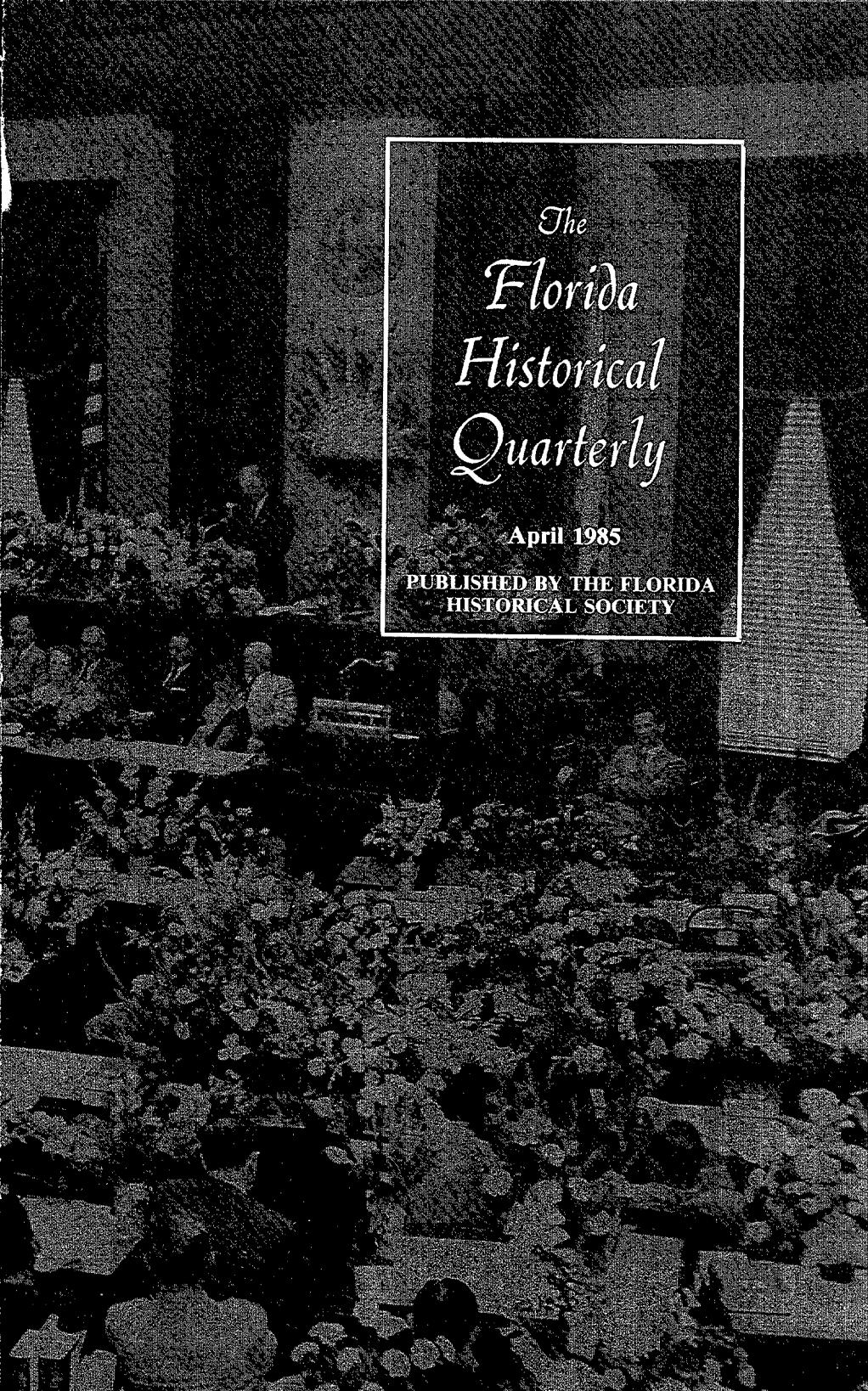

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COVER

Opening joint session of the Florida legislature in 1953. It is traditional for flowers to be sent to legislators on this occasion, and for wives to be seated on the floor. Florida's cabinet is seated just below the speaker's dais. Secretary of State Robert A. Gray is presiding for ailing Governor Dan T. McCarty. Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives.

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BOOK REVIEWS

FIRST LEAGUE' OF WOMEN VOTERS IN FLORIDA: ITS TROUBLED HISTORY

by JOAN S. CARVER

THE Florida League of Women Voters cites 1939 as the year of its establishment. In fact, this date marks the founding of the second league of women voters in the state. An earlier organization, the Florida State League of Women Voters (FSLWV) which receives no mention in current league publications, was organized in 1921 and was disaffiliated by the national organization in 1937. The stormy history of the first league illustrates the difficulties women's organizations in the South experienced in carving out an appropriate role in the political arena in the years following the adoption of the suffrage amendment. It also reveals a side of the league seldom discussed– the tensions between the national organization and the weaker of the state affiliates in the 1930s. The history of the first league of women voters in Florida is one of struggle and of unfulfilled expectations. Financial, organizational, and political difficulties plagued the leadership of the league throughout its brief life.[1]

The Florida State League of Women Voters, which had its roots in a local group organized in 1920 by three prominent Palm Beach women– Mrs. Nellie Healy O'Hara, Mrs. W. A. Dutch, and Mrs. O. P. Council– was established on March 31, 1921, at a con-

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1. Material for this study came from the Florida file, Series II, of the National League of Women Voters papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereinafter referred to as the NLWV papers. *The Florida Voter*, the league newsletter which was published sporadically between 1924 and 1936, and materials and letters for the years after 1939 are in the Florida League of Women Voters papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. The May Mann Jennings papers are also in the P. K. Yonge Library. *The Florida Club Woman* and the *Southern Club Woman* are in the Haydon Burns Public Library, Jacksonville. The legal name of the first league was the Florida State League of Women Voters. Its successor organization was initially named the Florida Non-Partisan League of Women Voters and subsequently, the Florida League of Women Voters.

ference in Jacksonville.[2] At that time *it* became an affiliate of the National League of Women Voters (NLWV) which had been created in 1920. Unlike the national organization, which grew out of the National American Women Suffrage Association and most of the other state affiliates which had also evolved out of pre-existing suffrage organizations, the Florida league had no direct connections to earlier suffrage groups although the initial organizers and many of the early members had been active in the suffrage movement.[3]

At the 1921 conference the league's basic purposes were determined and its organizational structure established. The purposes, as set forward in the by-laws, were "to further the education of all white women in citizenship and to support needed legislation."[4] The by-laws prescribed that the organization should be non-partisan. This directive was emphasized by the national secretary, who stressed the non-partisan nature of the league and in her speech to the organizational conference, explained that it was in no sense a woman's party.[5] At the 1922 convention this theme was reiterated by the state president who exhorted the delegates, "to so conduct the local league as to prove by action that the League is not a woman's party; that it is absolutely non-partisan as to candidates and parties."[6]

The statewide organizational structure was comprised of four elected officers, a director from each of the four congressional districts, and committees organized by subject or function. The committees which included women in industry, education, living costs, legislation and law enforcement, child welfare, legal standing of women, finance, and *The Florida Voter* fluctuated in number over the years from a high of fifteen in the 1920s to six in the 1930s. Reports at the annual conventions indicate that

2. Brief histories of the Florida State League of Women Voters are given in Florida State League of Women Voters (hereinafter referred to as FSLWV), *Official Year Book for 1932-1933* (West Palm Beach, 1932), n.p., Florida League of Women Voters papers, P. K. Yonge Library (hereinafter referred to as FLWV papers), and in Lucy Worthington Blackman, *The Women of Florida,* 2 vols. (Jacksonville, 1940), I, 151-53. The events of the organizational meeting of the league are described in the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 1, 2, and 4, 1921.
3. J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Urbana, 1973), 49-51. See also "Sixty Years of a Great Idea," NLWV pamphlet (Washington, D.C., 1980).
4. "By-Laws," *Florida Voter* (April 25, 1925), 12.
5. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 1, 1921.
6. Ibid., January 28, 1922.

many of these committees engaged in only limited activities even in the league's early years. Below the state level were the county and the city leagues.

Those who organized the FSLWV had a vision of extensive organization and political power that never came to full fruition. The initial plans included three major elements, First, the intent was to select the strongest and most influential women in the state as elected officers and chairmen.[7] And in the earliest years of the league some of Florida's most prominent women did serve. For example, Nellie Healy O'Hara of Lake Worth, the first president, had held the presidency of the Palm Beach Woman's Club and several appointive county posts. May Mann Jennings, the chairwoman of legislation from 1921-1926, was the state's leading woman political activist and served in many capacities including state president of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs (FFWC) and associate chair of the National Democratic Party Committee of Florida. Lucy Worthington Blackman, the first director for congressional district four, served as the state president of both the FFWC and the Audubon Society.[8] However, the league was unable to extend or even maintain the initial quality of participation over time, and by the early 1930s many of the leading women in the state were no longer active in the league.

A second goal was the full organization of the league within the state, from precinct to congressional district. According to May Mann Jennings, the league was "to have units in every precinct in the state, and these in turn will belong to the county and in turn to the State League. In cities a ward and block system will be maintained."[9] A step in this direction was taken at the first conference with the selection of directors for each of the four congressional districts, but the extensive organization that was visualized never materialized.

Finally, the league was to work for the passage of legislation important to women. In pursuance of this end at its first confer-

7. Ibid., April 4, 193.
8. For Nellie O'Hara's background see *Florida Voter* (January 1929), 3; for May Mann Jennings see Linda D. M. Vance, "May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1980); for Lucy Blackman see Blackman, *Women of Florida,* II, 88.
9. May Mann Jennings, "Women of Florida," (unpublished paper), box 17. May Mann Jennings papers.

ence the league established a legislative council of women's organizations for the purpose of concentrating and coordinating their legislative actions. The council, modeled on both the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, headed by the president of the NLWV, and on similar councils in a number of states, was to concentrate the power of the women of the state upon a selected, agreed upon measure and so, according to its founders, "practically ensure its enactment as a law."[10] Mrs. Jennings served as the first and only head of the council. While the league maintained membership in the council for over a decade, it also lobbied independently for its legislative goals.

The size and level of activity of the league fluctuated sharply in the years between 1921 and 1937. Membership dropped after the early years, a decline attributed in part to the failure to maintain programs of activity for the local leagues.[11] The number of organized city and county units ranged from eight county and seventeen city leagues in the mid-1920s to a total of only four leagues in 1937. A unit might be organized one year, meet for a year or two, and then vanish, perhaps to be reorganized a few years later. For example, Jacksonville had a unit in the early 1920s and again very briefly in the early 1930s. The vitality of a particular league was frequently dependent upon a few persons. The initial organization of Volusia County was credited to the work of Katherine Boyles, a long-time state superintendent of franchise for the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Boyles sent out fifty-seven letters, eighteen postcards, and 1,500 pages of league literature in order to organize a local unit with ten members and a county league of some 100 persons.[12] The transience of league membership is reflected in the comment, "when Sarasota county was first organized it had a number of local units with several hundred members altogether but their organization lapsed while their county president was away on a trip around the world."[13]

The strength of the league was centered in central and south

10. Ibid. See Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 1, 1921; *Southern Club Woman,* I (Jacksonville, November 15, 1921), 9; Lemons, *The Woman Citizen,* 55-58.
11. Report from Nellie O'Hara to NLWV office, June 1, 1925, II, box 21, NLWV papers.
12. *Florida Voter* (January 1935), 2.
13. Ibid., (March-April 1930), 9.

Florida. The counties which consistently had the highest proportion of state officers and the most local activity were Palm Beach, Dade, Hillsborough, and Volusia. While north Florida was well represented at the first convention in Jacksonville, and the first set of officers and congressional directors included women from all parts of the state, after 1926 no persons from the area north of Volusia County held state-elected office and little league activity was recorded in the northern part of the state.[14]

The local leagues also varied in level of activity. In 1931, for example, the Miami league yearbook reported an active program including a "get-out the vote" campaign, a non-partisan candidates' meeting, and a number of speakers. In contrast, the Boca Raton secretary summarized the year saying, "There is so little to tell, We paid our quota of $25. Had two luncheons and two called meetings during the year is about all I know."[15]

Several factors help to explain the difficulty the Florida league had in meeting its initial organizational goals. Conditions within Florida made it a difficult state to organize. As the first president Nellie O'Hara pointed out, Florida was "a pioneer state where the distances from place to place are so immense and where it takes a long time to travel from place to place."[16] In the late 1920s and the 1930s these difficulties were compounded by natural and financial disasters. Major hurricanes struck the state in 1926 and 1928, the speculative land boom failed in 1926, preceding the Great Depression, and throughout these years Florida agriculture was damaged by the Texas fever tick and the fruit fly. These circumstances help explain the league's continuing financial problems after the mid-1920s.[17]

The growth and stability of the league was limited as well by its failure to attract many of the most prominent women in a particular community, the women who could provide a network of contacts through their influence. The league's limited appeal may have been due, in part at least, to the dominance of the far

14. Representation at the first convention included women from Appalachicola, Monticello, Gainesville, Dunedin, St. Petersburg, Tampa, Live Oak, St. Cloud, Lake Worth, West Palm Beach, Fort Pierce, St. Augustine, and Jacksonville, Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 2, 1921.
15. FSLWV, *Official Year Book for 1930-31*, 8. See "Report of Organization and Finances," II, box 318, NLWV papers.
16. Nellie O'Hara to Hazel Hart, May 26, 1925, II, box 21, NLWV papers.
17. For a brief history of Florida during this time, see Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 377-411.

larger, better-established Florida Federation of Women's Clubs and the feeling by some women that this club adequately fulfilled their civic, community, and social needs. Thus, one league president complained that the woman's club members would benefit from league knowledge and then ignore the league.[18] It is revealing of the dominant position of the woman's club that of the fifty-eight women (mainly postmistresses) identified as leading Democrats in William Cash's 1936 study of the Democratic party, thirty-three listed membership in the FFWC and one in the FSLWV.[19]

The league's difficulty in reaching into the northern, more conservative sections of the state may have been related to the fact that its members were not characteristic of the traditional perception of the southern lady, whose place was both in the home and on an imaginary pedestal high above politics. The league leadership, for example, included a number of women with business and professional careers who had moved to Florida from northern states, and who were more interested in politics than most women. The league presidents illustrate these characteristics well. Between 1921 and 1937, seven women served as president of the FSLWV: 1921-1926, Nellie Healy O'Hara of Lake Worth, a native of New York, a teacher in Ohio until 1912, a newspaperwoman and realtor in Florida: 1926-1928, Lelia Russell, an attorney in Miami; 1928-1930, Mrs. Herberta Leonardy of Sanford, an attorney and director of state adult educational work for the W.P.A. in the 1930s; 1930-1932, Mrs. Wilhurst Chandler of West Palm Beach; 1932-1933, Mrs. Mildred King Wentworth of West Palm Beach, born and educated in Massachusetts, writer, editor, and publisher; 1933-1936, Mrs. Minnie Barbe, a native of Kansas, a businesswoman and hotel proprietor in Daytona Beach; and 1936-1938, Mrs. Marion G. Dickson of Tampa, president of the Old People's Home for eleven years, member of the Tampa Hospital Board, and state president of the Florida War Mothers and the United Daughters of the Confederacy.[20]

18. O'Hara to Gladys Harrison, NLWV, February 2, 1926, IX, box 21, NLWV papers.
19. W. T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Live Oak, 1936), 183-251.
20. For biographical information on the league presidents see FSLWV, *Official Year Book for 1932-33*, n.p., and *Florida Voter* (January

The presence of controversial political issues on the league agenda may have also been a factor in narrowing the league's appeal. Thus, the women in Pensacola said they would be afraid to establish a league because it might endorse things with which they were not in harmony.[21]

The various league presidents from Nellie O'Hara forward repeatedly wrote the national headquarters requesting help in organizing local leagues and decrying the burden of establishing new leagues and maintaining old ones without assistance. While there were a few visits to Florida by the regional director and by various national officers, the secretary of the national league suggested as early as 1925 that the Florida league needed greater strength to warrant help from the national office, pointing out that there had to be enough of an organization to sustain interest.[22] In 1928 the regional secretary summarized the problems of the Florida league: "Lack of understanding of League program, insufficient funds to carry on organization work, participation in political activity by League leaders, hostility of other organizations for women."[23] By the 1930s the financial constraints on the national league, coupled with the weakness of the Florida league, caused the state pleas for organizational assistance to go unheeded.

The Florida league's highest level of activity came in its earliest years. Pursuant to its purpose of promoting good citizenship, a drive was held to encourage voting turnout in the 1924 election and the league took partial credit for a 65.9 per cent increase in primary turnout between 1920 and 1924.[24] Citizenship schools and open forums were sponsored by the state and local leagues for their members throughout the 1920s. *The Florida Voter,* published by the league sporadically between 1924 and 1936, provided a means of education on issues as well as of in-

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1929), 3 [Nellie O'Hara]; Blackman, *Women of Florida,* II. 173 [Herberta Hancock Leonardy]; Cash, *History of the Democratic Party,* 218-19 [Mildred King Wentworth]; Harry Gardner Cutler, *History of Florida, Past and Present,* 3 vols. (Chicago, 1923), III, 372 [Minnie Barbe]; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* March 4, 1939 [Marion Dickson]. See also *Tampa Morning Tribune,* June 16, 1951 [Valisha Short].

21. FSLWV, "Report of the Vice President," *Official Year Book for 1932-33,* unpaginated.
22. Hart to Mrs. J. E. Rawlings, January 3, 1925, II; box 21, NLWV papers.
23. Report on the 1928 Florida convention by Huldah Moorhead, regional secretary, third region, II, box 318, ibid.
24. O'Hara to Ann Webster, September 2, 1924, II, box 21, ibid.

ternal communication and news. Items supported by the league, such as jury duty and better working conditions for women, were examined in the pages of The *Florida Voter.* Finally and perhaps most important the league worked for passage of legislation, concentrating on the state level.

The league's early legislative program was its most ambitious, both in the length of the agenda and in the efforts devoted to achieving the adoption of the proposed measures. Through the 1920s the league's leaders worked closely with the legislative council, the mechanism formed in 1921 at the league's initiative to coordinate the lobbying activities of women's groups.

The council began with the participation of seven groups– the Florida State League of Women Voters, the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, Business and Professional Women, Congress of Mothers and Parent Teacher Association, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Daughters of the American Revolution, and Jewish Women's Organization. During the 1920s and early 1930s the character of the council changed as all of the women's organizations except the league withdrew and conservation and education groups joined. The Jewish Women's Organization belonged only briefly; the D.A.R. withdrew in 1923 due to a ruling by the national organization that it could not affiliate with other organizations; and by 1928 only the FFWC and the FSLWV remained of the original members.[25] In 1931 the FFWC, the largest and most prestigious member of the council, withdrew affiliation despite the objections of Jennings, president of the council and active woman's club member. The break was caused by a desire to have complete control over legislative priorities and doubt over the council's effectiveness.[26] The league also considered withdrawing. At the league's 1930 conference a motion to withdraw due to dissatisfaction over the council's failure in achieving league legislative goals was defeated, but only after vigorous debate.[25] In the meantime, the Florida Education Association, Izaac Walton League, Florida Forestry Association, and Audubon Society had affiliated with the council at the invitation

25. *The Southern Club Woman,* LI (Jacksonville, February 1923), 8.
26. *The Florida Clubwoman,* X (Tampa, April 1931), 7; *Pensacola Journal,* March 13, 1931.
27. Maud Turman, "Report on the 1930 state convention of the Florida State League of Women Voters," May 7 and 8, 1930, II, box 318, NLWV papers. See also *Miami Herald,* May 9, 1930.

of Jennings, the first and only council president and a board member of two of these organizations. Jennings, long active in conservation causes, clearly shaped the legislative council's membership, goals, and priorities. Conservation issues took precedence over women's issues, for example. Although Jennings served as the chairwoman of legislation for the league from 1921 to 1926, she subsequently took no active role. Nonetheless, as head of the council, she continued to lobby for those bills proposed by the league which were endorsed by a majority of the council.

The state league's initial legislative agenda was its most ambitious, with ten pieces of legislation proposed in 1921. Six of the bills related directly to the interests of women: allowing women to vote in the primary election by deletion of the word "male" from the suffrage qualifications, placing women in the same class as professional men with respect to jury duty, amending all city charters and laws so women could qualify for office, fixing the age of consent at eighteen, increasing the millage for mothers' pensions, and providing mothers with equal guardianship rights of children. The other four bills were more general proposals: statewide compulsory cattle dipping for tick eradication, creation of a state board of forestry, extension of the federal government's forest reserves in Florida, and establishment of educational qualifications for superintendents of school.[28]

Jennings, long a legislative advocate with many state contacts, undertook her lobbying task with vigor. As legislative chairman of the league she wrote all members of the Florida legislature, 172 chapters of FFWC, ,120 chapters of WCTU, and 108 Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade. She listed the league's program and asked for support, but not all proposals received equal attention.[29] In her plea the Wells livestock sanitary bill, providing for cattle dipping for tick eradication, was singled out for particular emphasis, with most of the letter devoted to it. The wide infestation of Florida by the Texas cattle fever tick was severely damaging Florida agriculture, affecting the quality of beef and the amount and quality of milk produced by the dairy herds. Jennings and the Federation of Women's Clubs had worked for a compulsory cattle dipping bill since 1916, when the

28. Jennings to members of the Florida legislature, April 27, 1921, box 17, May Mann Jennings papers.
29. Jennings to A. A. Coult, April 29, 1921, ibid.

slogan used was "Protect our babies' milk." In 1921 Jennings considered this the most important bill before the legislature and worked for its adoption not only through the league and the legislative council but also several other organizations to which she belonged.[30]

The league was moderately successful in its early efforts. Of ten proposals initially put forward, four became law in 1921 and one in 1923. The word "male" was stricken from the qualifications of Florida electors (a change which had no substantive effect since women were already guaranteed the right to vote under the nineteenth amendment), the state empowered the United States to acquire land for national forests, and equal guardianship for children by both parents was established. It is not clear why the proposal to raise the age of consent to eighteen was listed as either a goal or an accomplishment. This provision was, in fact, already law and had been since 1901. A 1921 amendment did replace the word "female" with "person", however, making the law sex neutral.[31] In 1923 after frantic lobbying by many groups, the long-sought compulsory statewide cattle dipping law was enacted.

After the mid-1920s the league reduced the number of bills on its legislative agenda. In 1925 four bills were supported: forestry protection, determination by local vote of whether livestock should be fenced, millage for mothers' pensions, and repression of prostitution.[32] (The forestry and fence proposals reflected long-standing concerns of women's groups to protect the forests from the widespread practice of burning the woods to clear the land, and to reduce the accident toll caused by cattle roaming on the highways.) Two of these received favorable attention from the 1927 legislature: the permissible county millage for mothers' pensions was increased from one-half to one mill, and a board of forestry was established with the mandate to preserve the forests.

In 1929 three bills were put forward: mandatory jury duty for women; payment of wages to prisoners sentenced to hard labor so as to benefit their dependents; and limitation of the working hours of women in industries to not over fifty-four hours a week and the provision of suitable restroom and sanitary facil-

30. Vance, "May Mann Jennings," 286-92.
31. Reports from State Leagues, 1924-25," II, box 54, NLWV papers.
32. *Florida Voter* (April 1925), 11.

ities.[33] The latter bill grew out of a survey of working conditions in Florida which the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor had undertaken in 1928 at the request of the governor and as a result of the urging of the league.[34] The survey found that Florida, one of only five states with no restrictions on the hours a woman could work, had the longest working hours for women of any of the eighteen states surveyed. While seventeen per cent of the women in the other states worked over fifty-four hours a week, 43.2 per cent of Florida working women exceeded fifty-four hours. Sanitary conditions and the overall wage scale were also below standard.[35]

Both the state league president, Herberta Leonardy, a lawyer, and Jennings lobbied on behalf of the league program in 1929. Mrs. Leonardy traveled to Tallahassee to work for the measures, explaining that she preferred to canvass legislators directly about the bills rather than through other leagues or organizations. One obstacle preventing the achievement of these legislative goals was the opposition of other women's organizations. Thus, according to the president of the Florida senate, a number of women opposed mandatory jury duty, as did some of the league's own members.[36] As a consequence, this proposal was laid aside in 1930 until a consensus could be reached. (It was not until 1947 that jury duty became permissible for women in Florida.) While the league and the FFWC supported the hours and sanitation bill, the Business and Professional Women opposed it, and the bill died on the house calendar after senate passage. (The BPW considered that the bill could undermine equality of opportunity for women.) The prisoners bill was put aside as too expensive for the state to fund in the depths of the Depression.[37]

Having failed to achieve any of its 1929 goals, the league concentrated on only one bill in 1931, a forty-eight hour week law for women. This measure received the endorsement of the legisla-

33. *Tampa Daily Times,* March 21, 1929, and *Florida Club Woman,* VX (Jacksonville, March 1929), 6.
34. *Florida Voter* (November 1929), 32. See also *Tampa Daily Times,* March 21, 1929.
35. Ethel Best and Mary Elizabeth Pigeon, *Women in Florida Industries* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Labor, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 80, 1930), 23-32.
36. *Florida Voter* (November 1929), 12.
37. FSLWV, "President's Annual Report 1929-30," *Official Year Book for* 1930-31, 3.

tive council, and Jennings joined the league president, Mrs. Wilhurst Chandler, and Leonardy, in lobbying on its behalf. Unfortunately, a campaign which included telegrams, letters, and distribution of some 1,500 copies of the bill was to no avail.[38] The proposal did not even get on the calendar in 1931. In fact, minimum hours legislation for women was never passed in Florida.

Throughout these years the Florida league concentrated its lobbying efforts at the state level. While there was endorsement in the 1920s for such national items as the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act– a landmark piece of legislation which provided matching federal funds to set up maternity and pediatric clinics for instruction in the health care of mothers and babies– and the child labor amendment, and in the 1930s for the "lame duck" amendment which would shorten the time between the election and inauguration of the president and congress, and for federal suffrage for residents of the District of Columbia, support was limited primarily to passage of a resolution or letter writing by individuals. While the Florida league endorsed a variety of social and governmental reforms, it did not support the proposal for an equal rights amendment, joining the majority of women's groups in opposition to the feminists' demand for the amendment. The amendment was considered a threat to protective state legislation that might be passed to address the problems of the women of Florida.[39]

The Depression, and financial and internal problems of the league restricted legislative action at the state level. By 1935 the national league listed the Florida league, along with leagues in five other states, as doing little or no legislative work. While many of the northern and midwestern state leagues had ambitious programs, endorsing such measures as unemployment insurance, the child labor amendment, minimum wages and maximum hours for women, and public employment service, the Florida league reported support for only one measure, a bill to abolish the poll tax, at the 1935 legislative session.[40]

In 1936 the league state convention endorsed two bills: one

38. Ibid., 3. See also Lemons, *The Woman Citizen,* 194-204.
39. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* January 28, 1922 and *Florida Voter* (March 1929), 7. See also Lemons, *The Woman Citizen,* 190-91.
40. "Summary analysis of state legislative work," April 30, 1935, II, box 378, NLWV papers.

Mrs. John G. Leonhardy, from *The Florida Voter,* November 1929 (Tampa).

Marion Sinclair Dickson, from *The Florida Voter,* May 1936 (Daytona Beach).

Minnie K. Barbe, from *The Florida Voter,* May 1936 (Daytona Beach).

Group picture, Board Members of the League of Women Voters
The Miami Herald, May 7, 1930

to eliminate the poll tax as a requirement for voting; the other, a statewide livestock law to fence the roaming cattle that had long worried Florida women. Minnie Barbe of Daytona Beach, league president, argued for the elimination of the poll tax to make politics cleaner and for the fence law to make life safer, pointing out that many lives had been lost on the highway due to the absence of a fence law and that it "was up to the women to see this thing is done, as men have sat around too long wondering if it is practical."[41] The selection of just two items was justified by the legislative chairman, who said, "In doing legislative work intelligently any organization must limit itself to one or not over two bills so intensive thought and pressure may be given to those two bills."[42]

The league's modest legislative agenda in the 1930s was a reflection of the serious difficulties the organization faced in those years.[43] While weaknesses had existed in the 1920s, these were compounded under the pressure of the Depression. The Florida league, like many other leagues during those years, had difficulty maintaining a viable program, increasing or even stabilizing its size, developing a sound financial base, and meeting the responsibilities and financial obligations set by the NLWV.

The number of local leagues in Florida decreased in the 1930s, and league officers could do little to counter the trend since, as the state vice president Harriet Works of Miami explained in 1932, "no organization work was done because there was no money to do it."[44]

Meeting the financial obligations to the NLWV was a continuing problem. In December 1930 President Chandler wrote that Florida could not pay the annual dues to national since only twelve dollars was left in the treasury.[45] Little had changed two

41. *Florida Voter* (May 1936), 2.
42. Ibid., 17. See also *Daytona Beach News,* April 1, 1936.
43. Although the program of work adopted at the convention contained only one item. the FSLWV executive board had adopted in December a six-point program drawn up by Marion Dickson and Constance Roach. It included abolition of the poll tax, a statewide stock law, a plan to improve the state educational-system, the social security program, and a commission to study the tax situation and jury service for women. Executive board meeting, December 11, 1936, II, box 349, NLWV papers. See also Marion Dickson to Marguerite Wells, December 1, 1936, ibid.
44. FSLWV, *Official Year Book 1932-33,* n.p.
45. Mrs. Wilhurst Chandler to Mrs. Henry Gratton Doyle, December 1, 1930, II, box 318, NLWV papers.

years later when the succeeding president, Mildred King Wentworth, explained, "we are trying to raise money to send our quota to National and hope to be able to send some before long. We have had a great deal hold us back– the worst of all being a treasurer who took office. . . and will not turn over the money in her possession."[46] In 1933 Wentworth wrote the national president, Belle Sherwin, asking if Florida could pledge $50.00 to maintain its affiliation instead of $100.[47] Sherwin responded that in fairness to other leagues, Florida's affiliation dues could not be reduced but it could pay in installments, $50.00 now and $50.00 later.[48]

The Florida league was also plagued by policy and personality conflicts among its members. Letters to the national office refer to the difficult personalities of various leaders with the suggestion that this was one cause of membership problems. Florida league presidents complained frequently about the lack of cooperation of various persons and about internal dissension. The Tampa league, for example, was deeply divided over the 1929 election of officers and a ruling by the chair that had prevented eighteen members from voting, thereby changing the outcome.[49] Tensions developed between the national office and Florida league officers over a variety of issues. In one instance Mildred King Wentworth began publication of her magazine, The *National Voter*, while she was state president. The national office, fearing that the periodical would be identified with the league, tried unsuccessfully to persuade her to change its name. She only agreed to refrain from distributing it in Florida.[50]

A more serious source of friction between the national organization and the Florida league was the requirement of nonpartisanship. While this had been a league standard from the beginning, during the 1930s the NLWV reaffirmed the standard and attempted to ensure that it was being met by state affiliates.[51]

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46. Mildred King Wentworth to Doyle, December 20, 1932, II, box 262,. ibid.
47. Wentworth to Belle Sherwin, April 11, 1933, ibid.
48. Sherwin to Wentworth, April 14, 1933, ibid.
49. *Tampa Daily News*, March 20, 1929.
50. Sherwin to Wentworth, August 30, 1932, and Wentworth to Sherwin, September 12, 1932, II, box 262, NLWV papers.
51. For a brief discussion of the problems of non-partisanship in the League, see Susan D. Becker, *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment* (Westport, 1981), 203-06. See also correspondence between Mrs. Augustus Roan and the president of the NLWV on whether the league should do

(The standard was apparently less vigorously enforced in the early 1920s for there is little evidence of concern over the potential for conflict in the duality of roles held by May Mann Jennings, chairman of legislation for the Florida league and state Democratic party leader.) Members of the league, who by the very fact of their membership were likely to be concerned with politics and policies, found the rule calling for neutrality with respect to candidates and parties difficult to follow. The difficulty was increased in Florida in the 1930s by volatile and fragmented one-party politics. The political turmoil in the state was described by league president Marion Dickson in 1936: "Florida has experienced political chaos during the past six months that we hope will never occur again. The Republican party fighting for recognition, Jeffersonian Democrats (so called) but only an auxiliary to the Republican Party, Liberty League, Townsendites and many 'isms' wrestling to elect a governor from fifteen candidates for the office. Florida having lost by death both senators (National) meant added confusion and an extra primary to select a nominee from a large number offering for that office."[52]

The partisan problems the Florida league posed for the national office were reflected in the letters and statements that came from both the critics and the leaders of the Florida league. Reports from northern visitors informed the national headquarters of the partisanship of members of the Florida league, sometimes accompanying the communications with newspaper clippings. One press account of a Miami meeting featuring a strong pro-Roosevelt speech caused the secretary of the NLWV to observe that the clipping made the meeting "sound like a 'Roosevelt for President' meeting" and to query whether "this was the same league that was so partisan last year."[53] Another observer wrote to the national headquarters, "I have no idea what state of unfortunate activity the Florida League is in though I did see in the Miami paper last fall that one of the more ob-

away with any active participation in governmental affairs and become purely educational, Roan to Wells, April 1, 1937, and Wells to Roan, April 9, 1937, II, box 320, NLWV papers.

52. Dickson to Constance Roach, November 7, 1936, II, box 349, ibid. For a general description of the Florida political situation, see V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1949), 82-105.

53. Roach to Roan, March 26, 1939, II, box 320, NLWV papers.

noxious league officers . . . was campaigning against the Homestead Amendment. I do know that the following people would never touch a League unless it were possible to dispose of the old group. "[54] As late as 1940 the league in Hillsborough County was described as "connoting politics in its worst sense" with the stigma attributed to remnants of the earlier organization.[55]

Correspondence from the Florida league revealed the difficulties of meeting the non-partisan standard. In 1930 President Chandler wrote Mrs. Roscoe Anderson, the acting president of the NLWV, saying, "there are a few Republican women in our state who want to run the League for political purposes, and because they did not get to carry out their intention at the convention in putting their candidates in office, they have made it rather unpleasant for some of us."[56] The succeeding Florida president, Mildred King Wentworth, wrote in 1932 to Mrs. Henry Doyle, executive secretary of the league, "I shall be very glad when this election is over because it has been difficult keeping certain officials of the League from playing their positions in the Leagues for political influence."[57] In December 1932, Wentworth informed Doyle that the state treasurer had been appointed national committeewoman for the Democratic party.[58] The following year Wentworth explained to the national office that the league endorsement of a local league president for school trustee was not in conflict with league policy since she was running for a non-partisan office.[59] A Volusia County league officer reported that she was a member of the Daytona Beach school board and that Orange City had three lady school board members, all members of the league.

The comments of Mrs. Marion Dickson of Tampa indicate, perhaps unwittingly, the gap between verbal support for non-partisanship and actual practice. On the one hand, Dickson wrote the regional secretary in 1936, "The Florida League President has to be very careful to prevent being identified with a political party." She also complained of the difficulty persuading

54. Mrs. Harvey Stevens to Mrs. Elwood Street, January 23, 1936, ibid.
55. Jane Berry to Mrs. Nelson Poynter, September 30, 1940, FLWV papers.
56. Chandler to Mrs. Roscoe Anderson, August 16, 1930, II, box 193, NLWV papers.
57. Wentworth to Doyle, n.d., ibid.
58. Ibid., December 20, 1932, II, box 262, ibid.
59. Wentworth to Ruth McKelway, June 14, 1933, ibid.

members to serve on the executive board because they did not want to be handicapped by the rule of non-partisanship. On the other hand, Dickson stated that as president, "she stressed getting out the vote and supporting men friendly to the League program, never once mentioning names." Moreover although she served as a Democratic committeewoman, she noted that this created no problem since she had not sought the office.[60]

The lack of sensitivity to the requirements of non-partisanship was also reflected in the Florida league's method of financing the league publication, *The Florida Voter.* The publication, which was funded in large part by advertising, after 1930 relied heavily on candidate ads for support.

The Florida league was not alone among the states in having difficulty adhering to the standards of the national organization. The national office was particularly critical of the southern states, doubting that southern women were prepared to assume league responsibilities or accept league doctrine. The regional secretary suggested that the problem rested in the character of the personnel and the lack of comprehension of the league.[61] Thus, the national officers came increasingly to believe that the establishment of prescribed standards was necessary to secure the desired quality of leadership.[62]

In May 1934 the national board of the league acted to strengthen the organization, setting up a special committee on affiliation standards. In December 1934 Florida was singled out by that committee as one of twelve states in which the league pattern was not workable. Five of the twelve– Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Nevada, and Idaho– were not affiliated with national. The seven affiliated organizations were in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Dakota, Montana, and Hawaii.[63] The weak units were located in southern or western states, while the strongest leagues were in the eastern and mid-western states. The former leagues were in states in which women had a shorter history of organizational activity, in

60. Dickson to Wells, December 1, 1936, and Dickson to Roan, December 1, 1936. See also Executive board meeting, December 11, 1936, II, box 349, ibid.
61. Roach to McKelway, II, box 312, ibid., and Roan to Harriet Baldwin, July 3, 1936, II, box 376, ibid.
62. Roan to Wells, July 3, 1936, II, box 376, ibid.
63. "Digest of Report of Committee on Affiliation Standards," II, box 320, ibid.

which income and education tended to be lower, and, in the case of the South, in which there was a cultural tradition against women's involvement in politics.

In May 1936 the general council of the NLWV agreed to minimum standards, and in November these standards were circulated to all state league presidents. The standards included six factors centering on size, strength, policy, and program: a minimum size of three local leagues and an organization membership of 100; demonstration annually of an increased capacity for governmental participation; an annual or biennial convention at which officers were elected and a program of work and a budget adopted; contribution of a share of the national budget; execution of a program of work, including effective action in the federal, state, or local field of government; and adherence to a policy of non-partisanship.[64]

The national officers were apparently torn over the course of action to follow with respect to Florida in 1936 and early 1937: to expel it or to revitalize it. Over the years national officers had frequently voiced dissatisfaction with the calibre of women in the Florida league, and the possibility of finding new leadership was raised in letters between the officers. Mrs. Augustus Roan, regional secretary, wrote, "there are no doubt hundreds of northern and eastern people who have gone to (Florida) from other states in which the League and its work are better organized."[65] A letter from Mrs. Harris Baldwin, national first vice president, to Roan asked whether it would be possible, "with the contacts you have in the state to bring in new groups which might form the leaven of a new state League?"[66] Roan responded that she would try to develop a Jacksonville league during the winter.[67] A former member of the Minneapolis league who might help organize a league in St. Petersburg was also mentioned.

At the same time Mrs. Marguerite Wells, president of the NLWV, wrote Marion Dickson suggesting that it might be best for the Florida league if the old leadership stepped decisively

64. "Affiliation Standards Adopted by the National League of Women Voters, November 10, 1936," with an attached letter from Wells to Dickson, April 1, 1937, ibid.
65. Roan to Wells, July 3, 1936, II, box 376, ibid.
66. Baldwin to Roan, October 5, 1936, ibid.
67. Roan to Baldwin, October 19, 1936, ibid.

aside and allowed new leaders to appear.[68] Dickson reacted with shock and surprise at the suggestion and did not resign.[69]

By December the likelihood of change dwindled. Wells wrote Mrs. Roan that it would be better if the league in Florida could be given up until new personnel were found.[70] In January Constance Roach, secretary of organization for the NLWV, indicated that neither she nor Wells were encouraged by their correspondence with Dickson. Roach also volunteered to withdraw gracefully from a proposed visit to Florida in view of the calibre of leadership in the Florida league and the small amount of money for field work.[71] The NLWV was moving steadily toward dropping the Florida unit from affiliation. In March Wells wrote, "I can find no hope that there is sufficiently strong leadership there to make a new state organization worthy of affiliation with the National League. I am afraid we shall have to let Florida go until some occasion appears for building it on a sound basis."[72]

During these same months the Florida league took several actions designed to prevent disaffiliation. An amount of $110 was pledged and paid to the national organization prior to the 1937 convention, ten per cent over the annual quota. Dickson wrote the national office stating that Florida met the national requirements for affiliation with four leagues and 100 members. She also described their legislative effort, pointing to the civil service bill that the league had prepared.[73] (This bill was subsequently defeated in the Florida House of Representatives.)

The efforts were to no avail. On May 6,. 1937, the Florida league's difficulties with leadership, internal problems, finances, and national standards reached a climax. On the basis of annual reports or the lack of them, field observations, current correspondence, and information to the national headquarters the board of directors of the NLWV withdrew affiliation from Arizona, Florida, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Utah. The Florida situation differed from that of the other five

68. Wells to Dickson, November 25, 1936, II, box 320, ibid.
69. Dickson to Roan, December 1, 1936, II, box 321, ibid.
70. Wells to Roan, December 8, 1936, II, box 376, ibid.
71. Roach to Roan, January 8, 1937, ibid.
72. Wells to Roan, March 8, 1937, ibid.
73. Dickson to Wells, January 15, 1937, II, box 349, ibid. The executive board of the FSLWV had adopted a six-item legislative program in December 1936, but apparently never implemented it. Executive board meeting, December 11, 1936, II, box 349, ibid. See also note 43 above.

leagues disaffiliated. In each of those states only one league was functioning; membership below the 100 person minimum was the justification for disaffiliation. The report on Florida was far more critical, citing failure to meet five of the six affiliation standards. It was reported that, "the Florida League of Women Voters has sent in no annual report this year. A letter from the president March 30, 1937, states that they have 4 leagues with a combined membership of 100. Last year they reported 6 leagues with a membership of 500. If this information is accurate, this is the only way in which the Florida League meets official standards."[74]

The Florida league was also condemned for failing to understand the organization's policies on non-partisanship, for not adopting a definite program of legislative work, for a lack of growth, and for failing to meet in convention and elect officers annually. The report concluded that "not only has the League failed to show progress indicating increased capacity . . . but it has retrogressed considerably in the last few years."[75]

In fact, only a part of the criticism was justified. Florida had met in either a council or convention every year except 1931, and was in accordance with the by-laws and past practice in electing its officers biennially. Moreover, the finance standard, which was apparently complied with at least in 1937, was not mentioned, implying that it had not been met in view of the initial statement.

The Florida league rejected the mandate to disband. Following notification of national action, they passed two resolutions. The first called on the national league to return. the Florida league's $110 dues and Dickson's ten dollar conference registration fee. The second stated that the FSLWV withdrew its affiliation from the NLWV but resolved to continue as the Florida State League of Women Voters, an organization incorporated under the laws of Florida.[76] The national office refused to return the payment stating that the $110 was for past, and not future, dues and expressed regret at the decision to continue in existence, calling it unrealistic and unethical for the disaffiliated organization to continue to use the league name.[77]

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74. "Report to the Board of Directors on Insignia of Affiliation," May 1, 1937, II, box 486, ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. A copy of the resolutions passed by the FSLWV was attached to a letter from Jesse McAllister to Wells, June 12, 1937, II, box 349, ibid.
77. Baldwin to Dickson, June 15, 1937, ibid.

The national league ignored the disaffiliated league and sought leadership for a new league in Florida. It found such leadership in Victoria Schuck, a young political science professor at the Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee. Dr. Schuck had written the national office expressing an interest in joining the national league since there was no local group in Tallahassee. Referred to by Constance Roach, the organization secretary, as "our contact and white hope in Florida," Schuck took the lead establishing a new organization. She informed the national office that "remnants of the old League get considerable publicity" and noted that she met objections to the league based on the reputation of the old organization. She went on to suggest that something must be done about the old group if there was going to be a new league in Florida.[78]

In fact, little could be done legally about the old league since it had state incorporation. Nonetheless, efforts to establish a new organization went forward, and in November 1939 the national board granted affiliation to a newly-formed organization, designated the Florida Non-Partisan League of Women Voters to distinguish it from the disaffiliated but still functioning league. The first units of the new league were organized in Winter Park-Orlando and St. Petersburg. The state president was Mrs. Nelson Poynter, a leading citizen of the type that the national league had long hoped to enlist. Poynter was described as coming from an old St. Petersburg family; her husband was the general manager of the *St. Petersburg Times.*

Although the old league had dwindled by 1940 to two chapters, one in Daytona Beach and one in Tampa, it continued to trouble the national league. The state president of the disaffiliated league, Mrs. Valisha Short, contacted both the NLWV officers and the Florida Non-Partisan League officers expressing an interest in bringing the old league into the new organization.[79] The national office rebuffed these inquiries. Roach, the organization secretary, wrote Short that it would be some time before help could be extended to them and suggested that they cease meeting for the present.[80]

78. Roach to Wells, January 3, 1939, II, box 380, ibid. Dr. Schuck subsequently became a professor of political science at Mount Holyoke College and later president of Mount Vernon College.
79. Valisha Short to Roach, February 20, 1940, II, box 627, ibid.
80. Roach to Short, February 21, 1940, II, box 380, ibid.

In 1941 Poynter wrote the national office asking if they should continue to side-step Short and the Daytona Beach group. Poynter said she needed the national position to be quite clear, since on a number of occasions she had met with "why not let them join?"[81] The organization secretary responded to the request for guidance, writing, "I do believe that the Florida League in self-protection must keep out disruptive elements. It is not undemocratic to believe in self-preservation."[82]

In May 1941 the president of the old Tampa league wrote Short, stating that the league in Tampa had been dissolved and advising the Daytona Beach group to do the same.[83] It was not until 1947, however, that the league in Daytona Beach disbanded, to bring to an end the first league of women voters in Florida. At that time they sent the president of the Non-Partisan League of Women Voters notice of this fact and requested a chapter of the Non-Partisan League be established for the younger women of the community. Provisional leagues were established in Tampa and Daytona Beach in 1949, though still with some reluctance.[84] With the dismantling of the old league, the Florida Non-Partisan League of Women Voters changed its name to the Florida League of Women Voters to correspond to the national organization.

The troubled history of the first league of women voters epitomizes the difficulties women in Florida faced in the 1920s and 1930s in carving out a political role. For the league and its members, the problems of organization, finances, and effective lobbying were compounded by the national league's coupling of the goal of policy advocacy with that of maintaining a non-partisan stance. Drawing the line between the two was not always easy. Despite its ignominious end, the league worked for important policy goals and had provided a mechanism to encourage the involvement of women in the political process. It warrants

81. Catherine Poynter to Roach, April 9, 1941, ibid.
82. Roach to Poynter, April 14, 1941, FLWV papers.
83. Short to Roach, February 12, 1940, II, box 627, NLWV papers.
84. As late as 1949 the officers of the Florida League continued to express reservations about organizing in Daytona Beach. The president of the Florida League of Women Voters, Mrs. Henry Killen, reported, "The political situation in Daytona Beach is serious and dangerous, It was apparent that some of the women who came to the meeting were disappointed in the fact that they could not use the League for political action in support of more desirable candidates for local office." General report of organization activities by Mrs. Henry Killen, September 17, 1949, FLWV papers.

recognition as the predecessor of the current Florida League of Women Voters.

FLORIDA'S FIRST WOMEN CANDIDATES

by ALLEN MORRIS

THE nineteenth amendment, the women's suffrage amendment, having been ratified by the requisite thirty-eight states, was declared a part of the United States Constitution on August 26, 1920. Tennessee cast the deciding vote. The amendment had been first proposed by Congress on June 5, 1915. Florida was not among the thirty-eight states. Ratification did not come in this state until 1969, and then only as a symbolic recognition of the fiftieth anniversary of the Florida League of Women Voters.[1] Florida's women unsuccessfully had urged their legislators since the 1890s to adopt woman's suffrage. In 1917 the right to vote in city elections had been granted women at Florence Villa, Moore Haven, Palm Beach, and Pass-a-Grille, and in 1918 at DeLand, Aurantia, Daytona Beach, and Orange City.[2]

Florida newspapers treated the addition of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Some supported the actions; others felt that federal regulation of suffrage was an intrusion into the rights of states. The *Tampa Tribune* assured its readers that, "there is no need for alarm over this new entrant to the voting booth. There is room for both; and the *Tribune,* for one, welcomes the fact that the women of this country will be politically important hereafter as the men. It welcomes the thought that if there is such a thing as purity in politics, it will gradually be reached now. We are not one to believe that woman's entrance into the political arena means besmirching her skirts, or her mind. Most of those who will vote will be the mothers of the country; and we believe, 'A mother, is a mother still, the holiest thing alive'."[3]

A few days later the Tampa paper explained that it was "not ungracious in its welcome of women into the ranks of electors.

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1. Florida Senate Concurrent Resolution 1172. Adopted by Senate, May 13, 1969; by House, May 13, 1969.
2. Allen Morris, *The Florida Handbook, 1983-1984* (Tallahassee, 1983), 523.
3. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* August 19, 1920.

Despite the attempt of a few in the state to make it appear the *Tribune* has opposed woman's suffrage, such is not a fact. The *Tribune,* while stubbornly proclaiming the right of the state to grant this privilege, has never once said they should not have the privilege. The *Tribune* has also urged on the legislatures which had to pass on the amendment that they adopt the policy of majority rule, since it was evident the country, with the exception of the South, was going to let the amendment in. We would not ever be a stumbling block to progress and right, even though we did not believe in the path along which progress and right might be coming. If an infant be hungry, while we prefer for it the material [maternal] breast, still we would not permit it to suffer an hour because only a bottle or a spoon was available."[4]

The Jacksonville *Metropolis* hailed the new day that had "dawned in American politics. The *Metropolis* extends heartiest congratulations to the women of this country. Justice has been given them. The right has been withheld from them by biased and egotistical politicians, but at last the veil has been torn away and woman stands today at the gateway of her rights. Here, without seeking to share any of the glory which the women have achieved for themselves, the *Metropolis* takes the opportunity to remind them that it was one of the first papers in Florida to endorse equal suffrage, and the cause has been supported unvaryingly since then, although at the beginning of the fight the majority of the state press were rampant opponents."[5]

The Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* also noted the occasion: "Yesterday the Tennessee legislature ratified the Anthony amendment giving women the right to vote but the sun did not stop or hurry in its course. The waters continued to flow towards the sea and the breeze fanned the people of Jacksonville as was their custom. Nature did not celebrate the event even with a thunderstorm. We do not look for any seismic disturbances in the political field. The number of persons qualified for participation in the election will be increased by about one-fourth and that is about all. We look neither for the millenium nor for the destruction of the world."[6]

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4. Ibid., August 29, 1920.
5. *Miami News,* August 23, 1920, quoted by *Jacksonville Metropolis,* August 20, 1920.
6. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 19, 1920.

A few days later the *Times-Union* wrote, "A situation confronts the people of this state and they should face it; they can't avoid it by imitating the ostrich. The women have been enfranchised and many of the white women, we think probably the majority of the white women in Florida, did not wish the ballot. A large number of these will probably show their disgust not only by remaining away from the polls but also by refusing to qualify as voters. But we are confident that no such reluctance to vote will be found among the negro women."[7]

The *Miami Herald* revealed its strong opposition to the adoption of the amendment with the headline "The Rape Complete." There was also a critical story: "With what seems to have been entirely arbitrary action on the part of certain authorities in Tennessee, the ratification of the legislature of that state of the nineteenth amendment has been technically certified to the secretary of state and that official is all cocked and primed to issue his proclamation announcing that the nineteenth amendment, granting the franchise to women, has been ratified by three-fourths of the states and is, therefore, a part of the Constitution of the United States and in full force and effect. Thus the second rape of the Constitution, within two years, has been accomplished, and must be accepted by the people of the whole country. [The eighteenth amendment, prohibiting intoxicating liquors, had been ratified January 29, 1919.] The United States is no longer a federated republic. The states, as such, have practically disappeared and as time goes on, one after another of the rights that they have thought reserved to themselves will be taken away and the government will be centralized at Washington. Eventually, our internal affairs will all be administered by bureaus at the capital and the state legislatures will become like the boards of commissioners in the various counties of the country. State lines have been wiped out and the states themselves become only names of provinces, parts of a centralized and powerful government whose basic law may now be changed almost at will."[8]

The *St. Petersburg Daily Times* took an opposite view: "Woman's right to the full estate of citizenship is won in America. No more will she be classed with idiots, insane persons and immature youth. Henceforth woman will stand alongside man

7. Ibid., August 28, 1920.
8. *Miami Herald,* August 26, 1920.

as his equal in determining the affairs of the nation just as she has been his equal and even his superior in other things that have made the world of today."[9] The *St. Petersburg Independent* wrote: "The advent of women at the ballot box of the nation is fraught with consequences of the greatest moment to the people as a whole– men and women alike. That those consequences shall be for the weal of the nation there can be no questions. The proposition that the granting of the right to express her convictions at the poles [sic] will mean woman's neglect of her privileges and responsibilities in the home is one of the most puerile and innocuous arguments that could have been framed in the effort to defeat the measure."[10]

Adding the amendment to the Constitution did not end the controversy in Florida. Rivers H. Buford, incoming state attorney general, believed that it would be necessary to call the legislature into special session to eliminate the word "male" from the voter qualifications law.[11] Van C. Swearingen, the outgoing attorney general, took an opposite stand. He argued that no special session would be needed; the amendment, he felt, was self-executing.[12]

The Swearingen view prevailed, and no session was called. In Tampa, however, B. L. Blackburn, the supervisor of registration for Hillsborough County, said that he would seek a ruling from the state attorney general as to whether women should be registered under the names of their husbands with "Mrs." prefixed or whether "they are to give their Christian names." According to the *Tampa Tribune,* "there is but one way" for a woman to register and "that is under her full name. This amendment is for the enfranchisement of women; it recognizes their personality and an identity as never before. . . . She is not recognized because she is the 'wife' of any man, the 'daughter' of any man, or the 'widow' of any man."[13]

There was also a question of whether women should pay the poll tax for one year or two. The tax, $1.00 a year, was a prerequisite to voting, and payment was required two years prior to the year of an election. However, there was a proviso that only

9. *St. Petersburg Daily Times,* August 19, 1920.
10. *St. Petersburg Independent,* August 19, 1920.
11. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 20, 1920.
12. Ibid., August 29, 1920.
13. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* August 20, 1920.

one year's tax was assessed against a person who, among other reasons, was either not of age or not a resident of Florida during a year prior to the election. John T. G. Crawford, national Democratic committeeman from Florida, argued that payment of one year's tax should suffice since women previously had not been able to qualify to register.[14] Frank Ironmonger, Duval County supervisor of registration, interpreted the poll tax law as exempting "first voters."[15] In Jacksonville it was rumored that someone was selling "permits to vote" for $2.00, and Ironmonger warned women not to be taken in by such approaches, or to become confused by the poll tax requirement.[16]

In Florida, the primary had been held in June 1920, two months prior to ratification. Thus, the only opportunity for women to participate in the political process that year was in the November general election. The women whose names appeared on a statewide ballot in Florida for the first time were three candidates for presidential elector among twenty-nine aspirants. They were Mrs. A. E. Henri, Mrs. L. L. Hays, and Charlotte R. Coffin; their places of residences do not appear in the records of the secretary of state. The winning six male candidates received votes totalling from 87,122 to 90,515; totals for the three women ranged from 2,941 to 3,940.[17]

Meanwhile, the legislature, on April 5, 1921, settled the question of whether the nineteenth amendment broadened by implication Florida's registration law. The legislature passed a bill, and Governor Cary Hardee signed it on June 14, 1921, inserting "and her" in the qualifications statute.[18] Subsequently, the Florida law was changed to read "every person" and the state constitution to "any person."

The first test of the desire of women to seek elective office came in 1922. Front-page publicity was given to the women from Pinellas and Taylor counties who announced their candidacy for seats in the Florida House of Representatives.[19] If there were any

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14. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 20, 1920.
15. Ibid., August 28, 1920.
16. Ibid.
17. Election returns, 1920, Department of State, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.
18. *Laws of Florida,* 1921. Chapter 8583, 401.
19. *St. Petersburg Times,* June 4, 1922.

Photograph from William E. Tippetts
Mrs. Katherine B. Tippetts

Photograph from Mrs. Dorothy Fuller Geeslin
Representative Edna Giles Fuller

Photograph from Seale H. Matthews
Representative Mary Lou Baker

Photograph from Mrs. Mary Tyson Lear
Miss Myrtice McCaskill

Photograph from Mrs. Edna Pearce Lockett
Representative Edna Pearce

other female candidates, a review of county returns does not reveal any readily recognizable names.[20]

The day following the first Democratic primary in Florida in which women could be either a voter or a candidate, the *St. Petersburg Independent* reported: "Women candidates seemed to have fared badly, with the exception of two who sought membership in the lower house of the legislature, all were candidates either for county school boards, county supervisors of registration or other minor offices. One of the legislative candidates was beaten [by] about 451 [votes], the fate of the other depended upon the number of second choice votes polled, and all of the others, according to available returns, went down in defeat before their masculine opponents."[21] The reports of the county canvassing boards indicate women won office in at least four counties– school board in two counties, supervisor of registration in one, and justice of the peace in the other.

One of the two candidates for the house had been Myrtice Vera McCaskill from Taylor County. A native of DeFuniak Springs, single, twenty-five years old (born June 15, 1896), and ambitious, she had served as reading clerk in the house in 1917 and 1919, and in the senate in 1921.[22] A campus leader at Florida State College of Women in Tallahassee, McCaskill had studied "expression" and was called upon frequently to give readings, a popular form of entertainment in those years.[23] She taught school, and during World War I had organized the state for the United War Work Fund of the YWCA.

When Representative J. H. Scales announced that he planned to run for the senate in 1922, it created a vacancy, and McCaskill was urged to seek the Taylor County seat by several legislators and by a young friend who was then a legislative reporter for the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*.[24] Her father approved of her candidacy, but her mother did not. It appeared at first that she would have no opposition, but there was a last-minute qualifier,

20. Primary election returns, June 1922, Department of State, Florida State Archives.
21. *St. Petersburg Independent*, June 7, 1922.
22. *Florida House Journal*, 1917, 1919; *Florida Senate Journal*, 1921.
23. Autobiography prepared by Myrtice McCaskill Tyson in 1957 in *Mobile Press Register*, September 7, 1958.
24. Conversation with Mary Tyson Lear, May 10, 1983. See also *The People of Lawmaking in Florida, 1822-1983*, compiled by the Office of the Clerk, Florida House of Representatives (Tallahassee, 1982), n.p.

W. T. Hendry, an attorney.[25] There is no way of determining whether he was influenced by McCaskill's support of cattle dipping to rid them of ticks or by other matters which were of concern to the voters. Dipping was strongly opposed by farmers in Taylor County, and it became a lively issue.

McCaskill campaigned from the back of a pick-up truck driven by her father or a cousin. Her daughter later related an incident of the campaign: "She walked slowly toward a group of women sitting on the porch of a backwoods shack. They were chewing tobacco. One of the women spit in her direction and called her 'that hussy that's a-running for the Legislature.' Then she told mother to leave politicking and moonshining to the menfolks. 'That's all they're good fer anyway,' she declared and spat again."[26] Reflecting on the campaign later, McCaskill's son noted, "One of the other issues in the campaign other than mother being a woman was that she was roundly criticized for being a college graduate."[27]

McCaskill lost the election; she received 197 votes to Hendry's 835.[28] Apart from the resentment of her support of cattle dipping, which the 1923 legislature enacted anyway, McCaskill's defeat was attributed to two factors: the voters were not yet ready to have a woman represent them in the state legislature and her opponent was "a man trusted and admired by the vast majority of the voters."[29]

The other woman seeking election to the Florida house in 1922 was Katherine Bell Tippetts of St. Petersburg. She finished second in a field of four, receiving a total of 660 first and second choice votes to M. W. Ulmer's total of 948 votes.[30] There is

25. *St. Petersburg Times*, June 4, 1922.
26. Mary Tyson Lear to author, February 2, 1983.
27. John M. Tyson to author, September 24, 1982.
28. Democratic primary returns, June 6, 1922, Department of State, Florida State Archives.
29. Alton Wentworth to author, April 25, 1983. For W. T. Hendry see *People of Lawmaking in Florida.* For McCaskill see *Mobile Press-Register*, September 7, 1958. After her defeat, McCaskill wrote insurance, making the New York Life's Hundred Thousand Dollar Club. She was reading law for admission to the bar when she married James Jordan Tyson of Montgomery, an Alabama attorney and son of a chief justice of that state's supreme court. The Tysons had three children: John M., James, and Mary. In July 1983, Mrs. Tyson was in a nursing home in Mobile.
30. Democratic primary returns, June 6, 1922, Department of State, Florida State Archives. The first and second primaries were combined, with voters marking their first and second choices for an office on a single ballot.

nothing in Mrs. Tippetts personal files to explain her motives for running for the legislature. Perhaps she believed that she could better serve the citizens in her county than male legislators. This may be inferred from her remarks after she, as part of a delegation, had come to Tallahassee in 1921 to urge passage of legislation that had been endorsed by the Pinellas County Federation of Woman's Clubs: "The first great shock to the women now to the methods of the Halls of the Legislature is the fact that during the first weeks of the Session the men assembled to thrash out the grave problems of the state act like a bunch of boys kept unwillingly in school. The slightest mention of invitations to picnics or fish fries calls for the motion to adjourn to attend same, and it is not 'till visions of continuous House and Committee meetings loom menacingly that the older and stricter members are able to hold the boys in check, some of whom had rather vote to adjourn for picnics, seemingly, than for their favorite bill. At present this practice is causing the Legislature to be kept in almost continuous session, with the sergeant-at-arms keeping locked doors to keep the quorum inviolate and with hasty passage of vast numbers of accumulated bills to make a proper finis."[31]

It may be guessed also that Tippetts's observations of legislative committee activity caused her to believe that she could accomplish more as a member of the legislature than as an onlooker. She had appeared before a joint committee considering bills to protect birds that the Woman's Federation was supporting. Apparently she believed that she had been figuratively patted on the head like a child and complimented on her "pretty little Bird Books" by the male legislators until finally they realized that she was determined to become involved. "Only then," she reported, "was I allowed to help. It was amusing to hear the various questions asked [by] the committee, such as 'are turtles migratory?' and 'why are birds migratory?" She finally came to believe that the legislators were "ready to listen to reason, and they really want the woman's viewpoint on matters pertaining to social and civic betterment." However, when one senator announced that he wished club women would stop writing him to

31. Unidentified clipping, probably from a Pinellas County newspaper in the last week of the 1921 session. Scrapbooks and loose clippings in possession of William E. Tippetts of St. Petersburg.

"vote for bills so and so. How can I find time to know all their numbers?" Mrs. Tippetts quickly informed him, "if you do not take time, they will soon know your number."[32] Mrs. Tippetts predicted, "The time is not far distant when a generous sprinkling of women will grace the two houses, to use a time-honored phrase, not as spectators but as the people's representatives, so let a woman with such aspirations fit herself to repersent intelligently her constituents."[33] This was 1921; less than a year later Mrs. Tippetts declared her own candidacy and launched what turned out to be an unsuccessful campaign against M. W. Ulmer.

It was not until 1928, six years after it had become constitutionally possible, that a woman was elected to the Florida House of Representatives. She was Mrs. J. T. Fuller from Orange County. Fuller was the name appearing on the ballots for the Democratic primary and the general election of 1928, but she was better known as Edna Giles Fuller, and she used this designation in succeeding elections and in the *House Journal* when explaining her vote.[34] She was the niece of James L. Giles, former mayor of Orlando, and had lived in his home while growing up. Her husband, John Thomas Fuller, had been her uncle's business partner. When he died in 1912, he left his widow a fortune described as "considerable."[35]

In her announcement, Mrs. Fuller stated she would run "on a record of 20 years of constructive public service."[36] This service had included heading a state commission to formulate welfare policy and serving as chair of the board of education of her church. She had also been assistant food administrator for Florida

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32. Unidentified clippings, Tippetts scrapbook.
33. St. Petersburg *The Tourist News*, January 15, 1921; press release, Associated Press, Tallahassee, April 23, 1928. Tippetts was born March 11, 1865, in Somerset County, Maryland. She was educated in private schools, achieved proficiency in five languages, and authored several books under the *nom de plume* Jerome Cable. William Henry Tippetts had been a European correspondent for a number of American newspapers. They came to St. Petersburg in 1902 because of his poor health, and operated the Belmont Hotel.
34. *Florida House Journal*, 1929, 1931; Records of Orange County Supervisor of Elections, Orange County Courthouse, Orlando, Florida.
35. *Orlando Sentinel*, August 3, 1952; Eve Bacon, *Orlando: A Centennial History*, 2 vols. (Chuluota, 1975), 318-20. Mrs. Fuller was born August 5, 1874, on a farm in Hillsborough County near Plant City. She died December 28, 1952, at Orlando.
36. Sidney Ives to author, August 9, 1982.

under Herbert Hoover during World War I. Her friends noted that "Miss Edna loves people. She loves doing. She loves God. She'll encourage you to do right . . . and if that doesn't work, she'll drive you."

Fuller's opponent in 1928 was J. D. Beggs. They were running for the Orange County house seat which had been vacated when the incumbent decided to become a senatorial candidate. Mrs. Fuller won 3,987 to 3,119, and she was unopposed in the general election.[37]

Mrs. Fuller was formally presented to the Florida House of Representatives in 1929 by Speaker Samuel W. Getzen. She was not awed by these ceremonies, she said, but she was moved by her sense of dedication to service. Speaking to her fellow legislators, she said, "There may be some trepidation among members of the House as to a woman serving in its ranks, but I urge you not to feel this way about me."[38]

Mrs. Fuller's first bill was based upon her earlier public welfare experience. This legislation, which she had helped design, distributed the responsibilities for dependent mothers and children among state and county agencies, and transfered authority to the new State Board of Public Welfare from the State Board of Health. Five of the other eight bills she introduced were of a local nature and one was a claim bill. She also sponsored a bill relating to notaries public, which was unfavorably reported by committee, and another, addressing unsatisfied judgements, which died on the house calendar.

A test of Mrs. Fuller's philosophy and politics came when a resolution was introduced deploring the presence of the wife of a black congressman, Representative Oscar De Priest of Chicago, at a White House social function given by Mrs. Herbert Hoover in 1931. The incident stirred immense controversy, with some southern newspapers blasting Mrs. Hoover for "defiling" the White House. The Florida house resolution originally resolved "that the act of Mrs. Hoover in thus entertaining a negro woman on a parity with white ladies was both shameful and disgraceful and if persisted in will destroy the prestige of the Anglo-Saxon race and set at naught the social fabric of the country that has for ages guarded and kept sacred the purity of our Anglo-Saxon

37. Records of Orange County Supervisor of Elections.
38. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 4, 1929.

blood which stands for the highest type of Americanism." The resolution was amended to strike out the words condemning Mrs. Hoover, but it criticized "certain social policies of the administration which have to do with entertaining negroes in the White House." After two hours of debate, the resolution was adopted, and Mrs. Fuller voted in favor of it. She explained her action: "In explanation of my vote, I am in sympathy with the principle of the resolution which emphasizes one of the recognized bases of solution of racial problems in this country, but am not at all in sympathy with the wording of the resolution and do not approve the use of the words 'shame' and 'disgrace', nor the use of the name of the wife of the president."[39]

Mrs. Fuller ran unopposed for a second term in 1930.[40] By the time the legislature convened in regular session in April 1931, the Great Depression had already begun to devastate the economy of the country. Florida was in desperate financial straits. The state's troubles preceded those of the nation; Florida was still suffering from the collapse of the land boom of the 1920s and the destruction caused by two ferocious hurricanes. The inability of the legislature and Governor Doyle Carlton to agree upon an appropriations bill which would reflect Florida's depleted revenues resulted in the famous "Hundred Day Legislature"— a regular session of sixty days plus two twenty-day special sessions. Appropriations were finally voted, and the legislature also legalized pari-mutuel wagering at horse and dog tracks. Mrs. Fuller opposed the gambling measure.

The 1932 election year saw the greatest turnover in the history of the Florida house. Seventy-eight per cent of the members of the 1933 House were freshmen.[41] Mrs. Fuller was among those defeated; she received 2,668 votes to the 3,736 cast for her opponent, Judge J. J. Dickinson.[42] Coverage of the campaign by the *Orlando Sentinel* did not provide much information as to what caused Fuller's defeat. It may be inferred that it was a bad year for incumbents generally, from the ouster of two Orange County clerks of court, offices usually considered politically safe. Yet, Fuller's house colleague, Fred Ward, defeated an opponent.[43]

39. *Florida House Journal,* 1929.
40. Records of Orange County Supervisor of Elections.
41. Records of Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives.
42. Records of Orange County Supervisor of Elections.
43. *Orlando Sentinel,* June 9, 1932.

The second woman to become a member of the Florida House of Representatives had two identities. She was known both as Mrs. Seale H. Matthews, the wife of a man then in World War II military service, and as Mary Lou Baker, lawyer and legislator. She was elected from Pinellas County in November 1942. The duality of her identity caused some problems for her over the years. During her 1944 campaign, when she was running for a second term, she explained her use of her maiden name: "The purpose of a name is to designate an individual, and to distinguish that individual from others. I received my law degree and my certificate to practice as Mary Lou Baker. Mary Lou Baker is my name and I am entitled to every particle of good will attached to the use of that name as a result of my own efforts, but nothing more. It might even be considered unsportsmanlike for me to use the name of my husband upon the ballot and thereby borrow from the good will established by the name of Captain Seale H. Matthews. My husband is well known and most favorably known. On the other hand, the church membership of my husband and myself, and my own membership in the Eastern Star and other ladies' organizations, which memberships are predicated upon Seale's membership in the parent organizations, are in a different category. There we work jointly and jointly received the benefits and benisons of those organizations. There I am intensely proud to be known as Mrs. Seale H. Matthews. I hope St. Peter has the names so recorded in his big book."[44]

Baker's candidacy, like that of Miss McCaskill and Mrs. Tippetts, may also have been a result of her observations of legislative proceedings. She believed that she "could do as well- or better [than her male counterparts]." She had been employed as indexer for the *Journal* of the 1941 session, and had many opportunities to observe the workings of the legislature and the activities of the state's lawmakers. Baker was one of three Pinellas County representatives in the 1943 legislature. She had defeated a one-term incumbent, Stanley C. Minshall, in the election the previous fall. A third candidate, Henry D. Goff, had a platform of only two specific planks: to forbid city councilmen from holding another public office and to limit membership in the legislature to native-born Americans. Minshall was Canadian-born as

44. *St. Petersburg Times,* February 12, 1944.

was Miss Baker but that part of her life was not publicized. A legislative Who's Who listed Salt Lake City, Utah, as her place of birth.[45] In the first primary, Baker received 5,034 votes; Minshall, 4,783; and Goff 1,884. In the runoff election, she received 5,988 votes to Minshall's 3,978. She carried sixty-nine of the county's seventy-seven precincts and tied in one.[46] She was unopposed in the general election.

In her first term, Baker was the major sponsor of three bills relating to women: making it lawful for women to serve on juries (failed); authorizing the use of powers of attorney executed by husband or wife (senate companion passed); and permitting married women to manage their separate property and to make contracts (passed both houses). Miss Baker was best known for the married women's rights law, commonly known as the Baker Act. This act (not to be confused with a later Baker Act relating to mental health matters), was upheld by the Florida Supreme Court. Justice Elwyn Thomas, for the court, observed: "The strange illogic of the common law rule becomes more striking as the years pass. In this century we find women, married ones, engaged in every conceivable business and governmental enterprise. Yet, under common law, a single woman with the right to manage her property, lost the right and was regarded as incompetent when she married."[47] The *Florida Law Journal* noted in an editorial: "To Mary Lou Baker, the lady from Pinellas, must be given credit for accomplishing the most historic change which has occurred in the basic law of the State of Florida in the past generation. Through her tenacity and courage it was finally enacted into law in the closing days of the session."[48]

In the 1944 Democratic primary Baker defeated William S. (Bill) Howell by a vote 12,335 to 7,643. Again, she was unopposed in the general election.[49] After the votes were counted, Representative Baker had what the *St. Petersburg Times* described as the "most unusual post-campaign statement ever to come from a

45. Ibid., April 28, 1942. See *St. Petersburg Times,* May 9, 1942. Baker was born in Prince Rupert, British Colombia, Canada, October 26, 1914. She came to Florida from Provo, Utah, in 1925. She was a graduate of Stetson University College of Law. She died May 8, 1965.
46. *St. Petersburg Times,* May 6, 1942; *St. Petersburg Evening Independent,* May 27, 1942.
47. *Taylor* v. *Dorsey,* 19 So. 2nd 876 (Fl. 1944).
48. *Florida Law Journal,* 17 (July 1943), 191-93.
49. *St. Petersburg Times,* May 3, 1944.

local winning candidate." She was pregnant, and around midnight of election day, she telephoned this news to her husband who was stationed at Camp Roberts in California. She had guarded "this domestic item," she said, "lest it be thought knowledge of it was permitted in order to influence the voting."

If neither Captain Matthews nor Pinellas voters were aware of the pregnancy prior to the election, an endorsement of his wife's candidacy by Matthews took the form of a letter whose contents were given the radio and press. "My wife, Mary Lou Baker, is an excellent housewife, an able lawyer and legislator, a prudent business woman. She writes and speaks clearly, concisely, convincingly, yet tactfully. She possesses great beauty, poise, charm and friendliness. All who know Mary Lou love and respect her. Re-elect her and you will again be proud of the superior and distinguished service you will receive from her, a legislator of skill, ability and patriotism."[50]

In the 1945 session Representative Baker was the prime sponsor of four general bills which passed both houses and became law. Two of these strengthened the authority of the State Railroad Commission (now the Public Service Commission) to collect mileage taxes; another regulated optometry, and the remaining bill increased the monthly allowances to public school teachers and county school superintendents who had served thirty-five years.

In the Democratic primary of 1946 Baker's political career collided with a legislative axiom that local bills are more likely to defeat a legislator than support and vote of general laws. In Pinellas County, this issue, as defined by the *St. Petersburg Times*, was utility regulation. The *Times* said Mary Lou Baker had given "great lip service" in the 1944 campaign to lower power rates through a county regulatory board but when opportunity arose to work for such an agency, she not only went back on her promise but actually voted against it." The Times noted, "voters have long memories."[51] The paper was obviously right; Miss Baker lost the election to Charles J. Schuh, Jr., by a vote of 4,522 to 8,820.[52]

Edna Pearce, elected to the Florida House of Representatives

50. Ibid., April 22, 1944.
51. Ibid., May 7, 1946.
52. Ibid., May 8, 1946.

in 1948, was the third woman to serve in that capacity. Once Pearce had been delayed because a rain-drenched sandy road made it difficult to travel. She missed her bank appointment and had to stay overnight away from home. She thought she knew how to get the attention of the State Road Department: be elected to the legislature. Miss Pearce was a prosperous, attractive thirty-seven year old cattlewoman from Fort Basinger when she began making her plans to become a candidate. After she determined that the incumbent from Highlands County did not intend to run again, she called upon each man who might be a candidate. When each disclaimed his intention, she formally entered the race. She was elected without opposition.[53]

The Pearce family lived on land on the Kissimmee River which Edna's grandfather, Captain John Pearce, had received because of his military service. Her great-grandfather had been a Methodist circuit rider and a cattleman. Her brother, Clifford, was a member of the Highlands County Commission, and she had been a member of the State Democratic Committee. She had also been active in the State Cattlemen's Association, Farm Bureau, and the alumni association of her alma mater, Florida Southern College. Pearce had also attended Florida State College for Women.[54] When Miss Pearce came to Tallahassee in 1949, she was welcomed by many friends and acquaintances, including Alfred A. McKethan, the Brooksville banker who was then chairman of the State Road Board. Pearce quickly achieved her initial goal, the paving of the road from Fort Basinger to Sebring. It may have helped that she was a member of both the committee on appropriations and the committee on public roads.

A sampling of the general bills she sponsored indicates her many legislative interests.[55] In 1949, she pushed for a bill requiring containers with a distinctive surface for poisons and another requiring the accurate labeling of Florida beef. Her bill for safety inspection of inboard motor boats died on the house calendar, but the measure which she co-sponsored allowing women to serve as jurors upon their request passed. In 1951, she obtained an appropriation for Highlands Hammock State Park, although her effort to establish a state hospital for alcoholics in Highlands

53. Interview with Mrs. William L. Lockett, May 2, 1983.
54. *Lake Placid Journal,* July 14, 1983.
55. *Florida House Journal,* 1949, 1951, 1953.

County died in committee. Two years later, however, she succeeded in getting the house to approve establishing this center in her county. Both houses passed her bill limiting the life of dormant lawsuits. She failed to win passage of a bill to abolish discriminatory wage rates based on sex.

In 1953 on a voyage to Europe aboard the *Queen Mary*, Miss Pearce met William L. Lockett, an English wool importer, when they were seated together at the captain's table. Shortly afterwards they were married, and she retired from politics and took up residence in London. Later, the Locketts returned to Florida, and Edna and her sister, Pearl, operated the Pearce ranch. In 1983 the Florida House of Representatives adopted a resolution honoring Edna Pearce Lockett for her "significant contributions to her community and to the State of Florida."[56] She was present and admitted she had worn a bright red coat for the occasion so that "everyone could see me."

After 1942, the Florida House of Representatives always had a woman member. Mamie Eaton Greene of Monticello was elected in 1928 as a member of the State Railroad Commission, the first woman in Florida to be elected to a statewide office.[57] She had first served in the position after her appointment by Governor John W. Martin on March 23, 1927, upon the death of her first husband, Commissioner R. L. (Bob) Eaton. Ruth Bryan Owen of Miami was also elected in 1928 to the first of two terms as a member of Congress from the Fourth District, a large area that stretched from Jacksonville to Key West and inland to Orlando. Mrs. Owen was the daughter of William Jennings Bryan, the three-time Democratic nominee for president of the United States and former Secretary of State.[58] Later she was appointed by President Franklin Roosevelt as the United States Minister to Denmark, the first woman in American history to hold so high a diplomatic post.

Since the 1920s, Florida women, both as voters and office holders, have played important roles on every political level in Florida and the nation. Their voices have been heard and their

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56. Nixon Smiley, "She Might Have Been Offered Governorship," *Miami Herald*, February 1, 1967; *Lake Placid Journal*, July 1, 1983.
57. *Florida House Journal*, May 2, 1983. House Resolution 1035; Interview with Mrs. Lockett, May 2, 1983.
58. Morris, *The Florida Handbook*, 176-78.

power has been felt across the country as mayors, judges, legislators, congresswomen, and United States Senators. Women achieved major positions of leadership in Florida for the first time with the reorganization of the legislature in November, 1984. A half century after Myrtice McCaskill and Katherine Tippetts broke new ground, Betty Castor of Tampa became senate president pro tempore and Elaine Gordon of Miami was elected house speaker pro tempore.

BURTON-SWARTZ CYPRESS COMPANY OF FLORIDA

by DREW HARRINGTON

LOGGING operations began in Taylor County in 1913 when three men– S. J. Carpenter, W. L. Burton, and E. G. Swartz– formed the Burton-Swartz Cypress Company of Florida. Carpenter, president of Carpenter-O'Brien Lumber Company, a large Jacksonville operation, owned thousands of acres in Dixie, Taylor, and Lafayette counties.[1] He planned a southwestward expansion, but his interest was in the pine timber of the area. Because saws which cut pine cannot be used to harvest cypress, Carpenter needed someone to "checkerboard" with him by cutting the virgin cypress on his holdings. Perhaps it was at the Yellow Pine Manufacturers Association's Convention in February 1913, that he learned of the land deal between W. L. Burton and E. G. Swartz of the Burton-Swartz Cypress Company of Burton, Louisiana, and the J. C. Turner Lumber Company of New York City, whereby Burton and Swartz had acquired an interest in the 94,000 acres of land that the northern company owned in Lee County, Florida.[2] Captain Burton, as he was known, had acquired large holdings in Lee, Collier, and Hendry counties– amounting at one time to 600,000 acres– at $1.00 per acre.[3] About 150,000 acres were located in the Florida Everglades.[4] It was Carpenter

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1. Louise Childers, "Carbur– A Look Back," *Buckeye Fiberscope,* V (March 1975), n. p.
2. "Big Cypress Lumber Purchase," *American Lumberman* (March 1, 1913), 31. Author's copy was in a letter from Clark Forrest, Jr., who copied the information, December 9, 1982. The land was later sold to the Lee Cypress Company, which Burton, Swartz, and Turner had incorporated in 1923, and which became a wholly-owned subsidiary of J. C. Turner Lumber Company. See "Speech" by Lewis Hinchliffe, September 8, 1964, 3-4. The speech– mainly a short history of the Lee Tidewater Cypress Company– was presented to the Perry Rotary Club on September 8, 1964, and to the Perry Kiwanis Club on September 16, 1964. A copy of the speech is in the author's possession.
3. Drew Harrington, "William L. Burton: Cypress Millionaire and Philanthropist," *Louisiana History,* XXIV (Spring 1983), 160.
4. Hinchliffe, "Speech," 3-4.

who first contacted Burton and Swartz about joint operations in Taylor County.

On November 11, 1913, Burton, Swartz, and Carpenter petitioned for the incorporation of the Burton-Swartz Cypress Company of Florida. Perhaps because Burton and Swartz had operated a successful company in Louisiana, and because Carpenter primarily sawed pine, the Burton-Swartz name prevailed. The move to Florida represented a major shift of operations for Burton and Swartz. The Burton-Swartz Cypress Company of Burton, Louisiana, during the years 1905-1918, had exhausted the cypress of the region, and had ceased operation in 1919.[5] These circumstances led to the transfer of operations to Florida.

On December 12, 1913, the Florida incorporation charter was granted, "for the purpose of owning, leasing, operating, and managing mills and plants for the production of lumber and its by-products." The company would have the right to establish roads, railroads, stores, ice plants, electric plants, and a hotel. The charter called for capital stock of $1,200,000, divided into 1,200 shares at $100 per share, with ten per cent to be paid in cash. Burton with 550 shares, Swartz with 550 shares, and Carpenter with 100 shares constituted the original shareholders. Burton, as president, Swartz, as vice-president and treasurer, and M. L. Rhodes, as secretary, filled the corporate offices. These three, together with Carpenter and William O'Brien, formed the board of directors. Company headquarters were in Jacksonville and the main mill was at Perry.[6]

Although day-to-day operations were Swartz's responsibility, Captain Burton was determined to make the mill the most efficient of the day. He equipped it with the best modern equipment, and it became the largest cypress mill in the country.[7] The construction of the mill began in early 1913, and by the fall of the following year, either October or November, the sawing of lumber commenced.[8] Shipment of cypress from the yard did not

5. Harrington, "W. L. Burton," 160-61.
6. Minutes of Burton-Swartz Cypress Company of Florida, December 13, 1915 (hereinafter referred to as Minutes, with the date of entry). These minutes are found in the Taylor County Historical Society building, Perry, Florida.
7. Harrington, "W. L. Burton," 160-61.
8. Georgia G. Lowe to author, July 23, 1979. Mrs. Lowe worked for the company and its successor in a variety of positions, from secretary to bookkeeper, from April 1919 until August 1978.

start until 1915, because "a slow drying process was required of proper seasoning and to get the advantage [of] the finest quality posible. Even though the trees have been girdled they were still not sufficiently dry . . . a careful estimate indicates 309 gallons of water to be contained in a thousand feet of green cypress, too speedy a removal of this moisture would have seriously ruined valuable cypress. A rule of thumb proved fairly accurate that the sawn lumber required a drying time of about a year to the inch, depending upon atmospheric conditions."[9]

In January 1915, the company shipped its first six cars of cypress; by December it had shipped 573 cars. During that year 38,038,708 feet of cypress were cut, of which 11,896,016 were shipped.[10] The company continued to grow, and stockholders frequently received dividends of twenty to thirty per cent. Due to the growth and, perhaps forseeing the closure of its Louisiana operation, the stockholders voted on March 15, 1916, to move the corporate headquarters to Perry. The first meeting was held there on February 25, 1917.[11] Since Swartz had managed the operations of both mills, the closing of the Louisiana operation made it possible for him to focus on the Perry mill as well as the community of Perry.

The arrival of Burton-Swartz Cypress Company changed Perry, Florida, in many ways. The site of the mill had been the property of Judge Robert Henderson who died in 1911.[12] It is likely that his heirs sold the land to S. J. Carpenter. Although the company did not take over the entire town of Perry as did some cotton mill owners elsewhere in the South, it did develop an area which contained the houses of its employees. It came to be known as Burton-Swartz quarters.[13] Employees with names like Hecker, Brescher, Cross, Hawkins, Chiasson, Louque, Lauland, Begue, Savoie, Herbert, Poitivent, Borklund, McPhail, Schexnaildre, Heins, and Rose moved in from the Louisiana

9. Hinchliffe, "Speech," 8.
10. Report of "Cars of Lumber Shipped and Comparisons of Cut and shipments." This report shows that between 1915 and 1942, when it sold out to Lee Cypress Company, Burton-Swartz produced 778,183,558 feet cut and shipped 782,432,290 feet in 39,590 cars. Copy of report in author's possession.
11. Minutes, March 15, 1916; February 25, 1917; April 3, 1925; and February 17, 1926.
12. "Judge Robert Henderson, 1823-1911," *They Were Here*, Taylor County Historical Society, II (November 1973), n.p.
13. Perry *News-Herald*, November 28, 1968.

operation to work for the company and to live in the houses. The company also built a hotel where Captain Burton spent several months each winter before going to New Orleans. When Burton was expected, the mill had a "clean-up" program because he "checked into even the smallest items"[14]

To assist its employees, the company announced the opening of a mercantile store in the quarters, but local citizens persuaded the management to build in town. The Burton-Swartz Mercantile Company, described as a "complete Department Store," was primarily a company store, but it served the general public. The company paid with checks, but advances could be obtained in script– aluminum and paper– which had to be spent at the company store.[15] A doctor was also provided for the workers. He received a monthly salary, a portion of which had been deducted from every employee's paycheck whether he utilized the services or not. The company allowed the doctor to have an outside practice, but operating too independently occasionally caused problems. Once a manager fired a doctor because he attended the mother of an attorney whom the manager disliked.[16] Dr. John Clement Ellis practiced medicine as the company doctor at both Carbur and Perry.[17] The company also deeded land to build churches for its employees, most of whom were either Episcopal or Catholic.[18]

While there was an influx of families from Louisiana, the company also hired local people, such as James R. "Dick" Jones, Walter Clifford Burford, Joseph Edgar Courtney, James Carol Dandridge, Eugene Hendry, and Dr. John Ellis. These men held responsible positions ranging from "supervisor of Cypress girdling" to crane operator.[19] The families from Louisiana integrated easily in the community, and soon there were marriages between members of Perry families and the newcomers.

Because S. J. Carpenter needed someone to saw the cypress timber on his Dixie, Lafayette, and Taylor counties properties, he had formed the partnership with Burton-Swartz Cypress Com-

14. Lowe to author, July 23, 1979.
15. Interview with Georgia Lowe, July 23, 1979; Perry *News-Herald,* November 28, 1968.
16. Ibid.
17. "Dr. John Clement Ellis, 1882-1944," *They Were Here,* II (November 1973), n.p.
18. Minutes, February 24, 1917, and February 8, 1921.
19. *They Were Here,* VI (June 30,1977), 8, 14, 17, and 19.

pany. At their January 23, 1914, meeting the stockholders voted to allow Burton "to make and to execute with Carpenter-O'Brien Company a contract to purchase the cypress timber of that company." Cash and shares of Burton-Swartz Cypress Company covered the cost of the timber.[20]

Having built the saw mill at Perry, Burton, Swartz, and Carpenter followed the practice of many lumber operations of that period, by doing the actual logging away from the mill. Hence, they established a logging town, seventeen miles south of Perry, to be the center of their logging operation. They named it Carbur from a combination of their names. Swartz laid out the town on a 640-acre tract. He also planned the dual operation of cutting the cypress and pine, which were shipped to Perry. The cypress was milled there, and the pine was shipped to Jacksonville for milling. The town contained the Carbur Mercantile Company, a general merchandise store which supplied the entire community, a barber shop, school, dry cleaners, depot, doctor's office for periodic visits by the company physician from Perry, and a hotel. There was also a rooming. house for bachelors, humorously known as the "Bull Pen." Prices at the company store were similar to prices at other southern locations at that time.[21]

Because of the relative brief life of a lumbering community and the transient nature of many employees, Carbur existed only a short time; permanence did not figure into the development of the community. The houses, constructed of heart pine or cypress, contained few conveniences. A few had electricity for lights, but most used kerosene lanterns, and none had telephones or indoor toilets; outdoor pits and, later, privies served as sanitary facilities. The houses were screened to alleviate the mosquito problem. This and the drainage of the area were the suggestions of Dr. Walter Baker, apparently a company doctor.

Life in Carbur was austere, but not impossible. Two churches – a Methodist and a Holiness– met the spiritual needs of the inhabitants as well as providing a social outlet through the missionary circles and societies. Further social opportunity came when

20. Minutes, January 23, 1914. The contract was executed on January 24, 1914.
21. Abraham Bergland, et al., *Labor in the Industrial South* (Charlottesville, 1930), 142-43.

Prissy Goodrich, wife of Henry, a land surveyor, started a bridge club. The young people participated in a number of activities, such as Saturday night movies, football, basketball, fishing, outings in the woods, and trips to nearby Keaton Beach. The men entertained themselves by playing baseball– for which they organized a team to play teams from other communities– fishing, hunting, dancing, and Sunday horseback riding, which some passed off as merely exercising the horses.

Some men preferred the socially unacceptable activities of drinking and gambling. When a person drank too much or engaged in a fight or squabble, usually associated with a poker game, Captain Henry Slaughter, who served as sheriff, would handcuff the offender to a porch rail until morning, since there was no jail in Carbur. That individual would then appear before the justice of peace, who meted out the appropriate fine or in the case of a repeat offender would order the culprit to Perry where he was jailed. Sometimes Captain Slaughter had even more serious problems. If the altercation ended in a homicide, he would summon the Perry funeral director to come for the body. Infrequently, the dead man proved to be a transient worker who was unknown to the community, in which case the body was buried on "Boot Hill" in Carbur. Racial problems did not seem to enter into the trouble which occasionally erupted in the community.

Perhaps, being awakened by the 4:30 a.m. mill whistles or by one of Captain Slaughter's men took most of the fight out of these hardworking loggers. The day began early and the work was hard. Logging in the early twentieth century depended to a great extent on pre-industrial revolution methods of labor with human beings and beasts of burden providing most of the power. Harvesting the cypress timber meant penetrating a wilderness consisting of sloughs, ponds, wild animals, snakes, alligators, and thick undergrowth. The task proved so difficult that the first step was to send in crews of contractors to clear the ground for the other crews. These men used oxen to open a path because these animals, due to their hooves, could walk in the swampy muck. Either travelling with the contractors or coming shortly thereafter, a surveyor sectioned off the area and planned the logging operation, which meant cutting pine and cypress timber from each section. One such surveyor at Carbur, Mark Hitchcook, who prepared the topographical map for the company, proved so

adept at this task that he could determine the board feet in a standing tree. The logging crew, men using six-to nine-feet cross-cut saws, came next. In cypress logging the crew entered the section to be cut and girdled the trees, which meant notching the base of the tree so the sap would run down and the tree would die. After girdling the trees in a given section, they moved to another section to repeat the process. After sufficient time (the longer the trees stood the better the quality of the timber), they returned to fell the girdled trees. These men stood in water, sometimes waist-deep, and sawed the cypress with their big cross-cut saws. Once the trees fell, they had to be trimmed so that they could be moved to the logging cars; brush or small trees between the fallen logs and the logging cars were also cleared.

The logging cars ran on rails, and trams or rail lines were laid to the areas where the loggers were felling the cypress. The right of way was prepared, low areas filled in, the cross-ties and rails were laid, and dirt was emptied on each side to build up the bed. Afterwards came the locomotives and logging cars. Sometimes spur lines ran about a quarter of a mile from the mainline. At the Carbur operation, as at other sites, power skidders pulled the logs to the cars. A power skidder "consisted of a stationary steam engine and a large rotating drum. One end of a flexible cable or wire rope was wound around the drum and the other fastened to a log. As the drum rotated it drew in the wire rope and pulled the log to the skidder."[22] Horses pulled the cable or wire rope from the skidder to the fallen timber, men attached the cables, and the skidder started. Large crews worked the skidders. Since horses were a major part of this operation, there was a full-time veterinarian, Dr. J. L. Stephens, at Carbur. There was also a blacksmith and men who helped in the stable and cared for the animals.

The Burton-Swartz Cypress Company was one of the few in the area to utilize power skidders in their operation. "The units were expensive, cumbersome, and dangerous. The least irregularities in the ground placed undue wear on the cables and soon caused them to break. This was extremely dangerous because when a cable under tension broke, it whipped back like a coil

22. Richard Walter Massey, *A History of the Lumber Industry in Alabama and West Florida, 1880-1914* (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1960), 68-69.

spring and could easily kill or maim anyone who happened to be in the way. Also ground skidding was most destructive; the logs being pulled along the ground destroyed all the young trees in the area, and to some extent, even the logs themselves were damaged."[23] At Carbur, a machine shop foundry, employing ninety men, kept the equipment functioning, by repairing and building whatever equipment the loggers needed. Claiming that they could build any piece of logging equipment, the men of the machine shop foundry laughed at vice-president Swartz for buying a huge skidder, nicknamed the "Titanic," which proved too heavy for the rails at Carbur and could not be operated economically. It was one of the few blunders made by Swartz, and it remains rusting in the area today.[24]

Since the distance into the swamp determined the length of the work day, it began early. Arising at 4:30 a.m., probably eating a breakfast of fried fat pork, biscuits, syrup, and coffee, and catching a train to the work area at 6:00 a.m., the logger's day usually lasted from ten to twelve hours. The workers were paid according to their job. The laborers received twenty-five cents per hour, which meant they could earn between $30.00 and $65.00 per week. The laborers collected their pay each night. The company allowed some men to get advance pay in the form of script or brass coins which were usually spent at the company store. Since company housing and other benefits were relatively cheap, the pay was good for the times.[25]

As the cypress disappeared to the saws, Carbur fell on difficult times. Several factors suggest the identification of Carbur as lumber mill "C" in *Labor in the Industrial South.* Information gathered in 1928 caused the author of that section of the book to state: "C is an isolated mill in Florida. It is not on any main highway and is about seventeen miles from a town of considerable size. However, seventeen miles in Florida is a short distance, and the workers depend entirely upon the neighboring towns for their entertainment. The village is in a rather run-down condition due, according to the superintendent, to the poor business

23. Ibid.
24. Jane Whitney to author, July 14, 1984.
25. Childers, "Carbur– A Look Back." Most of the material about Carbur and logging came from this work.

which pervades the lumber industry. There are two streets in the village separated by a vacant space. One section is for the colored people, and the other for the white. Neither of the streets is paved, but both have board walks now very badly in need of repair, but which in the past have been kept up. The houses have all been painted at some time, but now need paint badly, and the fences are rather dilapidated. However, every white man's house has sewer connections, which is rather unusual for a small temporary village so many miles away from any city. The school is a small one; the commissary handles little but necessities; and there are no opportunities offered for any sort of entertainment. Two clubhouses are provided for the Negroes– one for the pious folks whose chief amusement is lodge and revival meetings, and another at the other side of the quarters for those Negroes who wish to dance, shoot craps, and carry on in a lighter vein than that offered by the brethren of the cloth."[26]

The first fact that suggests the identification as Carbur is the seventeen-mile distance from the nearest town– Perry lay just seventeen miles north of Carbur. The comment of two clubhouses coincides with Louise Childers's description which stated that there were two communities of blacks– one containing a "juke joint" and the other a church which was shared by the Methodists and the Baptists.[27] Alton Wentworth, a former principal at Carbur, described the small school to this writer as he showed him a picture of the boys' basketball team.[28] Further, the reason for the "run-down condition of the village" as being "due to the poor business which pervades the lumber industry" is substantiated by the records of the Burton-Swartz Cypress Company which show a disparity of 2,846,208 board feet over-shipped in 1927 and 17,731,411 board feet over-shipped the following year. The company was suffering hard times; only in the Depression era of the 1930s did the record look worse.[29] Time began taking its toll of Carbur, and though it continued on for some years, it never returned to its heyday.[30]

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26. Bergland, *Labor in the Industrial South,* 57.
27. Childers, "Carbur– A Look Back."
28. Alton Wentworth to author, July 23, 1979.
29. Report of "Cars of Lumber Shipped and Comparison of Cut and Ship ments."
30. Bergland, *Labor in the Industrial South,* 142-43.

Because of the successful logging operations at Carbur and other camps in Taylor and neighboring counties, Burton-Swartz Cypress Company continued to grow. Its charter had called for the shareholders to issue 1,200 shares of stock, to limit indebtedness to $2,000,000, and to limit the combined salaries of the officers to $12,000 annually. At their April 15, 1914, meeting, the stockholders heard S. J. Carpenter announce that he had assigned forty-seven shares each to W. L. Burton and E. G. Swartz as well as two shares each to M. L. Rhodes and William O'Brien, which accounted for his 100 shares.[31] At that same meeting, where they approved the constitution and by-laws, Burton asked that he and Swartz be paid in stock shares at par value for the money they had loaned for building the mill at Perry, as well as providing the Carpenter-O'Brien Company with two-thirds the number of shares which Burton and Swartz received. This would be in accordance with the contract of January 24, 1914, which provided for the acquisition of the cypress in the immediate area. By March 15, 1916, the company had grown and the stock distribution included W. L. Burton, 3,597 shares; E. G. Swartz, 3,597 shares; W. B. Davis, two shares; S. J. Carpenter, two shares; William O'Brien, two shares; and Carpenter-O'Brien Company, 4,796 shares.[32] In 1917, Carpenter-O'Brien Company sold its stock and assets to Brooks-Scanlon Company.[33] The acquisition by Brooks-Scanlon did not harm the operations of the Burton-Swartz Cypress Company. In a letter of September 11, 1918, to W. B. Davis, company secretary, Captain Burton issued a call for a special stockholders meeting on October 14, 1918, for the purpose of considering increasing the capital stock from $1,200,000 to $2,200,000 and to consider any other business. A quorum could not be gathered until October 30, 1918, when the stockholders voted the change. The change lifted the shares from 12,000 at $100 per share to 22,000 at $100 each. At that same meeting, they purchased cypress timber in sections of Lafayette and Taylor counties from the Putnam Lumber Company for $163,485; $50,000 to be paid in cash and the remainder in United States Liberty bonds. They also purchased other cypress in Taylor and Jefferson counties

31. Minutes, April 15, 1914.
32. Ibid., March 15, 1916.
33. Childers, "Carbur– A Look Back."

from O'Brien-Irwin Company.[34] Dividends which had reached a high of thirty per cent in 1926, dipped to ten per cent in 1927.[35] The dividends probably dropped further since the company cut only 9,131,844 feet in 1928, even though they shipped 26,863,255 feet.[36] One reason for the short cutting was the extremely cold weather that killed many trees that year.[37]

By 1918, Captain Burton had become interested in other ventures. He had incorporated the Little Bay Improvement Corporation in New York City and built a $200,000 mansion on property he had purchased on the north shore of Long Island. He wanted to establish a memorial for William Waldo Burton, his only child, who had died in 1914. In 1922, he built the William Waldo Burton Memorial Home for Boys on Carrollton Avenue in New Orleans.[38] Burton incorporated Burton Securities Corporation and transfered to it 11,000 shares of Burton-Swartz Cypress Company stock. Although he was ill, he attended a director's meeting on February 8, 1927. He died on May 8, 1927.[39]

The company continued with Swartz, assisted by A. W. Rose, Burton's brother-in-law, until it sawed all of the cypress in the area. That fact and an offer from Lee Cypress Company caused Burton-Swartz Cypress Company of Florida to liquidate on December 31, 1942.[40] The, closure of the mill devastated the economy of Perry, but the Lee Cypress Company, which later became Lee Tidewater Cypress, resumed milling again in 1943 when it devised a way to ship cypress cut in the Everglades to Perry for sawing.[41] The pattern developed at Carbur became magnified in the Everglades, so in a sense Burton-Swartz Cypress Company lived on.

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34. Minutes, October 30, 1918.
35. Ibid., February 17, 1926, and February 8,1927.
36. Report of "Cars and Lumber Shipped and Comparison of Cut and shipments."
37. Childers, "Carbur– A Look Back."
38. Harrington, "W. L. Burton," 161-63.
39. Minutes, February 8, 1927; Harrington, "W. L. Burton," 164.
40. Lowe to author, July 23, 1979.
41. Hinchliffe, "Speech," 5.

RACIAL PATTERNS OF LABOR IN POSTBELLUM FLORIDA: GAINESVILLE, 1870-1900.

by DAVID SOWELL

IN July 1865, the *New Era,* a Gainesville newspaper, echoed the sentiments of many white Floridians with its comment: "We do not believe that any inducement can make black free labor a success. If it proves so here it will really prove what has not been proven anywhere else."[1] Emancipation had broken the antebellum pattern of labor relations in the South, and many people were apprehensive of the ability of the region to assimilate freedmen successfully into a new economic system. Slavery, of course, had been far more than an economic relationship. It was the visible manifestation of a socioeconomic system based upon both prescribed economic function and social status. This system had dominated the antebellum South, giving it a particular set of social characteristics; many feared that the social system of the South would crumble under the pressures released by emancipation.

The impact of the Civil War and emancipation on southern society has evoked numerous historical analyses. The primary motivation of these efforts has been to examine the ways in which the South was changed as a result of the war. The racial division of labor imposed by slavery was central to the pre-war social structure. After emancipation the social environment was the primary determinant for this societal characteristic. Given the importance of the racial division of labor in antebellum southern society, its post-war manifestations are useful for examining the question of social continuity.

This study examines racial labor patterns in Gainesville

David Sowell is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Florida. He would like to thank Cheryll Cody and Charles, Wood for their assistance with the quantitative analysis in this paper. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Florida College Teachers of History Conference at Stetson University, March 1983.

1. Gainesville *New Era,* July 8, 1865; Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965), 53.

from 1870 until 1900. As a southern frontier state, Florida could have offered both black and white immigrants the opportunity to develop labor patterns distinct from those observed elsewhere in the South. Despite the apparent opportunity, the racial division of labor in postbellum Gainesville was similar to what might have been found in a typical southern antebellum urban setting. This was in large part due to the fact that the founders of Gainesville were mostly of southern origin, and brought with them to Florida their traditional social attitudes. However, in spite of inherent limitations of a southern social structure, a black community replete with leaders and certain commercial functions developed in Gainesville during this period. Emancipation did not spell the doom of the old southern order, but it did necessitate adjustments in methods of social control. These were clearly visible in Gainesville and throughout the South by the end of the nineteenth century.

Gainesville in 1860 was a town of 269 people– 223 whites and forty-six slaves– that served as a commercial hub for the agricultural products of the surrounding region.[2] The previous year the railroad that had been under construction since 1855 from Fernandina to Cedar Key reached Gainesville, providing a transportation outlet for the Sea Island cotton that was the economic mainstay of Alachua County. The importance of the rural economy to Gainesville is shown by the fact that the fourteen slave owners who lived in town also owned at least 184 slaves in the county. Slave owners reported eighty-one per cent of the declared wealth of the community. The average net worth of a slave owner was $21,411; that of a non-slave owner, $1,817.[3] While Gainesville's racial composition was predominantly white (eighty-three per cent), its economic structure demonstrated characteristics similar to most of the rest of the South, it was tied directly to rural agriculture and slave labor.

The town grew rapidly during the 1860s, primarily due to its function as an organizational center for the war effort. Many families also refugeed there. It also underwent a radical trans-

2. Manuscript census returns, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Alachua County, Florida, Population Schedule, National Archives Microfilm Series M-653, roll 106 (hereinafter 1860 Population Schedule); ibid., Slave Schedule, National Archives, Microfilm Series M-653, roll 110.
3. 1860 Population Schedule. These and other statistics employed in this paper were generated by the author.

formation in its racial composition. In 1870 more than half (fifty-three per cent) of Gainesville's 1,444 residents were black, an increase from the seventeen per cent level of 1860.[4] This large influx of blacks was part of the geographic mobility of ex-slaves after the war ended. Throughout the South blacks moved to urban centers and to areas where land was available. Many blacks from South Carolina were drawn to the Alachua area by the promise of land. Thousands of others from elsewhere in the South hoped to escape the social and political turmoil of the post-war era in the relatively unsettled state of Florida.[5] After the initial influx of blacks, the racial composition of Gainesville remained fairly stable until the end of the century. In 1880 the population was equally divided between blacks and whites; in 1900 whites held a slim majority of the 3,633 residents of the town.[6]

In the 1870s and 1880s, the Sea Island cotton that had dominated agriculture, in the pre-war period was supplemented by citrus and truck crops in the rural area around Gainesville. Citrus did well in Alachua County until the freezes of the 1890s forced that crop southward to more protected areas. Phosphate mining was begun in the area in the 1890s, and it remained a relatively dynamic industry until World War I. Although Gainesville's economic well-being remained linked to rural industries, an urban economy was also developing during this period. Several concerns, such as the H. F. Dutton cotton works and the Doig Foundry, along with other smaller businesses, supported the town's economy and provided urban work opportunities.[7]

While Gainesville's population increased ten-fold between 1860 and 1900, its basic division of labor remained stable, with only a few exceptions that reflected a change in its economic

4. Manuscript census returns, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Alachua County, Florida, Population Schedule, National Archives Microfilm Series M-593, roll 128.
5. Claude F. Oubre, *Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership* (Baton Rouge, 1978), 137-57. Hundreds of blacks moved to Florida during the winter of 1866-1867 due to crop failure and social discontent in South Carolina. Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 233.
6. United States Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1914), 137.
7. For a discussion of the town's growth during this period, see Charles H. Hildreth and Merlin G. Cox, *History of Gainesville, Florida, 1854-1979* (Gainesville, 1981), 53-100.

orientation. During this period Gainesville was making the transition from a rural to an urban community as it was shifting slowly away from agriculturally-related employment. (Table 1)[8] In 1870, one-third of the town's labor force was directly linked to the agricultural sector; ten per cent of the work force was still engaged in such efforts in 1880; and only four per cent in 1900. The urbanization of the town is demonstrated by the increase in the numbers of people classified as professional, managerial, and clerical workers. These three sectors made up thirty per cent of the workers in 1900, as opposed to twenty per cent in 1870. Concurrent with the decline in the numbers of people working in agriculture was the increase in the numbers classified as unskilled laborers. Unskilled labor replaced farm labor as the largest single source of employment between 1870 and 1900. Since

TABLE 1

5 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF GAINESVILLE'S WORK FORCE, 1870, 1880, 1900

	1870		1880		1900	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional	34	6	68	10	154	12
Managerial	39	7	74	10	161	12
Clerical	40	7	40	6	107	8
Skilled	66	11	95	13	155	12
Semiskilled	11	2	19	3	41	3
Unskilled	54	9	194	27	402	30
Domestic and Personal Service	153	26	148	21	249	19
Farmer	30	5	34	5	419	3
Farm Labor	166	28	37	5	15	1
Total N	593		709*		1,325**	

Source: 1870, 1880, and 1906 United States manuscript census returns.
* Four workers were unclassifiable. ** Four workers were unclassifiable.

8. Analysis of occupational data derived from census sources is complex. The occupation recorded by the enumerator does not always reflect a person's primary occupation. For this study, however, all occupations were recorded as listed. For comparison of Gainesville with other southern urban settings, a system of occupational categorization developed by Howard Rabinowitz in his *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865-1890* (New York, 1978), has been employed: professionals; proprietors, managers, and officials; clerical workers; skilled workers; semiskilled workers; unskilled workers; and domestic and personal service workers. Farmers and farm laborers are included as distinct categories as well.

other categories of labor were relatively unchanged during this period, it suggests that workers were shifting from positions of manual labor in a rural economic structure to similar positions in an urban environment.

An examination of the racial division of labor reveals that blacks, rather than whites, experienced marked change in their patterns of employment as the economic structure was transformed. (Tables 2 and 3) Throughout the 1870-1900 period the white division of labor underwent only gradual changes. The decline in the number of white farm laborers (eight per cent) was offset by an identical increase in the numbers of white unskilled laborers. The number of white farmers remained constant although their relative percentage declined. The most significant change in the distribution of white labor was the growth in the managerial sector. None of these changes reflect a major redistribution of the white labor force.

The black division of labor, on the other hand, underwent several significant changes. In 1870 a large majority (eighty-eight per cent) of the black laborers were employed in either manual or menial positions such as domestic service, farm labor, or unskilled labor. This was still the case in 1880, but the relative percentage of farm laborers and unskilled workers had been reversed.

TABLE 2

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF GAINESVILLE'S WHITE WORK FORCE, 1870, 1880, 1900

	1870		1880		1900	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional	34	15	58	18	94	16
Managerial	39	17	71	22	143	25
Clerical	39	17	38	12	102	18
Skilled	36	16	62	19	89	16
Semiskilled	5	2	12	4	24	4
Unskilled	5	2	26	8	56	10
Domestic and Personal Service	16	7	14	4	32	6
Farmer	27	12	28	9	28	5
Farm Labor	23	9	15	5	4	1
Total N	224		324*		572**	

Source: 1870, 1880, and 1900 United States manuscript census returns.
* Three workers were unclassifiable. ** Four workers were unclassifiable.

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF GAINESVILLE'S BLACK WORK FORCE, 1870, 1880, 1900

	1870		1880		1900	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional	-	-	10	3	60	8
Managerial	-	-	3	1*	18	2
Clerical	1	1*	2	1*	5	1*
Skilled	30	8	33	9	66	9
Semiskilled	6	2	7	2	17	2
Unskilled	49	13	168	44	346	46
Domestic and Personal Service	137	37	134	35	221	29
Farmer	3	1*	6	2	13	2
Farm Labor	143	38	226	6	11	1
Total N	369		385**		757	

Source: 1870, 1880, and 1900 United States manuscript census returns.
* Less than one per cent. ** One worker was unclassifiable.

In 1880 blacks were present in every occupational category, but less than one in twenty were professional, managerial, or clerical workers, as compared to over half (fifty-two per cent) of their white counterparts. In 1900, when blacks were most repre-

TABLE 4

THE STABILITY OF RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SELECTED OCCUPATIONS* GAINESVILLE, 1880 AND 1900

Eighty-five per cent or more black	Day laborer, laundress, drayman, cook, laborer, nurse, barber, porter, chambermaid, waiter, waitress, hunter, fisherman, ostler.
Sixty to eighty-five per cent black	Farm laborer, carpenter, railroad laborer.
Forty to sixty per cent mixed	Seamstress, bricklayer, teacher.
Sixty to eighty-five per cent white	Butcher, farmer, printer.
Eighty-five per cent or more white	Merchant, lawyer, bookkeeper, stenographer, clerk, civil engineer, manager, telegraph operator, watchmaker, doctor, contractor, agent, baker, sheriff, hotel keeper, travelling salesman, orange grower.

Source: 1880 and 1900 United States manuscript census returns.
*Only occupations which had at least three persons in both 1880 and 1900 were included. Positions which contained a higher percentage of blacks in 1900 than in 1880 include: blacksmith, plasterer, cobbler, sawyer, preacher, house painter, gardner, railroad worker, farm laborer, and liveryman. Positions which contained a higher percentage of whites in 1900 than in 1880 include: tinner, servant, and saloonkeeper.

sented in these areas of the labor profile, less than one out of every ten workers held jobs in these three categories. The inability of blacks to penetrate the upper echelon of the labor structure was accentuated by the fact that most black professionals were either preachers or teachers, positions of high social prestige within the black community, but which required little formal education or economic capital.

Census data and information from city directories suggests that a fledgling black commercial community had developed in Gainesville by the end of the century.[9] The scale of these operations, however, was smaller than those of their white counterparts. The absence of black contractors, hotel keepers, or manufacturers underscores the fact that blacks were unable to undertake capital-intensive business efforts. The majority of black workers continued to be engaged in manual or menial labor, a pattern unchanged since the days of slavery.

TABLE 5

MALE PERSISTENCE, 1870-1880*

Occupational Category in 1870	Black		White	
	%	(P/N)	%	(P/N)
Professional	-	-	27	7/26
Managerial	-	-	26	10/39
Clerical	0	0/1	15	6/39
Skilled	34	10/29	14	5/36
Semiskilled	-	-	-	-
Unskilled	16	8/49	0	0/5
Domestic and Personal Service	12	4/34	0	0/6
Farmer	66	2/3	50	3/6
Farm Labor	8	9/110	0	0/10
All male workers	15%	33/226	19%	31/167

Source: 1870 and 1880 United States manuscript census returns. % is the rate of persistence, 1870-1880. P is the number in the category still present in 1880. N is the total number in the category in 1870. *Laborers must be listed in the 1870 census to be included. Workers are listed by their 1870 occupational category.

9. J. M. Hawks, ed., *The Florida Gazetteer* (New Orleans, 1871); *Florida State Gazetteer and Business. Directory, Vol. 1, 1886-87* (New York, 1886); *Florida Railroad Gazetteer and State Business Directory, 1896* (Atlanta, 1896); Manuscript census returns, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Alachua County, Florida, Population Schedule, National Archives Microfilm Series T-623, roll 165.

Occupational segregation seems to have developed toward the end of the century which paralleled the social segregation that was taking place throughout the South. By classifying specific occupations as white-dominant, black-dominant, or not racially specific, the extent of occupational segregation can be measured. Occupations were grouped when they were filled by eighty-five per cent or more of the same race in both 1880 and 1900; by sixty to eighty-five per cent of the same race; and those in which neither race filled over sixty per cent of the recorded positions. Changes in racial occupational patterns are also noted.

This approach reaffirms that jobs which involved considerable manual or menial labor were "black jobs." (Table 4) Managerial, professional, or clerical jobs were "white jobs." The only professional posts in which large numbers of blacks participated were preaching and teaching, activities which dealt primarily with the black community.[10]

In 1900 more occupations were filled by a single race than had been the case in 1880. Several positions which had been racially mixed in 1880, generally those involving manual labor, were dominated by blacks in 1900. Fewer blacks were employed as servants or personal nurses in 1900 than had been in 1880. This tendency toward segregation of those occupations which had traditionally brought the races into more personal day-to-day contact has been reported in other southern cities.[11]

Although the racial division of labor did not change in any significant manner between 1870 and 1900 except to reflect Gainesville's urbanization, and occupations were becoming even more segregated, rates of geographic and social mobility are a reminder that this was a period of free labor. Analyses of rates of persistence show that less than one male in five listed as a worker in 1870 was recorded in the census of 1880.[12] (Table 5)

10. Social distances between the races forced blacks to build their own institutional structure, leading to the emergence of separate black communities. These efforts were limited by the dominant white society. See John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction: After the Civil War* (Chicago, 1961), 224; Reynolds Farley, "The Urbanization of Negroes in the United States," *Journal of Social History,* I (Spring 1968), 250.
11. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South,* 68.
12. These rates of persistence are comparable to, although lower than, those of Atlanta, San Antonio, or Birmingham during the same time-span. Richard J. Hopkins, "Occupational and Geographic Mobility in Atlanta, 1870-1896," *Journal of Southern History,* XXXIV (May 1968), 207; Alwyn Barr, "Occupational and Geographic Mobility in San

Apparently, the "higher" the job level in which one worked, the greater the likelihood that one would remain in Gainesville. Conversely, the "lower" the job level, the greater the likelihood that one would move away. Black males had a lower rate of persistence than did white males, suggesting that while the society denied certain positions to blacks, black geographic mobility was not restricted.

Persistence during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century followed a somewhat different pattern. (Table 6) The length of the period of analysis yields lower rates, as both mortality and mobility are more apparent. Despite the twenty-year period, however, overall rates of persistence for both races were the same as they had been for the decade between 1870 and 1880. Skilled black workers, the most persistent during the previous decade, now left Gainesville at rates comparable to manual laborers, along with white professionals. For these blacks, this may reflect their inability to escape manual labor jobs, or the

TABLE 6

MALE PERSISTENCE, 1880-1900*

Occupational Category in 1880	Black		White	
	%	(P/N)	%	(P/N)
Professional	14	1/7	19	10/54
Managerial	67	2/3	26	18/70
Clerical	50	1/2	42	16/38
Skilled	15	5/32	10	6/59
Semiskilled	-	-	-	-
Unskilled	14	23/164	8	2/26
Domestic and Personal Service	18	5/28	-	0/9
Farmer	0	0/6	11	3/28
Farm Labor	5	1/19	13	2/15
All male workers	15%	38/261	19%	57/299

Source: 1880 and 1900 United States manuscript census returns. % is the rate of persistence, 1880-1900. P is the number in the category in 1900. N is the total number in the category in 1880. *Laborers must be listed in the 1880 census to be listed. Workers are listed by their 1880 occupational category.

Antonio, 1870-1900," *Social Science Quarterly*, LI (September 1970), 401; Paul B. Worthman, "Working Class Mobility in Birmingham, Alabama, 1880-1914," in Tamara K. Hareven, ed., *Anonymous Americans: Explorations Nineteenth-Century Social History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971), 182-83.

narrowing range of job opportunities after the end of Reconstruction. For white professionals, the opportunities for improvement in other areas of Florida may have attracted them. Perhaps the most significant rate of persistence was noted among white clerical workers, usually younger men who were establishing homes and careers and were thus less likely to leave.

The black and white males who continued to live in Gainesville in the period from 1870 until 1880 generally remained in the same job, or improved their occupational level. (Table 7) Not surprisingly, black males experienced less occupational mobility than did their white counterparts. Moreover, the stability of white males must be read with the recognition that if one were classified as a professional in 1870, the only direction of mobility would have been down. Clearly black mobility was limited during the Reconstruction era despite the town's position as a Republican stronghold.

The stability of the 1870-1880 period stands in contrast to the more fluid 1880-1900 period. (Table 8) This offers some insights into the rise of institutionalized segregation. While black occupational mobility was limited during the Reconstruction period, it had improved considerably in the last twenty years of

TABLE 7

MALE OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY, 1870-1880

	Unchanged	Higher	Lower
Black	84%*	16%	3%
White	69%	25%	7%

Source: 1870 and 1880 United States manuscript census returns. *Six of the twenty-six men in this group changed from farm labor to unskilled labor, reflecting structural change, not an "improvement" in their work level.

TABLE 8

MALE OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY, 1880-1900

	Unchanged	Higher	Lower
Black	58%	32%	11%
White	58%	29%	15%

Source: 1880 and 1900 United States manuscript census returns.

the century. A certain pressure was being placed upon the traditional social structure by upwardly-mobile blacks. This pressure helps explain why many whites felt the need of imposing legal restrictions upon blacks and supported Jim Crow legislation.[13]

Despite the apparent improvement in black occupational opportunity, most of their mobility was limited to advancements from unskilled to skilled laborers. The black occupational profile was quite similar in both 1870 and 1880. Little significant change was visible by 1900, despite the development of community leaders, drawn from the ranks of ministers and teachers. The social structure of the town confined the range of opportunities available to resident blacks. Internal community leaders were present, but few blacks could operate in both the black and white communities.

Free labor did not prove to be the disaster that many white Floridians had feared. The majority of Gainesville's blacks were employed in the same kind. of manual or menial jobs as slaves and free blacks had been in the antebellum urban South. By contrast, whites were able to participate in, the full range of available economic opportunities. Gainesville's racial division of labor seems to have been shaped by its southern socio-economic environment, and it supports the continuity of the southern social fabric throughout the nineteenth century. However, the post-war society was more fluid than its predecessor. This is indicated by rates of black mobility and by the emergence of black social leaders. Despite its, continuity, emancipation irreversibly altered the social structure of Gainesville, and the South.

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13. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South.*

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

FLORIDA MANUSCRIPT ACQUISITIONS AND ACCESSIONS

The following are recent manuscript acquisitions and accessions as reported by Florida universities, colleges, public libraries, and other institutions. Those interested in using particular collections should correspond with the library or archives in question.

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, has added the following Florida newspapers to its microfilm collection: Chattahoochee *River Junction Tribune,* October 25, 1935-October 15, 1937, October 25, 1940-October 24, 1941; Madison *New Enterprise,* September 5, 1901-June 18, 1908; Madison *Enterprise-Recorder,* June 25, 1908-August 29, 1913; Quincy *Gadsden County Herald,* December 7, 1934-June 25, 1935; Quincy *Gadsden County Times,* 1934-1941. The Winston J. T. Stephens and Octavia Bryant Stephens Family Papers in the library have been microfilmed. The library has also acquired microfilm of the Harvey Brown letterbooks, 3 volumes: 1826-1836, 1837-1842, and 1855-1856 (originals in New York Public Library), and the following Spanish archival materials: *Archivo General de Indias,* from the *Justicia* section, portions of legajos 50, 89, 90, 95, 96; from the *Santo Domingo* section, legajo 858; from the *Inventarios* section, *Contratación, Contaduría, Patronato Real,* and *Justicia.* Calendars of the Stetson Collection, East Florida Papers, *Papeles Procedentes de Cuba* (West Florida documents), and the Vicente Pintado papers have been microfilmed from original calendar cards. The library has added to its manuscript collection miscellaneous nineteenth-century Alachua County court records, 1828-1905; papers of the Florida section, American Chemical Society, 1962-1983; minutebook, United States Marshall, Southern District, Key West, 1849-1862; record book, Superior Court, East Florida, 1830-1839; case files of the American Civil Liberties Union of Florida; and payroll ledgers of the Florida East Coast Railway Company, 1907-1909. Thomas Jeffrey's map, "West Indies, exhibiting the English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Danish settlements," 1768, has been accessioned.

Manatee County Central Library, Bradenton, has added to its microfilm collection from the National Archives, passenger lists for miscellaneous ports on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, 1820-1873, reels two and sixteen; compiled service records of Volunteer Soldiers . . . in the Florida Infantry during the war with Spain (thirteen reels) and Volunteer Soldiers who served in the Florida Indian Wars (sixty-two reels). Other recent accessions include Wyatt Blassingame's notes, clippings, and correspondence; a collection of Florida city directories and telephone books; and assorted business papers of local banks.

John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, has acquired manuscripts and papers: Anna Reardon, DeFuniak Springs writer and historian; Confederate general, Braxton Bragg; Admiral Samuel R. Franklin, journal covering his service on the *U.S.S. Pensacola,* 1885-1887; William Newton Nichols, Pensacola author; Marion T. Gaines, newspaper editor and writer; Agnes Irene Reedy, schoolteacher and writer, 1942-1982. It has added the records of the Pensacola Navy League, 1946-1983; Pensacola Art Center and Museum, 1919-1982; Pensacola Board of Realtors, 1952-1962; United Daughters of the Confederacy, Pensacola chapter, 1898-present; Retired Officers Association, Pensacola chapter, 1971-1984; Pensacola Maternity Home, 1941-1949; Newport Company, 1930-1931; Eliza Jane Wilson School P.T.A., Pensacola, 1931-1933; Pensacola architects Look and Morrison; West Florida Railroad Centennial, 1982; and the Gulf Coast History and Humanities conferences, 1970-1977. Microfilm of Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for all cities in West Florida from the Library of Congress collection has been acquired.

The Florida Collection of the State Library of Florida has added the following microfilm items: Pensacola directories, 1885-1886, 1893-1894, 1896, 1898, 1903, 1905, 1907-1911, 1913, 1916, 1919-1922, 1924, 1927-1928; Pensacola telephone directories, 1914, 1929; Washington *National Intelligencer,* July 23, 1823-March 1, 1852,; Tallahassee *Florida Watchman,* January 6, 1837; *Quincy Sentinel,* 1840; Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel,* 1842-1848; *Tallahassee Sentinel,* 1867, February 17, 1872; miscellaneous Bristol Florida, newspapers, 1901-1929; and United States Census of Florida, 1910, and the 1910 Miracode Index. The library has also acquired a number of plats and coastal survey maps, a campaign broadside of Sidney J. Catts, issued during his gubernatorial cam-

paign, and *North Atlantic Squadron in Camp,* Camp Osceola, Pensacola Bay, April 1888.

The St. Augustine Historical Society Library has accessioned manuscript photocopies of "Historic Sites and Buildings Survey of St. Augustine, Florida," by William Adams, et al., and "Hernando de Soto's Explorations of the Aboriginal Southeast," by Charles Hudson, Chester de Pratter, and Marvin Smith; a photocopy of the journal of Kingsley Beatty Gibbs, 1840-1843; records of the St. Augustine Golf Club, 1895-present; and general maps and architectural drawings. The library has also completed finding aids for the following collections: George Burt, Emily Lloyd Wilson, Walter C. Hartridge, King daughters, St. Augustine Golf Club, Sister Esther Carlotta Barruss, José Simeon Sanchez, Anderson, Ellen Sanchez Phillips, and St. Augustine death certificates and burial permits.

The DuPont-Ball Library, Stetson University has acquired the papers of Dr. J. Ollie Edmunds, chancellor, 1968-1983, and the papers of Dean Robert S. Chauvin, College of Liberal Arts, 1970-1983.

The Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami, has added the following documents to its Department of Archives and Special Collections: Sir Robert Edmeston to Thomas Forbes (1787); letter of Walter Foward to David Levy Yulee (1845); letter of John B. Hansley (1878); letter of A. H. Sanger, Jr., to his parents (April 2, 1864) describing the activities of the Maple Leaf; and State of Florida DAS pledging state public lands (1863). The library has also acquired a series of eighteenth and nineteenth century maps of Florida, and a variety of prints, posters, and broadsides.

The Florida Historical Society, Tampa, has received a set of thirty stereopticon pictures of Florida scenes dating from 1881, and the pamphlet, *Historical Society of Florida* (1856).

Accessioned by the Special Collections Department, Florida International University, are the masters theses written at the University in the past year relating to Florida, and pertinent faculty publications.

The Florida and Genealogy Collection, Haydon Burns Public Library, Jacksonville, has acquired the following papers and manuscripts: Dr. Alfred M. Franko, "The Battle of Olustee: Hopelessly confused, strictly political, utterly useless?", 1984;

photocopy of the journals of Kingsley Betsy Gibbs, 1840-1843; Howard P. Wright; and a pamphlet of photographs, *St. Augustine and vicinity,* ca. 1889-1899.

The Special Collections Department, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, has accessioned the following collections: papers of Robert W. and Helen Saunders; papers of F. Lee Moffitt, relating to his career in the Florida House of Representatives; and the Howard Wilsky papers, 1912-1930. The department has also acquired the Kane-Greenburg Lithographic Collection (nearly 600 lithographic progressive proof books for cigar labels), and has added to its holdings of early Florida postcards, photographs, and early twentieth-century sheet music.

The Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, has added a collection of papers, manuscripts, notes, clipped columns, books, magazines, and memorabilia of Malcolm Johnson, former editor of the *Tallahassee Democrat* and former Associated Press correspondent in Tallahassee.

The library of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami, as accessioned the following items: diary of Fannie Clemons, 1909; inventory of furnishings of Charles Deering, 1921; ledger of the Exotic Gardens, 1915-1917; scrapbooks of the Miami Women's Panhellenic Association, 6 volumes, 1919-1969; papers of the Santini family, 1884-1924; and manuscripts of oral history interviews conducted by Jean Taylor pertaining to the history of south Dade County. In addition the following prints and photographs have been acquired: photographic records of the Miami Beach Visitor and Convention Authority, 1917-1980s; negatives from the photographic department of the *Miami News,* 1975-1979; and negatives from the *Miami Herald,* 1960s-1970s. They also added a number of rare books.

BOOK REVIEWS

Fifty Feet in Paradise: The Booming of Florida. By David Nolan. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984. 324 pp. Illustrations, photographs, bibliography, index. $15.95.)

The word Boom echoes throughout Florida history, and not just from ancient cannon, or Cape Canaveral space blasts, or the sonic sounds from jetliners streaming south to the finger of America that David Nolan describes as Paradise.

Every American's dream, Nolan believes, is fifty feet of Florida real estate– either oceanfront sand or some palm-ribboned lot from which entrepreneuers convert sunshine into fantasy, fable, and fashionable comfort and reality. He portrays many Floridas, stitched together as episodic booms rather than historical periods or chapters. With light, humorous, deftly crafted mini-profiles, he tallies the tales of the titans, giants, dreamers, visionaries, promoters, speculators, fast-buck artists, victims, and rediscoverers. Taken together– sifted from history's footnotes– a recurrent cast of characters parade across Florida with land-rush schemes and architectural splendor, from pioneering north Florida to the man-made castles of the Condo Age.

Tracing boom-and-bust from earliest Florida, Nolan assesses the familiar 1920s land boom as merely Florida's basic pattern for growth-from "buckskins to bikinis"; from a sour Andy Jackson promoting his friends in 1821 to crusty twentieth-century financier Ed Ball, whom he targets as the state's curmudgeon.

New readers of Florida history will find distinctive personalities lured south to Postcard Scenic. Serious history students will travel the byways of ballyhoo, folly, fashion, and finance, and will be amused by titans who came with canal and railroad fever, with Chinese mulberry trees for silk production, with plans for sugar cane production, for orange groves, and for cities highlighting Moorish Revival architecture, the Space Age, and Walt Disney's "Mouse That Roared" at Orlando.

The illustrations convey the faces and fashions of Florida. From a select bibliography, the author mines a fertile field to humanize the notables and lesser-known schemers who gambled

on *Florida as Paradise.* These include Old Hickory in Pensacola, Richard Keith Call and Dr. James Bronaugh; Alexander Hamilton, Jr.; Francis Wayles Eppes, Prince Murat, and the Marquis de Lafayette; General Peter Sken Smith, the developer who left Florida just ahead of a lynch mob; Hamilton Disston, profiting from others' misfortune in an age of oranges and railroads; Henry Bradley Plant, "King of Florida" whose railroad and money discovered Tampa; Henry Morrison Flagler, who influenced Florida's Gold Coast and brought the architectural colossi that decorated the Florida skyline with fabled designs by Thomas Hastings; Julia Tuttle, "Mother of Miami"; Henry Sanford; Sidney Lanier; and the notorious and feared Al Capone.

Nolan says it best: "They have given Florida a history as colorful as its foliage, peopled by characters as exotic as its wildlife . . . a veritable zoo of human types . . . it is a cash-encrusted tale all the way back to the Spanish conquistadores. Once Florida went on the dollar standard, it really got in high gear."

These glimpses of Florida have a *boom! pop!* cadence for joyful reading.

Pensacola News-Journal JESSE EARLE BOWDEN

Neither Dies nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1970. By Peter D. Klingman. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1984. xiii, 233 pp. Forward, preface, notes, references, index. $12.00.)

The political history of Florida, as with other southern states, has focused almost exclusively on the Democratic party and its internal affairs. Little mention is made of any Republicans. Peter D. Klingman attempts to fill this void in *Neither Dies nor Surrenders,* the first full-scale study of Florida's Republican party.

Klingman divides his study into three parts. The first, "the politics of participation," centers on the Reconstruction period when Republicans controlled, in a tenuous fashion, the state government. Despite bitter intraparty disputes and the self-serving opportunism of some of its leaders, Klingman concludes that, contrary to popular stereotypes of corruption and incompetence, the Republican's "controversial legacy" included posi-

tive accomplishments in the areas of education and public services, and a record of "fiscal responsibility."

With the end of Reconstruction began a long period of "the politics of isolation." With the exception of the decade immediately following Reconstruction and a short period in the late 1920s when Herbert Hoover's presidential victory in Florida and the strong gubernatorial races of William Howey briefly stirred Republican hopes, party leaders and activities remain relatively obscure. Only the bare outline of Republican activities emerges, and one suspects that little other than internal squabbling over minor patronage posts was actually happening.

In fact, throughout the narrative the major emphasis is on the endemic intraparty factionalism that dominated party affairs. The constantly shifting struggles between little-known factional leaders is often bewildering, and Klingman does a credible job of making some sense of it all. In some respects, this factional disunity is similar to the localism and "political atomization" that V. O. Key found among Florida Democrats. What differentiates Florida Republicans, however, is that the internal infighting centered almost exclusively around the question of which group would receive patronage appointments from national Republican administrations. Patronage politics dominated Republican activity, at the expense of efforts to develop strong grass-roots party organization and to challenge the Democrats at the polls. The nature of Republican leadership did little to broaden the party's appeal. From Reconstruction Governor Harrison Reeds' "maverick political style" to Claude Kirk's "confrontational politics," Republicans seemed burdened by contentious leadership incapable of or unwilling to promote the compromise and consensus so necessary to political success. As Klingman points out, "Republicans were first and foremost their own worst enemies."

Factionalism continued into the period of "the politics of reformation," which began in the mid-1950s when the mass influx of Northerners into the state and dissatisfaction with national Democratic party programs provided a climate for developing a legitimate two-party system. Klingman presents an excellent critique of the Kirk governorship and the damaging effects of his controversial political style. Nevertheless, this section remains less than satisfying. The origins of Republican resurgence can be

traced back a decade to the Young Republican insurgency against party leadership in 1966 and Kirk's subsequent gubernatorial campaign. Republicans had carried Florida in the presidential elections of 1952, 1956, and 1960, had begun developing strong local organizations on the west coast and in central Florida, and had posed serious election challenges in selected congressional and focal races. Little attention is given to these efforts prior to 1966, nor are the contributions of important figures such as William Cramer and Edward Gurney given adequate analysis.

Klingman has done an excellent job of reconstructing, from the limited historical sources available, the history of Florida's Republican party, marred only by occasional minor errors and inconsistencies. *Neither Dies nor Surrenders* represents an important contribution to a neglected area of Florida's political history, and hopefully will encourage others to explore further, both on the state and local level, the Republican past.

Jacksonville, Florida DAVID J. GINZL

Catholicism in South Florida, 1868-1968. By Michael J. McNally. (Gainesville: University of Florida Presses, 1984. xx, 316 pp. Maps, foreward, preface, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. $13.95 paper;)

Michael J. McNally, priest and professor of ecclesiastical history at the Seminary of St. Vincent de Paul in Boynton Beach, has written a laudable account of the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteen counties of the lower peninsula of Florida from 1868 to 1968. He picks up the the history of Florida catholicism at the approximate point where Michael V. Gannon concluded his story of the church in *The Cross in the Sand.* McNally's approach is mainly chronological, and he uses the various episcopates of the bishops of St. Augustine and Miami as a framework for his narrative. Throughout the book, the author shows how the religious, social, political, and economic currents of the times affected the clergy and laity, but expecially the bishops: Augustin Verot (1858-1876); John Moore (1876-1901); William J. Kenny (1901-1913); Michael J. Curley (1914-1921); Patrick Barry (1922-1940); and Joseph P. Hurley, who governed the diocese of St.

Augustine from 1940 until the new diocese of Miami was carved from its southern extremities in 1958. The bulk of the work, however, deals with the episcopate of Coleman F. Carroll, the determined, resplendent, and sometimes ruthless first bishop of Miami.

The early history centers around the island city of Key West where the church ministered to a large cosmopolitan congregation composed of native whites, Cuban political refugees, blacks (Cuban and native), and assorted West Indians. This congregation presented a microcosm of the problems that the church would face a century later in the wake of the Castro revolution. Throughout this period there was a great shortage of clergy, and much of the pioneer missionary work was done by the Jesuits, who were given jurisdiction of the lower peninsula by Bishop Moore in 1889. Headquartered in Tampa, the Society of Jesus established churches and chapels in West Palm Beach, Miami, and other hamlets on both coasts. Later they took over the parochial work in Key West.

In addition to being the largest congregation in southern Florida and the center of a large Cuban immigration, Key West also became an important educational center when the Canadian Sisters of the Holy Name established a school (1868) in an abandoned barracks given them by Stephen Mallory, former Confederate Secretary of the Navy. Thirty years later, during the Spanish-American War, the Holy Name Convent and School was loaned to the United States Navy as a hospital, the sisters assisting with the nursing. The founding of St. Leo's Abbey by the Benedictines (1886) provided an important school for Florida boys, although the limited missionary work of the Benedictines only occasionally touched the southern counties. These schools, founded by the religious, were the forerunners of the numerous schools and colleges that were to grow with the Catholic population of the lower peninsula.

McNally's biographical sketches of the bishops are more realistic than those of most church historians, myself included. True, he sometimes overuses such words as "efficient," "zealous," "vigorous," "demanding," and "spiritual," in describing the prelates, but he also assesses their characters with such descriptive adjectives as "ambitious," "rigid," "legalistic," and "unbending." Most of the latter terms were used to portray Coleman F. Carroll,

first bishop of Miami. It is obvious that the author has great admiration for the saintly Sulpician, Augustin Verot, first bishop of St. Augustine, "a man of deep faith" who "loved to pray the mass and to live a simple life of poverty," his wardrobe "having the mark of destitution." This reviewer cannot help but contrast this description of Verot with that of the "aggressive" Bishop Carroll, whose "interests were not particularly pastoral," and who gave grand dinner parties with "the best food and drink" at which he demanded formal dress. Apostolic poverty was evidently not the bishop's long suit.

Father McNally discusses the causes and effects of the later Cuban immigration with sense and compassion, as well as the church's attempts to alleviate the suffering caused by this vast folk movement. He also notes the clash between the two brands of catholicism, American and Cuban. The shattering changes wrought by Vatican II are analyzed as well as the defection of large numbers of laity and clergy caused by these revolutionary transformations. He tells us, for instance, that thirty-three clergymen left the priesthood during the chaotic years between 1968 and 1977. He considers the church's relations with black Catholics and with black Floridians in general, as well as the anti-Catholic sentiment that was rampant in the state during the second decade of this century, a sentiment that culminated in the election of a bigoted Baptist preacher, Sidney J. Catts, to the office of governor.

The most interesting chapter deals with the Carroll-Hurley controversy, which resulted from a quarrel over the ecclesiastical loaves and fishes when the diocese of Miami split off from the parent diocese in 1958. The main bone of contention was, of course, property. The quarrel became so bitter that the litigation lasted seven years, and Bishop Carroll, unable to gain title to his assets in real estate, was driven to borrow money from Jimmy Hoffa's Teamsters. One of the results of the controversy was that it created what McNally calls a *historical caesura:* "a kind of psychological chasm separating the diocesan era from the earlier history of catholicism in South Florida. This separation came about because the tension and ill feeling that grew out of the controversy did not dispose Bishop Carroll to link his own efforts with those of his predecessors. The same thing was true of the priests and religious of the diocese, many of whom underwent

considerable stress as a result of the financial and jurisdictional uncertainties arising from the dispute."

In the writing of *Catholicism in South Florida,* Father McNally has made good use of diocesan, religious, and parish archives, as well as various church, state, and national newspapers. The product of his work is, without doubt, the best church history to come out of Florida up to this time. Every Floridian should be grateful to him.

University of the South JOSEPH D. CUSHMAN, JR.

Murder in Miami: An Analysis of Homicide Patterns and Trends in Dade County (Miami) Florida, 1917-1983. By William Wilbanks. (Lanaham, MD: University Press of America, 1984. xvii, 375 pp. Preface, dedication, acknowledgments, bibliography, appendices, biographical note, $25.75.)

Murder in good fiction is usually exciting, ingenious, and interesting, but murder in real life is more often mundane, crude, and cheap. This volume devoted to Dade County homicides will not replace books of Agatha Christie, John Dickson Carr, or Rex Stout, but it does provide a close look at the criminal justice system in Miami, if not the nation.

The subtitle of this book is somewhat misleading since the book is concerned principally with Dade County homicides during 1980. The one chapter devoted to historical perspective is co-authored by Dr. Paul George. It had been presented previously as a paper at the Florida Historical Society annual meeting in 1983. It is an excellent and informative presentation which places the thirty-five (per 100,000) homicide rate for Dade County in 1980 into better perspective when one considers the 1925 and 1926 rates of 102.6 and 110.1 respectively. This chapter also introduces the concept of a violent "culture fueled by the stress created by the boom and the bust and by large numbers of transients who had no permanent roots in the community." This explanation, repeated in the final chapter, cites the stress resulting from the Miami riot, the influx of 125,000 refugees, the drug wars, and various other influences as the basis for the 1980 Dade County homicide rate.

Another chapter compares the homicide rates of Dade County to others in Florida and the United States. The remaining chapters are devoted to a discussion of the 1980 patterns of victimization; the characteristics of those homicides and the offenders; the role of the police, prosecution, and newspapers; the sentences of the offenders; and an analysis of race and sex bias in disposition of the criminal cases.

Forty-eight pages of tabular data follow these chapters and precede the 188 pages of indexed narratives on the more than 560 homicide victims in 1980. These concise descriptions of the victims, offenders, and the crimes are useful data for future consideration, but the publication of raw data is a luxury seldom seen today.

The typography of the book is not outstanding and contains various errors. Full explanation is lacking in many tables and narratives, as well as some abbreviations. Despite these minor flaws, this is an important contribution to the field of criminal justice. Many myths are questioned or refuted such as those concerning the effectiveness of the insanity defense and race or sex bias in the disposition of homicide cases, at least in Dade County. It is one of the more realistic interpretations of homicidal violence and its causes to be published recently.

This book is recommended to those people interested in criminal justice or criminal law. The rather brief historical discussion makes it somewhat less useful for the historian.

Florida State Museum,
University of Florida
WILLIAM MAPLES

Archaeological Treasure: The Search for Neustra Señora de Atocha. By R. Duncan Mathewson. (Key West, FL: Seafarers Heritage Library, 1983. 171 pp. Foreward, illustrations, photographs, bibliography. $15.00.)

It is likely that most people familiar with Florida history and underwater archeology have some knowledge about the epic search efforts undertaken in the Keys to find the lost resting place of the seventeenth-century Spanish galleon, *Nuestra Señora de Atocha.* That knowledge is likely to be derived from newspaper

articles or perhaps the National Geographic Society's magazine article or motion picture.

One of the individuals central to this decade-long drama is R. Duncan Mathewson III, a marine archeologist. Working side-by-side with Mel Fisher, the leader of the project, Mathewson has pioneered new techniques in underwater field archeology while teaching the methods and orientation of that discipline to his non-scientist co-workers.

In return for years of dedication to archeology and his remarkable accomplishments, Mathewson has been unjustly treated as an outcast by many of those archeologists who have followed more customary career paths into academia or bureaucracy. Fortunately, he has risen above petty jealousy and blind discrimination to publish his own account of the unparalleled and astounding search for the wreck of the *Atocha.*

While both popular and historically-oriented accounts have been published previously, this is the first monograph presenting the story of the *Atocha* project from an archeological perspective. As such, it goes far beyond anything heretofore available in such areas of scientific concern as the environmental situation in the site area, operational problems and methodology, and artifact analysis. This published volume is Mathewson's Master's thesis. While it never wavers from the rigorous needs of scientific research, it presents a wealth of detailed technical information in a clear and understandable manner. The narrative discussions are supplemented with tables, appendixes, and illustrations.

One of Mathewson's major contributions to the archeological literature of the Spanish colonial period is a discussion of the distribution of artifactual material associated with the shipwreck site. The author relates this patterning to known and interpreted aspects of seventeenth-century Spanish maritime socio-cultural behavior.

Since this book is primarily a scientific anthropological study, it adheres to an orientation which stresses the development of testable hypotheses as a means to reveal past cultural activity. In addition to this (or perhaps in spite of it), the flavor of an adventurous quest permeates these pages.

Only a few underwater archeological projects in the United States have produced technical reports which are readily available. Florida is fortunate to have both the historical resources

which attract dedicated efforts of this quality, as well as people such as Mr. Mathewson who have a sincere desire to share the results of their work with the general public.

Washington, D.C. DANIEL KOSKI-KARELL

Letters of Delegates to Congress 1774-1789, Volume 10, June 1, 1778 to September 30, 1778. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, Rosemary Fry Plakas, and Eugene R. Sheridan. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1983. xxix, 765 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, illustrations, index. $27.60.)

Having returned to Philadelphia following British evacuation of the city, the Continental Congress chronicled in this four-month span of the delegates' correspondence is a more subdued body of revolutionary leadership, than it had been in the immediate past. The most interesting documents are letters by William Henry Drayton and Joseph Reed concerning the Carlisle Commission's abortive attempt to conciliate the American states. While the grounds for Congress's rejection of reconciliation in 1778 are familiar to historians, the Drayton and Reed letters provide highly-revealing language and rhetoric about the morality of British overtures and the requirements of American political manhood in the face of these maneuvers. Reed's letter to George Johnston, one of the British commissioners, is copiously edited with cross-references to other Reed manuscript writings on this subject (pp. 96-100), and the Drayton letters are among the only documents in the past several volumes in this series which are not based on manuscripts– in this case four long letters from the *Pennsylvania Packet.*

The book closes with the interrogations of William Carmichael about Silas Deane's activities in France, the portent of a political scandal and upheaval which will doubtless dominate the next two volumes in the series. Readers of American political history will not want to miss the gem in Samuel Adams's letter to James Warren of July 20, 1778, discussing the elusive search for virtue in revolutionary politics: "It would be the Glory of the American Republick to find men having, no ruling passion but the Love of our Country, and ready to render her the most

arduous Services with the Hope of no other Reward . . . but the Esteem of their Virtuous Fellow Citizens. But this, some tell us, is to wish for more than it is in the Power of human Nature to give" (p. 316). Adams's assessment of a shift in sentiment about virtue is astute, and his own implied reservation or regret is a significant entry in the history of his public service.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro ROBERT M. CALHOON

Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South. By John Solomon Otto. (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984. xx, 410 pp. Preface, maps, tables, illustrations, photographs, appendix, bibliography, index. $42.00.)

This volume is an historical archeological analysis of social status on the Couper family plantation located on St. Simon's Island off the central Georgia coast. The Cannon's Point plantation was abandoned in 1890 when the mansion was destroyed by fire, but the focus of this study is the antebellum period from 1794 to 1861. The basic data are the materials recovered from the excavation of houses and refuse middens of slaves, overseers, and the planter's family. The archeological work was done in 1973 and 1974 by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Florida.

The goal of the study was to infer living conditions by comparing the material culture of slaves and free whites and to explore the ways in which economic and social status differences are reflected in the archeological record. These are among the problems of current interest to many historic sites archeologists. A parallel concern among historians produced analyses of the conditions of slavery which the author has used in both problem discussion and as data sources.

The excavations recovered material from each social component of the plantation. House types were reconstructed from archeological evidence and illustrate anticipated differences between small slave houses, the planter's mansion, and the overseer's intermediate quality of housing.

Living conditions at each social level are reconstructed by combining a functional analysis of artifacts and documentary data. Association of different artifact assemblages with socially distinct areas of the site lead to inferences of social status patterns. For example, the common bowls of the slaves contrast with the plates and other flatware of the planter. Significant comparative contributions to the problem of slave life are derived from analysis of faunal remains to reconstruct the subsistence patterns at each social level on the plantation. Ceramic forms are correlated with food sources and preparation methods using both archeological and historical data.

Historic sites archeologists will find the quantitative data useful for additional comparative study. The correlation of material remains and social status is presented clearly and supported by statistical analysis in the appendix. One need not be an archeologist to appreciate this work, particularly because of its successful blending of historical and archeological data. A vivid reconstruction of life on an antebellum-plantation is presented.

The growing importance of historical archeology is obvious in this book, for while both historical and archeological records are incomplete, their combination provides an enhanced understanding of the past.

University of South Florida ROGER T. GRANGE, JR.

Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy, 1833-1845, Volume III. By Robert V. Remini. (New York: Harper & Row, 1984. xiii, 638 pp. Preface, chronology, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $27.95.)

Robert V. Remini has now concluded his trilogy on the life of the nation's seventh president. In Volume I he put forth the central thesis that Andrew Jackson, more than any other nineteenth-century political leader, "determined the course of American expansion." In Volume II he maintained that Jackson, influenced by the ideology of the American Revolution, undertook as president "the first conscious effort at political reform in American history." And now, in *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy, 1833-1845,* he asserts that Old Hickory

was largely responsible for the transformation of the United States from a republic to a democracy.

Remini is not blind to his protagonist's mistakes and shortcomings. In fact, taken out of context, some of his judgments appear quite severe. He faults Jackson for some notoriously-poor appointments, for his wretched mismanagement of certain issues, and for his ignorance of banking and economic matters. He also declares that Jackson must bear "much of the blame" for the tragic Cherokee "Trail of Tears," though that "inhuman" drama took place after his presidency (p. 303).

Yet, on balance, Remini comes down strongly on the side of those who believe that Andrew Jackson was, in the words of *1066 and All That*, a "Good Thing." While giving office to an infrequent light-fingered opportunist like Samuel Swartwout and an occasional incompetent party hack like William T. Barry, he nevertheless presided over "one of the most honest and least corrupt administrations in the early history of this nation" (p. 413). Although the spoilation quarrel with France "brought out some of the worst attributes" of his character (p. 201), the outcome of that controversy "increased European respect for America" (p. 289). His "inability to provide a better banking system to replace the BUS . . . did not serve his country well" (p. 414), but at least he "hurled a corrupt national bank into oblivion" (p. 413). And if the Cherokees suffered incredibly as a result of his Indian policy, they fared better than the Yemassees, Mohicans, and Narragansetts did at the hands of earlier American presidents.

Remini's new study, written in his usual lively style, is essentially a bold restatement of the progressive interpretation of the Jacksonian era. He views the issues and individuals of the time as Jackson himself saw them. Thus, the Democratic party "pledged its allegiance to the disadvantaged" (p. 119), while Henry Clay "catered to the immediate interests of the wealthy" (p. 319). Jacksonians were also "not far from the mark" in regarding abolitionists as essentially antidemocratic elitists rather than sincere humanitarian reformers (p. 406). For the most part, Remini seeks to establish his view of Jackson and his times by assertion and reassertion rather than through sustained critical analysis. *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy* is likely to be his most controversial book. He has made a strong case for the Old Hero as the central figure of his age, but few

scholars will accept *in toto* his interpretation of the "Age of Jackson."

University of Houston–University Park EDWIN A. MILES

The Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. By Joseph B. James. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984. viii, 331 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. $21.95.)

This will likely be the standard work on ratification of the fourteenth amendment for many years. Joseph James takes up the process state by state, in basically chronological order, and carries on to Congress's declaring the amendment in effect. Anyone interested in the subject can review the process of ratification in a specific state.

The author makes a number of points that few historians call attention to. For example, the guarantee of the Union debt was very influential in forming public opinion on the amendment. In addition to William G. Browlow, who saw to it that Tennessee became the first state to approve the amendment, Governors James Madison Wells of Louisiana and Isaac Murphy of Arkansas advised their legislatures to ratify, not because the amendment was good, but for pragmatic reasons. Both legislatures rejected this wise advice. Many Radicals were delighted when the provisional legislatures in the South refused to ratify; the amendment as it came out of Congress had been softened too much for Radical taste, and they feared that Congress might vote to readmit other southern states that did ratify. Finally, Ohio and New Jersey, after voting to ratify the amendment, voted to rescind their ratification before the process was complete. They were counted among the three-fourth's majority of the states nonetheless.

James disagrees with the conclusions of Harold Hyman and others who believe that the Supreme Court was a willing and able participant in the Reconstruction process. He obviously sees the court as having been cowed by Congress. He agrees, however, with those students of the period who say that ratification would not have guaranteed the seating of members of Congress from the ex-

Confederate states. What the Radicals wanted from the South, and what to a great extent the people of the North wanted, was repentance, and repentance was the one thing that the South could not and would not give.

The author, revealing a slight and perhaps wholesome bias in favor of defeated southern whites, notes hypocrisy on both sides. Northern states in ratifying voted to penalize southern states that did not grant suffrage to blacks even though all of them did not permit blacks to vote. Kansas, in fact, defeated a proposed constitutional amendment giving the vote to qualified Negroes a year after ratifying the fourteenth amendment. Hypocrisy was not confined to the North, however; there was an immense amount of self-serving in the arguments against the amendment marshalled by southern governors, editors, and legislators. James makes it clear that Tennessee's ratification was procedurally irregular, and he seems disappointed that nobody challenged the constitutionality of the very existence of West Virginia.

It is obvious that the research for this book has been spread over a long period. Some of the footnotes refer to secondary works which are certainly out of fashion nowadays, and which have been largely replaced. In fact, exactly half of the secondary works cited (excluding biographies) were published before 1960. More disturbing is the author's frequent reliance upon Walter Lynwood Fleming's collection of documents, exposed long ago by Vernon Wharton as hopelessly biased. These defects are minor, however, when compared with the contribution of this work to Reconstruction history.

McNeese State University JOE GRAY TAYLOR

Death at Cross Plains: An Alabama Reconstruction Tragedy. By Gene L. Howard. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1984. xiv, 151 pp. Foreword, maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $14.95.)

This slim monograph tells the story of William Luke, an ex-minister and freedmen's teacher who was assassinated by a mob of Ku Klux Klansmen in Cross Plains, Alabama, in July 1870. Gene Howard has written a richly-textured, often moving, narra-

tive of Luke's tragic death and his brief but determined attempt to bring religion and education to the black freedmen of Alabama. Luke had emigrated to Alabama from Canada in 1869, taking a teaching position at Talladega College, the principal freedmen's school in the area. Inspired by the Reverend Henry Brown, the founder and president of Talladega, Luke dreamed of eventually opening his own freedmen's school. In 1870 he moved to Cross Plains, a small village in the red clay hills of Calhoun County, where he served as a bookkeeper for the Selma, Rome, and Dalton Railroad and as a teacher for the railroad's black construction workers. It was here that the tragedy unfolded. Although Luke was a gentle, unassuming man, many local whites bitterly resented his efforts to uplift the freedmen. Calhoun County was a Klan stronghold and a veritable tinderbox of racial strife. In early July an interracial scuffle between two gangs of youths raised the specter of a full-fledged race war, plunging the local white citizenry into an hysteria that eventually led to the ritual murder of Luke and six freedmen. The incident received national attention and prompted a series of official inquiries and trials, but the murderers were never brought to justice.

Howard's account of the Luke incident is based on solid research, and his treatment of Luke, both as a reformer and as a victim, is fair-minded and thoughful. Most important, he has deftly handled the psychological and social complexities of Klan violence and Radical Republicanism. Thankfully, the book is devoid of the "Lost Cause" partisanship and thinly-veiled racism that have plagued so much of the popular historiography of Reconstruction.

Death at Cross Plains is not without flaws. The author makes only a perfunctory attempt to link his story to the broader history and historiography of Reconstruction and the South. And regrettably, the book ends limply, without a sufficiently analytical conclusion. Finally, one wishes that Howard had focused less on William Luke and more on the freedmen of Cross Plains, particularly the six black victims who shared his fate. Nevertheless, on balance this is an admirable study, one that should encourage other popular historians to explore the extraordinary human drama of the Reconstruction era.

University of South Florida RAYMOND ARSENAULT

The Road to Redemption: Southern Politics, 1869-1879. By Michael Perman. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984. xiv, 353 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $32.00.)

Michael Perman hopes that this book will contribute to a "revitalization" of the study of postwar southern politics, and indeed it does. Operating from the position that historians have bestowed more attention on economic, social, cultural, and racial issues than on political, Perman sets out to explain not why Reconstruction failed but how it worked. He reminds us of the great importance of institutional continuity in southern political history, and of the fact that Reconstruction was an element of that history rather than simply an experience imposed from outside for a short time. He thus breaks free of a common interpretation that is bracketed by a pair of assertions: that the Republican party offered the South something advantageous and indeed noble, and that 1877 marked an unnecessary failure of that effort.

Refreshingly, Perman recognizes that the story cannot focus only on Republicans but must explain the internal workings of both parties and their perceptions of each other. We thus encounter a Democratic party not at all monolithic but fully as fragmented and disparate as the Republicans. By 1868 the Democrats had failed to prevent Reconstruction; the failure highlighted arguments over policy and direction, which Perman analyzes. His approach allows us to watch the "politics of convergence" of the late sixties and early seventies, as parts of both parties sought to occupy a political center. Similarities between parties thus take on greater importance than differences. The high point of this process of convergence were the elections of 1872, when the centrist elements of both parties sustained serious reverses. The "New Departure" philosophy of those Democrats who urged acceptance of Reconstruction was by then an evident failure; Republican margins of victory sagged, and the party's effort to recruit a southern white contingent came to naught. Thus arose the "politics of divergence" in which Bourbon Democrats regained the ascendancy over the New Departurists and rewrote state constitutions as the process of redemption went forward. The structure of the presentation reflects Perman's view

that Reconstruction and redemption are not separable issues but connected phases of an ongoing political process.

The concept behind this book is sound and the line of interpretation is appropriate and well reasoned. The principal difficulty is in execution. At times the author gets caught up in the fluidity of the subject matter, with the result that factional drifts and course changes are not always easy to follow. Party nomenclature compounds the problem; at least ten different groups populate the stage. And since this is essentially a story of groups rather than individuals, the author brings out very little of the personality, color, and style of his leading actors. There is no limited geographical focus to assist in clarification, since the book's premise requires treatment of the entire South as a comparative study. Unfortunately, but perhaps not surprisingly in view of the analytical approach and the de-emphasis of personal action, the style, on the whole, is bland and relies on the passive voice.

Perman's research has been extensive, particularly in manuscript collections and newpapers. He has produced a fresh, insightful work that will be of lasting value to students of the period. The price tag, shame, will keep many of them from buying their own copy.

California State University, Northridge JAMES E. SEFTON

Railroads, Reconstruction, and the Gospel of Prosperity: Under the Radical Republicans, 1865-1877. By Mark W. Summers. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. 361 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, index. $37.50.)

In his *Railroads, Reconstruction and the Gospel* of *Prosperity*, Professor Summers propounds the hypothesis that Radical Republicans pursued a common policy of reviving the South after the Civil War through government aid to railroad construction, and that there was a unanimity of agreement with the Gospel of Prosperity– his term– and a universality of its implementation throughout the southern states. According to the author, Southerners of most persuasions embraced the idea of bonding themselves heavily in order to build railroads and propel themselves out of the depression which followed the war. He concedes that re-

building of the nation and civil rights for freedmen were important issues, but sees them as secondary to the matter of economic revival through public aid to railroads. Insofar as the Florida Republicans were concerned, he is correct.

Summers argues that failure was built into the effort because the necessary indebtedness was too great, there was not yet enough business for the roads, and the problems endemic in public financing of private ventures which could not attract their own investors were too great in the long run. Partisan politics and racial difficulties exacerbated the problems of the public men and the private entrepreneurs– who were sometimes the same people– until the idea of public financing was censured by the voters. The collapse of the national economy in 1873– itself triggered by the over-extension of credit to national railroads– and the withdrawal of European investors from American railroad construction brought the Gospel of Prosperity to a noisy end in the mid-1870s, only to be revived again by the Redeemers in later years.

Florida history enthusiasts will find extensive treatment of the state's railroad tribulations throughout the book. The role of George W. Swepson in Florida is put in better perspective by the author's concomitant treatment of his North Carolina activities. But no matter how one slices the past, it is difficult to see the whole clearly. Summers's handling of Florida in the context of railroad development in the entire South adds a dimension, but it also obscures the particularities of the Florida story.

A dust cover quotation from the ubiquitous J. Mills Thornton avers that, "This one work, I suspect, is destined to turn all of Reconstruction historiography into a new channel." Perhaps. *Railroads, Reconstruction, and the Gospel of Prosperity* is an authentic work, well-researched and carefully written in the fashion of contemporary professional history. It deserves the perusal of all professional historians interested in the several fields it covers, although it is not likely to attract the casual reader. I recognize that we can continually turn the prism through which we gaze upon the past, but the book leaves me wondering if we do not already know what we need to know about Reconstruction.

University of Central Florida JERRELL SHOFNER

Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984. By James C. Cobb. New Perspectives on the South, edited by Charles P. Roland. (Lexington, KY: University Presses of Kentucky, 1984. xii, 185 pp. Editor's preface, acknowledgments, introduction, bibliographic note, index. $19.00.)

In his introduction to this volume, Charles P. Roland states the goal of the series "New Perspectives on the South": "Each volume is expected to be a complete essay representing both a synthesis of the best scholarship on the subject and an interpretive analysis derived from the author's own reflections" (p. x). Professor Cobb has adhered to the series' standards on both of these major points.

Cobb uses the first three chapters to discuss chronologically the interplay of southern industry and society during three periods under consideration, basically 1877 to World War I, the inter-war period, and the post-World War II era. He outlines how pre-Civil War patterns of industrial development, with industry being the handmaiden of agriculture, persisted into the twentieth century. Basic to this activity was the southern utilization of inexpensive, unskilled labor as a means of encouraging northern industrialists to exploit the potential of the South. Although not totally convinced that the South proceeded along "the Prussian road," Cobb seems to use the earlier efforts of Dwight Billings and Jonathan Wiener as a convenient means of holding these chapters together, especially during the pre-World War II eras.

This portion of the book suffers from the emphases– or lack thereof– of historians who have gone before. This is more of an indictment of the profession, however, than of Cobb's synthesis itself. Southern historians, delving into economic matters, have tended to concentrate their efforts on the textile belt of the southeast. Other important industries, such as timber, steel, and oil, have not been thoroughly investigated.

Moving beyond the first chapters, Cobb divides this interpretive book into a series of essays concentrating on specific aspects of southern industrial life: labor, post-world War II, and environmental issues. The most disappointing section was the chapter on labor– the timber worker was given slight attention; the labor union activities in the mines and steel mills in the early

twentieth century were not mentioned; and the CIO efforts of the late 1930s were omitted. Off-setting these omissions was Cobb's excellent analysis of the plight of the un-unionized textile worker, but even there, he barely touched upon labor troubles. The chapter dealing with the post-World War II era was the best part of the book. Following upon his fine first effort, *The Selling of the South* (1982), Cobb has given us a more mature assessment of the many cross-currents at work in the post-World War II world of the southern economy and the continuing centrality of the race question.

The final chapter is excellent. Entitled "Why the New South Never Became the North," Cobb succinctly assessed the continuing colonial nature of the South. Admittedly, as he still debates with himself the merits of the Billings-Wiener "Prussian road," his interpretive framework becomes apparent as he follows the lead of Lawrence Goodwyn's work on Populism. Cobb calls for a new agenda, "A new and truly complete perspective on the impact of industrialization on the South requires less emphasis on the region's resistance to change and more attention to the process of mutual adaptation between the influences of industrial expansion and the social, political, and cultural characteristics often associated with economic underdevelopment in Dixie" (pp. 163-64). Cobb has raised more questions in his essay than he has answered. On the other hand, this would be an excellent place for an enterprising graduate student to find dissertation fodder– the bibliographical essay alone is worth the "price of admission."

Mississippi College EDWARD N. AKIN

Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR. By Nancy J. Weiss. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983. xx, 333 pp. Preface, photographs, illustrations, tables, appendix, note on sources, index. $32.50, $12.50 paper.)

More than any other group in the American electorate today, black voters cast their ballots in a manner shaped some fifty years ago. Once fiercely loyal to the Republican party of Abraham Lincoln and emancipation, blacks switched allegiance to the Democratic party of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal in

1936. Although the political realignment that brought them into a majority coalition with blue collar workers, ethnic minorities, and white Southerners has faltered in recent decades, blacks continue to remain as strongly attached to the legacy of the second "great emancipator" as they were to that of the first.

Professor Weiss has attempted to explain why blacks flocked to the Democratic party during the age of FDR, and she has succeeded convincingly. Because the subject of blacks and the New Deal has previously received detailed attention from such scholars as Harvard Sitkoff, John B. Kirby, Raymond Wolters, and Robert Zangrando, many readers will not find Weiss's conclusions surprising. The author does not try to tell a new story, but she reinterprets the old one in a fresh and thorough way. Based on research in the Roosevelt archives, the papers of black officials, black newspapers, and oral history interviews, her meticulously-documented findings are presented in a lucid and absorbing style.

This book examines the paradox that the New Deal did not give racial issues a high priority and, yet, it was the New Deal that transformed black partisan affiliations. The answer to this puzzle lies not in the expansion of racial equality, but in the economic benefits that the Roosevelt administration offered blacks as a portion of the ill-fed, ill-housed "forgotten Americans." What Roosevelt failed to accomplish in obtaining anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, he more than made up for by promoting massive relief measures like the Works Progress Administration. Not that the Roosevelt administration neglected civil rights concerns. Through the efforts of Eleanor Roosevelt, Harold Ickes, and the Black Cabinet, black complaints received a more favorable hearing in the White House than ever before. However, the chief executive was more concerned with political than with moral considerations, and blacks did not wield the same legislative clout as powerful southern lawmakers whose backing was sought by the president for his economic recovery programs. Nevertheless, in moving into the Democratic party in return for this "half deal," blacks were not blinded by presidential deceit. Given the available choices and the political realities, they followed the same pragmatic thinking that had once cemented their loyalty to the less-than-egalitarian Lincoln and the GOP.

For all of its limitations, the New Deal stimulated the politicization of black-Americans and helped raise their awareness that the federal government could be a powerful ally in winning first class citizenship. However indirect its impact on the future development of the civil rights movement, the New Deal made a valuable contribution.

University of South Florida STEVEN F. LAWSON

The Wild Ass of the Ozarks: Jeff Davis and the Social Bases of Southern Politics. By Raymond Arsenault. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984. xv, 336 pp. Maps, tables, graphs, appendices, notes, index. $34.95.)

For the first dozen years of the twentieth century, Jeff Davis of Arkansas occupied a conspicuous place in the pantheon of those traditionally termed southern demagogues. Most of his contemporaries, such as Tom Watson, Ben Tillman, and James K. Vardaman, have been subjects of book-length scholarly studies. This attractive volume on Davis by Professor Arsenault not only fills an important void in the literature devoted to practitioners of emotion-laden mass politics in the South, but also achieves a level of sophistication not found in previous studies. Based upon meticulous research and written with grace and flair, Arsenault's work effectively employs quantitative techniques to delineate and clarify the social and cultural landscape in which Davis rose to political power and became, in the words of a veteran observer of Arkansas politics in 1906, "a conviction, a credo (and) . . . psychological fetich" (p. 245).

Born into a well-to-do family and educated at the University of Arkansas, Vanderbilt, and Cumberland University, Davis began his career as an attorney in his father's law firm in Russellville. Entering politics first in 1884, he waged a successful campaign for attorney general fourteen years later. Elected governor in 1900, Davis served three two-year terms in that office, where his battles against the trusts, "penitentiary ring," and new statehouse project absorbed most of his energies. As the occasion demanded, he engaged in strenuous verbal assaults on blacks, eastern creditors, and the "high collared roosters" of Little Rock. Part hedo-

nist and part puritan, Davis described himself as a "pint Baptist" and was ever ready to take on "the morality crowd"– his self-righteous, prohibitionist critics whom he sometimes called "quart Baptists." Though skilled in invoking themes of Christian martyrdom and divine mercy on the political stump, he never made religious bigotry a part of his political repertoire.

In spite of Davis's flamboyant behavior and emotional rhetoric, as Arsenault points out, he was not an effective reformer in the classical "progressive" sense. Nor was he merely a spokesman for an underclass of poor whites. Rather, "our Jeff" appealed to farmers of various classes who resented their loss of power and their quasi-colonial status. Even though a series of obstructionist legislatures, a conservative supreme court, and his own ambiva--lence about governmental activism combined to keep his legal reforms to a minimum, Davis did secure a temporary redistribution of psychological power by enhancing and legitimatizing the agrarian world-view. He articulated the most deeply-felt grievances of Arkansas farmers and passionately defended their collective sense of honor. In trumpeting the superior virtues of the rural South, according to Arsenault, he was "in a class by himself" (p. 14). When, following his election to the United States Senate in 1906, Davis attempted to continue the same role in Washington, his efforts elicited disdain and condescension. Although he remained a senator until his death in 1913, he spent much of his time in Arkansas attempting to arrest the disintegration of his once powerful political organization. After 1909, his participation in Senate affairs was inconsequential.

The significance of this volume goes far beyond what it reveals about the tumultuous career of Jeff Davis and the eccentricities of Arkansas politics. Few, if any, other studies have so effectively analyzed and explained the link between early twentieth-century southern politics and the three R's of regional life– ruralism, religion, and race.

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville WILLARD B. GATEWOOD, JR.

Jews of the South, Selected Essays from the Southern Jewish Historical Society. Edited by Samuel Proctor and Louis Schmier. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984. vii, 130 pp. Foreword, contributors. $12.95.)

Jews of the South is the second volume of essays to be published under the aegis of the Southern Jewish Historical Society. The Society, recreated in 1976, has played a major role in making the southern Jewish historical experience a legitimate area for scholarly inquiry. Beyond this contribution, it has ignited a sense of curiosity and pride on the part of non-academic southern Jews in their historical roots. The Society's annual conferences, each held in a different southern city and state, have brought together some of the leading academics in American life, both Jewish and Gentile, to assess the historical encounter of Jew and Gentile in the South.

While not as full or penetrating a volume as the first, entitled *"Turn to the South": Essays on Southern Jewry* (1979), the present set of essays highlight a number of important southern Jews, each of whom is worthy of the scholarly attention he or she has received. The essays cover the lives and times of Moses Elias Levy, who sought and failed to establish an agricultural colony for Jews in Florida and whose son, David Levy Yulee, would become the first United States senator of Jewish origin; Penina Moise, the first American Jewish woman to achieve distinction in American literature; Rabbi Bernard C. Ehrenreich, a Northerner who became an influential progressive force in Montgomery, Alabama: the Sheftalls of Savannah, Georgia, one of the earliest Jewish families in Georgia and heroes of the Revolutionary War; Eugenia and Philip Phillips, she a fiery Confederate who was banished to a lonely island for her anti-Union sentiments and he perhaps the outstanding Supreme Court lawyer in American history; and, finally, the writer Ludwig Lewisohn, who sought to merge his soul with the essence of the South by becoming a Christian and a romantic. There is also a memoir by Joseph Joel, a Richmond Jew born in Europe, and a portrait of Jewish-Gentile relations in Valdosta, Georgia.

What is most evident from these essays is the strong sense of belonging and alienation which marked different periods of the southern Jewish experience. It is clear that Jews had a much

easier time in the pre-Civil War South, where there was a seemingly-strong Christian tolerance for Judaism and an economic tolerance for the rise of Jewish involvement in the fields of peddling and other retail trades. The first was due, no doubt, to the sense of religious conformity, so strong in the South, and its acceptance by Jews in the region. The second because the Jew represented a numerically and politically powerless substitute for the independent middle class feared by southern plantation owners as potential rivals for economic and political power.

After 1865, a desperate southern ruling class, hoping to maintain the social and political status quo after a devastating war, diverted the stigma of that defeat to the Jews, a powerless and nearly defenseless minority. Added to this was the growing antimodernist and conservative impulse in southern Christianity which placed the Jews in the position of being both "a good old hometown boy" and a member of the "accursed Jewish race."

Such a discussion of Jewish life in the South would not have been possible even a decade ago. Thanks to the efforts of the Southern Jewish Historical Society and to its publications, the discussion will continue.

American Jewish Archives ABRAHAM J. PECK

The Eastern Band of Cherokees, 1819-1900. By John R. Finger. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984. xiv, 253 pp. Preface, illustrations, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95; $12.50 paper.)

As the Federal Acknowledgement Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has discovered there are a surprising number of bands, including some with tenuous tribal affiliation, still residing in the southeast. One of the most persistent of these is the Eastern Band of Cherokees still living on reservation land in the mountains of North Carolina.

In the early nineteenth century they were no more than a few families who banded together and settled on a site subsequently known as Quallatown, apart from the Cherokee majority. Leadership of the group devolved on a dominant male, Yonaguska, who introduced William Holland Thomas into the embryonic band.

Besides having mercantile experience and some knowledge of the law, Thomas was white, all of which proved extremely beneficial to the group in subsequent years.

In the early years the band was preoccupied with the removal issue, and they successfully avoided capture by government troops, probably because of their small numbers and isolated location. This victory was short-lived, however, as they remained in North Carolina in an anomalous status, and engaged in a protracted struggle with both state and federal authorities to validate their position.

When Yonaguska died in 1839, Thomas became the band's de facto chief and worked unceasingly to advance their interest. He was somewhat successful in securing some government claim money, and used a portion of it to purchase a 50,000-acre tract that became the Eastern Cherokee homeland. Thomas was not as successful in other areas. His attempt to gain state recognition for the Cherokees proved futile, but probably his greatest mistake was to encourage the band to support the Confederacy.

The usual problems of Reconstruction were exacerbated for the Eastern Cherokees due to a widespread smallpox epidemic. Of greater significance, however, was the loss of Thomas's leadership, and the resultant struggle for control among several individuals that lasted throughout the nineteenth century The band finally succeeded in securing federal recognition in 1868, and this helped them obtain some services, the most important of which was the rudiments of a school system. At the same time they still suffered from the curious web of relationships at the state and local levels. The band also had to confront continual white encroachment on their lands, but as this account ends in 1900, the resilient Eastern Cherokees were continuing to survive and were trying to fashion a reality among the various conflicting interests, not the least of which was their own Indian identity.

This book illustrates the problems and opportunities in writing Indian history. Since most tribes emphasized the oral passage of tradition between generations, they left few documentary or other records, and what little we know is the result of white participants or the few informants, like Swimmer of the Eastern Cherokees. The author has done an exceptional job in using all of these sources to produce an administrative history of the Eastern Cherokees. Professor Finger does include some super-

ficial material on the band's lifeways, but the traditional categories of culture are not dealt with in any detail, nor does he attempt to reflect an anthropological prespective in considering band changes. This work should encourage incipient Indian historians of the southeast to the potential for similar works. It is hoped that Finger's sequel to this solid monograph will soon be in print.

National Park Service MICHAEL G. SCHENE
Denver, Colorado

Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People Without a History. By Lucy M. Cohen. xviii, 211 pp. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984. Preface, illustrations, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. $22.50.)

Lucy Cohen's handsomely-produced volume joins company with a growing list of scholarly studies exploring ethnic and minority groups in the American South. Recent investigations by Randall Miller on Germans, Louis Schmier on Jews, and Anthony Maingot on Haitians come immediately to mind. Taken collectively these efforts have attempted to expand our understanding of the human resources existing in the South and to paint a multi-textured picture of the region's cultural fabric.

Despite its curious sub-title (if it were literally true, the volume could never have been written), this study is a judicious examination of the Chinese presence in the South. The first two chapters cover pre-Civil War contacts with China and the Chinese. Cohen believes these early encounters were important in shaping attitudes and expectations. The central core of the book, however, deals with efforts to induce Chinese laborers (so-called "coolies") to the South as replacements for newly-freed slaves. This ambitious program, conceived in the uncertainty of the post-war era, met with near-complete failure. The collapse, according to Cohen, rested on several key factors. At base root was the fact that "employees and employers had nearly opposite views on the meaning of [contracts] and of social relations between worker and employer" (p. 131). Southern plantation owners and railroad builders tended to treat Chinese workers in much the

same fashion they did blacks, changing terms of contracts at will. The Chinese were accustomed to firm agreements negotiated by intermediaries, and they responded to contractual changes with rebellion, violence, and/or court cases, actions which hardly endeared them to their oftentimes bewildered employers. Southerners also voiced continuing concerns over racial matters, communication problems with Chinese workers and their go-betweens, and misunderstandings over Chinese religious and cultural practices. Cohen's last two chapters cover the accommodations undergone by those Chinese who remained in the South. Small numbers, dispersed settlement patterns, and a lack of vigorous immigrant institutions worked to submerge a Chinese heritage. Ultimately, intermarriage largely erased a specific identity, as Chinese became identified with other groups such as Mexicans, Indians, and Creoles.

This volume concentrates on the Chinese experience in Louisiana, Alabama, and Arkansas, and to a lesser extent Mississippi. Little or no information on the remaining southern states surfaces although they too experimented with "John Chinaman." Florida, for example, is mentioned only twice and then in passing, but the sunshine state had its own full complement of experiments, settlements, and disappointments with the Chinese. Places like Tampa, moreover, were important way-stations in the movement of Chinese laborers to Cuba in the late-nineteenth century. This exception aside, however, the generalizations made by Cohen reflect accurately on the experience of other southern states, and she is to be complimented for drawing together much previously scattered material into a pleasing analysis.

University of Florida GEORGE E. POZZETTA

BOOK NOTES

St. John's Episcopal Church in Tallahassee is one of the oldest Episcopal parishes in Florida. *God Willing* is a 150-year history of this church, from its founding as a small mission in 1829 to 1979. The book, by Carl Stauffer, is more than just the story of St. John's, since it includes much of the political, social, and economic history of Tallahassee and the surrounding area. Its parishioners have always included many of Leon County's most prominent citizens. St. John's was, by the standards of nineteenth-century antebellum Florida, an integrated parish. Stauffer notes that coloured "weddings, baptisms, and funeral services were somewhat a common place." For instance, George Proctor, a free black who built many fine Tallahassee houses during the Territorial period, was married at St. John's in 1839. St. John's grew and prospered over the years, despite the outcome of the Civil War, frequent yellow fever and smallpox epidemics, fires which threatened to destroy the city, and many economic reversals. Among the tragic events which affected the church was the drowning of the Reverend and Mrs. Woart, J. Loring and four of his parishioners in June 1838, and the death of the Hardy Bryan Croom family in 1837. The Woarts and the Crooms are memorialized with stone markers on the church grounds. *God Willing* may be ordered from St. John's Episcopal Church, 211 North Monroe Street, Tallahassee, FL 32301; the price is $15.00.

Loxahatchee Lament, Volume II, published by the Loxahatchee Historical Society, is a continuation of an earlier history of the community, *Loxahatchee, Volume I,* by the local newspaper; *the Courier-Highlights.* Volume II includes short essays and articles by local historians, including Bessie W. DeBois, Ronnie Stayman, Lillian White, and Eva Campbell. Included also is the "Early History of Jupiter," by Elsie Dolby Jackson which was edited for publication by Lillian White. For information on *Loxahatchee Lament, Volume II,* write the Society, Box 1506, Jupiter, FL 33468.

In Place of Pearls is a brief history of Deerfield Beach by Louis M. Simms. Dr. Simms wrote this brief sketch after he

retired to Florida in 1974, and his children published it as a memorial following his death in 1984. It may be ordered from the RIMU Publishing Company, Box 13-049, Hamilton, New Zealand. The price is $5.00 (send check or money order); for air mail orders, add $2.00.

Choestoe, by Jane Hancock, is the story of her father, Edward Leander Shuler, who grew up in the beautiful northeast Georgia Blue Ridge mountains. This area was first populated by the Cherokee Indians, and many still remain in the area, although most of the Cherokees were forced to immigrate to Indian lands west of the Mississippi. Mrs. Hancock describes her parents, her family, and her life. She describes the schools and colleges she attended, her father's business, their neighbors and family, recreations, and social activities. Mrs. Hancock's family had special ties to Georgia, but there were also important connections to Florida, and these are noted in her delightful book. Order *Choestoe* from the author, 2325 Costa Verde Boulevard, 202, Jacksonville Beach, FL 32250; the price is $7.95.

The *1984 Florida Statistical Abstract,* edited by Frances W. Terhune, was published by the University of Florida Press for the University of Florida's Bureau of Economic and Business Research, College of Business Administration. It contains detailed data on the state's human and physical resources, its industries and services, public resources and their administration, and contemporary economic and social trends. Population, housing, education, labor, agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, wholesale and retail trade, tourism, recreation, health, cultural services, government, elections, courts, law enforcement, and economic indicators and prices are some of the topics for which pertinent statistical data is supplied. The *Florida Statistical Abstract* is valuable for anyone doing research in recent and contemporary Florida. The paperback edition sells for $19.95.

The Only Land They Knew, The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South, by J. Leitch Wright, is available in a paperback edition. It sells for $9.95, and was published by The Free Press, New York.

The *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South* was edited by Samuel S. Hill and published by Mercer University Press. It is a comprehensive and authoritative reference work which includes more than 500 articles tracing the religious history of each southern state from its beginnings to the present. More than 200 writers have contributed articles dealing with a wide variety of southern religious denominations, sects, and groups. These included not only the major Protestant sects, but fundamentalists, the cults, Jews, Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists, and a wide assortment of other religious groups. Doctrines, "sacred places" of the South, public figures of religious significance, and important literary figures are also included in the *Encyclopedia*, along with public events and public figures, offices, titles, and religious jurisdictions. There are articles showing the relationship of music and architecture to religion, and a miscellany of other subjects are covered, among them are funerals and cemeteries, roadside signs, bible chairs, and homecomings. An essay on religion in the South covering the colonial period to the present is included as an appendix, and there is an index. Many articles include short bibliographies. *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South* is a very valuable reference guide; it sells for $60.00.

Two novels using Florida as a background for their action are *LaBrava* by Elmore Leonard and *The True Sea* by F. W. Belland. Joe LaBrava is an ex-Secret Service agent and a photographer who lives in South Miami Beach. Published by Arbor House, New York, *LaBrava* will soon become the basis for a screenplay and a film. The price of the novel is $14.95. F. W. Belland's novel is set in the Florida Keys, and it covers the period from the turn of the century to the 1920s. The focus is the construction of the Florida East Coast Railroad from Miami to Key West. The author, a native Floridian and former Florida State University student, lives in Big Pine Key. *The True Sea* was published by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York, and it sells for $15.95.

Making The Invisible Woman Visible is by Anne Firor Scott, one of the South's leading historians. She is professor of history at Duke University and the author of several acclaimed volumes, including *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930.* In this volume, published by the University of Illinois Press, Scott introduces a collection of biographical essays with her own

autobiography, "A Historian's Odyssey." The women that she then writes about are not necessarily household names, but they all played important social, political, and cultural roles in the history of their states and regions. Her essay, "Self-Portraits: Three Women," which first appeared in the festchrift for Oscar Handlin, deals with Jane Franklin Mecom, the youngest of Josiah Franklin's seventeen children; Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker, who lived in the little Philadelphia Quakers community; and Eliza Lucas Pinckney, the South Carolina planter lady. Education, religion, and politics are among the topics covered by Dr. Scott. The paperback edition of her book sells for $10.95 (University of Illinois Press, Box 5081, Station A, Champaign, IL 61820).

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its eighty-third meeting and convention in Tallahassee on May 3-4, 1985. The Tallahassee Hilton and the Ramada Inn East are the convention hotels. There will be a welcome in the auditorium of the R. A. Gray Building on Friday morning, May 3, at 9:00 a.m. The first session is "Post-War Florida Politics, 1945-1963." J. Earle Bowden, editor of the *Pensacola News-Journal,* and Malcolm Johnson, former editor of the *Tallahassee Democrat,* are the discussants for this session, and Dr. Peter Klingman, Daytona Beach Community College, will serve as chairman. Dr. Daniel Schafer, University of North Florida, and Dr. David Coles, Florida State University, will present papers at the second session, "Florida Blacks in the 1860s, the Lot of the Soldiers." Dr. Theodore Hemmingway, Florida A&M University, is the commentator for this session, and John Scafidi, Florida State Archives is chairman. The title of the third session on Friday is "Film and Videos, Means of Communicating Florida's Past." Greg Bush, University of Miami, and Eddie Bolter, Florida Folklife Center, will make the presentations, and Dr. Paul S. George, University of Miami, will be the commentator. The fourth session to be presented on Saturday morning, will focus on "Spaniards and Indians: The Past as Revealed at the San Luis Site." Janet Matthews, Sarasota, is the chairperson, and Gary Shapiro and John Hann, Bureau of Archaeological Research, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, will read papers. The commentator is Dr. Amy Bushnell of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board.

Secretary of State George Firestone will be the speaker at the banquet on Friday evening in the R. A. Gray Building. The History Fair awards, the Thompson, Patrick, and Tebeau literary prizes, the Florida Historical Confederation State merit award, and the American Association for State and Local History awards will be presented at the banquet. President Randy Nimnicht will preside. Preceeding the banquet there will be a reception in the Old Capitol hosted by the Florida History Associates. Following the Saturday morning session and the general membership meeting a picnic luncheon is scheduled on the

grounds of the San Luis Mission Site. There will be an opportunity to walk the grounds with an archeologist. Members may also visit the Tallahassee Junior Museum on Saturday afternoon. Tours of the Old Capitol and the Union Bank will be available on Friday afternoon. Exhibits submitted for the Florida History Fair Awards will be available for viewing throughout the convention. The Society's board of directors will hold its business meeting on Thursday evening beginning at 6:00 p.m. in the Brokaw-McDougall House, 329 North Meridian Street.

Florida Historical Confederation

The Confederation will convene its annual meeting on May 2, in conjunction with the Florida Historical Society's convention, The Thursday program will be held in the R. A. Gray Building and will develop "Sources and Resources" which are of interest to local and county historical societies and agencies. There will be four workshops: identification, stabilization, and preservation of historic photographs; accessioning, handling, and restoring artifact collections; conservation and restoration of books and documents; and preservation, conservation and restoration of metal and wood artifacts. Participating will be Dr. Linda Mainville, Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives; Dennis Pullen, Museum of Florida History; Isabel Kirkwood, Paper Conservation Laboratories, Florida State Archives; and Herbert Bump, Bureau of Archeological Research, Division of Archives, History and Records Management. On Friday afternoon, representatives from federal, state, and university agencies will be present to offer information and to answer questions. Participating will be the Bureau of Archeological Research, Bureau of Historic Preservation, Black Archives at Florida A & M University, Florida Division of Cultural Affairs, Florida Division of Tourism, Florida Chamber of Commerce, Florida Folklife Program, Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives, Florida Parks and Historic Sites, Florida Trust for Historic Preservation, Museum of Florida History, National Park Service, and the State Library of Florida. The luncheon and business meeting will be held at the Tallahassee Hilton Hotel on Thursday. The luncheon speaker will be Randall Kelley, director, Division of Archives, History and Records Management. Patricia Wickman is chair of the Confederation's executive committee.

Society of *Florida Archivists*

The Society of Florida Archivists will be holding its third annual meeting on May 1, in Tallahassee in conjunction with the Florida Historical Society and the Confederation. For information contact its president, Gerard Clark, Florida State Archives, R. A. Gray Building, Tallahassee, Florida 32301-8020.

Announcements and Activities

The St. Augustine Historical Society is inviting proposals for papers to be presented at a symposium to be held in March 1986. The working title of the conference is "The Role of St. Augustine in the Civil War." Papers should be based on original research and will be included, if accepted for publication, in a special edition of *El Escribano.* For information write Page Edwards, director, St. Augustine Historical Society, 271 Charlotte Street, St. Augustine, Florida 32084.

The Henry Morrison Flagler Museum is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. On the evening of February 6, 1960, a gala dedication ball marked the reopening of the mansion by Jean Flagler Matthews, granddaughter of Henry Morrison Flagler. Mrs. Matthews had demolished the White Hall Hotel which she had purchased, and she restored the mansion to its 1901-1917 appearance. Governor LeRoy Collins was a special guest on this occasion. The Historical Society of Palm Beach uses the Flagler Museum for its archives and library and holds its program meetings there. Prior to 1960 the Society was housed in the Society of Four Arts Building, and sometimes held meetings in the Guild, Hall of Bethesada-by-the-Sea or at members homes. The Society was chartered in 1937. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, former president of the Florida Historical Society, was the speaker at the first meeting of the Society in the Flagler Museum, February 19, 1960.

The Florida Genealogical Society will hold its annual conference in Tampa, November 8-9, 1985. The Holiday Inn, Northeast, 2701 East Fowler Avenue, has been selected as the convention center. For information write the Florida Genealogical Society, Box 18624, Tampa, Florida 33679.

Florida Preservation Day will be celebrated in Tallahassee

on Wednesday, May 15, 1985. It is the high point of Preservation Week, and the purpose is to make the general public and members of the Florida legislature aware of the major contributions that historic buildings and districts make to the well being and economic development of Florida. For information contact the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation office, Box 11206, Tallahassee, Florida 32302.

The West Florida Genealogical Society is publishing a new journal, the *West Florida Footprints.* Organized in 1982, the Society is concerned mainly with the area of southern Alabama and the panhandle section of Florida that is known historically as West Florida. Regular meetings are held on the campus of the Pensacola Junior College, Main Campus. For information on the Society and the journal, write the West Florida Genealogical Society, Box 947, Pensacola, Florida 32594. The co-editors of *West Florida Footprints* are Dean DeBolt and Dot Brown. Articles and source materials should be submitted to them. The first issue includes articles on English Pensacola; the 1860 Census for Walton County; Baker, Florida; transcribing early Spanish records: a case study of Spanish marriage records of Pensacola; a biography of Julia Holman Waters; southern battlefields; Pensacola cemetery data; a genealogist code of ethics: the index to the 1870 Molino, Escambia County, census; and a family Bible register for 1818.

The Republican Club of Daytona Beach sponsored the publication of a pamphlet, *Florida's First Republicans,* by Cherie Gardner. This essay notes the political activities of Florida Governors Harrison Reed and Ossian Hart after the Civil War. For information on this publication, write Mrs. Gardner, Box 8384, Daytona Beach, Florida 32023.

Florida state officials announced in January that an agreement had been reached with the family of the former Governor LeRoy Collins to purchase the Grove, the home of Territorial Governor Richard Keith Call. Mary Call Collins is the great granddaughter of Governor Call. Work began on the Grove in 1825, and it has always been recognized as one of the great historic buildings in the state. Call was Territorial governor from 1836-1839, and 1841-1844. A native of Virginia, he served as an aide to General

Andrew Jackson in the military campaigns against the Creek Indians in 1831. Governor Call originally settled in Pensacola and later moved to Tallahassee after it became the capital of Territorial Florida.

Obituary

Wyatt Blassingame

Wyatt Blassingame, former professor at Florida Southern University, Manatee Junior College, and New York University, and a well-known Florida writer, died of a heart attack at Anna Maria Island on January 9, 1985. He was the author of more than 800 short stories and magazine articles, fifty-five books for young adults, and six novels. Mr. Blassingame was working on a book on manatees at the time of his death, and he had just finished a book on sharks. Blassingame's novels dealt with Florida history. He was born, February 6, 1909, in Demopolis, Alabama. He was survived by his widow, Jeanne J. Miller Blassingame.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Randy Nimnicht, president of the Florida Historical Society, called the mid-winter meeting of the Society's board of directors to order at 9:10 a.m., December 8, 1984, at the Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa. Present were Hampton Dunn, Lucius F. Ellsworth, Paul S. George, Thomas Greenhaw, Alva L. Jones, Marcia J. Kanner, Mary C. Linehan, Gerald W. McSwiggan, Gary R. Mormino, Owen North, George F. Pearce, Daniel L. Schafer, Michael Slicker, William M. Straight, Kyle S. VanLandingham, Patricia Wickman, and Olive D. Peterson. Also attending were Hayes Kennedy (finance committee), and Nancy Dilley (Florida Historical Society fiscal clerk). Richard Brooke, Jr., L, Ross Morrell, Samuel Proctor, Larry Rivers, Bettye D. Smith, and Linda. K. Williams were absent.

The board unanimously approved the minutes of the May 4, 1984, directors' meeting in Fort Meyers as published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LXIII (October 1984), 249-55.

Mr. Nimnicht asked each director to introduce himself and to share a personal experience dealing with some aspect of Florida history. He thanked the directors and explained his plans for the Society. He wants the Society to become more visible throughout Florida and the members of the board of directors to play a more active role in the Society's activities. Nimnicht expressed his desire to have all directors involved in specific projects, to appoint new committees, and to secure adequate funding for programs. He indicated his approval of the present role of the Society, and he posed questions for its future activities and growth. Nimnicht outlined a three-year plan, and indicated his hope that there would be many positive things to report at the end of that period. Part of that goal is to increase the present budget by one and one-half times.

The progress report of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* was read by Gary Mormino in the absence of the editor, Dr. Proctor. Dr. Proctor reported an increasing interest among scholars wishing to be published in the *Quarterly.* A total of nineteen articles have been submitted this year, all of which were unsolicited. Four

were rejected, twelve were returned for revision, and final action has not been taken on the others. Seventeen articles were published this year (1984) in the four issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor reported a backlog of articles in his files, including several that will require major revision and rewriting. Articles were submitted not only by Florida and American historians but also by historians from France and Spain. Considerable effort will be needed to prepare these out-of-country articles for publication. Seventy-one book reviews were published in 1984. These were reviews of books dealing with Florida and the South. In the Book Notes section, twenty-five books on Florida and twelve relating to general southern history were reviewed. Dr. Proctor was notified by the E. O. Painter Printing Company that effective with the October 1984 issue, printing and photograph duplicating costs would be increased by approximately eight and one half per cent. Dr. Proctor urged the directors to inform authors, editors, and publishers of books, monographs, pamphlets, or other material emanating from their communities to provide review copies to his office in Gainesville.

Dr. Mormino, executive director, reported on the abundance of back issues of the *Quarterly*, and noted that the problem of ordering *Quarterlies* from the printer has been resolved. Dr. Mormino and Dr. Lucius Ellsworth expressed appreciation to Dr. Proctor and his staff for their continued hard work and the consistent high quality of the articles published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*, explained that the use of white paper on future issues will enable a clearer reproduction of pictures. Printing costs of the *Newsletter* has increased in the last two issues. Mr. Nimnicht, reaffirming his desire for a balanced budget, requested Dr. Greenhaw to develop a budget to be submitted for approval.

Mr. Nimnicht stated the need for a purchase order system in order to keep tabs on allocated funds. The Society will not be responsible for items ordered in the future without approval of the executive director.

Mr. Nimnicht also appointed two committees to assess both the *Newsletter* and the Florida Historical Confederation. Committees were asked to examined the two programs offered, why they were established, and their future plans.

Patricia Wickman reported on the activities of the Florida Historical Confederation and explained the Confederation's responsibilities as a support, technical, and communicative organization for agencies in Florida dealing with historic interpretation. Ms. Wickman stated that the goals of the Confederation include support of the *Newsletter* and the updating of the Florida History Directory. The directory will be expanded to include an analysis and synopsis of information gathered by the Confederation in its survey and to create a profile of all agencies involved in Florida history. Ms. Wickman announced that the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Florida Department of State, will pay the cost of printing a new directory, which is expected to be available in May. Another project of the Confederation is an awards program. An outline of the regulations on eligibility and submission will be distributed to the directors. Another suggestion that is being evaluated is the taping of workshop sessions held at the annual meeting and offering the tapes for sale. The board suggested that Ms. Wickman try to secure funding from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities for this latter project.

Dr. Daniel Schafer urged the directors to speak in support of the Society and Confederation to area historical societies whenever possible. Dr. Paul George endorsed this suggestion, and explained how Olive Peterson had recruited many members in the Fort Pierce area.

Kyle VanLandingham reported for the finance committee and announced that a report on the investment policies of the Society will be forthcoming shortly. Hayes Kennedy reported on the E. F. Hutton money market account which is currently earning eleven per cent. Mr. Kennedy commented on the Mid-South Utilities stock and the board's desire to liquidate the stock. Only a minimal number of the actual certificates could be located, and it will be necessary to contact the registrar for proof of the remainder. A motion made by Marcia Kanner, and seconded by Dr. Ellsworth, gave the finance committee the power to investigate and take action in the liquidating of the Mid-South Utilities stock.

Alva Jones, reporting for the dues reassessment committee, recommended that dues for annual and family categories be increased. Bettye Smith, history fair committee chair, has been elected mayor of the city of Sanford and will not be able to

fulfill the obligations of her committee. Mr. Nimnicht turned this responsibility over to Dr. George. Dr. Mormino noted that through the history fair the Society would be able to reach teachers and school libraries as prospective members of the Society.

Ms. Kanner reported for the by-laws committee and explained that the original by-laws no longer adequately covered the Society's business. An explanation of these sections that need up dating was outlined. The committee hoped that with the board's additional input recommendations for revised by-laws will be available to submit to the membership at the annual meeting in May. A re-incorporation would be advisable at that time, the committee believes. Ms. Kanner asked board members to provide their suggestions to her no later than February 1. One change discussed was the division of districts as the way to nominate and elect board members. Currently the Society divides the state into four districts. There are, fifteen directors, three for each district and three at-large. Dr. Ellsworth recommended that the Society consider Dr. Mormino's plan of three districts with fewer directors for each district and more at-large directors so as to provide wider state representation. Ellsworth suggested that there be no reduction in the total number of directors. Mr. Nimnicht directed the by-laws committee to draft a statement dealing with the distribution of directors, keeping in mind continued regional representation and the utilization of available leadership. The by-laws detailing the method for making amendments was also discussed. A recommendation was made that by-laws changes may be made by a two-thirds majority of the board of directors.

Mr. Slicker, chair of the library assessment committee, described the Society's library. A questionaire was distributed relative to the status of the library and suggestions were made. It was decided that more time was needed to analyze the Society's library and to decide what future direction it should take. Additional discussion and information will be forthcoming during the May meeting.

Ms. Wickman reported on the progress of the local arrangements committee for the annual meeting in Tallahassee in May. A single registration was recommended to include the sessions of the Florida Historical Society, Florida History Confederation, and the Society of Florida Archivists. Mr. Nimnicht urged

Wickman's committee to prepare a budget that would provide the Society a net profit of between $500 and $1,000. Dr. Ellsworth reported for the program committee and gave a brief description of the workshops and speakers to be presented at the annual meeting.

Dr. Mormino reported on the progress of the Society's business office. He listed his three goals, and outlined his proposed methods for achieving them. An appeal to secure new members was discussed. Dr. Mormino described the design for the new brochure that is being prepared. As one example of effective marketing, Mormino cited Owen North's cable television show in Clearwater, which produced several commercials and interviews dealing with the Society. Mormino also outlined his design for a statewide televised course in Florida history.

The Society's 1985 budget was presented, and the directors approved it with provision that the executive director have flexibility to move funds so as to streamline the operations of the Society and to maintain a balanced budget.

Mr. Nimnicht recommended the following dues increases: student, $15.00; annual, $22.50; family, $25.00; and contributing, $50.00 and above. Dr. Schafer made the motion to accept Nimnicht's motion, and Dr. George Pearce seconded. The board passed the motion.

Mr. Nimnicht urged the board's approval for an annual appeals campaign to the membership. Ms. Kanner made the motion, it was seconded, and it passed.

President Nimnicht adjourned the mid-winter meeting of the board of directors at 1: 16 p.m.

GREAT EXPEECTATIONS. . . . . .

1985

May 1	Society of Florida Archivists	Tallahassee, FL
May 2	Florida Historical Confederation	Tallahassee, FL
May 3-4	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 83rd MEETING	Tallahassee, FL
May 16	Florida Preservation Day	Tallahassee, FL
June 9-13	American Association of Museums	Detroit, MI
June 23-28	Florida History Teachers Workshop	Gainesville, FL
Sept. 10-13	American Association for State and Local History	Topeka, KS
Oct. 8-14	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Seattle, WA
Oct. 31-Nov. 2	Oral History Association	Pensacola, FL
Nov. 8-9	Florida State Genealogical Society	Tampa, FL
Nov. 12-15	Southern Historical Association	Houston, TX

The Florida Historical Quarterly

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TO

FROM

Detach Along This Line

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $22.50; family membership is $25.00; a contributing membership is $50.00 and above. In addition, a student membership is $15.00, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Gary R. Mormino, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Mormino.