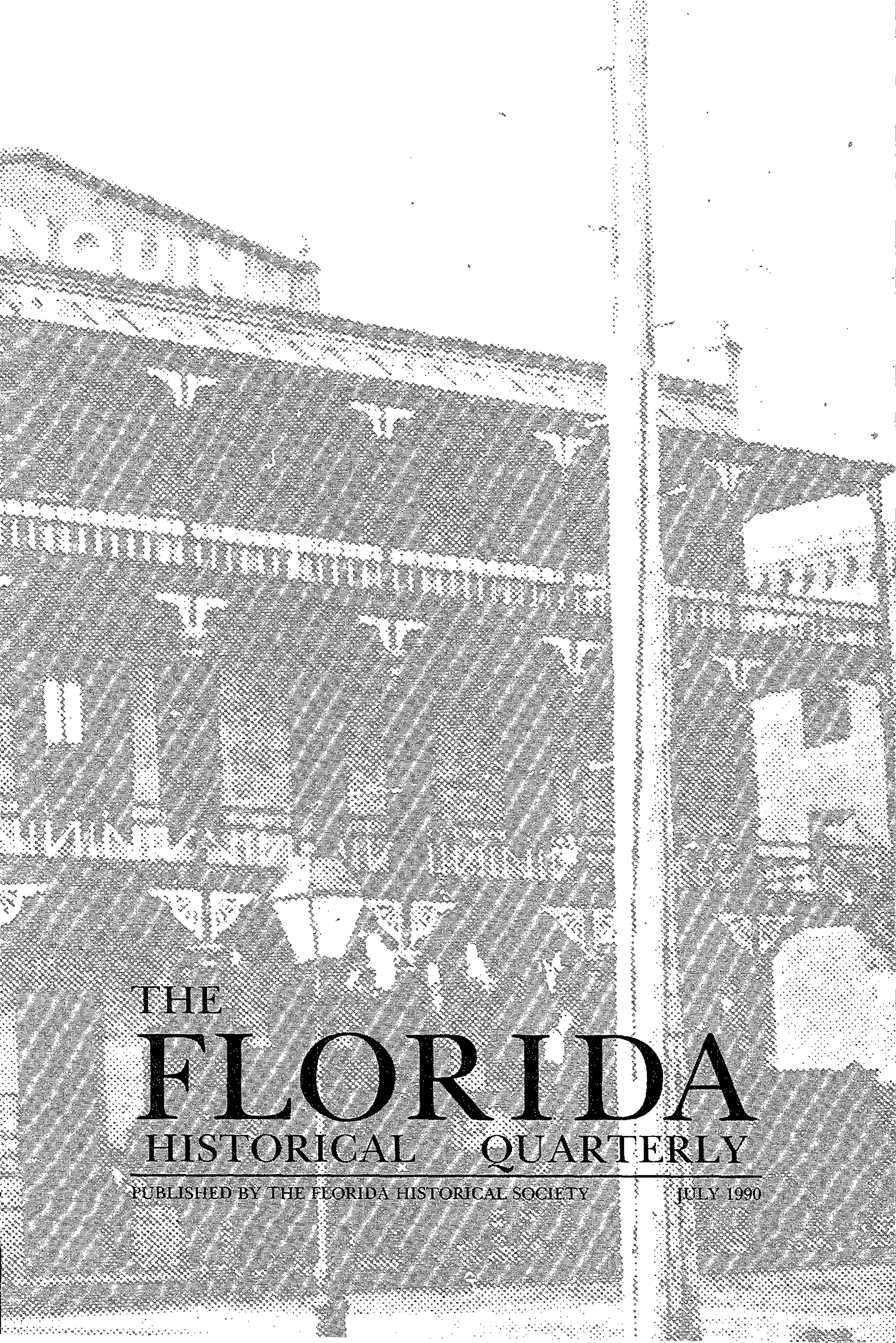


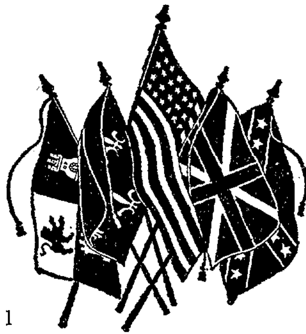
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY JULY 1990

COVER

This building was constructed on the corner of King and Aviles (formerly hospital) streets sometime between 1888 and 1893. First named Lynn's Hotel, then the Algonquin, the Chatauqua in 1910, and later the Bay View. Demolished in 1964, the Florida Heritage House was erected on the site. Now it is a maritime museum. Photograph is from the St. Augustine Historical Society archives.

The Florida Historical Quarterly



Volume LXIX Number 1 July 1990

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COPYRIGHT 1990

by the Florida Historical Society, Tampa, Florida. The *Florida Historical Quarterly* (ISSN 0015-4113) is published quarterly by the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620, and is printed by E. O. Painter Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, Florida. Second-class postage paid at Tampa and DeLeon Springs, Florida. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Samuel Proctor, *Editor*

Everett W. Caudle, *Editorial Assistant*

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

David R. Colburn	University of Florida
Herbert J. Doherty	University of Florida
Michael V. Gannon	University of Florida
John K. Mahon	University of Florida (Emeritus)
Joe M. Richardson	Florida State University
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 or Wordperfect 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

"WHERE ARE NOW THE HOPES I CHERISHED?"
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ROBERT MEACHAM
Canter Brown, Jr. 1

ON THE EDGE: BLACKS AND HISPANICS IN METROPOLITAN MIAMI SINCE 1959
Raymond A. Mohl 37

CARE AND CONTROL OF THE FEEBLEMINDED: FLORIDA FARM COLONY, 1920-1945
Steven Noll 57

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS 81

BOOK REVIEWS 89

BOOK NOTES 123

HISTORY NEWS 129

BOOK REVIEWS

A GUIDE TO THE HISTORY OF FLORIDA, edited by Paul S. George
reviewed by Jacqueline K. Fretwell

BLACKS AND SOCIAL CHANGE: IMPACT OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES, by James Button
reviewed by Steven F. Lawson

TWELVE ON THE RIVER ST. JOHNS, by Charles E. Bennett
reviewed by Thomas Graham

MARKLAND, by Jean Parker Waterbury
reviewed by Albert Manucy

THE SOUTHEASTERN CEREMONIAL COMPLEX: ARTIFACTS AND ANALYSIS, edited by Patricia Galloway
reviewed by John W. Griffin

THE MATERIAL BASIS OF THE POSTBELLUM TENANT PLANTATION: HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE SOUTH CAROLINA PIEDMONT, by Charles Orser, Jr.
reviewed by Theresa A. Singleton

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIERS, 1607-1860: THE AGRICULTURAL EVOLUTION OF THE COLONIAL AND ANTEBELLUM SOUTH, by John Solomon Otto
reviewed by John Hebron Moore

SECRET AND SACRED: THE DIARIES OF JAMES HENRY HAMMOND, A SOUTHERN SLAVEHOLDER, edited by Carol Bleser
reviewed by Shirley Leckie

THE PAPERS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS, VOLUME 6, 1856-1860, edited by Lynda Lasswell Crist and Mary Seaton Dix
reviewed by Bertram Wyatt-Brown

ANDREW JOHNSON: A BIOGRAPHY, by Hans L. Trefousse
ANDREW JOHNSON AND THE NEGRO, by David Warren Bowen
reviewed by Richard N. Current

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN A SOUTHERN CITY: NEW ORLEANS IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1896-1902, by Edward F. Haas
reviewed by Jeffrey S. Adler

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON IN PERSPECTIVE: ESSAYS OF LOUIS R. HARLAN, edited by Raymond W. Smock
reviewed by Linda O. McMurry

PLAIN FOLK IN THE NEW SOUTH: SOCIAL CHANGE AND CULTURAL PERSISTENCE, 1880-1915, by I. A. Newby
reviewed by Edward N. Akin

THE EVOLUTION OF SOUTHERN CULTURE, edited by Numan V. Bartley
reviewed by William Warren Rogers

CONVERSATIONS WITH SHELBY FOOTE, edited by William C. Carter
reviewed by Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.

AFRO-AMERICAN WRITING TODAY: AN ANNIVERSARY ISSUE OF THE SOUTHERN REVIEW, edited by James Olney
reviewed by Jim Haskins

DOCUMENTING AMERICA, 1935-1943, edited by Carl Fleischhauer and Beverly W. Brannan
reviewed by Robert E. Snyder

GEORGIA GOVERNORS IN AN AGE OF CHANGE: FROM ELLIS ARNALL TO GEORGE BUSBEE, edited by Harold P. Henderson and Gary L. Roberts
reviewed by Ronald H. Bayor

"WHERE ARE NOW THE HOPES I CHERISHED?" THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ROBERT MEACHAM

by CANTER BROWN, JR.

"ALTOGETHER this convention is the stormiest we have ever attended, and from its dissentions we judge the [Republican] party is badly split. If the Democrats and Conservatives of Florida don't take such advantage of it as will insure them success, then we say they deserve 'to be bound hand and foot,' and ever be under the heel and ground to powder by their former slaves. Such a mess of 'rag, tag, and bobtail' buncomb and bombast, ignorance and corruption we have never seen. It is a disgrace to the civilization of the age."[1]

Such words, written by an indignant resident of Jacksonville in April 1872, call to mind the concept to which many Floridians still cling of Reconstruction politics and the actions of black leaders during that period. That the foundations of that perspective are grounded more firmly in myth than in reality seldom is considered. Rarely heard are such voices as that of reporter Solon Robinson who, in January 1868, described the eighteen black members of the Florida Constitutional Convention in these words: "[I]n spite of all the whips and prisons, there were a few slaves who learned to read and write, as now is evidenced in this Convention. I do not see that one of the 18– and I believe 15 or 16 of them were formerly slaves– is destitute of this desirable accomplishment. Independent of that, their genial demeanor and address shows them possessed of all the attributes of gentlemen– 'niggers,' the Rebels call them– but eloquent speakers."[2]

Canter Brown, Jr., is a doctoral candidate, University of Florida. The author wishes to express his appreciation to Leland Hawes, David Coles, Mary Ann Cleveland, Elizabeth Alexander, Tom Hambright, Mildred P. Coulter, E. A. Hammond, Vernon Peeples, and James D. Marshall, Jr., for their assistance.

1. *Savannah Daily Republican,* April 12, 1872.
2. *New York Daily Tribune,* February 5, 1868.

Among the men of whom Robinson wrote was an individual who exercised a continuing and positive influence on local and state politics throughout the Reconstruction era and for years thereafter. He helped organize the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Florida; he failed to be elected to the United States Congress and to the presidency of the Florida Senate by only the slightest of margins; he chaired important legislative committees and rightly could claim to be one of the founders of Florida's public education system; and through it all, he was known as a decent man who believed in spending much of his energies in building schools and churches. He was a man to be reckoned with, and his name was Robert Meacham.

"I was born in Gadsden County, Florida," Meacham recalled in 1871. Unsure of the exact date, he believed he entered the world in the spring of 1835. When asked if he had been slave or free, he was at a loss on how to respond. "I do not know how to answer that exactly," he said, "for my father was my master and always told me that I was free."[3] Fortunately for Meacham, his father, a physician, cared for his son.[4] "I drove a carriage once," he remembered, "and superintended around my old boss– my father. Until I was eighteen years old, I never did anything more than to stay about him and ride in the buggy with him."[5]

3. Meacham was described late in life as having "light hair," "white skin," and "regular features." "Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire Into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States," House Report No. 22, pt. 13, 42d Cong., 2d sess., 101, 105, 108; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* February 14, 1896.

4. The identification of Meacham's father is an interesting but unanswered question. It is tempting to look for the answer to Gadsden County planter Banks Meacham who was a physician, was involved in education as a trustee of Quincy's male and female academies, owned slaves of the same age and sex as Robert, and was the only slaveowner named Meacham present in Gadsden County at the time of Robert's birth. Banks Meacham appears to have died in January 1865 and, as such, could still have left Robert (as Robert later testified) as a slave to his wife's sister. The elder Meacham was one of Florida's leading Whigs, an influential leader of the statehood movement, and a delegate to Florida's 1838 Constitutional Convention. If he were Robert's father, it is interesting to note that his slave son carried on the family tradition of political involvement and, in doing so, was instrumental in bringing Florida back into the Union through his participation in 1868 in a second constitutional convention. Quincy *Sentinel,* November 13, 1840; Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel,* July 30, 1844; Manuscript returns of the Sixth U. S. Census, 1840, Gadsden County, schedule II (slaves); J. Randall Stanley, *History of Gadsden County* (Quincy, 1948), 36-39.

5. "Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee," 107.

Meacham's father prized education and was determined to provide it for his son, a circumstance that led to community friction in Quincy. "[My father] gave me money and started to send me to school once," he related. "I went to school for a day or two," he continued, "and the third day after I commenced– there were a great many white children going to the school; it was a white school entirely– some of the parents of the children sent word to the teacher that if he was going to teach a nigger they would keep their children at home, and so I had to quit." Despite the setback, Robert learned to read and write and, it may be assumed in light of his concerns as an adult, learned also the importance of the availability of education for all.[6]

Young Meacham's life changed dramatically in the early years of the 1850s. Although the exact circumstances are unclear, about 1852-1853 he was moved to Tallahassee and ordered to fulfill the role of a house servant for an affluent Leon County family, perhaps relations of his father. In that household, he met Stella who, apparently, was a fellow servant of the family. By 1858, the couple had had their first child, Margaret. Six years later a son, Robert, Jr., was born. At some point between his move to Tallahassee and the end of the Civil War, Robert's father died. As a result, Robert was left in the care, and likely as the property, of his father's wife's sister.[7]

Family tradition suggests that Meacham accomplished more than his household and family responsibilities during his Tallahassee years. "During his earlier life," one account reads, "he carried [his] education to the other slaves secretly and by night, using the dim glare of a candle for light." It also is suggested, although not substantiated, that by the end of the Civil War "he had purchased his freedom and that of his mother with money he had saved out of the gratuities given him by his master."[8]

6. Ibid., 105.
7. Barred by law from marrying prior to the end of the Civil War, Robert and Stella Meacham solemnized their marriage at Tallahassee on July 23, 1866. Ibid., 105; Manuscript returns of the Ninth U. S. Census, 1870, Jefferson County, schedule I (population); "Register of Marriage Licenses (Colored), 1865-1868," 236, in Leon County, Marriage Records, Book X, microfilm, Florida State Archives.
8. Violet B. Muse, "From Slavery to State Senate," in "Negro History in Florida" (WPA Federal Writers Project, typescript), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

More certainly, by the war's end he was engaged in preaching to his fellow Tallahassee bondsmen.[9] When in the summer of 1865 Deacon William G. Seward organized an African Methodist Episcopal (A. M. E.) Church at Tallahassee, Meacham was the 116-member congregation's lay pastor.[10] In that capacity on February 20, 1866, he laid the cornerstone for the town's first A. M. E. church building.[11]

As the construction of the Tallahassee A. M. E. Church proceeded, Deacon Seward was replaced as church organizer in Florida by the Reverend Charles H. Pearce. Upon Pearce's arrival at Tallahassee on March 1, 1866, he found the local church "not properly organized," a situation he soon remedied.[12] Within a matter of weeks Pearce had recommended to the South Carolina Conference, the church's governing body, that Meacham be admitted to the conference for ordination. In so doing, Pearce reserved for himself the pastorate at Tallahassee and arranged for Meacham to be appointed to the church at Monticello.[13]

Immediately upon receipt of notification of his admission on trial to the A. M. E. conference, Meacham moved to Monticello and set about raising funds for the construction of a sanctuary. By late 1866, the church was completed, save for the windows, and the county's first freedmen's school was being conducted within its walls.[14] Meacham also was busy at the altar of his new church. Acting in response to postwar state law that mandated black couples formally must marry, he had conducted by the end of January 1867 about 300 marriage ceremonies in Jefferson County.[15]

Church duties were only a small part of Meacham's activities in Jefferson County. He assumed an activist role in counseling

9. Charles Sumner Long, *History of A. M. E. Church in Florida* (Philadelphia, 1939), 68; Jacksonville *Florida Union,* March 28, 1868.
10. Long, *History of the A. M. E. Church in Florida,* 73.
11. Tallahassee *Semi- Weekly Floridian,* February 20, 1866; Robert L. Hall, "The Gospel According to Radicalism: African Methodism Comes to Tallahassee after the Civil War," *Apalachee* (1971-1979), 71.
12. Long, *History of the A. M. E. Church in Florida,* 59.
13. Ibid., 60, 63.
14. "Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee," 101; Jerrell H. Shofner, *History of Jefferson County* (Tallahassee, 1976) 296-97.
15. *Savannah Daily Republican,* February 8, 1867.

freedmen on their relationships with local planters, urging them to work toward obtaining their own homes and farms and advising them to enter into labor contracts with whites only as a last resort. When questioned as to his controversial position on labor contracts, Meacham replied, "I have been told by gentlemen, and I suppose that you or any of us would call them so, that there is a thorough understanding among them in the way of seeing that the colored people shall never have much; they are united one with another to see that that is done."[16]

Although Meacham's popularity and influence were on the rise within Jefferson County's black community in late 1866 and early 1867, that circumstance brought the minister no real power in the county because Florida law still prohibited freedmen from voting.[17] Meacham's efforts, nonetheless, posed a threat to the local establishment to the extent that a white minister in February 1867 visited the A. M. E. church during Meacham's absence and suggested to the congregation that they go elsewhere for their religious observances. When Meacham protested the visit in a note to the white minister, he received in reply a letter signed, "Death is your doom– beware– ." "Meacham– Sir– ," the threatening missive read, "Your conduct has become unbearable in this place– and will not be longer tolerated." "[O]ne warning is all we give," it continued, "and you have but a few days to leave in beware you black sun of a bitch– beware."[18] The death threat appears to have had no impact on Meacham or his activities, however, and in the month following his arrival, the political world of Jefferson County and the state of Florida was turned upside down by the Congressional enactment of the legislation that, among other provisions, enfranchised most male blacks twenty-one years of age or older and ushered in the era of "military reconstruction."[19]

Prompted to action by the passage of the Reconstruction Acts, Ossian B. Hart, a leader of Florida's wartime loyalists, and

16. "Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee," 106.
17. Jefferson County's population in 1867 was 7,089; 4,546 persons (approximately 64 percent) were black. Jacksonville *Florida Union,* August 6, 1868; Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1977), 42.
18. Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965), 164-65.
19. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 157-60.

Calvin L. Robinson, the state's national Republican executive committee member, began organizing the state for the Republican party.[20] Within a few weeks they had enlisted Meacham in their cause, and on April 30, 1867, a rally of 2,000 freedmen was held at Monticello. Receiving their invocation from the Reverend Meacham, the participants then adopted resolutions pledging their "co-operation with the Republican party of the United States." An "Observer" labeled the rally "a great success, and one that the freedmen and the Union men everywhere may well be proud of."[21]

As chairman of the state Republican committee, Hart called a grand convention of Republicans to be held at Tallahassee early in July.[22] Meacham attended as a delegate from Jefferson County. There he was selected as a vice-president of the assembly and appointed a member of the state's Republican executive committee.[23] Meanwhile, Hart had been appointed Florida superintendent of voter registration and, in turn, named Meacham to Jefferson County's new three-man board of voter registration.[24]

The summer and early fall of 1867 proved a busy time for Meacham; he assisted in registering some 2,300 voters (1,747 were blacks), a total which represented slightly less than 10 percent of all the registered voters in the state.[25] At the same time, he moved away from support of those moderate elements of the Republican party represented by Hart and Freedmen's Bureau personnel such as Thomas W. Osborn, Marcellus L. Stearns, and William J. Purman. Instead, Meacham embraced the intensely emotional and politically aggressive leadership of the

20. *Savannah Daily Republican,* April 22, 1867.
21. Ibid., May 4, 1867.
22. Gainesville *New Era,* June 1, 1867.
23. The previous month, Meacham had received a different kind of honor, being admitted into "full connection" at the first annual meeting of the Florida A. M. E. conference. During the period, he and Stella also had their third child, a daughter, whom they named Stella. *Savannah Daily Republican,* July 18, 1867; Jacksonville *Florida Union,* July 20, 1867, March 28, 1868; Long, *History of the A. M. E. Church in Florida,* 64; Ninth U. S. Census, Jefferson County, schedule I.
24. The other two members of Jefferson County's board of registrars were John W. Powell and E. J. Murphy. John W. Powell to Ossian B. Hart, July 10, 1867, record group 156, ser. 626, Florida State Archives.
25. Tampa *Florida Peninsular,* October 26, 1867.

"Radicals." Led by men such as Daniel Richards, Liberty Billings, and William U. Saunders, the Radicals appeared at the time to enjoy the backing of the national Republican party. Their political agenda bespoke a far greater egalitarianism than that of the moderates, and they preached widespread social and political changes. Had Meacham's inclinations in favor of the Radicals not already led him toward their camp, the early Radical alliance with his church mentor and presiding elder, Charles H. Pearce, surely sealed the bargain.[26]

It was thus on behalf of his Radical allies that in mid 1867 Meacham set about establishing "Union League" chapters as a basis for the political organization of freedmen in Jefferson County.[27] In recognition of his work, he was placed on the Republican ticket for election as a delegate to the Florida Constitutional Convention scheduled for January 20, 1868, in Tallahassee. During the November 1867 election period, most white Jefferson County voters shunned the polls, resulting in the unopposed selection of Meacham and his ticket-mates with a total of 1,536 votes each.[28]

The Florida Constitutional Convention met as planned on January 20, 1868, and its members at once were locked into a struggle for control between the Radicals, whose adherents came to be called the "mule team," and the more moderate elements of the Republican party. The opening victories went to the Radicals, leading to the naming of Charles H. Pearce as the convention's temporary chairman and, then, of Daniel Richards as its president. Meacham's influence was recognized by his appointment to the powerful committee on permanent organization and standing rules, as well as to the committees on relief, education, and engrossment.[29] As a member of the relief

---

26. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 168-69, 177-79; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* February 11, 1868.
27. "Report of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, with the Testimony and Documentary Evidence, on the Election in the State of Florida in 1876," Senate Report No. 611, 44th Cong., 2d sess., pt. 2, 338.
28. Other members of the Jefferson County ticket were John W. Powell, A. G. Bass, and Anthony Mills. Election Returns, Seventh Election District, Recapitulation (1867), record group 156, ser. 21, Florida State Archives.
29. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 500-01; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 178-81; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida, begun and held at the Capitol, at Tallahassee on Monday, January 20th, 1868* (Tallahassee, 1868), 1, 9, 12-13.

committee, he was a prime mover of one of the convention's first official acts, a suspension of the collection of all taxes.[30] Although one historian claimed the act was passed "[obviously] in the interest of the negro," given the disastrous state of Florida's economy the move no doubt was welcomed by everyone.[31] Meacham also was active in support of public education and the opening of a state prison.[32] As a reward for his work, in February he was selected on the "Mule Team ticket" as a delegate to the national Republican convention to be held in Chicago.[33]

During the turbulent weeks that followed the opening of the convention, the Republican moderates worked toward, and eventually succeeded in, seizing control of the assembly. New committees were appointed Februry 19, and Meacham, on the losing side, was left only with a seat on the committee on education.[34] Despite this change of fortune he worked for the approval of an education article that, upon the Constitution's final approval, mandated for the first time a uniform system of free public education for the state.[35]

The adjournment of the constitutional convention signaled the beginning of the campaign for its approval, as well as for the election of new members of the state legislature. While not neglecting his duties as minister, Meacham worked for the constitution's acceptance even though, as a "mule team" member, he had signed the document under protest.[36] In so doing, he stressed that the charter had been tailored for the state as a whole. "It is true," he declared, "that our Constitution was made for the people, not for a few individuals; for the whole State, not for several counties: to be the charter of a Government, not for

30. Jacksonville *Florida Union,* January 25, 1868.
31. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida,* 501.
32. Jacksonville *Florida Union,* February 15, 1868.
33. *St. Augustine Examiner,* February 22, 1868.
34. To deny the Radicals a quorum and to enable themselves to organize better, the moderates at one point during the convention withdrew to Monticello. It was upon their return to Tallahassee that the moderates launched the assault that ultimately placed them in control of the convention. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 182-83; *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention,* 39-40.
35. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 186.
36. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* March 3, 1868.

the white man, nor for the black man, *but for the people.*"[37] At the same time he stood for election to the state senate from Jefferson County. When the votes were counted in May, he had won his senate seat in a landslide, and the constitution also had been approved.[38]

Florida's first Reconstruction legislature met at the Capitol June 8, 1868. Meacham was appointed to four committees: public printing, claims, legislative expenditures, and privileges and elections. Because they did not involve themselves with raising or spending substantial sums of money or in controlling the flow of legislation, his committees could not be considered of first-rank importance; nor was Meacham designated the chair of any of them.[39] Still, as an official who represented upwards of 2,000 black voters, he commanded the attention of Republican and Conservative leaders alike. The Republican Jacksonville *Florida Union* soon noted of him, "Mr. Meacham [is] a representative man of his race in the Senate, and an intelligent and honest representative of his district."[40] The conservative Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* begrudgingly admitted, "[Meacham is] an honest and respected colored preacher," although it felt called upon to add, "who would do right if he was let alone and had sense enough."[41]

For Republican Governor Harrison Reed, Senator Meacham became a man to court. Under the new Florida constitution, the governor had sole authority for appointing most local officials, and by early August it was Meacham to whom Reed had turned for the naming of Jefferson County's officers.[42] The governor took his courting a step further on August 19 when he ap-

37. Meacham remained active as an A. M. E. minister. He was elected secretary of the Florida Annual Conference March 4, 1868, and chairman of its committees on temperance and state of the country. He also was a delegate to the church's General Conference. Jacksonville *Florida Union,* March 28, 1868; Long, *History of the A. M. E. Church in Florida,* 66-68.
38. Meacham bested white Conservative B. Walter Taylor, 1,614 votes to 532. "Return of election of 4th, 5th, & 6th May, 1868," Election Returns, Jefferson County, record group 156, ser. 21, Florida State Archives.
39. Florida *Senate Journal* (1868), 9, 32-33.
40. Jacksonville *Florida Union,* December 5, 1868.
41. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* November 3, 1868.
42. Meacham to Harrison Reed, August 6, 15, 1868, record group 101, ser. 577, Florida State Archives.

pointed the senator to the potentially lucrative position of Jefferson County's clerk of the circuit court.[43]

The governor's favor helped solidify Meacham's position as a, if not the, "boss" of an increasingly turbulent Jefferson County.[44] The impact of Reconstruction and the presidential contest between Republican Ulysses S. Grant and Democrat Horatio Seymour had brought racial tensions in the county to a fever pitch. When Meacham arrived at the clerk's office to claim his new position, for instance, former clerk Samuel Pasco was furious and angrily entered into the clerk's journal: "[H]e [Pasco] this day surrendered all the records, seals and other property that has been in his custody . . . to the said Robert Meacham, but he does the same under protest reserving and claiming all his rights as Clerk as aforesaid. And he protests the authority under which the said Robert Meacham is acting is unlawful and a usurpation."[45] Reports that bands of white Regulators had been formed circulated through the county and, at one point, some local whites threatened the lives of Republicans whom they had "marked."[46] Meacham again was not dissuaded from his course, however, and reported to Governor Reed, "We are trying to get things to work out here and will we think in a short time." He added, "There has been no violence done in the county as yet. Great deal of talk but we dont mind the talk."[47]

The political tensions in Jefferson County mirrored those in other areas of the state. Partially in response to that situation, and partially as a cost-saving measure, the legislature decided to cancel the presidential poll entirely. Instead, at a special session early in November 1868, it met to decide the contest. With Republicans controlling both chambers of the body, the outcome never was in doubt, and Florida's three presidential electors were directed to vote for Grant. One of the three men honored by being selected to act in that capacity was Meacham.[48]

43. Volume "No. 10, Book A," record group 156, ser. 259, Florida State Archives.
44. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida,* 666.
45. Shofner, *History of Jefferson County,* 314-315
46. Ibid., 315.
47. Meacham to Reed, August 15, 1868, record group 101, ser. 577, Florida State Archives.
48. The other two electors in 1868 were James D. Green and J. W. Butler. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 203-04; Jacksonville *Florida Union,* November 7, 1868.

The selection of Meacham as a presidential elector illustrated the ascendance of his star in legislative circles, but at the time, his right to a senate seat had been called into question. As was the case with many black leaders, Meacham's relations with Governor Reed had soured as he saw Reed appoint Conservatives to prominent state and local offices and watched in dismay as the governor vetoed a proposed law granting equal access for blacks on railroads and in hotels.[49] As the possibility arose of Reed's impeachment by a Radical-influenced legislature, the governor initiated a preemptive strike by declaring vacant on October 28, 1868, the seats of some fifteen legislators, including Meacham.[50]

Reed justified his action in declaring legislative seats vacant by pointing out that the incumbents had been appointed to other civil positions (in Meacham's case, clerk of the circuit court) and that such dual officeholding was prohibited by the state constitution. To fill the posts, he called an election for December 29.[51] Apparently, Meacham made clear his intent to seek re-election to his seat at any early date, for the *Florida Union* soon noted, "The Clerkship is a profitable office, more so than the Senatorship, and so far as Mr. Meacham's personal interests are concerned, it is for his advantage to keep it." The Republican organ added, though, "We should like to see him renominated and re-elected."[52] The *Union's* wish came true. On election day, Meacham bested white Conservative William D. Bellinger by 1,351 votes to 452. Not wishing to place his seat again in jeopardy, however, he resigned his clerkship early in January. A few days later, Reed appointed in the senator's stead Meacham's white deputy, R. C. Loveridge.[53]

The turmoil surrounding the vacancy controversy does not seem to have affected negatively Meacham's personal finances which, as of November 1867, were sufficient to permit him to

49. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 195-203; *New York Times,* August 18, 1868.
50. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* November 3, 1868.
51. Ibid.
52. Jacksonville *Florida Union,* December 5, 1868.
53. "Return of election of December 29, 1868," Election Returns, Jefferson County, record group 156, ser. 21, and "Resignations, Book A," record group 150, ser. 260, Florida State Archives.

purchase a town lot adjacent to Monticello's A. M. E. church.[54] He erected on the lot a residence, and– at some time within the next few years though not later than 1874– he also purchased a "plantation" of 240 acres lying near Monticello.[55]

The 1869 session of the Florida legislature, which convened January 5, was guaranteed to be a troubled one, the possible impeachment of the governor being among the most important topics on everyone's mind. The session commenced January 9 with the resignation of the senate's presiding officer, Lieutenant Governor William H. Gleason, who had been involved in an abortive attempt at impeachment of Governor Reed during and after the November 1868 special session.[56] As Gleason departed the senate chamber, he called Meacham to the president's chair and left him as the body's presiding officer.[57] From the ninth to the eleventh, Meacham served in that capacity as the senate struggled to organize itself.[58] By January 25, 1869, he had emerged as the chairman of the senate committee on education, which had in its custody Senate Bill 14, designed to implement that provision of the 1868 Florida Constitution guaranteeing a uniform system of free public schools for the state.[59] On that

54. Meacham purchased his town lot from former Governor David S. Walker for $175. The property was described as "Werick's Eastern Addition, Lot #20, lying between Bloomer Street on the North and York Street on the South." The residence was surrounded by a fence with a gate some fifteen feet from the front door and a sidewalk running in front of the gate. The house was raised four feet off the ground and was fronted by square columns six inches square. The front door opened upon a central "'hall," and off the hall near the door was a "front room" used as a sitting room. In 1872, the house and lot were valued at $500. One historian has suggested that Meacham's affluence arose from "the ancient practice of selling offices," a circumstance he labeled "[a]kin to bribery." There is no direct evidence to support those allegations. Jefferson County, Deed Records, Book K, 416-17, microfilm, Florida State Archives; "Report of the Senate Committee," 335-36; Jefferson County, Tax Book, 1872, microfilm, Florida State Archives; Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida,* 66.
55. Jefferson County, Deed Records, Book N, 338, and Book P, 106-08, 422-33, microfilm, Florida State Archives.
56. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 204-06.
57. Washington *Daily National Intelligencer,* January 11, 1869; *Savannah Daily Republican,* January 12, 1869.
58. Florida *Senate Journal* (1869), 16-18.
59. Senate Bill 14, entitled "An Act to establish a Uniform System of Common Schools and a University," was introduced by Senator Henry A. Crane of Monroe and Manatee counties. Crane was a south Florida pioneer, teacher, ambrotype artist, and newspaper editor who had served in both the Union

date, Meacham reported the bill favorably to the senate and, on the following day, helped secure its passage by a vote of 12-5. One day later, the house concurred, and Florida's public education system was born.[60]

Senator Meacham was active throughout the 1869 legislative session, becoming a power in the senate and a man of real influence in the state. When the question of impeachment finally was resolved in favor of Harrison Reed, the governor again sought to curry Meacham's favor. On February 11, Meacham asked him for a boon. "I hope you will appoint me Superintendent of Schools for this County," the senator wrote from Monticello, "if you can do so." "I will bear one part of the blame," he added, "if you will bear the other. I will risk the Senate if you will keep other things straight. It may be that we could manage in such a way no harm would be done– if you will do so I shall feel very thankful."[61] Despite having attempted to oust Meacham from the senate for dual officeholding less than four months previously, Reed acceded to the request on February 27.[62] Eight days earlier Meacham also had been appointed Monticello's postmaster.[63]

As the senator's political power increased in the state, he began to experience some problems at home. A rival faction of black leaders, including Anthony Mills, Benjamin Dilworth, and Ben Thompson, assiduously opposed Meacham's role in Jefferson County politics and its Republican party organization. Although Meacham overcame their opposition to the appointment of R. C. Loveridge as clerk of the circuit court, he was faced with a dilemma. Would black voters in the county split between factions, and, if so, could that result in Meacham's defeat or even the election of a white Conservative? The potential problem was great enough that Meacham– and his opponents–

---

navy and army during the Civil War. Florida *Senate Journal* (1869), 31; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* June 20, 1888.

60. Florida *Senate Journal* (1869), 96, 100, 111; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 151-52.
61. Meacham to Reed, February 11, 1869, record group 101, ser. 577, Florida State Archives.
62. Record of commissions of office, "No. 10, Book A," record group 156, ser. 259, Florida State Archives.
63. Records of Appointments of Postmasters, microcopy 841, roll 20, National Archives.

began in small ways to court white Conservatives, with results none too pleasing to either side of the black political equation. For the time being, Meacham remained in control, but a weakness had developed in his home base that would plague him in years to come.[64]

Following the conclusion of the 1869 legislative session, Meacham spent most of his time in Jefferson County shoring up his support, attending to his congregation, and administering his duties as superintendent of schools and as postmaster. In June, however, he attended a special session of the legislature called by Governor Reed for the purpose, among other things, of ratifying the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Meacham introduced the measure in the senate and served as chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Amendments that considered it favorably. The session began on the eighth, and the amendment was ratified within six days.[65] Late in the year he also journeyed to Quincy for the fourth session of the Florida A. M. E. church where he was named a "traveling elder" for the conference.[66]

The decade of the 1870s dawned with the future looking bright for Meacham. At the legislature's session in 1870, he nominated and saw elected his candidate for presiding officer of the senate, was given the position of chairman of the legislative expenditures committee with its opportunities for patronage, and introduced and secured passage of a law granting blacks equal privileges in public conveyances. Additionally, the legislature granted him and Jefferson County a boon by enacting a law incorporating the Monticello and Georgia Railroad Company of which Meacham was named a director.[67] At one point during the session he– perhaps as a joke– attempted by floor amendment to have the Capitol moved to Monticello.[68] The session ended with Meacham poised for a try at higher office and vastly more power.

64. Shofner, *History of Jefferson County,* 316-17.
65. Florida *Senate Journal* (1869, Extra Session), 16-17, 20-22, 29-33.
66. Long, *History of the A. M. E. Church in Florida,* 70.
67. Florida *Senate Journal* (1870), 32-34, 76-77, 120, 162; *Laws of Florida* (1870), 75-79.
68. Florida *Senate Journal* (1870), 188.

Florida had but a single United States Congressman in 1870. The white incumbent, Charles Hamilton, was no ally of the state's black Republicans who chafed at the fact that the governor, both United States senators, and the congressman were white. Events suggest that early in that election year Meacham set his sights on Hamilton's seat. He resigned as postmaster, which allowed him more time to prepare a campaign, and in April and May traveled in many of the state's heavily black areas in the train of a charismatic orator, Mrs. F. E. W. Harper, who eloquently urged adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, women's rights, and black voting power.[69]

The Republican state nominating convention was scheduled for August 17 in Gainesville. At a series of private caucuses held there as the convention was getting under way, it was agreed by many leaders that the congressional seat should go to a black man, although some white Republicans, opponents of Governor Reed, were prepared to vote for anyone, white or black, other than Reed's friend Hamilton.[70] Meacham's campaign thus was off to a fine start, bolstered by the support of one of Reed's most powerful political opponents, United States Senator Thomas W. Osborn.[71]

Voting for a congressional nominee commenced at Gainesville about eight in the evening of the opening day. In a first, informal poll, Meacham led the seven candidates with twenty-nine votes, fifty being necessary for nomination. Immediately thereafter, formal balloting was begun. After a strong start, Meacham's support, by the fifth tally, had dropped to a low of eleven votes, but by the ninth ballot had increased again to thirty-seven. At that point, Meacham's opposition was arrayed as follows: Charles Hamilton, nineteen votes; Charles H. Pearce, twenty; Jonathan C. Gibbs, eight; Henry S. Harmon, ten; and Alachua County's black senator, Josiah Walls, four.[72]

Quickly following the ninth ballot, Harmon withdrew, and Pearce threw his support to Walls, who was presiding over the

69. Records of Appointments of Postmasters, microcopy 841, roll 20, National Archives.
70. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* August 23, 1870.
71. Peter D. Klingman, *Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction* (Gainesville, 1976), 34.
72. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* August 23, 1870.

voting. Another Republican leader then jumped to his feet and moved the nomination of Walls by acclamation. Pandemonium broke out in the hall as the tenth ballot was taken. The announced results boosted Walls's total to twenty-four votes while Meacham's count came to forty-eight. A correspondent of the *Weekly Floridian* reported, however, "I have been told by at least a half dozen Republicans that Meacham of Jefferson County got the nomination fairly on the ballot, but the wire-pullers were determined he should not have it and the vote was manipulated accordingly."[73]

As the ballot was taken and the pandemonium ensued, Walls, as presiding officer, slammed his gavel down on the podium, knocking away all the candles set there for illumination and "scattering grease on everybody's clothes, and causing a general stampede of those men near the stand." His supporters alleged that in the confusion the Osborn faction attempted to change the vote totals in Meacham's favor. As that rumor swept the floor, another vote was demanded, and Walls secured the necessary majority and the nomination.[74] The unfriendly *Tallahassee Sentinel* reported, "[P]oor Meacham, as his friends deserted him one by one and went in favor of his opponent, looked the picture of misery and an object for compassion."[75]

The nomination of Walls was made unanimous, and a defeated Meacham pledged his support for the candidate.[76] When Meacham returned home, he arranged for his own reappointment as Monticello's postmaster and set about organizing for the fall election." He campaigned for the Republican ticket in Jefferson and Gadsden counties, and it is likely that he did the same in other black areas.[78] Official returns of the election

73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.; Klingman, *Josiah Walls,* 34.
75. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* August 20, 1870.
76. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* August 23, 1870.
77. Records of Appointments of Postmasters, microcopy 841, roll 20, National Archives.
78. Republican Malachi Martin later related a story that grew out of a Meacham campaign appearance in Gadsden County. "While Mr. Meacham was addressing a meeting in Quincy. I heard one gentleman say, 'Damn him; I wish he and all the other radicals were in hell, and I had the key.' I was near by him and asked him on which side of the door he wanted to be. He said he did not know but that he would be damned if he would not be willing to be inside if he could keep all the others in there." "Testimony Taken by the Joint Committee," 187.

showed Walls a narrow victor over Conservative-Democrat Silas L. Niblack of Columbia County.[79] Walls thereby gained a seat in the Congress while, as a part of the same election process, Meacham came close to losing his life.

The threat to Meacham's life came on election day at Monticello where all of Jefferson County's voting precincts were located. It began when a group of armed Georgians descended on the town from Thomasville and took up strategic positions on streets and rooftops. Later in the day, white Conservative William Capers Bird appeared at the courthouse precinct armed with a pistol and confronted Meacham who was standing with a hundred or more black men waiting in line to vote. "No damned nigger shall vote here," Bird yelled at the senator. Meacham ignored the taunt, and shortly Bird repeated it, adding: "There are three other polls you colored people can vote at. This is our poll; it belongs to the white people." Finally Meacham responded that all the polls were "for the citizens of the county," whereupon Bird called him "a liar" and "a damned son of a bitch." The two then confronted each other physically after which Bird drew his pistol from its holster.[80]

After several tense minutes, the Meacham-Bird confrontation ended without harm to either, but from it spread a rumor that Meacham had been shot and killed. A crowd of angry freedmen then armed themselves and approached the courthouse intent on revenge. Some local white leaders among the armed Georgians present attempted peacefully to forestall the blacks' approach, but a shot was fired resulting in a fusillade of several dozen rounds. No one was injured, and the two factions were separated. As a result of the excitement, however, many black voters were denied the opportunity to cast their ballots.[81] Of the incident, the Monticello *Advertiser* proclaimed: "The negroes of the county have shown a desire to fight. They have been led off from their true interests by the incendiary teachings of a few unprincipled scoundrels that loaf about the street corners." "But we have them spotted," the statement continued, "and if there

79. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 214-16.
80. "Testimony Taken by the Joint Committee," 103; Shofner, *History of Jefferson County,* 317-18.
81. "Testimony Taken by the Joint Committee," 103.

is any justice in the land, or power in our arms, those men shall meet their reward." In conclusion, the editor urged his fellow white neighbors, "Now, let every citizen of this county, who feels an interest in its prosperity, unite himself with one of the several organizations we have raised, and let him ever be on hand hereafter to maintain the dignity of his race."[82]

As the Monticello *Advertiser* expounded its appeal to vigilantism, Meacham pursued his responsibilities. He attended and was active in the 1871 legislative session. During its course, he received a tangible reward for his efforts on behalf of the Republican ticket by being named to the desirable federal position of register of the General Land Office at Tallahassee.[83] To accept the appointment, he surrendered his postmastership but retained office as superintendent of schools for Jefferson County.[84] For the remainder of the year, he executed the various duties of his offices, taking particular pride in his role as school superintendent. He reported that during his first two years in office he had added twelve schools and some 610 pupils to the county system.[85] In his capacity as minister, he supervised on September 10 the dedication of Monticello's A. M. E. Church. As senator, he testified in November before congressional committees meeting at Jacksonville about events of the 1870 election campaign.[86]

82. Monticello *Advertiser,* quoted in *Savannah Morning News,* November 14, 1870.
83. Meacham was named register upon recommendation of the state Republican executive committee and United States Senators Thomas W. Osborn and Abijah Gilbert. He replaced Charles H. Mundee who was ousted for campaigning for Conservatives in 1870. Horatio Jenkins to Osborn and Gilbert, January 16, 1871, Interior Department Appointment Papers, Florida, 1849-1907, microcopy 1119, roll 6, National Archives.
84. Records of Appointments of Postmasters, microcopy 841, roll 20, National Archives; Meacham to Reed, March 2, 1871, record group 101, ser. 259, Florida State Archives.
85. Florida *Senate Journal* (1870, Appendix), 77-78; Florida *Senate Journal* (1872, Appendix), 62-63.
86. Meacham's only apparent problem in 1871 stemmed from his role as register of the General Land Office. He discovered that his predecessor improperly had received payments for homestead entries, causing Meacham to void all entries made between December 1, 1870, and March 23,1871. The action was controversial and angered many homesteaders who had entered their claims in good faith. *Savannah Morning News,* August 31, September 29, November 10, 1871; "Testimony Taken by the Joint Committee," 101-09.

It was at this point in Meacham's career, in late 1871 and early 1872, that the personal quality that was to mark the remainder of his active political life began to become evident. That quality was tenacity, a sense of determination toward a goal he had set for himself, and that goal was election to the United States Congress. Just when Meacham focused upon the office as his ultimate goal is unknown, but his decision to run again in 1872 clearly set him upon the path that he was to follow for the remainder of the Reconstruction era. Perhaps partially the decision was fortuitous, brought about by the fact that, in 1872, Florida was awarded through reapportionment a second seat in the United States House of Representatives.[87] At the time, Meacham was poised for another attempt at higher office. His federal position conferred upon him prestige and increased political standing, and his position within the A. M. E. church helped him maintain widespread ties outside the Republican party organization.

Meacham opened the 1872 campaign season aggressively. Building upon his strength and position in the state senate, he launched an early attack upon his opponents, particularly criticizing Secretary of State Jonathan C. Gibbs and Republican leader William J. Purman, both of whom he may have blamed for his 1870 defeat and who potentially were challengers for the 1872 congressional nomination.[88] He joined the recurring controversy over the impeachment of Governor Reed, soldifying his support among black voters who remained alienated from Reed as a result of the governor's continued approaches to Conservatives.[89] He reinforced his appeal as a friend of education by arranging to be named as a trustee of the Brown Theological Seminary, a state-chartered arm of the A. M. E. Church, and as a member of the trustees' executive committee of the recently authorized Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College.[90] In

87. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 278.
88. *Savannah Morning News,* January 19, 1872.
89. John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 180, 209.
90. *Laws of Florida* (1872), 68-69; Florida *Senate Journal* (1873, Appendix), 21; Nita Katharine Pyburn, *The History of the Development of a Single System of Education in Florida, 1822-1903* (Tallahassee, 1954), 149; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* March 26, 1872.

April, he ventured to Jacksonville where he served as an officer of the Republican convention at which the state party gave its endorsement to the re-election of President Grant.[91] The following month, he represented the Florida A. M. E. Church as a Middle Florida delegate to the church's General Conference at Nashville, Tennessee.[92] He appears also to have resigned his position as superintendent of schools, perhaps to allow more time for campaigning. He did so, however, only after arranging to entrust the position to his ally R. C. Loveridge.[93]

The Republican nominating convention met August 7, 1872, at Tallahassee. William J. Purman, as chairman of the state executive committee, of which Meacham also remained a member, gaveled the meeting to order in the Assembly Hall of the Capitol. That afternoon and evening were consumed with preliminaries, but the next morning the convention approved its permanent organization, selecting Meacham as its chairman. After balloting for the gubernatorial and the first congressional nominations, the assembly then turned its attention to the second, the new, congressional seat. In a crowded field, Meacham led the first ballot with thirty-five votes, eleven more than his nearest competitor, former Lieutenant Governor William H. Gleason. After the results of the ballot were announced, a Jacksonville representative stood and read a telegram, purportedly from the national Republican committee, threatening to withhold funds unless Gleason was nominated. During the resulting uproar, "several speeches were made in support of various candidates– Meacham appearing to be the favorite." William J. Purman then stood and refused to relinquish the floor. Purman's action effectively quashed the steamroller effect building in Meacham's favor and allowed time for Purman's operatives to work the crowd. As they did so, Purman pleaded for the nomination of a man from the western part of the state– which he was– to balance the ticket. On cue, other leaders then rose and endorsed Purman, actions that in turn kindled "a universal

91. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* April 13, 1872.
92. Meacham to Willis Drummond, April 7, 1872, Interior Department Appointment Papers, Florida, 1849-1907, microcopy 1119, roll 6, National Archives.
93. Florida *Senate Journal* (1873, Appendix).

sympathy" for him. "When the call of counties was concluded," an observer recorded, "it was found that Meacham had received a very good support, but only in compliment, for county after county changed to Purman until a motion to declare him unanimously nominated was unanimously carried."[94]

A different man might have let consecutive setbacks such as those experienced by Meacham blunt his ambitions. The known facts of Meacham's life, however, suggest something quite the contrary. Once again that quality of tenacity seems to have come into play, for soon he had undertaken a series of steps which appear from the perspective of some 120 years to have been conceived to lead him directly to a third challenge for a congressional seat. Specifically, he soon was preparing for a rematch of his nominating contest with Purman.

Following the Tallahassee convention, Meacham returned home to Monticello where, on October 8, 1872, his county nominating convention endorsed his bid for re-election to the state senate, a goal he easily achieved the following month when Purman was elected to the Congress and Ossian B. Hart as governor.[95] In December 1872, Meacham hosted the A. M. E. annual conference at Monticello, and the following month he immersed himself in the 1873 legislative session as well as in the affairs of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College. He received a respectful number of votes in the legislative selection of a successor to United States Senator Thomas W. Osborn and served as chairman of the senate's railroads and telegraphs committee.[96] On January 15, he was elected chairman of the executive committee of the agricultural college and oversaw that body's tentative– though later unexecuted– decision to locate the school at Gainesville.[97]

94. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 278-79; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* August 13, 1872; *Tallahassee Sentinel,* August 10, 1872.
95. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* October 12, 1872; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 286.
96. *Savannah Morning News,* January 22, February 24, 1873; Florida *Senate Journal* (1873), 12.
97. The tentative decision to locate the agricultural college in Gainesville later was changed, and Eau Gallie was selected as its site. Although buildings were constructed there in 1876, it never opened for classes. The college began in 1883 in Lake City. In 1905, it was merged into the newly created University of Florida. The new campus was dedicated in Gainesville in 1906. Florida *Senate Journal* (1874, Appendix), 18; *Savannah Morning News,* January 23, 1873; Pyburn, *History of the Developnent of a Single System of Education in Florida,* 123, 149.

In February 1873, Meacham began rearranging his commitments. He prevailed upon Governor Hart to reappoint him Jefferson County's superintendent of schools, and, about the same time, he resigned as register of the General Land Office at Tallahassee, securing the appointment of his clerk, M. J. Taylor, as his successor.[98] Late in the month an attempt was launched by members of the legislature, United States Senator Simon B. Conover, Congressman Walls, and even Congressman Purman to secure for Meacham the office of surveyor general of Florida. The attempt was cut short, though, when out-going Senator Osborn surreptitiously obtained the post for Joshua W. Gilbert, son of Osborn's senatorial colleague, Abijah Gilbert.[99]

Through the spring Meacham busied himself with his public duties.[100] He also participated in the organization of the Monticello and Georgia Railroad Company of which his Conservative antagonist Samuel Pasco was named president.[101] As a trustee of the Brown Theological Seminary, he, most probably, traveled to Live Oak on May 16 when the cornerstone of that institution was laid.[102] The record of Meacham's activities for the remainder of 1873 is spotty, suggesting that for the most part he remained at Monticello performing the functions of his many callings. Other than for his participation in the 1874 legislative session, when he oversaw not only the railroads and telegraphs committee but also the very sensitive work of the committee on privileges and elections, the record likewise remains cloudy. Subsequent events hint, however, that throughout the period he was hard at work preparing for another confrontation with Purman.[103]

---

98. "Index to Commissions, 1871-1889," record group 156, ser. 259A, Florida State Archives; *Savannah Daily Republican,* March 6, 1873.
99. W. K. Long et al., to U. S. Grant, February 23, 1873, and S. B. Conover, J. T. Walls, and W. J. Purman to Grant, March 10, 1873, Interior Department Appointment Papers, Florida, 1840-1907, microcopy 1119, roll 2, National Archives.
100. Florida *Senate Journal* (1874, Appendix), 19.
101. The Monticello and Georgia Railroad fell victim to the national economic depression that began in the late summer and early fall of 1873. *Savannah Morning News,* May 13, 1873; Shofner, *History of Jefferson County,* 358.
102. Long, *History of the A. M. E. Church in Florida,* 84.
103. Florida *Senate Journal* (1874), 38-40.

The stage for the Meacham-Purman rematch again was Tallahassee, and the drama opened on the morning of August 11, 1874. Purman had been working for months to secure friendly county delegations for the nominating convention, and, according to a contemporary, Marcellus Stearns, who had succeeded to the governorship upon the untimely death of O. B. Hart, had been doing the same for Meacham.[104] Purman no doubt felt he had the edge: not only was he the incumbent with the influence and patronage his office provided, but he also had been able to dictate the rules under which delegates were to be certified to and admitted by the nominating convention.[105] As a result of those early efforts on behalf of both candidates, a number of counties sent contesting delegations to the convention.

Theoretically, the question of seating contesting delegations should have been decided under the rules Purman had dictated to the Republican state executive committee of which both he and Meacham were members.[106] In Tallahassee, though, Purman refused to be constrained by those rules and filibustered the district executive committee until it was agreed that the convention initially would be organized by delegates only from those counties having uncontested delegations. The compromise allowed the admission and certification of forty-eight delegates, twenty-eight of whom had been instructed by their county conventions to vote for Meacham and twenty of whom were pledged to Purman. When balloting for a chairman ensued, however, six of the delegates pledged to Meacham– four of whom were from Jefferson County and members, presumably, of the faction that long had opposed Meacham politically– voted for Purman who, subsequently, was elected. "Nothing but the most unscrupulous bribery and corruption," reported the strongly pro-Meacham *Tallahassee Sentinel,* "could have brought about this result. As was said by one of the speakers on Wednesday [August 12], more custom-houses and post-offices were given away in half an hour in the Assembly Hall on Tuesday, than there are in the United States."[107]

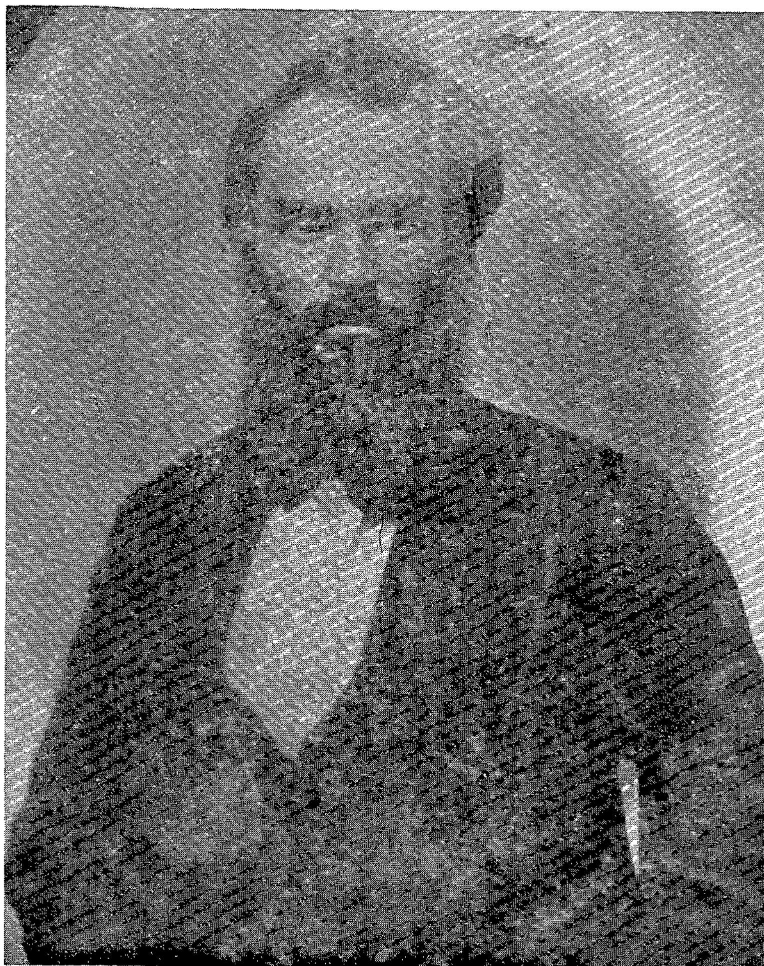
104. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 293-94; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida,* 298-99.
105. Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Union,* July 7, 1874.
106. Ibid.
107. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* August 29, 1874.

Purman's election as chairman placed him in control of the organization of the nominating convention. He then proceeded to appoint a committee on credentials composed primarily of his allies. Thereafter, about three in the afternoon, he adjourned the convention until six to await their report.[108] Meacham and his supporters were outraged at the turn of events and determined on action of their own. At four o'clock, they convened in the Capitol and proceeded to reorganize the convention, including among their number four members of Purman's credentials committee. Malachi Martin, Gadsden County's white senator and warden of the state penitentiary, was elected chairman, and a new committee on credentials was appointed.[109]

The *Sentinel* reported what then occurred when Congressman Purman learned of the new turn of events. "Six o'clock had arrived before Mr. Purman and his friends discovered the action that had been taken, and the moment they found it out they rushed to the door of the hall, accompanied by about one hundred of their supporters, who were armed with clubs and bludgeons. A few deputy police had been placed in charge of the door, and those having tickets of admission obtained an entrance; but this did not satisfy the Major or his retainers. At a signal given by him in the hall, the door was burst open, and one wing of it broken into pieces by the mob outside. This was not all. They commenced an indiscriminate assault upon every person in the lobby who was opposed to Purman. The tables and desks, which were piled in the lobby, were broken to furnish material of war, and for a short time the uproar and confusion was terrible. A few came out of the affray with broken heads, but none sustained any serious injury. The police succeeded in keeping the mob at bay, and frustrated the designs of the leaders. Colonel Martin occupied the chair at the time the assault was made, and having arose to put a motion, Major Purman came behind him and slipped into the chair. He was asked quietly by the Colonel to vacate the seat; but he would not. He

108. Ibid.; Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Union,* August 18, 1874; *Savannah Morning News,* August 12, 1874.

109. *Savannah Morning News,* August 12, 1874; Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Union,* August 18, 1874; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 294.



Robert Meacham. *Photograph courtesy of Luther Alexander and Rowena Brady, Tampa.*

was then told that force would be used to obtain possession of the seat. He still refused, however, to yield possession, and Colonel Martin took him by the covering of the inferior expanses of his vertebral column and landed him sprawling on the floor."[110]

110. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* August 29, 1874.

Although the paper was highly partisan in favor of Meacham, the *Sentinel's* description agrees in most particulars with other surviving accounts.[111] Following the "riot," Governor Stearns ordered the state's adjutant general to clear the hall. Purman and his adherents regrouped outside on the Capitol square and agreed to meet the following morning at the post office. The Meacham delegates set their next meeting for ten the same morning, their site still the now-disordered Assembly Hall.[112]

On Wednesday, August 12, the leaders of the Meacham convention attempted to bring about a reconciliation with the Purman forces. A committee, including Meacham, was appointed to approach Purman, but it was forced to report "that they were insulted by the bolters, and would not be heard." The Meacham convention then proceeded to nominate their man, as did the Purman convention.[113]

As nominee Meacham departed Tallahassee to begin his campaign, Purman remained behind to ensure his control of the regular party apparatus. He convened on August 13 a meeting of a bare majority of the members of the state Republican executive committee who resided in the First Congressional District– the congressman himself making the majority– and secured their official endorsement of his nomination.[114] Purman's early forays on the campaign trail were not quite so successful, however. He scheduled his first rally at Monticello, "but owing to the inclemency of public opinion in that section the performance did not take place." Days later he spoke in Gadsden County, but the occasion ended "with long, loud cheering for Robert Meacham for Congress."[115] At Waukeenah on August 27, Meacham attended one of the rallies. "The meeting was quiet," it was reported, "until Meacham began to speak, when some of Purman's crowd began to interrupt. But the people took sides with Meacham."[116]

---

111. Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Union,* August 18, 1874; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida,* 298-99.
112. Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Union,* August 18, 1874.
113. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* August 29, 1874.
114. Jacksonville *New South,* August 19, 1874.
115. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* August 22, 1874.
116. Ibid., August 29, 1874.

Believed to be Stella Meacham. *Collection of Luther Alexander; photograph courtesy of Luther Alexander and Rowena Brady.*

Democrats were gleeful at the Republican split. "Everybody seems confident," related one leading Conservative, "that we will be able to elect [John A.] Henderson particularly if Purman & Meacham both stay up."[117] The accuracy of that statement did

117. Henry A. L'Engle to Edward L'Engle, August 21, 1874, folder 76, L'Engle Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

not elude Purman, and he quickly initiated efforts to remove Meacham from the race. On one front, he put direct pressure into play by arranging for his supporters to hold a rump nominating convention in Jefferson County at which George W. Witherspoon, a rival to Meacham as an A. M. E. minister in the county, was nominated to run for state senator even though Meacham's term had two years to run.[118] At Tallahassee, Purman reconciled with Governor Stearns, and together they arranged for the call of a new congressional nominating convention to meet at the Capitol on September 15.[119] Stearns prevailed upon Meacham to withdraw from the race, and, at the second assembly, the politician, "actuated by motives which cannot be misunderstood by those who know me, and desiring to work only in the interest of peace, Republicanism, and the welfare of the people," did so. George W. Witherspoon then nominated Purman, and the deed was done. Purman, according to the *Tallahassee Sentinel,* "confessed that he owed to Meacham that nomination."[120]

In early October 1874, Meacham traveled to Atlanta as a delegate to a "Southern Loyalists Convention," but by the twenty-first he was back in Monticello where he appeared at a rally on Congressman Purman's behalf. In the closing days of the campaign, he accompanied Purman to Tallahassee, Quincy, and Marianna.[121] Election day polling, though marred in the state "by fraud and intimidation," resulted in a Purman win by

118. Jacksonville *New South,* September 23, 1874.

119. Black state senator John Wallace alleged that Stearns agreed to abandon Meacham's candidacy out of fear that Purman "would expose in the Legislature the rottenness of his administration." More likely, the deal involved the governor's ambition for election to the United States Senate at the legislative session commencing in January 1875. If so, it is noted that Meacham came within two votes of election as president pro tempore of the state senate, and, had he received that post and Stearns been promoted to the United States Senate, Meacham would have become governor of Florida. The outcome of the 1874 election, as it turned out, ruined any chances either man might have had, but the possibility certainly gave Meacham a reason to withdraw from the congressional contest. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida,* 300-01; Jacksonville *New South,* December 5, 19, 1874; Florida *Senate Journal* (1875), 7.

120. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* September 19, 1874.

121. Ibid., September 19, 22, 1874.

some 600 votes.[122] Purman journeyed to Washington, and, once again, Meacham returned home to Monticello.

During the 1875 Florida legislative session, Meacham again sought but, because of Republican losses at the 1874 election, narrowly was denied the position of president pro tempore of the state senate. He was, as ever, active in the affairs of the body and served as chairman of its committee on state affairs.[123] Late in February he was reappointed by Governor Stearns to a two-year term as Jefferson County superintendent of schools, but his successes in that office had turned to struggle as the outfall of the economic depression known as the Panic of 1873 reduced revenues available for the support of education and encouraged parents to keep their children working on the farm rather than attending school. Within two years, the number of Jefferson County schools was reduced from thirty-eight to twenty-five and the number of pupils from 1,414 to 1,130.[124] For the remainder of the year and through the buildup to the election of 1876, Meacham remained a key player in state politics though behind the scene more so than on center stage. He continued to exercise the responsibilities of his public offices, as a trustee of Brown Theological Seminary, and as an A. M. E. minister. In 1876, he stood for re-election to the state senate and was an easy winner.[125]

The story of the 1876 election in Florida– with its fraud and corruption, the "redemption" of the state by the Democrats, and the ultimate election of Republican Rutherford B. Hayes as president of the United States– has been told numerous times.[126] Meacham's role in it was limited in great part to the politics of Jefferson County, but, as earlier had been the case, an election almost cost him his life.

---

122. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 295.
123. Florida *Senate Journal* (1875), 7, 65-67.
124. "Index to Commissions, 1871-1889," record group 156, ser. 259A, Florida State Archives; Florida *Senate Journal* (1874, Appendix), 44: Florida *Senate Journal* (1877, Appendix), 112-13.
125. "Report of the Senate Committee," 335.
126. See, particularly, Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 314-27.

On October 26, the Democrats (who at the time called themselves "the Reformers") held a grand rally at Monticello featuring a number of Conservative luminaries including Georgian Benjamin H. Hill. Meacham was in the crowd at the rally. When Hill began regaling "the happy condition of the colored people in Georgia," he could not restrain himself from publicly challenging the assertion. Hill seems to have ignored Meacham's remarks, and, for the time, there the matter stood.[127] That evening, between eight and nine o'clock, Meacham was at home with his family, four friends, and the female teacher who boarded at the house. As he was bidding one of the guests goodbye, two white men appeared at his front gate and asked, "Does Senator Meacham live here?" The guest pointed out the senator and told the men, "There he is, do you want to see him?" Hearing the exchange, Meacham walked out on the porch and began to descend the steps. One of the strangers thereupon demanded, "Is that Senator Meacham?" The senator replied, "Yes, sir." As Meacham later told the story: "Just after I got the word out of my mouth, 'bow' 'bow' two pistols were fired at me. I had pulled my door behind me and was walking down the steps . . . then the pistols were fired. One shot went into the panel and the next shot– I have a column to my porch about six inches square, not a solid piece of wood, but planked– the next one went into that. . . . I suppose by this time I was down on the ground; about the time the last pistol was fired." Meacham, who was wearing a pistol himself, pulled out the gun as the men bolted down the street. He fired once over his fence, but to no avail. The men never were apprehended.[128]

127. *Savannah Morning News,* November 3, 1876.

128. Democrats, anxious that word of the assassination attempt not stimulate Republican support, immediately began disseminating suggestions that the shooting was part of a complicated Republican plot of which Meacham was a coconspirator. They offered a reward for the capture of the culprits, who they indicated were "a certain county official" and his friend. It is unlikely that there was any such Republican plot. Meacham was a family man and a minister respected for his intelligence and honesty. His family and friends were all in a front room of the house at the time of the shooting, and no fact available about his life or character suggests he ever would have placed them in any such position of danger. "Report of the Senate Committee," 335-36; *Savannah Morning News,* November 2, 3, 1876.

Control of both houses of the Florida legislature passed into the hands of the Democrats as a result of the 1876 election. For the first time since 1868 Meacham found himself in 1877 the chairman of no committee, although his assignments generally remained the same.[129] In February, his term as superintendent of schools expired. With a Democrat in the governor's office, he could have had no hope of reappointment. The following month, the legislature reconstituted the board of trustees of the state agricultural college, which still had found no home, and stripped Meacham of his membership.[130] Through it all Meacham maintained his poise and a sense of humor. Once during that session, for instance, as the Democrats pushed a bill to revise the election laws in their favor, Meacham stood and soberly offered an amendment to retitle the bill "an act to count four men into office without being elected."[131] He had no power left, but still he could make a point.

Meacham's fall from political power brought with it a severe financial strain. By the summer of 1877, no longer enjoying the benefits of public salaries other than that of a state senator, he was forced to begin borrowing small sums of money.[132] Despite the growing acclaim he received for the quality of the crops on his plantation, the financial troubles continued well into 1878.[133] He made one last attempt at the congressional nomination in that year and was beaten easily by Simon P. Conover.[134] Two months later his Monticello church, many of its members new converts to the temperance movement, tried him for intemperance and ejected him from his pulpit. That politics really lay behind the action was illustrated when the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* ran the story under the headline, "Dots of the Campaign in Jefferson." The article noted of Meacham: "Poor fel-

129. Florida *Senate Journal* (1877), 14-16.
130. *Laws of Florida* (1877), 103-04.
131. Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the GildedAge, 1877-1893* (Gainesville, 1976), 25.
132. Jefferson County, Deed Records, Book 0 , 557-58, and Book P, 28, 106-08.
133. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* April 2, 1878; Jefferson County, Deed Records, Book P, 158-60.
134. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age,* 40.

low! politically and religiously dead! dead! dead! 'Where are now the hopes I cherished?' &c."[135]

On December 17, 1878, still Senator Meacham was forced by the pressures of his finances to sell his plantation for $800, save for one acre he had deeded to the A. M. E. Church for a sanctuary and school.[136] The following month, he and Stella sold their Monticello home for an additional $400.[137] Meacham most probably moved his family to Tallahassee at that point, where for the first three months of 1879 he was occupied with his duties as a senator. Those duties were greatly diminished, however, as his assignments had shrunk to two committees.[138] When the session ended, Meacham no longer held public office.

The whereabouts of the Meacham family are uncertain following the close of the 1879 legislative session until July 1, 1881. It has been suggested that the former senator moved to Gainesville where he assumed a federal position.[139] It seems more likely, however, that he remained at Tallahassee in the position he held on July 1, 1881, that of messenger in the office of his old friend Malachi Martin, then Florida's surveyor general. Meacham's salary was $30 per month.[140]

The former senator made one final foray into the political field in 1882, this time in support of the Independent candidacy of Daniel L. McKinnon for Congress. In May of that year, one newspaper reported: "[McKinnon] states he is forming a coalition with Republicans . . . and that Robert Meacham, a notorious negro leader, has already been induced to coalesce with him. In the last issue of the [Tallahassee] *Economist* a card from the above radical leader appears, in which he advises his political friends to give the independent their support and in addition proposes that a convention of the colored people of the state of Florida

135. The temperance or "Murphy" movement gained great strength among north Florida blacks during the summer of 1878 as a result of the efforts of the Reverend Millard "of San Francisco" who traveled from town to town preaching the word and administering the pledge. Millard was at Monticello in mid July. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* May 14, July 23, October 1, 1878.

136. Jefferson County, Deed Records, Book P, 422-23, 710-12.

137. Ibid., 439.

138. Florida *Senate Journal* (1879), 6-8.

139. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 336.

140. *Official Register of the United States* (Washington, DC, 1881), vol. 1.

be held at Tallahassee to consider and decide what is best for them to do. what amount of influence Meacham has, if he has any at all, will be discovered."[141] That discovery was made at the Republican congressional convention held at Quincy in September. Meacham appeared on McKinnon's behalf, offering a resolution of endorsement and "supporting it at length." Other leaders, including Jefferson County's George W. Witherspoon who had received the nomination two years previously, fought him vociferously and defeated him.[142] With that, Robert Meacham exited the political stage.

Through July 1, 1883, and, likely, until the inauguration of Democrat Grover Cleveland as president in March 1885, Meacham remained at Tallahassee, employed as a messenger in the surveyor general's office.[143] By May 1887 he once again had moved and was living at Key West where he was serving as a clergyman for the town's largest black congregation, the Zion A. M. E. Church. One newspaper mention suggests that at that time he was moving to New York to accept a "call" to the Bleeker Street Church, but a February 1888 city directory lists the minister as still living at Key West.[144] In November of the same year, the *Fort Myers Weekly Press* reported: "Rev. Meacham, formerly of Punta Gorda, is the colored minister of the M. E. Church here. He has started a project for the erection of a church for his people."[145] Six months later it was said that he had "quit the [A. M. E.] Church."[146]

The return of the Republicans to the White House in 1889 offered some hopeful possibilities for Meacham. They were realized early in 1890 when he was appointed postmaster at predominantly white Punta Gorda. Local citizens were furious

141. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age,* 84; *Pensacola Semi- Weekly Commercial,* May 26, 1882.
142. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* September 12, 1882.
143. *Official Register of the United States* (Washington, DC, 1883), vol. 1, 556.
144. The author was unable to locate any reference to Meacham as a resident of New York City. Betty Odabashian to author, August 25, 1989; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 26, 1887; Tom Hambright to author, July 7, 1989.
145. *Fort Myers Weekly Press,* November 8, 1888.
146. Benjamin W. Arnett, ed., *Proceedings of the Quarto-Centennial Conference of the African M. E. Church, of South Carolina, at Charleston, S. C., May 15, 16 and 17, 1889* (Charleston, 1890), 175.

at the news and held an "indignation meeting."[147] When Meacham arrived in late May 1889 to claim the office, a DeSoto County newspaper labeled his appointment "a studied insult to the people of that town."[148] Meacham once more displayed that tenacity which so marked his efforts in the 1870s and, despite the animosity to his presence, remained in Punta Gorda for two years. By the time of his departure, he had turned the community's anger into respect. The local newspaper later remembered of him, [N]otwithstanding his color and his politics, he stood high in the esteem of the white people."[149]

Following his departure from Punta Gorda, Meacham's activities and location elude definition, although in February 1896 it was said that he "hails from Deland."[150] In that month and year, tragedy yet again entered the aging man's life. Once more it almost resulted in his death.

On February 12, 1896, Meacham was in Tampa to attend the term of the United States District Court.[151] That afternoon

---

147. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* February 8, 1890.
148. Ibid., June 6, 1890.
149. *Punta Gorda Herald,* March 7, 1902.
150. There are a few clues as to Meacham's whereabouts after leaving Punta Gorda. Southwest Florida historian Vernon Peeples recalls a conversation he had with A. C. Jordan, son of the *Punta Gorda Herald's* post-1900 editor A. P. Jordan. In that conversation, the younger Jordan remembered his father saying that he had known Meacham during the years before 1901 when he (Jordan) served as editor of the *Leesburg Commercial.* According to Jordan, Meacham at that time was "serving as a mail clerk on the railroad." At some point in 1894, Meacham was in Orlando, although it is not known whether he was living there or only visiting. As to a Deland residence, he was not listed as owning property or paying a poll tax in Volusia County in any year from 1892 to 1896. If he were residing in Deland, it is possible that he had returned to the A. M. E. church and was serving there as pastor of the Bethel A. M. E. Church. The early records of the church have been lost. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* February 13, May 20, 1896; telephone interview with Vernon E. Peeples by author, April 9, 1990; Volusia County, Tax Books, 1892-1896, Clerk's Office, Volusia County Courthouse, Deland; interview with Mrs. Mildred Coulter by author, August 15, 1989; Deland.
151. Meacham, in 1895, had been sued by Democratic United States Attorney Frank Clark for a default on his Punta Gorda postmaster's bond. The amount in question was only $280.67. Since his immediate predecessor and two immediate successors in office also were sued, the matter likely arose out of some accounting practice in place at the Punta Gorda post office. The suit was scheduled to be tried February 18, 1896. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* February 13, 1896; Minute Book No. 1, U. S. District Court, Southern District of Florida, record group 21, Federal Records Center, East Point, Georgia.

he encountered on the town's streets a woman he had met two years previously in Orlando. The woman was crying, said her boyfriend had just put her out, and asked Meacham for help. He obliged by offering to take the woman, Georgia McGraw, later in the day to a Central Avenue boarding house where he felt she could find a place to stay. Not long after the two arrived at the boarding house, and as they were talking with a second woman, McGraw's boyfriend, black Tampa policeman Thomas Milton, also arrived. Milton was in a "blind rage," having been told by a fellow officer that Georgia had gone off to a boarding house "with a white man." He spoke briefly with Georgia and the second woman, then drew his revolver and shot Georgia twice in the stomach. Quickly he turned the gun on Meacham and fired three times, striking the sixty-one-year-old man in the chest and groin.[152]

At first, neither McGraw nor Meacham was expected to live. Georgia, paralyzed from the waist down, struggled for several weeks before succumbing. Meacham's wounds proved less severe, and he survived.[153] Although leaving him alive, the shooting seriously weakened Meacham, and he chose to remain thereafter at Tampa. Stella joined him there, and they made themselves a home at 251 LaSalle Street. To support the family, the former senator opened a shoe shop at 321 Main Street, a major business thoroughfare in the heart of West Tampa's cigar district.[154]

---

152. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* February 13, 14, May 20, 21, 1896.

153. Officer Milton gave himself up and was tried for the murder of Georgia McGraw. On May 20, 1896, he was convicted of murder in the first degree, without recommendation for mercy. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* May 20, 21, 1896; *Punta Gorda Herald,* March 7, 1902.

154. By not later than the turn of the century, the Meachams had been joined at Tampa by their son, Robert, and their daughter, Stella. Stella married a chauffeur, Luther Alexander, and remained at Tampa. Robert married Christina Johnson, a force behind the organization of the Florida Negro Teachers Association and Tampa's first black woman principal. The Meacham Early Childhood Center at Tampa, originally an elementary school, was named for her and remains as a memorial to her work. A. E. Schole, *Schole's Directory of the City of Tampa, 1901* (Savannah, 1901); telephone interviews with Leland Hawes by author, July 13, 1989, February 19, 1990; Leland Hawes, "'Miss Tina' Spurred Students for 40 Years," *Tampa Tribune,* February 25, 1990.

Robert Meacham died of unknown causes at Tampa about 1:00 p.m. on Thursday, February 27, 1902.[155] He was buried in the rain at 10:00 a.m. the following morning as Tampans grappled with widespread flooding from an overnight thunderstorm.[156] His final resting place is unknown.[157]

The *Punta Gorda Herald* noted of his passing, "Meacham's death is regretted both in Tampa and Punta Gorda."[158] A historian of the A. M. E. Church may best have memoralized Robert Meacham's life prior to his death. The Reverend J. J. Sawyer in 1889 wrote: "Rev. Robert Meacham was the first of Florida's own sons that was ordained to the ministry of our Church, or was among the first. He was a fine preacher, a good pastor and was famous in his day for building houses of worship. After serving the Church many years, sometimes as pastor and sometimes as Presiding Elder, he quit the Church. While he is not now among us, we feel that on this occasion of thanksgiving his name should be mentioned and his works remembered."[159]

Robert Meacham's life involved great triumphs and great tragedies. Remarkably, throughout most of his almost sixty-seven years he commanded the respect of friends and enemies alike. That central fact remained unchanged when, through no fault of his own, his power was lost and his prosperity was wrecked. His life serves as a reminder that there were many fine men, former slaves, who with little preparation or education made their positive marks upon the state of Florida and left legacies that endure yet today.

---

155. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* February 28, 1902.
156. Ibid.; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* March 1, 1902.
157. Leland Hawes to author, September 22, 24, 1989.
158. *Punta Gorda Herald,* March 7, 1902.
159. Arnett, *Proceedings of the Quarto-Centennial Conference,* 175.

ON THE EDGE: BLACKS AND HISPANICS IN METROPOLITAN MIAMI SINCE 1959

by RAYMOND A. MOHL

ON Monday, January 16, 1989, hundreds of blacks in Miami took to the streets in angry rage for the fourth time in the 1980s. Over several days, they burned cars and buildings, looted stores, pelted passers-by with rocks and bottles, and faced off with riot police in Overtown and Liberty City, Miami's two major black communities. The incident that touched off this new expression of black anger was sadly familiar. A Miami policeman had shot and killed a black man fleeing a traffic infraction on a motorcycle, while a second black man, a passenger on the motorcycle, was thrown from the vehicle and also killed. It was difficult to miss the irony in the fact that this latest Miami riot took place on the same day that blacks had celebrated the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., the modern apostle of nonviolence. There were other ironies, as well. In this new immigrant city, it should not have been surprising that none of those involved in the riot-triggering incident was a native-born American. The police officer who fired the fatal bullet, William Lozano, had immigrated to Miami with his family from Colombia. Although few noticed at the time, the two dead black men, Allen Blanchard and Clement Lloyd, were also migrants from the Carribean basin, from the U. S. Virgin Islands. The three newcomers whose paths crossed on that fateful Monday evening had come to south Florida in search of the elusive American dream; what they found in Miami, ultimately, was something quite different.[1]

Raymond A. Mohl is professor of history and chairman of the department, Florida Atlantic University, and editor of *Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region* (University of Tennessee Press, 1990).

1. *Miami Herald,* January 17, 18, 19, 22, December 10, 1989; *Miami Times,* January 19, 26, 1989; *New York Times,* January 18, 22, 1989; *Los Angeles Times,* January 17, 19, 20, 1989; Jacob V. Lamar, "A Brightly Colored Tinderbox," *Time* (January 30, 1989), 28-29; George Hackett, "'All of Us Are in Trouble,"' *Newsweek* (January 30, 1989), 36-37.

One can also find symbolic contradiction in the fact that the January 1989 riot in Miami came at the very time that this city of Cuban exiles was on the receiving end of a new mass immigration of Latin newcomers, this time from Nicaragua. Nicaraguan exiles began concentrating in Miami following the 1979 overthrow of the Somoza regime by the Sandinista revolutionaries. Politically comfortable with the right-wing, anticommunist Cubans, Anastasio Somoza set up an exile headquarters in the city, and many thousands of his countrymen followed over the next decade. Worsening economic and political conditions in Nicaragua in 1988 coincided with a loosening of United States immigration policy toward Central America, resulting in a new exodus of Nicaraguan exiles who trekked overland through Honduras, Guatamala, and Mexico to Texas, and then on to Miami by bus. By December 1988, a month before Miami exploded into violence, some 200 Nicaraguans were pouring into Miami every day, and the press was widely predicting that an estimated 100,000 additional Nicaraguans would arrive in Miami within the next year. The new Nicaraguan migration provided the backdrop for the latest violence in Overtown and Liberty City. It was hard to escape the contradictions: the blacks were burning down their neighborhoods in despair, but the thousands of newly arrived Nicaraguan refugees pinned their hopes for the future on a new life in Miami.[2]

For observers of the Miami scene, all of this was quite familiar. It had happened before, and more than once. The 1980 Liberty City riots had been touched off by a not guilty verdict for several Miami policemen, some of whom were Hispanic,

2. The new Nicaraguan exile migration has been covered extensively. See Dave Von Drehle, "Nicaraguan Refugees Flock into Miami," *Miami Herald,* January 13, 1989; Liz Balmaseda, "East Little Havana: A New Nicaragua," ibid., February 5, 1989; Christopher Marquis, "Nicaraman Exiles Changed Miami's Face," ibid., July 16, 1989. See also Melinda Beck, "Exodus of the 'Feet People.'" *Newsweek* (November 14, 1988), 37; Barry Bearak, "Miami Reacts with Charity and Anxiety to Latest Refugee Influx from Nicaragua," *Los Angeles Times,* January 17, 1989; Paul Adams, "Next Stop, Miami." Fort Lauderdale *Sun-Sentinel, Sunshine Magazine* (March 5, 1989), 24-30; Brad Edmondson, "In Little Managua," *American Demographics* 11 (August 1989), 53-55; and Anne Moncreiff Arrarte, "The Contras and Miami: How Do You Resettle an Unemployed Army," *South Florida* 42 (August 1989), 64-67, 133-34.

charged with beating a black motorcyclist to death. This riot, too, coincided with massive Caribbean migrations to Miami: the 1980 Mariel boatlift, which brought 125,000 new Cuban exiles to south Florida, and the simultaneous migration of upwards of 25,000 Haitian boat people in 1979 and 1980, some of whom were washing up on south Florida beaches within sight of heavy palls of smoke from the torched neighborhoods of Liberty City and Overtown. Two years later, in December 1982, a Hispanic policeman killed a black youth in an Overtown video-game parlor, setting off another wave of black ghetto rioting.[3]

There was a tragic sameness to these events. Confrontations of various sorts between blacks and the police touched off violence each time. These encounters often involved Hispanic police officers. In two of the riots since 1980, mass migrations to Miami of Hispanic exiles and other Caribbean refugees occurred simultaneously, providing a poignant backdrop to the outbursts of violence in the city's black neighborhoods. As many observers have suggested, these events reflected much deeper social, economic, and political tensions between blacks and Hispanics in the Miami metropolitan area.

It is something of an historical accident that the Cuban Revolution and the subsequent exile migration to south Florida coincided with the civil rights movement in the late 1950s and 1960s. In the Miami area, those two powerful forces for change not only coincided, but they collided with one another. The human consequences were enormous and long-lasting. The Cubans arrived– over 800,000 of them between 1959 and 1980– just as the civil rights movement was opening things up for long-depressed and long-repressed black communities. As the old barriers of segregation crumbled throughout the South, blacks generally found new opportunities in employment, housing, schooling, government, and social services. Blacks also became empowered politically, which eventually led to a dramatic

---

3. For an analysis of the 1980 Liberty City riots, see Bruce Porter and Marvin Dunn, *The Miami Riot of 1980: Crossing the Bounds* (Lexington, MA, 1984). On the Mariel boatlift, see Robert L. Bach, "The New Cuban Exodus," *Caribbean Review* 11 (Winter 1982), 22-25, 58-60. On the migration of Haitian boat people, see Alex Stepick, *Haitian Refugees in the U.S.* (London: Minority Rights Group, Report No. 52, 1982); and Jake C. Miller, *The Plight of Haitian Refugees* (New York, 1984).

transformation of municipal politics and government as blacks rose to positions of leadership in the big cities and small towns of the South.[4]

But in Miami, things took a somewhat different course. In retrospect, it appears that the Cuban migration short-circuited the economic and political gains blacks were making elsewhere. Moreover, the exile "invasion," as it was called in the 1960s, touched off thirty years of competition and conflict between blacks and Hispanics over jobs, residential space, government services, and political power in the south Florida area. The widespread perception, supported by reams of economic and sociological data, that the Cubans have been exceptionally successful in the United States– and that they have, essentially, won out in the economic and political struggle in Miami– has contributed to a pervasive sense of powerlessness, resentment, and despair in black Miami. Each successive wave of newcomers in the 1970s and 1980s– the Haitians, the Nicaraguans, the Mariel Cubans– generated new expressions of concern for the consequences, and often of outrage and anger, in the black press and among those who spoke for the black community.

Tension between blacks and Hispanics in Miami was superimposed on a much longer history of racial conflict that dates back to Miami's origin as a city in 1896. Residentially, blacks were forced into a densely populated, unhealthy shacktown on the fringes of the business district. As in the rest of the South at the turn of the century, lynchings were not uncommon, and police repression in the black community was routine. The Ku Klux Klan acted with impunity into the 1930s and even as late as 1951 white night riders dynamited an apartment complex undergoing transition from white to black occupancy. The white primary system, and later other registration restrictions and voting procedures, such as at-large elections, effectively excluded blacks from the political process, and the urban renewal and highway building of the 1950s and 1960s destroyed large portions of Miami's black inner-city community.[5]

4. For an analysis of the impact of the civil rights movement in the urban South, see David R. Goldfield, *Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture 1940 to the Present* (Baton Rouge, 1990).
5. Paul S. George, "Colored Town: Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930,"

Race relations had never been very good in Miami before the civil rights era. Even after voting rights were assured in the 1960s, blacks did not become politically assertive, partially because the city had never developed much of a black middle class from which to draw leadership. Moreover, a troubled pattern of community-police relations plagued the city in the years between the two major ghetto riots of 1968 and 1980– a period during which thirteen "mini-riots" occurred, all stemming from police confrontations or altercations with blacks. Despite its national image through the 1950s as a glitzy tourist town and vacation spa, Miami was still very much a Deep South city during the segregation era, with all that that implied for race relations. As writer Joan Didion recently commented, with wry understatement, Miami "was a city with black people and white people viewed each other with some discontent.[6]

Race relations in Miami were complicated in unanticipated ways by the outcome of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. The migration of Cuban exiles over thirty years, and of more recent newcomers from other Latin nations, has brought a veritable demographic revolution to the Miami metropolitan area. During that period, more than 800,000 Cubans left their homeland for the United States. Despite federal efforts to relocate the Cubans throughout the country, a large proportion of them eventually settled permanently in the Miami area.[7]

Florida Historical Quarterly 56 (April 1978), 432-47; Paul S. George, "Policing Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," ibid. 57 (April 1979), 434-50; Raymond A. Mohl, "Trouble in Paradise: Race and Housing in Miami during the New Deal Era," *Prologue: Journal of the National Archives* 19 (Spring 1987), 7-21; Raymond A. Mohl, "Shadows in the Sunshine: Race and Ethnicity in Miami," *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida* 49 (1989), 63-80.

6. On the weakness of Miami's black leadership, see Clyde C. Wooten et al., *Psycho-Social Dynamics in Miami* (Coral Gables, 1969), 372-406. On the "mini-riots" between 1968 and 1980, see Porter and Dunn, *The Miami Riot of 1980,* 17-22. For the Didion comment, see Joan Didion, *Miami* (New York, 1987), 39-40.
7. On the Cuban exile migration, see Raymond A. Mohl, "Immigration through the Port of Miami," in G. Mark Stolarik, ed., *Forgotten Doors: The Other Ports of Entry to the United States* (Philadelphia, 1988), 81-98; and Felix Roberto Masud-Piloto, *With Open Arms: Cuban Migration to the United States* (Totowa, NJ, 1988).

As a result of the Cuban exile migration, both the city of Miami and the entire Miami metropolitan area are now generally considered to be "tri-ethnic" in character. In 1950, prior to the Cuban exodus, Hispanics in the Miami area– mostly Puerto Ricans– totaled about 20,000, or 4 percent of the population. By the late 1980s however, some 900,000 Hispanics resided in the Miami area, and they made up almost one-half of the metropolitan population, and over 65 percent of the population of the city of Miami. Once the 1990 census is completed, these demographic statistics will almost certainly be revised upward still again. By contrast, the percentage of blacks in the Miami area has remained relatively stable over many decades, ranging from 18 percent in 1940 to 17 percent in 1980.[8]

The dramatic outpouring of newcomers from Cuba and other Latin nations of the Caribbean basin has had an enormous impact on the economic, political, and cultural life of the Miami area. For Miami's blacks, who had long been on the bottom rungs of the economic ladder and politically powerless, the Cuban migration posed special problems. It did not take long for Miami's black press and community leaders to recognize that the Cuban newcomers would be competing with blacks for jobs and housing.

Although often penniless on arrival in Miami, the earliest Cuban exiles had education, skills, and a strong work ethic. An entire professional and business class literally was uprooted from Havana and set down in Miami. Because the Cubans initially lacked capital, English language skills, and the appropriate credentials to practice their professions in the United States, they moved at first into the low-paying service-type jobs traditionally held by blacks, particularly in tourist hotels and restaurants in Miami and Miami Beach. They also found work in downtown retail, office, and service jobs; in the expanding local

8. On Miami's changing demography, see William W. Jenna, *Metropolitan Miami: A Demographic Overview* (Coral Gables, 1972); Raymond A. Mohl, "Miami: The Ethnic Cauldron," in Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice, eds., *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth since World War II* (Austin, TX, 1983), 67-72; Oliver Kerr, *Population Projections: Race and Hispanic Origin, Dade County, Florida, 1980-2000* (Miami, 1987); Oliver Kerr, *Population Projections: Patterns of Population Change, Dade County, Florida, 1970-2010* (Miami, 1987).

garment industry; in construction; and in other blue-collar employment where they competed with black workers. The stories are legendary of Cuban bankers working as janitors, Cuban accountants washing dishes in greasy-spoon restaurants, and Cuban doctors emptying hospital bedpans. As early as 1959, complaints from blacks and organized labor began to be heard, contending that the Cubans were taking the jobs of American citizens and undermining prevailing local wage levels.[9]

By 1963, when over 200,000 Cuban exiles had arrived, discussion of Cuban economic competition with Miami blacks had become commonplace. In June of that year, *Ebony* magazine published an extensive article on what was already being labeled the "Cuban invasion" of south Florida. The Cubans had injected new life and "Latin ways" into the city, the *Ebony* piece conceded, but they "also brought in the wake of their invasion a host of grave social and economic problems." In particular, the article pointed to the emerging competition between blacks and Cubans over jobs, housing, schooling, and government services– a sort of zero-sum analysis in which a limited supply of resources was now being divided among a larger number of competing groups. "The economic penetration of the refugees is now universal," *Ebony* sadly concluded. Similarly, beginning in the early 1960s the *Miami Times,* the city's black weekly newspaper, regularly lamented the negative economic impact of the Cuban influx. "The Cubans are slowly taking over the business of Dade County," the *Miami Times* typically complained in 1966.[10]

Initially, the zero-sum analysis was rejected by officialdom in Miami. City and federal officials introduced businessmen, economists, and experts willing to argue that few blacks had been displaced by the new Cuban arrivals. By the mid 1960s however, the evidence seemed to be building that job displacement had indeed been taking place. It was clear that the employ-

9. Cal Brumley, "Cuban Exodus," *Wall Street Journal,* November 28, 1960; Neil Maxwell, "Unwelcome Guests," ibid., May 6, 1963; Neil Maxwell, "New Influx of Cubans Faces Cool Reception from Many Miamians," ibid., October 12, 1965; *New York Times,* October 21, 1961, October 17, 1965; Tom Alexander, "Those Amazing Cuban Refugees," *Fortunes* 74 (October 1966), 144-49; Edward J. Linehan, "Cuba's Exiles Bring New Life to Miami," *National Geographic* 144 (July 1973), 63-95.
10. Allan Morrison, "Miami's Cuban Refugee Crisis," *Ebony* 18 (June 1963), 96-104; *Miami Times,* July 15, 1966.

ment gains blacks had been making elsewhere in the civil rights era had yet to materialize in Miami. By 1965, the city's Community Relations Board had taken up the issue at a time when it was feared that the economic competition between the two groups would spill over into violent conflict. Ironically, in view of Miami's later racial history, it was reported by the *Wall Street Journal* in 1965 that the city was taking "pride" in the fact that there had "never been a major race clash here." Racial violence held off until 1968 when the city exploded during the Republican national convention in Miami Beach. Cuban economic competition and governmental favoritism for the newcomers found a place among the official explanations for the 1968 Miami riot, as well as for later racial explosions. As one journalist noted in a *New York Times* article in 1974, "The role of the Cubans in the Miami job market of the early sixties contributed to a legacy of racial tension that hangs over black-Cuban relations today."[11]

During the 1970s and 1980s as earlier Cubans moved upward economically and professionally, newer exiles from Cuba and elsewhere took their places in Miami's low-wage service and manufacturing economy. By the 1980s, for instance, according to the 1982 Miami report of the United States Civil Rights Commission, Hispanics made up two-thirds of Miami's construction labor force, and 85 percent of the workers in Miami's extensive garment industry. By contrast, despite the area's growing economy, blacks have remained on the economic margins, with high proportions of poverty-level incomes, high levels of unemployment, and little economic opportunity. Over time, Hispanics replaced blacks in the service economy where they had formerly predominated. In the hotel industry, for example, a survey of twelve major hotels in 1981 revealed that blacks held only 9.9 percent of almost 4,300 hotel jobs. "By all social indicators," the Civil Rights Commission reported, "blacks have been excluded from the economic mainstream in Miami." Despite the gains of the civil rights era, the commission contended, "generations of

11. *Wall Street Journal,* May 6, 1963, October 12, 1965; Susan Jacoby, "Miami si, Cuba no," *New York Times Magazine* (September 29, 1974), 104. For an analysis of the 1968 Miami riot, see National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, *Miami Report: The Report of the Miami Study Team on Civil Disturbances in Miami, Florida, during the Week of August 5, 1968* (Washington, DC, 1969).

explicit and race-based employment discrimination have left a legacy that continues to infect the labor market."[12]

Not only did the Cubans move into the local job market, but their collective entrepreneurialism soon had a dramatic impact on business activity in the Miami metropolitan area. By 1972, when the Hispanic population of the area was about double that of blacks, Hispanics had established more than three times as many businesses as blacks, and gross receipts surpassed those of black businesses by five times. Moreover, black businesses were overwhelmingly small; they were concentrated in selective services and the retail trade, they lacked access to capital, and they employed few salaried workers beyond the business-owner himself. Things had hardly improved by 1982 when only 1 percent of Miami's businesses were black-owned, and almost all of them– 88 percent– were owner-operated with no employees.[13]

This pattern of energetic Hispanic business activity continued through the 1970s and into the 1980s. It is now clear that the Cuban exiles created a self-sufficient "enclave economy," one entirely separate from the mainstream white business community, and separate as well from the peripheral black minority economy. Some observers contend that the Cuban enclave economy has not undermined the economic standing of Miami blacks, since the Cubans carved out completely new business opportunities in ethnic goods and foods, cigar making, and international trade. Thus, say sociologists Kenneth L. Wilson and W. Allen Martin, the Cubans' extraordinary entrepreneurial success did not come at the expense of the black community.[14]

12. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Confronting Racial Isolation in Miami* (Washington, DC, 1982), 1-26, 124-90, quotations on pp. 18 and 124. See also Harold M. Rose, "Blacks and Cubans in Metropolitan Miami's Changing Economy," *Urban Geography* 10 (1989), 464-86.
13. *Minority-Owned Businesses, Miami Florida* (Miami, 1975), 1-4, 15; George J. Demas and Richard J. Welsh, *Profile of Black-Owned Businesses, Dade County, Florida, 1982* (Miami, 1986); Andrew Neil, "America's Latin Beat: A Survey of South Florida," *The Economist* 285 (October 16, 1982), 21. For the contrast with Hispanic businesses, see Richard J. Welsh and Panos Efstathiou, *Profile of Hispanic Businesses, Dade County, Florida, 1982* (Miami, 1986).
14. Kenneth L. Wilson and W. Allen Martin, "Ethnic Enclaves: A Comparison of the Cuban and Black Economies in Miami," *American Journal of Sociology* 88 (July 1982), 135-60. Additional insight into the Cuban enclave economy can be found in Jan B. Luytjes, *Economic Impact of Refugees in Dade County* (Miami, 1982); Antonio Jorge and Raul Moncarz, *The Political Economy of*

However, considerable evidence also suggests that, at least in some degree, Cuban entrepreneurial success did undercut black-owned businesses. For example, blacks owned 25 percent of all the gas stations in Dade County in 1960. By 1979, black ownership of service stations had dropped to 9 percent, but Hispanic stations numbered 48 percent of the total. Similarly, differential patterns can be found in the Miami activities of the Small Business Administration (SBA). Between 1968 and 1979, the SBA distributed about $100,000,000 to Miami area businesses. Hispanics received 47 percent of the total over the twelve-year period; non-Hispanic whites, 46.5 percent; and blacks, 6.4 percent. In the year after the 1980 Liberty City riot, 90 percent of SBA loans in Miami went to Hispanics and whites. The Cuban enclave economy has absorbed hundreds of thousands of Hispanic newcomers over the years, but has done little to advance the economic position of Miami's blacks. As writer David Rieff put it, "The blacks were frozen out" by the Cubans, who "saw no particular reason to have to assume the burden of America's historical obligation to black people."[15]

Clearly, the Cubans exiles have fared well in the United States. Numerous studies have demonstrated the rapid upward socioeconomic mobility of the early waves of Cuban immigrants. Despite the leveling tendency of their emigration over time, statistical evidence from the Census Bureau reveals that the Cubans have more education, better jobs, and higher incomes than the Hispanic population generally in the United States. The economic success of the Cubans, without any comparable improvement for blacks, has been a persistent source of irritation and resentment in the Miami black community. In particular, blacks generally feel left out of the local job market, since, as one observer noted, "Miami blacks always live in danger of losing their jobs to the latest wave of immigrants off the islands

---

Cubans in South Florida (Coral Gables, 1987); Kenneth L. Wilson and Alejandro Portes, "Immigrant Enclaves: An Analysis of the Labor Market Experience of Cubans in Miami," *American Journal of Sociology* 86 (September 1980), 295-319; Alejandro Portes, "The Social Origins of the Cuban Enclave Economy of Miami," *Sociological Perspectives* 30 (1987), 340-72.

15. *Miami Herald,* May 17, 1981; Porter and Dunn, *The Miami Riot of 1980,* 68-69; David Rieff, *Going to Miami: Exiles, Tourists, and Refugees in the New America* (Boston, 1987), 172, 174; Rose, "Blacks and Cubans," 477-84.

prepared to work for peanuts." As the Civil Rights Commission put it in 1982, blacks were "the missing partner" in Miami's dramatic economic growth of the past several decades. This same theme was echoed six years later, in 1988, when *Newsweek* noted that "the black community has been left out of Dade County's prosperity almost entirely."[16]

The Cuban influx also created a new level of competition for housing and residential space in the Miami area. Miami had always had a highly segregated residential pattern. Several sociological studies, for example, noted that of more than one hundred large American cities, Miami had the highest degree of residential segregation by race in 1940, 1950, and 1960– before the Cuban influx– a legacy of the racial zoning of the segregation era. By 1970, Miami's "index of residential segregation" had improved somewhat compared to other southern cities, but 92 percent of Miami blacks still lived in segregated neighborhoods. In 1980, after thirty years of civil rights activism in urban America, Miami still ranked near the top of a list of sixty metropolitan areas in the extent of black residential segregation.[17]

At the time of the initial Cuban migrations, most Miami blacks lived in Liberty City and Overtown, two large ghettoized communities north and west of the central business district, while others resided in half a dozen smaller black neighborhoods scattered throughout the metropolitan area. The urban renewal and interstate highway construction of the 1950s and 1960s, and continued downtown redevelopment activities in the 1970s and 1980s, resulted in the destruction of at least 10,000

16. Neil, "America's Latin Beat," 21-22; Civil Rights Commission, *Confronting Racial Isolation in Miami,* 79-123; Tom Morganthau, "Miami," *Newsweek* (January 25, 1988), 29. On the demographic evidence for Cuban success, see A. J. Jaffe et al., *The Changing Demography of Spanish Americans* (New York, 1980), 245-78; and Frank D. Bean and Marta Tienda, *The Hispanic Population of the United States* (New York, 1988).
17. Donald O. Cowgill, "Trends in Residential Segregation of Non-Whites in American Cities," *American Sociological Review* 21 (February 1956), 43-47; Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago, 1965), 39-41; Annemette Sorenson et al., "Indexes of Racial Residential Segregation for 109 Cities in the United States, 1940-1970," *Sociological Focus* 8 (1975), 125-42; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "Trends in the Residential Segregation of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians: 1970-1980," *American Sociological Review* 52 (December 1987), 802-25; *Miami Herald,* December 30, 1987.

housing units, mostly in the black, inner-city community of Overtown. At the same time, the Cubans were arriving in massive numbers and staking out their own inner-city residential space west of the central business district, in what is now known as Little Havana, and also in Hialeah in the far northwest quadrant of the metropolitan area.[18]

Blacks displaced from Overtown by urban renewal and redevelopment found their relocation choices limited. Consequently, existing black communities such as Liberty City grew in population, pushing out the frontiers of the ghetto into adjoining white, working-class districts such as Opa-Locka and Carol City. As one social scientist noted in a 1979 study, "the Latin American community of Miami has grown so rapidly in population that it has dramatically affected the residential space of other groups within the city." Urban renewal and the Cuban influx, taken together, limited the number of housing units available to blacks, the Civil Rights Commission reported in the wake of the 1980 Liberty City riots. The conjunction of redevelopment and immigration, in the 1960s especially, contributed to excessive rents, a high level of overcrowding, a rapidly deteriorating housing stock, and worsening slum conditions in Miami's black communities.[19]

From the early 1960s, Miami blacks were aware of the social and economic implications of the Cuban influx. Jobs and housing had always been high on the list of black grievances. But the arrival of the Cubans created a new grievance: governmental favoritism toward the newcomers. Because the Cubans were escaping communism in Cuba, they were accorded a special

18. Harold M. Rose, "Metropolitan Miami's Changing Negro Population, 1950-1960," *Economic Geography* 40 (July 1964), 221-38; Mohl, "Shadows in the Sunshine," 63-80.

19. Morton D. Winsberg, "Housing Segregation of a Predominantly Middle Class Population: Residential Patterns Developed by the Cuban Immigration into Miami, 1950-74," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 38 (October 1979), 403-18, quotation on p. 415. See also Kerr, *Population Projections: Race and Hispanic Origin;* Morton D. Winsberg, "Ethnic Competition for Residential Space in Miami, Florida, *1970-1980,"American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 42 (July 1983), 305-14; B. E. Aguirre et al., "The Residential Patterning of Latin American and Other Ethnic Populations in Metropolitan Miami," *Latin American Research Review* 15, No. 2 (1980), 35-63.

parolee status outside the regular immigration quota, and then given special treatment after they arrived. Initially, private voluntary and religious agencies, particularly the Catholic Church, supplied emergency assistance for the Cuban exiles. But very quickly, in December 1960, President Eisenhower created the Cuban Refugee Program (CRP) to handle the actual processing and resettlement of the Cubans in Miami. After initial security screening of the exiles by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the CRP's Cuban Refugee Emergency Center in Miami provided them with food and clothing, housing assistance, social services, medical care, relocation assistance, educational programs, job training, and job placement. Special programs, costing $130,000,000 in federal funds through 1972, were introduced into the Dade County public schools to aid in the adjustment and training of the newcomers and their children. Language classes, vocational training, business education, varied adult education programs, and the like proliferated to assist the Cubans. The University of Miami and other agencies were enlisted to train, "retool," and recertify Cuban professionals. As a result, thousands of Cuban physicians, nurses, lawyers, pharmacists, dentists, accountants, architects, engineers, veterinarians, and teachers were enabled to resume their professional lives in south Florida. Special federal loans were made available for Cubans wishing to attend universities. The assistance of the Small Business Administration, mentioned earlier, stimulated business start-ups among the Cuban exiles. This vast exile welfare program, according to one study, touched directly about 75 percent of all the Cuban arrivals before 1974. The cost was enormous: by 1973, more than $1,000,000,000 had been spent by the federal government to assist Cuban resettlement in the United States. The continuing Cuban migration drove federal expenses considerably higher by the 1980s. The bill for processing, settling, and detaining the Cubans from the Mariel boatlift, for example, surpassed $2,000,000,000 by 1990. Reflecting on the vast federal program for exiles, one Cuban teacher noted simply, "They have helped us a lot."[20]

20. Silvia Pedraza-Bailey, *Political and Economic Migrants in America: Cubans and Mexicans* (Austin, TX, 1985), 40-52, quotation on p. 52; James LeMoyne, "Most Who Left Mariel Sailed to New Life, a Few to Limbo," *New York*

There was another source of governmental support for many Cubans in Miami as well. For years, the Central Intelligence Agency had thousands of Miami Cubans on the CIA payroll, perhaps as many as 12,000 or more at one point in the early 1960s. Some of these people surfaced during the Watergate break-in in the early 1970s, and others during the more recent Iran-Contra fiasco. During the 1960s, in fact, the Miami CIA station was the largest in the world outside of McLean, Virginia. In the cold war era, the hard-line, anticommunist Cuban exiles in south Florida found a ready source of financial and other support in the federal government.[21]

The vast outpouring of federal funding for the Cuban exiles had a lot to do with the quick adaptation and economic success of the newcomers from the Caribbean. Over time, blacks came to resent the preferential treatment of Cubans by government at every level. Black community leaders and the black press often drew comparisons between the rising condition of the Cuban refugees and the still-downtrodden situation of Miami's blacks. This issue of preferential treatment for Hispanic newcomers has persisted into the 1980s and beyond. Moreover, the perception among blacks that the recent Nicaraguan exiles are equally favored has kept this issue inflamed. The differential treatment accorded recent black immigrants from Haiti, who have been incarcerated in detention camps or forced back to their homeland, has only served to strengthen the sense of ill treatment among Miami's blacks.[22]

Times, April 15, 1990. On the varied programs to resettle Cubans, see John F. Thomas, "Cuban Refugee Program,' *Welfare in Review* 1 (September 1963), 1-20; John F. Thomas, "Cuban Refugees in the United States," *International Migration Review* 1 (Spring 1967), 46-57; Raul Moncarz, "Professional Adaptation of Cuban Physicians in the United States, 1959-1969," *International Migration* 4 (Spring 1970), 80-86; Raul Moncarz, "A Model of Professional Adaptation of Refugees: The Cuban Case in the U.S., 1959-1970," *International Migration* 11 (1973), 171-83; Joe Hall, *The Cuban Refuge in the Public Schools of Dade County, Florida* (Miami, 1965); Michael J. McNally, *Catholicism in South Florida, 1868-1968* (Gainesville, 1984), 127-66.

21. On the CIA connection in Miami, see Didion, *Miami,* 83-98; Rieff, *Going to Miami,* 193-207; and Cynthia Jo Rich, "Pondering the Future: Miami's Cubans After 15 Years," *Race Relations Reporter* 5 (November 1974), 7-9.

22. *Miami Times,* September 27, 1968; Wooten et al., *Psycho-Social Dynamics in Miami,* 256-67; Herbert Burkholz, "The Latinization of Miami," *New York Times Magazine* (September 2 1, 1980), 45-46, 84-88, 98-99. On the differential treatment of Haitian refugees, see Kevin Krajick, "Refugees Adrift:

The black sense of powerlessness in Cuban Miami has been intensified by changes in the local political culture. Over time, the Cuban migration dramatically altered the political structure of the Miami area, especially as the Cubans became citizens and voters by the mid 1970s. At one time, Florida was an integral part of the solidly Democratic South. Now, the Cubans have become a major cog in Florida's conservative Republican party politics.[23] On the local level, the five-member Miami city commission is dominated in 1990 by three Cubans, including Cuban-born mayor Xavier Suarez. Hialeah, Dade County's second largest city, has been controlled politically by the Cubans for almost a decade. At-large voting has prevented similar gains at the county level, but proposed charter changes replacing at-large voting with a district system will ultimately give the Hispanic newcomers control of the Dade County metro commission as well.[24]

Although exile concerns have not completely died out, the Cubans have become adept players at the old urban game of ethnic politics. Local elections over the past decade have reflected bitter ethnic divisiveness in tri-ethnic Miami. "The animosity that exists between the three communities runs deep, real deep," one political writer observed as early as 1983.

Barred from America's Shores," *Saturday Review* (October 27, 1979), 17-20; Patrick Lacefield, "These Political Refugees Are from the Wrong Place," *In These Times* (November 7-13, 1979), 11, 13; "Haitians, Stay Home!" *America* 144 (May 16, 1981), 398.

23. Paul D. Salter and Robert C. Mings, "The Projected Impact of Cuban Settlement on Voting Patterns in Metropolitan Miami, Florida," *Professional Geographer* 24 (May 1972), 123-32; Gerard R. Webster, "Factors in the Growth of Republican Voting in the Miami-Dade County SMSA," *Southeastern Geographer* 27 (May 1987), 1-17; Gerard R. Webster and Roberta Haven Webster, "Ethnicity and Voting in the Miami-Dade County SMSA," *Urban Geography* 8 (January-February 1987), 14-30; "Miami's Cubans– Getting a Taste for Politics," *U.S. News and World Report* (April 5, 1976), 29; Dan Millott, "Cuban Thrust to the GOP," *New Florida* 1 (September 1981), 70-71.

24. On these issues, see Raymond A. Mohl, "Ethnic Politics in Miami, 1960-1986," in Randall M. Miller and George E. Pozzetta, eds., *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South* (Westport, CT, 1988), 143-60; Raymond A. Mohl, "Political Transformations in Miami: Maurice Ferre, Xavier Suarez, and the Ethnic Factor in Urban Politics," in Gary Mormino, ed., *Spanish Pathways in Florida* (Tampa, 1990), publication forthcoming.

Moreover, ethnicity pervades most of the important political issues in the Miami area, and the high degree of residential segregation not only lends strength to ethnic or racial voting, but intensifies certain kinds of emotional territorial issues such as zoning, school busing, or public housing location. As one recent scholarly analysis put it, "Ethnic conflict in Miami shows signs of growing brittleness and intransigence in an atmosphere characterized by group polarization and zero-sum politics."[25]

The civil rights movement empowered blacks politically in other southern cities, but the Cuban influx to south Florida produced a different outcome. In Atlanta, New Orleans, Richmond, Birmingham, and other southern cities, black population majorities ultimately brought political power. This has not happened in Miami where blacks remain a relatively small minority and where at-large elections have effectively disfranchised black voters. Some black leaders have sought to overcome this political impotency by creating a new municipality for the sprawling, unincorporated Liberty City community. Black supporters of the plan view this so-called New City as a means of acquiring local political power, a community-controlled police force, and a higher level of services. The metro commission, which must approve the incorporation of any new municipality, has vetoed the New City plan numerous times.[26]

The Cuban influx to metropolitan Miami altered the rules and the boundaries of the political game. Indeed, the Caribbean migration ultimately put a whole new team on the field, pushing the old players off to the sidelines. Black spokesmen have been alternately dismayed and infuriated by the emerging political dominance of the Cubans, or "the Cuban Takeover," as it is often referred to in the black press. As one black columnist

25. "Florida," *Southern Political Reporter,* No. 135 (November 22, 1983), 2; Christopher L. Warren et al., "Minority Mobilization in an International City: Rivalry and Conflict in Miami," *PS* 19 (Summer 1986), 626-34, quotation on p. 629. See also Christopher L. Warren and John F. Stack, Jr., "Immigration and the Politics of Ethnicity and Class in Metropolitan Miami," in John F. Stack, Jr., ed., *The Primordial Challenge: Ethnicity in the Contemporary World* (Westport, CT. 1986), 61-79.

26. For an analysis of these issues; see Raymond A. Mohl, "Miami's Metropolitan Government: Retrospect and Prospect," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63 (July 1984), 24-50.

bitterly put it in the *Miami Times* in the wake of the 1989 riots: "The reality of Miami today and in the foreseeable future, is that the Cubans are the new masters in Miami. They should not be surprised when those who feel they have nothing to lose rise up against the new rulers."[27]

It should be clear, then, that ethnic relations in the Miami area are in considerable disarray. Black resentment has been festering since the 1960s over the economic success of the Cubans, their dominance of the job and housing markets, their newly developed political power, and the preferential treatment they have received from government. Other more immediate issues such as police harassment and violence, or the perception of police violence, in the ghetto have produced the racial explosions that have characterized Miami since 1968. But behind these overt incidents lies thirty years of ethnic competition and conflict between Miami's blacks and their new Hispanic neighbors from the Caribbean basin. The persistent failure of the system to deliver often promised social and economic improvements– better housing, improved schools, job training, better services– contrasted with the perceived advantages and benefits received first by the Cubans, and later by the Nicaraguans, has kept black Miami on the edge of rage and despair.

Objectively, it is clear that there are wide economic disparities within the Cuban community, and that not all Hispanic immigrants to south Florida have shared in the reality of American economic opportunity. The Mariel boatlift of 1980, in particular, demonstrated that there was a distinct class and even a racial dimension to Miami's Cuban community. It is also true that, despite their vaunted economic success, the Cubans have yet to break into the upper echelons of the Miami power structure, often dominated by absentee bankers, developers, and corporate executives. Nevertheless, perceptions are important, and Miami blacks mostly see that Cubans and other Hispanics own the local businesses they patronize, control access to the local job market, dominate the local political decision-making process, limit accessibility and choice in housing, and fill increasing numbers of positions in local government and, significantly, on the

27. *Miami Times,* February 23, June 22, 1989.

police force. Blacks also share an uncomfortable sense that the Hispanic newcomers have become racists. As a black Miami architect, born in Houston, suggested to a reporter recently, "Too many of the Cubans . . . have adopted a southern mentality." As social scientists, we know that objective reality is less important than perception in determining behavior. Image-making was always important in the glitzy, glamorous tourist spa that Miami used to be, and it turns out that images and perceptions of a different kind now prevail in Miami, the new immigrant city.[28]

The 1980 Liberty City riot focused new attention on race relations in Miami. One black scholar contended that "the political economy of racism" made Liberty City and other black neighborhoods "ripe for rebellion." However, one early post-1980 riot analysis– that by journalist Bruce Porter and social psychologist Marvin Dunn– pushed the issue of Hispanic competition into the forefront of discussion. Porter and Dunn sought to explain Miami's racial explosion, at least partially, as the result of the Cuban influx into the city. In a 1981 *New York Times* article summarizing their research, Porter and Dunn noted the political and economic powerlessness of blacks in Miami. But they went on to argue that the Cuban immigration to Miami prevented blacks from making economic gains just as the civil rights movement and desegregation were beginning to eliminate legal barriers. As Porter and Dunn put it, "Just as blacks were groping out of their forced isolation, in came hundreds of thousands of Cubans and other Hispanic immigrants"

28. Larry Mahoney, "The Cubans and the Blacks," *Miami Mensual* 5 (February 1985), 24-30, 90-94, quotation on p. 94. On the class and racial dimension of Cuban Miami, see Lisandro Pérez, "Immigrant Economic Adjustment and Family Organization: The Cuban Success Story Reexamined," *International Migration Review* 20 (Spring 1986), 4-20; Stephan Palmié, "Spics or Spades? Racial Classification and Ethnic Conflict in Miami," *Amerikastudien* 34, No. 2 (1989), 211-21; and Heriberto Romero Dixon, "Variation from the Social Norm: Black Cubans in the United States, 1780-1980" (paper presented at annual meeting of Organization of American Historians, Washington, DC, March 24, 1990). On Cubans and the local power structure, see Sylvan Meyer, "Cuban Power: Cracking the Anglo Structure," *Miami Magazine* 28 (August 1977), 22-27,47; and the *Miami Herald's* series, "Miami's Power Elite," in *Miami Herald,* January 31, February 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 1988.

who displaced blacks in the job market and "shouldered aside the existing black-owned businesses." The depressed economic condition of Miami's blacks, the report implied, was "the reverse side of a Hispanic economic boom."[29]

The charges that they have been somehow to blame for the economic condition of Miami's blacks and for two decades of ghetto rioting have offended the Hispanic community in south Florida. "It's not our fault," Hispanics have argued, that centuries of slavery, racism, and segregation victimized blacks in the United States. "The centuries-old structures of racism" account for the economic condition of Miami's blacks, contended Cuban-American sociologist Lisandro Pérez, not "Miami's newly arrived Hispanic peoples, who are now being scapegoated for the consequences of those long-standing structures."[30]

Pérez has a point, to be sure, and this brings one back to the chief interpretive argument outlined at the beginning of this paper; that is, that the conjunction of the Cuban Revolution and the civil rights movement moved Miami onto an alternative path in race relations. "The Cuban Revolution," one writer has noted, "was as much a pivotal event in Miami's modern history as it was in Cuba's."[31] While other cities, north and south, gradually addressed the issues dividing blacks and whites, Miami was much more preoccupied with receiving and accommodating the Cuban exiles, pushing civil rights and social reform issues into the background. The Cubans and other Hispanics from the South seized opportunities as they found them, and then created new opportunities for themselves in an amenable economic and political environment. But the blacks have not fared as well and generally believe that they have been "displaced from mainstream opportunities by the newly arrived im-

29. Bruce Porter and Marvin Dunn, "A Year After the Miami Riot, Embers Still Glow," *New York Times,* May 7, 1981. On the "political economy of racism," see Manning Marable, "The Fire This Time: The Miami Rebellion, May 1980," *The Black Scholar* 11 (July-August 1980), 2-18. See also Susan Harrigan and Charles W. Stevens, "Roots of a Riot," *Wall Street Journal,* May 22, 1980.

30. Lisandro Pérez, "Where Analysts of the 1980 Miami Riot Went Astray," Letter to Editor in *New York Times,* June 5, 1981. See also Anthony Ramirez, "Cubans and Blacks in Miami," *Wall Street Journal,* May 29, 1980.

31. Barry B. Levine, "Miami: The Capital of Latin America," *The Wilson Quarterly* 9 (Winter 1985), 46-73, quotation on p. 54.

migrants." The legal barriers of the segregation era are gone, but Miami blacks have "remained economically and politically invisible, especially between riots."[32]

The failure of urban policy in the Reagan-Bush era has intensified Miami's problems, as has been the case elsewhere in urban America. There is considerable irony, as well, in the fact that the conservative, right-wing Cubans, who benefited so extensively from government welfare in their early years in the United States, are adamantly opposed to the kind of social investment that Miami's black community needs. Each of the riots since 1980 has produced an outpouring of verbiage on the necessity for better understanding and improved ethnic relations. But even the city's Community Relations Board, as one observer has written, "is a power struggle between blacks and Hispanics– with the Anglos watching expectantly and playing as the occasional referee."[33] Miami remains a city on the edge, an ethnic cauldron that often boils over– no melting pot here. Questions of racial and ethnic relations will not be easily dissipated in this new immigrant city in what was once the Deep South.

---

32. Frank Soler, "Thoughts from a Wounded Heart," Miami *Mensual* 5 (August 1985), 11; Robert Joffe, "Riot Politics: The Tokenism Aftermath," *South Florida* (May 1989), 32.
33. Irwin S. Morse, Letter to the Editor, *Miami Herald,* July 24, 1989.

CARE AND CONTROL OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED: FLORIDA FARM COLONY, 1920-1945

by STEVEN NOLL

HASTINGS HART, director of the Child Helping Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, reported in January 1918 that Florida's "most acute and pressing social problem at the present time is the problem of the feeble-minded." Hart, who prepared a social welfare plan for Florida at the request of Governor Sidney J. Catts, recommended that "Florida ought to make immediate institutional provision for at least 500 of this class [the feeble-minded], following the good examples which have been recently set by the states of Virginia and North Carolina."[1] A year later, on April 17, 1919, the state legislature followed this request by authorizing "the Organization and Management of a State Institution for Epileptic and Feebleminded."[2] Opened in Gainesville in November 1921, the Florida Farm Colony for Epileptic and Feebleminded Persons operated as Florida's only public facility for individuals with

---

Steven Noll is a doctoral candidate, University of Florida. The author would like to express his appreciation to Max Jackson and Agnes Stanford of Gainesville Sunland Center and to the Rockefeller Archive Center and the University of Florida Department of History for their financial assistance.

1. Hastings Hart, with the assistance of Clarence Stonaker, "A Social Welfare Plan for the State of Florida– Prepared at the Request of His Excellency Sidney J. Catts, Governor, and the Cabinet of State Officers" in David Hammack, ed., *The Russell Sage Foundation* (Frederick, MD, 1988), microfiche 102 CH 35, 30-31. See also telegrams from Catts to Hart, September 18 and December 18, 1917, regarding the feasibility of a state survey in record group IV4B1, Early Office Files, box 14, folder 122, Russell Sage Foundation Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, New York. See also "Florida Surveyed for War and Peace;" *The Survey* 39 (March 2, 1918), 598.
2. *Laws of Florida* (1919), 2 vols., I, 231. The bill was adopted after Dr. Alexander Johnson, director of the National Committee on Provision for the Feeble-Minded, addressed the legislature on the problems of the feeble-minded. Florida *House Journal* (1919), 2 vols., I, 166.

mental retardation until the 1960s. Conceived as an integral part of Governor Catt's social welfare program, the Farm Colony soon lost its progressive mission, and by 1945, it had become little more than a custodial warehouse for "a great many hopeless and crippled children."[3]

The decade of the 1910s witnessed the growth of the pervasive idea that feeble-minded individuals presented a grave menace to the American population.[4] Fueled by scientific discoveries in genetic and hereditary research, educators and social workers endeavored to alert Americans to the increase in crime and immorality caused by feeble-minded individuals. "We now know that Feeble-Mindedness enters into and complicates every one of our great social problems," wrote Joseph Byers of the National Committee on Provision for the Feeble-Minded in 1916. "We are beginning to know that the first stage in their solution must be the identification and elimination of this feeble-minded element." Byers urged that feeble-minded individuals be placed in "permanent segregation in suitable institutions under state control."[5]

Governor Catts, though often described as a political demagogue, left an improved social welfare system as his legacy to the state of Florida.[6] In addition to the beginnings of the Florida

3. J. Maxey Dell to Dr. James Anderson, March 20, 1940, Superintendents' Correspondence, vault files, Gainesville Sunland Center (hereafter, G.S.C.). Gainesville Sunland Center is the current name for the institution previously known as Florida Farm Colony. The facility presently houses approximately 700 individuals with mental handicaps.
4. Educators, psychologists, and social workers used the term "feeble-minded" to identify persons who presently would be labeled as "mentally handicapped" or "mentally retarded." The term "feeble-minded" will be used throughout the body of this article. The feeble-minded were divided into three broad categories: morons– high-functioning individuals with IQs from fifty-five to-seventy-five who usually could attend school and with training could hold unskilled jobs; imbeciles– mid-range individuals with IQs from twenty-five to fifty-five who with training could become partially self-sufficient and perform repetitive workshop tasks; and idiots– low-functioning persons with IQs below twenty-five. Many idiots suffered from concomitant physical disabilities such as cerebral palsy and epilepsy, had difficulty communicating, and were often incontinent.
5. Joseph Byers, "Public Address to the 1916 National Conference of Charities and Corrections," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. 1916* (Chicago, 1916), 224-26.
6. Wayne Flynt, *Cracker Messiah: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 212-13.

Farm Colony, his administration initiated a reorganization of the state prison system, instituted reforms at the Industrial School for boys in Marianna, established the Industrial School for girls in Ocala, and increased expenditures at the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind in St. Augustine. His actions were part of a pattern of social reform and progress throughout the South during the early years of the twentieth century. Southern reformers recoiled at "the spectacle of millions of uneducated white and black children, at the exploitation of women and children in the South's new industries, [and] at the primitive character of the section's public institutions of the deprived and defective."[7] Prodded by northern philanthropic foundations and local social welfare advocates, every southern state opened a public institution for the feeble-minded in the ten-year period from 1914 to 1923.[8]

Florida's small but influential urban constituency pushed in the early years of the twentieth century for the opening of an institution to house feeble-minded persons. The Children's Home Society, headquartered in Jacksonville, led this crusade. Mainly an adoption agency, this organization also pressed for reforms in child labor laws and juvenile justice. Marcus C. Fagg, its executive secretary and director, reported to the 1912 convention of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (NCCC) that "the Children's Home Society of Florida is not only a State Children's Bureau . . . but it is a Statewide educational and social force. . . . Candidates for Governor and Legislators are publicly announcing their attitudes favoring social reforms, new institutions, abolishment of the convict-lease law, and child-labor law."[9] Another Florida member of the NCCC, the Jackson-

7. Dewey Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville, 1983), 178. For a detailed account of this southern concern for social justice, see ibid., 178-245.
8. See Edward Devine, "The Feeble-Minded in Georgia," *The Survey* 43 (January 24, 1920), 467; and Thomas Haines, "Abstract of the Mississippi Mental Deficiency Survey," *Mental Hygiene* 4 (1920), 682-94 for examples of the relationship of northern philanthropies and southern institution building.
9. Marcus C. Fagg, "Report to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1912* (Chicago, 1912), 503. See also *13th Annual Report of the Children's Home Society 1915* (n.p., 1915), 6; *19th Annual Report of the Children's Home Society 1921* (n.p., 1921), 22; and *A Brief Summary Concerning the Children's Home Society of Florida, September 15, 1935* (pamphlet, n.p., 1935), 2, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

ville Woman's Club, earned "chief credit" for Florida's progressive legislation, including provisions for a "school and institution for feeble-minded individuals."[10]

This reform-minded constituency, centered mainly in the city of Jacksonville, pressed the Florida legislature to investigate the state's provisions for the feeble-minded. In response, the legislature in 1915 appointed a commission to investigate "the need of a State institution for the care of the indigent, epileptic, and feeble-minded in the State of Florida." Composed of "five members, at least one of whom is to be a licensed Physician," the commission was allotted $500 for its needs and ordered to report back on its findings to the 1917 legislature." The commission, meeting in Jacksonville on May 7, 1917, announced that "the need of a State institution . . . to properly care for these and all cases of a similar nature . . . is unquestioned, and we must respectfully urge that proper steps be taken to enact such legislation at this session." The commission also recommended a two-year extension in its duties to insure "that the scope of the same be broadened and enhanced."[12] The Florida Senate and House accepted the commission report by a joint concurrent resolution. In 1919, the commission submitted its final findings to the legislature, recommending the establishment of an institution for the feeble-minded. In this two-year interim, the privately funded Russell Sage Foundation, at the request of Governor Catts, also surveyed Florida's social service needs. This report concluded that "Florida has been slow in developing her social institutions." It recommended that "Florida should take immediate steps to protect these unfortunate children [feeble-minded], not only as a matter of humanity toward this helpless and innocent class, but also as a matter of protection to the community."[13] The reports of the state commission and the Rus-

10. "From Ponce de Leon's Time to Ours," *The Survey* 39 (March 24, 1917), 729. See also *Yearbook of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, 1915-1916,* 80, P. K. Yonge Library.
11. *Laws of Florida* (1915), 2 vols., I, 263.
12. "Florida Commission for the Study of Epilepsy and Feeble-Mindedness Report," Jacksonville, Florida, May 7, 1917, Florida *House Journal* (1917), 2 vols., I, 1345-46.
13. Hart. "A Social Welfare Plan for Florida," 31.

sell Sage Foundation proved influential in the authorization of a state institution for the feeble-minded.

The bill signed by Governor Catts on June 7, 1919, did not provide for a building site for the new institution. It stipulated that "the new colony should be located at some place . . . where sufficient arable lands may be had."[14] Reform leaders believed that patients could work the land under supervision and grow enough food for the institution to become self-sufficient. Local officials from around the state recommended twelve sites as possible locations for the institution. The governor and the cabinet reduced this list to two areas in Hillsborough and Alachua counties. The proposed Alachua County location was situated on a 602-acre plot at the Daysville railroad station of the Seaboard Coast Line. Located approximately two miles northeast of the center of Gainesville, it possessed the advantage of "large acreage, a great variety of lands, and a railroad station and spur line."[15] The site fronted on State Road 24, which ran from Gainesville to Waldo where it connected to Highway 301. This would provide easier access to the property for parents and other visitors. Alachua County commissioners increased their initial offering to a total of 3,000 acres in the hopes of obtaining the institution. After receiving final approval from the Seaboard Line for railroad frontage rights at the Alachua County site, the board of managers of the institution selected it as the location at a meeting in Gainesville in February 1920. Just prior to this public announcement, the Gainesville Sun boasted that it seemed "now Positive the State Institution will be built here."[16]

The fact that the University of Florida was also located in Gainesville does not seem to have influenced the decision to locate the new institution there. The relationship between the Florida Farm Colony and the University of Florida remained unfulfilled during the next quarter century. In the major area of cooperation, the University's College of Agriculture provided technical assistance to the Colony's working farm. University classes, especially summer programs for teacher education, also periodically toured the Farm Colony campus. In 1937, Farm

14. *Laws of Florida* (1919), I, 232.
15. Florida *House Journal* (1919), II, 1767.
16. *Gainesville Sun,* February 17, 1920.

Colony Superintendent Dr. J. Maxey Dell reported his chagrin at the lost opportunity for coordinated action. "It seems, especially in view of the proximity of this institution to the University of Florida," he wrote, "that unutilized facilities exist whereby students, future school teachers, and parents might be given more actual experience."[17]

The enabling legislation officially named the new institution the Florida Farm Colony for Epileptic and Feeble-Minded Persons. Recognizing the unique mission of the institution, the Colony would be directed by a special five-member board of managers instead of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, as might have been expected. The Board of Commissioners, comprised of the governor and the elected state cabinet, supervised all other state facilities, including the Florida Hospital for the Insane in Chattahoochee. The Farm Colony's board of managers, on the other hand, was composed of the governor and the state superintendent of public instruction, serving as ex-officio members, and three other members to be appointed by the governor, with senate approval. These three "public spirited citizens" would have to include a physician and at least one woman, in recognition of the medical and humanitarian needs involved in the training of the feeble-minded.[18]

The new Farm Colony board was responsible for selecting a superintendent to manage the institution. In February 1921, the board named Dr. J. H. Hodges of Gainesville to replace the interim superintendent, Dr. Lorin Green. Hodges had graduated from Baltimore Medical School in 1886, and had also matriculated at The Johns Hopkins University and Harvard. He had a general medical practice in Gainesville, and had served as a physician at the University of Florida infirmary, as president of the Florida Medical Association, and as chairman of the Florida National Bank. He had no special training in the care

17. For agricultural cooperation, see University of Florida folder, vault files, G.S.C. For university students visiting the Colony, see, for example, the superintendent's diary entry for July 36, 1926, p. 55: "Course of instruction, part of course in Sociology, started at Colony. The students, twelve in all, are summer students at the University of Florida." Superintendent's Diary, vault files, G.S.C. Dell's comment from *9th Biennial Superintendent's Report, 1935-1937* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 14, vault files, G.S.C.

18. *Laws of Florida* (1919), I, 233.

and treatment of retarded individuals. In spite of his lack of specific experience, the *Gainesville Sun* was enthusiastic about Hodges's appointment. "The selection of Dr. Hodges would call forth an equally unanimous expression of approval from all sections of the state, when it becomes known . . . that the board . . . has secured the services of an eminent business man as well as an eminent physician."[19] The Florida Farm Colony eventually reflected its first superintendent's medical outlook towards the problems of retardation.[20]

The Farm Colony embraced the dual national concerns for protection for and from the feeble-minded. In his second biennial report, Superintendent Hodges wrote, "In developing a colony . . . the entire organization must be built upon the . . . patient."[21] While Hodges appeared concerned about the Colony's residents, legislators organizing the institution made the case clearly for social control. "This colony shall include the 3 departments of asylum, school, and colony co-ordinated and conducted as integral parts of a whole," the bill establishing the institution stated, "to the end that these unfortunates may be prevented from reproducing their kind, and the various communities and the state at Large relieved from the heavy economic and moral issues by reason of their existence."[22] These antithetical attitudes– humanitarianism and social control– prevented a coherent vision of how to manage the feeble-minded patients housed at the Farm Colony. Both extremes, however, recognized the importance of the Colony's function. The 1927-1929 *Biennial Superintendent's Report* noted that "the subject [of feeble-mindedness] touches every phase of public welfare."[23] A

19. *Gainesville Sun,* February 13, 1921. For biographical information on Hodges, see ibid., February 4, 1937.
20. Neither the second superintendent, Dr. J. H. Colson who served from 1929 to 1936, nor Dr. J. Maxey Dell who became superintendent upon Colson's death and served until 1944, had little direct knowledge of the medical and educational problems of mentally retarded individuals when the Board of Commissioners appointed them. See F. W. Buchholz, *History of Alachua County, Florida* (St. Augustine, 1929), 213-17 and 290-93 for biographical and genealogical information on Colson and Dell.
21. *2nd Biennial Superintendent's Report 1921-1923* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 26, vault files, G.S.C.
22. *Laws of Florida* (1919), I, 235.
23. *5th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1927-1929* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 8, vault files, G.S.C.

1936 newspaper article entitled "Gentle Understanding Given to Afflicted Children" further emphasized this point by categorizing the Farm Colony as "one of the state's most important social institutions." This article showed that humanitarian care and social control did not always operate as mutually exclusive variables. "Training in behavior while at school," it reported, "orderly marching to school and meals, and discipline in general conduct is a valuable part of the training received."[24]

While debate continued on the Colony's function within the broader context of the state's social welfare policy, the development of the facility proceeded slowly. By the summer of 1921, three buildings– an administration and dormitory building, a kitchen and dining hall, and an assistant physician's bungalow– had been constructed at a cost of $175,000. The Colony began receiving its first patients on November 1, 1921. By Christmas of that year, over 100 patients, all of them female, had been admitted. Plans called for the further development of the institution "on the cottage plan," whereby patients would be housed in small buildings designed to accommodate residents of the same mental level. But construction slowed when the legislature cut $50,000 from the Colony's 1921 budget proposal of $200,000. These restraints forced the housing of all patients in five large wards, each designed to accommodate fifty patients, in the dormitory section of the administration building. By June 1923, there were ten buildings on the Colony's grounds. Of the seven new structures, however, only an infirmary and an infirmary annex were devoted specifically to patient needs. This left the main dormitory as the only facility for housing patients.[25] The failure to develop the Farm Colony with individual cottage dormitories thus proved an inauspicious beginning for the institution as it prevented individualized training of the patients.

---

24. Unidentified newspaper clipping, 1936, Superintendent's Diary, vault files, G.S.C.
25. *Laws of Florida* (1919), I, 236. The plan for many small cottage-like dormitories was not implemented until after 1945. The large male ward in the administration building, housing over 100 patients, continued to be utilized until that time. See *Gainesville Sun,* December 19, 1921, and January 13, 1922. The seven buildings constructed by 1923 included an infirmary and an infirmary annex, nurses' quarters, a bungalow for male employees, a laundry, a warehouse, and a greenhouse. *Gainesville Sun,* June 19, 1923.

The Farm Colony slowly expanded during the decade of the 1920s. As both its physical plant and the number of patients it served increased, the pressures of outside governmental agencies, medical doctors, politicians, and interested individuals often obscured the institution's function. By 1925, the experiment in separate managerial control ended, and the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions assumed responsibility for the supervision of the Colony. This was in response to an investigation of ex-Governor Catts's alleged political appointment of D. W. Stevenson to the original board of managers five years earlier.[26] The competing political pressures forced the Florida Farm Colony to operate as a kind of way station for miscellaneous deviants rather than as an institution designed to serve a distinct feeble-minded population.[27]

In 1929, in response to the pressures of the position, Superintendent Hodges resigned, emphasizing the difficulty of running an institution for the feeble-minded.[28] The Board of Commissioners elected Dr. James H. Colson to replace him. A longtime Gainesville resident, Colson had served as chief physician for the State Hospital in Chattahoochee and the State Prison Farm at Raiford. He also represented Alachua County in the Florida Senate for two sessions, 1922 and 1923, and it was expected that this experience would allow him to lobby the legislature for increased funding.[29] Colson, like his predecessor Dr.

26. Wayne Flynt, *Cracker Messiah,* 286; *Report of the Joint Committee to Investigate the Official Acts of Sidney J. Catts, Governor of Florida, under Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 4, 1921,* 10-12, P. K. Yonge Library. Stevenson allegedly paid Catts $7,500 to reinstate the suspended Polk County sheriff. In exchange, Catts was supposed to have appointed Stevenson to the board. The hearings into the case did not provide a clear adjudication of the incident.

27. This phenomenon was not unique to Florida. See Nicholas Hahn, "The Defective Delinquency Movement" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York, Albany, 1979), chapter four; David Rothman, *Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and Its Alternatives in Progressive America* (Boston, 1980), chapters nine and ten; and Andrew Scull, *Decarceration: Community Treatment and the Deviant– A Radical View* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1984), chapter two.

28. *Gainesville Sun,* May 4, 1929; Superintendent's Diary entry of May 3, 1929, 91, vault files, G.S.C. Hodges returned to the Colony as an assistant physician from August 1934 to June 1935. Superintendent's Diary entries of August 20, 1934, 130, and August 12, 1935, 134-35.

29. *Gainesville Sun,* March 6, 1936; Buchholz, *History of Alachua County,* 213-17.

Hodges, discovered problems in the court procedures of labelling children as feeble-minded and then attempting to send them to the Colony. In 1931, he reported, "[I]t is to be regretted that a noticeable number of children are sent to the institution as intellectually deficient but prove to be only slightly, if at all, retarded."[30] County court and juvenile court judges had committed the majority of these individuals to the Farm Colony for relatively minor criminal offenses. "We have instances where children have been taken into court for truancy and committed to the Colony," Hodges had noted in his earlier 1929 biennial report. "We cannot think that this procedure is a proper disposition of such children."[31]

By the end of the 1920s the Farm Colony had expanded into a facility housing approximately 500 patients of both sexes. These individuals, however, represented fewer than one-half of the total number of patients admitted during this ten-year period.[32] The Colony's population did not remain stable; patients were admitted and discharged quite rapidly. Of the 161 patients listed on the Colony's rolls in 1923-1924, 35.9 percent (ninety-four persons) were discharged in that same biennial period. Since Superintendent Colson reported the major criterion for discharge as "mental condition and physical condition," it followed that high-level moron patients constituted the major proportion of those leaving the institution.[33]

The Florida Farm Colony during the 1920s, therefore, served a population with large numbers of high-level moron and imbecile patients. The Colony staff concluded that many of those committed to the Colony were "unsuitable" for in-

30. *6th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1929-1931* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 6, vault files, G.S.C.
31. *5th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1927-1929,* 10.
32. The Colony admitted 1,227 persons in the ten-year period 1921-1930, and 584 of those were still at the Colony on December 31, 1930. Of the 584 patients, 156 (26.1 percent) were absent on home visits either for the holidays or preparatory to final discharge. *6th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1929-1931,* 6-7.
33. Of the ninety-four persons discharged in 1923-1924, forty-nine left after successful home paroles. Figures from *3rd Biennial Superintendent's Report 1923-1925* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 13, vault files, G.S.C. Colson's quote from *6th Superintendent Report 1929-1931,* 6-7. Morons comprised 83 percent of the 401 persons discharged from 1925 to 1930. Data from the 4th, 5th, and 6th *Biennial Superintendent's Report.*

stitutionalization and quickly discharged or paroled them to parents, guardians, or relatives.[34] In his 1929 report, Colson stated that he could not "agree that the institution should be used for unruly children, who are not feeble-minded, however much of a problem they may be in the community."[35] Duval and Hillsborough counties contributed most of these kinds of patients, offering verification to Colony staff that an urban environment, with its complex nonagricultural lifestyle, caused an increase in the feeble-minded population. "Judge Wi[e]se, Juvenile Court, called today," the superintendent's diary entry for July 4, 1928, reported, "to confer with the Superintendent relative to children from Tampa who were found to have high I.Q.s."[36]

A belief in the need to institutionalize sexually active young people also obscured the meaning of feeble-mindedness and caused problems in the admission process. Psychologists, social workers, and physicians felt institutionalization would afford protection for society by preventing the conception of children by feeble-minded parents. According to a North Carolina public health official, "the heredity of feeble-mindedness for the most part is carried from the feeble-minded girl."[37] Farm Colony statistics show females comprised the majority of those committed for such "problems." Legislation provided little in the way of official guidelines to aid Colony superintendents and the board in procedures on the admission of sexually active or deviant individuals. Other than the stipulation in the 1919 enabling legislation that the Colony would not accept "any female who is pregnant," the staff had to rely on their own judgement for all other cases involving "sexual problems."[38]

Some county judges considered sexual activity as positive proof of feeble-mindedness. Frequently, they committed

---

34. *4th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1925-1927,* 26.
35. *5th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1927-1929,* 10.
36. Superintendent's Diary, entry for July 4, 1928, 88, vault files, G.S.C. The diary appears to be written by the superintendent's secretary and contains entries for the years from 1923 to 1934. It provides a detailed look at day-to-day life at the Colony.
37. R. F. Beasley, "Save the Feeble-Minded Girl," *Bulletin of the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare* 1 (April-June 1918), 12-15.
38. Application forms, Superintendents' Correspondence, vault files, G.S.C.; *Laws of Florida* (1919), I, 233.

females on this ground alone. A 1931 application from Hillsborough County seemed typical. Judge Albert Wiese of the Tampa Juvenile Court requested institutionalization for an eighteen-year-old white woman because "she will live the life of a common prostitute unless she is given institutional care." Dr. Colson replied that "it is probable that we shall be able to take her in the near future."[39]

In spite of concerns about sexual activities, the superintendents and staff of the 1920s and 1930s rarely mentioned problems with the sexual practices of their patients in their reports and correspondence. Sexual segregation, rigidly enforced by watchful ward attendants, prevented the opportunity for illicit heterosexual contact. Furthermore, the institution provided protection for the feeble-minded female residents from the advances of males outside the institution gates. In 1918, Hastings Hart, author of the plan for a Florida institution, reported that "in a properly ordered institution, these girls [high-level sexually active morons] are gentle, obedient, amiable, religious, helpful, and joyous." In an institution, they "can be fully protected from the dangers that would destroy them if they were turned loose in society."[40]

The age of applicants also presented problems in the admission process to the Farm Colony. The debate over admission ages also raised questions concerning the functions of the institution itself. The Board of Commissioners adopted a directive on September 28, 1926, authorizing "the age limit at which persons are to be received at this Institution be fixed at 6 years and 21 years."[41] These limits remained in effect through 1945, and each superintendent's report cited them as institutional rules. "Once these rules are broken down," Superintendent Hodges

39. Application form of November 20, 1931, and Colson's reply of November 22, 1931, Superintendents' Correspondence, vault files, G.S.C. According to forms submitted to the United States Bureau of the Census, only six persons were admitted to the Colony in 1931, including two female morons who were admitted after being adjudicated guilty of unspecified sex offenses. "1931 Census Schedule for State Hospitals," vault files, G.S.C.
40. Hastings Hart, quoted in Beasley, "Save the Feeble-Minded Girl," 14.
41. "Minutes of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions," Minute Book I, 345, September 28, 1926, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee. The board took this action since "there was nothing in the statutes fixing the age limit."

reported in 1927, "the place will fill up with old people."[42] The superintendents felt they had to respond to the judges making applications for individuals both older and younger than the boards designated age limits. From 1932 to 1940, judges made thirty-two applications for persons older than twenty-one and twenty younger than six.[43]

In addition to age restrictions, unwritten convention prevented blacks from being admitted. No statutory or regulatory prohibition concerning the admission of black patients existed. At the Colony's opening, there were plans for the establishment of a black unit, albeit in a Jim Crow setting. "The negro department . . . will be located on the same tract of land," reported the local newspaper, "about one mile from the white group. As yet, no funds have been provided for the negro department."[44] No legislature ever appropriated monies for black facilities. With the cuts in appropriations due to the Depression in the 1930s and the low priority given to the needs of blacks generally, legislators and Farm Colony administrators made no mention of the desirability of serving black patients. J. Maxey Dell, a prominent Gainesville physician who assumed the position of superintendent with the death of Dr. Colson in 1935, reported in 1939 that "we are not in a position to admit any colored cases to the institution nor do we have any colored patients."[45] In spite of this, county judges continued to commit black persons, who were then summarily denied admission by the Colony's staff. Twenty-one black patients were denied admission between 1929 and 1940.[46] No black patient entered the Colony until 1952.

42. *4th* Biennial *Superintendent's Report 1925-1927,* 7.
43. Superintendents' Correspondence, vault files, G.S.C.
44. *Gainesville Sun,* December 19, 1921.
45. Dell to Edna Hennessee, October 6, 1939, Superintendents' Correspondence, vault files, G.S.C.
46. Superintendents' Correspondence, vault files, G.S.C. County and juvenile court judges could commit individuals to the Farm Colony, often at the request of family members, school officials, probation officers, or county welfare personnel. See Dell to Ida Dann, November 15, 1937, Superintendents' Correspondence, vault files, G.S.C. Superintendents did not have to accept those committed, usually citing age, race, or mental ability of the committed person as grounds for refusal. Superintendents also refused admission, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s, because there simply was no room at the institution. Those individuals refused admission were placed on a waiting list, which numbered over 280 people in 1945. Ellen Whiteside, 1945 *Special Survey of Florida Farm Colony* (pamphlet, n.p., 1945), 5, vault files, G.S.C.

The 1930s witnessed a major shift in the focus of the institution's mission. Larger numbers of low-level patients crowded the Colony's facilities, forcing it to operate mainly as a custodial agency. Many of these admissions were classified as idiots who had difficulty feeding themselves, dressing, and communicating adequately. Admissions of idiot patients jumped from 8.5 percent of the total accepted in 1928 to 31.5 percent in 1938. By 1945, according to one survey report, the Florida Farm Colony had become "filled to capacity in the carrying out of the second of these objectives [custodial care of idiots]."[47] This shift both impacted upon and was caused by staffing problems. With a staff-patient ratio higher than the national average (one staff person to nine patients as opposed to a national ratio of one to six and one-half in 1932, the last year federal census records reported this data), it became easier to give custodial care rather than implement training programs for higher level patients.[48]

A lack of trained social workers to supervise ex-patients on parole and discharge exacerbated the staffs problems, for they often were reluctant to release patients without adequate supervision. "There is no social service connected with the institution," Superintendent Dell wrote in 1937. "Patients who have been discharged are under the supervision only of the person to whom they have been released [parents, guardians, or relatives] ."[49] Reduced state expenditures for the institution during the Depression years also helped turn the Florida Farm Colony into a facility geared towards lower level patients since the custodial care required for these patients cost less than the training involved with higher level residents. In his 1931-1933 biennial report, Superintendent Colson announced that "in January 1932, the number of employees was decreased and salaries were reduced ten percent."[50]

47. Whiteside, *Special Survey,* 1.
48. *Mental Defectives and Epileptics in Institutions 1932* (Washington, DC, 1935), 24. The situation had not improved by 1945, when Whiteside delivered her survey. She recommended that "an additional ward attendant be placed on each ward." Whiteside, *Special Survey.* 5.
49. Dell to F. M. Register, September 23, 1937, Superintendents' Correspondence, vault files, G.S.C. See also Colson's complaints about the lack of post-discharge supervision in *6th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1929-1931,* 6-7.
50. *7th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1931-1933* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 6, vault files, G.S.C.

Two phenomena account for the change in the Farm Colony to a custodial facility serving larger and larger numbers of low-level patients. First, the institution remained small in size throughout the 1930s. It averaged approximately 500 residents throughout the decade with little increase in patient numbers in spite of an ever-increasing list of those desiring admission. The Farm Colony's problems appeared symptomatic of institutions nationwide, which suffered "overcrowding, long waiting lists, and low staff/patient ratios."[51] Colony superintendents seemed constantly frustrated because the institution's tight budget, small staff, and inadequate physical plant limited the number of admissions. "Not only are we filled up," wrote Superintendent Colson in 1934, "but we have a large waiting list."[52] By 1939, this list had grown to 275 persons, almost 50 percent of the daily average patient population.[53] With few patients leaving on parole or being discharged, the Farm Colony maintained its high proportion of idiot patients since their low functioning usually precluded early discharge.

The ability of superintendents and staff to control admission also facilitated the Colony's shift to serving lower level patients. After the Board of Commissioners ruled in 1929 that superintendents could "dismiss all inmates . . . committed solely on charges of delinquency or truancy," many high-level patients were discharged.[54] Even more importantly, superintendents could refuse applications for morons, despite commitment requests from local judges. Immediately following this board ruling, Superintendent Colson rejected an application for a Tampa man who remained "at present in the City Stockade, charged with being drunk." This applicant could not be committed, Colson stated, because "he is not a fit subject for this institution."[55]

51. William Sloan and Harvey Stevens, *One Hundred Years of Concern: A History of the American Association on Mental Deficiency* (Washington, DC, 1976), 153.
52. J. H. Colson to Nelle Smith, February 26, 1934, Superintendents' Correspondence, vault files, G.S.C.
53. Waiting list figure was from Dell to Evelyn Edenfield, May 12, 1939, ibid. Average patient population for May 1939 was 559 (with forty-seven patients absent on home parole), Patient Movement Records, May 1939, vault files, G.S.C.
54. "Minutes of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions," Minute Book J, 353, April 2, 1929.
55. Application form of November 12, 1929, and Colson's reply of November 13, 1929, Superintendents' Correspondence, vault files, G.S.C.

A 1931 law made it easier for Colony staff to transfer high-level patients to the Florida State Hospital for the Insane in Chattahoochee when it appeared "more suitable to the needs of any persons committed to the Florida Farm Colony."[56]

The lack of institutional supervision for paroled and discharged patients also led to a decrease in the number of morons on Farm Colony rolls since persons discharged seldom returned to the Colony as re-admissions. Only 5.6 percent of the 1,512 persons admitted to the Colony from 1921 to 1940 were classified as re-admissions, and morons comprised the majority of these. For example, thirteen of nineteen re-admissions in 1927-1928 were classified as morons or higher.[57] Therefore, most discharged and paroled morons never reappeared on institutional rolls. While outside forces continued to press for more moron admissions, the small size of the institution, the relative independence of superintendents in admission decisions, and the low number of morons re-entering the Colony forced the institution to serve more low-level individuals by 1945.

While struggling with the questions of the definition of feeble-mindedness and its effects on admission policies, superintendents also had to grapple with the problems of legislative parsimony and bureaucratic indifference in the running of the Farm Colony. The ostensible centerpiece of vocational training, the farm, proved a case in point. In 1922, a bureaucratic oversight set the farm on a poor financial footing from the outset. A typographical error in the legislative budget request transposed "farm improvements" to "farm implements," and $7,500 budgeted for improvements could not be spent. Plans for a large farming enterprise had to be postponed. The *Gainesville Sun* reported in 1923 that because of the lost funding, "Farm work has therefore been necessarily restricted."[58] Designed to provide both job training and a source of food for the Colony, the farm provided little of either. Upon retiring in 1929, Superintendent Hodges had reported that the farm remained only "partially

56. *Laws of Florida* (1931), 2 vols., J, 938.
57. *7th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1931-1933,* 23; *10th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1937-1939* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 8, vault files, G.S.C.; *5th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1927-1929,* 23.
58. *2nd Biennial Superintendent's Report 1921-1923,* 23; *Gainesville Sun,* June 19, 1923.

self-sufficient."[59] Seven years later, according to a state auditor's report, "the institution is engaged in various activities producing foodstuffs for the table. Most of these activities resulted in the foodstuffs produced costing more than they would have cost had they been purchased in the open market."[60] The farm also did not provide much vocational training for the patients. In 1936, while only sixteen patients worked at the farm, forty-seven prisoners on loan from the State Prison Farm at Raiford were employed there.[61] Three years later, Superintendent Dell wrote optimistically, "[W]e are working to that end [a self-supporting farm] and believe that within the next few years, same will be accomplished."[62]

While the farm suffered from a lack of adequate funding, other vocational programming underwent similar treatment. Superintendents lobbied for a change in the name of the Farm Colony to reflect better the non-agricultural training taking place there. Dr. Colson wrote in 1931: "The present official name of the institution is, we believe, cumbersome, inapplicable, and unsuitable. It would imply the institution specializes in farming." Two years later, Alachua County state representative Burton Rawls introduced a bill in the legislature to change the name of the institution to the Florida Junior Hospital. In keeping with the trend of legislative indifference, nothing came of the measure, however, and the institutional name remained the Florida Farm Colony until 1957.[63]

---

59. J. H. Hodges quoted in *Gainesville Sun,* May 4, 1929.
60. "State Auditor's Report on Florida Farm Colony, June 30, 1935," 5, vault files, G.S.C. The farm produced corn, peanuts, cane for syrup, peas, and other vegetables on approximately 400 acres of cleared land. Dairy cows, chickens, turkeys, and pigs were also raised. Florida Farm Colony Farm Records, vault files, G.S.C. See also "Florida Farm Colony," *Florida Social Welfare Review* 1 (June 1936), 7-8.
61. "State Auditor's Report on Florida Farm Colony," 10-17. The auditor's report also concluded that "comparatively little emphasis has been placed upon farming for vegetables for human consumption" (p. 10).
62. *11th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1939-1941* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 12, vault files, G.S.C.
63. *6th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1929-1931,* 22; *7th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1931-1933,* 18. Superintendent's Diary, entry for May 10, 1933, 124-25. Florida *House Journal* (1933), 412, 430. The House Committee on State Institutions unanimously recommended that Rawls's bill be passed, but there is no mention of it ever reaching the house floor.

In 1925, Superintendent Hodges asked the state for $20,000 to construct industrial training facilities at the Colony. The legislature appropriated $250,000 that year to initiate these programs at other institutions throughout the state, but none of this allocation went to the Farm Colony. Legislators presumably felt that few patients could benefit from such activities.[64] Twelve years later, in 1937, Superintendent Dell, requested a "separate building for vocational work." He believed that "a great many of these people are very ingenious in this line of work and with proper training would make for themselves a splendid chance in life."[65] The legislature did not respond to Dell's request and did not allocate funds for such facilities. The 1945 Special Survey on the Colony recommended "more and better-suited job-training programs for the high level patients remaining at the institution."[66] These facilities would not be constructed until the 1950s.

A school program provided some educational and vocational training. Under the tutelage of two teachers, residents were trained in the school building, constructed in 1926, in low-level academic tasks as well as functional skills such as basket making, rug braiding, and waiting tables. Finished products were displayed yearly at the Florida State Fair in Tampa, the Alachua County Fair, and even as part of Florida's official state display at the 1933 Chicago World's Fair. Though superintendents spoke proudly of the school's accomplishments, relatively few of the residents benefitted from the training, especially as the institution became crowded with lower level idiots. In 1936, only 125 residents, out of a total population of over 500, attended classes at the schoo1.[67]

Resident life at the Farm Colony was structured and regimented under the supervision of ward attendants and matrons. While many residents did not attend the formal school, most received training from attendants in, according to Superintendent Hodges, "being punctual, courteous, obedient, truthful,

64. *4th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1925-1927,* 22.
65. *9th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1935-1937,* 15-17.
66. Whiteside, *Special Survey,* 3.
67. See School Department folder, vault files, G.S.C. For school enrollment figures, see "Report to United States Department of the Interior-Office of Education for the School Year 1935-1936," in ibid.

faithful in the performance of his [sic] duties, and neat about his person."[68] Attendants also tried to prevent destructive behavior to fellow residents, to property, and– especially in the case of low-level idiot patients– to themselves. The routine of daily life was occasionally broken by special happenings at the Colony. Usually, these coincided with holidays, especially Christmas. These occasions gave members of various Gainesville service clubs and organizations an opportunity to practice benevolence toward the children at the Colony. In the 1920s when the Colony's population consisted of many high-level morons, off-campus field trips appeared common. Employees took residents to movie theaters in Gainesville, on bus trips around the city, and swimming and picnicking at local springs and lakes during the summer months. As the number of lower functioning residents increased during the 1930s, however, the number of these trips was curtailed as many of these patients were nonambulatory and staff could not ensure their safety.[69]

With the opening of the Florida Farm Colony in 1921, advocates for improved treatment of feeble-minded persons felt the state of Florida would finally meet its social obligations. But by the end of the 1930s, the institution seemed almost like a forgotten place in the minds of the public and officials in Tallahassee. Meeting after meeting of the Board of Commissioners went by with only cursory mention of the Colony. Minutes of board meetings suggest that members rarely discussed the institution, except for financial statements or when they ordered a person committed. That happened five times during the 1930s including once when it was "called to the attention of the Board by the Honorable Spessard Holland."[70] The board never officially met at the Colony facility itself in the 1930s and members rarely visited it individually. In spite of having James Colson and J. Maxey Dell, two former state senators, as superintendents from 1929 to 1945, the Farm Colony received smaller and smaller appropriations from a legislature suffering from the effects of

68. *4th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1925-1927,* 16-17.
69. See Superintendent's Diary for brief accounts of the special events taking place at the Colony.
70. "Minutes of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions," Minute Book M, 104, October 9, 1935. Holland was serving as a state senator from Polk County at the time of his request.

the Depression. The 1929-1930 budget of $375,000 was over $200,000 larger than the 1932-1933 allocation. It took until the 1939-1940 budget of $282,000 to begin to return to pre-Depression era levels of funding.[71] Even Gainesville, which had worked hard to get the institution located in that community, seemed afterwards to ignore it. Only eight short articles on the Colony and its activities appeared in the pages of the *Gainesville Sun* in the decade of the 1930s. Where once a 1929 front page headline read "Farm Colony Making Good," by 1937, an article on the Colony on page six ended on the somber note that "due to limited finances and facilities, the staff is limited in exhibiting much of the truly scientific technique which they use." In February 1937, the *Sun* reported the death of Dr. J. H. Hodges in a front page obituary. In discussing his myriad accomplishments, it failed to mention his nine-year stint as superintendent of the Florida Farm Colony.[72]

Federal funding provided some support in the 1930s, a decade filled with frustration for everyone concerned with the Farm Colony. In 1937, the Public Works Administration completed two buildings at the Farm Colony at a cost of $103,000. A small ward building, with a capacity of thirty beds, gave the institution its first cottage, finally taking a small step toward the original plan of 1921. A 181-bed hospital was also constructed, allowing for the care and isolation of ill patients. This facility replaced the original infirmary, which proved too small to handle either chronic isolation cases or acute problems. The completion of the Alachua County Hospital in Gainesville in 1928 provided better medical facilities for seriously ill patients, but a hospital on the Colony grounds still appeared necessary. The Colony hospital proved especially important, according to Superintendent Colson, "[as] we have gradually accumulated a large number of helpless bedridden idiots . . . [who] require a great deal of individual care."[73] The new buildings helped to

71. See the 4th through 11th *Biennial Superintendent's Report.* The 1932-1933 budget allocation was $163,000.
72. *Gainesville Sun,* February 23, 1929, June 22, February 4, 1937. The staff did not possess all the "scientific knowledge" the *Sun* reporter wrote about in 1937. In 1945, Whiteside recommended in her survey that the superintendent initiate "a study . . . of methods of teaching mentally deficient children now in use by other institutions." Whiteside, *Special Survey,* 6.
73. *8th Biennial Superintendent's Report 1933-1935* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 9, vault files, G.S.C.

“relieve the congestion that had hampered the institution for some time,” but without adequate staffing (only one nurse served the Colony in 1940) and with little funding from the legislature for furnishing the structures, these physical additions provided only temporary help.[74]

The outbreak of World War II exacerbated Florida Farm Colony’s problems. The labor shortage during the war made it “extremely difficult throughout the biennium [1943- 1945] to procure and keep a sufficient number of employees to insure even the minimum standard of care for our patients.“[75] In April 1944, the secretary of the Board of Commissioners wrote to Superintendent Dell inquiring as to the “results of your efforts to secure sufficient number of attendants for your institution. . . . [The board] would also like for you to advise just what procedure you are following in trying to secure said attendants.” Dell could make no reply, other than to complain that “it is still necessary for some of the employees to be on duty for a period of 18 hours.“[76]

Dell also received criticism from the board over his failure to complete federal census reports. In January 1944, the Census Bureau mailed forms to all state hospitals and institutions requesting information on patient movements during the previous year. Board secretary J. Robert McClure reminded Dell on January 24, “[T]he Board wishes you to return the completed forms directly to the Bureau of the Census at the earliest possible time, and in any instance, not later than March 1, 1944.” Almost nine months later, on September 12, McClure wrote Dell again, prodding him to return the late forms “as soon as possible.” Finally, two weeks later, Dell wrote the board, informing them that he had forwarded the forms to the government.”

---

74. *Gainesville Sun,* June 15, 1937; “Florida Farm Colony,” 7; For the number of nurses, see United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Patients in Mental Institutions 1940* (Washington, DC, 1943), 158.
75. *13th Biennial Superintendent’s Report 1943-1945* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 9, vault files, G.S.C. See also “Minutes of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions,” Minute Book P, 405, February 29, 1944.
76. J. Robert McClure to Dell, April 11, 1944, and Dell to McClure, April 15, 1944, Board of Commissioners folder, Superintendents’ Correspondence, vault files, G.S.C.
77. McClure to Dell, January 24, 1944, September 12, 1944, and Dell to McClure, September 25, 1944, ibid.

Dell resigned, "effective immediately," at the end of September 1944, a week after he returned the forms. He gave no reason for the resignition, but presumably the difficulties of eight years of holding the position of superintendent played a major role in the decision. He had submitted his resignition twice earlier, in May and July of 1944, but the board had refused, without comment, to accept either offer. While finally accepting his resignition at the end of September, the board allowed Dell to remain as the Colony's chief physician.[78] The board replaced him as superintendent with Raymond Philips, the longtime bookkeeper and business manager of the Colony. Appointed as acting superintendent in October 1944, Philips assumed full control on July 17, 1945. He became the first nonmedical superintendent in Farm Colony history. Philips, a native of Sanford, Florida, and a graduate of Rollins College, had been employed at the Colony since 1932. With his long Farm Colony tenure, Philips had experience working with the Colony's residents and staff, as well as knowledge of its financial affairs. As superintendent until 1970, he oversaw many changes in institutional funding and demographics. In January 1945, while still acting superintendent, Philips proposed "the present goal be to plan for a population of 1000."[79]

In the 1940s state legislators finally began to recognize the many problems at the Florida Farm Colony and to take steps to correct them. On April 23, 1945, the Florida House and Senate authorized the appointment of a joint committee to investigate conditions at the Florida Farm Colony, the Florida State Hospital for the Insane in Chattahoochee, and the state industrial schools in Marianna and Ocala. The proposed building of a

78. Dell submitted his resignation in May and July of 1944. The board gave no reason for rejecting Dell's requests. Philips applied for the position in August. The actions of the board in September 1944, appointing Philips as superintendent, is missing as Minute Book Q of the "Minutes of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions" can not be located at the Florida State Archives. "Minutes of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions," Minute Book P, 432, May 11, 1944, 493, July 25, 1944, 497, August 1, 1944.

79. Raymond Philips to John Wigginton, January 12, 1945, Board of Commissioners folder, Superintendent's folder, vault files, G.S.C. For more on Philips, see *Gainesville Sun,* March 29, 1970, and October 8, 1983.

second hospital for the insane in Avon Park precipitated the widespread investigation.[80] Governor Millard Caldwell appointed Ellen Whiteside, a Miami social worker, to conduct the investigation of the Farm Colony. Whiteside presented her committee report on May 5, 1945, describing a "drab word picture of conditions at Florida Farm Colony."[81] Deteriorating physical facilities, a shortage of trained personnel, and the lack of patient discharges due to their low functioning level all contributed to an institution badly in need of help. The continued presence of large numbers of low-level idiots raised the average patient age at the Colony to twenty-five and the average length of commitment to thirteen years. This circumvented the original mission of the Florida Farm Colony as a training school for feeble-minded children. The report did not just dwell on revelations of bad conditions, but proposed solutions to the Colony's problems. The committee made ten recommendations, all in consultation with acting Superintendent Philips, who was praised as "able, conscientious, and deeply aware of the very grave problems."[82] These proposals became the groundwork for the expansion of Florida Farm Colony throughout the remainder of the 1940s and beyond. Armed with this report, Philips proved successful in getting the legislature to appropriate larger sums of money for Colony expansion. Only one day after the Whiteside report was made public, the legislature increased the general biennial Farm Colony appropriation of $171,000 by $66,000, to be used at the discretion of Superintendent Philips.[83]

The Whiteside report and the appointment of Raymond Philips as permanent superintendent marked a turning point in the development of the Florida Farm Colony. The Colony had so far failed in its mission of protection for and from the feeble-minded because superintendents and outside officials, particu-

80. Florida *House Journal,* April 23, 1945, 170-71. See also *Tampa Tribune,* April 24, 1945.
81. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 9, 1945; *Tallahassee Democrat,* May 9, 1945: *Gainesville Sun,* May 9, 1945.
82. Whiteside, *Special Survey,* 6.
83. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 10, 1945; *Gainesville Sun,* May 10, August 5, 1945.

larly judges, had competing visions of the institution's purpose and function. Inadequate legislative funding, comparatively weak superintendents, and an almost invisible state presence added to the Colony's woes. With the appointment of Raymond Philips as superintendent, the problems associated with a small, underfunded, overcrowded institution for low-level patients were replaced by the problems of a large multipurpose facility. The Florida Farm Colony, in its first quarter century, had reflected national fears about the menace of the feeble-minded. The next twenty-five years, however, would bring different problems, as Philips struggled to have the Florida Farm Colony fulfill its mission of care and training of the state's mentally handicapped individuals.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

This selected bibliography includes scholarly articles in the field of Florida history, archaeology, geography, and anthropology published in state, regional, and national periodicals in 1989. Articles, notes, and documents that have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are not included in this listing since they appear in the annual index of each volume. The present listing also includes articles appearing in journals not published on schedule and that were not in the list printed in the July 1989 issue of the *Quarterly*

ACTON, PATRICIA NASSIF, "The Author in the Classroom: The 'Cross Creek' Trial of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings," *The Rawlings Journal* 1 (1988), 29-41.

ANDERSON, ROBERT, "Florida's Sugar Mills," *Florida Living* 9 (July 1989), 14-15.

ARRARTE, ANNE MONCREIFF, "The Contras and Miami: How Do You Resettle an Unemployed Army," *South Florida* 42 (August 1989), 64-67, 133-34.

BEARSS, EDWIN C., "Fort Pickens and the Secession Crisis: January-February 1861," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 4 (Spring 1989), 6-25.

BIGLER, WILLIAM J., "100 Years of Public Health in Florida— First and Second Quarters," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 76 (August 1989), 693-97.

BRUMBACK, C. L., "History of Local Public Health in Florida," ibid., 689-92.

BURKE, MARY, "The Success of Blanche Armwood, (1890-1939)" [former executive secretary of the Urban League and supervisor of Negro Schools, Tampa], *Sunland Tribune* [Tampa Historical Society] 15 (November 1989), 38-43.

BURNETT, GENE, "Covert Operations are Nothing New" [1812 attempt to wrest Florida from Spain], *Florida Trend* 31 (January 1989), 85-88.

"The Soaring Dreams of Glenn Curtiss" [aviation pioneer and his land developments in Dade County, 1920s], ibid. (February 1989), 85-89.

____________, "How Jacksonville Nearly Became Tinsel Town" [moviemaking in early 1900s], ibid. (March 1989), 87-89.

____________, "The Little Railroad that Almost Could" (Juno's Celestial Railroad], ibid. (April 1989), 75-80.

____________, "Tampa Bay's Great Mystery of History" [the Fort Brooke-Mackley affair, 1818-1905], ibid. 32 (May 1989), 71-74.

____________, "The War to Wire Miami" [efforts to lay a Western Union cable, 1920], ibid. (June 1989), 85-88.

____________, "From Cigar Maker to Wartime Hero" [Dr. Frank Adamo of Tampa develops life-saving gangrene treatment during W. W. II], ibid. (July 1989), 87-90.

____________, "Topsy-Turvy over a Tick" [Florida cattle industry and the Texas fever tick, 1900-1945], ibid. (September 1989), 77-80.

____________, "A Shameful Episode of Racial Bigotry" [Booker T. Washington visits Gainesville, 1903], ibid. (October 1989), 95-98.

____________, "The Rise and Fall of a Florida Belle" [Ellen Adair White Beatty, 1801-1880], ibid. (December 1989), 79-80.

BURNS, ALLAN, "Resettlement in the US.: Kanjobal Maya in Indiantown, Florida," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* (July 1989).

CARR, ROBERT S., "Archaeological Excavations at the Stranahan House (8Bd259), Fort Lauderdale, Florida," *Florida Anthopologist* 42 (March 1989), 7-33.

____________, "Archaeological Investigations at the Okeechobee Battlefield," ibid (September 1989), 205-36.

COKER, WILLIAM S., "The Moreno Family of Pensacola and the Civil War," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 4 (Spring 1989), 100-25.

COLEMAN, WESLEY F., "Salvage Excavations at the Trail Site, Dade County, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (September 1989), 257-62.

COVINGTON, JAMES, "The Seminole Indian Murders of Daniel Hubbard," *Sunland Tribune* 15 (November 1989), 16-27.

COX, THOMAS F., JR., "Fort Myers During World War II," *Tampa Bay History* 11 (Spring/Summer 1989), 22-40.

CRAKE, MARY CLAIR, "'In Unity There is Strength': Women's

Clubs in Tampa During the 1930's," ibid. (Fall/Winter 1989), 5-21.

CURTIS, MURIEL, "Key Biscayne: An Isle of Palms," *South Florida History Magazine* 1 (Winter 1989), 6-9.

DAWKINS, MARY, "Religion in Early Pensacola: The Birth of Protestantism," *Pensacola History Illustrated* 3 (Fall 1989), 22-29.

DEBOLT, DEAN, "Life on the Front as Reflected in Soldiers Letters" [Civil War], *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 4 (Spring 1989), 26-37.

DICKINSON, MARTIN F., "Delineating a Site Through Limited Research: The Mission of San Juan del Puerto (SDU53), Fort George Island, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (December 1989), 396-409.

DUNN, HAMPTON, "Hernando de Soto: Saint or Sadist?" *Sunland Tribune* 15 (November 1989), 4-8.

DUNNE, W. M. P., "November 7, 1825: The Day Pensacola Nearly Sank the Navy," *Pensacola History Illustrated* 3 (Fall 1989), 3-11.

EDMUNDS, EMMA, "The Education of Betty Siegel" [former dean of Academic Affairs for Continuing Education, University of Floirda], *Atlanta* 28 (1988), 100-01.

EDMONDSON, BRAD, "In Little Managua," *American Demographics* 11 (August 1989), 53-55.

EUBANKS, W. S., JR., "Studying de Soto's Route: A Georgian House of Cards," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (September 1989), 369-80.

EWEN, CHARLES R., "The DeSoto Apalachee Project: The Martin Site and Beyond," ibid., 361-68.

FARNIE, D. A., "Enriqueta Augusta Rylands (1843-1908), Founder of the John Rylands Library" [great-granddaughter of John Forbes], *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 71 (Summer 1989), 3-38.

GABY, DONALD C., "Richard Ashby: Miami Pioneer," *Tequesta* 49 (1989), 27-43.

GEORGE, PAUL S., "Land by the Gallon: The Florida Fruitlands Company and the Progresso Land Lottery of 1911," *South Florida History Magazine* 2 (Spring 1989), 8-9.

GLASSMAN, STEVE, "Blazing the Tamiami Trail," ibid. 1 (Winter 1989), 3-5, 12-13.

____________, "[John Paul] Riddle's 'Wild Blue Yonder'" [W. W. II flight school, Miami], ibid. 3 (Summer 1989), 5-11.

GLICKSTEIN, NATALIE H., "Fifty-Year-Old Levy-Wolf Building is a True Memorial," *Jacksonville Magazine* (May/June 1989).

GRAHAM, THOMAS, "Flagler's Grand Hotel Alcazar," *El Escribano* [Journal of the St. Augustine Historical Society] 24 (1989), 1-32.

GRAVES, GYPSY C., "Preliminary Report on the New River Midden (8BD196), Broward County, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (September 1989), 255-56.

GRIFFIN, JOHN W., "Time and Space in South Florida: A Synthesis," ibid., 179-204.

HAGY, JAMES R., AND JOHN KOENIG, "It Won't Get Any Better Than This" [Florida business in the 1980s], *Florida Trend* 32 (December 1989), 37-42.

HAYS, HOLLY, "Fort Lauderdale," *Florida Living* 9 (July 1989), 4-8.

HOLMES, JACK D. L., "Pensacola's Civil War Art: Benjamin LaBree and Thomas Nast," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 4 (Spring 1989), 50-58.

HOWARD, WALTER T., "A Hillsborough County Tragedy: The 1930 Lynching of John Hodaz," *Tampa Bay History* 11 (Fall/Winter 1989), 34-51.

HUDSON-WEEMS, CLENORA, "The Tripartite Plight of African-American Women as Reflected in the Novels of [Zora Neale] Hurston and [Alice] Walker," *Journal of Black Studies* 20 (December 1989), 192-207.

HUGHES, KENNETH J., "Seminole War Navy and Army Vessels," *Broward Legacy* 12 (Winter/Spring 1989), 36-39.

____________, "Warriors from the Sea: The Second Seminole War Navy and Their Exploits in Southeast Florida, Part II," ibid. (Winter/Spring 1989), 28-36.

HUNN, MAX, "Houses of Refuge," *Florida Living* 10 (August 1989, 9-11.

HURNER, MARGARET REGENER, "Robert Mugge– Pioneer Tampan," *Sunland Tribune* 15 (November 1989), 18-23.

IMERSHEIN, ALLEN W., "Elite Fragmentation in Health Care: Proprietary and Nonproprietary Hospitals in Florida," *Social Science Quarterly* 70 (March 1989), 53-71.

JONES, ANNE G., ed., "Knowing Marjorie: An Interview with Gordon Bigelow, Jake Glisson, and Idella Parker," *The Rawlings Journal* 1 (1988), 50-66.

JONES, JOHN PAUL, "The New Gainesville is Scenic," *Florida Living* (November 1989), 4.

__________, "South Florida Military College," ibid. (December 1989), 10-13.

JOYCE, EDWARD R., "St. Francis Barracks: A Contradiction of Terms," *El Escribano* 24 (1989), 71-90.

KERSEY, HARRY A., JR., "Seminole Trading Sites in South Florida: A New Ethno-Archaeological Opportunity," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (March 1989), 34-42.

KIRK, COOPER, "The Abortive Attempt to Create Broward County in 1913," *Broward Legacy* 12 (Winter/Spring 1989, 2-27.

__________, "Fort Lauderdale High School Athletics and the 'Flying L' Symbol," ibid. (Summer/Fall 1989), 2-44.

KLEINBERG, HOWARD, "Among the Farmers," *Tequesta* 49 (1989), 44-62.

KNETSCH, JOE, "William Cooley Explores the Everglades," *Broward Legacy* 12 (Winter/Spring 1989), 40-44.

KRANSER, JAMES, "The Life of Women: Zora Neale Hurston and Female Autobiography," *Black American Literature Forum* 23 (Spring 1989), 113-26.

KROHN, MARGARET J., "High Expectations and Harsh Reality" [Samuel Keep, superintendent of public buildings, and the development of the Pensacola navy yard, 1824-1830], *Pensacola History Illustrated* 3 (Fall 1989), 13-16.

LASSMAN, VALERIE, "Key Largo Letter Drop," *South Florida History Magazine* 3 (Summer 1989), 12.

LAZARUS, YULEE W., "Fort Walton Wonders: Four Odd Artifacts Found in the Florida Panhandle," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (June 1989), 158-62.

LEE, ARTHUR R. "Instruments to Measure Hafting Angles of Whelk Shell Tools in both the Vertical and Horizontal Planes" [southwest Florida Indians], ibid., 155-57.

LONGMAN, PHILIP, "The Big Lie" [Florida citrus canker history], *Florida Trend* (July 1989), 40-53.

LORD, James S., "A Zoomorphic Bone Pin from Dade County, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (September 1989), 263-64.

LUER, GEORGE M., "Calusa Canals in Southwestern Florida: Routes of Tribute and Exchange," ibid. (June 1989), 89-130.

____________, "A Seminole Burial on Indian Field (8LL39), Lee County, Southwestern Florida," Ibid. (September 1989), 237-40.

____________, "Further Research on the Pine Island Canal and Associated Sites, Lee County, Florida," ibid., 241-47.

____________, "Notes on the Howard Shell Mound and Calusa Island, Lee County, Florida," ibid., 249-54.

MACLEISH, WILLIAM H., "The Blue God: Tracking the Gulf Stream," Part I, *Smithsonian* 19 (February 1989), 44-59.

____________, "Scientists Paint the Gulf Stream's Portrait: Tracking the Gulf Stream," Part II, ibid. (March 1989), 42-55.

MAHER, FRANK, "Island Estates," *Punta Pinal* [Pinellas County Historical Society newsletter] 12 (October-December 1989), 10-13.

MAINGOT, ANTHONY P., "Laundering Drug Profits: Miami and Caribbean Tax Havens," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 30 (Summer-Fall 1988), 53-76.

MAUNCY, ALBERT, "Coming of the Corsair," *El Escribano* 24 (1989), 33-58.

MAPLES, WILLIAM R., BETTY PAT GATLIFF, HUGO LUDEÑA, ROBERT BENFER, AND WILLIAM GOZA, "The Death and Mortal Remains of Francisco Pizarro" [research at the Florida Museum of Natural History], *Journal of Forensic Sciences* (July 1989), 1021-36.

MCCARTHY, KEVIN M., "Beacons of Hope," *Florida Living* 10 (August 1989), 12-16.

MILANICH, JERALD T., "Where did de Soto Land?: Identifying Bahia Honda," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (December 1989), 295-302.

____________, "Hernando de Soto and the Expedition in Florida: An Overview," ibid., 303-16.

MITCHEM, JEFFREY M., "The Ruth Smith, Weeki Wachee, and Tatham Mounds: Archaeological Evidence of Early Spanish Contact," ibid, 3 17-39.

MOHL, RAYMOND A., "Shadows in the Sunshine: Race and Ethnicity in Miami," *Tequesta* 49 (1989), 63-80.

O'DONNELL, JAMES H. III, "Dear Aunt Lydia: A Family's View

of the Florida Gulf Coast During the Civil War," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 4 (Spring 1989), 126-32.

PIATEK, BRUCE JOHN, STANLEY C. BOND, JR., AND CHRISTINE L. NEWMAN, "St. Augustine Under Siege: St. Augustine's Archaeological Preservation Ordinance," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (June 1989), 134-54.

PIZZO, TONY, "Savages of the Sun: The Vanished Race of Tampa Bay," *Sunland* Tribune 15 (November 1989), 48-53.

PRENSHAW, PEGGY WHITMAN, "Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings: Woman Writer, and Resident of Cross Creek," *The Rawlings Journal* 1 (1988), 1-17.

RICE, EILEEN F., "Barry University: Its Beginnings," *Tequesta* 49 (1989), 4-26.

RICHARDSON, JOE M., "The American Missionary Association and Blacks on the Gulf Coast during Reconstruction," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 4 (Spring 1989), 152-61.

RIDOLPH, ED, "Clang, Clang, Clang, Miami's Early Streetcars," *South Florida History Magazine* 3 (Summer 1989), 14.

RIESMAN, DAVID, AND JUDITH BLOCK MCLAUGHLIN, "The Shady Side of the Sunshine: The Press and [University of Florida] Presidential Searches" (reprint), *Change* (January/February 1989).

ROSE, HAROLD M., "Blacks and Cubans in Metropolitan Miami's Changing Economy," *Urban Geography* 10 (1989), 464-86.

SAGE-GAGNE, WANETA, "Training Army Pilots in Lakeland and Avon Park during World War II: A Photographic Essay," *Tampa Bay History* 11 (Fall/Winter 1989), 52-64.

SALCINES, E. J., "Asturian Footprints in America," *Sunland Tribune* 15 (November 1989), 32-36.

SCHOFNER, JERRELL, "Wartime Unionists, Unreconstructed Rebels and Andrew Johnson's Amnesty Program in the Reconstruction Debacle of Jackson County, Florida," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 4 (Spring 1989), 162-71.

SILVERTHORNE, ELIZABETH, "Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings: The Early Years," *The Rawlings Journal* 1 (1988), 18-28.

SINGER, ISAAC BASHEVIS, "Those were the Days" [Jewish life in Miami Beach, 1940s], *Philip Morris Magazine* (March-April 1989), 30-33.

SLICKER, WILLIAM D., "The Building Boom in St. Petersburg:

A Photographic Essay," *Tampa Bay History* 11 (Fall/Winter 1989), 22-33.

SOWDER, WILSON, T., "Recollections of the 100 Year Struggle for Better Health in Florida– Part 1," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 76 (August 1989), 683-88.

STRAIGHT, WILLIAM M., "Medicine and Surgery with the Conquistadors," ibid., 698-704.

SULLIVAN, JOHN J., "'One a Day in Tampa Bay': B-26 Bomber Training at MacDill Air Base during World War II," *Tampa Bay History* 11 (Spring/Summer 1989), 41-45.

TARR, RODGER, "Observations on the Bibliographic and Textual World of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings," *The Rawlings Journal* 1 (1988), 41-49.

TESAR, LOUIS D., AND B. CALVIN JONES, "In Search of the 1539-40 de Soto Expedition Wintering Site in Apalache," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (December 1989), 340-60.

TIDD, JAMES FRANCIS, JR. "Stitching and Striking: WPA Sewing Rooms and the 1937 Relief Strike in Hillsborough County," *Tampa* Bay *History,* 5-21.

TROXLER, CAROLE WATTERSON, "Refuge, Resistance, and Reward: The Southern Loyalists' Claim on East Florida," *Journal of Southern History* 55 (November 1989), 563-96.

WAINWRIGHT, ARTHUR, W., "Andrew Sledd (1870-1939)" [president, University of Florida, 1905-1909], *Milestones* 1 (1988), 76-87.

WASELKOV, GREGORY, A., "Seventeenth-Century Trade in the Colonial Southeast" [trade between the Indians of north Florida and Spanish colonists], *Southeastern Archaeology* 8 (Winter 1989), 117-33.

WELCH, PAULA, "St. Augustine Hosts America's Steller Naiads," *El Escribano* 24 (1989), 59-69.

WEST, PATSY, "Seminole Indian Settlement at Pine Island, Broward County, Florida: An Overview," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (March 1989), 43-56.

WESTLAKE-KENNY, BARBARA, ed., "King [Addison] Mizner," *Worth Avenue* (1989), 58-60, 66-70.

WILLIAMS, LINDSEY, "A Charlotte Harbor Perspective on de Soto's Landing Site," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (December 1989), 280-94.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Guide to the History of Florida. Edited by Paul S. George. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989. xii, 300 pp. Foreword, preface, index. $65.00.)

This ambitious project is the fifth in a series of history guides. Others in the series are for the states of Louisiana, Massachusetts, Texas, and California. The authors of the essays in this Florida volume are well known as experts in their fields. The book will be useful to a wide range of researchers, from the curious general public through genealogists to the serious scholar.

The Historical Literature section of this volume is divided into fifteen chapters of which the first eleven are in chronological order from prehistory to the present. The other four chapters cover blacks, women, Indians, and urbanization. The Archives and Sources section contains eighteen subheadings, nine of which deal with individual repositories. Eight others cover the repositories in St. Augustine, in west Florida, and in five counties. The remaining two are about small archives scattered throughout Florida and archives outside the state.

Most of the historiographical essays begin with an overview of the period, followed by sources listed under various topics, and are written in an easy, readable style. The most comprehensive essay covers the shortest colonial period, the British period, and is by Robin F. A. Fabel. The most difficult to use is William S. Coker's chapter on the history of Pensacola, which will require much page turning by the researcher from the section on Pensacola's six historical periods to the section on references. Coker's bibliographic survey, which comprises the last half of the chapter on west Florida, is much easier to use. Jack D. L. Holmes, who wrote the first half of that chapter, seemed to view the book mainly as an opportunity to showcase his own writings.

Some of the essays were disappointingly short, leaving the reader with the feeling that sources had not been thoroughly investigated. Several essayists relied heavily on works of their own geographic area and touched very lightly on other areas.

The worst offender of this type was Raymond A. Mohl who devoted eight pages to Miami, one page to Tampa, a mere paragraph each to two cities while two other cities shared a paragraph.

Almost all the essayists cited the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* and many also cited journals of other state societies in the Southeast Only about two-thirds cited local historical society journals, and most of those were in southern Florida. Many scholarly articles were therefore omitted from the book. A useful addition to the list of organizations would have been the journal published by each society.

There were other omissions. The one that surprised me most was the lack of any mention of English translations of the accounts of Le Moyne, Ribault, and Laudonière in Michael V. Gannon's chapter on the early contact period. Linda Vance, in the chapter on women, cites several unpublished manuscripts but neglects to say where they may be found.

Of the sections on archives and sources, the most comprehensive and useful were the ones on the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, Broward County Historical collections, and Sources in Dade County. Many of the others, like some of the historiographical essays, were regrettably brief.

A concomitant of any published listing of bibliographical sources is that of being out of date before it reaches the bookstores. New books and articles are published, and additional original documents are acquired by repositories during the time after the editor receives the material and the publication of the completed book months later. This can be fortunate because if the book is revised, any flaws can be corrected in the new edition.

Despite its problems, which include a need for more careful editing, this book will fill a long-standing need. It will be eagerly welcomed and well used by researchers for years to come.

St. Augustine, Florida JACQUELINE K. FRETWELL

Blacks and Social Change: Impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Southern Communities. By James Button. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. xv, 326 pp. Preface, figures, tables, appendices, notes, index. $29.95.)

James W. Button, a political scientist at the University of Florida, takes an interdisciplinary approach in exploring the extent to which the civil rights struggle has brought racial progress to Florida. In doing so, he merges the analytical tools of the political scientist with the perspective of the historian in tracing continuity and change over time. Recognizing the significant legislative and judicial victories in the fight against racial discrimination, Professor Button asks whether the acquisition of legal rights for blacks has produced tangible economic and political results.

A state that becomes more southern as one travels northward, Florida offers an amalgam of Old and New South values. During the civil rights era, the Sunshine State earned a reputation for moderate leadership in race relations, largely through the efforts of its progressive Governor LeRoy Collins. Yet Florida's history also contains a darker side of lynchings, the assassination of the prominent black leader Harry T. Moore and his wife, and the assault on the freedom of the NAACP to promote first-class citizenship. Button has chosen the Panhandle towns of Gretna and Crestview, along with Lake City in the northeast, to reflect the repressive traditions of the past, and the east coast cities of Riviera Beach, Titusville, and Daytona Beach to illustrate the liberalizing forces of modernization. In addition to looking at the political and cultural contexts of these locations, including the percentage of blacks in the population, the author studies their history from the 1950s through the 1980s. To this end, he consulted local newspapers and government documents and conducted extensive interviews with area residents.

Though the scope of this book is not as broad as its subtitle suggests, an investigation exclusively of Florida furnishes conclusions that can be generalized to cover the state's Deep South neighbors. Overall, Button's findings support the view that the election of blacks to public office made a meaningful difference in the lives of their constituents. Concentrating on public services such as police and fire protection and street improvements and recreational facilities, the author concludes that expanded

black governmental representation produced a more equitable distribution of benefits. However, the rewards have been far less extensive in securing economic parity with whites in the private sector. He also shows that the payoffs from political participation came earlier to New South cities, but that Old South towns have been more successful in providing jobs for blacks, albeit in low-paying positions. The greatest relative gains took place in Gretna and Riviera Beach, where blacks eventually controlled the majority of political offices. Wherever blacks held municipal office, Button notes that they stimulated further black political participation and offered the kind of representation that whites usually did not provide. Furthermore, he emphasizes that both protest and electoral politics served black interests well and that progress emerged from a combination of local civil rights efforts and federal intervention.

Judiciously balanced in its argument and sophisticated in its methodology, this book makes a valuable contribution. It is lucidly written and generally free of the social science jargon that often makes such works inaccessible to all but a few academic experts. The author points the way for additional historical studies of the civil rights movement and black politics in Florida, a subject that, with a few exceptions, has been neglected. We need long-range explorations of the freedom struggle in the major cities of the state, including Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, Tallahassee, and Tampa. Such projects might focus on the efforts of county as well as municipal governments and also add an evaluation of the impact of the civil rights movement on education, housing, and health care. Professor Button furnishes a useful model for future research, and the success of this work should encourage others to follow up elsewhere.

University of South Florida STEVEN F. LAWSON

Twelve on the River St. Johns. By Charles E. Bennett. (Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1989. ix, 166 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, illustrations, maps, afterword, references, index. $24.95 cloth; $6.95 paper.)

The introduction to this book is its dust jacket illustration, Martin Johnson Heade's rich and murky painting *The St. Johns River,* which hangs in Jacksonville's Cummer Gallery. The river is the unifying thread holding this book together. It can be argued that the theme of the river is not strong enough to bind the disparate narratives of twelve characters, the lives of some being separated by centuries, into one book. However, perhaps the lack of unity emphasizes a truth about the history of the area: its diversity. The book carries us from the story of a Native American, two Frenchmen, a Spaniard, and a set of Anglo pioneers and adventurers, down to twentieth-century residents of the river, black and white, rich and poor.

The book's twelve major characters can be broken down into three quartets of individuals who were contemporaries. The first of these sets consists of some of the men Bennett has been closely linked with since the 1950s when he was one of the prime movers in the establishment of Fort Caroline National Monument. Two of these men are the French explorers Nicolas Barré and Jean Ribault who founded Fort Caroline. Another is Chief Saturiba who met the Europeans and attempted to cope with their arrival. The last is Spanish missionary Francisco Pareja, whom Bennett portrays as partly a practical man of affairs but who also may be worthy of sainthood.

From the sixteenth-century epoch of the contact period, Bennett leaps ahead more than a century to his next quartet of characters. These were all English speaking men from Britain's American colonies who came to Florida in the mid to late 1700s. Edmund Gray, who fled to the no-man's-land between British Georgia and Spanish St. Augustine to escape his debtors, is the least well known of this group. The botanist William Bartram is the best known. John McIntosh, a figure in Bennett's last book, *Florida's French Revolution* (University Presses of Florida, 1982), is the third of this set of contemporaries. The last is Zephaniah Kingsley. Bennett paints a sympathetic and interesting portrait of Kingsley as a businessman-utopian who was both a slave trader and a defender of the rights of all men.

The final quartet consists of Eartha Mary Magdalene White, the black civic leader who made charity her life's work in Jacksonville, and the family group of millionaire Alfred I. duPont, his wife Jessie, and his wife's brother, Ed Ball. Among the most interesting parts of this chapter are the brief references Bennett makes to his involvement in their lives. One wishes he had written more about himself, but, of course, the whole book gives evidence of the interests and values of Congressman Bennett, one of today's notable inhabitants on the St. Johns.

Flagler College THOMAS GRAHAM

Markland. By Jean Parker Waterbury. (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1989. 70 pp. Preface, photographs, illustrations, maps. $5.95 paper.)

This is another of Jean Parker Waterbury's books about historic houses. Perhaps it is the best one yet, because her dear friend Clarissa Anderson Gibbs told her about growing up in Markland. The book is dedicated to Clarissa.

Markland is not an architectural history. There are photos of the "cottage" in 1870, the 1899 transformation to mansion, and the library showing even the fireplace backlogs, but the book is human history: the Anderson family and their associates, including female slaves, gardeners, orange pickers, boarders, and friends.

The author begins with the wilderness just west of sixteenth-century St. Augustine, the clearing and planting of the land, and the gradual change from corn, squash, and beans to oranges. In 1829, forty-year-old Dr. Andrew Anderson brought his ailing wife Mary to this gentle climate, bought some groves, and in 1833 shipped 113,000 oranges to New York. And that was only the first picking!

Mary died in 1837, and her good friend, the widow Clarissa Fairbanks, came from New England to care for the children– and presumably Andrew also. She married him and produced Andrew II.

The senior Andrew began to build Markland in 1839, but yellow fever claimed him, and it was Clarissa who saw the home finished. She was planter and mistress of twenty acres. For her,

Markland was "a sweet home" and one from which, during the Civil War hard times, she sold oranges to the Union soldiers for three cents each.

Young Andrew was in Princeton, and at war's end he came home to practice medicine and supervise the family properties. When Henry Flagler came to St. Augustine in 1885, he found Dr. Anderson a congenial companion and one who could– and did– help him crystallize his plans for St. Augustine as *the* winter resort.

Anderson married Elizabeth Smethurst in 1895, and from that union was born another Clarissa. What with the children and the social life that the Andersons enjoyed, the "cottage" was too small. In 1899, Anderson converted it into the mansion that it is today.

This man gave much to St. Augustine: the statue of Ponce de Léon, the sculptured bronze war memorial, and the marble statuary that gives the Bridge of Lions its name. These are only a few of the Anderson gifts.

After Anderson's death in 1924, Markland became home for Herbert and Virgie Wolfe and their children. But eventually the property became a burden, and in 1968, it was deeded to Flagler College. It was used first as "the president's house," and then its twenty-five rooms became classrooms.

Clarissa Anderson Gibbs– born, raised, and married in Markland– was the moving spirit and generous contributor to a restoration of the property that was dedicated as a memorial to her parents.

St. Augustine's Jean Parker Waterbury is the granddaughter of William Whitwell Dewhurst, lawyer and author of *The History of St. Augustine* (New York, 1881). After forty-two years in the New York publishing field, librarian for *Literary Digest* magazine, literary agent, and wife and mother, she returned to St. Augustine "screaming for something to do." She found it with the St. Augustine Historical Society, as writer, editor, and president. Her monograph, *Markland,* is a tribute to her skill as an historian and her talent as a writer. It makes a significant contribution to St. Augustine and Florida history.

St. Augustine, Florida ALBERT MANUCY

The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis. Edited by Patricia Galloway. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. xvii, 389 pp. Series editors' introduction, foreword, introduction, photographs, illustrations, references, exhibition catalog by David H. Dye and Camille Wharey, catalog references, index to text. $50.00.)

The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, or Southern Cult, does not refer to a pattern of antebellum ritual, nor to a fervid ethnocentric movement. It is, rather, an assemblage of striking and exotic motifs and artifacts found at prehistoric (and perhaps early historic) archaeological sites in the southeastern United States that, because of mortuary contexts at large mound centers, is assumed to be socioreligious in nature.

The associated artifacts of embossed copper, engraved shell, stone, and pottery are decorated with distinctive motifs including the winged rattlesnake, eye-in-hand, the "weeping eye," and anthropomorphic and man-animal representations. Major sites include Spiro in Oklahoma, Moundville in Alabama, and Etowah in Georgia. Closer to home, the mounds at Lake Jackson near Tallahassee and Mount Royal on the St. Johns River have yielded important Southern Cult materials.

The papers that comprise this volume were presented at a conference at the Cottonlandia Museum in Greenwood, Mississippi, in 1984, and are concerned with definitions of the complex or cult, the geographic span and regional manifestations of it, and interpretations of its meaning in terms of culture history and cultural dynamics. Although the basic concept is over one-half century old, the lack of consensus among the participating specialists on the material content of the cult, its spatial and temporal limits, and its significance indicates a still-viable arena of study.

Although none of the seventeen chapters is devoted to an overall appraisal of the Southern Cult in Florida, two chapters do deal with specific areas of the state, and there are passing references to Florida sites and artifacts in several of the interpretive chapters.

Noel Stowe discusses evidence of the Complex as seen in the Pensacola variant of the Mississippian cultural tradition, found along the Gulf coast from Choctawhatchee Bay into Mississippi and up the lower Alabama and Tombigbee rivers. In this area,

most of the Cult symbols are found as decorations on pottery types that continue into historic times, as evidenced by post-De-Soto sixteenth-century Spanish coins found in association.

Randolph Widmer discusses certain south Florida artifact types, including well-known ones from Key Marco, that have long been considered as related to the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. He argues that the motifs derive from an earlier wide-spread base and from later and continuing interaction of peoples and cultures over the Southeast, but that the actual ceremonial integration differs markedly between non-agricultural south Florida and the agricultural Mississippian areas, including Apalachee. However, the similar sociocultural level, that of the chiefdom, accounts for similarities in the patterning of religion between the areas.

At the conference itself the papers were, in a sense, a mere verbal accompaniment to the unprecedented exhibit of over 350 Southern Cult artifacts amassed on loan from a number of museums and private collections. It is a matter of disappointment, then, to find that the 150 photographs in the exhibition catalog approximate commemorative postage stamps in size, but not in quality, and are often distressingly murky.

Aside from this, the volume is well designed, edited, printed, and bound, and illustrations in the main text are excellent. The enduring value of the book lies in the recording of the currently varied views of this archaeological conundrum.

St. Augustine, Florida JOHN W. GRIFFIN

The Material Basis of the Postbellum Tenant Plantation: Historical Archaeology in the South Carolina Piedmont. By Charles Orser, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988. xvii, 322 pp. Preface, tables, graphs, maps, photgraphs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00.)

Although archaeologists have excavated plantations since the 1930s, only in recent years has this research attempted to understand the complexities of plantation society. Plantation archaeology, defined as "archaeology that focuses upon the diverse ethnic, occupational, social, spatial, and economic aspects of plantation organization throughout the world' (p. 10), has been

primarily directed toward the study of slave-worked plantations of the antebellum South. This pioneering study is one of only two major archaeological studies (the other is the Waverly Plantation in Mississippi) directed toward understanding the postbellum tenant plantation.

Orser's study centers upon James Edward Calhoun's Millwood Plantation in Abbeville County, South Carolina, which operated from 1832 to 1925. Archaeological investigations completed in 1982 were undertaken to retrieve physical and archaeological information from Millwood before the site was inundated by construction of the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake. The postbellum occupation of the plantation is emphasized because little of the antebellum occupation remained intact. Foundations of thirty-three structures and associated artifacts provide the archaeological data used to examine the class structure of the plantation hierarchy at Millwood.

This book is not simply a publication of the original contract report. It is a careful reexamination of the original research cast within a Marxian framework of historical materialism. The author follows the lead of historical economist Jay R. Mandle and others who view the postbellum South as an "extension" of the pre-Civil War South– a position challenged by scholars such as Harold Woodman who see the postbellum tenant plantation as the emergence of new classes and new class relationships. This important debate within the scholarship of the postbellum South is not mentioned anywhere in the book, which suggests that the author did not consider how this alternative framework could have potentially influenced his interpretations.

The Material Basis of the Postbellum Tenant Plantation is an excellent example of a new effort among historical archaeologists to present their research findings to nonarchaeologists, and primarily historians. It is written in a readable style and often explains many of the jargon-laden concepts found in most archaeological literature. Unfortunately, much of the archaeological data needed for comparative analysis is missing. These data, which are vital to archaeological research, could have been easily placed in appendices. So while the author achieves his goal of presenting his research to historians, archaeologists must still seek out the unpublished contract report for their interests.

Perhaps the greatest flaw of this study is the missed opportunity of utilizing oral testimony from the former occupants of

Millwood Plantation which would assist in the author's search of finding out "what artifacts meant to the people who lived there in the past" (p. 247). Oral interviews were conducted as a part of the original study, but the questions posed to the former tenants dealt primarily with labor arrangements and land disputes (pp. 171-75). Questions concerning material culture or foodways received minor attention, which suggests that the archaeologists and oral historians did not collaborate in developing their research designs.

Despite any weaknesses, the Millwood Plantation study is important to both the history of southern tenant plantations and plantation archaeology. It provides a comprehensive analysis of tenancy in the South Carolina Piedmont and specific information on the history of Millwood Plantation. Its greatest contribution is that it is an ambitious attempt to utilize information on material culture derived from both archaeological records and written sources to analyze social relationships on the tenant plantation.

National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution THERESA A. SINGLETON

The Southern Frontiers, 1607-1860: The Agricultural Evolution of the Colonial and Antebellum South. By John Solomon Otto. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989. xiii, 177 pp. Preface, references, index. $37.95.)

John S. Otto's *The Southern Frontiers, 1607-1860* is both a concise study of the agricultural development of the several southern regions during the Age of Slavery and a fresh interpretation of the forces shaping those developments. A decade of research into the history of cattle herding and farming in the lower South lead Otto to the conclusion that Turner's thesis of a steadily advancing frontier in which successive waves of hunters, cattlemen, agriculturists, and townsmen occupied the land was not applicable to the South. Instead, he saw in the South throughout the colonial and antebellum periods many interior frontiers, each with its own layers of cattlemen, agriculturists, and urban centers. Otto further maintains that the entire South

from the eastern seaboard to Texas was essentially a frontier as late as the Civil War, an opinion that this reviewer shares.

Taking Johann Von Thuen's model of accessibility to markets in which overland transportation was the determinant as his point of departure, Otto created his own model by introducing other forces such as availability of water transportation, soil types, topography, climate, and actions of the federal government. Thus modified, Von Thuen's society of concentric circles of intensive agriculture, extensive agriculture, and livestock raising gave way to oblong patterns stretching along rivers within different climatic zones. With population density as a guide, Otto identified several types of frontiers coexisting within the South, including a grazing frontier, an extensive agricultural frontier, an intensive agricultural frontier, and an industrial frontier. Employing the insight provided by his modified market-accessibility model, Otto analyzed the seaboard and back-country frontiers of the Chesapeake and the Carolinas during the Colonial period, then examined the changes wrought by the Revolutionary War, and finally the upper and lower South during the era of the Cotton Kingdom.

Because his purpose was to advance a new interpretation of southern economic history, Otto has based his work on a very comprehensive study of the historical literature of the region rather than upon primary sources. The result is that he has produced an excellent overview of antebellum southern agriculture, as well as a skillful synthesis of recent scholarship on the subject. His major contribution, of course, is his own imaginative explanation of the forces shaping the history of the pre-Civil War South.

Otto's work will be of interest to students and scholars and serious general readers. It is to be hoped that he will follow this brief volume with a larger work that will allow him to more fully explore his thesis.

Florida State University JOHN HEBRON MOORE

Secret and Sacred: The Diaries of James Henry Hammond, a Southern Slaveholder. Edited by Carol Bleser. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. xxix, 342 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, editorial procedures and policies, notes, photographs, biographical directory, bibliography, index. $22.95.)

James Hammond is well known as one of the most articulate leaders of South Carolina and the antebellum South. The wealthy owner of large plantations, acquired by marrying an heiress, he rose in politics, serving as congressman and governor in the 1830s and 1840s. He became a United States Senator in 1857 and delivered his famous "Cotton is King" speech a year later.

Hammond was, throughout most of his political career, one of the South's most fervent proponents of secession. Yet, as the Civil War drew near, he reversed himself, concluding that the South, if it remained unified, could achieve its aims best by remaining within the Union. When the war came, however, he supported the Confederacy financially. By 1864, the South's military fortunes were declining, and so were Hammond's physical and financial circumstances. When he died that year, he left his children little besides land.

These diaries cover Hammond's life from 1841 to 1864 and describe his response to economic, political, and personal events. Thus, they provide rare insight into the inner life of one of the most self-absorbed and fascinating individuals imaginable. Driven by the desire to amass greater wealth as a planter, he exacted so much from his slaves that they suffered fearful mortality. While he mourned the consequent loss of property, he never questioned his belief that blacks existed solely to serve his needs and routinely lumped them along with livestock in his record-keeping. Moreover, he cloaked his avarice in the fiction that all his efforts were altruistic and undertaken to advance his family's future and standing within planter society. In a similar vein, he viewed the fulfillment of his political aspirations as coinciding with the best interests of his native state.

The Hammond who emerges from these diaries was often his own worst enemy. Time and again when he was on the verge of realizing some long-sought goal, he pulled back, pleading poor health or other inadequacies. In one instance, the revelation that he had debauched the four young daughters of his

brother-in-law Wade Hampton accounted for his loss of standing among fellow South Carolinians. The result was a thirteen-year hiatus in his political career after he left the governorship in 1844. Nonetheless, throughout this period, rather than assuming personal responsibility, Hammond in these diaries railed against South Carolina for denying him what he considered his just desserts simply because of his private behavior.

Carol Bleser has provided an excellent introduction to these diaries which are augmented with excerpts from a plantation journal for the last three years of Hammond's life. The inclusion of a biographical directory identifying persons mentioned in the text is helpful, as are the occasional explanations that are unobtrusively added. Moreover, Louis D. Rubin, Jr., has supplied a thoughtful foreword that emphasizes the major value of this work. While Hammond was not a "typical" planter, his diaries expose his "naked acquisitiveness, his intense ambition, and his willingness to use whoever or whatever comes to hand to advance his fortunes and achieve his goals." In this way the reader perceives clearly the "terrible capacity for evil existing within a system that based its achievements and aspirations upon the ownership of human beings as slaves."

That insight more than any other underscores the value of this work. While Hammond may not be representative, his diaries bring to life the implications of slavery far more effectively than any theoretical work could accomplish. This is one of the most important recent books in the field of southern history and one that no student of the Old South can afford to overlook.

University of Central Florida SHIRLEY LECKIE

The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Volume 6, *1856-1860.* Edited by Lynda Lasswell Crist and Mary Seaton Dix. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. lv, 768 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, editorial method, chronology, illustrations, notes, appendices, sources, index. $55.00.)

The present volume of Jefferson Davis's correspondence in the continuing series meets the high standards of its predecessors, but it covers a much more interesting era in Davis's life.

One of the attractions for readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is Davis's concerns over Indian removal and military activities in the state. As a Southerner and secretary of war under Franklin Pierce, Davis saw the refusal of the Seminoles to leave their lands that planters and farmers eyed with envy as an exasperating trial of his patience. In January 1856, he reported to Florida Governor James E. Broome that operations had begun. Captors of Indians in the Big Cypress and Everglades, he explained, would receive suitable rewards, scaled according to age and sex– all done to be "promotive of humanity" (p. 23). In his 1856 official annual report, Davis noted that "as large a force as the demands of the service . . . will permit has been concentrated in Florida" to flush the Seminoles out of the swamps and settle them in the dry, alien West (p. 65). Indeed, Davis was a fervent expansionist. Vainly he had supported the annexation of Cuba and William Walker "and his gallant band" when they foolishly tried to seize Nicaragua (p. 119).

Of course, the coming of the Civil War furnishes the chief interest. Davis corresponded chiefly with southern sympathizers in the Democratic party. Vehemently he defended the actions of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, his successor, with regard to "Bloody Kansas." Having lost the governorship five years before, Davis won vindication, as well as a seat in the United States Senate, from his fellow Mississippians in 1857. There he threw himself into the sectional contest. With relish he reviewed his earlier thrashing of Henry Foote, his proto-Unionist archenemy; denounced "the black republicans" who "aimed at the legalization of treason" (p. 121); and showed a touchiness about his personal honor that did not augur well for coolness under the strains of war that he later would face.

As a senator, he specialized in reform and re-armament of the military services about which he had more expertise than any other member of Congress. More significantly, he spoke for southern rights and staunchly opposed Stephen Douglas's doctrine of "squatter sovereignty." Having reluctantly supported the concept as Douglas first applied it to Kansas, Davis later felt as betrayed by Northern Democrats as Douglas did by its corrupted implementation during the Pierce and Buchanan administrations. Various speeches, enthusiastically outlining the achievements of the Pierce regime and warning against antislavery encroachments, are handily reproduced.

After Harpers Ferry, Davis proposed a set of Resolutions about which the Democrats hotly debated in closed caucuses. Taking a relatively moderate line, he displeased the ultras, but the effort was seen as an early attempt to deny Stephen Douglas the presidential nomination later that year. By the fall, however, as the probable election of Abraham Lincoln drew nearer, Davis grew ever more indignant. At Memphis, he publicly announced, "[I]t would be a self-disgrace and self-degradation for any Southern man to accept office, *or to live under* a Black-Republican Administration!" (p. 366). Finally, on December 14, he told the Senate that "the honor, safety, and independence of the Southern people" required secession. Future volumes, which no doubt promise to be as well edited and annotated as the present one, will chronicle the failure of Davis's dreams of a slaveholding empire.

University of Florida BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

Andrew Johnson: A Biography. By Hans L. Trefousse. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1989. 463 pp. Preface, photographs, epilogue, notes, index. $25.00.)

Andrew Johnson and the Negro. By David Warren Bowen. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989. xvi, 206 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, selected bibliography, index. $29.95.)

Popular notions can certainly lag far behind historical scholarship. Some presumably well-informed people, even in the North, still view Andrew Johnson as a hero in the White House. "Simply because he wanted to do the right thing, to restore the nation, he was almost strangled by the radical Republicans," avers a *Boston Globe* columnist (September 26, 1989). That opinion prevailed in the 1920s and 1930s, but since then it has received less and less support from historians, and it would get none from either northern or southern experts today. Two of them, a Northerner and a Southerner, now present complementary studies that agree in describing an Andrew Johnson very different from the one who, supposedly, tried to do the "right thing." Both books ought to be required reading for all those who continue to see him as a great or even a good president.

As Hans L. Trefousse demonstrates, Johnson was an able and successful politician so long as he depended on Tennessee votes alone. Though a maverick within the Democratic party, he managed to rise from alderman to state legislator, congressman, governor, and United States Senator. As president, however, he headed a disastrous administration. He "undermined the Reconstruction process and left a legacy of racism." His failure was due not so much to his tactlessness as to his outworn principles of Jacksonian democracy, agrarianism, states' rights, and black inferiority. "Johnson was a child of his time, but he failed to grow with it" (p. 379).

This is the first cradle-to-the-grave biography of Johnson to appear in sixty years. It is no meandering life-and-times but a fast-moving narrative that, while providing a clear historical context, never loses sight of the subject himself. He becomes a recognizable human being, though the emphasis is on his political career rather than his personal life. The aim is to understand rather than to denounce, and the resulting portrait is well balanced. It is also authoritative, Trefousse having written other significant works on Reconstruction and having mastered a wide range of sources for the present book-a mastery that he carries lightly and unobtrusively.

Equally well written and well researched is David Warren Bowen's *Andrew Johnson and the Negro.* This, though arranged in an essentially chronological way, is not a biography but an analysis of attitudes and character. While explaining what Johnson thought and said in regard to blacks, it tells much more than that about the man and his ideas. Here is his racist background, his (whites only) egalitarianism, his bitterness toward his social superiors, his assertiveness as a self-made man, his jealousy of slaveowning planters together with his unqualified defense of slavery, his role as a "reluctant liberator," and his final betrayal of his promise to be the Moses who would lead the blacks out of their bondage.

Bowen disagrees with Eric L. McKitrick and others who have seen political ineptitude on Johnson's part as the cause of conflict between him and congressional Republicans. Johnson himself, Bowen points out, believed that the dispute "was a simple question of right and wrong. In his own mind he was waging a constitutional battle, and he elected himself defender of the principles of that hallowed document [the Constitution]" (p. 140). In his apologia on leaving the presidency, he repeated the

word "Constitution" more than forty times but never mentioned blacks at all. "It was as if four million people had simply ceased to exist and the only real problem between the president and his enemies concerned the Constitution." Johnson, unlike the Republicans, accepted "slavery and racism as a normal part of the social system" (p. 141). Thus, Bowen emphasizes racism even more than Trefousse does as a reason for the impasse between president and Congress.

Bowen agrees that Johnson left a legacy of racism. Johnson's "actions and the attitudes that lay behind them, for good or ill, played an important role in the history of the Afro-American and helped mold attitudes about race for succeeding generations" (p. xiii). Bowen himself "grew up in a segregated world" and imbibed a "basic southern culture" that "accepted black inferiority as a fact of life" (p. ix). Having served on the editorial staff of *The Papers of Andrew Johnson,* he has had an added advantage in understanding the feelings of his fellow Southerner.

Neither Trefousse nor Bowen, it should be said, would contend that Northerners, in general, or Radical Republicans, in particular, were free from racism. But there was a difference in degree if not also in kind.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro — RICHARD N. CURRENT, EMERITUS

Political Leadership in a Southern City: New Orleans in the Progressive Era, 1896-1902. By Edward F. Haas. (Rustin, LA: McGinty Publications, 1989. xiv, 175 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, photographs, notes, figures and tables, appendices, essay on sources, index. $15.95.)

During the 1970s, urban historians began to examine politics and power in late nineteenth-century southern cities. Recent studies of Atlanta and Birmingham, for example, have explored the relationship between city government and electoral politics. Edward F. Haas adds to this literature in an interesting book on political leadership in New Orleans at the turn of the century.

Haas traces the emergence of a powerful Democratic political machine in New Orleans. In the wake of a corruption scandal that produced a sweeping victory for municipal reformers in

1896, the "Old Regulars" rebuilt their machine, and by 1900 they had regained control of New Orleans politics, creating an organization that dominated local politics for nearly half a century. Haas's book is particularly interesting because the New Orleans machine re-emerged just as the other bases of the "conservative oligarchy" in the state waned.

The heart of this study is an analysis of the composition of the two major political organizations in the city: the machine's Choctaw Club and the reformers' Citizens' League. Using the techniques of prosopography, Haas determined that the leaders of the machine were a diverse group of professional politicans. Moreover, their political experience, superior organization, and broad power base enabled them to wrest control of the city from the wealthier, more homogeneous, and politically inexperienced reformers. By 1899, the machine had re-emerged, and it quickly absorbed ex-reformers, borrowed a few reform ideas, and became the strongest urban political organization in the South.

Haas's research is impressive. He compiled and analyzed data on over 600 political leaders in the city. Moreover, research on local politics supplements the prosopographical material. Finally, the book is skillfully crafted and well argued.

The conceptual focus of this study, however, is narrow. For example, Haas defines political power only in formal terms, relying on office holding and party success to measure political influence; informal sources of power are not discussed. Furthermore, at a time when most urban historians have abandoned the boss-reformer dichotomy, this analytical framework comprises the core of the book. Haas provides little sense of the complex forms of municipal power that other scholars have described. He scarcely mentions the shifting alliances and interest-group lobbying that Harris, Teaford, Hammack, and others have emphasized. Nor does Haas place his findings in the context of the rich literature on urban politics– comparisons with other southern cities, particularly Atlanta, would have been quite interesting.

Similarly, Haas views politics as a battle of organizations. Thus, the voters of the city receive short shrift– election results are not analyzed, and the relationship between the political organizations and the voters is not explained. Haas does not adequately examine the social, economic, or cultural context in which reformers and machine politicians competed. The politics

of race, ethnicity, and class, for example, are mentioned in this book but not discussed in detail.

Despite these shortcomings, this is a solid, interesting book. Although larger questions about the nature of political power in New Orleans, the sources of influence in the city, and the character of municipal government remain unanswered, Edward F. Haas has written a useful book that contributes to our understanding of party organization and machine politics in the urban South.

University of Florida JEFFREY S. ADLER

Booker T. Washington in Perspective: Essays *of Louis R. Harlan.* Edited by Raymond W. Smock. (Jackson: University Presses of Mississippi, 1989. xii, 210 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, notes, index. $25.00.)

Louis Harlan dates his fascination with Booker T. Washington to 1949 or 1950– when he first encountered the black leader's papers at the Library of Congress. He was given freedom to explore among the nearly million pages that were "stacked in confusion in unlabeled boxes" and discovered there a "new world, the private world of the black community hidden behind the veil and mask that protected blacks from the gaze of whites" (p. 186). The essays in this slender volume disclose not only Harlan's insights into that "private world" but also much of his own intellectual quest to understand and explain one of "the less lovable major figures in American black history" (p. 194).

There are twelve essays edited by Raymond W. Smock, Harlan's coworker in the mammoth project that produced a fourteen-volume documentary edition of Washington's papers. Those fourteen volumes, combined with Harlan's two-volume biography, would seem at first to have said all that is worth saying about one man. What emerges from this book, however, is a new sense of the interaction of the biographer and his subject. This is most apparent in the final three essays, which overtly discuss the tasks and dilemmas of the editor and biographer, but is glimpsed throughout the volume. The first nine essays

are "organized to reflect the development of Booker T. Washington's life and career" (p. xi). Several discuss specific aspects of Washington more fully than either the edited papers or the biography. For example, "Booker T. Washington's Discovery of Jews" highlights both the limits of his understanding of the Jewish experience and his role in moving "the blacks and the children of Israel far down the road to the full partnership of the civil-rights movement" (p. 160). Illustrating a darker dimension of the man, "Booker T. Washington and the *Voice of the Negro, 1904-1907,"* is a detailed case study of his ruthless use of power to crush opposition.

Each essay brings a greater awareness of the contradictions and complexity of both Washington and the racial environment in which he lived. At the end, one readily agrees that "it is impossible to write a definitive biography of any historical figure as protean and deliberately deceptive as Washington" (p. 202). On the other hand, *Booker T. Washington in Perspective* confirms that Harlan has succeeded to a remarkable degree in what he saw as his task– "to understand the character and to write about him in such a way that the reader can understand him" (p. 192).

Obviously, this volume is useful to anyone concerned with practicing and teaching the historical craft. It serves other purposes. For scholars of the South and African-American history, several articles published in somewhat obscure journals are made readily available. Other historians who want insight into one of the most powerful black men to live in America but do not wish to read sixteen volumes now have a condensed guide to this remarkable individual. The inclusion of an index increases the book's value to both teachers and researchers. Finally, as in all good biography, readers learn something of what it means to be human. As Harlan notes, "[I]f we muster some sympathy and balance it with detachment, we can see that [Washington] was neither the black superman nor a moral monster, but, like the rest of us, somewhere in between" (p. 202).

North Carolina State University LINDA O. MCMURRY

Plain Folk in the New South: Social Change and Cultural Persistence, 1880-1915. By I. A. Newby. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. xiv, 588 pp. Acknowledgments, note on citation of interviews, notes, appendix, index. $35.00.)

The great redeeming value of the plain folk of the South has always been their honest, straight-forward manner. Why can't scholars display this same perspective when they discuss these folk? My greatest problem with I. A. Newby's book is its ambiguous nature. My misgivings begin with its title, which fails to give the proper scope of its contents. It is primarily a study of cotton mill workers in the Piedmont of North and South Carolina and Georgia. Another frustration for this reader is that Newby often ranges far beyond his self-imposed 1880-1915 parameters. Those quibbles should not detract from our examination of this important work in our quest to understand this most misunderstood people of our southern region, or, as Wayne Flynt has suggested, "Dixie's Forgotten People."

Over the past several years, we have enjoyed a number of new works that have greatly added to our knowledge of the plain folk of the New South. In fact, works on cotton mill workers have appeared so closely together the authors have not been able to benefit from manuscripts in press at the time of the publication of their works. For example, such fine works as *Like a Family* (1987), by Jacquelyn Dowd Hall's team of historians, and Edward Beardsley's *A History of Neglect* (August 1987) could not be consulted for this 1989 work. More perplexing, however, is the absence of Gavin Wright's *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (Spring 1986). In spite of this omission, Newby is plowing new ground in his own right. Newby informs his study with Marxist scholars of the European working classes, including E. P. Thompson, Edward Shorter, and Charles Tilly.

The book begins on solid ground. Newby calls upon Robert Redfield's definition of culture to frame the work: culture, thus, is a people's "total equipment of ideas and institutions and conventionalized activities" (p. 17). Furthermore, by using the work of Sidney W. Mintz, Newby notes that the difference between culture and society is that culture is a resource to be used and society is an arena in which the actions of a people take place.

Newby guides the reader through the seemingly simple patterns of the lives of southern plain folk into the deeper meanings of their existence. He eschews terms such as the value-laden "lint-head," "mill trash," and "po' white" for the more neutral– and accurate– "plain folk." Newby has the workers speak for themselves. The best passages in the book are the excerpts of letters to South Carolina Governor Coleman Blease from the plain folk of both mill and countryside. These, more than Newby's material gleaned from the oral history projects of the WPA, the Southern Oral History Project, and the Chapel Hill Historical Society, give us not only a feel of the situations of mill folk but also a sense of listening to the real lives of real people.

Newby's approach to worker culture, even when we would wish for more documentation, captures the essence of the daily lives of cotton mill workers. All aspects of mill village life are discussed, from "mill daddies" (unemployed men who were depicted by others as living off the labor of their wives and children) to problems with the schooling of children. The basic theme of Newby's presentation is that the workers were traditionalists in a struggle against change. The irony of such a situation is that Progressive reformers often found themselves aligned with mill owners against the mill workers (as reformers and owners supported issues such as compulsory school attendence), or against both mill owners and workers (as reformers supported issues such as child labor legislation).

The most intriguing aspects of Newby's book are those in which old themes are reintroduced– from workers' perspectives. For example, children enjoyed working amidst friends and relatives rather than going to schools where they often had feelings of inadequacy and shame. Another example is the fact, often overlooked, that diseased (hookworm, etc.) and disfunctional families *came to* mill villages rather than being products of the mill environment.

Ordinarily, a reviewer should overlook minor writing infractions. In the case of *Plain Folk in the New South,* however, the usual quirksome ways of individual writers become a major issue for our discussion. Words and phrases such as the following seem to be over-used: "One can only speculate . . ."; "It seems certain . . ."; "One may speculate, however . . ."; "This incident might have been representative"; and "No doubt . . . perhaps."

Do these qualifying statements reflect on the author? Possibly, but they also indicate how little we historians know of the society and culture of the southern folk. What we see in this volume is a historian rendering the facts– but then speculating on the outcome of the tale.

An important factor underplayed in the narrative is the interactions between New South paternalists and the workers. Newby is unwilling to "give" the mill owners too much power for fear that that would inhibit his theme of independent worker activity and decision-making. In presenting the workers' world as a traditional, conservative society interrupted by the world of middle-class values, Newby fails to give a plausible rendering of the paternalist. In presenting the facts in this manner, the workers' world becomes a preindustrial culture that is violated by the introduction of the machine and capitalism.

Quite frankly, after having said all this, I find many of the author's hypotheses rather plausible. But hypotheses are to be tested. Newby has framed for us the debate in a major arena of southern social and labor history for at least the rest of this century. The testing remains for others.

Mississippi College EDWARD N. AKIN

The Evolution of Southern Culture. Edited by Numan V. Bartley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988. xiv, 148 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, contributors. $20.00 cloth; $9.00 paper.)

Professor Bartley provides a skillful introduction to this series of eight essays originating from a symposium held at the University of Georgia. The title's only justification is that "culture" is a broad umbrella that can cover almost any subject (and most of the authors stick to the motif). In any case, the essays are well written, provocative, and reflect the expertise of the writers.

In "What Can One Mean By Southern Culture," Immanuel Wallerstein discusses semantics. The sociologist ponders the word's meaning (Is it the same as southern tradition? The southern mind? Southern civilization?) and wonders if "perhaps we should set aside the very term *culture* as having quite misleading

implications" (p. 8). Nor is he sure about the future. "Culture is so fluid and so flexible, it is virtually impossible to make any sensible projections" (p. 12). Recognizing the subject's complexity, Wallerstein makes no conjectures about what the amorphous nature of southern culture was, is, or likely will be.

Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese describe the cultural effects of religion on southern slave society. They contend, "Slavery laid the foundation for a remarkably broad regional culture, manifested in an increasingly coherent and religous ground view that united the slaveholders on fundamental values and linked them, if precariously, to the nonslaveholders" (p. 15). Men and women slaveholders depended on religion for their fundamental sense of community. Religion was so paramount that "southern high culture was limited to the daily beliefs and practices of both slaveholding and nonslaveholding southerners" (p. 15).

Eric Foner writes about the southern constitutional conventions of 1867-1869. He argues that the "carpetbag" constitutions had more strengths than defects. The constitutional conventions did not go far enough to provide economic benefits for the blacks but went too far for most native whites in radicalizing the South's political system. The conventions indicated philosophical party unity, but also revealed diverse political goals and maneuvers. They were a prelude to the "debilitating factionalism" that hurt the southern Republicans' hegemony during Reconstruction.

Nell Irvin Painter's essay takes a person, various writings, and an event as embodying southern white supremacy. The person is Josephus Daniels and the white supremacy campaign of 1898 in North Carolina; the literature is that of racist author Thomas Dixon; and the event is the Atlanta race riot of 1906. For Professor Painter, "sex was the whip that white supremacists used to reinforce white solidarity" (p. 49). Only that threat kept poor whites in line for the Democratic party. Thus, part of southern culture was white acceptance of a powerful syllogism: race mixing meant social equality, and that meant the downfall of civilization.

George M. Frederickson compares and contrasts Jim Crowism in the New South with apartheid in South Africa (both evolved around 1900). Each system made the "state" the legal guardian and enforcer of racial discrimination. Why was Jim

Crowism abandoned in the South in the 1960s but not apartheid in South Africa? The reason was that the experience of slavery, and later the Jim Crow laws, were counterbalanced by Radical Reconstruction and constitutional amendments, no matter how ineffectively enforced. South African race relations operated at different levels of geographic intensity. The South's extreme discrimination fell to determined black efforts, the power of nonviolent resistance, and the superiority of the central government over state governments. South African blacks did not have the safety valve of migration afforded southern blacks. Nor was there an insistence by whites for radical political and constitutional change. In fact, the present system reinforces the old. Is Professor Frederickson optimistic about the future in South Africa? No.

Joel Williamson's "How Black Was Rhett Bulter?" has aspects of the once popular shaggy dog stories. He notes the white-dominated and violence-prone society of Margaret Mitchell's early childhood. There was the lynching of Sam Hose, a black, near Atlanta in 1898; the grisly Atlanta race riot of 1906; and the lynching of a Jew, Leo Frank, also near Atlanta in 1913. A sketch of Margaret Mitchell's career follows: reader of racist novels by Thomas Dixon; northern educated (Smith); returnee to Atlanta as a popular but unorthodox member of high society. She had a failed marriage in 1922, wrote features for the Atlanta *Journal,* and in 1925 married John March at whose urging she began writing *Gone With The Wind.*

The author is struck by the absence of blacks in the novel– few are villains, most are good, but, mainly, they are ignored. Margaret Mitchell thus wrote a "white" novel for a race-obsessed society. Professor Williamson strains credulity by suggesting that Rhett Butler was a sort of secret black. He cites the frequent referents to Butler's dark features, his lackadaisical work habits, and his drinking and sexual appetite– characteristics supposedly typical of white perceptions of black males. While the thesis is implausible, Williamson has a dazzling style and draws meaningful insights from southern culture.

Bertram Wyatt-Brown's intellectual essay explores the theme of honor as mined by southern novelists. Concentrating on the "Renaissance" writers between World War I and World War II, Professor Wyatt-Brown displays an enviable knowledge of writers both renowned and obscure and interprets their concepts of

honor. He concludes that honor has run its course– perhaps in both fact and fiction– and that no major force has emerged to anchor and sustain the South's literature. With a touch of sadness– more of resignation than of despair– he notes that honor included "ideals worth living and dying for, whereas the modern southerner, indeed the modern American, has no such dream, no such grandeur" (p. 118).

In his "The South in Southern Agrarianism," Paul K. Conkin points out that the twelve Nashville agrarians of *I'll Take My Stand* agreed on a common enemy– industrialism ("corporate capitalism")– yet they could not agree on what they believed in. Professor Conkin sees the division as strength because their book "spoke with several voices" (p. 133), and thereby appealed to different readers for different reasons. Most of them viewed the "Negro problem" negatively, but there was no unanimity. Their commonalty was their view of southern history. Their pleas failed as small farms gave way to agribusiness. Industry triumphed, and the tacky phrase "Sun Belt" has become enshrined. The essayist is rightly concerned about the cultural effects of the victors. He wonders if the agrarians were correct and that the rest of us have sold out. This essay and the others make for good reading.

Florida State University WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

Conversations with Shelby Foote. Edited by William C. Carter. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989. xviii, 276 pp. Introduction, chronology, index. $27.95 cloth; $14.95 paper.)

This volume in the University Press of Mississippi's Literary Conversations Series, includes eighteen interviews with Shelby Foote, the novelist and historian who prefers to be called simply "a writer." Of necessity, these interviews– which took place between 1950, a few months after the publication of Foote's first novel, and 1987, when he had completed six novels and a monumental history of the Civil War– involve a certain amount of repetition, but the editor has wisely chosen to reprint them in full and in chronological order. The reader is certain to be impressed not only by the rich insights provided by Foote's responses to all sorts of quesions but also by the consistency with

which he answered the same questions repeatedly over almost forty years.

In the course of these interviews, Foote comments on a wide range of topics, from his habits and methods of work as a writer to the cultural milieu in which he grew up in Greenville, Mississippi, in "an unliterary family in an unliterary region" (p. 72). Asked time and again to explain why Mississippi has produced so many good writers, he just as often responded by focusing not on the state but on Greenville where he said the influence of the Percys, especially William Alexander Percy, created an environment that made the town unusual, if not unique. In referring to his literary models, it is clear that William Faulkner and Marcel Proust profoundly influenced him.

A substantial portion of the interviews deal with Foote's twenty-year engagement with the Civil War which resulted in three large volumes that demonstrated he was a master storyteller in historical narrative as well as fiction. Convinced that Abraham Lincoln and Nathan Bedford Forrest were "two authenic geniuses" (p. 173) of the Civil War and that Jefferson Davis has been underrated, he was no less candid in expressing his distaste for generals Philip Sheridan and Joseph E. Johnson. While admitting sympathy for the South as the underdog in the struggle, Foote is quick to point out the region's defects and weaknesses. Its difficulties, he argued, were compounded by an effort to mount "a conservative revolution" without the prerequisites for doing so.

Among the more provocative passages in his volume are those in which Foote discourses on the nature of history, historical writing, and historians. "Life has a plot," he insists, and so should historical narrative (p. 171), but unfortunately many writers of history seem unaware of the need for "plotting," a technique by which one increases and releases tension periodically throughout the narrative. Disturbed by the professional historians' disregard, even disdain, for good writing, he is also deeply concerned about what he perceives as the disastrous consequences of their embrace of cliometrics and the social sciences because, in his view, it means transforming "a living breathing human being" into a mere "factor."

Readers' responses to Foote's observations and judgments about matters literary, historical, and otherwise are likely to range from enthusiastic approval to indignation. But whatever

the reaction, no one will find this book dull reading. The qualities responsible for Shelby Foote's international reputation as a major twentieth-century writer are abundantly evident in these recorded conversations.

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

Afro-American Writing Today: An Anniversary Issue of the Southern Review. Edited by James Olney. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. vii, 290 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes on contributors. $29.95.)

In 1985, the *Southern Review,* celebrating its fiftieth anniversary as well as the twentieth anniversary of its refounding in a new series, published several special issues. Among them, its summer number was devoted to Afro-American writing. *Afro-American Writing Today* represents the publication of this issue in book form, with the exception of a conversation between Gloria Naylor and Toni Morrison, permission for the reprinting of which Morrison refused to give. In his Introduction, James Olney, editor of the *Southern Review* and editor of this volume, laments that the Naylor/Morrison piece was "one of the strongest" in the special number. He does not say why Morrison refused to grant permission for its reprinting, and perhaps she gave no reason; but having read this volume, I suspect that she may have judged the special issue to be not of a quality with which she wanted to be associated in book form.

The contributions to this volume, which are arranged by type– Interviews, Photo Essay, Fiction, Essays, Poetry, Drama– are very uneven in quality. Some have appeared elsewhere, such as Henry Louis Gates's 1973 "Interview with Josephine Baker and James Baldwin" which was published most recently in *James Baldwin: The Legacy,* edited by Quincy Troupe, although this fact is not indicated anywhere in the volume. Others appear to be "trunk works," a term writers use to describe pieces that they have not been able to publish. Much of the fiction and poetry seem to fall into this category.

Some well-known and frequently published writers seem to have used the opportunity provided by the special number of

Southern Review to sumit pieces in an experimental style, among them John E. Wideman's "Surfiction" and Amiri Baraka's "WHY'S WISE; Courageousness; I Investigate the Sun." In publishing this material in its special number, *Southern Review* was doing what literary magazines do best.

Among the strongest pieces, in addition to the one Photo Essay– Roland L. Freeman s "Black Folk"– are the written essays including David Bradley's on Jean Toomer's Cane, Houston and Charlotte Pierce-Baker's on quilts in Alice Walker's work, and Robert G. O'Meally's on the influence of Heminway on Ellison. But it was disturbing to this reader to find so much analysis of black writers of the past, or of past works of living black writers, in a book that purports to be about black writing *today.*

To live up to its title, this book should have included work by Ishmael Reed, not simply a conversation with him; work by Toni Morrison, not just an essay by Valerie Smith analyzing *Song of Solomon;* a story or a reminiscence by David Bradley, not just an essay by him about a writer of the past. *Southern Review* deserves commendation for creating and publishing a special number devoted to black writing, but I question the wisdom of publishing the material again in book form as well as that of devoting the already strained resources of a university press to the publication of a volume of this kind.

University of Florida JIM HASKINS

Documenting America, 1935-1943. Edited by Carl Fleischhauer and Beverly W. Brannan. Essays by Lawrence W. Levine and Alan Trachtenberg. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988. xi, 361 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, introduction, notes, photographs, appendix, works cited, photographic negative numbers, index. $65.00 cloth; $24.95 paper.)

Documenting America, 1935-1943, accompanied an exhibit commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Farm Security Administration (FSA). The Historical Section of the FSA was organized by Roy Stryker to document through photographs privations requiring relief and the recovery made under New Deal programs. Over a period of eight years spanning the Great

Depression and World War II, FSA photographers took approximately 270,000 photographs from around the country and left behind, after processing and editing, 77,000 pictures. The contributors to this volume utilize a series approach consisting of fifteen photographs vignettes to get closer to the original assignments of the photographers, place the nearly 300 images reprinted here in the cultural milieu of the time, and reveal the ways in which these pictures were manipulated. Each photographic series is introduced by an essay that draws on pivotal letters from archival sources, as well as seminal secondary literature in the field.

In a highly incisive essay, Professor Lawrence Levine discusses how people search for "perfect victims," and photogaphers engage in the subjective actions of posing and arranging subjects according to angle, distance, lighting, and setting, among other determinants. The photograph commonly referred to as "Migrant Mother," and visualized by Americans as "The Madonna of the Great Depression," was actually the sixth and final image that Dorothea Lange took, and she did not even ask the woman whose picture would reach icon status her name. Looking at the other photographs in the series on Florence Thompson in Nipomo, California, discloses Lange's approach and reveals the symbols of homelessness and poverty that she was after. Professor Trachtenberg, author of the recently published *Reading American Photographs,* provides another highly provocative piece that analyzes how even the way that photographs are organized and catalogued according to subject, theme, time, and place, among other considerations, imposes the viewpoints and interpretations of others on the pictures.

Even in the series approach, pitfalls remain. While photographic sequences provide a prolonged view of certain subjects, blind spots still exist. New England and the Rockies were regions glossed over by the FSA, and these parts of the country are still shortchanged. The photographic sets continue to feature certain celebrity photographers, while others who labored alongside the trenches– most notably Carl Mydans and Theodore Jung– are left out. In light of Dorothea Lange, Arthur Rothstein, and Russell Lee being represented by two series each, the question naturally arises, did not a productive staff member like Arthur Siegel take a succession of photographs worthy of treatment? While the text correctly identifies the isolated and

primitive tenant farmer community of Gee's Bend as being in the state of Alabama, the book's jacket mistakenly locates the place in Georgia.

Documenting America, 1935-1943 provides plenty of outstanding photography on the South in general and Florida in particular. Carl Fleischhauer and Beverly W. Brannan, archivists at the Library of Congress, estimate that Stryker's people generated 1,556 "lots," groups of photographs roughly equivalent to the original shooting assignments. The South accounted for 371 lots (23 percent), more than any other region, and thirty-three of these assignments took place in Florida. Ben Shahn's series on the tough life of cotton pickers in Pulaski, Tennessee, is tempered by Marion Post Wolcott's coverage of leisurely life at the beach resort of Miami. Wolcott covered Florida the most extensively of any FSA photographer, and she was one of the few in the ranks of the federal government to focus on the relationship between classes and races. Her photographs in Florida underscore that even in the depths of the Great Depression some people had enough wealth to enjoy posh hotels, elegant waterfront mansions, sunswept pools and cabanas, and expensive automobiles. Overall, *Documenting America, 1935-1943* causes us to rethink how photographs were taken, what they mean, and where they fit into the records of an era. Photographs demand the same critical reading that would be given to other documents and artifacts.

University of South Florida ROBERT E. SNYDER

Georgia Governors in an Age of Change: From Ellis Arnall to George Busbee. Edited by Harold P. Henderson and Gary L. Roberts. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988. xiii, 352 pp. Preface, appendix, notes, contributors, index. $25.00 cloth; $10.00 paper.)

This collection of essays and interviews is the result of a conference held at Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College in 1985. In many ways, it is superior to the usual conference proceedings. Covering the nine Georgia, governors who served in the 1943 to 1983 period, the book presents articles by historians and political scientist, as well as statements by some of the governors and interviews with the others (M. E. Thompson and

Marvin Griffin, both interviewed in 1976, and Jimmy Carter in 1985).

Analyzing the 1943-1983 period from Governors Ellis Arnall to George Busbee covers an era of tremendous change for the state in such areas as economic development, race relations, and urbanization. How these nine men responded to those changes and retarded or encouraged Georgia's emergence into the modern era is the theme of the book. Beginning with Gary Robert's very good introduction to the topic, and concluding with Numan Bartley's essay on Georgia politics and a statement by present governor Joe Frank Harris, this collection offers the best single-volume study of gubernatorial leadership and politics in twentieth-century Georgia. A number of the authors have already written extensively on their subjects and therefore brought to the conference and to this anthology a well-thoughout and researched study.

Nonetheless, as with any anthology, some of the essays stand out above the rest. Roger Pajari's article on Herman Talmadge and Gary Fink's on Jummy Carter try to do more than delineate the pros and cons of the administration under study. Each sets the story in a broader theoretical setting. Pajari, for example, raises the question of how governors are to be evaluated and what criteria should be used; Fink brings into his analysis a discussion of the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches of state government.

While the essays are generally even handed, some authors tend to be too apologetic or defensive about their subjects. Robert Dubay's essay on Marvin Griffin, for example, notes that "at least in part, some of what Governor Griffin did regarding racial matters is understandable, perhaps pardonable, considering constituent pressures, the context of those troubled times, his personal background, and the legitimate right to raise constitutional issues" (p. 111). Yet, other white Georgians, politicians and ordinary citizens, were able to rise above various factors, including their upbringing, and avoid the open racism associated with Griffin and his administration.

Defensiveness is also notably evident in the statements by the governors, each one understandably trying to portray their administration in the most favorable way. One sees this approach particularly in the Talmadge and Maddox statements and in the essay written by Griffin's son and Roy Chalker. A preferable

approach would have been to conduct interviews that asked probing questions, thereby helping the reader understand the governor's motivation. Naturally, this technique could not be used with those deceased by the time of the conference (unless, as was the case with Thompson and Griffin, pertinent interviews already existed), but certainly would have been a useful tool with Arnall, Talmadge, Vandiver, Sanders, Maddox, and Busbee. Carter was the only former governor interviewed after the meeting, based on questions raised at the conference.

However, even with these faults, this book is still a welcome addition to the historical literature, and one that will be the standard one-volume study of the governors of this period.

Georgia Tech University RONALD H. BAYOR

BOOK NOTES

One of the major publications in the United States in recent years was the *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture.* This 1,600-plus-page encyclopedia was coedited by Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, and it was developed by the Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi. The 800 contributors include historians, sociologists, psychologists, lawyers, folklorists, novelists, and theologians. Many Floridians are represented as consultants and contributors. These include George E. Pozzetta, who served as consultant for the section on ethnic life, and Sam S. Hill, who worked on the section about religion. Pozzetta and Hill are faculty members at the University of Florida. Almost every conceivable subject and person relating to the South is covered in the *Encyclopedia.* An overview essay introduces each section followed by authoritative articles on specific topics. The topics range from the country store, rural free delivery, Georgian Revival architecture, black genealogy, health, baseball leagues, Jesse Jackson, the University of Florida, catfish, the Everglades, Seminoles, North Carolina pottery, funerals, barbecues, the rebel flag, William Faulkner, and bluegrass music to scores of other subjects. The great, near great, and the everyday folk are included– almost no one was overlooked. There are short articles on Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi, Southern soul food, Coca-Cola ("the holy water of the American South"), Ted Turner ("the mouth of the South"), and fundamentalist churches. Billy Carter's definition of a redneck is included. Every effort was made to be sure that the information was accurate: cited facts had to be verified, and opinions and unverifiable statements are labelled as such. The *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* has become a best-seller and justifiably so. It makes for great reading and is a valuable addition to everyone's library. Published by the University of North Carolina Press, it sells for $59.95.

Florida Weather, by Morton D. Winsberg, attempts to describe the weather and climate of Florida through maps, tables, and narrative. Its purpose is to provide a reference for those need-

ing or wanting to know more about Florida's climate. In the first chapter, the major controls of weather and climate and how these controls apply to Florida are described. The book treats, in turn, each of the four seasons. The catastrophic weather events– hurricanes, freezes, thunderstorms, and tornados– are described, not for the purpose of frightening readers, but rather to make them aware that sometimes there is a risk involved in the pursuit of outdoor activities in Florida. Climate is Florida's most important physical resource. It has been a major factor in the state's economic and agricultural development and in the great population changes and increase in the twentieth century. More retirees have moved to Florida since World War II than to any other state, and today Florida ranks first nationally in the percentage of total state population of ages sixty-five or older. Over 1,000,000 immigrants from the Caribbean Basin live in south Florida, in part, perhaps, because of the similarity of its climate with that of their native country. Millions of visitors come to Florida to enjoy the beaches and lakes and to visit tourist attractions like Disney World. They are also lured here by the temperate climate– mild winters and summers whose rigors have been reduced by air conditioning. University of Central Florida Press published *Florida Weather;* it sells for $9.95.

"Off The Beaten Path," The History of Cedar Key, Florida, 1843-1990, is a short account of one of Florida's most historic communities. It is based on oral history interviews, unpublished manuscripts, newspapers, and published works. The Indians were the earliest settlers, and except for an occasional fisherman visiting the area, it was not until the nineteenth century, after Florida became an American territory, that white settlement began. Although it was never a large community, Cedar Key has played an important role in Florida history. Cedar Key was the terminus for the Florida Peninsula Railroad constructed by David Levy Yulee on the eve of the Civil War. Union forces raided Cedar Key early in 1862, and there was military activity in the area. There was also much political bickering there during the Reconstruction era. Some of the information on the Civil War period is taken in part from the personal diary of Eliza Hearn, a Cedar Key school teacher. The Island Hotel, now on the National Register for Historic Sites, is among the oldest buildings in Cedar Key and one of the best known. It was orig-

inally a general store, and for a time the Cedar Key custom's house. Under the direction of Bessie Gibbs, one of Cedar Key's most colorful citizens, it became a hotel. Miss Bessie also operated a restaurant that became famous for its quality and charm. Chapter 14, "Profiles," is one of the most interesting in the volume. It "profiles" a number of the local residents. The book cover was designed by Polly Pillsbury, a Cedar Key artist. *"Off The Beaten Path"* was published by Rife Publishing, 423 North Main Street, Chiefland, FL 32626; it sells for $9.95.

In 1878, Sidney O. Chase arrived to Florida from Philadelphia and met J. E. Ingraham who was then operating the extensive orange groves owned by General Henry S. Sanford in central Florida. Josuha C. Chase joined his brother, and together they formed Chase and Company. A third brother, Randall, arranged for the investment capital that was needed for growth and expansion. Chase and Company of Sanford became one of the major citrus growing and shipping firms of fruits and vegetables in the United States. But it was not all business. Family members participated in many civic, educational, and charitable organizations and causes. Josuha Chase served as president of the Florida Historical Society from 1936 to 1938. The Chase family and business papers, which include mainly materials written between 1883 and 1940, are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. There are also some Chase items in the archives of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami. *A Guide for the Chase Papers in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History* was compiled by Dena E. Snodgrass and was published by the University of Florida Libraries. A limited number of the *Guide* are available. Contact Sam Gowan, 217 Library East, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

Alton C. Morris, as a young college student and instructor in English, became interested in 1933 in collecting Florida folk songs. By the following summer, he had about 200 items. He used an Ediphone to record the music. In 1937, accompanied by Alan A. Lomax, he travelled throughout the rural and backwoods areas of Florida from Key West to Pensacola. He even went into the Spanish, Greek, Slovak, and Polish communities recording songs in the corresponding Old World languages.

These became the basis for Morris's dissertation that he wrote for his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Dr. Morris became a professor of English at the University of Florida and continued his collecting of folk songs throughout the remainder of his life. He laid the ground-work for other noted Florida folklorists like Stetson Kennedy and Zora Neale Hurston. In 1950, the University of Florida Press published his *Folksongs of Florida.* The University of Florida Press has reprinted this volume in its Florida Sand Dollar Book Series. It carries an introduction by Robert S. Thomson, and it sells for $19.50.

The University of Florida Press has reprinted two important works by Stetson Kennedy, one of Florida's best-known writers on human rights and social justice. *The Klan Unmasked* is an account of Kennedy's activities after World War II as an undercover agent in the KKK and in other racist/terrorist groups. The book includes eyewitness reports of Klan activities and Kennedy's efforts to transmit as much of this information as possible to law enforcement agencies and to the media. *The Klan Unmasked* was first published in 1954. A new, unexpurgated edition has been published by Florida Atlantic University Press, Boca Raton; it sells for $16.95 paper. To this new edition, Kennedy has added some material: "Kluxed Again?" and "How to Kan the Klan: A Handbook for Counterterrorist Action."

Jim Crow Guide, The Way It Was is a tongue-in-cheek travel guide to the United States as Stetson Kennedy saw it in the 1950s when segregation was still firmly in place and when there were many barriers in housing, education, and job opportunities for blacks, Native Americans, Jews, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and almost anyone who was not a white Protestant. Black, red, and yellow people, Kennedy argued, were treated as second-class citizens. Kennedy covers what he calls "the long century from Emancipation to the Overcoming." *The Guide* was published in Paris in 1956 by Jean-Paul Sartre because the author could find no American publisher who was willing to issue the book. In this new edition, Kennedy has added an afterword that provides his impressions of contemporary "desegregated racism." The paperback volume sells for $14.95.

"Land," Malcolm J. Rohrbough noted in his *The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789-1837,* was "America's most sought after commodity" during its first half-century. To supervise the distribution of public lands to settlers and speculators, a bureaucratic program of governmental legislation and administration evolved. Politics played a major role in deciding who got what and how much. Many of the administrators received their appointments because of their political connections. For instance, in Florida, Robert Butler was placed in charge of surveying public land, and Richard Keith Call, George Ward, and Samuel Overtone were appointed land officers in charge of land distribution. All of these men owed their appointments to the influence of General Andrew Jackson. Other politicians found places for friends and relatives in the land distribution business. Call's political opponents charged that he campaigned for public office while continuing to "wheel the patronage of the Land Office and enjoy its profits." Land sales and land distribution dominated Florida politics throughout the 1820s. The Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont, California, has published a new paperback edition of *The Land Office Business* with an updated bibliography. It sells for $20.25.

One of the important results of the WPA Federal Writers' Project of the 1930s was the nearly 2,000 interviews with former slaves. B. A. Botkin directed the Slave Narrative Program. His book, *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery,* published in 1945, included excerpts and complete narratives from the collection. The University of Georgia Press has reprinted the volume in a paperback edition for its Brown Thrasher series. The foreword in the new edition is by Jerold Hirsch.

The Urban South: A Bibliography, published by Greenwood Press in its Bibliography Indexes in American History series, was compiled by Catherine L. Brown. It lists material from dissertations and theses, periodical literature, and monographs. Among the subjects covered are archaeology, architecture, historic preservation, artisans and crafts, arts and culture, art, business and economics, dance, ecology and environment, education, growth, development and land use, health, history and

geography, journalism, literature, music, politics and government, population, race relations, religion, recreation and sports, transportation, urban renewal, and social problems. The individual entries are cross-referenced by subject and are also included in the geographical reference. There are citations from the *Florida Anthropologist, Florida Geograhy, Florida Historical Quarterly,* and *Florida Scientist.* It sells for $49.95.

Criminal Activity in the Deep South, 1700-1930: An Annotated Bibliography is a listing of monographs, dissertations, theses, journal articles, newspaper articles, and other items relating to criminal activity in the South. The volume was compiled by A. J. Wright, and it was published by Greenwood Press, New York, in its Research and Bibliography Guides in Criminal Justice series. The first item, October 28, 1718, notes that the trial of pirate Steve Bonnet and members of his crew had begun in Charleston. Bonnet was convicted and hanged a few weeks later. That same year, the pirate Edward Teach, better known as Blackbeard, was killed in Ocracoke Inlet, North Carolina. The Florida section lists eighty-four items including articles from the *Florida Historical Quarterly* by Gordon Carper, Herbert J. Doherty, Paul Felson, Jerrell Shofner, Edward Williamson, and J. Leitch Wright, Jr. Why would the article by Peggy Friedman, "Jacksonville's Most Famous Madame [Cora Crane]" *(Jacksonville 1980),* be included? An article in the *Jacksonville Courier,* September 3, 1835, reports the arrest of an unidentified "foreigner" in St. Augustine, "for attempting to excite [sic] insurrection among the Blacks in that place, and on examination disclose that several persons were engaged in the plot in Florida with the understanding that there was to be a general rise in all the Southern States." No other detail was included, except to say that the uprising was scheduled to "be carried into effect in December next." Murders, robberies, shootings, printing and circulating counterfeit money, jail breaks, lynchings, the exploits of the famous Ashley gang in the 1920s and breaking up of gambling rings are among the crimes listed in this bibliography. It sells for $45.00.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in Orlando, May 9-11, 1991. The Florida Historical Confederation will also hold its workshops at that same time. The theme for the 1991 annual meeting will be "Florida Culture." The program committee invites proposals for papers and sessions. Those wishing to read a paper should submit an outline and a resume to Dr. Robert E. Snyder (American Studies, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620), chairman of the program committee. Other members of the committee are Bailey Thompson *(Orlando Sentinel,* 633 North Orange Avenue, Orlando, FL 32801), and Dr. Thomas Greenhaw (Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816). Sara Van Arsdel of the Orange County Historical Society is the chairperson for local arrangements, and her organization will serve as host for the convention.

Tri-State Historical Societies Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will be hosts for a Tri-State Historical Societies meeting in St. Augustine, October 4-6, 1990. Also participating will be the Alabama Historical Association, the Georgia Historical Society, and the *Gulf Coast Historical Review.* The theme is "Palmetto Country: A Regional Heritage." Among those presenting papers and serving as chairs for the sessions are Harvey H. Jackson, Jacksonville State University; Raymond O. Arsenault, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg; and George E. Pozzetta, University of Florida. The Ponce de Leon Resort and Convention Center is the conference hotel. For information or registration, write Dr. Nick Wynne, Florida Historical Society, Library, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620.

Prizes and Awards

The Florida Historical Society's Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History was awarded to George Klos, a Ph.D. student at the University of Texas at Austin, for his article, "Blacks and the Seminole Removal Debate, 1821-1835," that appeared in the July 1989 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.* The judges were Dr. Robert Ingalls, Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa; Dr. Jane Landers, Department of History, University of Florida, Gainesville; and Dr. Patricia Griffin, St. Augustine. The prize is a memorial to Professor Thompson, Florida and southern historian, who was a member of the history faculty, University of Florida. His family established the endowment that supports the annual award.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award went to Dr. James W. Button, Department of Political Science, University of Florida, for his book, *Blacks and Social Change: Impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Southern Communities,* that was published by Princeton University Press. The judges for 1989 were Dr. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Department of History, University of Florida; Dr. Joe M. Richardson, Department of History, Florida State University; and Dr. George F. Pearce, Department of History, University of West Florida. Dr. Patrick was secretary of the Florida Historical Society and editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.* He was a noted Florida and southern historian and served as president of the Southern Historical Association.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was presented to Dr. Raymond O. Arsenault, Department of History, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg, for his book, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1885-1950.* Dr. Arsenault's volume was published by Donning Company. The judges for the Tebeau Book Award were Kyle VanLandingham, Savannah, GA; Rodney E. Dillon, Broward County Historical Commission, Fort Lauderdale; and Dr. Robert L. Gold, St. Augustine. Dr. Tebeau is professor emeritus of history, University of Miami, author of *A History of Florida,* and editor of *Tequesta.*

The Florida Historical Society also recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by graduate and undergraduate students. The LeRoy Collins Prize named for the

former governor of Florida, went to Canter Brown, Jr., a graduate student at the University of Florida, for his paper, "The Life and Times of Robert Meacham." Mr. Brown's essay is published in this issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.* His book, *The River of Peace: The Nineteenth Century,* is being published by the University of Central Florida Press. The winner of the Caroline Mays Brevard Prize was Lawrence Cottrell, an undergraduate student at the University of South Florida, for his paper, "Development of the Roebling 'Alligator.'" Mrs. Brevard was a Florida historian and the author of the two-volume *A History of Florida.*

The Pensacola Historical Society awarded its 1989 Heritage Award to Colonel James McHenry Jones in recognition of his leadership role in organizing the 1959 Quadricentennial Celebration in Pensacola and his many other activities in the Society and in the community. Colonel Jones is a Pensacola attorney. His grandfather, Colonel Thomas Jones, was the commanding officer in charge of the Confederate troops' retreat from Pensacola in May 1862.

The Georgia Historical Society presented the E. Merton Coulter Award to Dr. Theda Perdue, University of Kentucky, for her article, "The Conflict Within: The Cherokee Power Structure and Removal," that appeared in the fall 1989 issue of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly.* The William Bacon Steven's Award was given to Caroline Ziemke, now at the Institute for Defense Analysis, for her article, "Senator Richard B. Russell and the Single 'Lost Cause' in Vietnam, 1954-1968." The Steven's Award is for the best article by a graduate student published over a two-year period in the *Quarterly.* When Dr. Ziemke's article appeared, she was a Ph.D. candidate in history at Ohio State University.

Gulf Coast Historical Review

The Gulf Coast Historical Review focuses on the history of the coastal region from the Florida Panhandle to Louisiana. It is sponsored by the Department of History, University of South Alabama in Mobile, and is published twice a year. In addition to articles on subjects from colonial times to the twentieth century, the *Review* also publishes book reviews, articles on historical

landmarks in the region, descriptions of archival resources, and examples of documents available for scholarly research. The annual subscription (two issues) is $14; a two-year subscription (four issues) is $25. To subscribe, write to *The Gulf Coast Historical Review,* Department of History, Humanities Building 344, University of South Alabama, Mobile, AL 36688.

Announcements and Activities

The Southern Association for Women Historians announces a new round of competition for the Julia Cherry Spruill Publication Prize in Southern Women's History. The $500 prize is awarded every two years for the best published book in southern women's history. Authors, publishers, and third-parties may submit entries. To be eligible, the work must be written in English, but the competition is not restricted to books published in the United States. The Julia Cherry Spruill Publication Prize will include works published between January 1, 1989, and December 31, 1990. One copy of each entry must be sent to each of the committee members no later than March 1, 1991: Martha Swain, Department of History and Government, Texas Women's University, Denton, TX 76204; Catherine Clinton, 12 Hancock Street, Winchester, MA 01890; and Wayne Flynt, Department of History, Auburn University, Auburn, AL 36849. All entries must be marked "Spruill Prize Entry." The winners of the 1989 prize were Elizabeth Fox-Genovese for her *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South,* and David Garrow (ed.) and JoAnn Gibson Robinson for *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Woman Who Started It: JoAnn Gibson Robinson.*

The Southern Association for Women is also announcing a new round of competition for the Willie Lee Rose Publication Prize in Southern History. This prize is also awarded every two years for the best book in southern history authored by a woman. The prize is $750. Authors, publishers, and third-parties may submit manuscripts that must be written in English. No type of historical publication is excluded from consideration. Works published between January 1, 1989, and December 31, 1991, will be eligible. The judges for the Spruill Prize will also serve as judges for the Willie Lee Rose Prize. One copy of each

entry must be sent to each of the committee members no later than March 1, 1991. Entries must be marked "Rose Prize Entry." The 1989 winner of the Willie Lee Rose Prize was Jean H. Baker for her book, *Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography.*

The Forest History Society has established the Alfred D. Bell, Jr., Visiting Scholars Program. Those wishing to make use of the Society's library and archives may apply for a travel grant up to $750. The Society's archives holds the records of the American Forest Council, American Forestry Association, National Forest Products Association, Society of American Foresters, Western Timber Association, and several smaller collections. The Forest History Society is affiliated with Duke University and publishes the quarterly journal *Forest & Conservation History* through the auspices of Duke University Press.

The Southern Jewish Historical Society invites grant proposals for completion of books on the southern Jewish experience and works in other media– exhibits, films, or video cassettes. Grant proposals may not exceed $2,500 per year. They will be announced at the Society's annual conference, November 3-4, 1990, in Jackson, Mississippi. For information about proposals, write Rachel Heimovics, president, 20 Old Post Road, Longwood, FL 32779, or call 407-333-0532. The purpose of the Southern Jewish Historical Society is to support, collect, preserve, and popularize the history of Jews in the South.

A nationwide symposium is scheduled for November 8-10, 1990, on The Origins of the Spanish Missions and Their Influence in the New World. Scholars in the fields of archaeology, architecture, and history will discuss the foundings of the missions, the interaction between the Indians and Europeans, and the role of missions in Spanish colonial society. The National Park Service at San Antonio Missions National Historical Park and Los Compadres de San en Missions National Park are cosponsors of this event. For registration information, write to the Quincentenary Committee, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, 2202 Roosevelt Avenue, San Antonio, TX 78210, or call Rascinda Meno or Dr. Art Gomez at 512-229-5701.

The Missouri History Conference will be held in Omaha, Nebraska, March 14-16, 1991. Proposals for papers and sessions in all areas of history are welcome. Send proposals, accompanied by abstracts and vitae, by November 1, 1990, to Professor William C. Pratt, Department of History, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, NE 68182.

The Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism is sponsoring a conference at the University of Notre Dame on "American Catholicism in the Twentieth Century," November 3, 1990. For information, contact the Center for Continuing Education, Notre Dame, IN 46556.

Obituary

Dr. Cooper Clifford Kirk, one of south Florida's best-known historians, died August 30, 1989. A native of Missouri, Kirk moved with his family to Fort Lauderdale in 1926 shortly after the devastating hurricane that so badly damaged that area of the state. He received all of his degrees in history– bachelor's, master's, and Ph.D.– from the University of Miami. Kirk's dissertation was a history of the Presbyterian church in Florida. In 1972, Dr. Kirk became Broward County's first official historian, and he began his work with the newly created Broward County Historical Commission. His book, *William Lauderdale: General Andrew Jackson's Warrior,* was published in 1948. He played a leading role in creating Pioneer Days as an annual Fort Lauderdale event. Dr. Kirk helped organize the Black Historical Society in Fort Lauderdale. In 1976, Dr. Kirk also helped establish *Broward Legacy,* the journal devoted to the county's history, and he served as editor for thirteen years. Throughout his life, Dr. Kirk was recognized as a popular speaker and lecturer, and his advice and help were sought on matters relating to the history of his community and the state of Florida.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

Date	Event	Location
1990		
Aug. 30-Sept. 3	Society of American Archivists	Seattle, WA
Sept. 5-8	American Association for State and Local History	Washington, DC
Oct. 4-6	Tri-State Historical Societies Meeting	St. Augustine, FL
Oct. 17-21	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Charleston, SC
Oct. 31-Nov. 3	Southern Historical Association	New Orleans, LA
Nov. 2-4	Southern Jewish Historical Association	Jackson, MS
Nov. 8-11	Oral History Association	Cambridge, MA
Dec. 27-30	American Historical Association	New York, NY
1991		
May9-11	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 89th MEETING	Orlando, FL
May 9	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Orlando, FL
Oct. 3-5	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, 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 $25, 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 generosity and consideration.

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

Please send as a special gift:

- ❑ Annual membership– $25
- ❑ Family membership– $30
- ❑ Library membership– $35
- ❑ Contributing membership– $50 and above
- ❑ Corporate membership– $100
- ❑ Student membership– $15
- ❑ Check or money order enclosed
- ❑ Cash enclosed

TO ______________________________

FROM ______________________________

Detach Along This Line

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

OFFICERS

HAMPTON DUNN, *president*
DAVID R. COLBURN, *president-elect*
REBECCA SMITH, *recording-secretary*
LEWIS N. WYNNE, *executive director*
SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

DIRECTORS

KATHLEEN H. ARSENAULT
St. Petersburg
J. ANDREW BRIAN, *ex-officio*
Coral Gables
WILLIAM S. COKER
Pensacola
RODNEY E. DILLON
North Palm Beach
J. LARRY DURRENCE
Lakeland
PAUL S. GEORGE, *ex-officio*
Miami
HENRY GREEN
Coral Gables
JOE KNETSCH
Tallahassee
MARINUS H. LATOUR
Gainesville
EUGENE LYON
St. Augustine
STUART B. MCIVER
Lighthouse Point
RAYMOND A. MOHL
Boca Raton
JOAN P. MORRIS
Tallahassee
JOHN W. PARTIN
Tampa
EUGENE W. ROACH
Orlando
IVAN A. RODRIGUEZ
Miami
NILES F. SCHUH
Panama City

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $25; family membership is $30; library membership is $35; a contributing membership is $50 and above; and a corporate membership is $100. In addition, a student membership is $15, 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.