

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*

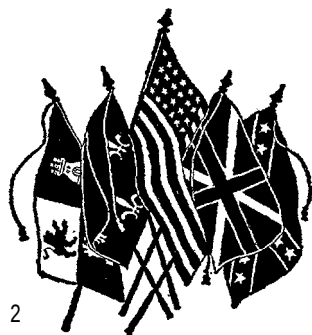
October 1988

**PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

COVER

United States Army cadets marching along Collins Avenue, Miami Beach, ca. World War II. From the photograph archives, Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami.

The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly



Volume LXVII, Number 2

October 1988

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COPY RIGHT 1988

by the Florida Historical Society, Tampa, Florida. Second class postage paid at
Tampa and DeLeon Springs, Florida. Printed by E. O. Painter
Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, Florida.

(ISSN 0015-4113)

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Samuel Proctor, *Editor*

Everett W. Caudle, *Editorial Assistant*

Corinne L. Llewellyn, *Editorial Assistant*

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

David R. Colburn	University of Florida
Herbert J. Doherty, Jr.	University of Florida
Michael V. Gannon	University of Florida
John K. Mahon	University of Florida (Emeritus)
Jerrell H. Shofner	University of Central Florida
Charlton W. Tebeau	University of Miami (Emeritus)

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32604-2045.

The *Quarterly* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of Florida. Sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers are considered. All copy, including footnotes, should be double-spaced. Footnotes are to be numbered consecutively in the text and assembled at the end of the article. Particular attention should be given to following the footnote style of the *Quarterly*. The author should submit an original and retain a carbon for security. Authors with access to IBM/Wordstar programs are asked to submit both a hardcopy and a diskette. The Florida Historical Society and the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* accept no responsibility for statements made or opinions held by authors. The *Quarterly* reviews books dealing with all aspects of Florida history. Books to be reviewed should be sent to the Editor together with price and information on how they can be ordered.

Table of Contents

FLORIDA PREACHERS AND THE ELECTION OF 1928	<i>M. Edward Hughes</i>	131
ARCADIA AND BAGDAD: INDUSTRIAL PARKS OF ANTEBELLUM FLORIDA	<i>Brian Rucker</i>	147
“STATE OF EMERGENCY”: KEY WEST IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION	<i>Garry Boulard</i>	166
“EVERYBODY VOTES FOR GILCHRIST”: THE FLORIDA GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1908	<i>Ric A. Kabat</i>	184
BOOK REVIEWS		204
BOOK NOTES		232
HISTORY NEWS		239
ANNUAL MEETING		245
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING		256

BOOK REVIEWS

PEPPER: EYEWITNESS TO A CENTURY, by Claude Denson Pepper and Hays Gorey

reviewed by Alexander R. Stoesen

IN THE WAY OF OUR GRANDMOTHERS: A CULTURAL VIEW OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY MIDWIFERY IN FLORIDA, by Debra Anne Susie

reviewed by William M. Straight

THE CHARACTER OF THE WORD: THE TEXTS OF ZORA NEALE HURSTON, by Karla F. C. Holloway

reviewed by Jim Haskins

THE CORPSE HAD A FAMILIAR FACE, by Edna Buchanan

MIAMI, by Joan Didion

reviewed by Paul S. George

ARCHAEOLOGY OF ABORIGINAL CULTURE CHANGE IN THE INTERIOR SOUTHEAST: DEPOPULATION DURING THE EARLY HISTORIC

PERIOD, by Marvin T. Smith

reviewed by John F. Scarry

ESSAYS ON THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICAN DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION, edited by Stanley H. Palmer and Dennis Reinhartz

reviewed by Paul E. Hoffman

LETTERS OF DELEGATES TO CONGRESS, VOLUME 14, OCTOBER 1, 1779-MARCH 31, 1780, edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gwalt, and Ronald M. Gephart

reviewed by Robert M. Calhoon

MADAME LE VERT: A BIOGRAPHY OF OCTAVIA WALTON LE VERT, by Frances Gibson Satterfield

reviewed by Dennis Golladay

A SHIELD AND A HIDING PLACE: THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE CIVIL WAR ARMIES, by Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr.

reviewed by Samuel S. Hill

THE PANIC OF 1857 AND THE COMING OF THE CIVIL WAR, by James L. Huston

reviewed by Richard N. Current

WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL: MY DIARY NORTH AND SOUTH, edited by Eugene H. Berwanger

reviewed by Edward K. Eckert

LEE'S TARNISHED LIEUTENANT: JAMES LONGSTREET AND HIS PLACE IN SOUTHERN HISTORY, by William Garrett Piston

reviewed by Warren W. Hassler, Jr.

SALMON P. CHASE: A LIFE IN POLITICS, by Frederick J. Blue

reviewed by Justus D. Doenecke

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN: CHAMPION OF DEMOCRACY, by LeRoy Ashby

reviewed by D. R. (Billy) Matthews

LISTER HILL: STATESMAN FROM THE SOUTH, by Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton

reviewed by George E. Sims

HEMINGWAY, by Kenneth S. Lynn

reviewed by David A. Kaufelt

MUSEUM VISITOR EVALUATION: NEW TOOL FOR MANAGEMENT, by Ross J. Loomis

reviewed by Patricia R. Wickman

“FLORIDA PREACHERS AND THE ELECTION OF 1928”

by M. EDWARD HUGHES

IN the presidential election of 1928, a Roman Catholic, Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, was the first of his religion to represent a major political party as its candidate for president. When Smith, the Democratic nominee, was defeated in this election, the importance of religion to his defeat frequently obscured the other issue which also created widespread opposition to his presidential aspirations. This issue, which many of the opponents of Smith cited as central to their opposition, was prohibition. Governor Smith proposed modifying existing prohibition laws to allow the sale of beer and wine. It was this position, which he frequently stated in the campaign, that led many Protestant clergymen to reject his candidacy. In Florida, as with much of the South, this created a political revolt against the traditional one-party Democratic politics. Little attention has been focused on the public declarations of Smith's opponents, but when their position is reviewed, it reveals the determination of the clergy to continue existing prohibition laws.

In this election the Protestant clergy of Florida entered politics with a vigor not seen since the secession controversy of 1861. The preachers joined with the state's nearly dormant Republican party and the minority of disaffected Democrats to lead Florida's rejection of Al Smith. The clerics constantly cited Smith's intention to modify the dry laws as the cause of their opposition.¹ The fact that Smith was also a Roman Catholic certainly affected this opposition, but the Protestant clergy throughout the 1920s demanded the preservation of prohibition, and in this election demonstrated their deep attachment to its preservation by leading the opposition to Smith, the Democratic presidential nominee.

M. Edward Hughes is adjunct instructor of history, University of Central Florida.

1. Alfred E. Smith, "Acceptance Address," *Campaign Addresses of Governor Alfred E. Smith, Democratic Candidate for President 1928* (New York, 1928), 14.

In Florida prohibition was the issue that generated most of the clerical opposition to Smith's nomination and candidacy. Throughout the state local Baptist associations resolved that they would defend their political and religious views against any candidate who sought to modify national and state prohibition laws. Much of their political program was reflected in the Jacksonville Baptist Association's resolution that they would "support no man, regardless of party affiliation, who in any way connives with, or encourages, the damnable liquor traffic."² The Jacksonville Baptists were joined by the Indian River Missionary Baptist Association, Seminole Baptist Association, Peace River Baptist Association, Alachua Baptist Association, and the Florida Baptist Association in issuing similar resolutions at their 1928 annual meetings.³ Florida Baptists followed the lead of their national organization, the Southern Baptist Convention, which resolved in May 1928, that in addition to being against mob violence and lynching, they "solemnly pledge that we will support for the office of President, or any office, only such men as stand for our present order of prohibition."⁴

The annual Florida conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South resolved in 1926 and 1927 that prohibition was a moral reform worthy of the support of all voters and Methodists should "guard the doors of Congress and the State Legislature against anyone who would destroy our constitution . . . especially the eighteenth amendment."⁵ In 1928 the Methodists expanded this admonition to state that they would refuse "now and forever to support a tammanyized, ring-ruled, saloon-elected candidate for the Presidency of the United States."⁶ The *Methodist Quarterly Review* concluded editorially that, "aside from the political and personal wetness of the Demo-

---

2. *Jacksonville Baptist Association Fiftieth Annual Session, 1928*, 22.

3. *Indian River Missionary Baptist Association, 1928*, 31-32; *Fifteenth Annual Session Seminole Baptist Association, 1928*, 22; *Fifty-Third Session of Peace River Baptist Association, 1928*, 24-25; *Alachua Baptist Association, 1928*, 26; *Proceedings of the Eighty-Sixth Annual Session of the Florida Baptist Association, 1928*, 34.

4. *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1928* (Chattanooga, 1928) 87-88.

5. *Journal of the Florida Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1926* (St. Petersburg, 1926), 56; *Journal of the Florida Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1927* (Jacksonville, 1927), 65.

6. *Journal of the Florida Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1928* (Tampa, 1928), 41.

cratic nominee, there would have been a comparatively small disturbance on the surface of the solid South."⁷

Florida Presbyterians were reluctant to enter the campaign debate of 1928 as their by-laws specifically forbade political activity in their churches.⁸ This was a consequence of the division of the Presbyterians during the secession crisis in 1861.⁹ The Presbyterian Church of the United States was the southern branch and represented 17,185 Floridians; the northern Presbyterian Church of the United States of America represented 4,140 Floridians.¹⁰ The formal disclaimer of political involvement did not prevent some Presbyterian periodicals from extolling the "fruits of temperance and prohibition to urge every citizen to vote at the coming presidential election and to vote intelligently."¹¹ Other Presbyterian editors insisted that preachers should be "determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified."¹² In Florida both the northern and the southern Presbyterian churches refrained from endorsing the prohibition laws at their annual meetings, although the southern Presbyterians in their 1926 General Assembly did endorse the Eighteenth Amendment.¹³ Few Florida Presbyterian clergymen joined the Reverend J. Blanton Belk, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Orlando, in publicly denouncing Smith's candidacy as "one of the tendencies to legalize vice." For the Reverend Mr. Belk, a vote for Smith was evidence of moral weakness, and he recommended that all citizens who "hate whiskey" reject his candidacy.¹⁴

---

7. "Roman Catholicism and Intolerance," *Methodist Quarterly Review* 77 (July 1928), 645.

8. Ernest Trite Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, 3 vols. (Richmond, 1973), III, 231-37.

9. *Ibid.*, 234-37; Cooper C. Kirk, "A History of the Southern Presbyterian Church in Florida: 1821-1891" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1966), 210-15.

10. James R. Bullock, *Heritage and Hope: A Story of Presbyterians in Florida* (Orlando, 1987), 86.

11. Louisville (Kentucky) *Christian Observer*, July 11, 1928.

12. Richmond *The Presbyterian of the South*, August 1, 1928.

13. *Minutes of the Thirty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Synod of Florida Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1928*; *Synod of Florida of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, November 13-14, 1928*, Miami; *A Digest of the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1861-1944* (Richmond, 1945), 153.

14. *Minutes of Suwannee Presbytery, November 13-15, 1928* (Jacksonville, 1928); *The Presbytery of Florida, 1928* (Panama City, 1928); *Minutes of St. Johns Presbytery, April 17, 1928* (Lakeland, 1928).

The conservative Baptists, Methodists, and a few Presbyterians were joined by the Disciples of Christ, Congregationalists, and Universalists in demanding the defense of the existing prohibition laws. The Disciples of Christ closed its Miami convention in 1928 with an admonition to its 6,159 Florida members to address "the high claims of Christian duty in the . . . present hour in American politics."¹⁵ The Congregationalists claimed to be pioneers in the struggle for prohibition, and "when, therefore, the candidate of the Democratic party declares against Prohibition . . . he automatically sets our people against him."¹⁶ The Florida Universalists, under the leadership of Dr. Stanard Dow Butler of the United Liberal Church of St. Petersburg, at their annual state convention endorsed prohibition and demanded more strenuous law enforcement.¹⁷

The Protestant Episcopal Church in Florida refrained from entering the political arena in 1928, and it joined with its national organization in "supporting neither candidate for the presidency."¹⁸ The Roman Catholic Church in Florida joined the Episcopalians in avoiding the prohibition debate, although its clergy and 39,379 members were enthusiastic about Smiths candidacy.¹⁹

The Florida delegates to the Democratic nominating convention at Houston, Texas, had been elected on a pledge to oppose the nomination of any candidate who proposed modification of the national prohibition laws.²⁰ At the convention when a Smith organizer, Norman E. Mack, distributed a prepared statement

---

15. St. Louis (Missouri) *The Christian Evangelist* (national weekly of the Disciples of Christ) 65 (November 1, 1928), 1415.

16. Boston *The Congregationalist* 113 (October 18, 1928), 485.

17. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 4, 1928.

18. *Journal of the Eighty-Fifth Annual Council of the Diocese of Florida, A.D. Nineteen Hundred Twenty-Eight* (Jacksonville, 1928). There is no mention of prohibition or the presidential campaign by the Florida Episcopalians. New York City *The Churchman* 138 (September 22, 1928), 4; *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1928 (New York, 1929), 104.

19. Winter Park *The Palm Branch* (official organ of the Bishop of South Florida), October, November, December 1928 (there is no mention of prohibition or the presidential campaign); *Religious Bodies*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC, 1929), II, 1259; Jane Quinn, *The Story of a Nun: Jeanie Gordon Brown* (St. Augustine, 1978); 283-84.

20. *Chipley Banner*, June 21, 1928; Edgar W. Waybright, "A Southern Democrat Speaks," *The Kourier Magazine* 4 (August 1928), 35 (Waybright was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention).

noting that the governor was opposed to prohibition, Florida delegates C. H. Taylor and Wallace Tervin of Tampa vowed they would vote against him "until hell froze over."²¹ Dr. H. A. Sala, a delegate from Miami, urged all the Florida delegates to oppose Smith: "the people of Florida told us to do it and let's do it."²² When Smith was nominated on the first ballot, the Florida delegation refused to switch its twelve votes from Senator Walter George of Georgia.²³ Fred P. Cone, a delegate from Lake City and later governor of Florida, impressed his anti-Smith constituency by refusing to serve on the traditional convention committee to notify Smith of his nomination.²⁴

United States Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, a Methodist and a dry, who had been the Senate minority leader since 1923, was Smith's choice for vice president. As this was the first time in sixty-four years a Southerner had received the Democratic party's nomination, Robinson's selection was seen as an effort to placate both the prohibitionists and the South. Despite this overture, Florida's delegates were so hostile to the Smith nomination they refused to join in the parade of endorsement for Robinson.²⁵

In his telegram of acceptance to the Democratic national convention, Smith enunciated his position calling for modification of the existing prohibition laws. He restated his view that the present enforcement procedures were inadequate, and he felt that it would be necessary to liberalize and modify the national prohibition program. Smith called for a state rights solution with Congress broadening the scientific definition of alcoholic beverages, and permitting those states wishing to legalize light wines and beer, to do so, because "the present definition is admittedly inaccurate and unscientific."²⁶

Smith chose as his campaign manager and chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee a leader of the Association against the Prohibition Amendment, John J. Raskob.²⁷ The fact

---

21. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 15, 1928.

22. *Fort Myers Tropical News*, June 26, 1928.

23. *Tallahassee Daily News*, July 7, 1928.

24. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "Florida and the Presidential Election of 1928," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 26 (October 1947), 175.

25. Samuel S. Talbert, "Treatment of the Presidential Campaign of 1928 by the Florida Press" (masters thesis, University of Florida, 1947), 62.

26. Smith, *Campaign Addresses*, 14.

27. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 2, 1928.

that Raskob was also a Roman Catholic and a registered Republican alienated many Florida Democrats. Raskob said that he accepted leadership of the Democratic Executive Committee as "an opportunity of performing some constructive service by helping relieve the country of the damnable affliction of prohibition," and asserted that the Republican party "has now become simply the prohibition party of the United States."²⁸ The editor of the *St. Petersburg Times*, a paper which had championed the effort to make Pinellas County dry, predicted that if Raskob was right, "the Republican party would carry so many states on November 6, it might as well be considered unanimous."²⁹ Smith seemed not to be concerned about the objections of the prohibitionists, and in nine of his twenty major campaign addresses he continued to advocate liberalizing the prohibition laws. He referred to the Anti-Saloon League as advocates of "prejudiced and bigoted ideas."³⁰

In contrast to Smith, the Republican presidential nominee, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, endorsed prohibition in his acceptance speech.³¹ Hoover announced that he did "not favor repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment," and hailed prohibition as "a great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far-reaching in purpose."³² Hoover had felt in the early 1920s that the prohibition laws were a bad idea, but by 1928 he had come to believe that better enforcement should be tried before modifying the existing legislation.³³ Hoover took the position of the dries that the great economic and social advances in the United States since World War I were a consequence of the beneficial effects of prohibition.³⁴ Hoover had not planned to

28. *New York Times*, June 22, 1928; *DeLand Daily News*, October 10, 1928.

29. *St. Petersburg Times*, October 23, 1928.

30. Smith, *Campaign Addresses*, 247. (The speeches where Smith proposed changing the prohibition laws were at Albany, August 22; Milwaukee; September 29; Nashville, October 12; Chicago, October 19; Philadelphia, October 27; Baltimore, October 29; Newark, October 31; Brooklyn, November 2; and New York City, November 3. The comment about the Anti-Saloon League was made at Baltimore.)

31. *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Nineteenth Republican National Convention held in Kansas City, Missouri, June 12, 13, 14, and 15, 1928* (New York, 1928), 139; Herbert Hoover, *A New Day: The Campaign Speeches of Herbert Hoover, 1928* (Stanford, CA, 1928), 29.

32. Hoover, *A New Day*, 29.

33. Herbert Hoover, *Memoirs*, 3 vols. (Stanford, CA, 1951-1952), II, 200-01.

34. Hoover, *A New Day*, 70; *New York Times*, February 24, 1928; Ernest H. Cherrington (ed.), *The Anti-Saloon Leap Yearbook 1928* (Westerville, Ohio, 1928), 12-18.

make prohibition a major issue in the campaign, but when Smith spoke out forcefully for change, Hoover sought to become the champion of the status quo by stating that he did not favor any modification of the prohibition laws.³⁵

Largely as a consequence of Smith's program to modify the prohibition laws, Protestant ministers were instrumental in the creation of organizations committed to his defeat. The disaffected Democrats in 1928 became known as dry Democrats, Anti-Smith Democrats, and Hoovercrats. Shortly after the convention in Houston, dry-Democrats, led by a number of religious leaders, called a meeting at Asheville, North Carolina, to organize opposition to Smith's candidacy. Methodist Bishop James B. Cannon, Jr., of Virginia, and Arthur J. Barton, chairman of the Southern Baptist Commission on Social Service, led the Asheville convention in the endorsement of the Democratic platform and the rejection of the presidential nominee. The disaffected Democrats and Protestant ministers gave four reasons for opposing Smith. They cited his repudiation of the Democratic platform on prohibition, his record as a wet, his selection of Raskob as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and his longtime relationship to Tammany Hall.³⁶

The majority of the Protestant preachers in Florida, following the nomination of Smith and the convening of the Asheville convention, entered actively into national and state politics. P. L. Johnston, editor of the *Florida Baptist Witness*, announced that he was against Smith because "of his position on prohibition."³⁷ Johnston's position reflected the thinking of both the southern and northern Baptist press, including Smith's home state of New York.³⁸

The *Florida Baptist Witness* after editorially announcing for Hoover, was criticized by a few of its readers, but most of the comments received reflected the views of the periodical.³⁹ The

35. Hoover, *A New Day*, 201; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, August 13, 1928.

36. *New York Times*, June 30, 1928; James B. Cannon, Jr., *Bishop Cannon's Own Story; Life As I Have Seen It* (Durham, 1955), 420-23.

37. *Jacksonville Florida Baptist Witness*, July 19, 1928.

38. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1928. Some of the Baptist newspapers opposing Smith include: *The Baptist-The Official Newspaper of the Northern Baptist Convention* (New York), *The Baptist Messenger* (Louisiana), *The Word and the Way* (Kansas), *Baptist Messenger* (Oklahoma), *Western Recorder* (Kentucky), *Religious Herald* (Virginia), *Alabama Baptist*, *Baptist and Reflector* (Tennessee), *Baptist Courier* (South Carolina), *Baptist Recorder* (Mississippi), *Christian Index* (Georgia), *Baptist Advocate* (Arkansas), and *The Watchman Examiner* (New York).

39. *Jacksonville Florida Baptist Witness*, October 11, 1928.

Reverend G. J. Rosseau of the First Baptist Church of Pensacola regarded his own defense of prohibition as part of the ancient "struggle between sin and righteousness," and he asserted that "Rum and Rome" were "Democracy's greatest and deadliest enemies."⁴⁰ Other Baptist ministers also attacked Smith's Catholicism, but nearly all religious critics of Smith included the defense of prohibition as central to their objection. Most Baptist ministers reflected the views of the Reverend S. A. Renicks of Lake Alfred, the Reverend Dr. Porter M. Bailey of the First Baptist Church of Lakeland, the Reverend Ed Butler of the Euclid Baptist Church of Jacksonville, and the Reverend Charles G. Dilworth of the Northwood Baptist Church of West Palm Beach who rejected Smith solely on the basis of his position on prohibition.⁴¹ With such broad based support for his anti-Smith position, editor Johnston of the *Florida Baptist Witness* declared that he did not know of any Baptist minister in the state who thought his political involvement wrong.⁴²

In the edition preceeding the election, the *Florida Baptist Witness* ran an article with the two-page headline, "Beat Smith, the Wet Catholic Tammany Bolter, and Save Southern Democracy."⁴³ This was the most radical of the Baptist press articles and displayed a picture of a white female secretary taking dictation from a black civil service official in New York. The objection to Smith's views on prohibition was central to the article, but nothing was missed as Smith was attacked as a Catholic, as a member of Tammany Hall, and as being shaky on the race issue.⁴⁴ The 882 white southern Baptist churches in Florida, and the overwhelming majority of their 117,418 members, followed the lead of the *Witness* and opened their church doors and pulpits to spokesmen for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Smith Democrats and Hoovercrats.⁴⁵ They were joined by the 98,000 black Baptists and the Colored National Baptist Convention who also renounced Smith's plan to modify the prohibition laws.⁴⁶

40. Ibid., August 23, 1928.

41. Ibid., August 30, September 6, 20, 1928.

42. Ibid., October 11, 1928.

43. Ibid., November 1, 1928.

44. Ibid.

45. *Religious Bodies*, II, 963; *St. Petersburg Times*, October 27, 1928, November 3, 1928.

46. *Religious Bodies*, II, 963-65; *Jacksonville Florida Baptist Witness*, October 18, 1928; *Richmond Presbyterian of the South*, September 26, 1928.

After Smith was nominated, spokesmen for Florida's southern Methodists declared, "It is not a question of politics or religious intolerance, but a question of wet or dry, sobriety or intemperance, plenty or poverty, decency or degradation, right or wrong, heaven or hell," as they campaigned for Hoover.⁴⁷ The twenty-nine Methodist churches of the Ocala district passed resolutions against voting for any wet candidate for president.⁴⁸ They were joined by the northern Methodist churches of the St. Johns River Conference who asserted, "we declare ourselves in the most effective possible manner as unalterably opposed to any wet candidate."⁴⁹ As the Anti-Saloon League received much of its support from the Methodist churches, northern and southern, it was not unusual for the Methodist clergy to assist in the effort to defend the prohibition laws.⁵⁰ Both the northern and southern Methodists formally demanded "voluntary total abstinence from all intoxicants as the obligation of the citizen and the complete legal prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic drinks as the duty of civil government."⁵¹

In St. Petersburg the First Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church opened its doors every Sunday evening the month before election day for speeches on prohibition topics such as "Is the Eighteenth Amendment Worth Saving?"⁵² Mrs. Ida B. Wise, vice-president of the national Woman's Christian Temperance Union, spoke to the St. Petersburg Methodists, as did Palm Beach Mayor Barclay H. Warburton, Republican United States senatorial candidate.⁵³ In addition, the Reverend Isaac C. Jenkins and the Reverend J. Edgar Wilson, former editors of the southern Methodist periodical, *Florida Christian Advocate*, openly

---

47. *Milton Gazette*, October 16, 1928; Talbert, "Treatment of the Presidential Campaign of 1928 by the Florida Press." 31.

48. *Clearwater Sun*, July 17, 1928.

49. *Official Minutes of the St. John's Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Jacksonville, 1928* (Jacksonville, 1928), 58.

50. Nashville (Tennessee) *Christian Advocate* (Southern Methodist) 89 (September 14, 1928), 1168; New York City *Zion's Herald* (Northern Methodist) 106 (October 24, 1928), 1359; Westerville (Ohio) *The American Issue* (Anti-Saloon League) 35 (November 10, 1928), 1.

51. *Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1928* (New York, 1928) 72; *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1930* (Nashville, 1930), 254.

52. *St. Petersburg Times*, October 8, 21, November 5, 1928,

53. *Ibid.*, October 19, November 3, 1928.

campaigned with the Anti-Smith Club of Lakeland for the election of Herbert Hoover.⁵⁴

The organized opposition to Smith was enlarged by the active participation in the election of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League of America. The WCTU at its annual national convention in Minneapolis in 1927, pledged "relentless warfare" to elect dry politicians to public office.⁵⁵ In Florida, Mrs. Minnie E. Neal, president of the Florida WCTU, joined the anti-Smith forces and stated, "we claim to be better Democrats than Governor Smith."⁵⁶

The WCTU was joined in the political arena by the Anti-Saloon League which also moved to prevent any wet candidate being elected. The League announced that "no quarter will be asked from or given to nullification candidates in the 1928 Presidential campaign."⁵⁷ N. C. Bryan, president of the Anti-Saloon League of Florida, and Don C. McMullen, legal counsel for the Florida League, joined Howard Hyde Russell, founder and associate general superintendent of the League, in sending a letter to Florida congressmen urging them to join their effort to preserve the prohibition laws.⁵⁸ They were joined on the church-speaking circuit defending prohibition against the Smith program by C. W. Croke, superintendent of the Florida Anti-Saloon League.⁵⁹ The League and the WCTU also brought Methodist Bishop James Cannon, Jr., noted for his fiery oratory, to Jacksonville, August 4, 1928, with the goal of organizing anti-Smith clubs in every voting precinct in the state.⁶⁰ The day before his arrival in Florida, Bishop Cannon issued a statement calling for the convening of conferences in all southern states to organize campaigns to defeat Governor Smith. In Jacksonville, Bishop Cannon spoke to over 300 members and support-

---

54. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 25, 1928.

55. *New York Times*, September 1, 1927.

56. *Pensacola Journal*, October 31, 1928.

57. Cherrington, *The Anti-Saloon League Yearbook*, 1928, 10-12.

58. Howard Hyde Russell to Robert Alexis "Lex" Green, October 26, 1928, Robert Alexis Green Papers, Box 2, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereafter cited as Green Papers).

59. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, August 25, 1928; C. W. Croke to Park Trammell, October 18, 1928, Park Trammell Papers, Box 9, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereafter cited as Trammell Papers).

60. Doherty, "Florida and the Presidential Election of 1928," 175.

ers of the WCTU and Anti-Saloon League, exhorting them to lead the fight against Smith and his anti-prohibition program.⁶¹

Despite the efforts of the preachers, the Democratic party in Florida did not openly abandon its presidential candidate. The dry-Democrats were led by a vocal minority in the party. Former state senator and speaker of the state House of Representatives Edgar W. (Ned) Waybright of Jacksonville served on the executive committee of the Bryan Democratic League which endorsed Hoover for president.⁶² Waybright and his group cited prohibition, Tammany, white supremacy, and immigration restriction as their reasons for abandoning Al Smith.⁶³ He stumped the state calling for an electoral revolt against Smith and his "graft ridden, liquor laden, corrupt forces."⁶⁴

Gilchrist B. Stockton also of Jacksonville, a veteran of the 1924 and 1928 Democratic conventions, joined Waybright in touring Florida calling for the election of all Democrats except Al Smith.⁶⁵ W. H. Brokaw, who served as chairman of the Orlando Democratic Executive Committee until his repudiation of Smith and the organization of the Anti-Smith Democratic Club of Orange County, was also instrumental in the Hoovercrats' campaign.⁶⁶ Brokaw, Stockton, and Waybright argued that Smith's efforts to modify strict prohibition and his association with Tammany Hall were their reasons for opposing him. They denied that his religion was motivating their campaign.⁶⁷

The best known anti-Catholic politician in Florida was former Governor Sidney J. Catts who had been elected on the Prohibition ticket in 1916, after being denied the nomination of the Democratic party.⁶⁸ Catts, who had been defeated when he ran again in the 1928 Democratic gubernatorial primary, was also opposed to Smith, and he appealed for support to disaffected Democrats traditionally opposed to Florida's Democratic

61. Jacksonville *Florida Baptist Witness*, August 16, 1928.

62. *Miami Herald*, October 19, 1928.

63. Waybright, "A Southern Democrat Speaks," 35; *Gainesville Evening News*, October 16, 1928.

64. *Gainesville Evening News*, October 16, 1928.

65. *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, October 7, 1928; *Miami Herald*, October 26, 1928.

66. W. H. Brokaw to Trammell, October 24, 1928, Trammell Papers, Box 9.

67. *Ibid.*, Gilchrist B. Stockton to Trammell, October 20, 1928, Trammell Papers, Box 5.

68. J. Wayne Flynt, *Cracker Messiah: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 70-91. J. Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee, 1971), 143-44.

party organization. Catts announced that he would choose to “have my arm cut off above the elbow before I would cast my vote for Al Smith.”⁶⁹

Fred Butler, secretary for the Republican State Committee, recognizing the struggle in the Democratic party, stated that the Republican strategy in Florida was to let these “Anti-Democrats” shake “the Democrats loose from the Democratic-Tammany ticket.”⁷⁰

Florida’s elected politicians, holding statewide and national offices, were all Democrats. As Smith’s candidacy aroused the normally quiescent clergy and disaffected Democrats, the Democratic leadership struggled to maintain party unity. The regular Democrats were led by United States Senator Duncan U. Fletcher who opened the Smith election drive on September 19, 1928, with an address at the Orlando municipal auditorium. Fletcher endorsed Smith as a “thorough-going Democrat” and predicted that his efforts to modify prohibition would be “doomed to utter failure” in the Congress.⁷¹ Fletcher sought to maintain party solidarity and reminded Florida’s United Confederate Veterans that the Republican party represented those who had “waved the bloody shirt” and who had “denounced the southern people as rebels and traitors.”⁷²

Fletcher was joined by William H. Ellis, chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court, in defending Smith.⁷³ Justice Ellis argued that Smith as president would enforce the prohibition laws and would discontinue the Republicans’ “pretended enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.”⁷⁴ In his many public appearances Justice Ellis defended Smith’s prohibition position as he sought to portray the views of Smith and Hoover as similar on the wet issue.⁷⁵ For Ellis the preservation of party loyalty was the paramount issue to be decided at the polls, and he was joined in this effort by the great majority of Florida’s elected officials,

---

69. Crestview *Okaloosa News-Journal*, July 6, 1928, Peter O. Knight Scrapbook, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

70. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 27, 1928.

71. Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher*, 143-44; *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, September 20, 1928.

72. *Miami Herald*, October 11, 1928.

73. *DeLand Daily News*, October 16, 1928; *Pensacola Journal*, October 18, 1928.

74. *Miami Herald*, October 11, 1928.

75. Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., “The 1928 Presidential Election in Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1976), 138-39.

former politicians, and members of the legal profession.⁷⁶ Fletcher, who was not up for election in 1928, was joined by Governor John W. Martin and former Governor Cary Hardee in his endorsement of Smith for president, but Florida's junior United States Senator, Park Trammell, standing for reelection that year, declined to join Fletcher in campaigning for Smith.⁷⁷ In fact, Trammell refused to campaign either for himself or for Smith, and when faithful Democrats beseeched him to come to Florida and stop the "Republican invasion," he declined.⁷⁸ Early in the campaign Trammell stated that he would not criticize the dry-Democrats, and as the fight against Smith intensified, he refused to come to Florida, stating that "illness for the last three weeks" prevented his election activities.⁷⁹

Both James B. Hodges, chairman of the Democratic State Campaign Committee, and C. Jay Hardee, state chairman and Democratic finance director for the national campaign, sought to get Trammell to join the state speaking campaign in behalf of Smith.⁸⁰ Trammell declined these and many other invitations to campaign for Smith, claiming the press of business before his speech in Lakeland on October 12 and illness thereafter.⁸¹

Trammell received letters from both W. H. Brokaw and Gil-Christ Stockton, leaders of the Hoovercrats, after his Lakeland speech, stating that they "regretted" that Trammell had "felt

---

76. Ibid., Appendix B, 220-21.

77. *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, November 3, 1928.

78. H. W. Burwell (speakers committee, Dade Democratic Club) to Trammell, October 13, 1928; George Whitfield McRory (secretary, State Democratic Executive Committee) to Trammell, October 11, 15, 1928; Watt Lawler (Lee County Democratic Executive Committee) to Trammell, October 12, 1928; Harry C. Duncan (chairman, Lake County Democratic Executive Committee) to Trammell, October 18, 1928, Trammell Papers, Box 5, "Invitations to Speak File"; Stephen Kerber, "Park Trammell of Florida, A Political Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1979), 292-93.

79. Trammell to Judge Jno. W. Dodge, October 30, 1928, Trammell Papers, Box 5.

80. James B. Hodges to Trammell, October 19, 1928; C. Jay Hardee to Trammell, August 21, 1928; Trammell to Hodges, October 31, 1928, Trammell Papers, Box 5.

81. Trammell to F. A. McDonald, October 16, 1928; John W. Gideons to Trammell, October 16, 1928; Trammell to Hardee, November 2, 1928; Trammell to Stanton Walker, October 31, 1928; Trammell to Joe Butler, October 19, 1928; Trammell to L. D. Reagin, October 19, 1928; Trammell to E. S. Vining, November 19, 1928, Trammell Papers, Box 5.

called upon to endorse Governor Smith even mildly.⁸² When Trammell did answer the dry-Democrats he assured them of his "own position in favor of prohibition" and stated that he believed "in the right of every Democrat to vote as his conscience dictated to him."⁸³

Doyle Carlton, the Democratic nominee for governor in 1928, also refused to campaign for Smith. For several months after the Democratic convention he remained silent about national politics, and when he did respond to the demand that he endorse the national ticket, he merely stated that he was a loyal Democrat but "not a dictator and shall not assume to command the voters of Florida."⁸⁴ Late in the campaign Carlton did endorse the Democratic party platform but was careful to add that "from some of the announced views of the Presidential candidate, I vigorously dissent."⁸⁵

Congressman Robert Alexis "Lex" Green of the Second Congressional District also carefully avoided endorsing Smith by name. Green described the dilemma of Democrats like himself up for election in 1928: "Hoover-Democrats on one side and the so-called Smith-Stalworths [sic], who in the most part are my former and future primary enemies, are trying to pull me to pieces."⁸⁶ Green refused to campaign for Smith, although he did make a radio address on WRUF Gainesville, October 31, endorsing the Democratic party and its platform without mentioning Smith by name.⁸⁷ Green had refused to attend the Democratic convention and after the crushing defeat of Smith stated, "I told you so."⁸⁸

82. Stockton to Trammell, October 10, 20, 1928; Brokaw to Trammell, October 24, 1928; Trammell to Brokaw, November 19, 1928, Trammell Papers, Boxes 5 and 9.
83. Trammell to A. B. Newton (chairman, Anti-Smith Democratic Club of Winter Garden), October 16, 1928; Trammell to Dr. C. W. Crook, October 16, 1928; Trammell to W. H. Baker, October 19, 1928, Trammell Papers, Box 9.
84. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, September 6, 1928.
85. Madison, *Enterprise Recorder*, September 24, 1928; *DeLand Daily News*, September 7 1928; *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, November 1, 1928.
86. Millard E. Tydings to Green, August 8, 1928; G. B. Smithson to Green, August 27, 1928; W. R. Donovan to Green, July 19, 1928; J. A. Ward to Green, August 25, 1928, Green Papers, Box 2.
87. Herbert Felkel to Hodges, April 14, 1933, James B. Hodges Papers, Box 106, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
88. Green to Thomas H. Harris (personal secretary to Green), November 13, 1928, Green Papers, Box 2.

Herbert Jackson Drane, congressman of the First Congressional District, also declined to join the speaking campaign for Smith but did tacitly support him.⁸⁹ He later stated that he had defended prohibition throughout because "my vote in Congress belongs to the people of Florida."⁹⁰

Ruth Bryan Owen, a first-time Democratic nominee from the Fourth District and daughter of William Jennings Bryan, also equivocated in her support of Al Smith. She joined Green, Drane, Trammell, and Carlton in pledging support for the Democratic platform without naming Smith and emphasized that her two loyalties were to the Democratic party and to Florida.⁹¹

The only other Floridian elected to national office to endorse the Smith candidacy and to join the campaign efforts in his behalf was Congressman Thomas Alva Yon of the Third Congressional District. Yon accepted the chairmanship of the Leon County Democratic National Victory Committee and went on a speaking tour of West Florida in an effort to preserve party loyalty.⁹² Yon's strategy was to defend the Democratic party. On the matter of prohibition he declared, "those who wanted prohibition had it under the present plan and those who did not want it were getting along all right."⁹³

A determination to preserve the prohibition laws motivated the Protestant preachers to lead their congregants into the politics of 1928; when Al Smith sought to modify those laws, they openly campaigned to defeat him. The actual motivation for the political activity of the Protestant clergy was viewed by many observers as evidence of a deep hostility to Roman Catholics.⁹⁴

---

89. E. D. Lambright (editor, *Tampa Morning Tribune*) to Herbert J. Drane, December 30, 1932, Herbert Jackson Drane Papers, William R. Perkins Library, Manuscript Division, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

90. Herbert Jackson Drane, "A Biography of Herbert J. Drane," 55-57, Herbert Jackson Drane Papers, University of South Florida, Tampa.

91. *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, October 20, 1928; Herbert Felkel to Hodges, April 14, 1933, Hodges Papers, Box 106.

92. Crawfordville *Wakulla County News*, September 27, 1928. This paper was one of several in the Yon clippings (most of which were not identified), Thomas Alva Yon Clippings, Ledger 40, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

93. *Ibid.*

94. Alfred E. Smith, *Up to Now: An Autobiography* (New York, 1929), 61, 410-16; William G. Carleton, "The Popish Plot of 1928," *Forum* 112 (September 1949), 141-47. Edmund A. Moore, *A Catholic Runs for President: The Campaign of 1928* (New York, 1956), 157, 163; John A. Ryan, "A Catholic View

A survey of the documents of the Protestant churches and the statements and actions of the preachers show that it was the desire to preserve the prohibition laws that was most important to the majority of the Protestant community. The election results reflect their determination to preserve national prohibition in 1928. For the Florida Democratic party, loyalty was the paramount issue of 1928, and the Protestant clergy in its enthusiasm for prohibition shocked the Democratic leadership by helping to defeat its presidential candidate for the first time in fifty-two years.⁹⁵ For the first time since Reconstruction, the tradition of the solid South had been broken.

In the decade of the 1920s prohibition allowed religious views to become intertwined with politics. Protestant preachers who believed in total abstinence from alcohol found themselves defending their vision of progressive politics against a Democratic presidential candidate who wanted prohibition laws that more nearly reflected his idea of a temperate society. When the preachers entered politics in 1928, they tied their religious convictions to secular politics. These militant clerics insisted that it was only their defense of their cherished Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution that motivated their opposition to Al Smith.

---

of the Election," *Current History* 29 (December 1928), 377-81; Alan Lichtman, *Prejudice and the Old Politics: The Presidential Election of 1928* (Chapel Hill, 1979), 52.

95. *Official Vote--State of Florida, General Election, 1928 Tabulated by Counties*, Marianna, 1928, n.p. (the final vote in Florida was Hoover, 144,168, and Smith, 101,764).

ARCADIA AND BAGDAD: INDUSTRIAL PARKS OF ANTEBELLUM FLORIDA

by BRIAN RUCKER

INDUSTRIAL development in antebellum Florida was rare; the new state's economy was based primarily on agriculture, as were the other southern states. Two exceptions, however, are the interconnected industrial complexes of Arcadia and Bagdad, located in northwest Florida approximately twenty-five miles from Pensacola. Arcadia had its origins in 1817 and operated as an industrial site until 1855. Bagdad began in 1840 and became one of the world's largest producers and exporters of yellow pine lumber until its lumber mill closed in 1939.

The Spanish realized the commercial value of Florida's pine forest as early as 1743 when they shipped several masts of yellow pine to Cuba.¹ Timber was also exported by the British, and during the second Spanish era timber took on an increasing importance in west Florida's economy.²

In 1817, four years before the American acquisition of Florida, Juan de la Rua made the first attempt at beginning an industry on what is now the Arcadia site. De la Rua was born in Martinique in 1789, and came to Pensacola when his family fled from a slave uprising in 1791. The de la Ruas were prominent members of the Pensacola community, and in 1810 Juan married Margarita Bonifay, a member of another prosperous and important family in the area.³ In 1817, Juan de la Rua received

---

Brian Rucker is a doctoral student in history, Florida State University.

1. William Gober, "Lumbering in Florida," *Southern Lumberman* (December 1956), 104.
2. C. N. Howard, "Some Economic Aspects of British West Florida, 1763-1768," *Journal of Southern History* 6 (May 1940), 217; Philip Keyes Yonge, "The Lumber Industry of West Florida," Florida Historical Society, *Makers of America*, 4 vols. (Atlanta, 1909-1911), I, 72.
3. William S. Coker and G. Douglas Inglis, *The Spanish Censuses of Pensacola, 1784-1820: A Genealogical Guide to Spanish Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1980), 107; Jack D. L. Holmes, "Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821," unpublished mss., item no. 224, 64-65, West Florida Collection, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola; Celia Myrover Robinson, *The Crown Jewel: Fabulous Families of Old Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1948), 50-56.

a large Spanish land grant— 800 arpents— located three miles up Pond Creek in present-day Santa Rosa County. Pond Creek empties into Blackwater River approximately twenty-five miles northeast of Pensacola. Pond Creek, actually a small river, is navigable for two miles. De la Rua's grant, one mile farther, was located in a small valley at a spot where the stream flows swiftly through a narrow channel. The area surrounding the site consisted of abundant stands of virgin pine, the physical makeup of the stream created an ideal place to establish a waterpowered sawmill, and it was not far from the port of Pensacola.⁴

From 1817 to 1819, de la Rua cleared the land and made necessary improvements.⁵ However, his interest in a sawmill seemed to be only an incidental concern. De la Rua was a colonel in the Spanish army, owned much land in the area, and was financially involved in a number of Pensacola businesses. In 1822, he was elected mayor of Pensacola, and in the same year his house at Gull Point on Escambia Bay served as the meeting site of the first legislative council of territorial Florida.⁶ A yellow fever epidemic struck, killing two delegates and forcing the council to abandon de la Rua's home.⁷ He was chosen to replace one of the members, and he was elected a member of the territorial council again in 1824 and 1825.⁸ In 1825 de la Rua also served on the Pensacola city council as alderman, and two years later was appointed colonel of the Florida Militia's First Regiment.⁹

Though de la Rua began work at the mill site, the development of his Pond Creek land grant was hampered by his diverse interests and commitments. Labor problems also arose. Hostile bands of Indians in the area prevented him from maintaining dependable labor.¹⁰ De la Rua apparently lost interest in his

---

4. *American State Papers*, 38 vols. (Washington, DC, 1832-1861), *Public Lands*, IV, 181. An arpent is equal to approximately 0.85 of an acre. Pond Creek was earlier known under different names (Black Water Creek, Clear Water Creek).

5. *Ibid.*

6. Robinson, *Crown Jewel*, 51-55.

7. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 122.

8. Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Florida, 1821-1824*, 28 vols. (Washington, DC, 1934-1975), XXII, 489-90; Robinson, *Crown Jewel*, 54.

9. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 781; Holmes, "Pensacola Settlers," 65.

10. Martin Luther King, *History of Santa Rosa County: A King's Country* (N.P. 1972), 28. These Indians were probably disorganized groups of Red Sticks

plans for this site, and instead of lumber, he increasingly became involved with the production of bricks. His wife's family was in the brickmaking business, and by 1828, de la Rua was shipping approximately 110,000 bricks a year to New Orleans.¹¹ In that same year, he sold his Pond Creek land grant to Joseph Forsyth.¹²

Little is known about Joseph Forsyth's early life. Born in Connecticut in 1802, he and his family later lived in New Orleans before settling in Pensacola by the early 1820s. Evidence indicates that his father was captain of a vessel which ran regularly between Pensacola and New Orleans. In 1824 Joseph Forsyth established his own general goods store in Pensacola. Four years later he purchased de la Rua's Pond Creek tract.¹³

Forsyth erected a large dam across Pond Creek to provide waterpower for a sawmill. However, his capital was limited, and there was still a shortage of laborers because of the fear of In-

---

migrating from southern Alabama into Florida. Pensacola newspapers of the 1820s and 1830s often mention Indians in the area, along with the fears and worries of local white inhabitants. For further information on the Indians in northwest Florida during this time period, see Jane E. Dysart, "Another Road to Disappearance: Assimilation of Creek Indians in Pensacola, Florida, During the Nineteenth Century," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (July 1982), 37-48, and Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 151-70.

11. William C. Lazarus, "A Study of Dated Bricks in the Vicinity of Pensacola, Fla.," *Florida Anthropologist* 18 (September 1965), 69-84; James Knox Polk, "Pensacola Commerce and Industry 1821-1860" (master's thesis, University of West Florida, 1971), 82; Robinson, *Crown Jewel*, 51; Leora M. Sutton, *Mariana Bonifay* (Pensacola, 1964), 10-16.
12. Escambia County, *Escambia County Deed Book B*, Escambia County Courthouse, Pensacola, 65; C. H. Overman, "After 111 Years, Bagdad Reaches the End," *The Southern Lumber Journal*, Part 1 (March 1939), 16.
13. U.S. Census Office, *Florida Census, 1850: Santa Rosa County* (Jacksonville, 1973), 13 (hereinafter cited as *Florida Census, 1850*); Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," 16; *Pensacola Gazette*, September 4, 1824, June 10, 1848, July 8, 1848; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 740; tombstone inscription of James Forsyth, Jr., St. Michael's Cemetery, Pensacola; United States Bureau of the Census, Third Census: 1810, manuscript returns for New London County, CT, on microfilm at the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida; United States Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules, Fifth Census: 1830, manuscript returns for Escambia County; United States Bureau of the Census Population Schedules, Sixth Census: 1840, manuscript returns for Escambia County, on microfilm at the Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. Local tradition has it that Joseph Forsyth killed a man in New Orleans and fled to Pensacola around 1825; he then supposedly secured a job at John Hunt's brickyard on Blackwater Bay. However, there is no substantial evidence to verify this background.

dians in the area. Fortunately Ezekiel E. Simpson and Andrew P. Simpson joined him as partners and provided the needed capital.¹⁴

The Simpson family came to Florida from South Carolina around 1814. John Simpson built a mill on Simpson River at the head of Escambia Bay around 1820. When he died in 1825, the waterpowered sawmill, known as Woodbine, was taken over by his two sons, John and James Simpson. Two other sons, Ezekiel and Andrew, entered into partnership with Forsyth in 1830, and together with Forsyth, they completed the Pond Creek mill.¹⁵ The mill site was named Arcadia. A new channel for the creek was excavated, and the mill machinery was set into place. A dam was built across the original streambed, diverting the water into the new channel and through the newly-constructed waterwheel of the sawmill. The completed dam created a large holding pond for the logs which flowed downstream. The dam extended nearly a quarter of a mile across the small valley. Constructed from earth and slabs of local ironstone, it stood approximately fifteen feet high. The large holding pond was probably the origin of Pond Creek's name.¹⁶

To the north, narrow ditches were dug which extended as far as eighteen miles. These straight ditches, approximately three feet wide, were lined with wood and served as log flumes. The lumbermen working in the thick virgin woods to the north chopped down the pines, trimmed the branches, and placed the logs into the flume where the natural water flow took them to the Arcadia holding pond. Dogs, or short metal chains, were often attached to the logs as they were placed in the flume. This process created a single file chain of logs, sometimes extending over a mile in length, which descended quickly to the mill site. After the logs were taken from the holding pond, the water-

---

14. Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," 16.

15. *American State Papers*, IV, 182; *Escambia County Deed Book B*, 303; *ibid.*; *Pensacola Gazette*, October 22, 1825, January 9, 1836, March 28, 1846; Simpson Family genealogical file collection, in possession of Brian Rucker, Tallahassee. Ezekiel and James Simpson were the grandsons of the Revolutionary War hero, General Andrew Pickens, for whom Fort Pickens on Pensacola Bay is named. The mill site at Woodbine is approximately five miles west of the Pond Creek tract.

16. Personal field trips to the Arcadia mill site with local historian Warren Weekes, December 30, 1986, and December 29-30, 1987. After the site was abandoned in the mid 1800s, dense vegetation quickly covered it. Mr. Weekes rediscovered the site in the early 1960s.



Ezekiel E. Simpson, ca. 1860. Courtesy of Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

powered saws transformed them into lumber. The lumber was then taken by water to Pensacola where it was shipped to New Orleans and other Gulf coast ports.¹⁷

---

17. Ibid. Forsyth and Simpson purchased a number of slaves at this time to do much of the work at the mill. See Escambia County, *Escambia County Deed Book C*, 475.

The early 1830s was a period of intense development along the shores of Escambia and Blackwater bays, and the Forsyth and Simpson Company is reflective of this increased activity. The Arcadia mill had at least two saws by 1835 to supply the increasing demand for lumber.¹⁸ The company, however, was considering diversification, and was interested in establishing a cotton mill on this property. Many Southerners argued that the region should not be sending its cotton to the New England textile mills; cotton factories should be located near the cotton plantations.¹⁹ Southern Alabama and Georgia were beginning to produce large amounts of cotton, and there was an increase in cotton production in northwest Florida. Forsyth and the Simpson brothers saw the Arcadia site as a good location for a cotton mill.

They were further encouraged by the talk of a possible railroad connecting Pensacola with Columbus, Georgia. Pensacola's fine harbor was of little commercial value without a navigable river to provide access to the interior. A railroad would be invaluable for Pensacola's growth and commercial development. Plans for a Pensacola-Columbus railroad began in December 1833. Florida and Alabama charters were granted for the railroad in 1834, authorizing the construction of a line from Columbus to Pensacola.²⁰

The proposed route for the railroad no doubt delighted Forsyth and his associates; the route would place it only a few miles from Arcadia.²¹ With the implementation of such a railroad, Arcadia's products would no longer be limited strictly to water transportation. The proposal for the railroad added impetus to the establishment of a cotton mill at Arcadia. Shipments of cotton from Georgia and Alabama could be delivered to Arcadia by rail, spun into cloth, and then shipped back north. Arcadia could thus serve customers from both land and sea. It is not surprising then for Joseph Forsyth, as one of the commissioners,

---

18. *Pensacola Gazette*, May 9, 1835.

19. Richard W. Griffin, "The Cotton Mill Campaign in Florida, 1828-1863," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (January 1962), 261-63.

20. Dorothy Dodd, "Railroad Projects in Territorial Florida" (master's thesis, Florida State College for Women, 1929), 45-46.

21. *Banks of Pensacola and Alabama, Georgia, and Florida Railroad Company Charters* (New York, 1835), n.p.

to take stock subscriptions for the railroad in 1834.²² The following year work began on the line under the name of the Alabama, Florida, and Georgia Railroad Company.²³

In 1833, Forsyth began organizing plans for a cotton mill at Arcadia. The Florida territorial legislature incorporated the Escambia Manufacturing Company which consisted of Joseph Forsyth, Andrew P. Simpson, Ezekiel E. Simpson, George Willis, and Henry Ahrens. The company was allowed a capital stock of \$60,000, and the purpose of the corporation was the "manufacture of Cotton, Wool, and other materials, into thread, yarn, or cloth, or other manufactures of like character, and the building and erection of works and machinery necessary to carry on the operations of such manufactory."²⁴

At the same time, measures were being taken to improve the transportation network at the Arcadia site. Forsyth, Ezekiel Simpson, and Timothy Twitchell formed the Pond Creek and Blackwater River Canal Company, with a capital stock of \$10,000, for the purpose of constructing a canal to connect Pond Creek with Blackwater River.²⁵ The canal was to be dug east to west across a swampy piece of land a short distance north of Pond Creek's lower course.²⁶ Not only would this canal aid in the shipping of cotton and textiles in the future, but it would also aid in the transportation of lumber to the river.

Work on these two projects was slow, but the high production at the Arcadia sawmill provided the necessary capital. Approximately 3,000 feet of lumber a week were being shipped by the Forsyth and Simpson Company in 1836.²⁷ The firm also added a planing and lathing machine and a gristmill to their operation.²⁸ However, the financial panic in 1837 probably re-

---

22. Dodd, "Railroad Projects in Territorial Florida," 46, 63. Jackson Morton, John Hunt, and Henry Hyer were also listed as commissioners. Morton owned a local brickyard, Hunt operated a nearby sawmill and brickyard, and Henry Hyer later invested in the Arcadia Manufacturing Company.

23. *Ibid.*, 46-47.

24. Florida, *Laws of the Territory of Florida*, 1835, 286-87. George Willis and Henry Ahrens were prominent Pensacola businessmen who were mentioned frequently in the *Pensacola Gazette* during the 1830s.

25. Florida, *Laws of the Territory of Florida*, 1835, 291-93.

26. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 85-86.

27. *Pensacola Gazette*, April 30, 1836.

28. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1838.

tarded the development of the company's enterprises, especially the plans for a textile mill.²⁹

In 1838 plans for the canal at Arcadia were also cancelled, and the name of the canal company was changed to the Arcadia Railroad Company.³⁰ This railroad, one of the first in territorial Florida, was designed to connect Arcadia with the mouth of Pond Creek at Blackwater River.³¹ A three-mile route along the west bank of Pond Creek was developed and much grading was done. At some places, solid rock had to be removed to facilitate the construction. The work was completed, and the Arcadia Railroad was in operation by August 1840.³² The wooden rails were covered with flat strips of iron, and the cars were pulled by mules.³³ Though primitive, it proved useful in transporting the lumber from Arcadia to Blackwater River.

The Arcadia complex was also developing other industries which could utilize the railroad. As early as 1826, the land around the Arcadia mill site was being used for its outcroppings of ironstone. The harbor defense forts being constructed around Pensacola Bay by the federal government called for foundation stone, and a number of quarries were begun at Arcadia.³⁴ By 1841, the Arcadia stone quarries had furnished the Pensacola Navy Yard with nearly \$30,000 worth of ironstone.³⁵ The Pensacola Wharf Company also used Arcadia's stone, paying Forsyth over \$3,000 for foundation materials.³⁶

Also located at Arcadia were the business investments of Timothy Twitchell. A New Hampshire native, Twitchell had arrived in northwest Florida in the early 1820s.³⁷ In 1830 he purchased a quarter of the Arcadia tract to set up his own enterprises.³⁸ He built a sawmill and a shingle mill, and then a few

29. Polk, "Pensacola Commerce and Industry, 1821-1860," 117.

30. There is little to indicate whether or not any work was done on the proposed canal. Canal Street, in the nearby city of Milton, was supposedly given its name because it was built to lead to this canal.

31. Florida, *Laws of the Territory of Florida*, 1838, 47-48.

32. *Pensacola Gazette*, August 1, 1840.

33. King, *History of Santa Rosa County*, 28; Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," 16.

34. Ernest F. Dibble, *Ante-Bellum Pensacola and the Military Presence* (Pensacola, 1974), 12, 23-24; *Pensacola Gazette*, June 30, 1827.

35. *Pensacola Gazette*, September 25, 1841.

36. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1830.

37. *Florida Census, 1850*, 12; *Pensacola Floridian*, September 8, 1821.

38. Santa Rosa County; *Santa Rosa County Deed Book A-I* (Santa Rosa County Courthouse, Milton), 12-13. Twitchell had been appointed judge of the Escambia County Court in 1825. See Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 1005.

years later he established the Arcadia Pail Factory.³⁹ Using juniper wood for his buckets, Twitchell achieved a good reputation for his quality work. The editor of the *Pensacola Gazette* made note of the factory's operation: "The wood for half a dozen pails was put into the machine in blocks a foot long— the staves were sawed out, shaped, tongued and grooved, adjusted and smoothed, the bottoms made and inserted, and the hoops and bales prepared and adjusted— all by machinery, and the whole occupying scarcely half an hour."⁴⁰

Twitchell was involved in both the Arcadia canal and railroad projects. He was also interested in horticulture; at his Arcadia residence he raised grapes, figs, quinces, peaches, and nectarines. Twitchell experimented with silk culture and had eight acres planted in mulberry trees, with approximately 400,000 silkworms feeding upon the trees. An experimental cocoonery was erected, two stories tall and 100 feet long, in anticipation of a great silk boom.⁴¹

Growth and development at the Arcadia complex was slowed when the Alabama, Florida, and Georgia Railroad failed. Work began on the project in 1835-1836, but the Panic of 1837 ended the land speculation boom in the Pensacola area. The Bank of Pensacola, which was heavily involved in the interstate project, was forced to close in June 1837. The Alabama, Florida, and Georgia Railroad proved to be an expensive failure, and in 1838 the project was abandoned. Twenty-five miles of grading had been completed, and some trestles had been erected by the time the project was abandoned. The route of the railroad, only a few miles from Arcadia, would have proved an important boon to the Arcadia complex.⁴²

By 1840 Arcadia was a prosperous and growing community, but little if any work had been done on the proposed cotton textile mill. A reason for this delay seems to be the Forsyth and Simpson Company's preoccupation with the timber industry. In 1840 the partners of this firm included Joseph Forsyth, Ezekiel E. Simpson, James E. Simpson, and Benjamin Overman.⁴³ It

39. *Pensacola Gazette*, November 17, 1838, December 31, 1842.

40. *Ibid.*, December 31, 1842.

41. *Ibid.*, September 25, 1841. Twitchell left Arcadia in 1851 because of his brother's death in the North. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1851.

42. Dodd, "Railroad Projects in Territorial Florida," 47-59; Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida During the Territorial Days* (Athens, 1944), 142-43.

43. Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," 16.

was at this time that Forsyth decided to move his timber operations from Arcadia to Blackwater River. The three-mile Arcadia railroad had proved to be an inadequate form of transportation for heavy loads of lumber. The rails were subject to wear, and the mule power was not dependable. Forsyth viewed the southern terminus of the railroad, where Pond Creek enters Blackwater River, as an ideal location for a new sawmill. It was here that the company had their lumber beds and docking facilities. Such a move would also allow modernization through the use of efficient steam engines instead of waterpower. Construction began at the new site, and Ezekiel Simpson recruited a number of skilled northern workers to aid in establishing the new mill.⁴⁴

Forsyth named the new mill site Bagdad, perhaps because it was located at the confluence of Pond Creek and Blackwater River, just as the Middle East city was situated between two large rivers of the region.⁴⁵ Problems, however, soon arose. There was no waterpower at Bagdad as there was at Arcadia, and the proposed use of steam for driving the mill was complicated by the brackish water near the site. The salt content of the water would have quickly destroyed any steam boilers, and the small freshwater surface springs were not capable of providing sufficient water. An ingenious engineering feat solved the problem. A dam was constructed to hold water from several springheads a mile and one-half above the site. The dam furnished power to an overshot waterwheel which forced the water from the dam to Bagdad. The pipes used were wooden logs, each about twenty feet long. Four-inch holes were bored lengthwise through the center of the logs, and the logs were then fastened together by iron nipples and ferrules.⁴⁶ The fresh water thus provided enabled Forsyth and his associates to establish a steam sawmill at Bagdad. By 1842 the company was producing over \$100,000 worth of lumber a year.⁴⁷

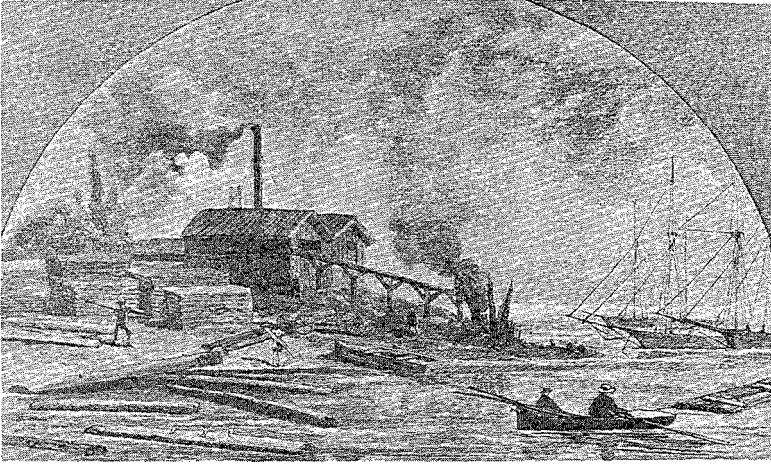
---

44. Ibid. James Creary of New York and R. M. Bushnell of Connecticut were brought to Florida by E. E. Simpson. Other important individuals brought into the company during this time period were Benjamin Overman of North Carolina and Benjamin W. Thompson of Kentucky.

45. King, *History of Santa Rosa County*, 27.

46. Ibid., 28-29; Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," 16. Nipples are pipe couplings consisting of short pieces of threaded tubing. Ferrules are short tubes or bushings designed for tightening joints between pipes.

47. *Pensacola Gazette*, September 3, 1842.



"A Saw-mill at Bagdad," a woodcut engraving from *Lippincott's Magazine* 29 (February 1882). Photograph is courtesy of John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

With the move to Bagdad, the mill facilities at Arcadia were temporarily abandoned. Forsyth and his partners planned to use the Arcadia waterpowered mill site for their long delayed cotton mill. In 1845 work on the mill began. Even though cotton prices fell extremely low that same year, the Arcadia cotton mill project was enthusiastically pursued.⁴⁸ The name of the Escambia Manufacturing Company was officially changed to the Arcadia Manufacturing Company, and the value of the shares was reduced to \$100.⁴⁹

In September 1845, a two-story building, ninety-four by thirty-eight feet, was constructed to house the textile equipment, and manufacturing was expected to begin by January 1846. One of the owners traveled to Virginia to buy slaves for the labor

48. Griffin, "The Cotton Mill Campaign in Florida," 264.

49. Florida, *Laws of the State of Florida*, 1845, 139. The six subscribers at this time were Joseph Forsyth, E. E. Simpson, William A. Jones, Henry Hyer, Henry Ahrens, and George Willis. Each held ten shares worth \$500 apiece. See *Escambia County Circuit Court Records, Arcadia Manufacturing Company v. George Willis*, File X-1327, Escambia County Courthouse, Pensacola. In 1842, both Arcadia and Bagdad came under the jurisdiction of Santa Rosa County, newly-formed from the eastern portion of Escambia County. Many of the early records and documents relating to Arcadia and Bagdad were destroyed when the Santa Rosa County courthouse burned in 1869.

force; it was intended that the cotton mill would be operated by slave labor, particularly young females.⁵⁰ The textile machinery arrived from Rhode Island in December 1845, but it was not until the following April that the factory was in full operation. By May 1846, cloth was being shipped to New Orleans.⁵¹

The Arcadia Manufacturing Company elicited favorable response locally and even received attention throughout the South.⁵² Attempts at industrialization in the South were rare, but the editor of the *Pensacola Gazette* realized the worth of such projects. It was apparent to him that the South suffered from its colonial status as a producer of raw materials and a buyer of finished products.⁵³ The optimistic editorialist saw the Arcadia cotton factory as an effort to liberate the South from its dependence on the North: "The time is fast coming when the slumbering south will be awakened to the unwelcome truth, that she must manufacture her own clothes and raise her own provisions, or her people must become the bond slaves of the north and the west."⁵⁴

Others were less enthusiastic about the growth of a southern industrial system. One editorialist of a Tallahassee paper warned his readers that the promotion of industry was merely a plot of northern protectionists to win adherents for their unfair tariff views in the South. The editor was especially fearful of the use of slave labor in such factories because the success of such an enterprise would negate the belief that blacks were incapable of such advanced training.⁵⁵

In its first year the Arcadia cotton mill operated 960 spindles and twenty-four looms, and 4,000 to 5,000 yards of cotton cloth were produced each week. The total investment in the factory was estimated at \$60,000. Forty black female slaves, all between the ages of fifteen and twenty, were acquired to work in the mill. It was thought that young girls would be more adept at working with the textile machinery.⁵⁶ A reporter from the *Pensacola Gazette* observed the operation and noticed that the slaves

50. *Hunt & Merchants' Magazine* 15 (October 1846), 417; *Pensacola Gazette*, September 13, 1845.

51. *Pensacola Gazette*, December 6, 13, 1845, April 18, May 23, August 15, 1846.

52. Griffin, "The Cotton Mill Campaign in Florida," 262-69.

53. *Ibid.*, 263.

54. *Pensacola Gazette*, February 13, 1841.

55. Griffin, "The Cotton Mill Campaign in Florida," 265-66.

56. *Pensacola Gazette*, August 15, October 10, 1846, April 8, 1848.

were "as happy and contented with their vocation as it has been our lot to see any where; they are comfortably lodged, well fed, well clothed and kindly treated."⁵⁷

Production reached 6,000 yards of cloth a week in 1848, and 1,000 pounds of cotton were consumed daily.⁵⁸ The number of slave laborers increased to 100 the following year, and the factory produced 1,300 yards of cloth a day.⁵⁹ The mill's capital investment rose to \$80,000 in 1850, with an annual output value of approximately \$50,000.⁶⁰ By 1853, the Arcadia Manufacturing Company was producing 624,000 yards of cloth annually and was the largest and most successful antebellum cotton factory in Florida.⁶¹

Though the Arcadia mill received much attention, it was financially shadowed by Forsyth and Simpson's Bagdad lumber mill. By 1849, Bagdad was the largest sawmill in the area, producing up to 20,000 feet of lumber a day. The Bagdad complex contained five gangs of saws, powered by a steam engine, with one to ten saws in each gang. The waste sawdust from the mill operation was efficiently converted to wood fuel for the steam engine. The Bagdad mill also had a planing, mortising, and tonguing and grooving machine. This machine, also powered by steam, produced panel doors, blinds, and sashes.⁶²

In contrast to the Arcadia Manufacturing Company, the employees of the Bagdad mill were mostly skilled laborers from the North.⁶³ By 1850, Forsyth and Simpson's Bagdad mill employed seventy-five workers and had an annual production value of nearly \$100,000.⁶⁴ The mill town of Bagdad grew along with the mill, with the various owners and workers of the lumber

---

57. Ibid., August 15, 1846.

58. Griffin, "The Cotton Mill Campaign in Florida," 268.

59. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 29, 1849.

60. United States Bureau of the Census, manuscript returns of the Assistant Marshall, Seventh Census: 1850; Products of Industry, Santa Rosa County, Florida, on microfilm at Robert Manning Stozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida (hereinafter cited as Seventh Census: 1850 with appropriate schedules).

61. *DeBow's Review* 14 (April 1853), 329; Griffin, "The Cotton Mill Campaign in Florida," 269.

62. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 17, 1849.

63. Ibid.; John Anthony Eisterhold, "Lumber and Trade in the Seaboard Cities of the Old South: 1607-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Mississippi, 1970), 157.

64. Seventh Census: 1850, Products of Industry, Santa Rosa County.

mill building their homes there. One contemporary described the small community as "a handsome village, . . . built up in a beautiful style." The inhabitants of Bagdad were reported to "live in style and enjoy themselves accordingly. They are kind and accommodating to strangers who happen among them. The society is very agreeable; and the young ladies can entertain their guests with excellent music on the piano, guitar or violin."⁶⁵

Joseph Forsyth and Ezekiel Simpson became well-known leaders in the community, and Forsyth was elected state senator in 1852.⁶⁶ These two men were the driving force behind both companies, but their primary interest continued to be in the more profitable Bagdad mill. Though seemingly successful and productive, the Arcadia cotton mill was not a financial success as a manufacturing enterprise. By 1850, after four years of operation, the Arcadia Manufacturing Company only showed a rate of return of five percent, compared to Bagdad's 102 percent rate of return.⁶⁷ From 1846 to 1852, the cotton mill's disbursements totaled \$290,107.55, while the company's receipts only equaled \$242,808.72. This shows an average annual deficit of nearly \$8,000.⁶⁸ A setback also occurred in 1853, when a yellow fever epidemic struck Santa Rosa County, killing two of the female superintendents of the Arcadia mill.⁶⁹ It is not known if there were other deaths among the mill workers. Despite these problems, however, the mill continued to operate.

The end of the Arcadia cotton mill began with the death of Joseph Forsyth. In October 1854, Forsyth resigned from the state senate because of poor health.⁷⁰ A stockholder's meeting

---

65. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 17, 1849.

66. Allen Morris, comp., *The People of Lawmaking in Florida 1822/1985* (Tallahassee, 1985). 48.

67. Fred Bateman and Thomas Weiss, *A Deplorable Scarcity: The Failure of Industrialization in the Slave Economy* (Chapel Hill, 1981), 105, 187.

68. Escambia County, *Escambia County Circuit Court Records, Arcadia Manufacturing Company v. George Willis*.

69. The identification of these two women, hired to supervise the black female slaves at the Arcadia mill, is uncertain. Overman refers to them as the Dennison sisters from Newburgh, New York, and he states that they married Ezekiel Simpson and James Creary and later died in a yellow fever epidemic in 1852. A serious yellow fever epidemic struck in 1853, and Mrs. Mary Creary (wife of James Creary) and Mrs. Ann Hanley (wife of James Hanley) both died in October 1853. The two were sisters and natives of New York, and they were possibly the Arcadia superintendents. See Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," 16; *Pensacola Gazette*, October 8, 15, 1853.

70. *Pensacola Gazette*, October 21, 1854, March 17, 1855.

was held at the Arcadia mill on December 1, 1854, to decide the future of the company.⁷¹ It is uncertain what plans were made for the mill at this meeting. Forsyth, frontier entrepreneur and the primary architect of both Arcadia and Bagdad, died at the age of fifty-three on March 10, 1855.⁷² The editor of the *Pensacola Gazette* lamented the passing of a talented and enterprising individual who had contributed so much to west Florida. Forsyth was buried in the cemetery overlooking Bagdad, and a large granite obelisk was placed over his grave.⁷³

The year 1855 proved to be a tragic year for the firm. Less than two months after Forsyth's death, the Arcadia cotton factory was destroyed by a fire on May 25.⁷⁴ This loss was followed a month later by another fire; this time the firm's "Sash and Door Factory" in Bagdad was destroyed.⁷⁵ Despite this string of unfortunate events, the company remained intact.

On September 1, 1855, Forsyth's five-twelfths share in the Forsyth and Simpson Company was auctioned off for the benefit of his young children.⁷⁶ Ezekiel E. Simpson took over the leadership of the company, and the name was changed to E. E. Simpson and Company.⁷⁷

In October 1855, twenty-five of Forsyth's slaves were sold. These were the young women who had been trained in the Arcadia cotton mill. The other owners of the Arcadia Manufacturing Company evidently sold their slaves as well. The newspaper notice of the sale states that "from Thirty to Forty other slaves of like description will be also offered if not previously disposed of at private sale."⁷⁸ There was evidently no decision to rebuild the textile mill, and in March 1856, the directors of the Arcadia Manufacturing Company offered the tract of land

---

71. Ibid., October 28, 1854.

72. Ibid., March 17, 1855.

73. Ibid. Tradition has it that Forsyth was buried in a standing position so he could always watch over his beloved Bagdad and Blackwater River.

74. *Pensacola Gazette* June 2, 1855.

75. Ibid., June 30, 1855.

76. Ibid., June 23, July 21, 1855. The executors of the estate were Ezekiel Simpson and Benjamin Drake Wright. Wright was the son-in-law of Juan de la Rua. See Robinson, *The Crown Jewel*, 55-56.

77. Eisterhold, "Lumber and Trade in the Seaboard Cities of the Old South," 158; Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," 16; *Pensacola Gazette*, March 24, 1855.

78. *Pensacola Gazette*, August 11, 1855.

for public sale. The offer included 510 acres, "together with all the improvements thereon, comprising Dwelling Houses, Store House, Negro Quarters, Kitchen, &c., and a valuable water privilege."⁷⁹

The fate of the Arcadia Railroad is unknown, but it was still in operation as late as 1841.⁸⁰ It seems logical that the Arcadia Manufacturing Company would have used such a transportation network in the shipping of their material from the mill site to the Bagdad docks. The rails and cars may have been taken up earlier, but the roadbed was probably utilized for transportation up to 1855.

There was little interest expressed in the Arcadia mill site, and the industrial complex appears to have been abandoned after 1855. Economic growth and development instead centered around E. E. Simpson and Company's mill town of Bagdad. The Sash and Door Factory was rebuilt, shipyards were constructed at Bagdad, and schooners were built to handle the lumber trade with New Orleans.⁸¹ An important ship repair facility was built in 1858 by William Ollinger and Martin Bruce. Ollinger, an immigrant from Luxembourg, formed a partnership with Bruce, a Wisconsin native, and the two constructed a commercial floating dry dock which was finally completed in 1860.⁸² In that same year, on the eve of the Civil War, the Simpson Company had a capital investment of \$175,000 and an annual production value of \$250,000.⁸³

The following year, 1861, E. E. Simpson represented Santa Rosa County in the Florida Secession Convention, and when war broke out a few months later, Bagdad became an important resource for the Confederacy.⁸⁴ The Ollinger & Bruce firm re-

---

79. Ibid., February 16, 1856.

80. Ibid., September 25, 1841

81. Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," 71; *Pensacola Gazette*, November 8, 1856.

82. Alan Gantzhorn, "The Ollingers: Panhandle Entrepreneurs and Their Pine Street Home," *Santa Rosa Historical Society Newsletter* (June/July 1986), 1; Nathan Woolsey, "More About the Ollingers, Part I," *Santa Rosa Historical Society Newsletter* (October 1986), 1-3.

83. United States Bureau of the Census, manuscript returns of the Assistant Marshall, Eighth Census: 1860; Schedule 5: Products of Industry, Santa Rosa County, on microfilm, Robert Manning **Stozier** Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

84. Ralph A. Wooster, "The Florida Secession Convention," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (April 1958), 375.

ceived a contract from the Confederate Navy Department for the construction of a 110-foot, twin screw, Hampton Class gunboat. This vessel at Bagdad was nearing completion by March 1862. Confederate forces, however, withdrew from the Pensacola area the same month, and orders were given to destroy all uncompleted boats, timber, and mill facilities in the region to prevent them from falling into Federal hands. The gunboat at Bagdad was burned, along with the Bagdad mill facilities. E. E. Simpson's own house, because of its proximity to the mill, was accidentally burned. James Creary, one of the partners in the Simpson Company, remained in Bagdad to look after affairs, but the other partners in the firm took their families and slaves to Alabama. For the remainder of the war, they operated a plantation to raise food to support themselves and their slaves.⁸⁵

From 1862 to 1865, a number of skirmishes occurred in Bagdad and Arcadia between Federal patrols and roaming Confederate cavalry units. Federal patrols searched for contraband and Confederate forces at Bagdad several times during this period.⁸⁶ Action was also seen at Arcadia. The Arcadia community was still inhabited by both blacks and whites, and a small Confederate cavalry force frequently used it as a base. In March 1863, a Federal unit from Pensacola made an expedition there; a skirmish between the two forces occurred in the early morning hours of March 7, and the Confederate cavalry hastily retreated

---

85. Articles of Agreement, November 4, 1861— a contract between the Confederate Navy Department and Ollinger & Bruce, Thomas A. Johnson Papers, Special Collections, Item no. 67-6, Box 91 Folder 2, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola; Naval History Division, Navy Department, comp., *Civil War Naval Chronology 1861-1865* (Washington, DC, 1961-1966), appendix 6, 186; Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," 16; United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), series 1, VI, 846-47, 859-66 (hereinafter cited as O.R.). Another gunboat was under construction at nearby Milton; it was also destroyed by retreating Confederate forces in 1862.

86. Henry A. Shorey, *The Story of the Maine Fifteenth; Being a Brief Narrative of the More Important Events in the History of the Fifteenth Maine Regiment* (Bridgton, 1890), 27-33; United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion*, series 1, XV, 108-11, 126-28; XXXV, 442-43, 445-50; series 4, I 49-50, 71-72; William Edward Seaver Whitman and Charles H. True, *Maine in the War for the Union: A History of the Part Borne by Maine Troops in the Suppression of the American Rebellion* (Lewiston, 1865), 335-38.

from the area.⁸⁷ In August 1864, another expedition was sent to the Arcadia area. A bridge across Pond Creek, which had been destroyed, was rebuilt by the Union forces.⁸⁸ Though abandoned at the time, the Arcadia facilities were probably considered too valuable to fall into enemy hands.⁸⁹

After the war, the Bagdad owners returned to the abandoned mill town, a new mill was built, and E. E. Simpson and Company once more prospered.⁹⁰ The Arcadia complex, however, was never revived.⁹¹ Bagdad grew and prospered for the next seventy years and became the world's largest producer and exporter of yellow pine lumber. Ships from South America, Italy, England, and Scandinavia sailed to northwest Florida to load the yellow pine sawed at the Bagdad mill. It was not until 1939 that the mill closed, due largely to the regrettable deforestation of the region.⁹²

Arcadia and Bagdad were the most important industrial complexes of antebellum northwest Florida. The nucleus of this development was Juan de la Rua's land grant of 1817, which after 1828 was successfully developed by Joseph Forsyth and Ezekiel E. Simpson. The diverse Arcadia industrial park was instrumental in leading to the development of the Bagdad mill and community. Though the Arcadia site itself fell into disuse

---

87. Shorey, *The Story of the Maine Fifteenth*, 32-33; Whitman and True, *Maine in the War for the Union*, 335-38.

88. *O.R.*, series 1, XXXV, 442-43.

89. The large dam across Pond Creek also appears to have been destroyed during the Civil War. In the middle of the dam is a large, deep gap. Whether this opening is the result of natural forces or deliberate destruction is unknown. Growing in the base of this gap, however, is a large tree. In the early 1960s a forestry expert judged the tree to be approximately 80-100 years old (conversation with Warren Weekes, November 1985). This could place the destruction of the dam within the Civil War period, lending support to the idea of deliberate destruction by either Confederate or Federal forces.

90. Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," 16. Ezekiel E. Simpson died in 1875. The company was known as Simpson & Company until it was sold in 1903.

91. In 1882, the Arcadia mill site was considered a prime location for a new industry to be located. The Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad had recently opened, and the Arcadia site was only a short distance from this major railroad. Nothing came of this proposal, and the Arcadia mill site was quickly reclaimed by the surrounding forest. See Benjamin Robinson, *An Historical Sketch of Pensacola, Florida, Embracing a Brief Retrospect of the Part and a View of the Present* (Pensacola, 1882), 69, 71.

92. King, *History of Santa Rosa County*, 29-33; Overman, "Bagdad Reaches the End," part 1, March 1939, 16, 71; part 2, April 1939, 44-45.

by the time of the Civil War, it nevertheless contributed greatly to the rise of Bagdad, a successful industrial community which lasted well into the twentieth century.

The Arcadia mill site today (1988) is located in a thickly-wooded area in Santa Rosa County. Numerous physical remains can be found on the site, including the rock quarries, the railroad bed, earthworks, stone walls, and wooden timbers. In July 1987, the Arcadia site was placed on the National Register of Historic Places, and in December 1987, approximately ten acres of the mill site were purchased through state funds. The site now belongs to the Santa Rosa Historical Society and there are plans to develop the area into a historical/recreational park.

The community of Bagdad continues as a quiet, charming village containing a large number of the original mill houses. There are several restored antebellum homes along Bagdad's oak-lined streets. The original mill site is occupied by a pre-stressed concrete plant. The Bagdad Village Preservation Association was formed in 1986, and a year later Bagdad was placed on the National Register as a historic district.

“STATE OF EMERGENCY”: KEY WEST IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION

by GARRY BOULARD

ON July 1, 1934, elected representatives of the Key West City Council and the Monroe County Board of Commissioners drew up two separate resolutions that said the same thing. The island city, the ordinances declared, was more than \$5,000,000 in bonded debt, with at least eighty percent of its inhabitants on the welfare rolls. City services were reduced to almost a non-existent level as employees went without pay for weeks at a time. Furthermore, the lack of a viable industry to employ local residents, coupled with a greatly decreased island tax base, foretold a dire economic future for the city.¹

The resolutions said that nine factors led to Key West's economic misfortunes: the loss of cigar manufacturing; the reduction of the island's army base; the abandonment of Key West as a naval base; removal of the Coast Guards district headquarters; abandonment of the city as a port-of-call for the Mallory Steamship Lines' passenger ships; the reduction of freight from Key West to Cuba; the collapse of the island's once-vibrant pineapple-canning business due to higher tariffs on pineapples; the decrease in revenues from the fishing industry as a result of the Great Depression; and the removal of the sponge industry from Key West to mainland Florida.²

The resolutions jointly declared Key West in a "state of emergency" and agreed to hand over local powers of the island to the state of Florida and Governor David Sholtz.³ Key West

---

Garry Boulard is a free lance writer living and working in New Orleans.

1. Marathon *Florida Keys Sun*, July 6, 1934; *New York Times*, July 5, 1934; *Key West Citizen*, July 4, 1934; Harriet T. Kane, *The Golden Coast* (New York, 1969), 76; Joan and Wright Langley, *Key West: Images of the Past* (Key West, 1982), 99; Joy Williams, *The Florida Keys: A History and Guide* (New York, 1987), 125.
2. Durwood Long, "Key West and the New Deal," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (January 1968), 211.
3. *New York Times*, July 5, 1934; Elmer Davis, "New World Symphony: With a Few Sour Notes," *Harper's* 170 (May 1935), 641-42; Marathon *Florida Key Sun*, July 6, 1934; *Atlanta Journal*, September 6, 1934.

was bankrupt, the resolutions said, and its financial plight, as one magazine reporter later observed, “was just about the most desperate in the country.”⁴

Through an agreement of dubious legality, Sholtz quickly announced that the entire island of Key West was, in effect, on welfare relief, and hence under the jurisdiction of the newly-formed Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and that agency’s director for the southeastern United States region, Julius Stone, Jr.⁵

Upon acceptance of the resolutions, Sholtz contacted Stone, sending him copies of the city and county documents, and said that since federal relief funds were administered through FERA he thought it wise that Stone act as the government’s agent in Key West, heading up rehabilitation efforts there. Stone quickly accepted the assignment from Sholtz, replying that he was committed to helping “the citizens of Key West” once again to become self-supporting.⁶

Key West’s financial troubles coincided with the nation’s, which by 1934 was in its fifth year of the worst economic crisis in the country’s history. But the elements of high unemployment, bulging relief rolls, and a dwindling tax base— a potent combination of fiscal trouble that severely tested the financial capabilities of dozens of municipalities throughout the United States— were only part of the island’s story. Even without the ripple-effect ravages of the depression, Key West would undoubtedly have faced a troubled financial future in the mid-1930s due to its inability to diversify economically, its reliance upon several dying local industries, and the drop in property values relating to the Florida land boom and bust of the 1920s.⁷

Since its discovery in the early 1500s by the Spanish, who dubbed it “Cayo Hueso” or “Island of Bones,” Key West had been subjected to an inordinate amount of financial speculation,

---

4. Richard Rovere, “Our Far-Flung Correspondent: End of the Line,” *The New Yorker* 27 (December 15, 1951), 84.

5. Davis, “New World Symphony,” 644; Rovere, “Our Far-Flung Correspondent,” 83; Dorothy Raymer, “Notes & antic-dotes,” Key West *Solares Hill* 9 (December 1979), 16; Williams, *Florida Keys*, 125-26; WPA/FERA Scrapbook, I, 8-12, Monroe County Public Library, Key West Archives, Key West, Florida.

6. Long, “Key West and The New Deal,” 212.

7. Davis, “New World Symphony,” 643-44; *New York Times*, August 12, 1934; *Miami Herald*, July 5, 1935; WPA/FERA Scrapbook, IV, 20.

real estate development and redevelopment— even for a Florida community.⁸ By 1822, the island was sold for \$2,000 by a Spaniard, Juan Salas, to a Mobile, Alabama, businessman, John Simonton, and during the next century it became an American possession, a haven for pirates and Cuban fishermen, a United States military outpost, and finally, the rainbow's end for colorful entrepreneur Henry Flagler's extension of his Florida East Coast railroad to Key West.⁹

The island's population grew to nearly 2,700 by 1855, when an influx of New Englanders and English Bahamians were attracted to Key West's growing business of salvaging ships wrecked on the coral reefs. In the next five decades, thousands of island residents and Cuban immigrants further contributed to Key West's population boom by becoming part of a bustling cigar-manufacturing business that employed more than 11,000 people by 1910, the same year the island's population passed the 25,000 mark.¹⁰

Key West also became the home of a vigorous pineapple-canning enterprise, which employed more than 750 residents in 1910, and a sponging industry that hired hundreds of men harvesting millions of sponges, making the island responsible for almost ninety percent of all the sponges sold in the United States. In addition, the island remained an important strategic naval base for the United States government, prompting the flow of thousands of dollars from servicemen's pockets into the local economy.¹¹

But by 1930, a series of unfortunate market upheavals threatened to undo the previous century's economic progress in Key West. A federal tariff change in the late 1920s, upping the fee for imported pineapples, caused Key West pineapple can-

---

8. Williams, *Florida Keys*, 121.

9. Ibid., 121-23; David Leon Chandler, *Henry Flagler: The Astonishing Life and Times of the Visionary Robber Baron Who Founded Florida* (New York, 1986), 212-25. Edward N. Akin, *Flagler: Rockefeller Partner and Florida Baron* (Kent, OH, 1988), 210-24.

10. Williams, *Florida Keys*, 123; *Atlanta Journal*, September 4, 1934; Rovere, "Our Far-Flung Correspondent," 85-86; Federal Writers' Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State* (New York, 1939; reprinted ed., New York, 1984), 198-99.

11. Williams, *Florida Keys*, 130-31; *Atlanta Journal*, September 4, 1934; Nels Anderson, "Key West: Bottled in Bonds," *Survey Magazine* 70 (October 1934), 312-13; Rovere, "Our Far-Flung Correspondent," 84-86.

ners first to reduce and then eliminate their island operations. Greek immigrant spongers in Tarpon Springs, Florida, reduced their operating costs and produced sponges at a greater rate, thus eating into a Key West sponge market already under siege by the introduction of synthetic sponges on the Atlantic coast. Finally, the once-giant Key West cigar industry largely transferred its operations beginning in the late 1880s to Tampa, where city tax incentives and modern facilities proved an **irrestible** attraction. Between 1920 and 1930, Key West lost more than 14,000 payrolled jobs due to **unforseen** developments in these three most vibrant industrial-based enterprises. During this same decade, the city's population dropped from 19,350 to 12,831.¹²

Where once in the mid-1880s Key West was listed as the richest city per capita in the United States, by 1934 its per capita monthly income was less than \$7.00. On top of the \$5,000,000 bonded debt was a bond interest of more than \$270,000, past due operating expenses of \$150,000, and more than \$113,000 in unpaid city employee salaries.¹³

The abdication of local sovereignty to FERA in 1934 was a matter of fortuitous circumstance. The year before, President Franklin D. Roosevelt had proposed the formation of FERA as part of his New Deal package reforms designed to reinstate morale among the 5,500,000 unemployed workers collecting local, state, and federal relief. FDR wanted, he said, such relief recipients to be "paid in cash for the work that they do on all kinds of public works."¹⁴

FERA, then, according to its planners, became an agency that not only strived to provide work for the idle relief recipient and served as a mechanism to funnel unspent energies into pub-

-
12. Langley and Langley, *Key West: Images of the Past*, 99; *Atlanta Journal*, September 4, 1934; Davis, "New World Symphony," 643-44; Anderson, "Key West: Bottled in Bonds," 312-13.
  13. Williams, *Florida Keys*, contends that Key West in the 1880s was "the richest city per capita in America," largely because of a bustling wrecking industry: "The men wore silk top hats, the ladies served suppers on fine china, on occasion, gold plates. All the wealth was wrecking wealth. Indeed, much of the exotic furnishings that filled the houses, and the formal clothes the people wore, came directly from the foundered ships." 123-25; WPA/ FERA Scrapbook, I, 9-14; *Literary Digest*, July 28, 1934; Anderson, "Key West: Bottled in Bonds," 312-13.
  14. Press conference 66, November 3, 1933, *The Complete Presidential Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 25 vols. (New York, 1972), I-II, 414-15.

lit works, it also was a program masked as “self-help” rather than charity.¹⁵

According to the intra-departmental FERA rules promulgated by the Roosevelt administration, all FERA funds had to be used by FERA agents to pay directly to relief recipients who “voluntarily” worked a set number of hours per week on a public project.¹⁶ The emphasis, according to both Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins, the national FERA director, was on work and the psychological effect of giving projects to those who were idle, depressed, and despondent. “Give a man a dole and you save his body and destroy his spirit,” Hopkins said. “Give him a job and pay him an assured wage, and you save both the body and the spirit.”¹⁷

Hopkins divided the nation into several districts and appointed Julius Stone, Jr., a former New York state welfare administrator, director of the FERA southeastern region, which included Florida, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.¹⁸

Stone was a 1926 Harvard graduate who caught both Hopkins’s and Eleanor Roosevelt’s attention for his administrative talent and skill as a departmental leader in New York in 1933. When Stone arrived in Key West in July 1934, he brought with him eleven FERA staffers, including a public relations writer, several engineers, architects, and city planners, and at least one lawyer.¹⁹

The challenge before Stone was daunting. Not only was he charged with the economic and spiritual revitalization of the entire city, but he was also immediately placed in the center command position of a constitutionally questionable governmental arrangement which saw all local powers of authority

-
15. William W. Bremer, “Along the ‘American Way’: The New Deal’s Work Relief Program for the Unemployed,” *Journal of American History* 62 (December 1975), 640-41; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston, 1959), 279; Edward Ainsworth Williams, *Federal Aid for Relief* (New York, 1939), 91-95.
  16. Williams, *Federal Aid for Relief*, 99; Doris Carothers, *Chronology of the Federal Relief Administration, May 12, 1933 to December 21, 1935*, Research Monograph No. VI (Washington, DC, 1937), 84-89.
  17. Bremer, “Along the ‘American Way,’” 637; Davis, “New World Symphony,” 646; Henry H. Adams, *Harry Hopkins: A Biography* (New York, 1977), 51-55; Schlesinger, Jr., *Coming of the New Deal*, 279-80.
  18. Adams, *Harry Hopkins*, 52; Rovere, “Our Far-Flung Correspondent,” 83.
  19. Davis, “New World Symphony,” 645; Raymer, “Notes & antic-dotes,” 16; Rovere, “Our Far-Flung Correspondent,” 85-86.

abrogated to his control. Stone was allowed carte blanche leverage to change or amend the city charter, hire or fire any number of relief workers, and, perhaps most importantly, to use the more than \$2,000,000 relegated to his district from FERA almost any way he saw fit.²⁰

Stone gave every evidence of enjoying such unprecedented collective powers; he told the local *Key West Citizen* several weeks later, "With a scratch of my pen I started this work in Key West, and with a scratch of my pen I can stop it— just like that!" He also wisely realized the inherent publicity value of the island's "state of emergency." Within days of Stone's arrival, the FERA press office churned out story after story on Stone's acceptance of the emergency powers and the economic lot of Key West. "I knew it didn't mean a thing," Stone later said of the officially declared state of emergency, "but I thought it sounded pretty dramatic. So did the newspapers. It put us on the front page in practically every city in the country, and a lot of editors remembered the story and kept checking up every so often on what we were doing here. It was the first publicity lift we got."²¹

The state of emergency did, indeed, capture press attention. Within two days after the official city-county declaration, two of the major national wire services reported the story, supplemented by lengthy accounts in the *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *Atlanta Journal*, *Miami Herald*, and *Chicago Tribune*.

But Key West's woes would not be solved by any amount of imaginative publicity drum-beating. The island's problems were seemingly infinite, varied, and demanding of immediate attention. Perhaps the greatest short-range demand concerned what to do with the tons of garbage piling up on city streets and vacant lots, long neglected by the garbage haulers who months earlier had resigned their jobs due to a lack of pay. "If someone had constructed small bungalows, say 42 feet x 20 with a 9 foot ceiling, the garbage and trash would have filled 176 such bungalows," one writer observed.²²

---

20. Davis, "New World Symphony," 645; Williams, *Federal Aid for Relief*, 50; *Miami Herald*, July 5, 1935; *Marathon Florida Keys Sun*, July 6, 1934.

21. Rovere, "Our Far-Flung Correspondent," 86; Raymer, "Notes & anecdotes," 17; Marvin H. Walker, "Key West Has Its Kingfish," *Florida Grower* 44 (March 1935), 7.

22. Williams, *Florida Keys*, 126.

With the enthusiasm of a Yankee entrepreneur, Stone began to organize the more than 10,000 relief recipients into what he called the "Key West Volunteer Corps." He spoke in front of crowded city hall assemblies and exhorted the downtrodden to "make Key West a spotlessly clean town." Stone told the crowd, according to one of his assistant engineers, "your city is bankrupt, your streets are littered and filthy; your home are run-down and your industry gone. We will begin by cleaning up. Then we will rebuild."²³ Within days more than 1,000 volunteers began signing up, forming a line three city blocks long, to work an average of thirty free hours a week cleaning up the garbage. Within the next several weeks more than 4,000 people had volunteered.²⁴

As some twenty trucks were put into action hauling off the city trash and wreckage, Stone began devising more projects to rehabilitate the community and provide yet more work for the FERA volunteers. Stone's wide range of projects exhibited both his ability to target problems that might later be turned to an economic advantage and his proclivity toward whimsical, celebratory theater.²⁵

Thus, Stone's program to renovate the small residential wood-frame houses known as "conch houses" won instant popular approval as both an aesthetic improvement and potential money-making venture. At the same time his formation of a Key West Volunteer Corp marimba band and his move to honor Cuban patriots through the El Grito de Yara celebration, complete with athletic contests, a parade, and the coronation of a king and queen, was much less successful.²⁶

Stone deemed the home renovations essential if Key West was to recover financially. Key West, Stone said, should exploit its greatest strengths—the natural beauty of the island, the Caribbean climate, and the distinctive, intricate detail of its structural architecture—and become a tourist mecca. But to accomplish this task, he noted, immense improvements to the island requiring hundreds of man hours would be needed.

---

23. *New York Times*, July 22, 1934; Anderson, "Key West," 313; *Atlanta Journal*, September 7, 1934.

24. *New York Times*, July 22, 1934; *Atlanta Journal*, September 7, 1934.

25. *Atlanta Journal*, September 7, 1934.

26. Rovere, "Our Far-Flung Correspondent," 90; Langley and Langley, *Key West: Images of the Past*, 104-05.

Stone's list included, besides the renovation of more than 200 residences into guest houses, construction of a series of thatched huts on Rest Beach for visitors; painting and cleaning several restaurants, pubs, and nightclubs; **remodling** the once-elegant Casa Marina Hotel; landscaping the major thoroughfares; planting dozens of coconut palms; destroying scores of dilapidated buildings; constructing a dozen playgrounds, parks, and at least one major swimming pool; creating an experimental farm where relief recipients could learn to grow their own foodstuff; and organizing classes to teach the natives how to make hats, pocketbooks, mats, and other items from coconut fiber.²⁷

Almost all of these goals were reached in a remarkably industrious five-month period from early July to mid-December 1934. But FERA's most ambitious innovations came in two seemingly unrelated pursuits in both 1934 and 1935—real estate and art. When government architects discovered row after row of preserved, solid, hand-hewn, wooden residential homes, Stone and his fellow administrators approached the property owners with the idea of renting the houses to winter tourists. As with Stone's accumulated emergency powers, the legal status of the FERA/Key West rents was dubious. There were no provisions in FERA guidelines for entering into contractual arrangements with private enterprise, let alone individual homeowners. But the property owners were eager to lease their homes with the understanding that after the relief workers renovated, repaired, and painted the structures, and FERA realized a profit for such work on tourist rentals, the properties would be returned to their owners with no financial or legal obligations to FERA, save the commitment to continue renting the homes to tourists.

This was a broad interpretive use of FERA funds and manpower, and, for Stone, a harbinger of more financially suspect deals to come. But the concept worked. In the winter tourist season of 1934-1935 enough visitors stayed in the homes to realize FERA's investment and also to give the homeowners a profit. Years later, Stone seemed unconcerned over the potential legal ramifications of the rental-renovations project. "I got away with it," he told writer Richard Rovere, "because we were

---

27. *Miami Herald*, July 5, 1935; Williams, *Florida Keys*, 126-28; Federal Writers' Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State*, 199; Langley and Langley, *Key West: Images of the Past*, 99-107.

so far off that no one knew what we were doing, and also because I chose a time when Hopkins was on a long vacation."²⁸

Stone's second major innovation evolved from his penchant for publicity. Because tourist brochures in the 1930s advertised certain locations through the means of attractively created sketches and drawings, Stone decided that Key West needed more artists to pursue such creations and that FERA could pay their fees. Even before the formation of the WPA's Federal Arts Project, Key West began, in 1934, its own federally-funded artists colony inspired by Stone. Painting oils and water colors of conch houses, beaches, Cuban fishermen, shady lanes, and restful street cafes, the FERA artists produced colorful, pleasant works, some in the popular Diego Rivera style of the day. Artists such as Edward Bruce, Adrian J. Dornbush, and Bill Hoffman took part in the program. Stone also enticed an island lithographer to reproduce the art on post cards and brochures which were distributed nationally in time for the winter season.²⁹

Two final Stone-inspired projects garnered decidedly different results. Under the impression that snow-bound Northerners liked to visit places *wehre* the natives wore shorts and rode bicycles, Stone rode around Key West on a bike, wearing his shorts, and encouraging local residents to do the same. But this time his lead was not followed. *Key West Citizen* reporter Dorothy Raymer said the residents of the island thought such attire "laughable." Another writer remembered seeing a FERA volunteer arriving in his undershorts, announcing "If Julius Short can come to work in his underwear, so can I!"³⁰

Another technique by Stone proved more lucrative. Placing ads in such newspapers as the *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and *Atlanta Journal*, Stone wrote that Key West was an island of "fantastic plants, Spanish limes, sapodillas, anemones, dates, pomegranates and coco palm . . . sun-streamed, shuttered, balconied houses, the aroma of ardent tropical flowers and the salty sea air." But Stone even specified

---

28. Rovere, "Our Far-Flung Correspondent," 88; *Miami Herald*, July 5, 1935; Davis, "New World Symphony," 647-48; WPA/FEA Scrapbook, I, 5-25.

29. *New York Times*, March 30, 1935; Davis, "New World Symphony," 646; Raymer, "Notes & antic-dotes," 16; Langley and Langley, *Key West: Images of the past*, 106; WPA/FEA Scrapbook, I, 89.

30. Raymer, "Notes & antic-dotes," 16.

how long a visitor should stay: "To appreciate Key West with its indigenous architecture, its lands and byways, its friendly people and general picturesqueness, the visitor must spend at least a few days in the city; a cursory tour of an hour or two serves no good purpose. Unless a visitor is prepared to spend at least three full days here, the Key West Administrator would rather he did not come."³¹

If the success of Stone's program must necessarily be measured in terms of how many tourists visited the island, rather than through the traditional social welfare prism of how many residents on relief bettered their economic condition, then the FERA/Key West project was a stunning triumph. More than 30,000 tourists visited Key West during the 1934-1935 winter season. In November, December, January, and February the island's hotels had 7,909 guests, compared with 4,264 the year before, an eighty-five percent increase. Passenger travel into the city by plane, rail, boat, and automobile was up by 42.5 percent. One restaurant reported an eighty-four percent increase in business from the season before, while a laundry service said trade was at its highest level since 1926. The peak of the season was reached in February 1935, when hotels counted 3,214 registered guests compared with 1,278 during the previous season. In addition, the national press lauded the Key West project, with the *New York Times* noting that the FERA program had transferred an "old pirate city" into a "clean and shining tourist haven." *Harper's Magazine* described it as "the New Deal in miniature . . . accomplishing something much better than what had been there before." *American Magazine* claimed that Key West might become a "hot-cha roaring whoopee town. If so, all luck with them— certainly that's better than the desolation of 1934."³²

The FERA/Key West project was also popular within the New Deal bureaucracy as witnessed by the report of a WPA engineer who wrote to Hopkins after visiting the island in March 1935: "This program has completely changed the attitude of

---

31. *New York Times*, December 23, 1934; Williams, *Florida Keys*, 127.

32. *Miami Herald*, April 1, 1935; WPA/FERA Scrapbook, VII, 9; Walker, "Key West Has Its Kingfish," 7; Langley and Langley, *Key West: Images of the Past*, 100; *New York Times*, March 30, 1935; Davis, "New World Symphony," 642; John Janney, "Recovery Key," *American Magazine* 119 (May 1935), 148.

the population of Key West from one of apathy to one of energetic hope. This program bids fair to succeed in rehabilitating a stranded population in its tracks and is one of the most imaginative approaches to the relief problem which I have seen."³³

In a special brochure produced by the FERA writers and distributed throughout the island at the end of the 1934-1935 winter season the government publicists took note of the successful winter season and claimed: "Nineteen Hundred Thirty-Four began as the darkest year in its history, and the last year, it may be, of the old order with its woes and confusion. What the moral of the story is, the observant visitor will not need to be told. As one of Key West's citizens once pointed out, the day of the pirates is over, and perhaps all the treasure they buried among the keys has long ago been found; but there still is treasure here. It needs only to be discovered, and willing hands to bring it to light."³⁴

Perhaps inevitably, though, the casual mixing of private enterprise and government design, coupled with Stone's occasionally boastful pride in his one-man rule in Key West, prompted some critics to look at the FERA/Key West project as socialism in New Deal clothing and Stone as a dictator. Leading the offensive against Stone and the FERA/Key West project was the conservative *Florida Grower* which charged in a March 1935 issue that the "Rule of FERA is the rule of fear." It claimed that Stone was the island's own "Kingfish"—a reference to Louisiana Senator Huey Long, whose Kingfish appellation symbolized both his grandiose manner as well as his strong-arm governing in his native state. "No American city is more completely ruled by one man than is this small island city," wrote the *Florida Grower*, which characterized Stone as a "terrible tyrant. . . . Mr. Stone admits he is the big boss and can do just about as he pleases down there."³⁵

-
33. Weekly report of Joseph Hyde Pratt, regional engineer for the WPA southeastern region of the United States. February 28 to March 6, 1935, Harry Hopkins Collection, Box 56, Florida Field Reports, National Archives and Records Administration, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.
  34. *Galleys to Key West Guide Book* (Key West, 1935), 6-7; Key West/FERA collection file, Key West Art and Historical Society Archives, Key West, Florida.
  35. Walker, "Key West Has Its Kingfish," 7.

Many of the reporters and publications claiming that Stone was enjoying his position of power pointed to his remarks as reported in the *Key West Citizen*: "With a scratch of my pen I started this work in Key West, and with a scratch of my pen I can stop it— just like that!" Even as the FERA/Key West project was winning supportive approval in the press, increasing attention was given to Stone's emergency power status. Wire press reporter Harry Ferguson, in a series of articles, charged that Stone was "the king of a tight little empire consisting of Monroe County. . . . Call it a 'dictatorship', a 'kingdom within a republic', or anything you chose." Even *American Magazine*, in an otherwise favorable profile of Stone, felt compelled to point out that he was "in fact if not in law, the virtual dictator of Key West." In addition, author Ernest Hemingway, who made Key West his home in 1931, proclaimed his criticism and loathing of governmental activities on the island in both his 1937 book *To Have and Have Not* and an earlier *Esquire* article. To some, the implication was clear: Hemingway, through his own stated opinions, was anti-Roosevelt, anti-Hopkins, anti-New Deal, and particularly anti-Stone and FERA's projects in his hometown.³⁶

The defense in favor of Stone's one-man rule was easily launched, particularly among Florida newspapers more familiar with Key West's plight. The *Palatka Daily News* editorialized that Stone had brought "new hope and life to Key West," calling him a "regular savior, a modern Santa Claus," and attacking the *Florida Grower* article for its "excessive enterprise." The *Daytona Beach News Journal* said Stone's work put a "bankrupt city back

---

36. Ibid., *Washington Post*, April 24, 1935; Janney, "Recovery Key," 41; Ernest Hemingway, *To Have and Have Not* (New York, 1937), 81, 137; Anne E. Rowe, *The Idea of Florida in the American Literary Imagination* (Baton Rouge, 1986), 92-95. Hemingway expresses his anti-FERA sentiments in *To Have and Have Not* through Captain Willie who complains that people cannot eat "working here in Key West for the government for six and a half a week," and through Freddy who observes an unattractive woman and notes, "Anyone would have to be a writer or a FERA man to have a wife look like that; God isn't she awful?" Rowe, *The Idea of Florida in the American Literary Imagination*, claims Hemingway did not like FERA because it represented change in his beloved Key West, 93-94. The *New Yorker*'s Richard Rovere said that *To Have and Have Not* was a novel "in which Ernest Hemingway, an outsider who deeply resented the presence here of other outsiders, celebrated the local character and missed no opportunity to pour contempt on the government men." Rovere, "Our Far-Flung Correspondent," 87.

on the map.” While a third Florida newspaper wrote, “innuendo cannot besmirch” Stone’s record, “Stone need offer no apologies for what has been done at Key West.”³⁷

What was more difficult to counterattack was the assertion that Stone was irresponsible with government funds, giving loans to several Key West nightclubs and subsidizing a local airline. The *Florida Grower* charged that Stone put up \$15,000 for the renovation of the Casa Marina Hotel, while reporter Ferguson said two island nightclubs were redecorated with money from the FERA treasury. “Nowhere else in the United States is the FERA encouraging wine, women, and song,” Ferguson wrote. Stone responded to such criticism by noting that both the airline and the nightclubs needed money to survive, but that all such loans had been repaid. “We are happy to say there will be no loss. . . . We spent less than \$75,000 a month and part of that went for ordinary relief expenses.”³⁸

Even though the *Florida Keys Sun* charged that Ferguson’s reporting was “disgracing a profession,” and that the UPI reporter came to his conclusions by keeping his “eyes rolled upward and bedimmed by the bottoms of beer and whiskey glasses,” both Stone and FERA were damaged by the criticisms and in danger of losing the positive press support of the previous year. The precarious nature of such public relations was further evidenced when the *Sarasota Tribune* mockingly called for a “regular department of NCER— Night Club Emergency Relief,” in reference to the revelation that Stone had made FERA money available to two Key West nightclubs. All one would need, added the *Tribune*, is a “federal grant with which to lease the building, buy the beer, and hire a floor show.”³⁹

Equally damaging to Stone’s cause in Key West were the attacks on the New Deal in general, and FERA in particular, in the national political dialogue. As early as the summer of 1934 conservative writers were charging that Roosevelt’s New Deal program represented government rule at its oppressive worst. The conservative *American Mercury* claimed Roosevelt’s “Brain Trusters set about saving the capitalistic system with the New

---

37. *Palatka Daily News*, April 9, 1935; *Daytona Beach News Journal*, May 17, 1935; WPA/FERA Scrapbook, II, 83.

38. Walker, “Key West Has Its Kingfish,” 7; *Ocala Morning Banner*, April 24, 1934; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 4, 1935.

39. *Marathon Florida Keys Sun*, May 5, 1934; *Sarasota Tribune*, April 25, 1935.

Deal. All they have achieved is to bring the United States nearer to facism.” One author, who argued against a second term for Roosevelt, said that FERA made it possible for millions to “accept these glorified soup-kitchens as something permanent. . . . We are landing back where we started, maybe further back. Federal relief and the several agencies under FERA have, therefore, been a flop.” According to historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., private enterprise enthusiasts during this same period criticized FERA because they thought it might be the “entering wedge of socialism.” Whether in response to such criticisms or as a reflection of Roosevelt’s belief the government should not encroach upon private enterprise, the administration in 1935 retreated from the sort of activist, broadly interpreted, morale-building relief programs symbolized by Stone’s Key West efforts. A conscious attempt to reduce FERA’s funding was undertaken, perhaps to quell any business misgivings prior to the 1936 presidential campaign.⁴⁰

Such policy shifts undercut Stone’s political clout and sounded the death knell for the Key West project— even after the devastating hurricane of September 1935 which battered the Florida Keys, leaving hundreds of war veterans hired by the Civilian Conservation Corps dead and the vital highway connecting the island with the mainland in collapse.⁴¹

Although the city of Key West and the Monroe County Board of Commissioners would petition FERA and Governor Scholtz to end the state of emergency and return their powers of government, FERA’s Key West project undoubtedly ended sooner than planned. The conflict over its activities and the stated intentions of the New Deal interfered. While all of Roosevelt’s reform programs supported the values of a capitalis-

---

40. George E. Sokolsky, “America Drifts Toward Fascism,” *American Mercury* 32 (July 1934), 258; Clayton Rand, *Abracadabra or One Democrat to Another* (Newark, 1936), 19-20; Schlesinger, Jr., *Coming of the New Deal*, 279; Bremer, “Along the ‘American Way,’” 643-44.

41. Transcript of telephone conversation between Harry Hopkins and a FERA agent, September 5, 1935, Harry Hopkins Collection, Box 56. The hurricane promoted another Hemingway anti-New Deal outburst. In a letter to his editor, Maxwell Perkins, September 7, 1935, Hemingway wrote, “Harry Hopkins and Roosevelt, who sent those poor bonus marchers down there to get rid of them, got rid of them all right.” Carlos Baker, ed., *Ernest Hemingway Selected Letters, 1917-1961* (New York, 1981), 186; Carlos Baker, ed., “Letters from Key West,” *Tropic Magazine* (Miami Herald Sunday supplement), August 23, 1981, 14-15.



FERA officials backstage with the players in a performance of *Pirates of Penzance* in Key West. From left to right, Avery Johnson, Eva Warner Gibson, Julius Stone; Harry Hopkins, Marvin MacIntyre, Janice White, unidentified; and George White. Photographs courtesy of Monroe County Public Library, Key West.

tic tradition and assumed that after a period of recovery private enterprise would absorb the employee load taken on by relief programs, Stone emphasized the merits of collective planning and the advantages of long-range governmental work relief programs. The use of FERA funds, for example, to buttress such private enterprises as an airline service, hotels, and night-clubs went beyond the confines of New Deal methods, and probably ran contrary to the New Deal philosophy. FERA, as with other New Deal relief programs, was designed to limit governmental interference, to give people work only until the economy rebounded. FERA, said its planners, was never intended to become a vast governing agency employing people in work that they may have enjoyed. On the contrary, FERA was designed to provide low-paying jobs for workers whose every move was monitored by a social service agent. Such work, such

pay, and such supervisory methods would eventually prompt all but the most reluctant relief recipients to take work when the private sector offered. With Stone's FERA/Key West project, however, work was often interesting, challenging, and even creative. It was far from a typical FERA program.⁴²

Yet Stone's task was not limited to creating work for those on the dole, but to rebuilding a city's economy in hopes of developing the type of city-wide market that would employ hundreds of Key West residents and render such relief programs useless. Stone's concept targeted a long-range goal in Key West, in contrast to the typical New Deal method of attending to immediate problems and assuming better times and a stronger private market in the near future. Viewed as an effort to reconstruct Key West's economic vitality, Stone's program was both innovative and correct. Without the strength of a regular tourist trade, for example, the island had little chance for recovery. Stone, and other community leaders, believed that such industries as cigar-making and pineapple-canning could not be returned to their former preeminence as Key West employers. "It would be a mistake to make it anything but a resort city," Stone told members of the Florida legislature in April 1935. "If you brought in one or two industries, they would drive away the tourists. The industries would not support it [the demand for paying jobs among the residents] and then it would be neither fish nor fowl." Stone admitted to the legislators that his expenditures included such items as paying for home renovations and providing loans to private ventures, but, he explained, "We spent less than \$75,000 a month, and part of that went for ordinary relief expenditures. We have cut the relief rolls about twenty-five percent and saved that much." However, Stone exhibited his lack of enthusiasm for administrative accounting by adding, "It is impossible to say just where ordinary relief expenses end and the rehabilitation costs begin."⁴³

Even though Stone predicted the need for continued federal and state funds to keep the FERA/Key West project alive for at least an additional five years, the WPA office in Washington declared in the spring of 1936 that the Key West state of

---

42. Bremer, "Along the 'American Way,'" 643-44; Davis, "New World Symphony," 652; Jane Perry Clark, "Key West's Year I," *Survey Graphic* 24 (August 1935), 402.

43. *Miami Herald*, April 24, 1935.

emergency would conclude July 1, 1936, marking the return of normal governmental functions as assumed by Mayor William H. Malone, the city council, and the Monroe County Board of Commissioners.⁴⁴

By the fall of 1936, Stone had left Key West to serve as a “trouble-shooter” for a variety of WPA community programs in the southeastern region, while Key West continued its long climb toward recovery, a recovery that by 1941 and 1942 was greatly aided by the influx of servicemen stationed at the naval air base as World War II began.⁴⁵

What writer Elmer Davis called a “history in miniature,” and “hope for the future,” was over—two years to the date after it began. FERA continued relief efforts on the island, but its rule was now as a submissive branch of the state and city government. Mayor Malone and the city council resumed their elective responsibilities: governing the island, appropriating local funds, hiring and firing city employees, and amending the city charter. Stone’s years after the state of emergency were somewhat less distinguished. He returned to Key West in 1940 as a lawyer and investor, but eventually became involved in so many legally suspect financial transactions that he fled the island “practically as a fugitive” for Cuba in 1960. He died in Australia in 1967.⁴⁶

---

44. *Key West Citizen*, June 23, 1936.

45. *Miami Tribune*, May 31, 1936; Canby Chambers, “America’s Southernmost City,” *Travel* 68 (March 1937), 34.

46. Williams, *Florida Keys*, 127-28; *Miami Herald*, July 27, 1960, July 7, 1962, and September 15, 1970; Key West/FEA collection file, Key West Art and Historical Society Archives, Key West, Florida; Raymer, “Notes & anecdotes,” 44. Stone left the WPA in 1937 to return to Harvard to receive his law degree. Upon graduation in 1940, Stone moved back to Key West, establishing his own law firm, Harris and Stone, and eventually serving as an attorney for the Monroe County Commission and the Florida Keys Aqueduct Commission. He became involved in many financial transactions with various clients who sometimes ended up as his business partners. Because he had a variety of real estate and business investments, Stone maintained a number of bank accounts reflecting his varied financial interests. Reporter Raymer said Stone “juggled all of his diversified financial schemes with wiley skill for more than a decade,” but “ultimately, his wizardly juggling of a wide range of business interests and investments became too complicated. He began to lose control of the precarious balance system. In short, money acquired for one thing was put into something entirely different, and some investors sustained losses. In a number of cases, invested funds disappeared entirely.” In 1961 the Internal Revenue Service filed a \$125,251 lien against Stone for income taxes owed from 1955 to 1959. But by that time Stone had liquidated all of his Key West

But the FERA/Key West project remained a case study in a municipality's comprehensive rehabilitation. Through an unprecedented cooperative effort between a federally-funded agency— however far astray from bureaucratic rules that agency went— and established private enterprise, Key West was able to discover the merits of a new island-wide commerce, greatly reduce local relief rolls, and substantially increase its self-sufficiency. The Key West that went from a sponging, cigar-manufacturing, and pineapple-canning center in the 1920s to one of Florida's most consistently popular tourist havens in the decades following World War II could trace the origins of its transformation to one man— Julius Stone, Jr.— and the unusual, controversial, rehabilitative efforts of FERA during the two years of the island's state of emergency, from 1934 to 1936.⁴⁷

---

properties. Raymer called Stone a "clever attorney, as well as a sharp businessman," whose life in Key West in the 1940s and 1950s was a "chronicle of wheeler-dealer expansiveness." Joy Williams is more direct. Stone, she writes, "had managed to represent and bilk just about everyone in town. In 1960, the master of the shady deal fled." See Williams, *The Florida Keys*, 127.

47. Florida Writers' Project, Work Projects Administration, *A Guide to Key West* (New York, 1941), 22-23, 52-53; *Time Magazine* (April 11, 1938); Key West/ FERA collection file, Key West Art and Historical Society Archives, Key West, Florida.

“EVERYBODY VOTES FOR GILCHRIST”: THE FLORIDA GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1908

by RIC A. KABAT

THE sun was breaking through in Tallahassee on January 5, 1909, as groups of people filled the streets excitedly awaiting the inauguration of Florida's new governor. The capitol was adorned with red, white, and blue bunting, and crowds had gathered on the grounds to watch the ceremonial festivities. At 12:00 P.M., Albert W. Gilchrist recited the oath officially accepting the office that he had sought so long and hard.¹ Stepping to the podium, he could see hundreds of people waiting to hear his inaugural address. Many wondered: will Gilchrist be progressive? Will he pursue liberal policies or will his administration be a throw back to the reactionary nineteenth-century Bourbon days?

Progressive reform was a catch phrase for southern social, economic, and political development at the turn of the century. Unlike the reforms (attempted and sometimes accomplished) of the Reconstruction or Populist years, reform in the early twentieth-century South came largely from the native white middle class.² The southern progressives formulated a reform philosophy, tempered by Protestantism and a rural heritage. Put broadly, it was a humanitarian rationalization of the industrialism embodied in the New South creed.³ Religious and secular organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Men's Christian Association, Southern Sociological Congress, and Southern Commercial Congress gave voice to the movement.

Ric A. Kabat is a doctoral student in history, Louisiana State University.

1. Daisy Parker, "The Inauguration of Albert Waller Gilchrist, Nineteenth Governor of the State of Florida," *Apalachee* 6 (1963-1967), 28-29. See also Mary Evangelista Staid, "Albert Waller Gilchrist, Florida's Middle of the Road Governor" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1950), 48-50.
2. Dewey W. Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville, 1983), 114.
3. For a discussion of the New South creed see Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York, 1970).



Governor Gilchrist, 1910. Photograph courtesy of Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

The progressive spirit transformed southern politics. All the southern states initiated primary election laws taking nominating power from the political bosses and giving it to the people. Disfranchisement of blacks was initiated and completed, drastically shrinking the electorate. The argument was that ignorant black voters would no longer be used and manipulated by whites for political gain and that whites themselves could concentrate on needed legislation. As a result, the Democratic party represented white supremacy and reigned supreme throughout the region.⁴

Most southern states elected reform governors during this era. In Mississippi and South Carolina James K. “the White Chief” Vardaman and Benjamin “Pitchfork Ben” Tillman led reform administrations based on populist principles and demagogic tactics. Other reform governors in the South— Hoke Smith in Georgia, Braxton B. Comer in Alabama, and Charles B. Aycock in North Carolina— had middle class and urban backgrounds and were correspondingly influenced by progressive rather than populist reform theories.⁵

Reform swept through Florida, as it did throughout the South. Gilchrist’s predecessor, Governor Napoleon B. Broward (1905-1909), was commonly identified with reform. Although considered by most writers and historians as a progressive, Broward had a philosophy based more on populism. He led a faction of the state Democratic party in Jacksonville known as the “straightouts” who were influenced by the Populist party’s Ocala Demands of 1890. The “straightouts” were anti-corporation and anti-railroad but did not bolt the party. In essence, they were less conservative than archetypical Bourbon Democrats but less radical and more “respectable” than the agrarians. Broward consistently criticized out-of-state-owned business and industry and referred to himself as a “man of the people.” In the gubernatorial election of 1904 he garnered most of his support from north and west Florida farmers. In fact, in

---

4. Grantham, *Southern Progressivism*, 114.

5. Ibid., 50-51, 76. See also William F. Holmes, *The White Chief: James Kimble Vardaman* (Baton Rouge, 1970); Francis Butler Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* (Baton Rouge, 1944); Dewey W. Grantham, *Hoke Smith and the Politics of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1958); Oliver H. Orr, Jr., *Charles Brantley Aycock* (Chapel Hill, 1961).

the statewide primaries he participated in Broward never carried his home county, Duval, Florida's largest and most urban county. While governor he unified and streamlined higher education, initiated the drainage of the Everglades, regulated child labor, and instituted other reforms.⁶ It was Broward's legacy that Gilchrist inherited.

When Gilchrist became governor, he was one of the most successful businessmen in the state. As a wealthy landowner from Punta Gorda and a leading member of the community, he found the anti-business rhetoric of Broward alien. Opposed to preserving an all encompassing agricultural society and an intrastate-owned business community, Gilchrist praised industrial development and welcomed northern investment. Yet, he favored regulation. In a campaign pamphlet of 1908, Gilchrist discussed "the natural man and the artificial man, which [was] a corporation," Each, he noted, had "certain rights, each should be restricted, each should be kept in due bounds, neither should be imposed upon."⁷ Gilchrist was a member of what historian Dewey W. Grantham has described as the "rapidly expanding middle class in the [South]" whose reforms, according to C. Vann Woodward, were "essentially urban and middle class in nature, . . . the typical leader . . . a city professional or businessman, rather than a farmer."⁸ According to still another southern historian, Sheldon Hackney, the southern progressives stressed "order, equity, development, [and] humanitarianism" which were "interrelated facets of a single economically self-interested, ethnically shaped, middle class attitude toward life."⁹ As a spokesman for economic development through positive governmental reform, Gilchrist voiced the social goals of Florida's progressives.

Napoleon Broward's administration was unusually active. He had championed many reforms, and most of his suggestions

---

6. Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, 1950), 192, 205, 281, 304.

7. Albert W. Gilchrist, "Address by Albert W. Gilchrist of Punta Gorda, Candidate for Governor of Florida" [n.p.], 1908, 5, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereinafter cited as "Gilchrist Address").

8. Grantham, *Southern Progressivism*, 8; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 371.

9. Sheldon Hackney, *Populism to Progressivism in Alabama* (Princeton, 1969), 138.

were enacted. Although the new legislation benefitted most Floridians, Broward's activism alienated voters who were used to a more leisurely paced executive branch. Moreover, Broward openly supported friends from the "straightout" faction for political offices, and many Floridians thought that he was building a political machine. Many Floridians believed in 1908 that a candidate in the forthcoming gubernatorial election who was not politically connected to Broward stood a good chance of winning. Gilchrist saw his opportunity and entered the contest.

Winning a Democratic primary in Florida, or anywhere in the South during the early twentieth century, was tantamount to winning the general election. The Republican party was tainted because of its association with Congressional Reconstruction and was split into lily white and black and tan factions. The lily whites pursued federal patronage while the black and tans progressively sank into political oblivion. The primary system was one method (constitutional disfranchisement was the other) employed by southern Democrats to reduce black suffrage.

Florida adopted the system in 1901 with its Primary Election Act.¹⁰ The law mandated primaries for all political parties in races for the governorship, cabinet posts, congressional offices, and local offices. If a candidate failed to receive a majority, a runoff election was held within four weeks. The Democratic primaries were restricted to whites. Furthermore, the poll tax requirement, added to the Florida Constitution in 1889, prevented many blacks from voting in the general election.¹¹ Florida politics, like southern politics, was a domain of white supremacy.

By 1908, the issue of black participation in politics was resolved. New issues, such as the prohibition question, commanded political attention. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, church groups, and other organizations had powerful influence in the state. With the demise of Populist agitation and black political activity, prohibition became one of the dominant themes in Florida politics.

In 1908, Florida's Constitution permitted each county to decide its own fate concerning prohibition. Even so, zealous pro-

---

10. Florida Legislature, *Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida, 1901* (Tallahassee, 1901), 160 (hereinafter cited as *Acts and Resolutions*, with appropriate year).

11. V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1949), 539.

hibitionists continually called for a statewide ban of intoxicants. The prohibition issue split the state into two sections: the rural areas favored statewide prohibition; the more ethnically diversified urban areas supported local option. In bitter county elections pitting dries against wets, the dries won. By 1908, thirty-five out of forty-six counties were dry. That year the Anti-Saloon League happily reported "only 330 saloons left in the entire state."¹² Counties continued to go dry, and in 1918 the legislature passed a statewide prohibition bill. The following year Florida became a dry state.¹³

Pockets of anti-prohibition sentiment thrived in Florida, particularly in Tampa and Jacksonville. Tampa's economy depended on its cigar industry and the labor supplied by the city's large Latin community. Because Catholic Latins used wine in their religious practices, Tampa newspapers defended local option. They saw no reason to alienate the Latins and damage the vital cigar industry. Jacksonville was the largest city in Florida, and, like Tampa, had a more diversified populace than the pro-dry rural communities. By 1908, the preservation of local option developed into one of the major issues of Florida's gubernatorial campaign.

Gilchrist, Jefferson B. Browne, and John N. C. Stockton were the three candidates in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. Their geographical bases affected the election's outcome. Gilchrist lived in south Florida—in many ways a frontier region in 1908—and had strong support in that area. He was an early settler and developer around Punta Gorda and personified the rugged individualism of the south Florida pioneer. Browne was a prominent attorney in Key West and a former member of the state senate and the Florida Railroad Commission. Although he was active in state government, he had little exposure among the people of north and west Florida. Stockton was a businessman and politician from Jacksonville and a close political ally and friend of Governor Broward. Like Broward, he garnered most of his support from the farmers and residents of small towns in north Florida and in the panhandle part of the state.

---

12. Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward*, 280, quoting Ernest H. Cherrington, ed., *The Anti-Saloon League Year Book, 1909* (Columbus, Ohio, 1909), 27.

13. *Acts and Resolutions, 1918*, 30-48.

Gilchrist was born on January 15, 1858, in Greenwood, South Carolina. His father, William E. Kilcrease, owned a large plantation in Gadsden County, Florida, and was one of the state's wealthiest planters.¹⁴ Following his father's death from pneumonia in 1860, and the economic dislocations of the Civil War, the family plantation was mismanaged and ruined. Gilchrist and his mother, Rhoda E. Kilcrease, were left destitute. In 1870 Rhoda married Dr. J. G. Gibbs of Columbia, South Carolina, and her new affluence made it possible for Gilchrist to attend Carolina Military Institute, in Charlotte, North Carolina. He graduated from the Institute in 1878, and in the same year passed the exam for admission to West Point. In 1881 he failed a philosophy examination and resigned from the Academy, although the military training proved to be valuable later. From 1887 to 1904, Gilchrist served as colonel and brigadier general in the Florida State Militia. During the Spanish-American War, Gilchrist was a major in the Third United States Volunteer Infantry stationed in Cuba. Proclaiming that "I killed no one and no one killed me," he returned to civilian life in 1899.¹⁵

Before the war, Gilchrist had served in the Florida House of Representatives from DeSoto County in 1893 and 1895; he was reelected in 1902 and 1904. In 1896 he had refused to endorse the minting of silver at a ratio of sixteen to one, and lost support from the dominant silver faction of the state Democratic party. As a result, Gilchrist was defeated for reelection by the independent free silver candidate, O. T. Stanford. By 1903, he had recouped his political losses, and in 1905 was elected as speaker of the house.¹⁶ Although he was neither personally nor politi-

---

14. Florida Historical Society, *Makers of America*, 4 vols. (Atlanta, 1909-1911), III, 56. Rhoda E. Gibbs, Gilchrist's mother, filed an affidavit in 1905 explaining Gilchrist's change of surname from Kilcrease to Gilchrist. She claimed "that before his death . . . William E. Kilcrease requested his wife . . . to have his son Albert Waller to use the original name Gilchrist, and in obedience to this request his son Albert Waller did take and use the name Gilchrist when a boy." Affidavit of Mrs. Rhoda E. Gibbs, Deed Book S, Gadsden County Courthouse, Quincy, Florida, 433.

15. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 17, 1916.

16. Political campaign advertisement, July 26, 1915, Albert W. Gilchrist papers, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

tally connected with Broward and the "straightouts," Gilchrist supported most of the governor's reforms. Being speaker increased his statewide exposure, and he used it as a stepping stone to the governorship. A Jacksonville paper declared: "he wanted to catch every wind that might blow him into the governor's chair, for he believed that might prove a very pleasant place to rest."¹⁷

From 1880 to 1886, Jefferson Browne was the attorney for Key West and Monroe County. When Grover Cleveland was elected president in 1884, Browne received a federal patronage position as postmaster of Key West. In 1890, Browne successfully ran for the state senate and was elected president of that body. In 1892 he attempted to gain the Democratic nomination for governor but failed. He was collector of customs for Key West in 1893, and from 1904 to 1907, served as chairman of the Florida Railroad Commission.¹⁸

Starting his career as a bank clerk, Stockton quickly worked his way up in the lucrative field of banking. He helped to establish the National Bank of Florida in Jacksonville and eventually became its vice president.¹⁹ In 1890 he entered the phosphate mining industry with Broward. The two maintained a friendship and political alliance that lasted until Broward's death in 1910. Stockton and Broward were the principal members of the "straightout" faction of the Democratic party in Duval County.

Stockton achieved prominence in Duval County politics through his membership on the Jacksonville Board of Public Works. In 1896 he was elected to the Florida House of Representatives where he attracted statewide recognition as a "straightout" leader. He ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic nomination to the United States Senate in 1904.²⁰

---

17. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 15, 1907.

18. Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and The New* (St. Augustine, 1912; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1973), xiii-xiv. Information taken from E. Ashby Hammond's Introduction. Browne later became chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court (1916-1923) and retired from public life in 1925.

19. Harry G. Cutler, ed., *History of Florida, Past and Present, Historical and Bibliographical*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1923), I, 117.

20. *Ibid.*, 118. Stockton ran for the United States Senate again in 1910 and 1914, but after failing three times, he retired from public life.

On November 14, 1907, the Democratic party of Florida held a "coming out" convention in Ocala.²¹ At that time, Democratic politicians announced for various offices. The Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* reported that "no such convention was ever before held in the state" and that "it is at once unique."²² The sessions took place under huge circus tents, and the Ocala band furnished a festive atmosphere. An estimated 2,000 people came to hear the candidates express their views and state their platforms.

Gilchrist, Browne, and Stockton officially announced for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. R. Hudson Burr of Tallahassee, chairman of the Florida Railroad Commission, also entered the contest only to drop out soon after the convention. Gilchrist and Browne read their allotted twenty minute speeches, but Stockton could not attend the convention, and George Matthews of Marion County spoke for him. According to a contemporary source, Matthews, "in a flight of eloquence," described Stockton "as the ideal man for the highest office [and] was applauded to the echo."²³

When Gilchrist spoke, he "captured the crowd with his quaint wit and apt applications." The reporter who described the speech noted that Gilchrist explained his views on various topics: prohibition, limited black suffrage, drainage of the Everglades, the state press, and the relationship between industry and labor unions.²⁴ The speech was important because it defined Gilchrist's campaign platform.

Concerning prohibition, Gilchrist favored local option. He explained that "state prohibition . . . requires an amendment to the constitution, the approval or rejection of which is left to the people." Hoping to attract the rural vote, Gilchrist suggested that local option paralleled the ideas of initiative and referendum advocated by the Populist party. Admitting that he drank "probably a dozen drinks a year, spiritous, vinous, or malt," Gilchrist believed in temperance and had voted for prohibition

---

21. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 15, 1907.

22. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 15, 1907.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid. Later in the campaign, Gilchrist issued a platform outlining his views on the issues. See "Gilchrist Address."

in DeSoto County. Considering Gilchrist's Tampa-based support, his position on prohibition was logical.²⁵

Gilchrist then compared the position of Florida's blacks to the ethnic problems of Japanese and whites in California. Since Californians had a race problem of their own, he theorized that "they would surely join the southland in an alliance on the race question." Gilchrist supported the white primary in Florida because it reduced "the balance of power of the Negro vote." By "preventing division in the white vote of the state," the candidate explained, the primaries eliminated blacks from the political scene and strengthened white rule.²⁶

Drainage of swamplands, particularly the Everglades, was an important topic in 1908. During Broward's administration, a drainage commission had been established. The commission—staffed by the governor, attorney general, secretary of agriculture, and the state treasurer—studied drainage projects and collected a five cent per acre tax on privately owned swampland. The funds were earmarked for building a drainage infrastructure." Gilchrist supported the commission's efforts to reclaim land in south Florida.²⁸

Gilchrist also praised newspapers by saying that "the press does more for the development of the state than all other agencies combined." He proclaimed that the press "does much for the election of the successful candidates," presumably referring to himself. He then thanked several state journals for "the favorable consideration" of his candidacy.²⁹ The state's major newspapers—the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, *Tampa Morning Tribune*, *Ocala Banner*, *Miami News-Record*, and the *Gainesville Daily Sun*—supported Gilchrist. Perhaps the persuasive campaigner hoped to sway the cynical news media with flattery; it is certain that his remarks were not intended to alienate the fourth estate.

Finally, Gilchrist discussed the relationship between industry and labor unions. The "organization of capital is necessary to

---

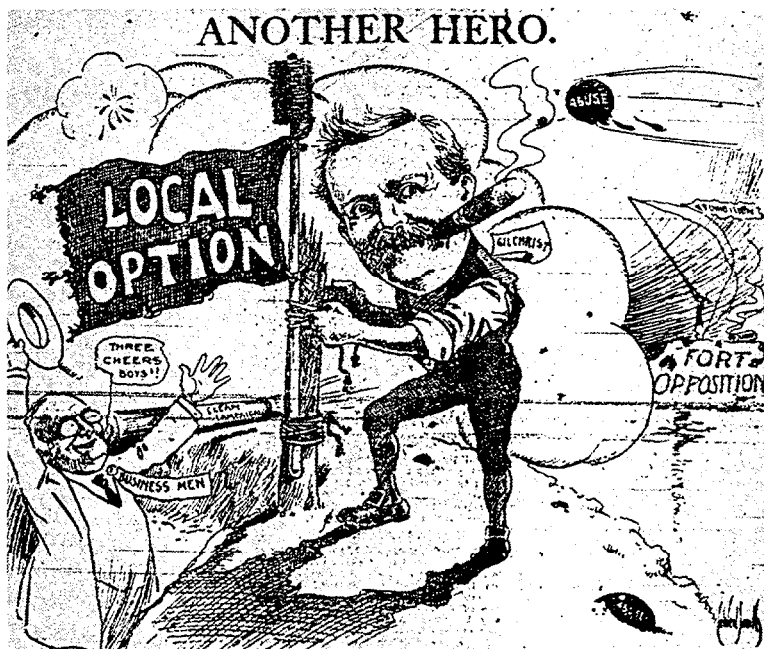
25. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 15, 1907.

26. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 15, 1907.

27. Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward*, 223. See also Nelson Manfred Blake, *Land into Water—Water into Land: A History of Water Management in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1980), 97.

28. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 15, 1907.

29. *Ibid.*



Political cartoon from the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 15, 1908.

produce great results," he said, but "labor should also organize to secure its just rewards." When differences arose, they should be "settled by arbitration."³⁰ Gilchrist's rational and progressive stand came from his knowledge of Tampa's cigar-makers unions and mutual aid societies. The unions secured relatively high wages for their members, and the mutual aid societies developed a unique low interest home loan program.³¹ Gilchrist was popular in Tampa and was dependent on the cigar-makers' vote. Furthermore, labor unions (particularly the street car organiza-

30. Ibid.

31. José Revero Muñiz, *The Ybor City Story, 1885-1954*, trans. Eustasio Fernandez and Henry Beltran (Tampa, 1976), 27. See also Gary A. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Chicago, 1987), 111-28, 175-205. In 1908, both the Cigar Makers International Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the Industrial Workers of the World were active in Tampa.

tions) were also powerful in Jacksonville and Pensacola in 1908. In fact, the unions in Pensacola had entered the local political scene. Evidently, Gilchrist's pro-union comments did not offend Florida industrialists as the state's conservative journals continued to support him.³²

Following Gilchrist's speech, Browne took the stage and, reciting "facts and quotations in a statesmanlike way," delivered his opening campaign speech. He supported statewide prohibition as "the best economy for municipalities."³³ Prohibitionists such as Browne assumed that money previously spent on alcohol would flow into the local economy and fund such socially constructive enterprises as schools, commerce and industry.³⁴ Browne added "that his entire record . . . had [always] been in favor of the people." He concluded by noting his experience as postmaster of Key West and his membership on the Florida Railroad Commission.³⁵

In the months following the Ocala convention the candidates were relatively quiet. The state Democratic committee met in February, and set the date of the primary election for May 19, 1908.³⁶ In April and May the campaign gathered momentum as the three candidates criss-crossed the state making speeches. During the first few weeks the contenders limited themselves to reciting their platform proposals, but as the election grew near the campaign turned bitter.

Gilchrist's main headquarters were in the Doty Building in Jacksonville; he also set up offices in Punta Gorda. According to a newspaper, Gilchrist's belief that he could "personally look after all matters pertaining to [his] candidacy" changed as the campaign progressed. Traveling extensively throughout the state, Gilchrist hired a campaign manager and a small staff to help coordinate the contest.³⁷

---

32. For a discussion of the status of labor unions in Florida, particularly in Pensacola, in 1908 see Wayne Flynt, "Pensacola Labor Problems and Political Radicalism, 1908," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 43 (April 1965), 315-32. Nine labor candidates were elected to the Escambia County executive committee, and five union candidates won in five of Pensacola's eleven city precincts.

33. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 15, 1907.

34. Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward*, 280.

35. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 15, 1907.

36. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1908.

37. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1908.

Gilchrist's platform was published daily as a political advertisement in the major newspapers. As the *Pensacola Journal* stated, "the General's smiling visage greets you, accompanied by a statement of the interesting fact that he is a candidate for governor, with a sub-statement of views on certain leading issues."³⁸ "No faction, machine, or ring brought him out. He came out as a candidate alone and single handed. He will be glad to receive the support of the corporations, of the anti-corporations, the prohibitionists and the anti-prohibitionists, of the local optionists, the Christians, the Jews and of the Gentiles, the Publicans and Sinners. He would even accept support from the Pharisees."³⁹ Such campaign tactics did not amuse Gilchrist's opponents, who accused him of fence-sitting. Although vague on certain issues, Gilchrist confronted the central issue of prohibition and never backed down from his support of local option. Throughout the campaign he was continually accused by Browne and Stockton of being a puppet of the "whiskey interests" and corporations. To his credit, Gilchrist never retaliated against his opponents with comparable defamations, and their claims were not substantiated. Since prohibition was a major issue on which the election hinged, Gilchrist's support of local option was a courageous stand.

Gilchrist introduced an interesting and amusing gimmick to the campaign. He distributed postcards with a drawing of three monkeys. One monkey was covering its eyes, the second its ears, and the third its mouth. Gilchrist explained that the monkeys represented his philosophy of life in that, "they had wisdom enough to shut their eyes, their mouths, and their ears as to other people's business and mind their own." He was disappointed because "some people in criticizing the inscription on the postcards . . . see only the monkeys without seeing the lesson taught." To further promote his candidacy, he bought sets of monkeys made of porcelain and planned to send one to every voter in Florida. The statues had to be imported from Japan, and he obtained only 800. Nevertheless, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* reported that the sets were "highly appreciated by those who have been fortunate enough to receive them."⁴⁰

---

38. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, April 26, 1908, quoting *Pensacola Journal*.

39. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 15, 1908.

40. *Ibid.*, April 3, 1908.

Browne and Stockton also established campaign offices in Jacksonville. Browne campaigned in north and west Florida attempting to gain recognition in these areas. In a speech delivered in Tallahassee, he delineated his platform proposals of statewide prohibition, a strong railroad commission, state regulation of primaries, and requiring all railroads to have "an accredited representative" live in the state. Denying the reputation of "corporation man," Browne declared himself a state righter, one who did not "gain inspiration" from the national Republican administration.⁴¹ Like Browne, Stockton enunciated his platform by placing a running advertisement in major newspapers. It called for a "franchise tax on railroads, state prohibition, extension of [the] school system, saving the public land, regulating railroad rates, and the reduction of primary expenses." Stockton was against "franchise abuses, lobbying, overcapitalization of railroads, [ballot corruption], and gambling."⁴²

Stockton quickly stumbled into two problems. The first concerned his proposals to establish a civic league in every Florida community. The leagues were to act as "town meeting" organizations where local Democrats could get together and discuss political issues. He also wanted the leagues to be part of the Democratic party's machinery and give him advice. Gilchrist and Browne quickly condemned the leagues as obvious tools intended to bolster Stockton's political standing. The anti-Stockton press, from every region of the state, provided intense condemnation. An editorial in the *Tampa Morning Tribune* declared: "What Stockton fictitiously calls civic leagues . . . would be used as various wheels, cogs, springs, and alarm bells in a gigantic political machine."⁴³ The analysis was probably correct. With Stockton facing a difficult campaign, and his political ally Broward experiencing problems in the Democratic senatorial primary campaign against Duncan U. Fletcher, William B. Lamar, and John S. Beard, Stockton hoped the leagues would further his own political fortunes.

Stockton's second problem emerged in mid-April 1908. It concerned his business dealings with Gus Morton, a former business partner in the phosphate industry. Morton publicly ac-

---

41. Tallahassee *Weekly True Democrat*, November 22, 1907.

42. *Jasper News*, May 1, 1908.

43. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 16, 1908.

cused Stockton of owing him money and of acting irresponsibly. Morton announced his switch of support from Stockton to Gilchrist. He then challenged Stockton to a debate over the latter's qualifications for the governorship. The debate took place at the Alachua County Courthouse in Gainesville on April 18, and generated statewide media attention.⁴⁴ Stockton defended himself by showing that for reasons unknown Morton had exaggerated a private disagreement. In a letter published in the *Gainesville Daily Sun*, Stockton wrote, "what has induced Gus Morton after all these years to suddenly turn against me . . . just before the primary election can be guessed by others as easily as by myself."⁴⁵ Stockton skillfully defended himself, but the incident's negative publicity damaged his standing among the voters. No explanation for Morton's actions was ever made.

While Stockton floundered in the civic league and Gus Morton fiascoes, Gilchrist consolidated support. The *Deland Record* called him "the idol of all South Florida."⁴⁶ In Eustis Lake he "was full of dry jokes and saw every voter on the street."⁴⁷ The *Fort Pierce News* reported that Gilchrist was "a man of the people, and from the people."⁴⁸ The editor of the *Lake Butler Star* believed Gilchrist "would make Florida an ideal governor."⁴⁹ Gilchrist's vigorous campaigning increased his statewide recognition and support.

On April 11, Gilchrist visited Tampa and spoke at the opening of the Gilchrist Institute, a private high school, for which he had donated the land and contributed \$1,000 toward construction costs. A reporter was on hand and wrote that the students arrived "in electric cars, decorated with huge banners extending their entire length, bearing the words Gilchrist Institute." A crowd of more than 200 people waved "miniature flags, and at the head was a graceful young lady pupil most appropriately costumed as the Goddess of Liberty." Gilchrist's speech "was interrupted frequently by applause and the rendering of the Gilchrist Institute yell . . .

---

44. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, April 19, 1908.

45. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1908.

46. *Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat*, April 3, 1908, quoting *Deland Record*.

47. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 31, 1908, quoting *Eustis Lake Region*.

48. *Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat*, April 3, 1908, quoting *Fort Pierce News*.

49. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, March 3, 1908, quoting *Lake Butler Star*.

Gilchrist! Gilchrist!
Rah! Rah! Rah!
Vote for him for governor!⁵⁰

If the yell was unimaginative, its sentiments were clear, and the speech was one in a series delivered at political rallies in Tampa. State newspapers printed accounts of the meetings, helping to spread Gilchrist's name and message to the voters.

Gilchrist won the primary election by over 3,000 votes, but he did not obtain a majority. He received 23,248 votes to Stockton's 20,068, while Browne trailed with 8,986. Gilchrist captured twenty-four counties—Alachua, Baker, Bradford, Clay, Columbia, DeSoto, Duval, Franklin, Gadsden, Hillsborough, Jefferson, Lafayette, Lake, Leon, Levy, Madison, Manatee, Nassau, Orange, Osceola, Putnam, St. Johns, Suwannee, and Volusia. Stockton lost his own county, Duval, but carried twenty others—Brevard, Calhoun, Citrus, Dade, Escambia, Hamilton, Hernando, Holmes, Lee, Liberty, Marion, Pasco, Polk, St. Lucie, Santa Rosa, Sumter, Taylor, Wakulla, Walton, and Washington. Browne only received two—Jackson and Monroe. Gilchrist ran well in the cities, winning Jacksonville, Tallahassee, and Tampa, while Stockton only carried Pensacola. Gilchrist and Stockton now prepared to face each other in the runoff election scheduled for June 16.⁵¹

The runoff campaign between Gilchrist and Stockton was vicious and bitter. Stockton accused Gilchrist of being a frontman for the "whiskey interests" and of accepting up to \$360,000 from out-of-state breweries and distilleries to fund his campaign. A group of Protestant ministers in Jacksonville, calling themselves the Ministerial Alliance, joined Stockton in denouncing Gilchrist. Stockton made his allegations in a speech delivered in Tampa on June 6. As the local newspaper put it, he "declared the recent primary was carried for General Gilchrist by corporate influence and whiskey soaked corruption." Waving a piece of paper over his head, Stockton proclaimed: "I have here a letter written on stationery of the Chattanooga Brewing Co., which is addressed to D. L. Thrift, at MacLenny, Fla.

---

50. Tallahassee *Weekly True Democrat*, April 17, 1908, quoting *Tampa Times*.

51. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 30, 1908.

It is from D. Muller & Co., liquor dealers of Jacksonville, and states that a gallon of whiskey is being sent by express, which please use to the best advantage in the interest of General Gilchrist's candidacy for governor."⁵²

The letter that Stockton read for the Tampa audience was printed on June 5, in the *Jasper News* under the title of "This Tells The Tale." The letter was actually an advertisement of the Chattanooga Brewing Company that included a typed written message addressed to D. L. Thrift, a candidate for sheriff in Baker County.⁵³ There was no letterhead, and it was obvious the letter could have been typed by anybody. It was difficult to escape the conclusion that Stockton's supporters were guilty of dirty politics. There was more to come.

William E. Boggs, pastor of Jacksonville's First Presbyterian Church and a member of the Ministerial Alliance, started the rumor that Gilchrist had accepted \$360,000 from out-of-state brewers and distillers. Stockton agreed with the allegation and called for the Alliance's support. In a series of letters exchanged between J. O. Lafontisee, Gilchrist's campaign manager, and Boggs, the true nature of the accusation was revealed.

Lafontisee, responding to a speech made by an Alliance member in Ocala citing Boggs as the source of the rumor, wrote asking for an explanation. The Reverend Boggs answered in a long, rambling, and, in places, incoherent letter. Accusing Lafontisee of being young and disrespectful and referring to him as "boy" (Lafontisee was thirty-seven years old), Boggs wrote: "I was in the office of my friend, Mr. A. H. King, on the afternoon of Friday, May 22, 1908, with . . . Mr. Stevens, president of the Anti-Saloon League of Florida . . . Mr. _____ entered the room, and after some conversation he asked, 'Have you gentlemen learned the amount sent into Florida by the distillers and brewers of the United States to influence the pending election?' We answered in the negative. . . . And so our friend, after first telling us how we had obtained this information (the matter was entirely honorable, and the information was very definite and reliable, as it seemed to us), said the aggregate was \$360,000 or about that." Boggs admitted that his friend had

---

52. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 7, 1908.

53. *Jasper News*, June 5, 1908.

failed to link Gilchrist with the money, "but anybody with half an eye could see how this bribery fund was related to him."⁵⁴

Lafontisee's response to Boggs's letter denied Gilchrist's involvement in the scandal and ridiculed the charge. Pointing out that "you have nothing more to base it on than the hearsay statement of Mr. _____," Lafontisee further stated, "I neglected to learn that either age or a ministerial cloak gave license to slander, as to blacken the character of the humblest citizen." The campaign manager concluded, "I am satisfied, sir, that had you investigated a little there would have been no need for this correspondence."⁵⁵

Gilchrist offered \$1,000 to anyone who could prove that he accepted \$360,000. No one collected the offer, and no evidence ever surfaced connecting Gilchrist with any dealings with brewers and distillers. Boggs's accusation was an obvious attempt by a Stockton supporter to curb Gilchrist's rising popularity.

Gilchrist gained strength despite attempts by Stockton and the Ministerial Alliance to discredit him. The *Leesburg Commercial* advised its readers that Stockton's accusations were "for political effect only."⁵⁶ The *Ocala Banner* illustrated the ridiculousness of Stockton's claims: "Sending a jug of liquor into said [dry] counties with the compliments of Albert Gilchrist would be like a red flag flaunted in the eyes of an infuriated bull."⁵⁷ In the last days of the campaign Chandra W. McMullen of Tampa wrote a campaign song for Gilchrist. Set to the tune of "Everybody Works but Father," Gilchrist and the crowds at his campaign stops joined together in singing:

Everybody votes for Gilchrist
For he's a great, good man
We're certainly going to elect him
If we possibly can
Stockton better take in washing

---

54. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, June 12, 1908. W. A. Lambert of Ocala was the president of Florida's Anti-Saloon League in 1908. The "Mr. Stevens" Boggs referred to was probably an official in the local organization. See Ernest Hurst Cherrington, ed., *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, 6 vols. (Westerville, OH, 1926), III, 1,004.

55. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, June 12, 1908.

56. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 6, 1908, quoting *Leesburg Commercial*.

57. *Ibid.*, June 11, 1908, quoting *Ocala Banner*.

Broward also ran
Everybody votes for Gilchrist
For he's the man.⁵⁸

Gilchrist won the election by over 9,000 votes. He collected 32,465 votes and carried thirty-two counties— Alachua, Baker, Bradford, Calhoun, Clay, Columbia, DeSoto, Duval, Escambia, Franklin, Gadsden, Hamilton, Hillsborough, Jackson, Jefferson, Lake, Leon, Levy, Madison, Manatee, Marion, Monroe, Nassau, Orange, Osceola, Polk, Putnam, St. Johns, Suwannee, Volusia, Wakulla, and Walton. Stockton polled 23,391 votes and captured fourteen counties— Brevard, Citrus, Dade, Hernando, Holmes, Lafayette, Lee, Liberty, Pasco, St. Lucie, Santa Rosa, Sumter, Taylor, and Washington. In the four-week interval between the elections, Gilchrist had acquired much of Stockton's former support in the northern and western rural counties, and he also carried Pensacola.⁵⁹ He won a smashing victory, and, with the state's newspapers referring to him as governor-elect, prepared for the anti-climatic general election scheduled for November 3.

To break the monotony, journalists, with tongue in cheek, proposed a bridal primary to elect a wife for Gilchrist, a lifelong bachelor. The proposal was bandied about by the newspapers and provided a humorous diversion during the long, hot summer months.⁶⁰ John M. Cheney of Orlando was nominated for governor by the Republican party, and A. J. Pettigrew of Tampa was the Socialist nominee. Gilchrist won the election by a landslide, receiving 33,036 votes. Cheney gathered 6,453 votes, and Pettigrew managed to poll 2,427.⁶¹ The long campaign was over, and Gilchrist was on the threshold of a new and entirely different challenge.

The Florida gubernatorial election of 1908 was in some ways a watershed event. The Populist based reform zeal of the Broward years gave way to the business oriented progressivism of Gilchrist. Although continuing such Broward policies as drainage, Gilchrist did not agitate the rural "crackers" with talk of statewide prohibition and anti-corporation schemes. Many lib-

---

58. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1908.

59. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 27, 1908.

60. Tallahassee *Weekly True Democrat*, July 10, 1908.

61. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 7, 1908.

eral state representatives and senators were elected who responded to the new governor's reform proposals.

During Gilchrist's administration a juvenile court system was established, a prison farm was purchased, election laws were reformed, the pension system was revised, a crippled childrens hospital was created, a trust regulation law was enacted, and other reforms were put into the statute books.⁶² Gilchrist's reform policies were continued and expanded during the administrations of Park Trammell (1913-1917) and Sydney J. Catts (1917-1921).⁶³ Those Floridians who were worried on that bright inaugural day in the winter of 1909 had no need for concern. The state was in good hands.

---

62. *Acts and Resolutions, 1909*, 27, 71, 129-32; *Acts and Resolutions, 1911*, 41, 70-83, 181-88.

63. See Stephen Kerber, "Park Trammell of Florida: A Political Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1979); and Wayne Flynt, *Cracker Messiah: Governor Sydney J. Catts of Florida* (Baton Rouge, 1977).

BOOK REVIEWS

Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century. By Claude Denson Pepper and Hays Gorey. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987. Prologue, photographs, epilogue, index. \$17.95.)

One of the better entries in the field of political memoirs in recent years is this volume by Claude Pepper. There are several reasons why. First, his rise, fall, and return constitutes one of the more interesting political odysseys of our times. Additionally, only a relatively few legislators have succeeded in giving us a set of memoirs in which they clearly state their political philosophies. This is also a valuable account in that it demonstrates the difficulties of being an integrated liberal.

Pepper rose from the obscurity of a small Alabama farm by way of Harvard Law School to become a United States Senator from Florida in 1936 at the age of thirty-six. Even before his arrival in Washington, he had become a devotee of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and once in the capitol he quickly proved his loyalty. Pepper's support of the New Deal gained national attention, and in 1938 he was pictured on the cover of *Time* magazine, and he easily defeated four contenders in a Democratic party primary. As World War II approached, Pepper took an extreme stand in favor of aid to the Allies and experienced the wrath of anti-war groups. Then he sought to use the war as a vehicle for social change by pointing up national failings in health, education, and housing. Along the way he became convinced of the need for American-Soviet cooperation in the postwar era.

By 1944 Pepper's liberal stands on domestic legislation had eroded his political base to the point that he won by only 10,000 votes over a weak contender. In his second full Senate term he positioned himself in favor of continued cooperation with the Soviets, playing fully into the hands of those opposing his reelection. Pepper's fall came in 1950 when he was defeated in one of the most bitter campaigns of recent southern history, the echoes of which ring down to this day in legend and impact. After a twelve-year hiatus, Pepper made his return when he was elected to the United States House of Representatives. There he

has gained renown as an advocate of rights for the elderly and has become chairman of the rules committee.

Pepper points out that he has never changed his political philosophy since he first saw how government could help an individual as it did him when he was given a federal veteran's stipend to attend law school. By the early 1930s he had become convinced that the Democratic party should again become the country's genuinely liberal party, a rare posture for a Southerner. He still regrets that he was not in on the first days of the New Deal. With his interest in the common man as a base, he has worked primarily for legislation in the health and labor areas. He describes his liberalism as a "belief in life—in a better life not just for the elite, but for all. Central to this is the idea that health, economic security, and—to the greatest degree possible—the happiness of its people is a proper concern of government" (pp. 298-99). Over the years he has become far more cautious on foreign policy, particularly Soviet-American relations, but he still believes that his stance in the post-war era offered one of the best chances for peace in recent times.

Some of Pepper's problems in his Senate years came from his being ahead of his times in such areas as health legislation and foreign policy. His time there is a study of the pitfalls and problems that can beset a legislator with too many new ideas. It would take years to achieve most of his liberal goals, and then the credit often would go to others. In this memoir he has sought to set the record straight. This book will be useful to students of Florida history since Pepper analyzes the five senatorial primaries he experienced from 1934 through 1950. Now "at home in the House," he has gained the satisfaction of the chairmanship of a powerful committee and wide publicity for his success in obtaining legislation to improve the lot of the elderly.

Clearly and often movingly written, this volume is a welcome and valuable addition to the study of southern and national politics since the mid-1930s.

In the Way of Our Grandmothers: A Cultural View of Twentieth-Century Midwifery in Florida. By Debra Ann Susie. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988. ix, 254 pp. Preface, note to readers, introduction, illustrations, appendix, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

In the first half of this book the author declares her major theses. Firstly, that the granny midwives of this century performed birthing services in a safer, more effective and more emotionally satisfying fashion than the physicians of their day. Secondly, that granny midwives were systematically duped and eliminated by the avaricious physicians with the cooperation of the state bureaucrats. And thirdly, that the insistence of the organized medical profession and the Florida State Board of Health on better midwife training and supervision resulted in an injustice to the granny midwives. The steady improvement in both maternal and neonatal mortality, partially the result of these efforts, seems not to matter.

She describes the community's view of midwifery apparently based upon the interviews she had with midwives. She describes the development of legislative control of midwifery and the impact of these controls upon the midwives. She goes into detail about the program of the Florida State Board of Health to update the knowledge of the practicing midwives, to encourage them to get physician help in difficult cases, and, ultimately, to replace them with nurse midwives trained in a hospital setting. Throughout the book the author remains a strong advocate of home birthing.

The second half of the book is devoted to verbatim interviews with seven black "retired" granny midwives and one elderly black lady who had her four children with the help of a midwife. From the historical and cultural aspects this is the most important contribution in this reviewer's mind.

The author's references, comments, and selected bibliography indicate she has delved into the midwifery file of the Florida State Board of Health, reports of United States government commissions, and a number of secondary sources. However, she makes no mention of several pertinent articles in the *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* and its predecessors.

In summary, this is a nostalgic account of the "granny midwives" of Florida and as such it is a cultural contribution. It is not an objective historical account of midwifery in Florida.

Miami, Florida

WILLIAM M. STRAIGHT

The Character of the Word: The Texts of Zora Neale Hurston. By Karla F. C. Holloway. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1987. xvii, 127 pp. Series foreward, preface, notes, conclusion, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

The series, *Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies*, of which this volume is Number 102, offers black literature the careful, structural attention it deserves but has not often previously enjoyed. Holloway's study is a welcome addition to the series and to the scholarly material on one of Florida's most complex and fascinating writers.

Zora Neale Hurston, Holloway says, was more than an anthropologist; she was a natural linguist. Moreover, she believed that black English was not a failed attempt at standard English but a poetic, participatory language superior to the emotionally detached, non-participatory standard English. Holloway applies linguistic analysis to Hurston's works, primarily her four novels, to show how Hurston structured dialogue as an aspect of characterization and used dialect to its best advantage.

In the beginning of her book, the author presents a brief overview of Hurston's life and career, suggesting that Hurston's use of language in her novels was one way in which she achieved a synthesis between her two selves, the academic and the inheritor of a proud but much maligned oral tradition. It was also a way for Hurston to share with a larger public some of the findings from her anthropological field work. Hurston was, as Holloway points out, a responsible employer of dialect and once commented that those who attempt to use language they only know superficially will be betrayed by their lack of deep-structure competence.

One of the most fascinating points Holloway makes is that Hurston blended narrator and protagonist through language. In the beginning of her novels, the narrator, speaking in standard English, serves as a spokesperson for the character who has not yet found his voice. As the character finds his own voice, he influences the narrator, and in the end narrator and protagonist are speaking for each other, using similarly poetic, participatory language.

In this way, not only did Hurston affirm the beauty and poetry of black dialect, she also affirmed herself. To quote Holloway, "As she crafted characters, she assured them their souls

through the linguistic universe they carried with them, giving them spirits in the same manner she realized her own,”

This spare book is elegantly written. Here is Holloway on a passage in *Moses, Man of the Mountain*: “Highlighted through this repetition of words is the flight of the text after itself, a building of cyclic power like a **gyre**, tightening and winding its coils into a massive energy.” And as long as Holloway concentrates on Hurston’s literature she does not misstep. She makes the unfortunate statement, however, that Hurston’s texts preceded black nationalism by thirty years, a statement that David Walker, Henry Highland Garnet, and W. E. B. DuBois, among others, would hotly dispute were they alive to do so. But for this error, were Zora Neale Hurston alive, she would no doubt be gratified by Holloway’s understanding of the complex linguistic devices she so successfully employed in her novels and by the new accessibility to the richness of the black oral tradition in her novels that Holloway has given us all.

University of Florida

JIM HASKINS

The Corpse Had a Familiar Face. By Edna Buchanan. (New York: Random House, Inc., 1987. xi, 275 pp. \$17.50)

Miami. By Joan Didion. (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1987. 238 pp. Bibliographical references, acknowledgments, index. \$17.95.)

What other American city has in the past decade experienced as many dramatic and searing developments as Miami? Miami, used here to include all of Dade County, has witnessed the full flowering of its huge Cuban-American population, and, in the process, has emerged as a great international banking center and the gateway to Latin America. The city has undergone a stunning building boom that has radically transformed its skyline. Miami has absorbed 125,000 additional Cubans, who swept into it in a frenetic six-month period in 1980, and significant numbers of refugees from other parts of the Caribbean and Latin America. It has suffered from bloody drug wars, as well as the worst race riot in recent American history. Add to these developments unsettling ethnic tensions, runaway crime rates, right-wing political violence, and an unparalleled police scandal,

and a picture emerges of a city unique from any other in the United States.

While Miami is not the city depicted in "Miami Vice," which has seemingly defined it for many outside of its borders, it boasts an exotic, sub-tropical community filled with intrigue, mystery, and danger. Because of its uniqueness, Miami possesses a high media profile. In 1987 alone, four books, several major articles, and numerous television reports focused on the city. Edna Buchanan's *The Corpse Had a Familiar Face* and Joan Didion's *Miami* represent two book-length studies of different elements of this dynamic city.

Buchanan, Pulitzer Prize-winning crime reporter for the *Miami Herald*, has titillated her readers for two decades with highly descriptive, often gripping accounts of the underside of the Magic City. Written in a lively manner, her *The Corpse Had a Familiar Face* is semi-autobiographical, as well as something of a primer on crime reporting. "When writing about a rapist who is still on the prowl," Buchanan advises, "it is important to give him a distinctive moniker. That way the public, the police, and the press can get a fix on him and hopefully catch the SOB."

Buchanan devotes chapters to the police, criminals, sex, drugs, missing persons, and the Arthur McDuffie case which triggered the Miami riots of 1980. She garnishes each of these topics with interesting case histories. Buchanan's Miami is a "sexy," "violent city" whose climate, ambience, and natural features contribute to "a lot of craziness." It is also a community of strangers that expresses little outrage over the mounting daily body counts.

For Buchanan, 1979 represents the great divide in the criminal history of the area. It was a year marked by a dramatic upsurge in violent crime, highlighted by the emergence of the Cocaine Cowboys, audacious killers who, on one occasion, selected the area's busiest shopping mall as the venue for resolving their differences. Crime worsened in the early 1980s. Drugs, Miami's leading growth industry, had become the great corrupter. Moreover, the nature of murder had changed as the motives for homicide had become increasingly more twisted and far more difficult to discern. Examples of this trend abound, with none more bizarre than the instance of a young, naked male strolling through a quiet neighborhood holding the severed head of his girlfriend. When a policeman approached, the

gamboler threw the head at him, yelling, "I killed her. She's the devil!" If there is any consolation in Buchanan's study for law-abiding Miamians, it stems from her belief that the average murder victim is anything but "average"; instead, he is a person who has contributed to his own demise.

Joan Didion is a story teller of a different bent. Cool, cerebral, and measured, Didion writes on a broad canvas. Her topics have ranged from the hippies of Haight Ashbury to the agonies of revolution-torn El Salvador. In *Miami*, Didion focuses on the city's Cuban Americans. Utilizing interviews with a broad cross-section of exiles, Didion has written a thoughtful work that examines the mind-set of this community, its troubling relationship with non-Hispanic Miamians, and its difficulties in accepting some elements of American culture and tradition.

Didion is most effective in explaining the major issues that divide the two communities. On the alienation between them, Didion writes: "There had come to exist in South Florida two parallel cultures, separate but not exactly equal, a key distinction being that only one of the two, the Cuban, exhibited even a remote interest in the activities of the other." Partly for this reason, the resident culture is still unable to understand that because many Cubans continue to regard their present home as temporary, they are not interested in assimilation. Another area of difference lies in the realm of civil rights, especially first amendment issues. Heirs of an autocratic governing tradition, Cubans looked at American civil rights and "saw civil disorder."

A further wedge between the two cultures has resulted from the resolute Cuban embrace of La Lucha, or the struggle to destroy Fidel Castro. La Lucha has eliminated even discussion of the possibility of diálogo with Castro and has led to numerous bombings and assassinations by anti-Castro groups hailed as heroic freedom fighters by Cubans and as terrorists by Americans.

Cubans emphasize the fact that the United States government has on occasion supported La Lucha, first through the CIA's efforts to organize a Cuban invasion force and later through its encouragement of exile actions against Castro. However, "when policy shifted and such actions became an embarrassment," Washington "discarded" them, causing an angry feeling of betrayal on the part of many Cubans toward the government of the United States. Despite the exile community's affec-

tion for Ronald Reagan and his brand of hardline anti-communism, some wonder if, in the post-Reagan years, it will experience a "rekindling of certain familiar frustrations," with the "unloosing of furies still only provisionally contained." Such a prospect may appear grim but hardly surprising in a city where violence assumes many forms.

University of Miami

PAUL S. GEORGE

Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation During the Early Historic Period. By Marvin T. Smith. (Gainesville: University of Florida Presses, 1987. xiii, 185 pp. Acknowledgments, tables and figures, appendixes, references cited, index. \$20.00.)

Marvin Smith's book is an archaeological study of cultural and demographic change in the aboriginal societies of the Southeast, of the collapse of native chiefdoms, and the responses of peoples to historical forces unlike those they had encountered before. The native chiefdoms were a type of society not understood by the Europeans of that time, a type of society distinct from the nations of Europe or the Aztec and Inca. Like states, chiefdoms are complex, hierarchical societies with centralized political authority and leadership, but they are less complex than states, lack many institutions found in states, and are less stable than states. They are the basis from which the earliest states developed.

Studies of the chiefdoms of the Southeast are important. They add depth to the history of the area— a history that is not simply the history of Europeans in the area, a history that is not necessarily what Europeans thought it was, and a history that did not begin in 1513. At a more general level, they add to our understanding of the development of complex societies and the processes of culture change. I would argue that this study is particularly important.

Smith's major goals are to develop a detailed material culture chronology for the protohistoric Southeast, to demonstrate demographic collapse, and to argue for the impact of European diseases on the native societies of the Southeast.

He begins with a brief discussion of the early European exploration of the interior Southeast. He then develops a chronological framework for the period 1540-1670 based on European trade goods. This chronology allows him to control the dating of aboriginal sites in the interior Southeast better than we have ever been able to do before. It also allows him to examine the timing and tempo of demographic and political shifts during the early Post-Contact period. In the subsequent chapters, he addresses the evidence for demographic collapse, the fall of the native chiefdoms, the question of native acculturation to European culture, and the formation of the historic Creek Confederacy. He presents compelling historical evidence for epidemics of European diseases in the Southeast but finds that the archaeological evidence is not so strong. He does find strong archaeological evidence for population movements. In the cessation of public construction, changes in burial programs, and breakdowns in craft specialization, he finds evidence for the fall of the native chiefdoms in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, well before consistent European contact in the area. Regarding the acculturation of the native societies, he argues convincingly that a "deculturation" preceded acculturation. Finally, he argues that the Creek Confederacy was the product of the collapse of native societies, widespread population movements, the resultant mixing of refugee populations, and alliances against the Europeans.

I think that Smith has been very successful. His chronology is a major advance. He commands the extant data extremely well. His arguments are well organized, and his conclusions are well supported. This book is important to archaeologists and to historians interested in the Southeast. For archaeologists, Smith opens up the prehistoric Mississippian chiefdoms to the light of historic documents. For historians, Smith extends the history of the Southeast beyond the documents and beyond the European explorers, settlers, and missionaries.

*Division of Historical Resources
Tallahassee, Florida*

JOHN F. SCARRY

Essays on the History of North American Discovery and Exploration.

Edited by Stanley H. Palmer and Dennis Reinhartz. Introduction by Howard R. Lamar. (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1988. xiii, 140 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes. \$17.50.)

Five of the six essays that comprise this slim volume were presented as the William Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures in 1986. David B. Quinn writes about the colonization of North America during the sixteenth century. Robert H. Fuson shows how John Cabot's achievements have been distorted by Sebastian Cabot and most later historians. Olive P. Dickason reviews medieval and early modern concepts of sovereignty and papal power and the application of these ideas to the Americas. Cornelius Jaenen discusses French-Indian relations in Canada and the use that French writers made of the American Indian in their criticisms of their own society. His essay was not a Webb Lecture. Elizabeth A. H. John provides a biographical sketch of Juan Pedro Walker, a surveyor whose maps of Texas and New Mexico helped shape early nineteenth-century understandings of the border between the Louisiana Purchase and the Hispanic Southwest. Finally, William Goetzmann briefly notes how artists and photographers supplied images of the West to persons in the more settled parts of the United States, and in Europe, during the nineteenth-century.

While each of these essays offers insights and information of interest to students of exploration, colonization, and geographic awareness, Quinn's, Fuson's, Dickason's, and John's are of special interest for the history of Florida. Quinn's succinct comparisons among the governmental systems of the colonizing powers, methods of raising capital, incentives for colonization, and timetables provide a perspective often lacking in monographic studies. Fuson's model historiographic essay lays out the fifteen verifiable facts about John Cabot, explores how three sorts of bias have influenced historians' reconstructions of Cabot's voyages, and reviews the maps so often used as evidence for interpretations of Cabot's voyages. The late David O. True of Miami, who claimed that Cabot had sailed to Florida, is cited as a prime example of personal bias ("anti-Spanish feelings," p. 41). Dickason's essay sketches the background for the "Papal Donation" to Spain, French challenges to it, and the so-called

“struggle for justice” within the Spanish empire. Both of the latter topics are important in Florida’s history. Finally, John’s essay is interesting because of how Walker, who was born in Spanish Louisiana, reacted to the sale of Louisiana to the United States and because of his role in the survey of the border of the Floridas with the United States (1798-1800). It reminds us that not everyone who lived in the former Spanish colonies in the Southeast found American rule a welcomed change.

This volume is recommended to all students of Florida’s history prior to statehood.

Louisiana State University

PAUL E. HOFFMAN

Letters of Delegates to Congress, Volume 14, October 1, 1779- March 31, 1780. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1987. xxix, 600 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates, illustrations, index. \$28.00.)

The increase of items related to East and West Florida— noted in the previous volume of *Letters of Delegates* — continues in Volume 14. The six months covered here were an ominous pause on the eve of the British invasion of South Carolina and the start of the southern offensive. Taking steps to reinforce General Benjamin Lincoln’s forces in Charleston, Congress expressed the plaintive hope that Spanish forces in Cuba might help shift the military balance in the South: “Conceiving the Conquest of East Florida to be an object of great importance as well to his Catholic Majesty as to these States, . . . they have given full power to their general commanding in the southern department to correspond and concert with the Governor of the Havannah or any other person . . . authorized by his Catholic Majesty for that purpose.”

A good way to sample this volume is through the highly intelligent letters of a recently elected New Jersey delegate, William Churchill Houston. His recapitulation of the Silas Deane Arthur Lee controversy contains a penetrating sketch of Lee as a “man of jealous, suspecting, difficult Disposition, trusty, capable, and industrious, . . . simple, severe, and republican in his

manners. . . . But admitting he were the best-qualified and most meritorious Man on Earth, is it not my Duty to vote for removing him when the Time of Congress is absolutely wasted and the publick Business not only retarded but stopped by unavailing Altercations concerning an Individual?" On New York's efforts to regain jurisdiction over Vermont, he noted tartly that "they talk of the Vermont people as Great Britain does of us." He conceded that New York was conciliatory and willing to guarantee the land claims of Yankee settlers in Vermont. But remembering the ruthless tactics New York had employed in the past, Houston sympathized with the separatists: "I thought some years ago that if I were oppressed by a Set of Land-jobbers and Aristocratical Gentry as these people were, I would die in the last Ditch rather than succumb to it." His attempts to come to grips with the issues of western lands and European debt, in a letter to Robert Morris express well the perplexity of an uninitiated but intelligent American leader on these thorny problems— as did his jest to Morris to visit sessions of Congress, "this [tent?] of Hurry, Squabbling, and Noise." Finally, Houston's analysis of the operations of the commissary-general of the Continental Army illustrates vividly the point E. Wayne Carp has recently made, in his book on the Commissary service, that the ethics and procedures of these agents were critical to holding the Revolutionary regime together.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

ROBERT M. CALHOON

Madame Le Vert: A Biography of Octavia Walton Le Vert. By Frances Gibson Satterfield. (Edisto Island, SC: Edisto Press, 1987. xii, 298 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations and photographs, bibliography. \$18.95.)

Born in Georgia in 1811, Octavia Walton moved with her family to Pensacola in 1821, soon after her father assumed his post as secretary of the territory of West Florida. Charming but inept, George Walton seemed to have a flair for wasting money— his and others. His wife, Sally Walton, determined that the family's distinction would be rescued by the social triumphs of her only daughter, Octavia.

An adept student with a gift for languages, Octavia Walton certainly met her mother's expectations. A triumphant two-year national tour, featuring an 1833 debut in Washington, not only made her name a fixture in the social columns, it also introduced her to the famous and powerful, and she formed life-long friendships with figures such as Washington Irving and Henry Clay.

When her family moved to Mobile, Alabama, in 1835, she met and married Henry Levert, a young physician from Virginia. Styling herself as Madame Le Vert to draw attention to her husband's French ancestry, she soon became recognized as Mobile's social leader. She entertained visiting dignitaries, patronized the arts, and even conducted her version of a French salon in her home. An inveterate name-dropper, she sought the company of powerful politicians and used any excuse she could find to open correspondence with poets such as Longfellow. A frequenter of the nation's resort springs, she also toured Europe in 1853 and 1855, recording her enchantment with the sights and high society of the continent in her *Souvenirs of Travel*, a book which added some literary acclaim to her national social prominence.

Although she had expressed strong unionist sentiments prior to the Civil War, she supported the Confederacy's bid for independence. When the conflict was decided, however, she acted as if it had only been an unpleasant interruption of her social calendar, and she immediately entertained Union officers with dinners and parties in her home, a course which instantly made her the social pariah of Mobile. Fleeing the hostility of those who had once lionized her, she resumed her pre-war habit of travelling in extravagant style which simply compounded her troubles. Her death from pneumonia in 1877 saved her from a future of embarrassing penury.

Frances Satterfield does deal with the central dilemma of Octavia Le Vert— an accomplished, intelligent, multi-lingual woman who bitterly and correctly condemned a society which limited her to a social role but who nonetheless exuberantly played that role to the hilt— but she gives it little more emphasis than recounting of lavish royal receptions. And there are a few annoying patterns in the author's presentation: the frequent quoting of entire letters when the author's summary would have been more concise and informative, the hazy dating of major

events in Le Vert's life, occasional lapses in accuracy such as placing the Morgans, Goulds, and Rockefellers at the springs of Saratoga in the 1830s, and a lack of smooth transitions between elements of the narrative. Still, Mrs. Satterfeld has done a service by bringing Madame Le Vert to our attention, and her book does merit reading for a glimpse into the frustrations of talented women who lived in a society which did not wish to ascribe any importance to their existence.

Pensacola Junior College

DENNIS GOLLADAY

A Shield and a Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies. By Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987. x, 161 pp. Preface, introduction, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

This book is intended as a study of "The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies" as its subtitle denotes. In actuality, it is mostly about one of the armies, the Confederate. The line from A. J. Ryan, "the poet priest of the Lost Cause," presaged Shattuck's analysis: "Calvaries and crucifixions take the deepest hold on humanity." Not that Shattuck presents an unbalanced study. The northern armies are examined in as careful detail as the southern. But the spectre of defeat, steadily growing from 1863, and the nature of the South's particular evangelical understanding produced moral depths and agony that elevated religion's role in the South to greater heights.

The drama of comparing the two armies is delineated in a number of ways. Two especially forceful ones struck this reviewer. First, in the Union Army, religion was indeed a powerful element. There revivals flourished; five to ten percent of the Union forces were converted during the war years. In fact, a "Pentecoastal season" rained on the ranks from November 1864 until Appomattox, five months later. Second, for the Confederates, faith and the prospect of losing the war were bound up together. In Shattuck's words: "In the eyes of many, religion had become identified far more with failure than with success" (p. 109).

The contrast drawn, then, is not between a religious and an unreligious army. For both, faith in the providence of God,

commitment to a righteous cause, a sense of the beauty of martyrdom, and vigorous revivals of religion were central ingredients. Nor was one region's popular Protestantism evangelical and the other's something else (such as "liberal" or "secularized"). The difference lay partly in the promise and prospect of victory or defeat and attendant high morale or low morale. But they also consisted in the North's vision of "worldly" and "spiritual" victory as belonging properly together; by contrast with the South's disposition to separate and rank the two kinds of triumph. In war, as in the civilian decades before, southern Christianity focused on personal guilt and redemption, on victory apart from and in spite of the world of such mundane realities as the political and the military.

The religious life of the two regions in combat for those four tragic years has been examined before, and somewhat frequently of late. But Shattuck's work provides more material and offers better interpretation than any of them. He is to be commended for clarity in capturing the formal and informal religious life of northern and southern citizens, Union and Confederate chaplains, officers, and enlisted men, and the two nations-in-one seeking to perpetuate their respective providential missions.

University of Florida

SAMUEL S. HILL

The Panic of 1857 and the Coming of the Civil War. By James L. Huston. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987. xviii, 315 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, tables, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$32.50.)

The Panic of 1857 affected the two sections differently. In the South the stringency soon passed, but in the North it led to a persisting depression. Southerners took their good fortune as proof that their slavery-based economy was superior to the North's free-labor system. They agreed with James H. Hammond when he declared in Congress, "Cotton is king." Surely they would have nothing to fear from secession if they should be driven to it.

More and more Northerners, continuing to experience hard times as they did, looked to the federal government for relief. "Westerners desired free land for actual settlers, inhabitants of

the Great Lakes area wanted expanded river and harbor improvements, Pennsylvanians insisted upon a higher tariff, and nearly everyone approved of constructing a railroad to the Pacific coast" (p. 264). This old Whig program now gained a new urgency. The Democratic party controlled the federal government but, under southern and pro-southern leadership, continued to oppose such governmental intervention. The young Republican party broadened its platform by adding these economic demands to its free-soil plank.

While the most divisive issue remained, that of slavery in the territories, the tariff, homestead, and improvements questions exacerbated the sectional controversy. Through them, the Panic of 1857 contributed to the coming of the Civil War. The story, in its general outline, is familiar enough. But James L. Huston retells it with convincing documentation and detail and with fresh insight. Through a quantitative analysis of the Pennsylvania elections of 1858 and 1860, he supports the hypothesis that economic conditions and the tariff issue helped significantly to transform that state from Democratic to Republican. He also gives attention to the relatively neglected role of wage earners in the crisis. The bread riots of the unemployed, he indicates, alarmed property owners and led them to favor homesteads, internal improvements, and even tariffs as instrumentalities for bettering the laborer's lot and thereby maintaining social stability. Thus the Republicans "were able to meet and respond to the sudden rise of worker unrest in the 1850s" (p. 273).

South Natick, Massachusetts

RICHARD N. CURRENT

William Howard Russell: My Diary North and South. Edited by Eugene H. Berwanger. (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1988. xi, 366 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, description of the diary, biographical notes, index. \$29.95.)

It has been twenty-five years since I last read William Howard Russell's account of his travels in America on the eve of the Civil War. At first I thought of returning this new edition to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* editor with a suggestion that a book notice would be enough. Then I checked *Books in Print*, where I discovered that no textbook edition had been in print for

years. I started reading Howard's diary and was delighted to reacquaint myself with his urbane writing.

Russell's witty descriptions still excite the reader. Who can forget his "tall, lank, lean" Abraham Lincoln? Few others were as quick to recognize John C. Fremont as a man of "gentlemanly address, pleasant features, and an active frame, but without the smallest external indication of extraordinary vigour" (p. 237).

Russell had come to the United States as the London *Times*'s war correspondent. He travelled in the South, but was afraid that the blockade might interfere with his mail to London. When Russell returned to Washington, he found a city aroused over the forthcoming battle near Manassas Junction. He hired a horse and carriage and followed the armies of soldiers and spectators to the field. The Englishman's accurate and cynical stories won him the epithet "Bull Run Russell" and ended his cordial relations with the United States War Department and his usefulness as a correspondent. Russell sailed home where he wrote his "diary" from notes he had kept in America.

Russell's original work was over 600 pages long and was composed in such tiny type that it is uncomfortable to read. Fletcher Pratt first condensed the original and added a brief introduction. It is Pratt's edition that most of us have read. Eugene H. Berwanger abridged the original edition, wrote a new introduction, including a descriptive outline of the diary, and added explanatory notes, illustrations, and an index. Both Berwanger and Pratt kept Russell's unforgettable descriptions of personalities and places, but neither indicated where Russell's original had been cut.

Berwanger's notes and index make this a far handier edition than any previous one. Yet a random check showed that he had copied the wrong date for Russell's first meeting with Jefferson Davis (p. 124), gave no description of Abraham Lincoln on page 89, as indicated in the index, and added the incorrect note that Russell's proper use of "Stars and Bars" to describe the first Confederate flag was wrong (p. 80 fn).

Knopf's publication of the Berwanger edition in paperback should encourage professors to assign it to their classes, and acquaint a new generation of students with Russell's colorful memoir. Scholars, unfortunately, will have to rely on the original (available as a reprint from Norwood) until Russell's diary appears in a more careful and complete "critical" edition.

Lee's Tarnished Lieutenant: James Longstreet and His Place in Southern History. By William Garrett Piston. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987. xv, 252 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, prologue, maps, epilogue, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Posterity has not treated General James Longstreet kindly or fairly. Commander of the First Corps of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia and second-in-command to Robert E. Lee, the burly Longstreet achieved an excellent combat record, on the whole, in the American Civil War. But after Appomattox, while most former southern generals stood out stiffly against participating with the Radical Republicans in "reconstructing" the ex-Confederate states, Longstreet accepted political favors and appointments from his former West Point friend, President Ulysses S. Grant. For this "treason" to the Lost Cause, Longstreet has never been forgiven by many Southerners nor by a host of historians.

The documented and well-written book under review, despite some shortcomings, should help to improve—justifiably—Longstreet's image. While there is little new information here, Piston does go far toward setting the record straight, and his book should be consulted by anyone interested in a more objective and balanced assessment of the general. The author shows that, until Longstreet's warm friend and superior, Lee, died in 1870 criticism of the former was muted. But after 1870 a number of southern patriots, in order to cast Lee in an even better light and to explain away the defeat of the Confederacy, sought to "prove" that the South's failure was caused by the defeat at Gettysburg, and that Longstreet, rather than Lee or others, was allegedly the culprit for that terrible setback.

These willful assailants of Longstreet—men like William Nelson Pendleton, Jubal Early, John William Jones, Armistead L. Long, Braxton Bragg, and others who were themselves often inept—deliberately and inaccurately misrepresented his performance at Gettysburg, and they were believed by all too many people down to the present. Specifically, they charged that Longstreet disobeyed Lee's order to attack soon after dawn on July 2, 1863, at Gettysburg; that he then deliberately dragged his feet throughout the day; and that he improperly attacked with too few troops in the immortal charge of Pickett and Pet-

tigrew on the third day. All of these contentions were erroneous, and known to be so by most of Longstreet's assailants. And Longstreet played into his enemies' hands by his own bitter and vain writings.

The first part of Piston's book deals briefly with Longstreet's military record, especially in the Civil War. Although not bad, this is the weakest section of the volume (and the too-few maps are poorly done). While Stonewall Jackson is correctly cut down to size, the author is too lenient on Longstreet in the Seven Days Battle, ignores his role at South Mountain, and does not give the general his due in the Wilderness and Appomattox campaigns.

More valuable is the second part, in which the author shows that not until the appearance of H. J. Eckenrode and Bryan Conrad's first full-scale biography, *James Longstreet, Lee's War Horse* (1936) and Donald B. Sanger and Thomas R. Hay's *James Longstreet: Soldier, Politician, Officeholder, and Writer* (1952) did the general begin to receive more favorable and balanced treatment. But other prominent historians—including Douglas S. Freeman and Bruce Catton—continued inaccurately to cast Longstreet in a poor light in too many instances. Piston could have acknowledged that Helen D. Longstreet's *Lee and Longstreet at High Tide* (1905) and especially Glen Tucker's excellent *Lee and Longstreet at Gettysburg* (1968) have had a bit more influence in improving Longstreet's reputation now than the author does, not to mention several able general books on Gettysburg. But these are essentially picayunish criticisms of a book that is a valuable and fresh study of the historiography pertaining to one of the Civil War's most controversial major figures.

Pennsylvania State University

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

Salmon P. Chase: A Life in Politics. By Frederick J. Blue. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1987. xiii, 408 pp. Illustrations, preface, bibliographical essay, index. \$28.00.)

"The salmon is a queer fish; very shy and very wary, often appearing to avoid the bait just before gulping it down." The comment, however, had nothing to do with angling, but rather dealt with the insatiable presidential ambitions of Salmon P.

Chase, Lincoln's chief political rival, a man whose motives and personality often remain a mystery.

In a thorough biography of the prominent Treasury secretary and chief justice, Blue captures the complexity of one of the Civil War's most complicated figures. Not since Albert Bushnell Hart wrote his study in 1899, have we had a comprehensive Chase life, and one has sorely been needed. We always remember Senator Ben Wade's barbed comment, referring to Chase as the man whose "theology was unsound," that Chase thought there was a fourth person in the Trinity— himself. Far too often, historians have portrayed Chase as his enemies saw him, a self-seeking, sanctimonious politician who could well have been corrupt. And to a public whose knowledge of the era comes from such writings as Gore Vidal's novel *Lincoln* (1984), Chase remains the hymn-humming hypocrite par excellence.

Professor of history at Youngstown State University, **Blum** has combed the Chase papers at the Library of Congress, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Ohio Historical Society, and the records of the Treasury Department at the National Archives. The result is a work essential for all future Civil War scholarship. If the author does not write with the grace of a David Donald or the verve of a James McPherson, his style is clear, and his narrative is competent.

Blue concedes Chase's relentless ambition— one almost equal to that of, let us say, Abraham Lincoln. Chase shifted party allegiance several times, moving from Whig to Liberty party to Free Soil to Republican; he ended his life the subject of a determined but unsuccessful Democratic presidential boom. Yet, given his high aspirations, Chase saw political parties not as ends in themselves but means to his personal and ideological goals. And while his ambition could engender distrust as well as loyalty, he was genuinely committed to black Americans. From his efforts to defend a light-skinned mulatto in 1836, to sacrificing the 1868 presidential nomination by advocating black suffrage, Chase revealed himself a man of principle.

Chase also deserved credit, and as Professor Blue notes, it is long overdue, for his administration of the Treasury. Despite the almost insurmountable burden of total war, Chase handled his department with competence, even skill. While conceding that Chase relied too heavily on private banker Jay Cooke to sell Union bonds, Blue finds that Chase produced a record of

“which he could be justly proud” (p. 171). Moreover, despite the gossip concerning his son-in-law, Senator William Sprague of Rhode Island, Chase never used his office to help smuggle arms illegally into the South. He did not use Treasury patronage to build a personal machine, nor did he work against Lincoln’s war efforts. As chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, Chase helped lead the nation through the trying years of Reconstruction.

The problem with Chase lay in his unique gift for self-deception. True, the death of Chase’s three wives and four of his six children, all lost by his early forties, created a private life of pain and tragedy. At the same time, he was always an elitist, outwardly pompous and arrogant.

Blue offers much valuable opinion on antislavery and Free Soil politics, military Reconstruction in the South, and the workings of the Supreme Court. Most important of all, Blue makes a convincing case for his conclusion: “Chase should be remembered for his achievements” (p. 323).

*New College of the University
of South Florida*

JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

William Jennings Bryan: Champion of Democracy. By LeRoy Ashby. (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1987. xvii, 245 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, photographs, chronology, notes and references, bibliographic essay, index. \$24.95.)

LeRoy Ashby provides an excellent account of the efforts of the “Great Commoner” to give moral and ethical substance to the political party of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. Clad in the Christian armor of “the old time religion,” he was the outstanding champion of the “Social Gospel” movement, invoking Christ for guidance. Blessed with a “golden voice,” a newspaper— *The Commoner* — a Chataqua platform, and reasonable financial independence, Bryan criss-crossed the country at the turn of the century. With unmatched oratorical power and personal persuasion, he created a loyal constituency, at times fanatical in their devotion to him.

Bryan is depicted as one of the most consistent politicians as he persisted for thirty-five years, even during the last week of

his life, to fight for the "common people" as he perceived their identity and their rights. Ashby points out some inconsistencies in the "Great Commoner's" concept of the rights of minorities, such as those of recently arrived immigrants and black citizens. He preferred to leave the solutions of their problems to the states. Bryan could not adjust to the changing cultural patterns of the nation, and he lost power in the Democratic party.

Bryan fought for the free coinage of silver. He was against the brokers, the big corporations and trusts, the bankers, and the teaching of evolution in the public schools of Tennessee and Florida. He believed that all of these fights were in the best interests of the "common people." In his last fight—just a few days before his death—he insisted that the ordinary people of Tennessee should have the right to decide what should be taught in their schools.

Political parties to Bryan were instruments whereby his convictions could be incorporated into the platforms and eventually enacted into law. His loyalty to the "common person" assumed priority over his loyalty to party. As a member of the Democratic party, he embraced the most popular issues of the agrarian-oriented Populist party, courted their support, and thus hastened the disappearance of the Populist as a separate political identity,

Bryan was a patriot, but he was also an anti-imperialist. He was a colonel in the Spanish-American War (he was stationed for a short while in Jacksonville, Florida), but he wanted immediate independence for the Philippines. He resigned as secretary of state during the Wilson administration because he feared Wilson's policies would lead the United States into an imperialistic war. Once the war started, he supported the war effort with great zeal. He did not want a divided country.

Today's presidential campaigners are tempted to follow a carefully oriented and computerized plan to mute the controversial substance of debates for election success. Bryan never gave his audiences political pabulum. He thrived emotionally on the presentation of the issues, and he took the same stance in New York as he did in Nebraska or Florida.

"The Great Commoner" lost three presidential elections, but he maintained as well as any person in American history a political integrity. He kindled the flames of progressive issues within the Democratic party that led to the birthing of anti-trust laws,

the popular election of United States senators, direct primary laws, legal counsel for the poor, cabinet department for health and education, and women's suffrage.

Gainesville, Florida

D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

Lister Hill: Statesman from the South. By Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. xiii, 375 pp. Acknowledgments, maps and illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$24.95.)

Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton, the author of *Hugo Black: The Alabama Years*, has again added to our knowledge of twentieth-century Alabama and southern politics through the genre of biography. *Lister Hill: Statesman from the South* studies the man who represented Alabama in the United States Congress from 1923 through 1968. As a congressman and then a senator, Hill earned national recognition as a formidable legislative leader, a member of the Senate's "inner circle," and a defender of racial segregation. His proudest accomplishment was the Hill-Burton Act of 1946, an act which provided federal funds for hospital construction in rural and low-income areas of the nation.

Professor Hamilton's account of Hill's public life focuses on three over-lapping themes. First, she reveals that Hill made politics his profession, in almost the same way that his father chose medicine as a profession. Throughout his career, Hill spent much of his time performing constituent service, collecting political intelligence, and looking ahead to the next election campaign. His political vigilance prompted one newspaper editor to quip, "Hill runs scared even when he is not running" (p. 214). Hill's watchfulness also produced a base of political support that kept him in office for forty-five years in spite of regular opposition from Alabama's most influential economic leaders. By the end of World War II, Hill's political skills were propelling him to leadership in the Democratic party.

Second, Hamilton shows that Hill used his strong political base to work for national legislation that improved the average citizen's life. As he gained seniority in the Congress, Hill earned national recognition as an effective legislative leader on issues

related to public health and education. His efforts on behalf of rural hospital construction, public education, medical research, and public libraries contributed to the lives of all citizens and, in Hamilton's judgment, constituted genuine statesmanship.

The rise of civil rights as a national issue, however, curbed Hill's career. Though he was personally comfortable with the moderate racial views of Alabamians like Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black and Federal District Court Judge Richard Rives, Senator Hill chose to defend racial segregation. Hamilton shows that Hill made this choice believing it was the only way to retain his Senate seat and to continue his work on behalf of public health and education. The decision cost Hill an opportunity to become the leader of his party in the Senate, and it helped clear the way for Lyndon Johnson's rise to power.

While focusing on the limits civil rights placed on leaders like Hill, Professor Hamilton touched other aspects of Hill's life and work only lightly. While Hill became a guardian angel of the Tennessee Valley Authority by the end of the 1930s, Hamilton did not attempt to write a history of national policy related to the TVA. Although Hill championed legislation on behalf of medical research, public health, and education, this study includes little detailed legislative history. Neither does Hamilton explore Hill's relationship to the Great Society even though President Johnson publicly deferred to Hill as a national leader on issues related to health and education. Such omissions are understandable in light of the author's obligation to keep her work clearly focused on the most important issues. In addition, the sources Professor **Hamilton** cited— the papers of Hill and other leaders, political news reports, and interviews— are not the sources on which scholars base histories of public policy.

Professor Hamilton's work is a significant contribution to Alabama political history. While identifying Hill's allies, associates, and opponents, Hamilton has compiled a roster of Alabama politicians that is virtually complete. More importantly, Professor Hamilton's book contributes to our understanding of the limits within which southern leaders of Hill's time had to operate. Because Hamilton thoroughly supports her description of Hill as a vigilant politician, she is persuasive when she argues that civil rights compelled Hill to defend segregation in order to retain a limited position of national leadership. Thus, Hill was a "Statesman from the South" in the sense that he was a

politician whose belief that he must stand up for southern racial orthodoxy limited his statesmanship to relatively non-controversial issues of domestic policy.

Belmont College

GEORGE E. SIMS

Hemingway. By Kenneth S. Lynn. (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1987. 702 pp. Preface, photographs, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Kenneth S. Lynn, the Arthur O. Lovejoy Professor of History at The Johns Hopkins University, has written the **definitive** psychological study of Ernest Hemingway's life and work, an extraordinary stripping away of that exaggerated, obsessive machismo which proved so destructive to his work, his life, and virtually everyone who came to know him. Ernest Hemingway emerges from Lynn's biography as a compulsive liar, a treacherous friend, a man tortured by dichotomous feelings about his sexuality, and yet still brave, a great if flawed literary genius, a man who spent a lifetime battling interior demons. Cross-referencing Hemingway's stories, novels, and letters with events in his life, Lynn brings to light the pain and trauma which plagued "Papa" from his earliest days. Hemingway's mother, Grace, emerges as the villainess, planting the seeds which resulted in his sexual anxieties and the destructive, complex relations he had with his wives, children, and friends.

Hemingway as historical biography is also eye-opening. Lynn explodes many of the myths Hemingway invented (most swallowed whole by other biographers) to further **enchance** the image he and the media (he was the world's first media celebrated— and perhaps created— author) worked so hard to establish: writer as soldier/explorer/he-man. One minor mistake has a "sassy yellow Ford" waiting for Hemingway on the Key West docks in 1926, when he and his second wife were returning from Europe. In reality, the Ford was delayed, and the Hemingways were put up in an apartment over the Trevor Morris Ford Agency, an incident resulting in their becoming enamoured with Key West.

Lynn writes in an easy, literate style, though there are occasional descents into contemporary argot that seem forced and

there are several sentences his editors might have reworked. One of those sentences also provides, despite its convolutions, an example of the enlightening method Lynn uses to give the historical background of Hemingway's life: "From a thousand pulpits, anti-Fascist intellectuals who could not stand the strain of facing up to the complexities of the Spanish tragedy romanticized the Loyalist cause into a thrillingly united struggle by democracy-loving have-nots for political freedom and social justice, thereby ignoring on the one hand the appalling disarray within the non-Communist Left and refusing on the other hand to face up to the fact that the anti-Fascist propaganda being generated by the Comintern's cleverest liars, Willi Muenzenberg and Otto Katz (both later liquidated on Stalin's orders), was a rhetorical cover for the imperialistic designs of a system no less ruthless than Hitler's and infinitely more so than the repressive regime that Franco could establish."

Occasionally, Lynn provides conclusions to events or actions which he might have best let the reader make. Hemingway's mother was, for a short time in her youth, blind, supposedly as a result of scarlet fever. Lynn, characteristically, hypothesizes that, "What seems more likely is that she suffered a case of hysterical blindness as a result of the conflicted feelings stemming from the realization that she was expected to study music seriously." What is more, Lynn can resort to overkill to make his case, using irritating truisms that weaken his arguments. An example: "People who kill themselves are apt to have had a history of anger toward loved ones."

Still, Lynn has written an extraordinary work, a probing, insightful biography of one of this century's greatest American writers, detailing and analyzing the labyrinthine, self-destructive despair Hemingway often overcame in his work but rarely in his life. Anyone interested in Hemingway and/or the history of contemporary American literature would want to read this book.

Sugarloaf Shores, Florida

DAVID A. KAUFELT

Museum Visitor Evaluation: New Tool for Management. By Ross J. Loomis. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1987. xiv, 306 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$21.95, \$19.95 to AASLH members.)

The subject of evaluation is given less attention and emphasis, both from inside and outside of museums, than any other facet of museum work. That the visitors who pass through exhibition areas (some browsing, some searching for specific information, some reading attentively and methodically, and all, hopefully, enjoying) should be unaware of the mechanics of the exhibits which they view is appropriate. To them— the consumers of the finished product— what matters is not the relative percentages of graphics, text, and artifacts, or even the information sum of those parts but, rather, whether a synergistic effect is achieved. Is the total effect greater than a sum of the basic parts? Do aesthetic elements draw the visitor into a setting where interpretational elements provide relevant information in an attractive and enjoyable atmosphere? In even the vaguest terms, is the time spent in a museum remembered positively?

Conversely, however, that the people who conceive of, design, fabricate, and pay for those exhibits should fail to concern themselves with the myriad mechanics and ramifications of their productions is inappropriate. It is still, however, all too common. In the past two or three generations, museums have begun truly to appreciate their roles as active forces for cohesion in communities which are experiencing the stresses of our complex and alienating society. Those organizations which have legitimate, professional concern for the validity and utilitarianism of their work have searched for tools with which to enhance their understanding of visitors' experiences in museums and, thereby, the quality and impact of their own work. They realize that it is the successful exhibits— those which visitors remember positively— which create long-range, carry-over effects such as repeat attendance and other museum-support attitudes that are not only desirable, but critical, to the survival of museums today.

Evaluation is a basic tool for serious museums, and Mr. Loomis examines the many types and applications of its use in a lucid and practical manner in this book. His subject is the third offering in the AASLH's Management Series— works which

have quickly become standards in the museum field and rank among the most used on office bookshelves, for two good reasons. First, they fill voids in the collective store of museum knowledge and, second, they fill those voids with syntheses of the most practical experiences from respected members of our profession. This book includes everything from discussions of what to evaluate and why, to sample formats and forms, to the pitfalls of collecting and using the information. Emphasis is on the collection of positive, non-culture-biased data, using linear as well as visual approaches which are especially suitable for the international audiences attracted to so many of Florida's cultural institutions. Also included is an extensive bibliography which covers over twenty years of research. Florida museum staffs, in particular, need to pay attention to this subject and this book. We live in a state with too few successful museums, too few museum professionals, and far too much unrecognized potential.

Miami Lakes, Florida

PATRICIA R. WICKMAN

BOOK NOTES

John Sewell liked to call himself the “Daddy of Miami.” He had been sent by Henry M. Flagler to clear the land for the Royal Palm Hotel, and he and his brother, Everest, arrived in Miami, March 8, 1896, about a month before Mr. Flagler’s railroad. The Sewell brothers devoted all of their lives helping to build and promote Miami and Dade County. The Sewells opened a store, first in Julia Tuttle’s Hotel Miami, and a year later on 12th Street (later Flagler Street). Sewell Brothers became Miami’s best known and most profitable men’s clothing store. John was a skilled politician, and he served as Miami’s third mayor. Later, Everest (“Ev”) became the leading politician in the family, and he served three terms as mayor of the city. As president of the Chamber of Commerce, “Ev” launched a nationwide and very successful campaign to publicize Miami. In his later years, John wrote his memoirs which he titled *A History of His Years in Miami*. It is a treasure trove of information and data about one of Florida’s and the South’s most exotic and important cities. It has long been out of print and hard to come by. Fortunately it is available again. Arva Moore Parks, one of Florida’s leading historians and editors, has combined Sewell’s story with many rare photographs and has produced a very handsome volume. It is an important addition to Florida and southern history. *Miami Memoirs* was commissioned by the Professional Savings Bank of Miami, with support from the Historical Association of Southern Florida. It sells for \$28.95, and it may be ordered from the bank, 3001 Ponce de Leon Boulevard, Coral Gables, FL 33134, or from the Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami-Dade Cultural Center, 101 Flagler Street, Miami, FL 33101.

Coral Springs, The First Twenty-Five Years, is by Stuart B. McIver. In this history of one of Florida’s youngest cities, he describes how Henry L. (Bud) Lyons began acquiring land in west Broward County after World War I. During the land boom of the 1920s, Lyons rejected offers for as much as \$1,000 an acre. He was not interested in getting rid of any of his property. He was land hungry; he wanted more acreage, and when the

boom collapsed in 1926, Lyons began acquiring property by buying up land listed on the **delinquent** tax rolls. By the early 1940s, Lyons owned some 25,000 acres located between Fort Lauderdale and the Palm Beach County line. Some of it was under water, but Lyons built channels, ditches, locks, and levies. and he reclaimed virgin marsh land and converted it into fertile farm acreage. He planted some of it, but he also experimented with Brahman cattle. When he died in 1952, his heirs converted most of the property into a giant ranch. James S. Hunt, a super salesman from Fort Lauderdale who had made his fortune in Detroit as one of the country's largest Chevrolet dealers, purchased 3,800 acres from Lena Lyons, Bud's widow, for \$1,000,000. Hunt envisioned building a whole new city, and he laid the foundations for Coral Springs. On July 10, 1963, the city was officially chartered by a special act of the Florida legislature. Customers were lured to land sales with all kinds of promotion programs including using television celebrities like Johnny Carson. Carson sold the fifty-four acres which he owned for five times more than it was originally valued. Coral Springs is one of the fastest growing cities in Florida; it now has a population of 75,000. Mr. McIver—author, editor, screenwriter—has an excellent writing style, and he turns what could have been a dull story into an enjoyable narrative. *Coral Springs*, published by Donning Company, Norfolk, VA, contains nearly 200 photographs, most of which are from the archives of Coral Ridge Properties and the city of Coral Springs. Order from the Coral Springs Chamber of Commerce, 7305 West Sample Road, Suite 110, Coral Springs, FL 33065; the cost is \$24.95, plus postage.

Florida Rediscovered is a collection of photographs in color, compiled by C. Douglas Elliott and Jeffrey D. Trammell. Included are some of the state's most historic and beautiful structures—villa Vizcaya in Miami; the Hotel Carlyle, Miami Beach; a nineteenth-century house in Tallahassee; a beautiful Palm Beach estate; Thomas Alva Edison's winter home in Fort Myers; a conch house in Key West; the Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota; the Grove in Tallahassee, which was built by Territorial Governor Richard Keith Call and is now the home of Governor and Mrs. LeRoy Collins; and the Cape Florida Lighthouse at Key Biscayne. There are also photographs of manatees swimming in Crystal River, cattle grazing on a Kissimmee prairie, a

bridge crossing the St. Johns River in Jacksonville, a Miccosukee Indian poling his boat at the Big Cypress National Preserve, and polo players in Palm Beach. Brief descriptions of the area by Jean Ribaut, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, and George Barbour are included in the short introduction. *Florida Rediscovered* was published by Thomas Thomasson-Grant, Inc., Charlottesville, VA, and it sells for \$29.95.

Welaka by the end of the nineteenth-century was one of the best known ports on the St. Johns River. Visitors from as far away as New England and New York traveled, usually during the winter months, on the river steamers from Jacksonville, Palatka, and other ports marveling at the wonders of Florida's wilderness beauty—its wildlife, foliage, and birds. Welaka had an attractive hotel and several boarding houses which were famous in their time for their food and accommodations. Because of the river, and later the highways, Welaka became a commercial center. It was also known as a health resort. Its mineral water was touted in brochures and in newspapers as “a positive cure for all chronic ailments of the stomach, liver, kidneys, and bowels.” To commemorate Welaka's centennial, Nancy Cooley Alvers has compiled a history of the community based upon material that she has extracted from local and area newspapers. Her history covers the years from 1886 to April 1911. It recounts the everyday events that affected the lives of the people of Welaka—the births, school graduations, elections, weddings, social events, church activities, funerals, weather, and visitors to the community. *Welaka at the Turn of the Century* may be ordered from Mrs. Alvers, Box 868, San Mateo, FL 32088; the price is \$10.00, plus postage.

The Guide to the Records of the Florida State Archives is designed to aid researchers using the Archives by providing information of the more than 1,200 record series and manuscript collections housed in the repository in Tallahassee. Histories describing statutory authority, duties, and organizational changes of over eighty state government agencies provide additional assistance in tracking the evolution of Florida's record keepers. The Florida State Archives was established in 1967 to serve as the repository for all state government records. The Archives also collects local government records and manuscript collections re-

lating to Florida citizens, businesses, and private organizations. Copies of this guide, produced by the Florida Department of State, Division of Library and Information Services, Bureau of Archives and Records Management, have been distributed to public libraries and historical societies in Florida and to other state and national archives. For information on its availability, contact the Florida State Archives, Division of Library and Information Services, R. A. Gray Building, 500 South Bronough Street, Tallahassee, FL 32399.

The Battle of Okeechobee, fought on Christmas day 1837, was the bloodiest battle of the Second Seminole War which was the longest Indian conflict in American history. To commemorate the 150th anniversary of the battle, *The Battle of Okeechobee* was published by the Archaeological and Historical Conservancy, Inc., Miami, Florida. It was written by Willard Steele, and was edited by Robert S. Carr. The Battle of Okeechobee was exceptional for many reasons: the number of combatants, the ferocity of the fighting, and the notability of the opposing leaders. All of these conditions contributed to making it one of the most significant events in American frontier history. The United States Army commanders, Zachary Taylor and Richard Gentry, faced some of the greatest leaders of the Seminole nation, including Apeika, Coacoochee, and Alligator. This monograph, describing the battle in detail, provides an exciting narrative. It also contains brief biographical sketches of the major participants and several pertinent maps and photographs. Order *The Battle of Okeechobee* from the Conservancy, Box 450283, Miami, FL 33145; the price is \$7.95, plus \$1.00 for postage and handling.

Samuel B. Hubbard founded the Southern Savings and Trust Company in Jacksonville in April 1888. It became the forerunner of the Florida National Bank which is now one of the largest banking organizations in Florida. Its assets total more than \$7,000,000,000, and it operates out of some 200 offices throughout the state. In honor of its centennial, the bank has published *Celebrating One Hundred Years: A History of Florida National Bank*. Samuel Hubbard, a North Carolinian by birth and a Connecticut Yankee by heritage, arrived in Florida after the Civil War. He organized the S. B. Hubbard Hardware Company in Jacksonville which became one of the largest hardware

businesses in the South. He was the major force behind the Springfield Company which developed the Springfield neighborhood in Jacksonville, and he was actively involved in the gas and electric light companies in Jacksonville. Southern Savings and Trust Company's name was changed to the Mercantile Exchange Bank in 1900, and then to the Florida Bank and Trust Company in 1905. The following year, August 8, 1906, it received a national bank charter and began operating as the Florida National Bank of Jacksonville with capital assets of \$500,000. Over the years many of Jacksonville's and Florida's most prominent business leaders have been associated with the bank. They included Edward Ball and his brother-in-law, Alfred I. DuPont. For information on the availability of *Celebrating One Hundred Years*, write Susan Datz Edelman, assistant vice-president, Public Relations and Communications, Florida National Bank, Box 2541, Jacksonville, FL 32231.

The Nature of Things on Sanibel, by George R. Campbell, was first published in 1978. A revised edition is now available from Pineapple Press, Inc., Sarasota, Florida. Mr. Campbell describes in the foreword to this edition some of the changes occurring on Sanibel during the past decade. Most of these have had a negative effect on the area's animals and plants, but there are a few beneficial things, including the thirteen animal crossings installed beneath the Sanibel-Captiva Highway. Campbell notes that a few of the wild animals— the opossum, armadillo, marsh rabbit, cattle egret, and osprey— are thriving and expanding their population. Unfortunately, some of the other wild creatures like the river otter, Florida panther, Florida box turtle, many of the lizards, and a variety of plants are threatened with destruction and even extinction. The expansion of the human population is spelling doom for the non-human inhabitants. Mr. Campbell makes his home on Sanibel Island, and he is acquainted with the problems that he writes about. His book provides interesting and valuable historical information on Sanibel. The drawings are by Molly Eckler Brown. *The Nature of Things on Sanibel* sells for \$14.95.

Florida's History Through Its Places: Properties in the National Register of Historic Places is a descriptive catalogue of all Florida listings on the Register through 1987. There are 604 entries.

Description of places include the name of the listing, address, and the date of first significance. Building information includes architectural style, height, key architectural elements, architect, statement of reason for its significance, and the year it was listed on the Register. Virtually every Florida county has at least one entry on the National Register. The volume is divided by counties so it is easy to locate a particular entry. Photographs, maps, diagrams, and drawings are included in the catalogue. *Florida's History Through Its Places* was compiled by Morton D. Winsberg. It is available from the Institute of Science and Public Affairs, Florida State University, 861 Bellamy Building, Tallahassee, FL 32306, for \$10.00.

When completed *The Handbook of the American Frontier: Four Centuries of Indian-White Relationships*, which is being compiled by J. Norman Heard, will contain five volumes. Volume One, *The Southeastern Woodlands*, covers the geographic areas delineated by John R. Swanton in his *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, 1946). It includes the Atlantic coastal states south of the Chesapeake Bay, the Gulf states from Florida through southeastern Louisiana, eastern Texas, most of Arkansas, southeastern Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Tennessee. *Southeastern Woodlands* contains a series of brief articles in dictionary arrangement about American Indian tribes and leaders, explorers, traders, frontier settlers, soldiers, missionaries, mountain men, captives, battles, massacres, forts, treaties, and many other topics. The material was drawn from a variety of sources— ethnological studies, tribal histories, state and regional histories, narratives of captivity, military histories, and other biographical and historical studies. In the introduction Dr. Heard describes the problems and difficulties that he encountered in compiling this volume. Names of tribes differ so greatly in primary sources that it is sometimes difficult to identify the Indians described. There are often several spellings of tribal and individual Indian names. The chief may have been known by one Indian name to his own people, by another to other Indians, and still another to whites. Osceola for instance, was also known as Assiola and Powell. Settlers names were frequently spelled differently in early studies. Dr. Heard always had to be careful about the credibility of his sources. Many frontiersmen and early chroniclers of the Indian wars were prone

to exaggeration; others, particularly persons claiming to be redeemed captives, sometimes published entirely fictitious narratives. Still other writers purposely distorted events to increase sales of books, to foster hatred of Indians, or to promote a religious perspective. *The Handbook* is based upon primary and secondary sources, but it does not include government reports, newspaper files, unpublished letters, or other archival materials. *The Southeastern Woodlands* was published by Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, NJ, and it sells for \$39.50.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in Gainesville, May 11-13, 1989. The Florida Historical Confederation will also hold its workshops at the same time. The program committee invites proposals for papers and ideas or suggestions for sessions. Those wishing to read a paper should submit an outline and a personal resume immediately to Dr. Robert Gold (P. O. Box 4072, St. Augustine, FL 32085, 904 797-7339) chairman of the program committee. Other members of the committee are Dr. William Coker, Department of History, University of West Florida, Pensacola, FL 32504; Dr. Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Foundation, Flagler College, 20 Valencia Street, St. Augustine, FL 32084; and Joe Kentsch, 2133 Ted Hines Drive, Tallahassee, FL 32301.

Lester May of Gainesville is chairman of the local arrangements committee. Other members of the committee are Robert Smith, Dr. Marinus Latour, and Robert Gasche. Cooperating with the Alachua County Historical Society are local and area historical organizations, Thomas Center Associates, Florida Museum of Natural History, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Alachua Genealogical Society, and the Department of History, University of Florida. The Hilton Hotel will be the convention headquarters.

Awards

The Florida Folklife Council annually presents Florida Folk Heritage Awards to outstanding folk artists and folk culture advocates. The 1988 Folk Culture Advocate Awards were presented to Stetson Kennedy, Green Cove Springs, and the late Alton Morris, professor of English, University of Florida. The Folk Artist Awards went to Tom Gaskins, Palmdale, and Flora Mae Hunter, Tallahassee. The presentations were made at a Florida Arts Day Award ceremony, May 4, in Tallahassee, and at the thirty-sixth annual Florida Folk Festival, May 28, 1988, at the Stephen Foster State Folk Culture Center in White Springs. The annual Folk Heritage Awards were established to recognize outstanding folk artists and folk culture advocates whose

lifelong contribution to Florida's folklife affirms the rich cultural legacy of the state.

The American Association for State and Local History, at its annual meeting in Rochester, NY, September 15, presented an Award of Merit to the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, "for excellence in the preservation of historical materials relating to the history of Florida," and a Certificate of Commendation to Jackie Feagin, St. Augustine, for her weekly newspaper series of articles on St. Augustine and Florida history. The awards were presented by Linda V. Ellsworth, AASLH president, at a special luncheon.

The Kentucky Historical Society presented its annual Richard H. Collins Award to Dr. Charles P. Roland, emeritus professor of history, University of Kentucky, for his article, "Happy Chandler," which appeared in the Spring 1987 issue of *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*.

Conferences and Meetings

"Spanish Pathways in Florida" is the title of a one-day conference to be held in Tampa, November 14, 1988. Conference participants— historians, journalists, and museum professionals— will examine Florida's Spanish legacy. Dr. Michael Gannon, director of the Institute for Early Contact Period Studies, University of Florida; Dr. Jerald Milanich, Florida Museum of Natural History; and Dr. Henry Dobyns, Newberry Library, will deliver papers and lead the discussions. Dr. Gary R. Mormino, University of South Florida, is coordinator of the conference. It is being supported by the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. For information contact Ann Henderson, executive director, Florida Endowment for the Humanities, 3102 North Habana, Tampa, FL 33620; or Dr. Mormino, Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620.

Dr. Gary Richardson, Department of English, Mercer University, invites proposals for the Southern Humanities Conference to be held February 16-18, 1989, at the Hilton Hotel, Macon, Georgia. Proposals should be submitted by November 1, 1988. For conference information write SHC, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies, Mercer University, 1400 Coleman Avenue, Macon, GA 31207.

The Jacksonville Historical Society held its second annual Community Workshop on History, September 17, 1988. The focus was on the three projects identified as major needs by community historical organizations: the compilation of a directory of local historical resources, organizing a speakers bureau, and coordinating a calendar of historic community events. Dr. Jane Landers, University of Florida, was the speaker at the program meeting of the society, September 28. Dr. Landers is director of the History Teaching Alliance at the University of Florida and site historian for the Fort Mose archaeological project in St. Augustine.

The Society for Historians of the Early American Republic will hold its annual meeting at Charlottesville, VA, on July 20-22, 1989. Proposals are invited for papers, sessions, and discussion panels on any aspect of American history from about 1789 to 1850. Complete session proposals are encouraged. Younger scholars, local or regional historians, and public historians are especially invited to participate. One-page proposals which cover a synopsis of the thesis, methodology, and significance of each paper, together with a short curriculum vita, should be sent to Dr. John L. Larson, Department of History, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN 47907, by January 1, 1989.

The National Parks Service held meetings in Tallahassee and Bradenton in September to solicit views on the possible designation of the Hernando De Soto Expedition Route as a National Historic Trail. The ongoing trail study process was described, and a series of maps prepared by Dr. Charles Hudson, University of Georgia, which delineates the expedition route were displayed. The purpose of the meetings was to collect information and gather the views of interested persons. For additional information on the trail study, write the National Parks Service, Southeast Regional Office, 75 Spring Street, S. W., Atlanta, GA 30303.

The program committee for the 1990 Organization of American Historians annual meeting invites proposals for papers, workshops, and/or panels. The committee has selected two interrelated program themes: the experience of racial minorities in the United States treated as far as practicable in a comparative context, and the comparative study of freedom movements—

protest and reform movements in United States history among racial and ethnic minorities, women, and the working class. While the committee prefers fully packaged session proposals, it will consider individual's papers. Each proposal should be described in a one- or two-page resume that summarizes its thesis, methodology, and significance. Proposals and supporting information (a short recent vita for each participant) should be sent no later than February 15, 1989, to Professor August Meier, Department of History, Kent State University, Kent, OH 44242.

The 23rd annual Military History Conference will be held at Mobile, Alabama, April 26-29, 1989. There will be site visits to military installations and facilities in the Pensacola area, including the Naval Air Station, *USS Lexington*, Fort Pickens, Fort Barrancas, Barrancas Redoubt, and the Naval Air Station. For conference information, write Herbert M. Hart, Box 1151, Fort Myer, VA 22211.

Announcements and Activities

The Florida National Guard Historical Foundation was established to promote and support history-related activities, interests, and projects of the Florida National Guard and the Historical Services Division of the Department of Military Affairs of St. Augustine. The Foundation's purpose is to present and interpret the history of Florida's militia, troops, and National Guard units from the first Spanish period to the present, to maintain a library, a documents archive, and a museum, and to locate and collect all material which relates to the military history of Florida. A major project is the Special Archives Publications which are being distributed to libraries and archives throughout the state. Some of the publications are reproductions; others are original works. A second project is the Camp Blanding Museum and Memorial Park of the Second World War to be located on land adjacent to the main gate of Camp Blanding. Blanding, located near Starke, Florida, was established as a military training camp for Florida National Guard units, but it was greatly expanded after the **mobilization** of the Guard in November 1940. During World War II, Blanding became one of the largest army training facilities in the United States. Following the war, Blanding reverted to its original role as the principal state training camp for Florida National Guard units. For information on

either the Special Archives Publications program or the plans for the Camp Blanding Museum and Memorial Park, write Robert Hawk, Florida National Guard Historical Foundation, State Arsenal, Box 1008, St. Augustine, FL 32085; James Bloodworth, Camp Blanding Museum Associates, Route 1, Box 754, Starke, FL 32091; or Rodney Hall, Director, Museum Project, Headquarters, Camp Blanding, Route 1, Box 465, Starke, FL 32091. A third project is the development of the Museum of Florida's Army in the Tovar or "Cannon Ball" House which is part of the Oldest House Museum complex adjacent to the State Arsenal in St. Augustine. This museum is being developed in cooperation with the St. Augustine Historical Society, the Florida National Guard Historical Foundation, and the Department of Military Affairs. The museum will portray through exhibits and artifacts the more than 400 years of Florida's Militia/National Guard history.

The Laurie Yonge Chapter (Jacksonville) of the Florida Aviation Historical Society has named its collection of photographs, reference material, and artifacts in honor of John P. Ingle, Jr., its charter president. The Ingle Collection of Aviation History is in a special room at Airkman's facilities, Jacksonville International Airport. Mr. Ingle is the author of *Florida's Aviation History*.

The Wesleyan/Holiness Study Project of the Asbury Theological Seminary is preparing a union list of unpublished manuscript collections that document the Holiness movement in the United States and Canada. Major Holiness denominations include the Wesleyan Church, Free Methodist Church, Church of God (Anderson), Church of the Nazarene, and the Salvation Army. Anyone having information concerning records for these or related Holiness bodies is asked to write to William C. Kostlevy, Wesleyan/Holiness Study Project, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY 40390.

For purposes of scholarly exchange, the International Committee of the Southern Historical Association would like to identify scholars outside of the United States who study or teach the history the American South or who use it for comparative purposes. The names, addresses, and areas of interests of scholars should be sent to the International Committee, Southern Historical Association, Department of History, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30607.

The Virginia Historical Society invites applications for its 1989 resident fellows program. Grants will be awarded on the basis of the applicants' scholarly qualifications, merits of the proposals submitted, and the appropriateness of the proposals to the collections at the Society. Applicants should send a resume, two letters of recommendation, a description of the research project stating the expected length of residency in the library, and a cover letter. Applications must be received by February 15, 1989. No grant will be given for more than a one-month residency, and applications will not be considered for work on theses or dissertations. Applications should be sent to Nelson D. Lankford, Virginia Historical Society, P. O. Box 7311, Richmond, VA 23221-0311.

ANNUAL MEETING

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTY-SIXTH
MEETING OF THE
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AND
FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION
WORKSHOPS 1988
DuPont Plaza Hotel
Miami, Florida

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 12

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION
Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami, Florida
Executive Committee Meeting

Evening Sessions

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MEETING OF THE DIRECTORS
J. I. Kislak Museum

Friday, May 13

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION SESSIONS

Session I: *Collections: Managing What You Have*

Chair: Pamela Gibson, Manatee County Public Library
Panel: Tom Baker, Florida Agricultural Museum
Mary Montgomery, Museum of Florida History
Ellen Babb, St. Petersburg Historical Society

Session II: *Education Programs at Historical Institutions*

Chair: Betty Camp, Florida State Museum
Panel: Connie Favert, Historical Museum of Southern
Florida

Shirley Ritchey, Spanish Point at the Oaks
Kathy Brown, Museum of Florida History

Session HI: *Conservation: Addressing Your Needs*

Chair: Patricia Wickman, The Kislak Organization
Panel: Becky Smith, Historical Museum of Southern
Florida
Scott Loher, St. Lucie County, Museum Division

Session IV: *Publishing/Printing at
Historical Institutions*

Chair: Miguel Bretos, Florida International University
Panel: Tim Schmand, Historical Museum of Southern
Florida
Patti Bartlett, Fort Myers Historical Museum
Thomas Greenhaw, *Florida History Newsletter*

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SESSIONS

Session I: *Spanish Influence in New World Florida*

Chair: Patricia Wickman, The Kislak Organization
Panel: Carlos Fernandez Shaw, Consulate General of
Spain
Miguel Bretos, Florida International University

Session II: *Historical Papers*

Chair: Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Foundation
Papers: Robert L. Gold, St. Augustine Historical
Society
"Spanish Spies and Secret Communication with
British East Florida"
Kenneth Kiple, Bowling Green State University
"Disease in Cuba and Florida"
Respondents: Light T. Cummins, Austin College
Robert Paquette, Hamilton College

Session III: *South Florida's History and Its Writers*

Chair: Daniel Hobby, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society

Panel: Helen Muir, author of *Miami, U.S.A.*
 Stuart McIver, author of *Ft. Lauderdale and Broward County, An Illustrated History*
 Arva Parks, author of *Miami: The Magic City*
 David Kaufelt, author of *American Tropic*

Session IV: *Historical Papers*

Chair: Paul S. George, Florida Historical Society
 Papers: Francis J. Sicius, St. Thomas University
 "Cubans in Miami: An Historic Overview"
 Eugene and Asterie Provenzo, University of Miami
 "The Impact of Immigration on Dade County Schools: 1959 to 1987"
 Respondent: Raymond Mohl, Florida Atlantic University

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BANQUET

Presiding: Paul S. George, president
 Speaker: Michael V. Gannon, Institute of Early Contact
 Period Studies, University of Florida
 "Hello, Columbus!"

Presentation of Awards

American Association of State and Local History Awards
 presented by Linda Williams

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History
 presented by Marcia Kanner to Dr. Gary R. Mormino

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Prize
 presented by Thelma Peters to the late Dr. Leitch Wright, Jr.

Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize
 presented by Charlton W. Tebeau to Robert Hawk

President's Prizes

Presented by Governor LeRoy Collins to
 Jane Landers, University of Florida
 George Klos, Florida State University
 Milton O. Polk, University of South Florida
 Jack McClellan, University of North Florida

Saturday, May 14

Session V: *Multi-Media Presentation on the Discovery of
The Atocha*

presented by Patricia Cline, Mel Fisher,
Maritime Heritage Museum

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING
May 12, 1988

The semi-annual meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 7:30 p.m. in the galleries of the J. Kislak Foundation, Miami, May 12, 1988, by Paul S. George, president. Officers and directors attending included Rodney E. Dillon, Jo Bigelow, J. Andrew Brian, Randy F. Nimnicht, William R. Adams, David R. Colburn, Raymond A. Mohl, Marinus H. Latour, Hampton Dunn, Kathleen H. Arsenault, Gwendolyn B. Waldorf, Patsy West, Gerald W. McSwiggan, Gary R. Mormino, Lewis N. Wynne, Robert C. Harris, Wright Langley, Michael Slicker, and Gregory Bush. Also present were Olive D. Peterson, Milton Jones, Alva Jones, J. Kislak, and Patricia Wickman. There were several other guests representing the city of St. Augustine, Saint Leo College, and the University of South Florida. Dr. George thanked Mr. Kislak for the evening's hospitality.

Representing the city of St. Augustine and its historical societies and agencies, a delegation, including Jean Parker Waterbury, John Griffin, Janice Williams, Eugene Lyon, Thomas Graham, and Robert Gold, invited the Society to return its "home" in St. Augustine. In their proposal, the delegation offered: (1) the Society's use of the historic Segui/Kirby Smith House and an adjoining two-story structure, subject to certain deeds of trust; (2) an endowment of more than \$100,000 to provide for the maintenance of the property; (3) a one-time grant in the amount of \$30,000 from the Tourist Development Council to provide funding for a meeting to be held in St. Au-

gustine during the year 1989; (4) the shared services of a curator from the St. Augustine Historical Society, in return for the storage of nineteenth-century county historical papers; (5) clerical and secretarial assistance from Flagler College; and (6) probable financial assistance from various development agencies in the short-term future (next two to three years).

Representing Saint Leo College, Dr. Joseph Cernik reiterated an earlier issued invitation for the Society to locate on his campus. Included in Saint Leo's proposal are: (1) space in the present library for the Society's collection and offices, with any necessary furniture and equipment; (2) a salary of \$31,000 per annum for a director for the next five years; (3) full-time secretarial/clerical assistance; and (4) cooperative efforts in grant-seeking and fund-raising.

Representing the University of South Florida, Acting Provost James Anker assured the board of his university's continued interest in the Society by pointing out the institution's past efforts and its continuing support, namely: (1) space in its library for the Society's collection and offices; (2) released time for one of its faculty members to serve as executive director, and half-salary for the director; (3) part-time clerical assistance; and (4) the cooperation of the library staff in curatorial and reference work.

A Future of the Society Committee was appointed, including David R. Colburn, chairman, Randy F. Nimnicht, Michael Slicker, and William R. Adams. The committee was directed (1) to study the offers and proposals presented by each of the three delegations, to summarize them, and to present a recommendation for a location of the Society's headquarters to the Society's Executive Committee before September; (2) to study the role of the executive director and his relationship with the Society, while assuring the current director of the board's continuing support; (3) to contact President Borkowski, Provost Anker, and the editorial staff of the *Tampa Tribune*, and to assure all the interested parties that the Florida Historical Society has enjoyed a pleasant and mutually beneficial relationship with the university over the past twenty-five years, and that should the Society decide to move, it would not be because of any ill will; and (4) to prepare a statement of the current and future goals of the Society. The Executive Committee—consisting of the officers and Kathleen H. Arsenault and Marinus H. Latour—will

evaluate the report and all other pertinent data, and vote on where the Society's office and library will be located.

Gerald McSwiggan, chairman of the local arrangements committee for the annual meeting, presented Patricia Wickman with an Honor Award for her many contributions to the success of this year's meeting.

Michael Smith, representing the accounting firm of Leonard Anton of Tampa, presented the auditors' report. (See the treasurer's report.) Included with the report were several recommendations and suggestions. These were referred to the Future of the Society Committee for its consideration.

The Executive Director's report was jointly prepared and given by Dr. Gary Mormino and Dr. Nick Wynne. Dr. Mormino suggested that the Society evaluate the cost and effectiveness of the *Newsletter*. He noted a decline in membership for the first time in six years, and provided the following membership totals: 1982, 1,318; 1983, 1,349; 1984, 1,375; 1985, 1,538; 1986, 1,984; and May 1988, 1,925. Dr. Wynne reiterated the Society's need to increase its membership, and he made several suggestions and recommendations about how that might be accomplished. The board approved establishing procedures for allowing memberships to be paid with Mastercard and VISA, and referred other matters to the Future of the Society Committee for its consideration.

Student and county participation in the History Fair continues. Dr. Wynne suggested that the Society reconsider its commitment to the Fair, and evaluate the financial obligation and its benefits. Dr. Wynne reported this year's winners of the Society's literary prizes. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History was awarded to Dr. Gary R. Mormino for his article, "Florida Slave Narratives," which appeared in the April 1988 issue of the *Quarterly*. The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award went to the late Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., for his book *Creeks and Seminoles: Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People*, published by the University of Nebraska Press. The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was won by Robert Hawk for his book, *Florida's Army: Militia, State Troops and National Guard, 1565-1985*, published by Pineapple Press of Sarasota.

On behalf of Dr. Proctor, Dr. Colburn reported the continuing success of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, due in large part to the work and support of many people and the cooperation

of the University of Florida. The board authorized Dr. Proctor to secure bids for the publication of the next *Index* volume, to report his findings to the Executive Director, and to proceed with the printing.

A Publications Committee was appointed, including Dr. Wynne, Milton Jones, Wright Langley, and Michael Slicker, to negotiate a contract and to oversee the publication of the pictorial history, *Florida Portrait*.

Andrew Brian reported on the activities of the Florida Historical Confederation. Mary Blanc, Diane Lewis, Betty Camp, Ellen Babb, Pam Gibson, and J. Hamilton have been elected to the Confederation's board. At its general meeting, May 12, the Dorothy Dodd Distinguished Service Award was presented to Charlton W. Tebeau for his life-time support of state and local history. Mr. Brian noted that the resource notebook should be completed before year's end.

Gainesville and St. Augustine have invited the Society to hold its 1989 annual meeting in their respective cities. Because part of St. Augustine's invitation for the Society to relocate there involves making funds available for a meeting, a decision regarding the location of the 1989 convention was tabled, pending the action of the Executive Committee.

Olive Peterson announced the nominations committee report which will be presented to the membership at the business meeting. Nominations include: Hampton Dunn, president-elect, and David Colburn, vice-president. Nominations for directors include: William S. Coker, District 1; Stuart McIver, District 3; Henry Green, District 3; Eugene Lyon, At-Large; and Eugene W. Roach, District 2.

Gwendolyn Waldorf reported that the state of Florida will dedicate an historical marker in the memory of Dr. J. Leitch Wright. The Society will pay one-half the cost of the marker.

Dr. George thanked everyone for attending the business meeting which was adjourned at 12:40 a.m.

Minutes of the Business Meeting
May 14, 1988

The meeting was called to order at 10:30 a.m. at the DuPont Plaza Hotel by Dr. Paul S. George, president of the Florida Historical Society. In his opening remarks, Dr. George reported the possibility of moving the Society's headquarters from the

University of South Florida. St. Augustine and Saint Leo College have submitted proposals, but the final decision will be the responsibility of the Society's Executive Committee. The board created a Future of the Society Committee to study the invitation proposals and to make recommendations to the Executive Committee. The Committee will meet on August 13, 1988. It will also decide the site of the 1989 annual meeting.

Dr. Gary Mormino reported on the "State of the Society." He also announced his resignation as Executive Director. Dr. George introduced Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, the new Executive Director. Dr. Wynne briefly sketched his ideas on the direction the Society should proceed in the next few years.

The nominations presented by the Nominating Committee were unanimously approved by voice vote. Elections were Hampton Dunn, president-elect, and David Colburn, vice-president. The new directors include: William Coker, District 1; Stuart McIver, District 3; Henry Green, District 3; Eugene Lyon, At-Large; and Eugene W. Roach, District 2.

In the absence of Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor, Dr. David Colburn presented the report for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Joe Knetsch read a resolution on behalf of Stetson Kennedy that encourages the Society to develop an aggressive policy to recruit new members from the various population minorities in the state. Joe Knetsch also presented the memorial resolution listing members who had died during the preceding year. Both resolutions were approved. President George noted the important contributions of the members of the Society, and he paid special tribute to the work of the late Dr. Frank B. Sessa, former president of the Society.

Dr. George thanked the outgoing board members for their work on behalf of the Society, and he welcomed the newly elected directors and urged them to continue in the fine traditions established by previous boards.

The meeting was adjourned. Members were invited to participate in the Society picnic at Brickell Park.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

May 12, 1988

The general membership meeting of the Florida Historical Confederation was called to order by Chairman J. Andrew Brian at 12:00 noon. The minutes of the general meeting held

May 6, 1987, in St. Augustine were approved. Mr. Brian reported that the Confederation had a total of \$3,651.19 as of December 31, 1987. Most of these assets are committed to a FEH grant from the St. Augustine meeting.

Mr. Brian presented the Dorothy Dodd Distinguished Service Award to Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, professor emeritus, University of Miami, in recognition of his lifetime work in the cause of state and local history, particularly the history of south Florida.

The following board members were introduced by the region they will represent: Merri Belland, Bob Burke, and Betty Camp, District 1; Ken Forbes, Pam Gibson, Ellen Babb, District 2; and Andy Brian, Miguel Bretos, and Scott Loehr, District 3. Mr. Loehr presented the following slate of candidates: Diane Lewis, District 1; Jennifer Hamilton, District 2; and Andrew Brian, District 3. A motion was made and approved to accept these candidates. Mr. Loehr then presented the following slate of officers: Andrew Brian, chairman; Diane Lewis, vice-chair; and Merri Belland, secretary. A motion to accept the nominations was passed unanimously.

A committee has been appointed to review the Articles of Confederation and to make recommendations for change or modification. The proposed revisions will be made available during the fall so that decisions can be added at the mid-year board meeting. The proposed changes will then be published in the *Newsletter* so that they can be brought before the membership at the 1989 annual meeting.

Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Newsletter*, reported the changes that are being examined for that publication. The *Newsletter* may be eliminated due to budget constraints, or there may be a change in format with a computer-generated newsletter. He also suggested that a new editor may be needed, preferably someone who is not an academician. He reminded everyone of the need for news and pictures for the *Newsletter*.

Mr. Brian reported the need to complete the resource notebook project. Existing materials for the notebook are being mailed to board members for review and for discussion at the next board meeting.

Mr. Brian reported that the small response to the awards program was due in part to the lengthy application form and to the fact that notification of the award was late reaching histor-

ical agencies throughout the state. There will be a more timely mailing schedule for 1988-1989 with contacts to encourage participation. Board members will be urged to encourage participation in their districts.

Mr. Brian reported that the Historical Directory needs to be updated to better serve the citizens of Florida. He wanted the members to recommend topics for the 1989 workshops. He seeks more participation from the membership in the workshops. He also recommended consideration of a joint meeting with the Florida Museum Association. Linda Williams suggested a survey or evaluation on the success of joint meetings before proceeding with a meeting with the Museum Association.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:32 p.m.

TREASURER'S REPORT

January 1, 1987-December 31, 1987

REVENUES:

Membership dues & subscriptions	\$ 33,907
Contributions	8,115
Grants (net)	600
Annual meeting	2,125
Sale of back issues and reprints	3,281
Book project	3,434
Tour	12
Investment income including net gains and losses on investments	3,519
TOTAL REVENUES	54,993

EXPENSES:

Printing	13,790
Labels & envelopes	872
Instructions resources	6
Editor's expense	1,256
Office expense	6,513
Newsletter	3,989
History Fair	2,590
Awards.....	800
Professional fees	2,446
Corporate taxes	25
Copier expense	936
Computer expense	100
Jerome book fund	372
Director's expense	1,500
Associate director's expense	5,900
Projector	437
Christmas cards.....	2,254

ANNUAL MEETING	255
Administrative expense	189
Bank charges	<u>78</u>
TOTAL EXPENSES	44,053
EXCESS OF REVENUES OVER EXPENSES	10,940
FUND BALANCE, beginning of year	<u>125,409</u>
FUND BALANCE, end of year	<u><u>\$ 136,349</u></u>

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Executive Committee Meeting

August 13, 1988

President Paul George called the meeting of the Executive Committee to order at 10:00 a.m. in the conference room of the Florida Endowment for the Humanities in Tampa. Present were Hampton Dunn, Kathleen Arsenault, Marinus Latour, Randy Nimnicht, Samuel Proctor, and Michael Slicker. Also attending, in a nonvoting capacity, was Nick Wynne, executive director of the Society. The purpose of this specially called meeting was to consider proposals from the city of St. Augustine and Saint Leo College to relocate the Society's headquarters, and from the University of South Florida to remain on its campus. A second item was the selection of a site for the 1989 annual meeting. Dr. Wynne presented the committee with an interim financial report.

Dr. Francis T. Borkowski, president of the University of South Florida, attended as the guest of Hampton Dunn. He noted the long and warm relationship between the University and the Society and reiterated his hope that the Society would remain at the University. He answered questions about continuing University financial support, providing additional facilities for the Society's office and library, and a more cooperative relationship between the Society and the University's Department of History.

The Future of the Society Committee had recommended that the Society accept the offer of St. Augustine to relocate to the Segui/Kirby Smith House. Randy Nimnicht reviewed the invitation from St. Augustine and the Future of the Society Committee's report.

The invitation from Saint Leo College was reviewed again, but the Committee voted not to accept since the financial support would be limited to a five-year period, ending December 31, 1994.

After a lengthy discussion on the merits of the St. Augustine and University of South Florida offers, the Executive Committee voted, four to three, to accept the offer of the University of South Florida, provided a written agreement could be obtained

that reaffirmed President Borkowski's assurances of continuing support and which guaranteed the following points:

(1) The University will continue its support of the executive director's salary and will endeavor to increase that support in the future.

(2) The University will provide adequate, independent space and basic equipment for the program and collection needs of the Society.

(3) In addition to the current secretarial support that the University provides, the Society will also have the services of a part-time student assistant.

(4) The Society will continue its warm relationship with the University of South Florida, and it will seek to develop even closer ties with the administration, history department faculty, and library staff.

(5) In order to establish a sense of permanency, the Society and the University will enter into an agreement for ten years, with the right of renewal by either party.

Voting in favor of remaining at the University of South Florida were Hampton Dunn, Samuel Proctor, Kathleen Arsenault, and Michael Slicker. Voting in favor of St. Augustine's offer were Randy Nimnicht, Paul George, and Marinus Latour.

The Executive Committee selected Gainesville as the site of the next annual meeting scheduled for May 11-13, 1989.

The meeting adjourned at 2:15 p.m.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1988

Oct. 13- 16	Oral History Association	Baltimore, MD
Oct. 19-22	Southeastern Archaeological Conference	New Orleans, LA
Oct. 19-23	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Cincinnati, OH
Nov. 4-6	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Birmingham, AL
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	Norfolk, VA
Nov. 11- 12	Florida State Genealogical Society	Pensacola, FL
Nov. 13-14	"Spanish Pathways in Florida," FEH Conference	Tampa, FL
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	Cincinnati, OH

1989

March 9-11	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Mobile, AL
April 6-9	Organization of American Historians	St. Louis, MO
April 28-30	Florida Anthropological Society	Jacksonville, FL
May 11- 13	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY— 87th MEETING	Gainesville, FL
May 11	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Gainesville, FL

A GIFT OF HISTORY

A MEMBERSHIP IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS AN EXCELLENT GIFT IDEA FOR BIRTHDAYS, GRADUATION, OR FOR ANYONE INTERESTED IN THE RICH AND COLORFUL STORY OF FLORIDA'S PAST.

A one-year membership costs only \$20.00, and it includes four issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the *Florida History Newsletter*, as well as all other privileges of membership. A personal letter from the Executive Director of the Society will notify the recipient of your gift of your generosity and consideration. Convey your respect for that special person's dignity and uniqueness. What better way to express your faith in the lessons of the past and to celebrate old friendships?

Send to: Florida Historical Society
University of South Florida Library
Tampa, Florida 33620

Please send as a special gift:

- q Annual membership— \$20.00
- q Family membership— \$25.00
- q Library membership— \$25.00
- q Contributing membership— \$50 and above
- q Student membership— \$15.00
- q Check or money order enclosed
- q Cash enclosed

TO

FROM

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

OFFICERS

PAUL S. GEORGE, *president*
HAMPTON DUNN, *president-elect*
DAVID R. COLBURN, *vice-president*
MICHAEL SLICKER, *recording-secretary*
LEWIS N. WYNNE, *executive director*
SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

DIRECTORS

WILLIAM R. ADAMS <i>St. Augustine</i>	MARINUS H. LATOUR <i>Gainesville</i>
KATHLEEN H. ARSENAULT <i>St. Petersburg</i>	EUGENE LYON <i>St. Augustine</i>
JO BIGELOW <i>Estero</i>	STUART MCIVER <i>Lighthouse Point</i>
J. ANDREW BRIAN, <i>ex-officio</i> <i>Coral Gables</i>	GERALD W. MCSWIGGAN <i>Miami</i>
WILLIAM S. COKER <i>Pensacola</i>	RANDY F. NIMNIGHT, <i>ex-officio</i> <i>Miami</i>
RODNEY E. DILLON <i>North Palm Beach</i>	EUGENE W. ROACH, <i>Orlando</i>
HENRY GREEN <i>Coral Gables</i>	NILES F. SCHUH <i>Panama City</i>
ROBERT C. HARRIS <i>Largo</i>	GWENDOLYN WALDORF <i>Tallahassee</i>
	PATSY WEST <i>Fort Lauderdale</i>

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$20.00; family membership is \$25.00; library 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. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, FL 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.

