rewards. For example, by the mid 1920s when black brick masons were earning about \$1.25 an hour and auto mechanics made about \$48 per month, Lewis earned \$1,000 per month. In fact, by 1947 A. L. Lewis reportedly owned more property and paid more property taxes than any other African American in Florida.⁶³

Other Jacksonville entrepreneurs achieved similar success. Joseph H. Blodgett, born in Augusta, Georgia, on February 8, 1858, did not receive any formal education because he had to work on a farm as a child. Early in his life he worked as a railroad window washer for \$1.05 per day. When he moved to Jacksonville, he only had \$1.10 to his name and an extra pair of underclothes in a paper bag. He soon became a bricklayer. One day white policemen in the city arrested him for being a "tramp" because he had on a straw hat in the winter. After he got out of jail, he decided that "if having a dollar was so vitally essential to keeping my liberty, and 'remaining at large;' if having something in the world was so necessary in getting the respect of one's fellows, I made up my mind that if it was the dollar that makes Americans recognize your manhood, shake your hand, and call you 'Brother,' then said I to myself, 'I will get some dollars!'" Blodgett kept that straw hat so he would never forget his humiliating experience.⁶⁴

Indeed, he overcame tremendous odds and became a successful businessman. According to one source, "Blodgett and Lewis were acknowledged as the first black millionaires in Florida." Blodgett went into the drayage business, had a wood yard, operated a farm and a restaurant, and became a real estate developer and builder by 1898. Observers called Blodgett Villa, his two-story home, "one of the finest owned by colored people anywhere." He entertained Booker T. Washington as well as many other prominent blacks in his home.⁶⁵

Having nice homes was important to the social life of the black middle-class, and they often appeared to spend a disproportionate

63. Jackson, "Booker T. Washington's Tour of the Sunshine State," 273-274; Juliet E. K. Walker, *The History of Black Business in America: Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 188; Bartley, *Keeping the Faith*, 10.

64. Report of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the NNBL, 260; *Savannah Tribune*, September 20, 1913; Marsha D. Phelts, *An American Beach for African Americans* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 28; Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 435; Walker, *History of Black Business in America*, 197.

65. Phelts, *An American Beach for African Americans*, 28; Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 435; Walker, *History of Black Business in America*, 197.

amount of their resources on their residences. These homes were important to members of the black elite, like Blodgett, because many African Americans could not secure hotel accommodations in the South, and commonly stayed with friends and family when traveling. Thus, if a prominent person like Washington came to visit, a leading family in the town would invite him to stay at their home. Second, considerable status came along with owning a nice home. One could look at a person's home and draw certain conclusions about him. Other than church-related events, many of the social and fraternal activities of the black middle-class took place inside their homes. They hosted weddings, receptions, and small dinners at these residences. These homes were also tangible examples of black progress for all to see.⁶⁶ Booker T. Washington articulated this point in his magnum opus *Up from Slavery* when he wrote:

I have found, too, that it is the visible, the tangible, that goes a long ways in softening prejudices. The actual sight of a first-class house that a Negro has built is ten times more potent than pages of discussion about a house that he ought to build, or perhaps could build.⁶⁷

However, in many cities across the South, white resentment of black progress often led whites to destroy black homes and businesses. Sometimes blacks were not allowed to paint or otherwise beautify their homes because whites viewed these activities as evidence that they were getting out of "place" or acting "white." However, this writer found no evidence of whites destroying black homes in Jacksonville, although racial resentment surely existed there.⁶⁸

In addition to his own home, Joseph Blodgett also owned over 100 rental properties in Duval County and built over 300 homes in Jacksonville after the Great Fire of 1901. He even built A. L. Lewis's "grand home." Blodgett collected over \$2,500 a month in rental income. One of Blodgett's contemporaries credited him "for the

66. See Booker T. Washington, "Negro Homes," *Century Magazine* (May 1908): 71-79; Carla Willard, "Timing Impossible Subjects: The Marketing Style of Booker T. Washington," *American Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (December 2001): 651-655; Michael Bieze, *Booker T. Washington and the Art of Self-Representation* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2008), 31, 46-49; Jackson, *A Chief Lieutenant*, 19.

67. Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (New York: Doubleday, 1901; Reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 154.

68. Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 335; Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 25.

beautiful residence section of elegant homes for Jacksonville's colored population—a section that is unsurpassed for beauty.” Ultimately, in his line of work, Blodgett provided housing for a number of African American families who might otherwise have found themselves victims of exploitation from white landlords.⁶⁹

The Anderson family became another very prominent entrepreneurial group in Jacksonville. Several individuals in the Anderson family succeeded in business, starting with the matriarch of the group, Charlotte Scott Anderson. Born on the Sessions Plantation near Savannah, Georgia, in 1844, Anderson moved to Jacksonville at the end of the Civil War. In 1870, she married John Anderson, another former slave from the Sessions Plantation. The couple had a large family consisting of six boys and one girl. Widowed at a young age, Charlotte began a home-based laundry business which allowed her to save enough money to invest in local real estate. At one point, Charlotte owned and managed more than forty properties in Jacksonville. She later opened a general store, a warehouse and a truck farm. In her later years, Charlotte married A. L. Lewis's father, Robert Lewis. Well-respected throughout Jacksonville, Charlotte Anderson Lewis hobnobbed with the city's elite including, Eartha M. M. White, A. Philip Randolph, and James Weldon Johnson.⁷⁰

In Jacksonville, one of Charlotte's sons, Richard D. Anderson, owned and operated a department store located on the corner of Hickory Street (later Phelps Street) and Florida Avenue (later A. Philip Randolph Boulevard). One of the most humiliating features of the Jim Crow system for African Americans revolved around the purchase of goods and services. For instance, in white-owned department stores black women were not allowed to try on hats without purchasing them. If they wanted to see how the hats looked, they had to be satisfied with viewing it on the head of a white clerk.⁷¹ Black-owned stores, like Anderson's two-story wood framed business, offered blacks an alternative to such degrading experiences. It opened in 1906 with the Anderson Department

69. Phelts, *An American Beach for African Americans*, 28; Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 435; Walker, *History of Black Business in America*, 197; Report of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the NNBL, 259; *Savannah Tribune*, September 20, 1913.

70. Anderson Department Store Building, Designation Application and Report of the Planning and Development of the City of Jacksonville to the Jacksonville Historic Preservation Commission, October 27, 2004, 3-4.

Store on the ground floor and the family's living quarters on the second. The store sold a number of goods ranging from fuel to clothing, and remained in business for over sixty-five years. Richard continued to operate this business until he died in 1960.⁷²

Sometimes even successful black businessmen had to walk a tightrope in their efforts to avoid offending whites by their success. Competing with and taking customers from white business owners could be deadly and required effective navigation of the Jim Crow system.⁷³ Nonetheless, another one of Charlotte Anderson's sons, Charles Harry Anderson, met the challenge and succeeded in business as well. Born in Jacksonville on July 25, 1879, Joseph Blodgett recalled that the first time he ever saw Charles he was standing behind a white sheet that had a round hole cut in it. For five cents, Anderson's job was to place his face in the hole as a target for people to take three tries to hit him with a ball. Said Blodgett: "He was working for a man who was running one of these games, known as: 'Every-time-you-hit-the-nigger's-head-you-get-a-fine-cigar!'"⁷⁴ However, Anderson's life was destined to take a different course. He graduated from the Florida Baptist Academy and later studied business in Philadelphia at a business college.

By 1905 Charles Anderson had opened and successfully operated the Anderson Fish and Oyster Company, whose motto was to "sell goods that won't come back, to customers that will," in Jacksonville. A reporter for the *Chicago Defender* called Charles Anderson "the largest fish dealer of the race in the country." In 1914, he founded a bank eventually called Anderson and Company, housed on the ground floor of the Masonic Temple Building on Jacksonville's Broad Street, and served as its cashier. Black banks were significant because white bankers frequently exploited black

71. Titus Brown, "The African American Middle-class in Thomasville, Georgia, in the Age of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of South Georgia History* 15 (Fall 2000): 66-67.

72. See, Anderson Department Store Building, 4. Stephen C. Hart continued to manage the store for several years before turning it over to Charlotte A. Floyd.

73. See Ida B. Wells-Barnett, "Lynch Law in All Its Phases," in *African Intellectual Heritage: A Book of Sources*, eds., Molefi K. Asante and Abu S. Abarry (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 654; David M. Tucker, "Miss Ida B. Wells and Memphis Lynching," *Phylon* 32 (Summer 1971): 113, 116; Litwack, *How Free is Free*, 27-28. The success of the People's Grocery store owned by three African Americans—Calvin McDowell, William Steward, and Thomas Moss—led to their lynching in Memphis.

74. Report of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the NNBL, 261; Richardson, *National Cyclopaedia*, 463.

clients since they knew most had no alternative. Blacks often paid usurious interest payments to white financiers and many became ensnared in perpetual debt. The creation of black-owned banks forced white bankers to offer more competitive interest rates and to be mindful of their treatment of black customers. These banks provided capital for black businesses and were patronized by both middle-class and working-class African Americans and some whites.⁷⁵

By June of 1919, Anderson and Company reported total deposits of nearly \$250,000. Because a number of the bank's depositors worked as day laborers, Anderson and Company maintained extended hours to accommodate their work schedules, keeping the doors open until six o'clock daily and nine o'clock p.m. on Saturdays. Anderson encouraged Jacksonville's blacks to save and his bank provided financing to black businesses. Charles Anderson's personal property holdings were estimated to be \$75,000 in 1913, a sizeable amount for the time. At the national level, he also served as treasurer of the NNBL which brought him into contact with other businesspeople from all over the country.⁷⁶ Like his brother, Charles realized that providing these services served as a form of "quiet resistance" to Jim Crow.

Over a decade before Anderson started his bank, Sylvanus H. Hart founded the Central Trust and Investment Company, becoming "Jacksonville's first Negro banker." He served as president and cashier of the bank which opened for business on October 6, 1902 with \$800 in securities and \$406 in cash. This endeavor proved successful and by 1904 it held \$20,000 in paid-in-capital. By then it had 500 depositors, twenty of whom were white. The American Bankers' Association listed Central Trust as a member and according to the *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, it became "the only institution south of Richmond, Va., that has a membership in that association, and they have exchange relations with several large banks in the city of New York, and also belong to the Bankers' Money Order

75. W. I. Lewis, "Colored Business Men of Jacksonville," *Voice of the Negro* 2, no. 4, (1905): 475; *New York Age*, January 15, 1914; *Baltimore Afro-American Ledger*, April 8, 1916; Richardson, *National Cyclopedica*, 463; *Chicago Defender*, August 17, 1912, January 31, 1914, September 11, 1915; Jackson, *A Chief Lieutenant*, 156-159; Crooks, *Jacksonville after the Fire*, 29.

76. *New York Age*, January 15, 1914; *Baltimore Afro-American Ledger*, April 8, 1916; Richardson, *National Cyclopedica*, 463; *Chicago Defender*, August 17, 1912, January 31, 1914, September 11, 1915; Report of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the NNBL, 262; Crooks, *Jacksonville after the Fire*, 29.

Association, issuing money orders that are payable anywhere in or out of this country." The paper continued: "All of Florida knows that the Central Trust and Investment Company is owned, manned and managed wholly by colored men. From the start it has steadily gained the business confidence of the community, and among their long list of heavy depositors are many of the best and largest business men of both races in Jacksonville." The bank closed in 1926, but all of its depositors received their money in full.⁷⁷

Similar to black bankers, African American funeral home owners experienced an enduring success in Jacksonville. African American undertakers had special sensitivity to issues of the community and played a crucial role. Due to segregation, black bodies were to be handled by black hands in black funeral homes and buried in black cemeteries. Preparing respectful funerals and burials was much appreciated by a community whose members could be victims of racial violence for any breach in the code of racial etiquette. On occasion, black morticians were called to cut down mangled and dismembered bodies, testify before grand juries, and provide comfort to families, but they too had to operate cautiously. In the Jim Crow South, such matters were extremely dangerous; black funeral directors had to know when it was safe to retrieve black bodies and how to answer questions in court without becoming victims themselves.⁷⁸

Born in Lake City, Florida, two days before Christmas in 1885, Lawton Pratt emerged as one of Jacksonville's prominent business

77. Jacksonville *Evening Metropolis* is quoted in Booker T. Washington, *The Negro in Business* (reprint; Wichita, KS: DeVore and Sons, Inc., 1992), 94-95, 122-123; Samuel Harper, "Negro Labor in Jacksonville," *Crisis* (January 1942), 11; Abram L. Harris, *The Negro as Capitalist* (reprint; Chicago: Urban Research Press, Inc., 1992), 236, identifies the year 1912 as the start date for the bank.

78. *Fort Lauderdale Daily News*, July 20, 21, and 24, 1935; *South Florida Sun Sentinel*, July 17, 1988 and July 19, 2010; Lawrence Tookes, Jr., "The 'Sunshine State' not so bright: The 1935 Lynching of Rubin Stacey," Graduate Paper, Florida A&M University, December 3, 2011, in possession of author. For further reading on black undertakers see Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 381; Lynne B. Feldman, *A Sense of Place: Birmingham's Black Middle-Class Community, 1890-1930* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 105-106; Robert E. Weems, Jr., "Robert A. Cole and The Metropolitan Funeral System Association: A Profile of a Civic-minded African-American Businessman," *Journal of Negro History* 78, no. 1 (Winter, 1993): 1-15; Charles R. Wilson, "The Southern Funeral Director: Managing Death in the New South," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (Spring, 1983): 49-69. Louis Benton, a black undertaker in Fort Lauderdale, had to retrieve black bodies, testify in court, and comfort family members. For Louis Benton's role in the Rubin Stacey lynching in Fort Lauderdale on July 19, 1935 see the above articles. In some instances white undertakers handled black bodies, especially when there was financial gain involved; however, black undertakers did not handle white bodies.

leaders. After graduating from Cookman Institute, he completed a program at the Parks School of Embalming at Cincinnati, Ohio. He returned to Jacksonville and started a successful undertaking business with only \$60. The L. L. Pratt Undertaking Company was first located at 416 Broad Street, but later moved to a new two-story building on West Beaver Street. By 1919, Pratt's holdings had grown so much that he was "ranked with the foremost of Jacksonville's business men," one source noted.⁷⁹ By 1926, there were nine other African American undertaking establishments in Jacksonville.⁸⁰

As demonstrated by the case of Charlotte Anderson Lewis, black men were not the only ones in Jacksonville who experienced success in business. Eartha Mary Magdalene White also became a wealthy and successful black businesswoman. Born in Jacksonville on November 8, 1876, to two ex-slaves, White graduated from the city's renowned historically black Stanton High School, and later attended the Madam Hall Beauty School in New York. White also studied at the National Conservatory of Music, Jacksonville's Cookman Institute, and the Florida Baptist Academy. Early in her adulthood, she developed keen business savvy and became the first female employee to work for Abraham Lincoln Lewis's Afro-American Life Insurance Company. An ambitious entrepreneur, White invested in real estate in Duval County after the Jacksonville fire of 1901. She owned several businesses including an employment agency, a taxi company, a department store, a janitorial service, and a laundry. Eartha later sold these businesses and amassed a personal fortune estimated to be around \$1 million. White was a founding member of the NNBL and later became the league's historian. Moreover, she helped organize the Jacksonville branch of the FSNBL.⁸¹

The Florida Home and Investment Corporation made Jacksonville its headquarters. The corporation owned ten

79. Richardson, *National Cyclopaedia*, 466-467, 471.

80. Thomas, "Present Day Story of the Negro in Jacksonville."

81. For more on Eartha M. M. White, see E. Murell Dawson, "Faith-Filled Legacies: Four Twentieth Century African-American Women Who Helped Forge Florida's Future," in *Go Sound the Trumpet!: Selections in Florida's African American History*, eds. David H. Jackson, Jr., and Canter Brown, Jr. (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2005), 232-235; Bartley, *Keeping the Faith*, 11; Audrey Johnson, "Eartha Mary Magdalene White," in *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, eds. Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 1256-1257; Crooks, *Jacksonville after the Fire*, 89-91.

thousand acres in Bradford County (Starke), just west of Duval County, which consisted of fertile farmland that was subdivided into five, ten, twenty, and forty acre farms for sale. The garden vegetables and the orange groves were very profitable. The land was ripe for growing fruit, for general farming, and for stock raising and dairying. The climate for growing exceeded 300 days per year. The corporation also owned large amounts of land inside the city limits of Jacksonville as part of its holdings. Businessmen from throughout the country were stockholders in this enterprise, but most of them lived in Jacksonville. Dr. Minor Francis McCleary, mentioned above, served as president of the corporation. Other Jacksonville officers included: Reverend John Elijah Ford, vice-president; Journalist and Reverend A. C. Porter, vice-president; Realtor William Seymour Sumter, secretary; and, Attorney Isaac Lawrence Purcell, general counsel. Charles Anderson was one of the largest stockholders of the corporation.⁸²

Building on a host of successful black business pioneers, James Craddock, affectionately called "Charlie Edd," continued to carry the torch. Born twelve miles from Eufaula, Alabama, Craddock eventually moved to Jacksonville and in 1921 he opened a club called the Little Blue Chip at 426 Broad Street. He later moved the club to 518 Broad Street and renamed it the New Blue Chip. Many Blacks knew Edd as the "numbers man" in Jacksonville and he successfully ran this endeavor for a number of years. Craddock also reportedly provided residents with some of the best entertainment the city had to offer and operated a billiard parlor and cabaret at 520 Broad Street. Craddock owned other enterprises like the Charlie Edd Hotel on West Ashley Street, a Young Men's Smoke Shop, and Uncle Charlie Edd's Barbershop. His ability to invest in legitimate businesses led many to respect Edd regardless of the source of his capital, because the operations provided hope of an independent and self-sufficient economy within the African American community. On December 25, 1940 he opened the famous Two Spot located at 45th Street and Moncrief Road, which some considered "the finest dance palace in the country owned by

82. *New York Age*, February 10, 1916; Richardson, *National Cyclopaedia*, 376, 472; William N. Hartshorn, *An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863-1910* (Boston: Priscilla Publishing, 1910), 494; Daniel W. Culp, *Twentieth Century Negro Literature or A Cyclopaedia of Thought on the Vital Topics Relating to the American Negro* (Naperville, Il: J. L. Nichols & Company, 1902), 105; Styles, *Negroes and the Law*, 16-17.

a Negro, and the mecca of all in the vicinity seeking entertainment and relaxation."⁸³

Indeed, the Two Spot was a grand dance hall with hardwood floors that could accommodate up to 2,000 dancers at a time. Another 1,000 people could be seated on the main floor and additional seating was provided on the mezzanine level which ran around three sides of the vast hall. In the rear, Craddock had several nice dining rooms that could be used for private parties, and there were six tourist rooms "equipped with every modern convenience." One visitor to the place appreciated that "the Two Spot is air conditioned throughout." A consummate businessman, Craddock later opened a loan office and general store which sold luggage, jewelry, musical instruments, clothing and shoes, among other things. Jacksonville's African American community respected Craddock for his success and philanthropy. During the Great Depression, he even used some of his wealth to open breadlines and feed the needy until those services were provided by the federal government.⁸⁴

Like Craddock, many successful African Americans continued to use their fortunes to benefit not only themselves, but also their community. White used her wealth to create a number of social service organizations to benefit Jacksonville blacks. In 1902, with assistance from her mother, White secured funds to build a Colored Old Folks' Home and served as its president and principal fundraiser. After her mother passed, White paid tribute to her by purchasing the old Globe Theater and renaming it the Clara White Mission which fed, housed, and found employment for the needy in her community during the Great Depression. White also started the Milnor Street Nursery, a tuberculosis rest home for blacks, and the 122-bed Eartha M. M. White Nursing Home. In addition, she helped organize a City Federation of Women's Clubs, an affiliate of the National Association of Colored Women. "Her efforts," historian James B. Crooks concluded, "helped Jacksonville African-Americans to develop a richer, broader community life."⁸⁵

Eartha White did not stand alone. Other black businesspeople in Jacksonville also engaged in social work and community service to

83. "James Craddock Enterprises," *Crisis* (January 1942): 14, 31; Smith, *To Serve the Living*, 97.

84. "James Craddock Enterprises," 14.

85. Johnson, "Eartha Mary Magdalene White," 1256-1257; Crooks, *Jacksonville after the Fire*, 89-91.

help uplift the race. After the Great Fire of 1901, African American businesspeople and community leaders formed the Colored Relief Association. This group, headed by Joseph Blodgett, distributed food and clothing, provided transportation, jobs, temporary housing, and other things blacks impacted by the fire needed during that time. Another local businessman, Judson Douglas Wetmore, led the association after Blodgett. Over a decade later at Jacksonville's Oakland Park, A. L. Lewis, Joseph E. Lee (who also served as a municipal court judge and Collector of Internal Revenue) and Blodgett rallied black labor, fraternal, business and religious groups, among others, to support the war effort during World War I. They spoke to an estimated 25,000 people at this event.⁸⁶

Successful African American professional and businesspeople created a number of venues for black recreation during the period of Jim Crow segregation that can be seen as a form of racial uplift. For instance, J. M. Robinson managed Baxter's Vaudeville Theatre and the shows there were filled to capacity on a nightly basis.⁸⁷ Since they lived in Florida, blacks were desirous of taking advantage of the state's beautiful shores. However, due to segregation they generally could not visit "white" beaches or if they could, they were restricted to "black" sections or could only visit one day a week. Black people grew tired of seeing signs in public places that stated things like "Niggers and Dogs Not Allowed." To avoid these restrictions and this sort of humiliation, African American businesspeople established their own recreational beach resorts, giving their race an alternative. In the early 1900s, Florida blacks founded their first beach community in the northeast portion of the state called Manhattan Beach, near Mayport, a Jacksonville fishing community. The beach had children's playground facilities, pavilions, a restaurant and cottages for weekly visitors. African Americans also used Butler Beach near St. Augustine and then American Beach, a 200-acre resort, on Amelia Island. The most noted of these three was the latter.⁸⁸

According to historian Abel Bartley, "[Abraham Lincoln] Lewis and his partners built huge homes on the [Amelia] island

86. See Crooks, *Jacksonville after the Fire*, 20, 120.

87. *Indianapolis Freeman*, December 21, 1901.

88. Phelts, *An American Beach for African Americans*, 3, 9, 33, 39-40; Walker, *History of Black Business in America*, 194; Bartley, *Keeping the Faith*, 10; Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow,'" 130-149. For information on Manhattan Beach, see *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, October 7, 1906 and Crooks, "Changing Face of Jacksonville," 448-449.

that became a playground for the African-American elite." By 1946, the Afro-American Life Insurance Company, led by Lewis, had purchased all the land that comprised American Beach and blacks traveled there from all over the country to vacation. During the summers, thousands of blacks visited these beaches to enjoy parades, dances, foot races, fireworks and baseball games. Lewis also opened the Lincoln Golf and Country Club which offered a relaxing atmosphere for wealthy blacks to play tennis and golf. Patrons feasted on some of the best cuisine that Jacksonville had to offer at the resort.⁸⁹

Many elite blacks and businesspeople in Jacksonville were also members of benevolent and fraternal societies including the St. Joseph Aid Society, the Jacksonville Negro Welfare League, the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, and the Masons. According to historian Jacqueline Moore, "perhaps the most unexpected outcome of the formation of these societies, however, was that they committed the black elite professionals to racial solidarity and strengthened their involvement in issues of racial uplift." Since even elite blacks were not accepted as equals in Jim Crow America, they were forced to reject assimilation and look for social status within their own community. Thus, these organizations brought together both elite and working-class blacks and provided the former with opportunities to assist their race "by eliminating the causes of degradation that had fostered negative stereotypes of African Americans."⁹⁰

The Masons comprise the oldest such organization in Jacksonville. The group began in the city as two separate societies with Tillman Valentine and Henry Daly as Grand Masters, but later merged under the leadership of Valentine, a founder of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company. In 1913, the Masons erected a massive six-story building called the Masonic Temple in the heart of the city on the corner of Duval and Broad Streets. J. A. Thomas, Executive Secretary of the Jacksonville Negro Welfare League, described the temple as

89. Bartley, *Keeping the Faith*, 10; Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow,'" 130-149; Crooks, "Changing Face of Jacksonville," 449.

90. Thomas H. B. Walker, "The Story of the Negro in Jacksonville: From the Pioneer Days to the Present," in *The National Negro Blue Book* (Jacksonville: Florida Blue Book Publishing Company, 1926), unpaginated; Richardson, *National Cyclopaedia*, 465; Thomas, "Present Day Story of the Negro in Jacksonville;" "Free and Accepted Masons of Florida," *Crisis* (January 1924): 35; Jacqueline M. Moore, *Leading the Race: The Transformation of the Black Elite in the Nation's Capital, 1880-1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 162, 179.

"one of finest structures owned by negroes anywhere in the United States." *The National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race* described the temple as "one of the best edifices of its kind owned by colored people in this country." Moreover, "it is the one thing in Jacksonville which stands ahead of all others, demonstrating what our people can do when we marshal our resources, combine our forces and work unitedly for one end." For many years, these societies were the only institutions African Americans could readily rely upon in terms of caring for the sick and burying the dead. Commenting on this matter, Thomas wrote that "the large sums of money collected annually in the form of dues have been a constant source for capital with which to acquire properties and promote business enterprise while the benefits paid to families of deceased members have lightened the burden of holding family ties together."⁹¹

To be sure, the members did not only use the building for Masonic business. They leased forty-six offices to various outside businesses and rented apartment spaces to a variety of tenants. Charles Anderson's bank operated out of the first floor and the community used the facility for a number of social activities including banquets, parties, and receptions. This proved to be very significant in the lives of Jacksonville's African American community because blacks were generally limited in terms of where they could go to host quality social functions.⁹²

The Masonic Temple not only served as a place of business, but also as a symbol of black success, manhood, and achievement. According to historian Martin Summers, "Masons continued to view entrepreneurship, and the ability to support entrepreneurial efforts, as one of the integral factors in the achievement of individual and collective male identity." Moreover, "this equation of manhood and entrepreneurship was particularly prevalent in the Masonic efforts to build temples [because they] embodied notions of commerce, property ownership, race progress and manhood."⁹³

The Masons were not alone in prominence within Jacksonville's black community. The Knights of Pythias, headed

91. Walker, "Story of the Negro in Jacksonville;" Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 465; Thomas, "Present Day Story of the Negro in Jacksonville;" "Free and Accepted Masons of Florida," *Crisis* (January 1924): 35.

92. Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 465.

93. Martin Summers, *Manliness and its Discontents: The Black Middle-class & The Transformation of Masculinity, 1900-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 39-40; Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow,'" 130-149.

by State Grand Chancellor W. W. Andrews, had the most members of any black fraternal order in the city by 1926. In Jacksonville alone, the Pythians had more than fifty lodges and around 8,000 members. J. A. Thomas described the Pythian Temple as "one of largest buildings owned by negroes in the country." The building cost approximately \$500,000 and represented the "outstanding accomplishment of the keen and aggressive leadership of the fraternity." In addition to the aforementioned groups, there were many other black fraternal orders in Jacksonville.⁹⁴

All of these contributions by black entrepreneurs worked to provide a better quality of life for African Americans in Duval and surrounding counties. The accomplishments of the aforementioned people did not just represent personal achievements on their behalf, but signified something much greater. At a time when black manhood and womanhood, as well as the basic humanity of African Americans, was being called into question, these amazing successes implicitly contradicted the racial demagoguery of that day. Every time African Americans in Jacksonville and throughout the nation scored a success in business or in the courtroom, it created cognitive dissonance for many whites because it contradicted prevailing notions about black inferiority and shiftlessness. By being successful in so many business endeavors, blacks were demonstrating they were "civilized" and that they were "men" and "women" in the Victorian sense of the terms.⁹⁵

While African Americans in Florida lived through horrendous times for a hundred years after slavery, they still found ways to carve out a niche for themselves. They created institutions and networks like black businesses, schools, and churches to sustain them. They created and produced art, music, literature, and dance to inspire them. Moreover, all of these things laid the foundation

94. See Thomas, "Present Day Story of the Negro in Jacksonville." Other fraternal groups included: Elks, Knights of Archery, Knights of Toussaint, American Woodmen, Bright Star Benevolent and Charitable Society, Good Samaritan, Woodmen of Union, Knights of Gideon, Progressive Order of Men and Women, Sons and Daughters of Jacob, Royal Lions, Mighty Antelopes of Gazella, Progressive Bright Stars of the East, Women's Independent Union, Hammite Fraternity, Sons and Daughters of Bethany, Knights and Daughters of Honor, Lincoln Douglass Fraternity, International Order of Joseph, United Mutual Aid Society, Mosaic Templars, and Sunday Morning Band.

95. See Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 1-76.

for blacks to further advance the race. In 1926, J. A. Thomas, who worked and lived in the city during this era, concluded that "the negro in Jacksonville has made wonderful progress in his efforts to adjust himself to the many demands of present day civilization. He is industrious, thrifty, and ambitious and striving in every way to reach the highest degree of development, commercially, religiously, socially, and educationally." In addition, "he has made a wonderful beginning and no doubt the future will bring much greater accomplishments."⁹⁶

Life for African Americans was still no utopia and the black elite and business class did not solve all the problems facing African Americans in Jacksonville. Poverty, high unemployment, discrimination, slums, disfranchisement, and racial violence existed there just as it did in other cities throughout the South. Nonetheless, the question is how would African Americans have fared in the South with no businesses or professional class? Would life have been better for them if they were totally dependent on the white community for their goods and services during this overtly racist period in American history? The answers to these questions are clear. In the end, African American merchants and professionals largely engaged in "quiet resistance" (and some in more open protests) on a daily basis and thereby gave their race some reprieve from the onslaught of white supremacy, discrimination, humiliation, and exploitation throughout the United States.

Ultimately, all of these successes placed African Americans in a better position to embark upon a struggle for both their political and civil rights. Granted, many of these middle-class black businesspeople were motivated by self-interest, but as historian Darlene Clark Hine articulated, "at critical junctures their individual self-interest and that of their class merged with the interests, desires, and aspirations of their oppressed race."⁹⁷ While their response can be termed "forced agency," it remained agency nonetheless. Hence, the institutions and cultural outlets they created helped to sustain the African American community and make life for blacks in Jacksonville all the more worth living.

96. Thomas, "Present Day Story of the Negro in Jacksonville."

97. Hine, "Black Professionals and Race Consciousness," 1280.

For this is an Enchanted Land: Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and the Florida Environment

by Florence M. Turcotte

American author Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings described her adopted home in north-central Florida as “an enchanted land.” Her love for her surroundings was evident in rich descriptions of the seasons, the forces of nature, and the lives of the people around her. Immediately upon arrival in 1928 at Cross Creek, a tiny hamlet about twenty miles southeast of Gainesville, Rawlings immersed herself in the local hunting and fishing culture. She came to understand and appreciate the lifestyle of the people of the nearby “Big Scrub” country, who depended on the land for their survival. Along with this understanding, Rawlings came to appreciate and sound a call for better stewardship of the environment on the part of its human inhabitants.

Although born in Washington, D.C., Marjorie Kinnan spent most summers and free time at a family farm in Maryland and learned to share her father’s love for living close to the earth. She married University of Wisconsin classmate and fellow writer Charles Rawlings in 1919, and after struggling with their careers in Rochester, New York, the couple decided to purchase a 72-acre citrus grove and modest farmhouse in rural Alachua County in 1928. Once in Florida, Mrs. Rawlings cultivated (and deserved)

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her reputation as a rugged, backwoods hunting and fishing woman. Charles did not take as readily to the place, and they divorced in 1933. As a woman alone in the rural South during the Great Depression, Rawlings overcame great economic and social obstacles to run her own business and thrive as a writer.¹ As she matured, she also became keenly aware of the need to preserve and sustain the earth and its resources for future generations. This awareness manifested itself in her writings and correspondence. This paper will describe the profound sensitivity to and appreciation for the Florida environment that grew in Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings even as she struggled to make a living as a writer. The key to the evolution of her creativity was keeping close ties to the land.

Since a sense of place is so strong in her writing, Rawlings has often been characterized as a "regional" writer.² However, it is my contention that her fervent attention to descriptive detail of her literary settings appealed to all her readers, not just those from central Florida. The far-reaching appeal that Rawlings had, especially during her lifetime, indicates that her readership could establish their own connection to the natural world through her work, without having experienced life in the Florida woods. In fact, because of the way she communicated her reverence for nature through her literary work, Rawlings deserves to be called an environmental writer more than a regional one.

In her semi-autobiographical *Cross Creek*, Rawlings sums up her perception of humanity's intimate link with nature:

We were bred of earth before we were born of our mothers. Once born, we can live without mother or father, or any other kin, or any friend, or any human love. We cannot live without the earth or apart from it, and something is shriveled in a man's heart when he turns away from it and concerns himself only with the affairs of men.³

1. A more exhaustive analysis of Rawlings's ability to manage a household and grove while developing her literary career remains to be done. Gordon Bigelow touched upon the topic in the chapter entitled "The Long Road Up", in *Frontier Eden, The Literary Career of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966), 1-22.
2. Rawlings herself addressed this issue in "Regional Literature of the South," *English Journal* XXIX, no. 2 (February 1940): 89-97.
3. Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, *Cross Creek* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), 3.

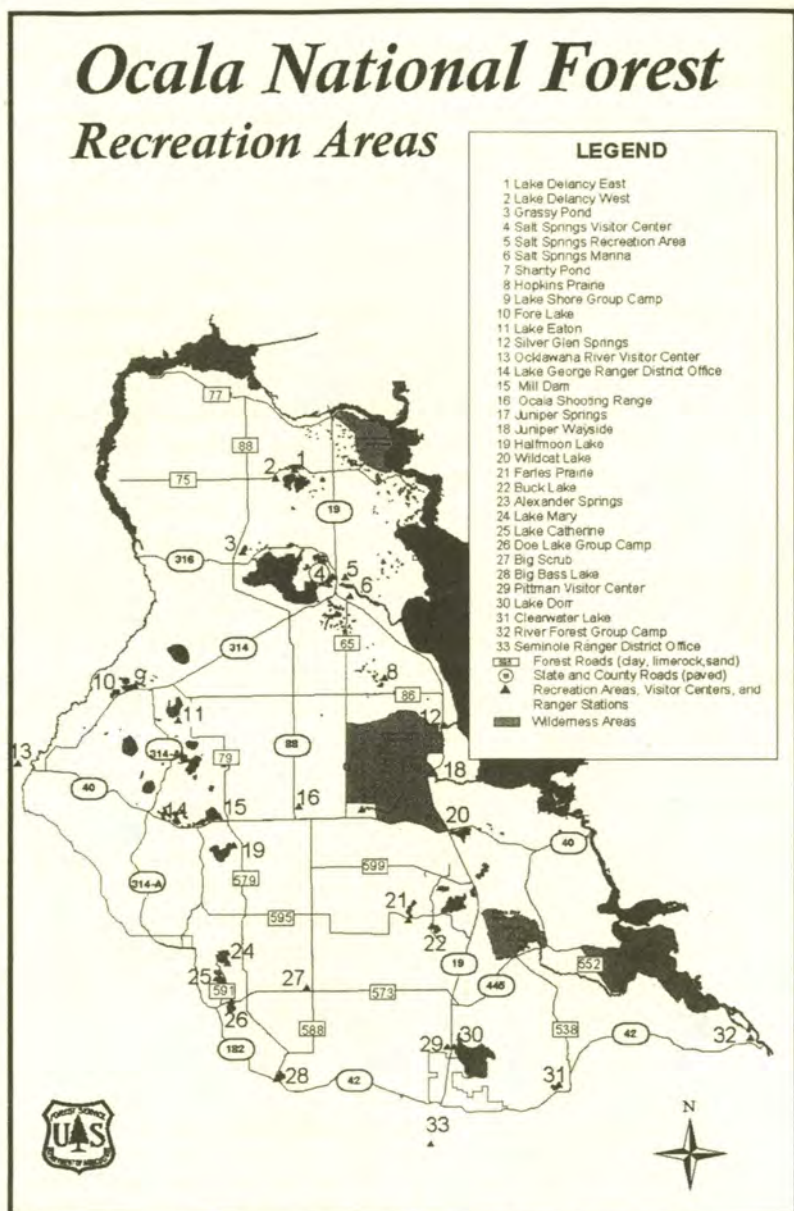


Figure 1. Ocala National Forest map. *Courtesy of U.S. Forest Service.*

Although exposed early in life to an appreciation of the rural lifestyle, Rawlings did not consider her new surroundings to be idyllic. Indeed, she became immediately aware of the harshness of the land, the weather, and the lives of her Florida neighbors. The adversity she faced was described in the 1959 M.A. thesis of Patrick Davis Smith, at the University of Mississippi. Smith outlines how Rawlings immortalized the "Big Scrub" area in the north-central part of Florida.⁴ This area is contained primarily within what is now preserved as the Ocala National Forest (Fig. 1). Yet the term *forest* connotes a lushness that is only found in the outer fringe areas of the Scrub. These fringes lie along the banks of the St. Johns River to the east, and the Ocklawaha River to the north and west. Of the Big Scrub, Rawlings wrote in a letter to her editor at Scribner's, Maxwell Perkins:

There is no human habitation—there never has been and probably never will be—in the scrub itself. As far as I can determine, there is no similar section anywhere in the world. The scrub is a silent stretch enclosed by two rivers, deeply forested with Southern spruce (almost valueless), scrub oak, scrub myrtle, and ti-ti, occasional gall-berry and black-jack and a few specialized shrubs and flowers, with "islands" of long-leaf yellow pine. There is an occasional small lake with its attendant marsh or "prairie". The only settlement is here or there on these bodies of water, and along the river edges, where the natural hammock growth has been bitten into by the settler's clearings. It is a fringe of life, following the waterways. The scrub is a vast wall, keeping out the timid and the alien.⁵

As this letter demonstrates, Rawlings took pains to describe the Big Scrub in precise detail in her correspondence and her novels. She wanted to make her readers imagine, hear, smell, even *feel* the place against their skin. In the case of the Big Scrub, she wanted her readers to feel the malevolence of the place toward human intruders. Patrick Smith described it in this way:

4. Patrick Davis Smith, "A Study of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings" (M.A. Thesis, University of Mississippi, 1959), 2. Patrick Smith later authored the novel, *A Land Remembered* in 1984.
5. Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, *Selected Letters of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings*, eds. Gordon E. Bigelow, and Laura V. Monti, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1983), 50.

In all of America there is not a more wild and hostile land. The soil, a sandy loam, is the habitat of bear, deer, panther, razor-sharp Spanish sword capable of ripping the hide from man or beast, rattlesnakes and wolves and everything that nature can use to attempt to destroy the will of man. For miles and miles this country resembles a hell-on-earth which only God could have created to test the fortitude of man and beast.⁶

To Patrick Smith and to Rawlings, the word "scrub" implies an intense friction, a grating, even excoriation. The more forgiving fringe areas were inhabited by a people commonly referred to as the Florida Crackers. Perhaps alluding to the sound made by their cowhide whips as they herded cattle across the state, the term "Florida Cracker" refers to native Floridians or those who came to the state from Georgia, Alabama, or the Carolinas.⁷ For Rawlings, this was by no means a pejorative term, implying neither the racism nor ignorance that it does in today's street parlance. Rather, she invariably characterized Crackers as independent, self-sufficient, and straight-forward in their approach to life and its problems.

When she moved to the area just northwest of the Big Scrub, Rawlings immediately endeavored to understand and came to admire the independent pioneer spirit embodied by the Cracker people. "Call me a Yankee at your peril", she warned.⁸ In 1932, she spent several months living in the scrub with a widow and her son, Piety and Leonard Fiddia. There she learned the language and lifestyle of the Florida Crackers, and patterned the Lantry

6. Smith, "A Study of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings," 2.

7. A lively discussion of the term "Cracker" and its use can be found in a chapter entitled "Crackers, Wry" in Al Burt, *Al Burt's Florida: Snowbirds, Sand Castles, and Self-Rising Crackers* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 103-111. See also: Dana Ste. Claire, *Cracker: The Cracker Culture in Florida History* (Daytona Beach: The Museum of Arts and Sciences, 1998), esp. the Forward by James M. Denham, 9-14, and the chapter entitled "What is a Cracker?," 27-40.

8. Rawlings, *Selected Letters*, 266. In 1943-47, Rawlings was sued for invasion of privacy by Zelma Cason, a Cross Creek neighbor who was deeply offended by Rawlings's characterization of her as profane of speech and resembling "an angry and efficient canary," in the semi-autobiographical *Cross Creek*. During the trial, opposing counsel constantly attempted to characterize Rawlings as a "Yankee outsider" in order to prejudice the jury against her. In this letter to her attorney, Philip S. May, she stated that she had always considered herself a Southerner, belonged to the Dixie Club while at Wisconsin, and even went on to describe her slave-owning ancestors from Kentucky. "My life for a few years in the North was a penance..." she concluded.

family of *South Moon Under* after them. With the Fiddias, she experienced the rugged hand-to-mouth existence of the Scrub people; witnessed the cat-and-mouse games played between the revenueurs and moonshiners hidden deep in the cypress swamps, ridden with cottonmouths; and participated in the out-of-season hunting and trapping Cracker families needed to do to keep meat on the table. She even dynamited fish and feasted on roasted limpkin.⁹ In November of 1931, she wrote again to Max Perkins:

These people are "lawless" by an anomaly. They are living an entirely natural, and very hard, life, disturbing no one. Civilization has no concern with them, except to buy their excellent corn liquor, and to hunt, in season across their territory with an alarming abandon. Yet almost everything they do is illegal. And everything they do is necessary to sustain life in that place. The old clearings have been farmed out and will not "make" good crops any more. The big timber is gone. The trapping is poor. They 'shine, because 'shining is the only business they know that can be carried on in the country they know, and would be unwilling to leave.¹⁰

The trend towards industrialization in American agriculture during the early 20th century left the rural subsistence farmer more and more on the wrong side of the law in his quest for survival. Since the early 19th century, hunting and gathering skills had been essential to the vast majority of poor Southerners without ties to plantation life.¹¹ Depleted soils, restrictions on hunting and fishing, and property rights legislation thwarted the Cracker lifestyle at every turn. While finding justification for the unlawful actions of the poor Crackers, Rawlings had very little sympathy for the commercial plunderers whose greed led them to take more than their fair share. In *South Moon Under*, Rawlings characterizes the rapacious nature of those who had depleted the natural resources of the Big Scrub:

9. Rawlings, *Cross Creek*, 243.

10. Rawlings, *Selected Letters*, 49.

11. Mart Stewart, "If John Muir Had Been an Agrarian: American Environmental History West and South," in *Environmental History and the American South*, eds. Paul S. Sutter and Manganiello (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 196-219; see especially p. 201.

Men had reached into the scrub and along its boundaries, had snatched what they could get and had gone away, uneasy in that vast indifferent place; for a man was nothing, crawling ant-like among the myrtle bushes under the pines. Now they were gone, it was as though they had never been. The silence of the scrub was primordial. The wood-thrush crying across it might have been the first bird in the world—or the last.¹²

By the 1930's, the big timber companies had clear-cut and hauled away much of the long-leaf pine and heritage cypress timber of the area. Beginning in 1891, Henry S. and A.E. Wilson, brothers from Michigan established the Wilson Cypress Company, a major mill operation in Palatka. They continued to maintain the facility until 1944, when the depleted supply of timber necessitated its closing.

In order to facilitate harvesting and transport, lumber workers had cut canals into the swampy areas along the Ocklawaha, and had dredged and widened the narrow channel in other places in order to allow the large rafts of timbers to pass.¹³ Logs were transported to the lumber mills in Palatka and around Jacksonville via the northerly flowing rivers, the Ocklawaha and the St. Johns. Many of the trees cut by the Wilson brothers were hundreds of years old, and 80% of the timber was old growth.¹⁴ By Rawlings's time, the local Crackers were left with the devastating results of the lumbering blitz of the preceding four decades. The riverbanks had eroded in many areas, and the scant nutrients in the soil flowed downstream. Without the trees to act as a watershed, the Cracker settlements became more susceptible to drought and flooding.

The logging process itself directly affected the Crackers' livelihood. Some of the logs were lost from the flotillas, or intentionally stored underwater for later retrieval. The Cracker people often resorted to scavenging for deadhead timber, as it was called. Rawlings writes about the practice in *South Moon Under*, wherein her main character Lant Jacklin tries his hand at

12. Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, *South Moon Under* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), 119.

13. Steven Noll, "Steamboats, Cypress and Tourism: Ecological History of the Ocklawaha Valley," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 83, no.1 (Summer 2004), 21.

14. Frank R. Owen, "Cypress Lumbering on the St. Johns River from 1884 to 1944", term paper, May 20, 1949. Found in P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

fashioning a raft of logs to take up to Palatka, almost losing his life for his trouble. He decides to return home and to stick to moonshining.

Moonshining, Rawlings wrote to Perkins, is a part of the background, a necessary evil for survival:

It is a part of the whole resistance of the scrub country to the civilizing process. The scrub, as a matter of fact, has defeated civilization. It is one of the few areas where settlements have disappeared and the scanty population is constantly thinning...¹⁵

For the Cracker people in *South Moon Under*, the main focus of moonshining was not to deceive the revenueurs or defy the law. Neither was it to furnish themselves with cheap corn liquor: it was to provide for the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter for their families. They needed to sell moonshine to fend off starvation. Furthermore, Rawlings maintained, moonshining did nothing to harm the land or deplete its natural resources.

In *Cracker Chidlings*, *South Moon Under*, *The Yearling*, and her other works set in the Big Scrub, Rawlings depicts an uneducated but dignified people with a strong tradition of independence from authority and the capacity to survive under the harshest conditions. These people had a deep and intimate relationship with their redoubtable physical surroundings. They were keenly aware of the subtlest changes in the weather, the soil, and the movements of animals. For instance, the expression "south-moon-under" refers to the stirrings of the wild creatures as the moon passes directly under the earth at the nadir of its orbital path. The passage below describes how the young man Lant observes the movements of the moon and the animals while on an overnight hunting trip:

He could understand that the creatures... should feed and frolic at moon-rise, at moon-down and at south-moon-over [the moon at its zenith], for these were all plain marks to go by, direct and visible. He marveled... that the moon was so strong that when it lay on the other side of the earth, the creatures felt it and stirred by the hour it struck. The moon was far away, unseen, and it had power to move them.¹⁶

15. Rawlings, *Selected Letters*, 49-50.

16. Rawlings, *South Moon Under*, 109-10.

In another passage describing the womenfolk in *South Moon Under*, Rawlings displays a deep appreciation and understanding for the pared-down simplicity of their lives:

If living was uncertain, and the sustaining of breath precarious, why, existence took on an added value and a greater sweetness. The tissues of life were *food and danger* [emphasis mine]. These were the warp and woof, and all else was an incidental pattern, picked out with yarn-colored wools. Love and lust, hate and friendship, grief and frolicking, even birthing and dying, were thin gray and scarlet threads across the sun-browned, thick and sturdy stuff that was life itself. The old women sat together with bare, translucent faces, knowing that the pulse of blood through the veins was a rich, choice thing, and the drawing of a breath was good.¹⁷

Time and time again, Rawlings links the tenacity of the Crackers to the harshness of their natural surroundings. Lack of food and other threats to their survival mattered more to the women than laws and even family relationships. As inhospitable as it was, the Scrub was the only place they knew, and the only place they could possibly inhabit.

Rawlings also used a north-central Florida setting for her next novel, *Golden Apples*, this time the more fertile hammock and riverine area around present day Palatka. The title refers to the wild oranges that used to grow there before the Great Freeze of 1894-5. In this book, Rawlings explores and describes the folkways of the Florida Cracker through the eyes of an outsider, a "cultivated" Englishman, Richard Tordell. The "furriner" endeavors to harness the economic potential of commercial citriculture. As the cold weather and his own actions betray him, he becomes more and more alienated from his physical surroundings. By contrasting the Crackers' natural intimacy with their environment to the Englishman's alienation, Rawlings emphasizes again the strong identification of the former to the Florida landscape. At the end of the book, as a result of a tragedy, Tordell comes to a new understanding of the Crackers and of his adopted home, and is irrevocably bonded to it.

17. Rawlings, *South Moon Under*, 305.

Rawlings is best known and celebrated for her next novel, the Pulitzer Prize winner for 1939, *The Yearling*. Again she went to live with Crackers in the Scrub, this time with the Cal Long family, in order to research the setting for this novel. When the movie rights were sold to MGM, Rawlings sent a copy of the 1939 U.S. Forest Service map of the Ocala National Forest to the studio. She painstakingly marked it with the appropriate locations for the different scenes to be filmed (Fig.2) This demonstrates how important authenticity and sense of place was for Rawlings as a creative writer.

Beginning with *The Yearling* and continuing in *Cross Creek*, Rawlings develops a mature appreciation for her surroundings



Figure 2. "Yearling" map. Courtesy *Majorie Kinnan Rawlings Papers*, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville.

and for the vicissitudes of human existence in such a wild and inhospitable place. Like the Lantrys, the Baxters of *The Yearling* were almost constantly working on maintaining their supply of food; the threat of starvation looms throughout the book and drives much of the action. Rawlings herself had known the fear of hunger during the early thirties. Her marriage to Charles Rawlings was floundering, and he was gone much of the time.¹⁸ Her citrus crop had failed, and she had not yet met with success with her writing. She later wrote that she was down to a box of Uneeda crackers and a can of tomato soup in 1933 when the \$500 check for the O. Henry Memorial Award arrived for her short story "Gal Young 'Un."¹⁹

By the time *Cross Creek* came out in 1942, memories of her own bitter struggle against hunger had faded a bit. She had been awarded the Pulitzer Prize and had achieved literary notoriety. In the *Cross Creek* narrative, Rawlings vacillates between a lyrical, tender hymn of praise to the inexpressible beauty of her adopted home, and the sometimes poignant, sometimes humorous accounts of the struggles and difficulties she encountered while living there. Writing in the *Southern Literary Journal*, Susan Schmidt points out three recurring themes in *Cross Creek*, (which, in fact, can be found in all of Rawlings's novels): the recognition of home, the healing power of nature, and the oneness of creation.²⁰ Rawlings interweaves the threads of comedy and tragedy into the fabric of her narrative while simultaneously conveying the magical, enchanted quality of her adopted home. At the end of *Cross Creek*, she asks the question who owns Cross Creek?" and replies in this way:

It seems to me the earth may be borrowed but not bought. It may be used, but not owned. It gives itself in response to love and tending, offers its seasonal flowering and fruiting. But we are tenants and not possessors, lovers and not masters. Cross Creek belongs to the wind and the rain, to the sun and the seasons, to the cosmic secrecy of seed, and beyond all, to time.²¹

18. Gordon Bigelow attributes the break-up in part to Marjorie's emotional let-down after the success of her first novel *South Moon Under*. See Bigelow, *Frontier Eden, The Literary Career of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966), 16-17.

19. Rawlings, *Selected Letters*, 61.

20. Susan Schmidt, "Finding a Home: Rawlings's Cross Creek" *Southern Literary Journal* 26, no.2 (Spring 1994): 48-58.

21. Rawlings, *Cross Creek*, 368.

It seems that Rawlings's ecological sensibilities evolved and deepened over the course of her career. In her early works, she glamorized the unlawful trapping, fishing and hunting that took place in the wild places of Florida, with the underlying assumption that the earth was the object of human domination. The forces of nature were fearsome and needed to be subdued in order for humans to survive. When she lived in the Big Scrub, she hunted and fished without regard to the gaming laws, and helped operate a moonshine still. As her appreciation for the beauty and fragility of her surroundings and her respect for the preservation of natural areas increased, Rawlings's enthusiasm for hunting and fishing correspondingly declined.²² This progression can be only partially explained by the fact that Rawlings herself no longer needed to hunt meat for her table. It also reflects her growing ecological sensibilities.

Towards the end of *Cross Creek*, she tells how her old hunting friend Barney Dillard invited her to go on a bear hunt on the east side of the Big Scrub near the banks of the St Johns River. Left at her post atop a half-fallen pine, Rawlings relates:

The perch was comfortable. The sun was setting. Under me was a tight thicket. A light rain fell, like a gauze veil between me and the sun. A redbird and two bluebirds flew to the bay tree beside me and preened their feathers among the bay blossoms in the mist... The thin shower ended and a rainbow arched across the sky. The birds flew leisurely a little distance away. The bay blossoms were nacre, with diamond drops at their centers. I hoped the bear would not come, not in fear, for he would be too easy a shot. I decided that if he came I should shoot high over him and simply face Uncle Barney with the news that I had missed.²³

In another passage, she remarks on her quail hunting abilities: "The birds I have downed would not make a respectable covey. Some day I shall lay down my arms entirely."²⁴ Of duck hunting,

22. Unfortunately for her health, Rawlings's appetite for liquor never abated. She suffered from digestive and heart ailments throughout most of her adult life, and these were exacerbated by her drinking. She finally succumbed to a cerebral hemorrhage in December of 1953, at age 57. Bigelow briefly discussed the issue of Rawlings's drinking to counteract the pain of her depression and the death spiral that ensued, but more research needs to be undertaken to understand it. See Bigelow, *Frontier Eden*, 65-67.

23. Rawlings, *Cross Creek*, 291.

24. *Ibid.*, 319.

she opines: "The sport pleased me particularly because, in the great beauty of the surroundings, there was not a chance that I should bring down one of the swift-flying birds."²⁵

Endangered or extinct birds were often the subject of Rawlings's musings in *Cross Creek*. In the chapter entitled "Spring at the Creek," Rawlings references the re-establishment of the egret population: "thanks to Federal protection and to women's vanity taking another turn than the wearing of feathers."²⁶

A few paragraphs later, she delights in glimpsing a pair of whooping cranes. "The crane was once shot for food and very nearly annihilated, but he too is coming back again."²⁷

Rawlings also laments the eradication of the ivory-billed woodpecker, and when she thought she saw one at the Creek, she was "mad with excitement," until she realized it was most likely a pileated woodpecker, known at the creek as "the Lord-God".²⁸

In another account from *Cross Creek* about a deer hunt in the Everglades, Rawlings trailed a pair of bucks with her friend all day long, and when she came across a pond among the cypress deep in the sloughs, she lingered and fell behind her companion:

Growing on all the cypresses around the pond were orchids...And I stood and stared and could not believe that I held orchids in my hands. In the evening I took up a lone stand deep under the thicket of low growing young cypresses massed with strange exotic flowering vines. Beside the thicket was a clear pool and to this in the rosy sunset hundreds of egrets and great white herons came to drink and roost in the trees around it. They did not see nor hear me and I forgot that the great phantom bucks might pass my way, and sat and drank my fill of white birds and ferns and flowers and crystal pool.²⁹

Like many present-day recreational hunters, she became an advocate for wildlife habitat protection.

By 1942, when she wrote *Cross Creek*, Rawlings had grown to understand the beauty of the natural world around her and the finite nature of the resources available for human consumption.

25. Rawlings, *Cross Creek*, 321.

26. *Ibid.*, 270.

27. *Ibid.*, 271.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, 322.

With the advent of World War II, she became aware of the need for sustainable and prudent stewardship of these resources in consideration of future needs. She was asked by the U.S. Forest Service to write an article for *Collier's* magazine alerting citizens about the need to conserve timber, which was quickly being depleted, to keep the armed forces equipped with lumber. Rawlings wrote an article entitled "Trees for Tomorrow" which was published in 1943, in which she railed against the greedy and short-sighted practice of clear-cutting the long-leaf pine forests of the South on the part of the timber companies. This was justified at the time by the need to support the war effort. Her response to clear-cutting read: "We are fighting today for many valuable things. We must fight also at this critical moment to preserve the God-given forests without which we should be helpless atoms on a sterile earth."³⁰

Rawlings received a letter of praise for the article from Jay N. "Ding" Darling who had founded the National Wildlife Federation in 1936, and was well known for his conservation and political cartoons (Fig.3). Modern readers may find Darling's postscript a little ironic:

Have been meaning to tell you that you really should try gopher turtle. Not as a stunt but as an Epicurean delicacy—Perhaps you'd better not. It's too popular already for its own good.³¹

During the Great Depression, gopher tortoises were referred to a "Hoover Chickens" in Florida. Today, they are a species of special concern, and their harvest is prohibited.

When the *Collier's* article came out, she was asked by a member of Congress to write more articles about the timber industry. She demurred, but wrote her husband, who was serving abroad in the American Field Service:

I feel if I could be of help in such a critical matter, perhaps I ought to. My literature is painfully likely not to be deathless, but I might go down in history as the gal who saved the nation's trees!³²

30. Rawlings, "Trees for Tomorrow," *Collier's* 117, May 8, 1943, 25.

31. Jay N. "Ding" Darling, letter to Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, May 3, 1943. Readers' Letters Series, *Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Papers*, Department of Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville.

32. Rawlings, *The Private Marjorie: The Love Letters of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings to Norton S. Baskin*, ed. Rodger L. Tarr (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 2004), 112. In 1941, Rawlings married Ocala hotelier Norton Baskin.

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings —
 Out of all the millions of pages
 that have been written on the subject,
 yours in this week's *Collier's*, "Trees
 for Tomorrow" seems to me the
 most eloquent and convincing.
 Well please! and Ten
 thousand Thank yous —
 Jay A. (Ding) Darling —
 (Hostly of Captiva, Florida) —
 P.S. Have been meaning to tell you that
 you really should try *gopher tortoise*.
 Not as a *stunt* but as an epicurean
 delicacy — Perhaps you'd better
 not, it's too popular already for its
 own good — J.A.D.
 On Train
 May 3 '43

Figure 3. Ding Darling letter. Courtesy Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Papers, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville.

She signed the letter "Maple-tree Maggie." Several years later, she wrote again to her husband, seeing the big picture: "I have been remotely aware of what was happening (even the floods are caused by the denuding of high forests), but I never thought of associating it with over-population, or the wars that follow."³³

33. Rawlings, *Private Marjorie*, 524.

The Florida she had fallen in love with 20 years earlier was being transformed by a population explosion and human attempts to "improve upon paradise."

In a 1944 article about Florida for *Transatlantic Magazine*, she concludes:

The future of Florida is perhaps a trifle too rosy from the point of view of the quiet citizen and the nature lover. The climate is too inductive to many forms of industry, the charms of summer in winter too attractive. It remains to be seen whether the Florida of Bartram will survive, or whether the Chambers of Commerce will kill the goose that lays the golden egg.³⁴

She had learned to discern the "real" Florida from the more developed, artificial playground for rich Northerners that she felt it was becoming. In an autobiographical essay, Rawlings wrote of her home in north-central Florida:

This is the real Florida. The Gold Coast of the east, the Palm Beaches, the Miami, the Coral Gables, are gaudy excrescences, cheap jewels on the native beauty of a wild state whose interior is part of a vanishing frontier. I imagine that to strangers, even to some extent to tourists, Florida connotes either sea-coast playgrounds, orange groves around the undistinguished Yankee cities, or vague thoughts on the Everglades and alligators. In the heart of the state, off the highways, along roads hub-deep in the ball-bearing sand, over pine-needle carpeted roads through the pine-lands, down mere tracks in the undergrowth through "the scrub," where a deer stands blinded by your headlights, skirting lakes and rivers knee-deep in lilies and no doubt in moccasins, is virgin Florida, still pioneering, still un-electrified, where mules doze under every shed, half-wild razor-back hogs root through the forests, and the Crackers speak good old Anglo-Saxon, Shakespearean in diction, and starkly simple.³⁵

34. Rawlings, "Florida: A Land of Contrasts," *Transatlantic Magazine* 14 (October 1944), 17.

35. Rawlings, Autobiographical Essay #3, *Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Papers*, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville.

Rawlings wrote a review in 1947 of her friend Marjory Stoneman Douglas's *The Everglades: River of Grass* (1947) entitled: "About Fabulous Florida: Study of One of the Strangest, Most Fascinating and Blood-Stained Regions of Our Continent." Like the Big Scrub, there was "no other Everglades in the world;" it is a unique, fragile and fearsome environment. Rawlings praised Douglas for:

....sparing neither the cruelty of the terrain nor of the men who have inhabited or impinged upon it... The Seminoles and their Everglades were betrayed, and the betrayal continues to this moment. The Seminole is now harmless. But through the long historic years, the white American has taken without giving. The latter day development of this part of Florida is a story of greed. The railroads, the hotels, the pandering to tourists, the cattle and truck-farming industries, the illicit hunters and fisherman, the mis-begotten drainage of the Glades, the cruel fires in the rich muck-land, are all here indicted. Mrs. Douglas will not be popular with many of her neighbors when her book appears. Yet she offers hope, for it is not too late to save the Everglades, where the saber toothed tiger has been replaced by predatory humans...³⁶

Rawlings's ecological sensibilities, like those of her friend Mrs. Douglas, had been transformed from a man vs. nature paradigm to a fight to preserve the Florida she loved from a vast invasion of humanity, in order that future generations may continue to enjoy and celebrate its beauty. Her unabashed admiration for the Cracker people and justification for everything they did to survive the harshness of their chosen home gave way to a deeper understanding of the underlying dynamic: sometimes people need to yield to the needs of nature in order to maintain the land that they love.

36. Rawlings, "About Fabulous Florida: Study of One of the Strangest, Most Fascinating and Blood-Stained Regions of Our Continent," Review of *The Everglades: River of Grass*, by Marjory Stoneman Douglas. *New York Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review*, November 30, 1947; sec. 7, 4. This review and the article entitled "Florida: Land of Contrasts," are reproduced together with many other short writings of Rawlings in *The Uncollected Writings of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings*, eds. Rodger L. Tarr and Brent E. Kinser (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007). Of particular interest is the section entitled "Florida 1928-1953," 251-364.

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

A History of the Catholic Church in the American South, 1513-1900.

By James M. Woods. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 512. \$69.95 cloth.)

This exhaustive survey of the secondary literature on the institutional history of Catholicism in the American South will undoubtedly be cited by many, if not all of the scholars who focus on southern Catholicism from now on. Covering nearly 400 years of history, Woods begins with the expeditions of Ponce de Leon and Hernando de Soto in sixteenth-century Florida and Georgia—noting that de Soto “rarely showed an inclination to convert the natives he brutalized” (5). He ends with the still under-appreciated impact that immigration from central and southern Europe had on the American South at the turn of the twentieth century while exploring the efforts of the Church hierarchy to secure a place for Catholicism within the African-American community by ordaining black men. Along the way, we hear of the mystical bi-locations of María Coronel from northern Spain to western Texas; the efforts of the Jesuits to convert the Natchez Indians in lower Louisiana to Christianity; the “horrificed” reaction of Governor Cadillac to the want of “any subordination to Religion or Government” among French settlers along the Mississippi River (82); the wealth of the Calvert and Carroll families and the influence they had over the character of English-speaking Catholicism in North America; and the role that Catholics played not just in fighting for the Confederacy during the Civil War, but also in creating the culture of the “Lost Cause” that dominated the region for decades afterwards.

Woods' goal in writing the book is not to surprise readers with radical arguments or heretofore unknown tidbits of American church history. "If scholars are hoping for something jarring or provocative in these pages, they might be disappointed," he wryly announces in the book's introduction (xiii). Although Woods does include some very interesting primary-source information about Bishop Edward Fitzgerald's involvement in the 1870 vote on papal infallibility—material that Woods himself gathered in the Archives of the Diocese of Little Rock, his information, like all of the other information conveyed in the book, is available elsewhere, having been previously published in books and journal articles. Woods' chief accomplishment with this work, therefore, is the creation of what he calls a "synthesis" or a "blending" of the extensive scholarship that has already been written on the "Spanish, French, and English heritage" of "the oldest faith in the American South, Roman Catholicism" (xiv). It is for this reason that the book will probably prove to be a vital resource to future scholars of Catholicism in the American South. It is a "travel guide," so to speak—an introduction to some of the best research available on the historiographical landscape of southern Catholicism and an invitation to engage this scholarship more fully.

The book is also an invitation to scholars to more thoroughly explore the history of the Catholic laity in the American South. Because so much of the existing secondary literature focuses on the priests and nuns who helped to sustain Catholicism in the region, Wood's book, too, conveys a primarily clerical story. We do get some glimmers, however, of why the lay experience is an important one to investigate. We learn, for instance, that the transfer of Louisiana to the Americans in December 1803 was "traumatic" to the "French Louisianans." While the region had been under Spanish rule at an earlier time, "the Spanish were at least Catholics," Woods tells us, "and church and state were united in spreading the faith, yet the United States was an overwhelmingly Protestant republic" (195). Other than some anxieties about property rights that were expressed by Ursuline nuns, however, we get no particulars on how their new "American" identity was perceived by Catholics in Louisiana.

This question becomes particularly important when we consider that at the turn of the nineteenth century, when Louisiana became "American," the *marguilliers*—or church wardens—in New Orleans were at odds with Abbé DuBourg over access to St. Louis Cathedral and control of the cathedral's finances. Most of the secondary literature that has been written on this crisis has ap-

proached the disagreement from the point of view of the church hierarchy, and Woods' treatment of the situation does the same. Yet, when he insists that the transition from French to American control was "traumatic" for French Louisianans, not simply because they were joining a predominantly Protestant country, but also because they were joining a republic that had a separation of church and state, Woods provokes us to learn more about how the laity in New Orleans understood their new American identity. After all, republican rule and a separation between spiritual and temporal affairs seem to be precisely what the *marguilliers* were calling for in their disagreement with DuBourg. If they were, in fact, uncomfortable with the American take-over of Louisiana, the situation calls out for greater scholarly attention.

This observation is not meant to be a criticism of the book. The laity, after all, are not Woods' concern, and he makes that clear from the very beginning. "This work," he tells us, "is a traditional, institutional narrative of Roman Catholicism from the colonial era until 1900" (xiii). The fact remains, however, that there is much work that can and should be done on the lay Catholic experience in the American South—and the scholars who do that work will undoubtedly rely upon James Woods' book when familiarizing themselves with the institutional history that will serve as a foundation to their scholarship.

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Dreaming with the Ancestors: Black Seminole Women in Texas and Mexico. By Shirley Boteler Mock. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 400. \$34.95 cloth.)

In 1849, a group of Seminole maroons departed Indian Territory and created lasting communities in Mexico and Texas that still survive today. In *Dreaming with the Ancestors: Black Seminole Women in Texas and Mexico*, Shirley Boteler Mock seeks to tell the story of the Black Seminole women who made this journey by connecting their memories today with historical accounts and past oral histories. This book represents an interesting contribution to an important and growing body of literature on African peoples that were historically associated with Native American tribes.

Mock takes on an enormous challenge in covering Black Seminole women from the "birth" of Black Seminoles up to the present, thus dealing with a time span of almost 250 years. The first several chapters of the book discuss the early history of the Black Seminoles as they developed communities alongside the Seminoles in Florida and later accompanied the Seminoles in their removal to Indian Territory. Fearing the influence of the neighboring Creek Nation on their slaves, community members, and families, several bands of Seminoles and Black Seminoles fled to Mexico. Throughout the presentation of this history, the author relies heavily on the more comprehensive historical accounts of Kevin Mulroy, Kenneth Porter, and Daniel Littlefield.

Mock then shifts to combining historians' accounts of moves between Mexico and Texas with the voices of women who lived those experiences. It is here that the real treasure of Mock's account is revealed. This history of Black Seminole women is unique in that it connects women across several generations through interviews that she conducted with present-day Black Seminole women and interviews conducted by Kenneth Porter in the 1940s. Consequently, we have a history that is tempered with the personal accounts of Black Seminole women who lived and worked in Mexico and Texas. The author focuses largely on the oral histories provided by Alice Fay, a Black Seminole woman who has a wealth of knowledge passed down to her from previous generations and a family line that can be traced back to the Seminole exodus from Florida.

The book then turns to more current explorations of Black Seminole women's lives, including information about social and religious gatherings, as well as Mock's understandings of Black Seminole naming patterns. Far from all-encompassing, the cultural information presented is valuable but often the product only of conversational remarks from her informants and the author's own personal experiences. Mock rarely delves into the complex ethnohistories behind these cultural practices and does not address larger questions surrounding political, economic, gender, or racial components of Black Seminole women's lives.

Mock's background as an archaeologist lends her account some degree of cultural understanding, but true ethnographic practice and historical and social theory are not part of this study. Although the author is focused on understanding the lives and experiences of Black Seminole women, there is no use of theoretical approaches or of other work concerning identity, race, or women's

studies to frame her subject. This, along with the absence of an overall argument, makes it evident that Mock does not wish to analyze the information she is presenting. Rather, her goal seems to be simply to share the Black Seminole women's stories of their lives and those of their ancestors. The flow of ideas within the book's various chapters tends to be a bit disorderly as Mock randomly inserts various conversations and happenings from her fieldwork into her story. This style does make for an interesting read, however, and the reader comes to feel as if he or she is personally along for the ride in Mock's work, and like her, is acquainted with Alice Fay. Consequently, the account is one that would be interesting and informative for a lay audience. The data contained within it, however, would be valuable to any researcher of Black Seminole people.

The book's significance lies in its contribution to our understanding of present-day Black Seminole women and in constructing a personal history that connects the Black Seminoles of the history books with the Black Seminoles of today. It is also notable that it is the only book-length account of Black Seminoles in Texas and Mexico in the present-day, although other scholars have addressed these communities in other formats. Mock does well in sharing the histories of Black Seminole women in this account, and more importantly, she has done the difficult work of making their voices heard. Alice Fay and her contemporaries hold a vast wealth of knowledge concerning history and cultural understandings that Mock has made available through this book. An interesting read and a valuable contribution to the study of present-day maroon peoples, *Dreaming with the Ancestors* provides a foundation for further study of Black Seminoles in these communities.

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Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South. By Stephanie McCurry. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, notes, index. Pp. 450. \$35 cloth.)

In *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South*, Stephanie McCurry explores the political economy of the Confederate States of America and how the founders' narrow conception

of "the people" came to be challenged by women and slaves as the Confederacy worked to mobilize all of its resources to achieve nationhood through war. Throughout the conflict, but increasingly after 1863, political power, once the exclusive domain of white men, became extensively exercised by those misjudged to be dependent subjects within the slaveholders' republic. The Civil War subjected the Confederate founders' national vision to a fiery trial that brought with it a reckoning as slaveholders learned some hard lessons regarding the body politic and whose consent truly mattered in a slave society at war. The brilliance of McCurry's book does not lie in demonstrating that Southern women and slaves possessed agency or that the Civil War created opportunities for marginalized and disfranchised individuals to impact public policy. Rather, it lies in her ability to weave together heretofore disparate analytical strands, root them in a global context, and offer a compelling narrative of the Confederate state's herculean efforts to establish the modern world's first slaveholders' republic in opposition to historical trends that strongly suggested the futility of such an undertaking.

McCurry begins by outlining the South's political economy on the eve of war and the early tests the slaveholders' vision encountered during the political campaigns and public debates that preceded secession, which she characterizes as the war's first campaign. She emphasizes that everywhere the decision to leave the Union was hotly contested, even in the Lower South, a point that is often obscured by later events. In order to achieve the desired outcome and to give the appearance of unanimous consent, the "band of brothers" employed "low-down" electoral techniques, including terror, to lead eleven slave states out of the Union. Secession and civil war, McCurry poignantly reminds, were far from inevitable and she leaves no doubt as to why they came, forcefully asserting that "slavery was the foundation of the new [Confederate] republic; it was a *proslavery* constitution for a proslavery state" (78).

McCurry begins the meaty middle of her book by examining how the Civil War impacted the South's yeomen and poor white women, charting the processes by which they emerged as a "critical constituency" in Confederate politics, particularly at the state level. The demands imposed by the slaveholders' war forced these women into ever more intimate associations with the government and with their men away fighting and few or no slaves to labor on the farm, they struggled to scratch out subsistence for their

families while also meeting the strenuous demands imposed by the Confederacy's new ten percent tax-in-kind. Increasingly, these women appealed to government authorities for relief, forging a potent new political identity as "soldiers' wives" (135). These women angrily and relentlessly pressed Confederate officials to fulfill their promises of protection and assume their obligations as heads of household in their husbands' absence. When the government proved slow to respond, women unleashed a wave of food riots in early 1863 that forced Confederates to alter military policy and divert precious food resources to the homefront.

The Confederacy confronted similar difficulties with its other "dependents"—slaves, or the "enemies within." Far from being the asset that Confederates early anticipated, McCurry argues, slavery contained structural problems that plagued the nation when it went to war. As their masters' property, slaves existed beyond the reach of the state's authority and, as Confederate army commanders learned, both master and slave proved reluctant to provide labor for the military's benefit. After 1863, the Confederacy reluctantly competed for slave loyalty against the Union but failed to produce a viable alternative to emancipation. The Confederacy's widespread unwillingness to surrender slavery ultimately doomed the Confederate nation.

Although an excellent book, *Confederate Reckoning* tends to lend an air of inevitability to the Confederacy's military defeat in the Civil War. In the Prologue, McCurry describes the Confederate nation as a "gamble of world historical proportions," the world's first "modern proslavery and antidemocratic state" constructed "in defiance of the spirit of the age" (1-2). Any wonder then that this "risky undertaking" failed? Not in McCurry's opinion. Like a Greek tragedy, "the war Confederates launched to escape history only confirmed their place in it" (310). From a stylistic standpoint, McCurry too frequently deploys colloquialisms that are frustratingly imprecise and sweeping generalizations, such as "every official," "none of the Manigaults," and "everywhere in the C.S.A.," that are likely incorrect or at least difficult for the historian to know certainly (117, 237, 285).

However, there is so much more to commend in this book than to criticize. Although ending in 1865, *Confederate Reckoning* carries significant weight for historians of the post-war period. Importantly, McCurry explains, "political change did not arrive in the South only with defeat" and "wasn't all imposed on the region by

a victorious army and a powerful Republican Party state" (9). Also, she underscores that political violence in the South did not emerge in response to the Reconstruction amendments, but was consistent with antebellum Southern politics. Her two-state model approach to understanding the way citizens conceptualized the relationship between the government and its citizens that emerged in late-nineteenth century America, is particularly insightful. Also fascinating was her indication that the Union and Confederacy both "masculinized the emancipation struggle and conceived of women as dependent parties" (247). Although Florida does not factor heavily into McCurry's book, anyone interested in Southern history and the Confederacy during the Civil War Era will find *Confederate Reckoning* a gratifying read.

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Lucy Somerville Howorth: New Deal Lawyer, Politician, and Feminist from the South. By Dorothy S. Shawhan and Martha H. Swain. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xviii, 165. \$19.95 paper.)

Lucy Somerville Howorth (1895-1997) was both a southern lady and a crafty manipulator of the patronage system, a daughter of Dixie who once reminded voters that she was "granddaughter of Col. W.L. Nugent who fought with the Confederate troops in defense of Jackson" (64) and a clever bureaucrat who served in every administration from FDR to JFK. An education at Randolph-Macon Woman's College and an interlude studying and working in New York helped her to throw off "the spell of the South," (19) adopt wider interests and shed her provincialism. Influenced by her devout and difficult mother, prominent Mississippi suffragist Nellie Nugent Somerville, she ultimately dedicated her long life to the advancement of women in public roles.

Working for the YWCA in post-World War I New York, Lucy met strong women who shifted her "decidedly to the left" (23). She joined the AAUW, advocated protective legislation for women, and wanted to study law at Columbia, which did not admit women. Undaunted, she returned to her home state and, in 1922, completed law school at the University of Mississippi. At age 32, she married

fellow attorney Joe Howorth, who makes but a shadowy appearance in these pages. The couple's life always revolved around Lucy, who had "considerable more sense than her husband," according to U.S. Senator Pat Harrison (75), and who certainly had a fiercer ambition. Domestic she was not. The child who had not played with dolls became the woman who had no children, did not cook, and commented, "I figured as long as I could earn more than the washwoman, I could pay her...and be out doing something more interesting" (26).

Serving in the legislature was more interesting, certainly, as was campaigning for FDR in 1932. Corresponding with Molly Dewson (to insure that FDR's female patronage chief knew of her work for Roosevelt), and cultivating a close relationship with Ellen Woodward, Mississippi's Democratic committeewoman, Howorth skillfully boosted her candidacy for a federal position among the many New Deal possibilities. In 1934, her networking paid off when she was named to a slot on the Veterans' Administration Board of Appeals, to rule on appeals of those denied benefits. Joe trailed along to Washington, where they lived in a hotel. Because the VA case files are closed, her work at that agency remains confidential, leaving Swain and Shawhan with little to tell the reader about her professional activities for a quarter of a century. (Howorth was bounced from the VA Board in 1943 when a ruling reserved her position for veterans only; she was a federal bureaucracy survivor, however, and served on the War Claims Commission, and later, on Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women.)

Howorth's Washington work did not allow her to advocate reforms and gave her no contact with Eleanor Roosevelt, but, true to form, she maximized her networking opportunities and made connections easily. She was "an inveterate joiner" (90) whose key associations were the American Association of University Women, Business and Professional Women, and the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee. Gradually, the theme of her life's work emerged: the advancement of women. During the war, she advocated drafting women and took a keen interest in the treatment of women in the military. In the chilly post-war climate for ambitious women, Howorth took up Molly Dewson's habit of maintaining a roster of qualified women to be presented to federal agencies for appointments to government positions. She was a pragmatic woman of keen political instincts, who valued compromise and logrolling and avoided grudges, commenting "your enemy of

today may be your ally of tomorrow" (44). Never shy about fighting for a job, over the years she tried, unsuccessfully, to land a federal judgeship and a college presidency. She exuberantly claimed the label "feminist" in a commencement speech to Randolph-Macon graduates in 1948, urging them to pursue careers in public service. In her old age, she gave many interviews, preserved her mother's and her own papers for posterity, fostered women's studies in Mississippi, and advocated the passage of ERA.

Some areas of Howorth's life seem to cry out for more analysis. The cause and effects of her mother's unexplained coldness (Nellie Nugent Somerville did not attend Lucy's commencement speech presentation to her law school class, did not attend her wedding, and never visited during the years she lived in Washington) are unprobed. In addition, a bit more context from women's history, placing Lucy Howorth within the stream of women's realities over the decades, would have provided desirable enlightenment of change over time. Howorth's interest in the advancement of women targeted educated, professional women like herself; her efforts did not extend to improving the hard lives of working-class women. She was a reformer, but for the few. The authors assert that she was liberal on race relations, but the record shows no activity to promote racial justice after her retirement during the turbulent years of the civil rights movement. Returning to tiny Cleveland, Mississippi, (population 7,000) in 1957, Lucy claimed "we had to make a living" and "you can't do more than one crusade in a lifetime" (138) to justify her position on the sidelines during the immense struggle in her home state. While not a reactionary like her Dixiecrat mother, she declined an AAUW request in 1964 to marshal support for the reviled Civil Rights Act. Over two decades later, she did support a black candidate for Congress. Overall, there seems little evidence for labeling Lucy Howorth "liberal" on race.

Minor criticisms aside, this is a meticulous and sympathetic study, with impressive archival research, supplemented by the authors' many interviews with their subject. Swain and Shawhan have successfully recounted the life and career of a redoubtable member of the storied New Deal women's "network" who lived to see female astronauts and women on the Supreme Court (though still no ERA).

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings's Cross Creek Sampler: A Book of Quotations.

Edited by Brent E. Kinser and Rodger L. Tarr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, works cited, illustrations, index. Pp. 180. \$22.50 cloth.)

Cross Creek Sampler is a collection of gems culled from the novels and short stories of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings written during her Florida period, 1928-1953. The passages, stripped of their narrative content, read like gnomic texts, suggesting that Rawlings is more of a natural philosopher than she has ever been given credit for. Even though she claims that she had never read *Walden* before she began writing the fragments that coalesced into *Cross Creek*, her philosophical musings are reminiscent of the great American transcendentalists, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. Many of these extracts sound as if they come straight out of "Self-Reliance" and "Nature," such as this description of Cross Creek: "Folk call the road lonely, because there is not human traffic and human stirring. Because I have walked it so many times and seen such a tumult of life there, it seems to me one of the most populous highways of my acquaintance. I have walked it in ecstasy, and in joy it is beloved" (26). She even uses the Biblical cadences of the Transcendentalists: "A man was a puny thing, frightened and lonely; transitory and unimportant . . . He joined himself to the earth, and because the earth itself was a little part of a farther universe, he joined himself through it to the stars, and in the union was his ecstasy" (33). Zora Neale Hurston was one of the first readers of *Cross Creek* to recognize this gnomic quality in Rawlings's writing. In a letter that she wrote to Rawlings and subsequently was published in *Zora Neale Hurston: A Life in Letters* (2003), Hurston praises Rawlings for her ability to capture not only tangible reality but also the cosmic significance of people and places: "You are conscious of the three layers of life, instead of the obvious thing before your nose. You see and feel the immense past, what is now, and feel inside you something of what is to come. Therefore you are not pacing the cell of the current hour. You are free because you have made your peace with the universe and its laws. You are deep and fine" (486).

Lovers of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings—and there are many—will find this cosmic dimension highlighted and see her achievement in a new light, thanks to the outstanding editorial work of Rodger Tarr, the dean of Rawlings studies, and Brent Kinser in *Cross Creek Sampler*. Recently, Tarr and Kinser edited *The Uncollected Writings of*

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings (2007) and, in the past few years, Tarr edited *Max and Marjorie: The Correspondence between Maxwell E. Perkins and Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings* (1999), *The Private Marjorie: The Love Letters of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings to Norton S. Baskin* (2004), and *The Short Stories of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings* (1994). Even with all of their editing experience, Kinser and Tarr admit that they had to make difficult decisions concerning what to include and exclude and how to arrange the material. They recognize that Rawlings's fans will not find all of their favorite quotations, because there are simply too many from which to choose: "How could it be otherwise, so rich, so ravishing, so eternal are Rawlings's words" (18). Their attempt to make a sampler parallels Rawlings's piecing together of fragmentary material in "Cracker Chidlings" (1931) and *Cross Creek* (1942). The pieces—each "a torn fragment of the larger cloth," in Rawlings's words—then come together to create the fictional world of *Cross Creek*. As Kinser and Tarr point out: "from the larger cloth of Rawlings's genius," these fragments "metonymically reveal [Rawlings's] genius in its entirety" (20).

In *The Uncollected Writings* and in this book, Kinser and Tarr have been articulate advocates of Rawlings's genius. In their introduction, they make a case for her inclusion in the canon of great American writers. They feel that she has been excluded in the last decades because she has been dismissed as a regionalist; Rawlings herself abhorred this label, because she felt that it was "not only false and unsound but dangerous" (2). In addition, there are other more complicated reasons for Rawlings's exclusion. First, when she died in 1953, American literature was beginning to make a radical shift in focus to the Beat Generation. From the time that Jack Kerouac coined the word in 1948 until Allan Ginsburg published *Howl* in 1956, when the movement took off, beat culture concerned itself with drug experimentation, alternative sexualities, Eastern mysticism, anti-establishment modes of being, and expressive freedom. Greenwich Village was a world away from *Cross Creek*. Even Ernest Hemingway despaired of relating to this type of literature. Rawlings, a voracious reader, was fully aware of the cross currents in American literature of her time and was just beginning to change her style and subject matter in the late 1940s, to what she called her "queer" works, which, in her opinion, are "sad, ugly stories," full of "Gall and Wormwood." She published a few stories in this vein (including "The Shell" [1944], "Black Secret" [1945], "Miriam's Houses" [1945], and "Miss Moffatt Steps Out"

[1946]), but was discouraged by her Scribners editor, Maxwell E. Perkins, from veering off too far in this direction.

Another consideration regarding Rawlings's reputation, at least in the last politically correct decade or so, is the racism that comes out in her work, particularly in *Cross Creek*. Rawlings herself recognized that she had to tone down her language in the School Book Edition of *The Yearling* (1938). In my book, *Crossing the Creek: The Literary Friendship of Zora Neale Hurston and Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings* (2010), I deal with this sensitive subject and show how Rawlings's friendship with Zora Neale Hurston transformed her into an advocate for civil rights. This aspect of Rawlings's life deserves more recognition and would temper how she is regarded today.

Kinser and Tarr are to be praised for their efforts in bringing to the forefront again a writer of "unquestionable renown and eternal verity."

Anna Lillios

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New Deal, New Landscape: The Civilian Conservation Corps and South Carolina's State Parks. By Tara Mitchell Mielnik. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, appendix, index. Pp. xiv, 224. \$34.95 cloth.)

In *New Deal, New Landscape: The Civilian Conservation Corps and South Carolina's State Parks*, Tara Mitchell Mielnik takes the reader into an economically devastated South Carolina during the Great Depression and focuses on the hope for recovery afforded by Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal. In particular, she concentrates on the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and its role in the development of the first sixteen state parks in the Palmetto State. These sites offered opportunities for reclamation of worn-out lands, preservation of natural landscapes, breathing spaces for crowded city dwellers, recreation areas for persons of limited means, and education about the natural world for school children. Their construction offered jobs for marginalized youth whose families suffered the most economic hardship.

Mielnik provides a primer on the 1930s for both the general reader and the student of American history. Chapter One reveals

the misery and economic dislocation accompanying the Great Depression, followed by a description of myriad New Deal agencies designed to combat the Depression. Chapters Two and Three focus on the creation, organization, and functions of the CCC, including details of daily life in CCC camps in the Palmetto State. In the next chapter, the author considers the State Park Movement across the United States in the 1920s and the CCC's role in advancing it in the 1930s. Chapters Five through Seven deal with the creation and operation of the sixteen state parks themselves, with their accompanying Recreational Demonstration Areas, highway waysides, and forestry projects. The final chapter—in some ways, the most useful—concerns lessons learned from the CCC experience and its work in creating the state park system. Included here are descriptions of teaching aids, lesson plans, and a CD-ROM documents packet for use by educators, all professionally prepared by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in Columbia.

New Deal, New Landscape: The Civilian Conservation Corps and South Carolina's State Parks has much to recommend it. Two maps, 12 photographs of CCC personnel, and 33 photographs of 14 of the 16 state parks, all sprinkled liberally throughout the book, bring the prose to life. The book is well-written and entertaining to read. The book fills a void in New Deal scholarship by focusing on one of the neglected architectural legacies of the New Deal in the Palmetto State. Most South Carolinians associate the New Deal with Works Progress Administration (WPA) schoolhouses and Public Works Administration (PWA) hydroelectric projects; few until the publication of Mielnik's book would associate it with the state parks. The book is also multi-dimensional, successfully blending political, architectural, local, social, and public history. Her blending of local and social history includes a detailed description of the African American experience in South Carolina's separate but never equal CCC camps and state parks. Moreover, the author's research was thorough. Her interest in the topic stemmed from her work as outreach coordinator in 2000 with the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, where she assembled an exhibit on the CCC and the state park system in South Carolina. In the process she researched pertinent files of her employer, interviewed 80 CCC alumni, mined their private papers, and delved into the relevant files of the South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism and the South

Caroliniana Library. Her interest piqued, she expanded her research to include material from the National Archives and the South Carolina Historical Society, a host of government publications from the period, and appropriate secondary sources. In addition, while Mielnik's focus in *New Deal, New Landscape: The Civilian Conservation Corps and South Carolina's State Parks* is the CCC's role in the creation of the state parks, she does not neglect the CCC's other conservation efforts of erosion control, forest fire prevention, and reforestation.

Nevertheless, this book is not without flaws. One strength of the book is also a weakness. Chapter One provides a helpful primer on New Deal agencies designed to combat the Great Depression. But any such listing and accompanying description run the risk of incompleteness. Omitted from the book are the CWA, HOLC, FDIC, FHA, USHA, and NLRB. Also, recounting a state story within a national context can lose the focus on the state. Although Chapter Two ("Emergency Conservation Work and the Civilian Conservation Corps") is an excellent summary of CCC organization and activities, only slightly over 20 percent of the material actually concerns South Carolina. Similarly, the author tantalized the reader with little-known pieces of information without sufficient elaboration. For instance, many readers may not be aware that females participated in the CCC. The author mentions in passing that two of the 90 "She-She-She" camps across America were in South Carolina at Kingstree and Orangeburg but fails to provide any description of daily life and work at these camps. In addition, telling a story about the creation of the state park system risks including extraneous information which may be interesting but not pertinent to the topic. As one example, almost four of the book's 152 pages of prose deal with the battle of King's Mountain in the Revolutionary War and the subsequent efforts to commemorate the event, culminating in the creation of the King's Mountain National Military Park in 1931, well before the CCC and the state park system were created.

Despite these minor flaws, *New Deal, New Landscape: The Civilian Conservation Corps and South Carolina's State Parks* is essential reading for scholars, students, and general readers interested in the New Deal, the CCC, and state park development in the Palmetto State.

Immigrant Prince: Mel Martinez and the American Dream. By Richard E. Foglesong. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxiv, 237. \$32.00 paper.)

When Richard Nixon asked Zhou En Lai for his evaluation of the French Revolution, Zhou reportedly replied that it was too soon to say. Americans are much more willing to make judgments on contemporary events and as a result, current affairs have become another branch of history. A recent manifestation of this tendency is Richard Foglesong's biography of Mel Martinez, whose political career ended in 2009.

Foglesong's book has eleven chapters. The first six take Martinez's life from birth through his tenure as county mayor of Orange County. The seventh deals with Martinez as secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) from 2001 until 2003. Two more chapters cover Martinez's run for the United States Senate in 2004; his electoral victory; his time as senator, with an emphasis on the Terri Schiavo case; his work on behalf of immigration reform; and his appointment as chairman of the Republican National Committee. The tenth chapter describes his resignation as RNC chairman, the failure to achieve immigration reform, and his decision to leave the Senate. The final chapter examines the meaning of Martinez's life. Foglesong is an acquaintance of Martinez and benefited from Martinez's cooperation. The result is a sympathetic but not uncritical biography.

The strength of the book is twofold. The first is the large number of interviews the author used in his assessment. Foglesong conducted more than one hundred interviews with Martinez, Martinez's family, friends, and political associates. Foglesong makes good use of this material, skillfully weaving it into the captivating story he tells. The wealth of material derived from these interviews makes this book an important work.

The second strength is the author's evocative treatment of Martinez's life before 2001. Foglesong writes very well (he is the author of a well regarded book on Disney World in Orlando) and he draws the reader into the narrative of Martinez's life. The future Floridian politician, born in Cuba in 1946, came to the United States in 1962 as part of Operation Peter Pan, a program that evacuated children of anti-Castro Cubans. Foglesong draws a vivid picture of the young Melquiades (who later Americanized his name to Mel) and his fam-

ily during the turmoil of the Cuban Revolution. The account of the family's life in Cuba, Mel's escape, the welcoming families who took in Mel, his adjustment to American life as a teenager, his college years at Florida State University, and his courtship of and marriage to a beautiful Alabaman are well done. The treatment of Martinez as a personal injury attorney and his rise in Orange County offers insights on both Martinez and Orange County government and politics. Martinez is an attractive individual and a stirring American success story; Foglesong tells his story well.

Once the author leaves Florida behind, the narrative is less edifying. Partly this is because Martinez's career in Washington, first as secretary of HUD, then as senator and chairman of the Republican National Committee, was something of a failure. The truth of the matter is that Martinez succeeded in none of these three positions and his grand legislative effort, immigration reform, failed as well. The dreary record of defeat and disaster in the first decade of the new century, further aggravated by Washington's poisonous political atmosphere, is not uplifting like the first half of the book. In addition, Foglesong seems less comfortable with national politics. There are obvious mistakes. There was no George H.W. Bush presidential campaign in 1996 (143-144) and Senator Richard B. Russell was from Georgia, not Mississippi (209). Characterizations of individuals and institutions can be misleading as in the case of the author's version of Lyndon Johnson and the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (209).

The treatment of Martinez at HUD (which he left in December 2003) is curious as it ignores the central issue of the decade. There is more attention devoted to various mundane matters such as the Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act than to the catastrophic subprime lending scandal that was metastasizing at the time, thanks in part to HUD. In Martinez's and Foglesong's version (see 136-138), extending massive numbers of loans to minorities who were not credit worthy and could not afford them was a noble effort. It appears that neither the author nor the former HUD Secretary regrets this misbegotten program. Nor are they willing to admit its consequences.

The book concludes with an assessment of Martinez in the context of three themes posed in the first chapter: "who Mel Martinez is, how he got where he is, and what his story means" (14). Foglesong defines Martinez by his Cuban heritage combined with growing up in Central Florida, where there were few Hispanics at

the time. The author attributes Martinez's success partly to luck, partly to his appealing life story, and partly to his position as a Cuban-American at a time the GOP desperately needed Hispanic candidates.

As for his significance, Foglesong emphasizes Martinez representing the rise of Hispanic politics, the growing role of religion in politics, and the post-9/11 emphasis on security concerns. On the first theme, the author is right on target. Hispanics are the most important swing group in American politics today and an increasing percentage of the electorate. If Republicans are unable to win over at least a substantial minority, the long term prospects of the GOP are very dim, indeed. George W. Bush and Mel Martinez understood this and it was a basis of their bid to pass immigration reform legislation. That they did not succeed may come back to haunt the GOP.

On the other two themes, Foglesong is less persuasive. Religion became more important in American politics at the end of the twentieth century but there is more to the story than the rise of Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, and their followers. What Martinez's career symbolizes is the emerging alliance of evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholics (like Martinez). Until the last two decades of the twentieth century, evangelicals and Catholics were bitter opponents. Now they are increasingly allied on a broad front of social issues. This important development goes unanalyzed in this work.

Finally, the author sees Martinez's career as representing the Republican need for national security issues to win elections. There is a kernel of truth in this argument. The end of the Cold War deprived the GOP of its most effective campaign issue. However, upon closer scrutiny, this conventional wisdom is an oversimplification. It fails to explain how Republicans won control of congress in 1994 and retained it in 1996 and 1998 when no national security issues were prominent. Needless to say, the election results of 2010 further undermine this easy generalization.

In the end, history's meaning is dependent on the future. It is far too early to provide anything but a preliminary assessment of a contemporary figure like Mel Martinez. To Richard Foglesong's credit, he has written a captivating study of a unique American life. But history, difficult to discern in its early forms, is also ironic. As Martinez withdrew from the Senate amidst predictions of Republican doom, who would have guessed that the next Florida senator to

be elected would be another Cuban-American Republican (albeit born in Miami) who may prove to be an even bigger and more important success story than Mel Martinez?

Edmund F. Kallina Jr.

University of Central Florida

Florida's Snowbirds: Spectacle, Mobility, and Community Since 1945.

By Godefroy Desrosiers-Lauzon (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011. Introduction, illustrations, tables, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xi, 364. \$95.00 cloth.)

Godefroy Desrosiers-Lauzon achieves a tremendous feat with his book *Florida's Snowbirds*. He examines the phenomenon of temporary leisure-migrants who come yearly to Florida during the winter from places north. Although other scholars have produced essays and book chapters on this phenomenon, this is the first book dedicated to a comprehensive study of this migration cohort. The central question of this study is how "Florida" as a concept is constructed by snowbirds, boosters, and other promoters. Generally, the snowbirds reside in Canada, New England, New York and the Midwest and converge in Florida. For Desrosiers-Lauzon, these migrants, not only experience "Florida" but on a macro and micro level, bring "Florida" with them upon their return to the north. Although the term is not used in the text, this study is an analysis of multiple diasporas constructing and reconstructing the meaning of Florida as expressed through leisure activities and, somewhat, as mentalities at home and away.

The evidence and argument is skewed toward Canadians, specifically French Canadians. However, this is not as much a distraction as it seems because the author creates links between this material and snowbirds from the northern part of the United States. The greatest contribution in this book is how it engages the literature on Florida. The literature on Florida falls into two broad camps. Those that see "Florida" as an exceptional place and those that see Florida as a geography to explore broader themes that speak to the human experience across time. Desrosiers-Lauzon tries to straddle these two divides. On the one hand, he states explicitly that "Florida" is an idea and not so much a physical place, which is not something new as he readily points out in the introduction. This would lead the reader to assume that the author would use this as a spring board

to abandon the exceptional narrative of Florida that most historians he mentions cater to. Instead, Desrosiers-Lauzon seems to reinforce "Florida" as some place different, unique and unlike anywhere else in North America, even though there are other snowbird destinations throughout the United States, Mexico and the Caribbean. Is there not something universal about the U. S. and Canadian snowbirds that spend months on the Pacific Coast of North America from California through southern Mexico that helps readers to understand this Florida story more broadly? If not, wouldn't that prove the exceptional status of "Florida?" This type of context is missing from the book. Desrosiers-Lauzon opens the door to confront and tear down this familiar trope not only by examining migrants who are transnational in nature, but those who are active participants in the fiction that is "Florida." Although the author does much to challenge the exceptional narrative of Florida literature, he seems to have one foot in each camp, thereby providing no firm footing in either.

The main chapters are exhaustive and comprehensive. Throughout the body of the book the chapters flow and the argument is engaging and interesting. However, the introduction and conclusion are dense because Desrosiers-Lauzon throws everything by way of theory at the reader. The concepts mentioned in the introduction include space, landscape, carnivalesque, place, thirdspace, citizenship and timespace, to name but a few. He then introduces borderlands in the conclusion with a brief explanation of how this migration phenomenon is similar to Latin American migrations in the Southwest. All of these terms center on theories based on numerous articles and books that explore each one alone. It would appear the author wants to explore all of these in this one study. Although the introduction and conclusion mention these theories, they are not explained or contextualized and rarely appear throughout the text when appropriate. They appear mostly as vocabulary. Sometimes the author uses these theories as they were conceived, such as "thirdspace," "citizenship" and "borderlands." Other times, as is the case with "carnivalesque," it is not so much the paradigm as promoted by Mikhail Bakhtin and his followers, but more a means to describe an environment that abandoned strict social boundaries. This leaves the reader wondering if this is really "carnivalesque?" It is also the case that scholars interested in the social production of space rarely, if ever, engage in the theories of thirdspace or place. Social scientists have really staked out distinct subfields for most of these geographic theories, so to see them

mentioned in such a cursory fashion does not offer anything to those growing bodies of literature. Desrosiers-Lauzon would have been better served focusing on one or two of these ideas and then use this study to explore how these theories might help us understand this migration phenomenon. Borderlands, citizenship and thirdspace are the concepts that seem the most applicable to this study, the rest seem to be obligatory mentions.

Although there are some problems with this book, overall it does represent an important contribution and I would say a first step in how historians of Florida and North America should approach their work. Desrosiers-Lauzon does not let language or political geography limit this study. This study will challenge future historians working on Florida to use a global lens to create a broader context for their work.

Robert Cassanello

University of Central Florida

Brand NFL: Making & Selling America's Favorite Sport. By Michael Oriard. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, tables, notes, index. Pp. 344. \$20.00 paper.)

This book is an excellent history of the National Football League (NFL) and also wonderfully relevant to the NFL in 2011. Michael Oriard played NFL professional football and studies it as a scholar (he received his Ph.D. from Stanford and is now a Distinguished Professor at Oregon State University). He brings his unique perspective to this work and the reader greatly benefits from his wisdom about the league's activities on and off the field. Many books have been written about the NFL but, quite simply, *Brand NFL* is the best.

His title informs his project: he focuses on how the NFL consciously shaped and changed its image during its history, and how it has sold its image—for increasing amounts of money—over the years. Among the key figures were longtime Commissioner Pete Rozelle, and in the modern era, owners like Jerry Jones and Daniel Snyder, individualist entrepreneurs trying to maximize their profits in every way possible.

Oriard points out that during its early and middle history, the league operated as a collective enterprise: it began the first sports

draft of young players, with the last place team picking first, as a way of equalizing talent and teams. As important, under Rozelle, the NFL shared national television revenue, insuring that, unlike baseball, the big market teams would not perennially dominate. Oriard does not point out that the powerful early owners, George Halas, Dan Rooney, and the Maras in New York, accepted collective action, in part, because of their Catholic background with its emphasis on shared enterprises like the parochial school system. Oriard is excellent, however, in contrasting the generation of cooperative owners with freelance buccaneers like Jerry Jones and his cohorts. The author also feels that the latter group has caused much of the modern labor strife, and that their selfish actions do not portend well for the future.

In fact, much of the book focuses on the history of labor relations in the NFL. Oriard's sentiments are with the players and some of his most memorable passages concern the labor troubles in the early 1970s, a time when he played center for the Kansas City Chiefs. The strike of 1974 was bitter and often pitted striking players against teammates who refused to strike. Oriard struck and like most players in his situation—non-stars but useful reserves—after the strike, teams retaliated by cutting reserve players, including Oriard. It ended his NFL career. In addition, in his narrative of these events, he discusses the champion Miami Dolphins of the era and their reactions to the strike. He also notes how the *Miami Herald*, and especially sportswriter Edwin Pope, covered the events fairly, unlike most of the media at the time, and how Pope was in sympathy with the players.

One of the strengths of Oriard's book, indeed, one of the delights, is his weaving of personal experiences into his narrative of the history of the NFL. He admits that he was not a great player but, unlike the millions of fans and most of the media, he did play the game and thus, understands it in ways that all those fans on sports talk-radio and the multitude of NFL websites do not. When he discusses the sad physical and mental decline and death of Mike Webster, the great Pittsburgh Steelers' center, Oriard has special authority: "Anyone not horrified yet awed by the stoicism of [this] used up warrior felt no connection to football...Mike Webster embodied in exaggerated form something central to football, a link to some biological imperative or to some larger-than-life barbarian past" (207). Oriard points out that the NFL perfected the warrior image and its fans love it, despite the image's extremely dark side.

Oriard writes for a general reader and his prose is very accessible. Indeed, one of his writing strengths is his willingness to point out the foolishness of jargon, whether academic or commercial. He discusses how the NFL began to consciously brand itself in the early 1990s and hired an expert in product branding to do this. One of the expert's programs aimed to increase young children's bonding with the game. Oriard's side commentary shows his dislike for the new, totally branded NFL where the image is more important than the game.

This brings the reader to the totally branded NFL of 2011. The profits roll in but major issues confront the league and its fans, and Oriard provides the necessary context to understand them: the strike, the mega-wealth of the owners versus the wealth of the players; and the health of the players because of their frequent concussions. In fact, the health of everyone, including young children who play football, is an ongoing concern. The media tends to portray these issues as if they were new, invented last year at the earliest. In fact, as Oriard shows in meticulous detail, they have long histories and those backgrounds totally shape current events and possible solutions. Unfortunately, his reading of NFL history also leads to pessimistic conclusions. Regardless, every serious fan of the NFL should read this book to understand the league's past, present, and future.

Murray Sperber

University of California, Berkeley

Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture. By Karen L. Cox. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxi, 224. \$34.95 cloth.)

In *Dreaming of Dixie*, Karen L. Cox analyzes the nature and function of the image of the Old South in American popular culture from roughly the Civil War to World War II. She convincingly argues that Northerners, steeped in a "culture of reconciliation" (2) and fearful of an emerging modernity, embraced an iconic image of "Dixie," a place peopled "by belles and gentlemen, mammies and uncles, white-columned mansions, fields of cotton and, literally, moonlight and magnolias" (ix). Such a "mythological region still steeped in its antebellum past . . . appealed to non-Southerners

as the antithesis of the modern urban-industrial world with which many of them were coming to terms" (33). By "Dreaming of Dixie," they celebrated "the values of preindustrial America," (37) including "nature, home, and family," (22) as well as a "culture of leisure, pastoral romance, and loyal servants—a lifestyle to which many middle class consumers aspired" (37). Cox makes an important contribution in showing how Northerners helped create and embraced this image of the Southern past and is particularly good when analyzing the portrayal of African Americans, not just on mythical plantations but in "coon songs," radio programs such as *Amos and Andy*, and advertisements. She shows how popular images of blacks perpetuated racial stereotypes even as they revealed Northern racism. She also comments astutely on how the "belle" became a model for all women, a symbol of femininity and domesticity. In sum, popular culture's rendering of Dixie represented "America as it was before the advent of modernity" (57), and Southerners became, Cox argues in an important but not fully developed aspect of her argument, the most American of Americans.

Cox develops her case for the importance of Dixie in Northern thought through a series of chapters on five types of popular culture—songs, advertising, radio, movies, and literature. She then concludes by showing how Southerners embraced and then sold the image of Dixie in its tourist campaigns, not without irony, as Cox points out, since it meant using modern means to promote an anti-modern image. Exploring all of these forms of popular culture gives the book much of its authority, but the quality of the chapters varies. Those on popular music, advertising, and tourism are the best, particularly the first two which include the fullest discussion of the Northerners who did so much to popularize an iconic Dixie. The chapters on movies, much of which discusses *Gone with the Wind*, and literature, which is mostly about Northern travel accounts, are not as satisfying.

Cox finds that "regardless of the medium the image of the American South was consistent," (ix) and that the cultural construct of "Dixie" was the preeminent portrayal of the South, which explains her focus on it. She adds, though, a very interesting discussion of hillbillies, an image of Southerners that proved particularly important in radio and the movies. Although hillbillies shared a pre-modern sensibility with the many residents of the mythic plantations of "Dixie," they still offered a different conception of "Southernness." Cox makes little mention of even less

positive portrayals of the South and southerners, what George Brown Tindall, in *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (1967), labeled the "benighted South." One thinks here particularly of the 1931 movie, *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, but also of popular literary treatments of the region. Including a fuller discussion of the North's darker image of the South (one often set in the present, not the past, and peopled by "rednecks," not aristocrats) would have provided a more nuanced sense of the North's attitude toward the South and made what Cox rightly argues is a shift in Northern attitudes about the South during the Civil Rights era a little less dramatic.

Cox is right, though, that before World War II a romanticized view of the Old South dominated in popular culture. By focusing on the North's fascination with "Dixie," exploring its manifestations in various forms of popular culture, and putting it into the context of a changing America, she makes this image of the South and Northern conceptions of Southern identity more understandable than ever before.

Readers interested primarily in the history of Florida will find only scattered references to the state, not surprising since, for the most part, it has never been seen as part of the plantation South. Tourism there, though sharing an emphasis on romance and leisure, rarely rested on an iconic version of Dixie. Nevertheless, these readers, and everyone interested in the larger story of Southern tourism, will want to read *Dreaming of Dixie*, as will anyone who wants to understand the role that images of the South and Southerners have played in American culture.

Gaines M. Foster

Louisiana State University

End Notes

FLORIDA FRONTIERS: THE WEEKLY RADIO MAGAZINE OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is a weekly, half-hour radio program currently airing on public radio stations around the state. The program is a combination of interview segments and produced features covering history-based events, exhibitions, activities, places, and people in Florida. The program explores the relevance of Florida history to contemporary society and promotes awareness of heritage and culture tourism options in the state. *Florida Frontiers* joins the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the publications of the Florida Historical Society Press as another powerful tool to fulfill the Society's mission of collecting and disseminating information about the history of Florida.

Recent broadcasts of *Florida Frontiers* have included visits to Fort Christmas Historic Park and the Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Cultural Complex. Discussions about the St. Augustine Foot Soldiers Memorial and the life of Stetson Kennedy have been featured. We've talked with authors including Martin Dyckman, James Clark, Harvey Oyer III, and Rachel Wentz. We've previewed plans to recognize the 500th anniversary of the naming of Florida and the 450th anniversary of the establishment of St. Augustine. Upcoming programs will cover the 125th anniversary of the founding of Eatonville, the first incorporated African American town in the United States; and the 75th anniversary of the Zora Neale Hurston novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*.

Florida Historical Society Executive Director Ben Brotemarkle is producer and host of *Florida Frontiers*, with weekly contributions from assistant producers Janie Gould and Bill Dudley. From 1992-2000, Brotemarkle was creator, producer, and host of the hour-long weekly radio magazine *The Arts Connection* on 90.7 WMFE in Orlan-

do. In 2005, Gould became Oral History Specialist at 88.9 WQCS in Ft. Pierce. Since 1993, Dudley has been producing an ongoing series of radio reports for the Florida Humanities Council.

The program is currently broadcast on 90.7 WMFE Orlando, Thursdays at 6:30 p.m. and Sundays at 4:00 pm.; 88.1 WUWF Pensacola, Thursdays at 5:30 p.m.; 89.9 WJCT Jacksonville, Mondays at 6:30 pm; 89.5 WFIT Melbourne, Sundays at 7:00 a.m.; 88.9 WQCS (HD2) Ft. Pierce, Wednesdays at 9:00 a.m.; 89.1 WUFT Gainesville, Sundays at 7:30 a.m.; and 90.1 WJUF Inverness, Sundays at 7:30 a.m. 90.1 WGPU Ft. Myers airs the program as hour-long "specials" for several months of the year. Check your local NPR listings for additional airings. More public radio stations are expected to add *Florida Frontiers* to their schedule in the coming year. The program is archived on the Florida Historical Society web site and accessible any time at www.myfloridahistory.org.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is made possible in part by the Florida Humanities Council; the Jessie Ball duPont Fund; the Kislak Family Fund, supporter of education, arts, humanities, and Florida history; and by Florida's Space Coast Office of Tourism, representing destinations from Titusville to Cocoa Beach to Melbourne Beach.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY PODCASTS

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* has entered a new era of media. Dr. Robert Cassanello, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and a member of the *FHQ* editorial board, has accepted a new role as the coordinator for podcast productions. In conjunction with the Public History programs at UCF, Dr. Cassanello will produce a podcast for each issue of the *Quarterly*. Each podcast will consist of an interview with one of the authors from the most recent issue of the *Quarterly*. The podcasts are uploaded to iTunes University and are available to the public at <http://publichistorypodcast.blogspot.com/>.

Dr. Jack E. Davis on his article "Sharp Prose for Green: John D. MacDonald and the First Ecological Novel," which appeared in Volume 87, no. 4 (Spring 2009).

Dr. Michael D. Bowen on his article "The Strange Tale of Wesley and Florence Garrison: Racial Crosscurrents of the Postwar Florida Republican Party" appeared in Volume 88, no. 1 (Summer 2009).

Dr. Nancy J. Levine discussed the research project undertaken by her students on the Hastings Branch Library that appeared in Volume 88, no. 2 (Fall 2009).

Dr. Daniel Feller, 2009 Catherine Prescott Lecturer, on "The Seminole Controversy Revisited: A New Look at Andrew Jackson's 1819 Florida Campaign," Volume 88, no. 3 (Winter 2010).

Dr. Derrick E. White, on his article "From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and 'Dixie' at the University of Florida," Volume 88, no. 4 (Spring 2010).

Dr. Gilbert Din was interviewed to discuss his article "William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 1 (Summer 2010).

Deborah L. Bauer, Nicole C. Cox, and Peter Ferdinando on graduate education in Florida and their individual articles in Volume 89, no. 2 (Fall 2010).

Jessica Clawson, "Administrative Recalcitrance and Government Intervention: Desegregation at the University of Florida, 1962-1972," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 3 (Winter 2011).

Dr. Rebecca Sharpless, "The Servants and Mrs. Rawlings: Martha Mickens and African American Life at Cross Creek," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 4 (Spring 2011).

Dr. James M. Denham, "Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Pensacola," which appeared in Volume 90, no. 1 (Summer 2011).

Dr. Samuel C. Hyde Jr., Dr. James G. Cusick, Dr. William S. Belko, and Cody Scallions in a roundtable discussion on the West Florida Rebellion of 1810, the subject of the special issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 2 (Fall 2011).

Dr. Julian Chambliss and Dr. Denise K. Cummings, guest editors for "Florida: The Mediated State," special issue, *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 3 (Winter 2012).

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY AVAILABLE ON JSTOR

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is now available to scholars and researchers through JSTOR, a digital service for libraries, archives, and individual subscribers. JSTOR editors spent more than a year digitizing *FHQ* volumes 3-83; it became available to academic libraries and individual subscribers in August 2009. The *FHQ* has reduced the 5-year window to a 3-year window for greater access.

More recent issues of the *Quarterly* are available only in print copy form. JSTOR has emerged as a leader in the field of journal digitization and the *FHQ* joins a number of prestigious journals in all disciplines. The *Florida Historical Quarterly* will continue to be available through PALMM, with a 5-year window.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY NOW ON FACEBOOK

Join the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on Facebook. The *FHQ* Facebook page provides an image of each issue, the table of contents of each issue, an abstract of each article (beginning with volume 90, no. 1). There will be a link to the *Quarterly* podcasts and the Florida Historical Society.

IN MEMORIUM: HAROLD D. CARDWELL

Harold D. Cardwell, Sr., died on April 13, 2012, in Port Orange, Florida, at the age of 85. Mr. Cardwell was born in Varnell, Georgia, on July 17, 1926, and moved to Daytona Beach, Florida, at an early age. After graduating from Daytona's Mainland High School in 1944, he worked as a chemical operator for the Fercleve Chemical Corporation, and in 1945 was assigned to the Manhattan (atomic bomb) Project in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Following World War II Cardwell returned to Volusia County and worked mostly in the construction and lumber business. Mr. Cardwell opened a private practice in landscape architecture in 1956, and became a registered landscape architect in 1962.

At the age of 40 Mr. Cardwell lost his sight, and in 1967 he began a new career as a rehabilitation specialist for the Florida Division of Blind Services. Cardwell's disability did not deter him from furthering his education. He received an Associate of Arts degree in 1972 from Daytona Beach Junior College (now Daytona State College) and a Bachelor of Arts degree from Florida Technological University in 1974. The following year he took courses at Clemson University in horticulture therapy and became a registered horticulture therapist in 1978.

Although he received no formal training in either history or archaeology, Mr. Cardwell became a passionate student of both disciplines and did extensive research and writing, mostly on the Halifax Country (lands adjacent to East Central Florida's Intracoastal Waterway, the Halifax River). For Cardwell, the Halifax Country's

landscape and history were to be celebrated and cherished, and he sought to make the community aware of their existence and importance. He used his considerable knowledge and powers of persuasion to become an effective advocate for the preservation of the Halifax Country's archaeological sites and historic properties. On one notable occasion, Cardwell worked tirelessly with the city of Port Orange to rescue from developers a large tract of land south of Spruce Creek (now part of the Doris Leeper Spruce Creek Preserve) that contained an important Indian burial mound.

Cardwell was active in numerous community organizations devoted to history, archaeology, and historic preservation, unselfishly donating his time, energy, and money. He was a member of the Halifax Historical Society for the past 38 years, and twice its president. For many years he edited the *Halifax Herald*, the Society's magazine, and contributed innumerable articles on local history. He remained an active contributor and member of the magazine's editorial committee until shortly before his death. Cardwell was a founding member of the Port Orange Historical Trust and its president at the time of his death. He was also a founding member of the Daytona Beach Historic Preservation Board and its chairman from 1998-2006, a member of the Volusia County Historic Preservation Board (1992-1994), and vice chairman of the Volusia County Historical Commission (1989-1992). At the state level, Cardwell served as an executive board member of the Florida Historical Society from 2000 until his death, a member of the Flagler Centennial Commission in 1986, and president of the Florida Anthropological Society (1988-1989). He received numerous awards, most notably the Historian of the Year Award (Volusia County Historical Commission, 1988), the Lasarus Award for Preservation (Florida Anthropological Society, 1988), Lions Club President's Award in Leadership (Port Orange/South Halifax Club, 1988), Lifetime Achievement Award (Volusia Anthropological Society, 1997), and Lifetime Achievement Award (Halifax Historical Society, 2004).

After retiring from the Florida Division of Blind Services in 1999, Cardwell, with the aid of his devoted wife Priscilla, spent much of his time writing about the history he had for so long studied and spoke about. Drawing upon his extensive collection of vintage photographs, sketches, post cards, maps, letters, and various documents he had collected over many decades, Cardwell published several books that added significantly to the understanding of the Halifax Country's heritage. But his prolific writings are

only a small part of Mr. Cardwell's legacy. To those of us who knew him, he was both an inspiration and an invaluable resource. If there was some question about a local historic building or property, archaeological site, personage, event, native plant or tree, Harold Cardwell was the person who would most likely know the answer. And he would be more than willing to sit down with the questioner and provide all the details, which invariably came packaged in an entertaining tale or two or three. Mr. Cardwell, with the ever attentive Priscilla at his side, never let his disability slow him down or dampen his spirits. As he was fond of saying, "I'm not blind, I just can't see."

Harold Cardwell is survived by his wife of 57 years, Priscilla; son, H. Doug (Ann) Cardwell, Jr.; daughter, Ruth Cardwell (Glenn) Landau; sister-in-law, Thelma Cardwell; seven grandchildren, seven great-grandchildren, and four nieces.

Leonard Lempel

Vice-President, FHS



**FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
2012 AWARD RECIPIENTS**

CHARLTON TEBEAU AWARD

For a general interest book on a Florida history topic

Godefroy Desrosiers-Lauzon

Florida's Snowbirds: Spectacle, Mobility, and Community since 1945
(McGill-Queen's University Press)

REMBERT PATRICK AWARD

For a scholarly book on a Florida history topic

Godefroy Desrosiers-Lauzon

Florida's Snowbirds: Spectacle, Mobility, and Community since 1945

(McGill-Queen's University Press)

PATRICK D. SMITH AWARD

For a book of fiction on a Florida history topic

John and Mary Lou Missall

Hollow Victory: A Novel of the Second Seminole War

(Florida Historical Society Press)

HARRY T. AND HARRIETTE V. MOORE AWARD

For a book relating to Florida's ethnic groups or dealing with a significant social issue from an historical perspective

Lee L. Willis

*Southern Prohibition: Race, Reform, and Public Life in Middle Florida
1821-1920*

(University of Georgia Press)

And

Arthur Remillard

*Southern Civil Religions: Imagining the Good Society in the Post-
Reconstruction Era*

(University of Georgia Press)

STETSON KENNEDY AWARD

For a book based on investigative research which casts light on historic Florida events in a manner that is supportive of human rights, traditional cultures, or the natural environment

Tina Bucuvalas

The Florida Folklife Reader

(University Press of Mississippi)

SAMUEL PROCTOR AWARD

For an outstanding oral history project substantially about Florida

Stetson Kennedy
The Florida Slave
 (Florida Historical Society Press)

ARTHUR W. THOMPSON AWARD

For the most outstanding article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*

Rebecca Sharpless
 "The Servants and Mrs. Rawlings: Martha Mickens and African
 American Life at Cross Creek"
 Volume 89, no. 4, (Spring 2011): 500-539.

HAMPTON DUNN BROADCASTING AWARD

For electronic media, such as radio and television, recognizing
 outstanding audio or video programs, announcements or other
 works promoting or expanding knowledge of Florida history

The Florida Humanities Council
Viva Florida 500 History Moments
 Bill Dudley, producer

GOLDEN QUILL AWARD

For outstanding contributions by print media to the
 understanding of Florida history

Eliot Kleinberg
 The "Post Time" Weekly Column
 The Palm Beach *Post*

CAROLYN MAYS BREVARD AWARD

For most outstanding essay or research paper on Florida history
 produced by an undergraduate student at a college or university
 in the United States

Jonathan Bosworth
 Flagler College
 "Distinguishing Activism from Journalism in the Career of
 Stetson Kennedy"

GOVERNOR LeROY COLLINS AWARD

For most outstanding essay or research paper on Florida history produced by a postgraduate student in a master's or doctoral program at a college or university in the United States

Cynthia Mott
University of South Florida St. Petersburg
"Hanson Family Archives"

DAVID C. BROTEMARKLE AWARD

For creative expressions of Florida history other than books

Brian R. Owens, Sculptor
"St. Augustine Foot Soldiers Monument"
Bronze sculpture in the Plaza de la Constitucion, installed and unveiled May 2011

MARINUS LATOUR AWARD

For outstanding volunteer in a local historical society, library, museum or other Florida history-related program or organization

Kirsten Russell
Volunteer Copy Editor
Florida Historical Society Press

JILLIAN PRESCOTT MEMORIAL LECTURESHIP

Tina Bucuvalas
Florida Folklorist and Curator of Arts and Historical Resources,
Tarpon Springs
"Tides of Change: Diverse Florida Communities and Their Development"

**CAROLINE P. ROSSETTER AWARD FOR
OUTSTANDING WOMAN IN FLORIDA HISTORY**

N. Y. Nathiri
The Association to Preserve the Eatonville Community, Inc.
(P.E.C.)

DOROTHY DODD LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD

Gary R. Mormino
Florida Historian
University of South Florida St. Petersburg

And

Raymond Arsenault
Florida Historian
University of South Florida St. Petersburg

**THE FOLLOWING AWARDS WERE PRESENTED AT
THE FLORIDA HISTORY FAIR IN TALLAHASSEE ON
MAY 1, 2012:**

FREDERICK CUBBERLY FLORIDA HISTORY AWARD

Erica Grasso
“Walt Disney World and the Magic of the Mouse: The Impact on
Orlando’s Economy”
Junior Individual Paper
Chiles Middle School (Seminole); Teacher: Joan Ilemsky

FLORIDA HERITAGE AWARD

Stephanie Hamilton
“Black Seminoles: Lost in History”
Junior Individual Documentary
Harbor Middle School (Pinellas);
Teachers: Candes Clifford, Deanna Barthel, and Krista Valentage

CALL FOR PAPERS AND PANEL PROPOSALS

THIRTIETH ANNUAL
GULF SOUTH HISTORY AND HUMANITIES CONFERENCE



WITH SPECIAL THEME SESSIONS ON
EXPLORING HISTORY AND CULTURE ALONG THE GULF SOUTH:
FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE 21ST CENTURY

October 18-20, 2012
Pensacola, Florida

The Gulf South History and Humanities Conference is an annual event sponsored by the Gulf South Historical Association, a consortium of Gulf South colleges and universities from the states of Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

The Thirtieth Annual Gulf South History and Humanities Conference, hosted by Pensacola State University, welcomes all researchers and scholars to propose papers, panels, roundtables, performances, and workshops, exploring all aspects of the history and cultures of the Gulf South and Caribbean Basin.

The registration fee includes a Thursday evening reception at the Hilton Pensacola Beach Gulf Front Hotel, all conference sessions, and a free one-year membership in the Association. Tickets for the banquet, annual keynote address, and a courtesy cocktail reception are all included in the additional banquet fee.

Proposals will be considered if postmarked by the deadline of July 1, 2012. To submit an individual paper, send a brief c.v., title of the paper, and short abstract. Panel organizers (two or more presenters, a chair and commentator, or a chair/commentator) must submit a c.v., paper title, and short abstract for each participant. A complete list of conference sessions and topics will be mailed to each registrant in the first week of September 2011.

The conference will be at the beautiful Hilton Pensacola Beach Gulf Front Hotel, which offers special conference room rates at \$139.00 a night provided reservations are made by September 26, 2012. Please mention "GSH" when you call for reservations at 1-866-916-2999.

To submit proposals please contact Dr. Brian Rucker at brucker@pensacolastate.edu, or for more information, please contact Dr. Randall Broxton at rbroxton@pensacolastate.edu, or: Gulf South Historical Association, c/o The Center for Southeast Louisiana Studies, Southeastern Louisiana University, SLU Box 10730, Hammond, LA 70402.

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DETACHABLE REGISTRATION FORM:

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone: _____ Email: _____ Institutional Affiliation: _____

REGISTRATION \$40.00 _____ STUDENT REGISTRATION \$25.00 _____ BANQUET \$40.00 _____

TOTAL ENCLOSED: \$ _____

Will you be joining the Association at the Thursday evening reception: Yes ☐ No ☐

Please send this form with a check made payable to: Gulf South Historical Association, c/o The Center for Southeast Louisiana Studies, Southeastern Louisiana University, SLU Box 10730, Hammond, LA 70402.

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSIONS TO THE *FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is a peer-refereed journal and accepts for consideration manuscripts on the history of Florida, its people, and its historical relationships to the United States, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, or Latin America. All submissions are expected to reflect substantial research, a dedication to writing, and the scholarly rigor demanded of professionally produced historical work. Work submitted for consideration should not have been previously published, soon to be published, or under consideration by another journal or press.

Authors should submit an electronic copy in MS Word to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, at Connie.Lester@ucf.edu.

Manuscripts should be typed and double-spaced (excluding footnotes, block quotes, or tabular matter).

The first page should be headed by the title without the author's name. Author identification should be avoided throughout the manuscript. On a separate sheet of paper, please provide the author's name, institutional title or connection, or place of residence, and acknowledgements. Citations should be single-spaced footnotes, numbered consecutively, and in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

Tables and illustrations should be created on separate pages, with positions in the manuscript indicated.

In a cover letter, the author should provide contact information that includes phone numbers, fax number, email address, and mailing address. The author should provide a statement of the substance and significance of the work and identify anyone who has already critiqued the manuscript.

Images or illustrations to be considered for publication with the article may be submitted in EPS or PDF electronic format at 300 dpi or higher. Xeroxed images cannot be accepted. All illustrations should include full citations and credit lines. Authors should retain letters of permission from institutions or individuals owning the originals.

Questions regarding submissions should be directed to Connie L. Lester, editor, addressed to Department of History, 4000 Central Florida Blvd, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350, or by email to Connie.Lester@ucf.edu, or by phone at 407-823-0261.

Florida History in Publications, 2011

Compiled by James Anthony Schnur

Books

Akright, Ruth Downs, Betty Slaven McClellan, and the Eustis Historical Museum and Preservation Society. *Eustis. Images of America Series*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011.

Baranski, Nina. *Port St. Lucie at 50: A City for All People*. Virginia Beach, VA: Donning Company Publishers, 2011.

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Bramson, Seth. *Burdines: Sunshine Fashions & the Florida Store*. Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011.

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Brickell, Beth. *William and Mary Brickell: Founders of Miami and Fort Lauderdale*. Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011.

Broward, Robert C. *The Broward Family: From France to Florida, 1764-2011*. Jacksonville: Jacksonville Historical Society, 2011.

Bucuvalas, Tina, ed. *The Florida Folklife Reader*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011.

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Clark, James C. *Red Pepper and Gorgeous George: Claude Pepper's Epic Defeat in the 1950 Democratic Primary*. Florida Government and Politics Series. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.

Collins, Toni C. *Cedar Keys Light Station, Seahorse Key, Florida*. Chiefland: Suwannee River Publishing Company, 2011.

Davis, Betty, and the Big Bend Ghost Trackers. *Haunted Monticello, Florida*. Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011.

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Dyckman, Martin A. *Reubin O'D. Askew and the Golden Age of Florida Politics*. Florida Government and Politics Series. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.

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Francis, J. Michael, Kathleen M. Kole, and David Hurst Thomas. *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida: Don Juan and the Gule Uprising of 1597*. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 2011.

Giagnonni, Silvia. *Fields of Resistance: The Struggle of Florida's Farmworkers for Justice*. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011.

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Liebmann, Matthew, and Melissa Scott Murphy, eds. *Enduring Conquests: Rethinking the Archaeology of Resistance to Spanish Colonialism in the Americas*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2011.

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MacManus, Elizabeth Riegler, et al. *Going, Going-Almost Gone: Lutz-Land O'Lakes Pioneers Share Their Precious Memories*. Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2011.

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Musgrove, Eric, and Randy Torrence. *Suwannee County. Images of America Series*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011.

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Saunders, Rebecca. *Stability and Change in Gule Indian Pottery, A.D. 1300-1702*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011.

Schnur James Anthony. *Largo*. Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011.

Singleton, Jerry, Chauncey Mabe, and Judy Borich. *Pioneer Parish: Saint Anthony, Broward's First Catholic Church*. Oakland Park, FL: Middle River Press, 2011.

Smith, Mark C. *Raising Cain*. Bothell, WA: Book Publishers Network, 2011. [Includes biography of former Sen. Harry P. Cain's years in Miami, Florida.]

Smoot, Tom. *The Edisons of Fort Myers*. Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 2011.

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Fabel, Robin F. A. "Philip Livingston, Chameleon 'Premier' of West Florida." In *Nexus of Empire: Negotiating Loyalty and Identity in the Revolutionary Borderlands, 1760s-1820s*, edited by Gene A. Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.

McMichael, Andrew. "William Dunbar, William Claiborne, and Daniel Clark: Intersections of Loyalty and National Identity on the Florida Frontier." In *Nexus of Empire: Negotiating Loyalty and Identity in the Revolutionary Borderlands, 1760s-1820s*, edited by Gene A. Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.

Randall, Asa R. "Remapping Archaic Social Histories along the St. Johns Rivers in Florida." In *Hunter-Gatherer Archaeology as Historical Process*, edited by Kenneth E. Sassaman and Donald H. Holly Jr. Amerind Studies in Archaeology, vol. 7. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011.

Santos, Marlisa. "Adaptation and Sunshine State: Nature and Nostalgia in Contemporary Florida Films." In *Southerners on Film: Essays on Hollywood Portrayals since the 1970s*, edited by Andrew B. Leiter. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011.

Willis, Lloyd. "Zora Neale Hurston, the Power of Harlem, and the Promise of Florida." In *Environmental Evasion: The Literary, Critical, and Cultural Politics of 'Nature's Nation.'* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011.

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Absalonsen, Luciano, and Robert G. Dean. "Characteristics of the Shoreline Change along Florida Sandy Beaches with an Example for Palm Beach County." *Journal of Coastal Research* 27 (November 2011): 16-26.

Adamich, Tom. "Clearwater's Harbor Oaks: The 'Riviera of the Sunny South.'" *Tampa Bay History* 25 (2011): 23-41.

Allen, D. Matthew, David L. Luck, and Leah A. Sevi. "The Federal Character of Florida's Deceptive and Unfair Trade Practices Act." *University of Miami Law Review* 65 (Summer 2011): 1083-1107

Altes, Christopher F. "A Brief Note on Currents, Current Archaeologists, and Ancient Fiber-Tempered Pots." *Florida Anthropologist* 64 (June 2011): 115-120.

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