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COVER

Members of a convict-labor turpentine crew pose for a picture in c. 1910s Escambia County, Florida. *Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

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WHERE PALM AND PINE ARE BLOWING: CONVICT LABOR IN THE NORTH FLORIDA TURPENTINE INDUSTRY, 1877-1923

by JEFFREY A. DROBNEY

IN 1912 journalist Marc Goodnow visited the pine forests of north Florida seeking information for an article he was writing on the turpentine industry. Goodnow's findings, which appeared in an exposé entitled "Turpentine: Impressions of the Convicts' Camps of Florida," shocked the nation. In the article Goodnow described how he stood in horror and watched as a black convict was forced to be a "runner" in a deadly game of hide and seek. In this weekly occurrence, which trained camp dogs to track down escaped convicts, the man was given a five-minute head start and then required to lead the dogs on a chase through the swamps and saw-palmetto thickets of the forest. Goodnow described the chaotic scene: "Suddenly the baying of hounds grew near and raucous; every tree became a sounding-board— a voice in itself. Nearer and nearer came a great scuffling and crunching. A man plowed his way through the mat of dead leaves, grass, and pine needles— a negro running long, his face burnished with sweat, casting furtive glances over his shoulder. On his body was the flannel garb of a convict. For a moment the swift impression of witnessing an escape flashed through the spectators [sic] brain, but there was not the slightest chance of that. The dogs were beating through the palmetto growth like an avalanche down a mountain side— six of them, their dilated nostrils scenting the ground every few leaps, tongues hanging dry from their vicious mouths. Great drops of sweat flooded the receding forehead of the hunted black; sweat glued his striped shirt to his muscle-taut body; to one foot clung a coarse shoe; his trousers were torn and frayed from contact

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with sharp palmetto leaves and wet and sticky with the ooze of a nearby swamp."¹

Goodnow stood and watched as the dogs drew closer and closer to their chase. The convict took one last look across his shoulder and then: "With an agility surprising to see in a body seemingly spent from long pursuit, the black arms shot up, the legs came up under the thick trunk, and the Negro in one giant, primitive spring, had landed six or seven feet up the stock of a virgin pine— straddling it as a gorilla would a grapevine— and 'shinned' on up to a place well beyond the reach of the dogs. Almost in the same instant a hound pup sprang even higher up the tree and fell back savagely, not once taking his hungry, fire-shot eyes from the crouching form above. In another instant the entire canine detachment had surrounded the tree, baying furiously."² Only after the dogs had been leashed and returned to their holding pens was the convict was able to creep down from his safe haven.

Goodnow's description of this weekly ritual in the numerous convict camps manufacturing turpentine in north Florida during the five decades after the Civil War provides some insight into the lives of leased convict laborers. As evidenced by Goodnow's exposé, the convict lease system presents damning testimony of the indifference to human suffering and exploitation on the part of many of the South's industrialists and public officials. The purpose of this essay, therefore, is not simply to recount the abuses and horrors associated with convict leasing but to provide an understanding of the development of the system in Florida within the framework of economic conditions of the postbellum South. No industry demonstrates the institutional effects of convict leasing as well as the north Florida turpentine industry.

The convict lease system emerged in the turbulent years immediately after the Civil War. Where it operated, state officials leased convicts to local industrialists, or lessees, for fixed periods of time and for a specified annual fee. The use of convict labor in the region cannot be narrowly interpreted as merely an at-

1. Marc N. Goodnow, "Turpentine: Impressions of the Convicts' Camp of Florida," *International Socialist Review* 15 (June 1915), 724-25.

2. *Ibid.*, 725.

tempt to reinstate slavery in the New South. One historian of southern penology argues that the convict lease system did not "proceed as automatically as it has sometimes seemed in retrospect. The convict lease system developed haltingly and unevenly throughout the region."³ Many southern states, including Florida, turned to convict leasing in the mid 1860s and 1870s as a temporary expedient to relieve their burgeoning prison populations. Edward Ayers's study of nineteenth-century crime and punishment claims that the South more or less stumbled into the lease system, seeking a way to avoid large expenditures while hoping a truly satisfactory plan would later emerge.⁴ Thus the use of convict labor must be understood in the context of a region devastated by the Civil War and desperately trying to achieve the industrial goals set forth in "New South" ideology.

Several factors contributed to the pervasiveness of convict leasing. First, it served as a means to relieve states of the heavy financial burdens of maintaining central prison facilities. Southern penitentiaries had fallen apart during the Civil War. Buildings were in disrepair, and states found themselves without money to rebuild them, much less to feed or maintain prisoners. After 1866 the cost of maintaining dilapidated penitentiaries mounted, and the number of prisoners began to increase rapidly. Leasing convicts not only allowed southern governments to cut prisoner costs. It also added dollars to state treasuries.

Southern governments confronted a growing fiscal crisis after 1866 as the public made a constant stream of demands for internal improvements on under-funded state treasuries. Building schools, roads, bridges, and hospitals were high priorities, but spending money to house convicts had little taxpayer support. After a few abortive attempts, such as those made in Arkansas and Florida in which the state paid contractors to assume responsibility for convicts, southern states quickly recognized the financial benefits of the lease system. By 1876 all southern states had adopted laws authorizing the leasing of convicts to private entrepreneurs for an annual fee. The purpose of the

3. Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance & Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South* (New York, 1984), 188.

4. *Ibid.*, 189.

system also changed from providing states with financial relief to producing a continuing source of income.⁵ Very quickly, profits, and profits alone, began to drive the system. Government officials realized that leasing offered an unlimited source of income to pay for state services— funds that were politically safe since they were not based on unpopular taxes.

A second factor contributing to the rise of the convict lease system was the desire to aid southern business. Southern entrepreneurs were short of both capital and labor to fulfill the prophecy of the New South. Convict labor bridged the gap between an agricultural slave economy and a society in the earliest stages of industrial development.⁶ After the Civil War many parts of the South suffered from a severe labor shortage, and New South industrialists found themselves in competition for scarce workers. An intense rivalry for labor developed between planters, seeking replacements for slaves, and industrial capitalists, who were attempting to move the region into the economic mainstream. In addition, many available free workers refused to work in the South's more dangerous but profitable industries, including turpentine. Free workers were also undesirable since they constituted a possible source of labor unrest. As one historian of the South noted, "The establishment of the convict lease offered an acceptable solution to the dilemma of creating a sufficient pool of industrial workers without disrupting the labor supply available for agriculture."⁷

The roots of the convict leasing system in Florida reach to the late 1860s. At the end of the Civil War the state government was confronted with an increasing number of convicts and inadequate facilities to house them. State officials considered using the old United States arsenal at Chattahoochee— used for several years by the Freedmen's Bureau to aid former slaves— as a prison building since the arsenal was relatively secure and able to house a large number of inmates. In 1868 Governor Harrison Reed applied to the United States secretary of war and the Freedmen's Bureau for permission to use the arsenal property for a state penitentiary. The request was granted, and the

5. Lewis N. Wynne, "Prisoners and Public Opinion: Convict Lease System" (paper in author's possession), 1.

6. Ayers, *Vengeance & Justice*, 192.

7. Wynne, "Prisoners and Public Opinion," 2.

former arsenal became the state's first prison in 1869 with a capacity of 300 convicts.⁸

Malachi Martin, a carpetbagger from Ireland and a former merchant in New York City, headed the prison. Martin had come to the state as a Union Army officer and had stayed after the war to serve in the state's Republican government. When the prison opened, the buildings were dilapidated, with windows and shutters gone, and doors off hinges. Overall it was little better than ruins. With the state treasury nearly empty, maintenance funds for the prison facility were virtually nonexistent. The costs to maintain the prison were quite extensive considering the state's dire straits. For example, in 1872 the cost of feeding a prisoner averaged twenty cents per day, and the annual operating costs of the entire institution were \$20,078.38.⁹

In 1877, when federal Reconstruction officially ended, the reins of state government passed to Democratic governor George F. Drew. With the change, the prison experiment came to an abrupt end. Because of the horrible conditions at Chattahoochee prison, the new administration made changes to the penal system. Since the Chattahoochee buildings were entirely unsuited for prison purposes, and the prison's \$40,000 annual maintenance costs were beyond the means of the government, the state turned to the leasing system.¹⁰ To secure lessees, officials solicited bids for the use of state convicts by placing advertisements in newspapers such as the *Pensacola Commercial*, the *Tallahasseean*, and the *Jacksonville Times-Union*. In 1880 state prisoners, for the first time, were leased for \$2,745.00 to Major H. A. Wise of Live Oak and Green Cheers of Leon County.¹¹ Major Wise subleased his convicts to Dutton, Ruff, and Jones, a company that dealt in turpentine, rosin, and naval stores. In 1889 the commissioner of agriculture assumed control of the leasing system and retained supervision until the system ended in 1919.

8. Grady Turnage, *From Mt. Vernon to Chattahoochee: A History of Mt. Vernon, River Junction, Chattahoochee and Vicinity* (Chattahoochee, FL, 1987), 12.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 276.

11. J. C. Powell, *The American Siberia: Fourteen Years Experience in a Southern Convict Camp* (Chicago, 1891), 16; *Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture of the State of Florida, 1911-1912*, 9.

Three forces at work in Florida were vital to the development of convict leasing. First, with nearly 20,000,000 acres of virgin long-leaf pine and considerable stands of cypress, northern Florida was the scene of a rapidly developing timber and naval stores industry by the late nineteenth century. Competition among operators was intense, and all sought ways to control costs. A large labor force was necessary to maintain and expand the region's timber boom. The free labor force available to industrialists posed problems, however, especially when workers began affiliating with labor unions and striking for higher wages and better working conditions.¹²

In 1882 New York businessman Charles K. Dutton operated a turpentine and naval stores company in Florida and received a contract for convict labor. Dutton preferred to work leased convicts at his Newberry turpentine camp because "turpentine culture was exhausting work, it was difficult to obtain enough [free] labor for the proper cultivation of any great number of trees. Natives of Florida's piney woods would quickly abandon the work when any other type of livelihood became available."¹³ Naturally, since labor constituted a major portion of operating costs, turpentine farmers and sawmill operators sought the lowest possible wage level.

Also influencing the state situation was the belief of officials that state prisoners should not sit idly in their cells while maintained by the state. Like other southern states after Reconstruction, Florida's treasury teetered near bankruptcy, and state officials preferred leasing convicts to the alternative of taxing a financially drained citizenry.

Finally, there was a moral undercurrent, what historian Alex Lichtenstein terms "penal humanitarianism," associated with convict labor. Convicts were put to work because it was in their best interests. Florida officials felt that it was important that the convict develop habits of industry and a willingness to work.

12. Melton McLaurin, *The Knights of Labor in the South* (Westport, CT, 1978), 60. McLaurin briefly described the Knights of Labor's organizing activities in the lumber industry in north Florida in the 1880s. For an indepth examination of radical unionism in the South and southern reaction to it see James R. Green, *Grass Roots Socialism: Radical Movements in the Southwest, 1895-1943* (Baton Rouge, 1978).

13. Powell, *American Siberia*, 275; Ayers, *Vengeance & Justice*, 192.

“Even if against his will the convict is taught to know what it means to be healthy, cleanly, industrious, and orderly, he will have reached a higher standard of living by reason of his experience on the convict force.”¹⁴ Thus Florida used the convict leasing system to avoid expenses, reap financial profit, relieve idleness among state prisoners, and supply local industry with much-needed cheap labor.

The leasing of state convicts to private firms ultimately provided thousands of low-cost workers to various Florida industries, including railroads, farms, and phosphate mines. With the rapid development of the naval stores industry at the end of the nineteenth century, however, most Florida convicts spent their days in the palmetto scrub and pine forests of north Florida, harvesting tar and pitch and producing turpentine spirits. The number of prisoners leased to turpentine operators varied from 27 percent of the prison population in 1899 to 90 percent at the



Convict laborers gather rosin from trees in Lake County, Florida, c. early 1890s. Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

14. Alex Lichtenstein, “Good Roads and Chain Gangs in the Progressive South: The Negro Convict is a Slave,” *Journal of Southern History* 59 (February 1993), 105. Although this quote is referring to the use of convicts for road labor, it also applies to the use of convicts for industrial labor.

height of the Florida turpentine boom between 1907 and 1909.¹⁵

State convicts were let to the highest bidder every four years. Under the agreement, leasing agencies assumed responsibility for all state prisoners, both current and future, for the length of their lease and agreed to provide living quarters, clothing, bedding, food, and medical attention at no cost to the state. Leaseholders normally put a few hundred convicts to work at their own turpentine operations and subleased the remaining convicts to other operators in the state.

Convict labor camps producing turpentine were located in the remote pine forests of the state, far from civilization. Living and working conditions varied from camp to camp and often fluctuated within a camp due to the rapid turnover of guards and management. Because of the number of turpentine camps housing state convicts, the state found it difficult to enforce a set of uniform rules relating to living conditions. Although turpentine operators were liable for the health and lives of the convicts, this responsibility was loosely enforced. A typical camp consisted of white-washed, rough-board buildings constructed of pine. The largest buildings resembled warehouses or stables and were used as bunkhouses. In the earliest camps the sleeping quarters were nothing more than crude log houses. The entire camp was surrounded by a high board fence or stockade. Enclosed in the stockade was the camp store, or commissary, a one-story shack that housed the kitchen, one or two pig pens, and an occasional garden plot where camp officials cultivated vegetables to feed the prisoners.¹⁶ The interior of the stockade

15. *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of Florida, 1889-1890*, 140; *Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1909-1910*, 567. Despite the high percentage of state prisoners engaged in turpentine, the actual number of convicts employed in the industry was relatively small when compared to the number of free laborers. According to census and prison employment data, convict laborers comprised less than 10 percent of the total work force employed in the Florida naval stores industry.

16. *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1899-1900*, 49; *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1901-1902*, 53; *Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1911-1912*, 23-28. Robin Lauriault offers a different view of turpentine camps in north Florida in his article "From Can't to Can't: The North Florida Turpentine Camp, 1900-1950," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (January 1989), 310-28. Lauriault examined camps using another form of forced labor (peonage) and the camps using free labor. Interview with William Alonzo Register, January 28, 1974, Oral History Collection, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

was generally bare, with no trees, grass, or shade of any kind. A "captain" was in charge of each prison camp, but captain was the title generally accorded all white men who supervised black gang labor.¹⁷

The interior of bunkhouses were even more crude than the exteriors of the buildings, with the rafters and boards uncovered. The main cells, or living quarters, were usually constructed in an "L" shape and were divided between a dining hall and sleeping quarters. The dining halls contained one or two small heating stoves, with zinc-covered tables and boxes and broken chairs serving as dining room furniture. Only dishes, pans, and spoons were used inside the stockade, since knives and forks could be used as weapons in a quarrel or escape attempt.¹⁸ The walls of the bunkhouse were usually bare, except for a listing of the rules and regulations of the state prison authorities and an occasional barred window. Bathing and toilet facilities were primitive. Prior to 1900 they were often nothing more than barrels or tubs filled with water set in the sleeping quarters. Each night twenty-five to thirty men used the bathing facilities. Typically, the tub would not be emptied or properly cleaned after each bath. As a result, disease and infections easily spread among the prisoners.

The sleeping quarters also varied. Some camps had individual cots but most had only sloping platforms, covered with hay and blankets, running the entire length of the bunkhouse. Once they returned from the woods, the convicts went straight to the bunkhouse where they were shackled in for the night. The men were fastened to a "night chain" strung from one end of the bunkhouse to the other by a smaller chain that fastened to their leg irons. Once a "chain search" was completed, dinner, which normally consisted of salt pork, corn bread, rice, beans, sweet potatoes, cow peas, and occasional beef or fish, was served and eaten at their bunks. Shortly thereafter the men retired for the night. Despite working together in the woods, black and white prisoners were separated at night and during meal time.

Employers worked the convicts on the task system in three or four squads, each squad supervised by one or two guards and

17. Lauriault, "From Can't to Can't," 316.

18. *Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1911-1912*, 25.

accompanying dogs. One squad was responsible for boxing virgin trees, another squad dipped fresh pine pitch to remove the resin, while a third and fourth squad scraped third-year trees and pulled fourth-year trees in order to keep the resin flowing.¹⁹ Still another squad back-boxed older trees that were sufficiently large enough to yield still more resin.²⁰ The work was arranged so that the various squads arrived at a certain stage of their rounds on certain days of the week. With constant, heavy work the entire forest territory could be covered between early Monday morning and Saturday.

For Florida turpentine operators the convict lease system was ideal. Labor costs were fixed and low, problems associated with labor turnover and unionization were nonexistent, but, most important, convicts could be driven at a pace free workers would not tolerate. The state stipulated that convicts work from sunup to sundown. With days so different in length throughout the year, however, the question of what sunup and sundown meant was an annoyance for both the state and the lessees. In the north Florida turpentine camps convict laborers awakened at 4:30 A.M. and were at their assigned tasks by 5:00 A.M. They received thirty minutes for lunch and then worked until their task was finished, which often meant laboring until after sundown. Convicts were frequently forced to work six or seven days a week in all types of weather. Operators extracted as much labor from the convicts as possible. According to an 1886 report by the United States commissioner of labor, Carroll D. Wright, convicts averaged about 30 percent more productivity than free laborers.²¹ One convict laborer in a north Florida turpentine camp summed up the inevitability of his work day thusly, "Captain, he drives pretty hard, and a man gets sick once in awhile; but then that don't make no difference around here— they all just works about the same, nohow."²²

Prisoners worked in the woods in a radius of a few miles from the stockade and went to and from their work site on a

19. Boxing was the process by which workers cut a crescent-shaped cavity into the tree base to collect resin flowing from the face of the tree.

20. For a more detailed description of the turpentering process see Jerrell Shofner, "Forced Labor in the Florida Forests, 1880-1950," *Journal of Forest History* 25 (January 1981), 14-25.

21. Wynne, "Prisoners and Public Opinion," 5.

22. Goodnow, "Impressions of the Convicts' Camps of Florida," 731.

“squad chain.” Since convicts worked with “stride chains” and “waist chains” riveted to their bodies, the “squad chain” was formed when men were strung to another longer chain by the rings of their waist chains. In his book *American Siberia*, J. C. Powell described the scene as looking like “ribs from a central vertebrae.”²³ Despite the chains, the entire gang went to their work site at a trot.

In one turpentine camp near Gabriella in Orange County, the captain of the camp, H. F. Douglas, made the men run to and from the work site, located eight miles from the stockade. The pace was set each morning and evening by Douglas, who was always mounted. Upon inspection of the camp by state officials, they realized that Douglas did not provide the convicts with shoes and found the men’s feet splintered and swollen from the leaves of the saw-palmettos they encountered on their daily runs. Untreated, the lacerations produced intense inflammation, sometimes blood-poisoning, and even death.²⁴ According to one convict, the men were always in “intense pain.”²⁵

During the first years of the twentieth century the state implemented a program to improve the living and working conditions of convicts. In a response to the many muckraking articles detailing abuses in the leasing system, the state implemented a plan for routine camp inspections. Florida employed its first supervisor of state convicts in 1899 to inspect each camp’s living and working conditions and to investigate any charges of abuse levied by prisoners. The job of the supervisor was to enforce the regulations of the Board of State Institutions relative to the general care and treatment of state convicts in the camps. By 1910 a staff of four investigators inspected camps monthly and submitted detailed reports to the commissioner of agriculture. As evidenced by the reports, the state attempted to ensure that prisoners were not tortured and were provided with adequate

23. Powell, *American Siberia*, 22.

24. Richard Barry, “Slavery in the South To-Day,” *Cosmopolitan* (March 1907), 486-87; Supervisor of Convicts N. A. Blitch to Governor N. B. Broward, April 5, 1906, Commission of Lands and Immigration: Convict Lease Program, ser. 42, carton 6, Florida State Archives, Department of State, Tallahassee (hereinafter, COLAI, FSA).

25. Barry, “Slavery in the South To-Day,” 487; Blitch to Broward, April 5, 1906.

clothing, food, and shelter. The supervisor of state convicts had authority to remove prisoners suffering from medical problems and send them to a state convict hospital and to insist that the lessees provide shoes, clean linens, and food.²⁶

The state also demanded that lessees and sublessees improve aspects of the old leasing system. Lessees were required to build better-insulated and -ventilated housing cells. In addition, prisoners were to be given individual beds, night shirts, and pillows. Sanitation systems were installed whenever possible, and the dreaded "night chain" was replaced by the night guard. In 1903 the state required the Florida Naval Stores Company, as part of its leasing agreement, to establish a central hospital in Ocala for sick prisoners. The hospital was owned and maintained by the Florida Naval Stores Company, but the commissioner of agriculture, the state prison physician, and the supervisor of state convicts operated the hospital.²⁷ In 1906 the state established a second hospital near Quincy. As part of new leasing arrangements, the state made certain that new lessees were financially responsible for both hospitals, which included paying the salaries of attending physicians.

The state continued to improve the system by introducing rules that prohibited lessees from chaining prisoners in the stockades as soon as they came in from the woods. Rooms were created in the barracks where convicts could eat their meals and congregate when not at work or sleeping. In addition, the state required that lessees have a physician tend to the injured or sick. Prison officials hired ministers to travel to the various camps to conduct religious services once a month. Finally, state law required the lessee to maintain a headquarters camp or business center for the transaction of all business arising between state authorities and the company. The leasing companies were required to furnish the commissioner of agriculture a full report at the end of each month detailing the kinds of food, the amount, and the articles of clothing and bedding given to each prisoner. By requiring such measures the state was able to maintain better control over the leasing system.

26. *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1899-1900*, 47-50; Robert Shelley Blount, III, "Spirits in the Pines" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1992), 164.

27. *Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1903-1904*, 316.

As a result of these changes, living and working conditions did improve after 1900 for some convicts. As shown by the monthly inspection reports submitted to the state, approximately one third of the camps provided adequate food, clean bedding, sanitary facilities, and proper health care and recreation. Despite these changes, state inspectors found that the majority of state convicts still faced abusive guards, inadequate diets and health care, and unsanitary facilities.²⁸ In 1902, during an inspection of the Daniel Brothers' turpentine camp in Luraville, inspector Earnest McLine wrote: "The bread at this camp is very poor. No coffee is ever given. The diet is the same for dinner, breakfast, and supper, one day after the other."²⁹ During his tour of the camps, McLine judged that the cooking at the O. L. Williams & Co., turpentine camp in Gulf City was "the poorest I have found at any of the camps. I don't see how the men can eat it and work. I tried a piece of the fresh bread and could not do it. The meat they were eating was almost pure grease."³⁰

During the inspections, investigators talked to prisoners individually and even after "improvements" in the leasing system were bombarded with complaints from prisoners denied food and abused by guards. Numerous reports documented attacks and beatings by guards. Female prisoners were leased out and until 1910 were confined to the same labor camps as men. State reports reveal that female prisoners were the objects of sexual abuse, both from guards and other male prisoners. During McLine's inspection of the Daniel Brothers' turpentine camp in Luraville, he found female prisoner Marie Davis pregnant. Davis confided to McLine that the captain of the camp forced her "to stay with him," and she was afraid to resist his advances for fear of punishment.³¹ State inspectors did their best to limit

28. For a full understanding of the conditions in the camps, it is necessary to review the hundreds of camp reports from the supervisors of state convicts. For further information see COLAI, FSA.

29. Earnest McLine to Governor W.S. Jennings, April 1, 1902, ser. 42, carton 6, fol. 6, COLAI, FSA. McLine, who was the prison bookkeeper for the state, visited all of the convict labor camps during March 1902 at the suggestion of Governor Jennings.

30. McLine to Jennings, April 1, 1902.

31. *Ibid.*

and correct this type of abuse when it was brought to their attention. Marie Davis was removed from the camp by Commissioner of Agriculture B. E. McLine. But because the sheer numbers of camps and great distances handicapped state authorities (supervisors of state convicts traveled over 20,000 miles per year to inspect the various camps), the vast majority of abuses went unrecorded.

Attempts to escape from prison camps throughout the South were frequent. Until 1902 no formal method of capturing an escaped convict existed. Unless the escapee was captured within a few hours by camp bloodhounds, the success rate for recapture was less than 30 percent.³² When the Florida Naval Stores and Commission Company took over the state lease for convicts in 1902, the state put into place a very complex system for recapturing escaped prisoners. After 1902 each new prisoner had his or her measurements taken, and all prominent scars and marks recorded. The leasing company's headquarters kept copies of each prisoner's record on file. In addition, a photograph was taken with a front and side view, and this was also kept at the lessee headquarters.

When an escape occurred, the lessee received notice and within hours several hundred of the photographs were sent to local sheriffs both in and outside the state. State law also required the lessee to offer a \$100 reward for the capture and return of the prisoner. In 1906 the state printed a book containing photographs and descriptions of all escapees dating back ten years and made it available to all state law enforcement officers. By updating the book each year, authorities hoped to aid in apprehending old escapees. Despite such elaborate efforts, the success rate for recapture was only about 50 percent after 1902. In 1912, for example, of the 1,421 prisoners leased to various companies, there were ninety-six escapes. Only forty-seven of the escapees were captured and returned.³³

32. Recapture rates for a six-year period between 1896 and 1901 are: 1896, 21 percent; 1897, 11 percent; 1898, 33 percent; 1899, 77 percent; 1900, 8 percent; and 1901, 26 percent. *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1901-1902*, 71.

33. Goodnow, "Impressions of the Convicts' Camps of Florida," 729; *Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1911-1912*, 64. Success rates for recapture during a four-year period from 1909-1912 are: 1909, 49 percent; 1910, 56 percent; 1911, 49 percent; 1912, 50 percent. These numbers are derived from the yearly reports of the Department of Agriculture.

Only the Sabbath or an occasional holiday provided a respite from toil in the camps. As one convict laborer stated, Sunday mornings were reserved for "cleanin' up, takin' a bath, and changin' clothes."³⁴ In one camp visited by Goodnow in 1913, the men had some structured recreation. Every Sunday morning the men were marched out of the stockade under guard to play baseball. Only the catcher and first baseman wore gloves, and these were constructed from hemp sacking stuffed with straw and rags. According to Goodnow the diamond "was covered with palmetto roots and stubble, yet most of the men played in their bare feet. The game was crude, of course, but full of life— each side bantering and joking with the other over an error or a strike-out."³⁵ During the Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays, officials often provided prisoners with special dinners and two or three days rest.

Life in the camps bred an inmate subculture. Convicts had an incentive to finish their assigned tasks as soon as possible, usually by Saturday afternoon, since the remainder of the day and Sunday were generally periods of rest. Traditional amusements helped fill convicts' free time. Some prayed, danced, played poker, or sang. Goodnow reported that in the evenings most convicts in the camps passed the time singing, laughing, and telling jokes. A telltale sign of the convicts' interest in music is that in many photographs convicts can be seen with guitars or other musical instruments. Throughout the South, black convicts fused their culture with their experience in the lease system to create the convict work song, a distinctive folk art that has survived to the present day.³⁶ These songs revolve around themes of confinement and escape and thus serve as metaphors for much of the convict experience in north Florida.

During periods of unstructured free time, the state tried to enforce a strict moral code. Card playing and the use of profane or obscene language by prisoners, guards, or camp managers was forbidden. In most cases, however, the codes were ignored, except during monthly camp inspections. During an unscheduled visit to a turpentine camp in Luraville, Inspector McLane arrived at the camp late in the evening. Instead of find-

34. Goodnow, "Impressions of the Convicts' Camps of Florida," 726.

35. *Ibid.*, 730.

36. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 202.

ing the camp quiet, he witnessed guards in the cells telling "smutty tales in a loud boisterous way," thereby keeping the prisoners awake. Not knowing who he was, the guards continued with their discussion, and McLine "heard some of the dirtiest jokes and the most foul mouth men I ever listened to." The night guard on duty had written "smutty poetry" on the walls of his room, and the "champion piece of the lot" was printed on a smooth board and positioned in the corner for all the guards and prisoners to see. McLine immediately tore the board down and recommended that it "be worn out on the man who wrote it." The captain of the camp ordered the men to wash down the walls and assured McLine that such incidents would not happen again.³⁷

Since profits drove the state convict leasing system in Florida, rehabilitating prisoners was not a primary concern of state officials. To make certain that Florida made as much money as possible from the leasing system, new contracts were put out to bid every four years. The company bidding the highest amount was given the state leasing contract. Profits made from convict labor, however, were not limited to the state. Companies that leased inmates did so for the express purpose of making money. There were large profits accruing to lessees from the labor of convicts and from lucrative subleases.

In 1906 the state leased its 1,200 convicts to C. H. Barnes & Company of Jacksonville. The state received \$207.70 a year per convict, or \$.57 a day for each laborer. The state received a total of \$245,647.94 for the use of its convicts.³⁸ Barnes & Company then subleased all of the prisoners to S. A. Rawls of Ocala for between \$.85 to \$.95 a day per convict (between \$310 and \$346 a year). Barnes & Company, who never had any direct contact with the prisoners, made a profit of approximately \$144,000. Rawls continued the process of subleasing prisoners, sending them to various turpentine and lumber operators in northern Florida and making a profit of \$100,000.³⁹

In the years 1910 to 1914 the state leased between 1,400 and 1,800 convicts to the Florida Fine Company for the sum of

37. McLine to Jennings, April 1, 1902.

38. *Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1905-1906*, 307; *Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1911-1912*, 49.

39. Barry, "Slavery in the South To-Day," 484-86.

\$323.84 per convict annually, a significant increase from earlier costs. The Florida Pine Company in turn subleased convicts to individual turpentine distillers and lumber operators in the state for \$400 each. Thus the company amassed an excess of \$76 per man, or an approximate profit of \$130,000 per year. During the four years that they held the state lease, the Florida Pine Company earned profits of \$345,540 through subleasing.⁴⁰ During this same period, the company paid the state \$1,293,252.70 for the right to lease state convicts.⁴¹ The arrangement was so profitable and satisfactory to both parties that the Florida Pine Company and the state renewed the lease on January 1, 1914, for two additional years. During the first thirty-two years that the convict lease system operated (1880-1912), the state received a total of \$2,722,620.14.⁴² Until 1902 proceeds derived from the leasing program went into the general fund of the state treasury. Beginning in 1903, after deducting all expenses incurred for inspecting and supervising the camps, the revenue was disbursed to the counties in proportion to their assessed property value.

Not only the state and lessees benefitted. Employers who leased convicts profited from their labor. In the turpentine camps that Goodnow visited in 1912, even with the expense of maintaining prisoners, which amounted to approximately \$700 per year, plus the initial leasing cost, the average profit for a naval stores operation that subleased convicts was \$25,000. Clearly, convict leasing served its purpose by producing large profits for Florida capitalists.⁴³

Sizable company profits induced intense competition for leases and subleases. A change in the state lease brought about what prisoners called the "big division." When the "big division" occurred, normally every four years with the signing of a new leasing agreement, the entire body of prisoners gathered at a central point to be redistributed to camps. When the lessees changed every four years, so too did the sublessees. The "big division" was a bureaucratic nightmare for both the state and prisoners as nearly all the sublessees were new, and the greater

40. Blount, "Spirits in the Pines," 162.

41. *Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1911-1912*, 49.

42. Goodnow, "Impressions of the Convicts' Camps of Florida," 732; *Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1911-1912*, 49.

43. Goodnow, "Impressions of the Convicts' Camps of Florida," 731.

part of the prisoners switched to new labor camps and new managers. This division caused a great deal of psychological stress for the prisoners, since most feared being transferred to a camp where living and working conditions were unknown.

A system driven by profits exacted a cruel human toll. Mortality rates differed from camp to camp, as did living and working conditions, but at its worst the convict lease system in Florida's turpentine camps was lethal. In human terms the cost of the convict lease was high. Convicts unfortunate enough to work in a north Florida turpentine camp not only had to survive harsh punishment, poor food and living conditions, but also demanding and inhuman work schedules. To obtain accurate numbers on mortality rates is difficult, but fragmentary evidence is startlingly suggestive. Overall, according to one historian of the South, the annual death rate for convicts ran as high as 25 percent in some states.⁴⁴ In comparison to other southern states, Florida's mortality rate for its leased convicts appears lower than some and equal to others.

In one camp visited by Goodnow in 1912, seven of the forty convicts had died the previous year from diseases contracted from standing or working in water during most of the year.⁴⁵ This represents a mortality rate of approximately 18 percent. Based on the annual reports released by the state, the average death rate for convicts was below 5 percent, and the leading causes of death were tuberculosis and venereal disease. This rate is in comparison to Alabama, which had a mortality rate of 40 percent; Mississippi had a mortality rate of about 16 percent; and Arkansas's rate was approximately 25 percent.⁴⁶ One convict in Goodnow's exposé noted that most of the convicts working

44. James C. Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984* (Lexington, 1984), 69.

45. Goodnow, "Impressions of the Convicts' Camps of Florida," 730.

46. Wynne, "Public Opinion and Prisoners," 5; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 214. According to statistics released by the State of Florida in *Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1911-1912*, the mortality rate for prisoners in North Carolina was less than 1 percent, Georgia 2 percent, Mississippi 4 percent, and Alabama 3 percent. Overall, higher mortality rates in other regions can be contributed to the fact that convicts in other states often worked in more dangerous industries. Coal mining in Alabama and Tennessee was one of the most dangerous industries for free and convict labor.

in the turpentine camps died at the height of the rainy season in July and August. Because convicts were constantly standing in water, these were the worst months of the year for contracting chills, fever, and pneumonia.

Order in the convict camps was extremely tenuous, and punishment was dealt out with a certain sense of desperation. Camp operators conceded that the use of convicts for labor involved a discipline system peculiar to itself. They acknowledged that there were many things that to the outsider seemed harsh, stringent, and cruel, but they vehemently defended it by arguing that stern forms of discipline were necessary to maintain order. According to one operator, discipline in the camps was so important because there was a "vast difference between stone walls and open fields."⁴⁷

Florida's turpentine camps expected convicts to meet higher quotas of daily production than their free labor counterparts, as much as 50 percent more.⁴⁸ In order to achieve daily control over workers, necessary to reach such high work goals, punishment for laxity and unproductivity was frequent and severe. Whipping was the most common form of punishment. It was usually carried out by the "whipping boss," the only person in the camps authorized to administer the strap. The preferred whipping instrument was a rawhide lash, known as a "cat-o-nine tails," a term that describes the nine leather straps at the end of a wooden or leather handle.

Other forms of punishment were not unknown. J. C. Powell, a captain working in north Florida, noted in his book *The American Siberia* that one of the punishments handed out to convicts was to string them up by the thumbs. Some of the men had hands that resembled those of "certain apes."⁴⁹ "Sweating" and "watering" were also occasionally used in the camps. Sweating consisted of placing a convict in a small, unventilated, and unlighted box. The "ordeal by water" was a particularly gruesome punishment. The prisoner was strapped down and a funnel forced into his mouth, into which water was poured. The effect extended the stomach, producing great pain and occasional death.

47. Powell, *American Siberia*, 6.

48. Wynne, "Prisoners and Public Opinion," 5.

49. *Ibid.*; Powell, *American Siberia*, 15.

To check excessive punishment being levied upon convicts, prison officials required that each company leasing prisoners keep a monthly "prison punishment record." The report was to be submitted on the first of each month to the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions and the commissioner of agriculture in Tallahassee. Companies were required to furnish the name of the prisoner punished, the date punished, the offense, the number of "licks" received, the name of the person doing the whipping, and the name of the individual who recommended the whipping. Prisoners were whipped for a variety of reasons ranging from "laziness," or performing "bad work," to swearing and not finishing the assigned task.

Monthly punishment records suggest that approximately 10 percent of the convicts were affected, and the average number of "licks" was nine.⁵⁰ The number of licks received depended upon the offense, and it often varied from prisoner to prisoner and camp to camp. At the Malloy, Smith & Co., a turpentine camp in Hampton Springs, Leroy Dooling received eight licks for "idleness" on January 5, 1914. Two and one-half weeks later, on January 22, Bolivar Thornton received twelve lashes for the same offense. In comparison, at the Norua Naval Stores Company in Bonifay, Will Howard received four licks for "idleness" on March 4, 1914, while Arthur Kinnsley received ten lashes for "disobedience" on March 21.⁵¹

Opposition to the convict lease system increased considerably during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Beginning in the late 1880s and early 1890s exposés on the convict lease system appeared with increasing frequency in newspapers, state documents, northern publications, and proceedings from national prison associations. In addition, various independent political movements in the South, including the Greenback party in the 1880s and the Populist party in the 1890s denounced the convict lease. Occasionally, states did respond to criticism, and some even undertook the task of improving the conditions of the various convict encampments within their borders. Some states responded by passing laws limiting the hours of work for convicts, or requiring improvements in living conditions.

50. *Report of the Commissioners of Agriculture, 1899-1900*, 49.

51. Prison Punishment Records, ser.42, box 2, COLAI, FSA.

Public opinion, combined with opposition towards the system by organized labor, seems to have been the most effective weapon in ending the system.⁵² By the late 1890s public opinion throughout most of the South had turned against the lease system. Under pressure from their constituents, Louisiana officials ended the practice in 1901, Mississippi in 1906, Oklahoma in 1907, Georgia in 1907, and Texas in 1910.⁵³ The decade of the 1890s also saw a new trend in southern penology that further helped to bring down the convict leasing system. During the 1890s state governments gradually shifted toward use of prison farms, as southern legislatures began to separate women, youths, and prisoners deemed unfit for work from the general population of leased convicts. By 1898 only nine southern states still leased prisoners to industrialists, and between 1900 and 1913 reformers overthrew the convict lease in six additional states and weakened it in the others.⁵⁴

Despite the system's gradual decline throughout most southern states, convict leasing persisted in Florida well into the second decade of the twentieth century. Criticism of convict leasing in Florida peaked after 1908 when graphic descriptions of brutality and suffering in the camps caused many newspaper editors and civic leaders to join the Florida Humane Society in its campaign against leasing. Additionally, the Florida Good Roads Association and many taxpayers began calling for convicts to be used by counties on road-building and maintenance projects.⁵⁵ In 1908 state administrators embarked on a propaganda campaign aimed at quelling unrest over the convict leasing system. State officials acknowledged that in many cases the system was "misrepresented from a want of properly understanding the operations of the system."⁵⁶ Through annual re-

52. One historian contends that convict leasing died out not only because of public outrage created by the system's abuses but also because it became unprofitable. Because of the intense competition between businessmen for convict laborers, the price of convicts went higher and higher, eventually reaching a point where it equalled free labor. See Wynne, "Prisoners and Public Opinion," 7.

53. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 424.

54. *Ibid.*, 724.

55. Shofner, "Forced Labor in the Florida Forests," 19.

56. *Biennial Report of the Commissioners of Agriculture, 1907-1908*, 370.

ports from the commissioner of agriculture, officials attempted to provide what they termed a "full and clear analysis of the system" to clear up any misunderstandings. State officers realized that the uproar generated by the convict lease system would ultimately force Florida to assume responsibility for state prisoners. To appease their critics, state officials offered new restrictions on lessees, including limiting the number of work hours a day to ten and prohibiting companies from receiving leasing agreements when they only intended to sublease prisoners. In addition, officials called on the legislature to provide laws that would eliminate all women and all prisoners deemed unable to work from the leasing system.⁵⁷ State officials passionately argued that good business judgement demanded that the state not destroy the system because of previous defects, but rather eliminate the defects and create a better system. Agriculture Commissioner McLine pleaded in his defense of the leasing system, "Give me a prison system free from defects, evils and wrong doing, and I will show you the incoming dawn of the millennium."⁵⁸

During the next few years the fight over the system moved into the state legislature. In 1909 the legislature authorized the state to purchase land for a prison farm, and two years later 15,652 acres were purchased in Bradford County. Florida's first legislative attempt to limit the leasing system came in 1911 when Governor Albert W. Gilchrist vetoed a bill that would have phased out the system gradually. Governor Park Trammel opposed convict leasing and introduced a bill in the state legislature that would have ended the system altogether. The bill passed the house only to be defeated in the conservative state senate.⁵⁹

Beginning in the summer of 1913 the Florida legislature began slowly to restructure the traditional convict lease system under pressure from state progressives. A state farm was established in Bradford County on the land purchased in 1911. Under a state law passed in 1913, beginning on January 1, 1914, all female convicts and all male convicts determined unfit for

57. Ibid., 374-91.

58. Ibid., 391.

59. Wayne Flynt, *Cracker Messiah: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 137.

labor were to be placed on the farm "to be used as the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions may direct."⁶⁰ The 1913 law allowed county commissioners to apply for able-bodied convicts to be used on public roads, but it required the counties to guard, clothe, feed, and provide medical attention for the convicts. The state made the rules and regulations for the working of convicts and could withdraw them at anytime if a county did not meet state requirements. All remaining able-bodied convicts were to be leased to private companies. The leases were limited to two years, and the convicts could not be subleased, thereby providing the state with a better opportunity to monitor conditions. Additional changes to the system came four years later.

Governor Sidney J. Catts, who was elected on a progressive platform in 1917, had been exposed to the abuses inflicted on convicts leased to west Florida turpentine camps near his home in Defuniak Springs. He utilized Florida's good road movement as a vehicle for ending the system. Because Florida was beginning its dependence on tourism, good state highways were needed for the increasing traffic volume. In January 1917 the Florida State Road Department submitted a lengthy report detailing possible improvements on the state's highways. The report called for the use of prison laborers to maintain state roadways. After a bitter fight in the legislature, the final bill passed the house on May 28. Under the Convict Lease Act the State Road Department received 300 prisoners.

The Convict Lease Act did not end the practice of leasing within the state. According to the law, any male convict not employed on the roads or prison farm could still be leased privately for two years. Even after the Convict Lease Act was passed, the state leased 650 convicts to private interests at a minimum charge of \$300 per convict annually.⁶¹ Introduction of a centralized, state-operated prison farm and the imposition of stricter controls over lessees were important victories for prison reformers at the time. Death rates in turpentine camps declined and conditions improved.

Not until 1919, however, when the state built a new prison at Raiford, did the legislature end the state convict leasing sys-

60. Goodnow, "impressions of the Convicts' Camps of Florida," 733; *Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1921-1922*, 13-14.

61. Flynt, *Cracker Messiah*, 139.

tem. Although the legislature ended the practice at the state level, convicts were still being leased by counties. Only in 1923 as a result of the death of Martin Tabert— a young man from South Dakota arrested in Leon County on a charge of vagrancy, sent to a Madison County turpentine camp, and beaten to death by an overzealous whipping boss— did the Florida legislature forbid the leasing of county convicts to private employers.⁶²

Despite moral questions associated with the leasing system, one point cannot be overlooked. Convict labor helped to create and mold crucial parts of a new industrial economy in north Florida. Indeed, the men who toiled in north Florida's piney woods were viewed as a valuable commodity to be exploited for their labor. Evidence suggests that officials operated on the basis of an almost limitless supply of labor. They lacked an incentive to prolong the lives of prisoners through treatment even remotely humane. In fact a good hound dog in a camp was a more-fit object of official pride than the convicts who dipped pitch or scraped resin and toiled in palmetto scrubs and swamps. At the end of the chase described earlier by Marc Goodnow, the officers and guards did not inquire about the well-being of the convict; they only patted the dogs' heaving ribs and stroked their heads in appreciation.

62. N. Gordon Carper, "Martin Tabert, Martyr of an Era," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52 (October 1973), 115-31. Carper's article was based on his 1964 dissertation, "The Convict-System in Florida, 1866-1923" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1964); Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, 382.

HARD TIMES, HARD LIQUOR, AND HARD LUCK: SELECTIVE ENFORCEMENT OF PROHIBITION IN NORTH FLORIDA, 1928-1933

by JOHN J. GUTHRIE, JR.

A recent body of scholarly literature has extensively studied moonshining and the enforcement of federal liquor laws.¹ Focusing mainly on the post-Reconstruction mountain South, historians have portrayed moonshiners as traditionalists who resisted federal liquor laws in order to “preserve a way of life that was being threatened by the centralizing forces then shaping America.”² In one encompassing study, for example, Wilbur R. Miller raised the question: “What are the conditions under which unpopular laws can be enforced, and what are the limits of their enforcement?” After investigating this matter, Miller found that the universal hostility of Democratic state officials to federal authority posed one of the most serious difficulties that revenueurs confronted in the mountain South. Yet such obstructionism, Miller concluded, failed to prevent the development and completion of “an administrative apparatus capable of penetrating all parts of the nation’s territory.”³

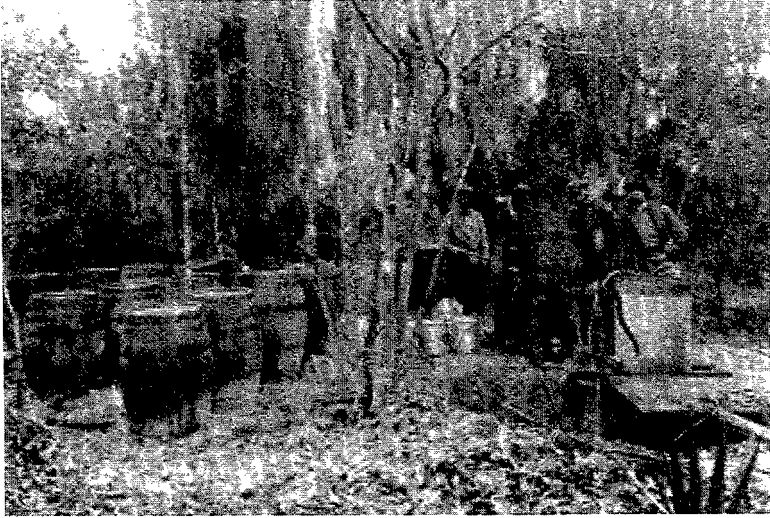
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1. William F. Holmes, “Moonshining and Collective Violence: Georgia, 1889-1895,” *Journal of American History* 67 (December 1980), 589-611; idem, “Moon shiners and Whitecaps in Alabama, 1893,” *Alabama Review* 24 (January 1981), 31-49; Wilbur R. Miller, *Revenueurs & Moonshiners: Enforcing Federal Liquor Law in the Mountain South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, 1991); idem, “The Revenue: Federal Law Enforcement in the Mountain South, 1870-1900,” *Journal of Southern History* 55 (May 1989), 195-216; Stephen Cresswell, *Mormons & Cowboys, Moonshiners & Klansmen: Federal Law Enforcement in the South and West, 1870-1893* (Tuscaloosa, 1991). Other related works include Rayman L. Solomon, “Regulating the Regulators: Prohibition Enforcement in the Seventh Circuit,” in *Law, Alcohol, and Order: Perspectives on National Prohibition*, ed. David E. Kyvig (Westport, CT, 1983), 81-96; John F. Padgett, “Plea Bargaining and Prohibition in the Federal Courts, 1908-1934,” *Law and Society Review* 24 (1990), 413-50.
2. Holmes, “Moonshining and Collective Violence,” 610.
3. Miller, *Revenueurs & Moonshiners*, 4, 108-09.

Although historians have done much to illuminate the execution and resistance to federal liquor laws in southern Appalachia, their work all but ignores moonshining and prohibition enforcement in the lowland South during the Great Depression. To help remedy this gap, this article tests the scope of national power during the "Noble Experiment" by focusing on the Bureau of Prohibition's effort to enforce the Volstead Act in north Florida between 1928 and 1933.⁴ Based primarily on court records, the following elucidates the world of the Florida moonshiner and sheds new light on the impact that prohibition had on state and federal courts.⁵ In doing so, it shows clearly that national prohibition enforcement fell disproportionately upon persons who ranked near the bottom of Florida society.⁶

By the late 1920s the Bureau of Prohibition confronted a dilemma. With public support for national prohibition waning, the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment seemed almost certain. What is more, agents knew that they had a vested interest in the Eighteenth Amendment and had much to lose by its repeal.⁷ To show the efficiency of the department and to demonstrate that lawlessness had reached epidemic proportions, agents picked up the tempo of arrests and brought in as many violators as possible. As this drama unfolded, federal agents preyed

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4. For temperance and prohibition in Florida, see Frank Alduino, "The Noble Experiment in Tampa: A Study in Prohibition in Urban America," (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1989); Paul S. George, "Bootleggers, Prohibitionists and Police: The Temperance Movement in Miami, 1896-1920," *Tequesta* 39 (1979), 3-41; John J. Guthrie, Jr., "The Florida Supreme Court and the Intoxicating Liquor Laws: From Local Option to National Prohibition, 1885-1920," *Georgia Journal of Southern Legal History* 3 (Spring/Summer 1993), 99-137.
 5. This article will also help shift the focus of legal history from the North to the South. For a probing analysis of this issue, see Paul Finkelman, "Exploring Southern Legal History." *North Carolina Law Review* 64 (1985), 77-86.
 6. For the purposes of this article, "lower ranks" refers to anyone whose personal assets were less than or equal to \$900.00. That members of the "lower ranks" bore the brunt of prohibition enforcement remains consistent with the findings of related works. According to Holmes, "One of the most striking characteristics of the whitecaps was that more of them came from a class owning less than \$200 in land." In short, "Moonshining was practiced chiefly by small farmers who ranked near the bottom of the economic system." See Holmes, "Moonshining and Collective Violence," 598.
 7. For a complete discussion of repeal see David E. Kyvig, *Repealing National Prohibition* (Chicago, 1979).



An illegal whiskey still near Tampa after a 1920 raid. Photograph reproduced from Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971).

mainly on easy targets such as small-time moonshiners and destitute dealers who possessed little knowledge of the legal system and whose stills contributed a mere trickle to the river of liquor production in the state. In short, federal agents proved adept at apprehending small-time moonshiners and logged an impressive number of arrests but failed “to carry out the sophisticated undercover work needed to dry up the source of supply.”⁸

In 1928 the U.S. Senate introduced a bill calling for the addition of a third judge to the Southern District of Florida. According to Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, the bill’s chief sponsor, Florida’s overloaded dockets required federal judges from other jurisdictions to venture south to help clear the judicial backlog. Since 2,809 cases remained pending for the Southern District as of August 4, 1927, judges and other officials backed Fletcher’s idea. The Department of Justice also supported the

8. Dorothy M. Brown, *Mabel Walker Willebrandt: A Study of Power, Loyalty, and Law* (Knoxville, 1984), 53. Brown contends that Mabel Walker Willebrandt had reformed the Bureau, making it far more professional. The Florida record suggests that problems plaguing the Bureau in 1925 still existed as late as 1932.

proposal, and Chief Justice William H. Taft, who originally opposed the plan, gave his endorsement on March 23, 1928. Noting that the Southern District extended a distance of 520 miles from Florida's northern boundary to Key West, the chief justice realized that the expansive coastline provided "convenient hiding and landing places for smugglers and rumrunners."⁹

The amount of business transacted by the federal courts in Florida during the 1920s warranted Taft's change of opinion. National prohibition, coupled with the state's rapid population increase, had spawned a massive amount of litigation that overwhelmed both federal judicial districts in Florida. In 1921 the courts of the Southern District settled 551 criminal prosecutions, including 463 federal liquor violations. The Northern District closed 164 criminal prosecutions, including 121 liquor cases. In 1928 the southern courts disposed of 1,319 criminal prosecutions, 85 percent of which concerned federal liquor laws. Figures for the Northern District in the same year had increased to 210 and 191 respectively.¹⁰

Although federal court dockets swelled during the waning years of the "Noble Experiment," the number of prohibition cases heard in Florida's supreme and lower courts declined. Several reasons help explain the drop in litigation in these tribunals.

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9. United States Congress, House Committee on the Judiciary, *Additional Judge in Florida*, 70th cong., 1st sess., May 24, 1928 (Washington, 1928), 1859.
 10. Data compiled from *Report of The Attorney General, 1915-1934*. Because the Southern District encompassed the state's fastest growing region and, as Taft noted, the area most conducive to smuggling, prohibition's impact on that district proved more profound than on the northern jurisdiction. Between 1920 and 1930, for example, the Northern District's population grew only 13 percent, from 291,243 persons to 329,260. The Southern District, during the same period, realized a 68 percent population increase, adding 461,724 people to the 677,227 counted in 1920. One should bear in mind, however, that the number of cases cited plus the percentage of total criminal prosecutions that they represent are both overstated. As John F. Padgett has noted: "Before 1922, charges were classified by legal charge; after 1922, charges were aggregated into administrative categories. In particular, Volstead Act liquor cases were included in 'Public Health and Safety' along with internal revenue liquor cases, narcotics cases, white slavery (i.e., prostitution) cases, peonage cases, and a few others." Despite this aggregation of statistics, Padgett claims that prohibition cases consistently comprised roughly 90 percent of the category "Public Health and Safety." For the purposes of this article, "Public Health and Safety" crimes will serve as a safe approximation for liquor cases. See Padgett, "Plea Bargaining and Prohibition," 418.

Revenue shortfalls precipitated a fiscal crisis for all levels of Florida government, which in turn prompted many state and local officials to pass responsibility for prohibition enforcement to their federal counterparts. As the debt of counties, cities, and other political districts expanded from \$100 million in 1922 to \$600 million in 1929, local authorities saw little justification to fund and/or duplicate services that federal agencies provided concurrently.¹¹

By 1931 the state's financial pinch had become so bleak that Governor Doyle E. Carlton proposed an austerity program to save Florida's precious dollars "by reducing the number of circuit courts, using grand juries in fewer cases, [and by] reducing the number of county offices and the salaries associated with them."¹² Faced with budgetary problems of unprecedented proportions, prohibition enforcement became a luxury that most Florida communities could ill-afford.

Not surprisingly, county grand juries reduced the number of indictments issued for transgressions against the liquor laws. A still smaller number of cases ended in conviction. According to one study, during the period 1929-1933, the Hernando County Circuit Court failed to convict anyone for violating national prohibition.¹³ The state and local criminal justice systems had essentially diverted the flood of prohibition litigation to the federal courts.

Budget deficits aside, other factors also contributed to the federal judicial logjam. Some writers have contended that the tepid support for prohibition by regional officials stemmed from political concerns rather than economics. According to a contemporary account, after 1929 county sheriffs throughout the state willingly yielded to federal agents the burden of prohibition enforcement in order to avoid local political animosities. Or as Charlton Tebeau put it, "Local authorities proved indifferent if not outright hostile to enforcement."¹⁴

11. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 394, 396.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Richard Cofer, "Bootleggers In The Backwoods: Prohibition and the Depression in Hernando County," *Tampa Bay History* 1 (Spring/Summer 1979), 17-23.

14. Frank Buckley, "Prohibition Survey Of Florida," in United States Senate, *National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement*, 71st cong., 3rd sess. (Washington, 1931), 114-16; Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 390.

Based on a close reading of court records, however, it appears that Tebeau and others have overstated their case. Sufficient evidence exists to demonstrate that local authorities did cooperate with federal personnel. Although they might have seemed indifferent, local police provided at least passive support to federal agents. They supplied information about suspects, and on occasion they testified against local moonshiners in court.¹⁵

Regardless if police turned a blind eye, federal agents cast a discriminating eye at prohibition violations.¹⁶ According to the reports of federal district attorneys, by 1930 "enforcement officers had filed stronger and better cases . . . and as a rule the courts [had] acted upon them accordingly."¹⁷ This achievement stemmed in part from the Prohibition Bureau's "selection of agents more carefully [and] training them to a higher standard of legal knowledge." It also arose, however, from the bureau's objective "to bring to justice commercial violators . . . because [they could] be reached by the law directly, whereas the purely private violators [had] many constitutional and statutory protections."¹⁸

In using the phrase "commercial violators" the Bureau of Prohibition seemingly referred to large-scale operations such as those controlled by organized crime. But as it turned out in north Florida, agents defined "commercial violators" so broadly that virtually any person who produced spirits for domestic consumption or sold moonshine in amounts as small as a pint became a likely candidate for federal apprehension. Yet to simplify their task, these same agents narrowed the field of investigation by excluding from the pool of suspects the sort of people who best understood constitutional safeguards, who lived in relative economic comfort. and/or those who had earned substantial

15. For an example of local cooperation, see *U.S. v. Harry W. Grimsley and Moses Bell*, box 7. United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Pensacola, January term, 1933, Federal Records Center, East Point, GA (hereinafter, FRC).

16. As early as 1921 Judge William B. Sheppard castigated prohibition officers "for combing the dockets of state courts in order to find violators of local liquor statutes and bring[ing] them into federal court on identical charges." Kermit L. Hall and Eric W. Rise, *From Local Courts to National Tribunals: The Federal District Courts of Florida, 1821-1990* (Brooklyn, 1991), 75.

17. *Report of the Attorney General* (Washington, 1930), 55.

18. *Report of the Attorney General* (Washington, 1932), 66.

profits from a rather extensive involvement in the liquor trade. Such tactics in north Florida, thus led prohibition officers to target suspects based on a high probability of securing a conviction. They generally went after small-time moonshiners who lived marginal lives, lacked strong community ties, and/or possessed limited knowledge of due process.

In the majority of arrests agents met little more than token resistance. The first and perhaps most obvious way a bootlegger could avoid detection was to hide the still in an inconspicuous setting such as a swamp. If that failed and federal agents caught moonshiners in the act of "plying their illicit trade," culprits either denied having an interest in the operation or confessed their crime and suffered the penalties.¹⁹

On some rare occasions, however, alleged moonshiners presumed an absolute right to privacy in the home and forcefully resisted a search of their premises. A few of these cases resulted in the death of the investigating officer.²⁰ Moonshiners who took the law into their hands may have assumed that local juries would acquit them, but this belief did not bear out in court. Florida judges, juries, and local citizens shared similar viewpoints regarding justifiable homicide and were generally unwilling to acquit individuals who killed or injured officers involved in liquor raids.²¹

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19. In an important study of social change in Appalachia, Altina Waller revealed "a complexity not usually associated with Appalachian communities." Focusing on the well publicized and highly documented feud between the Hatfields and McCoys, Waller managed to forge links between moonshiners and local authorities. In so doing, she showed clearly that most moonshiners believed in a rule of law and that they "did not accept violence as part of the normal course of events." See Altina L. Waller, *Feud: Hatfields, McCoys, and Social Change in Appalachia, 1860-1900* (Chapel Hill, 1988), 38.
 20. In ten years of prohibition enforcement in Florida, only nine federal agents died in the line of duty. See United States Congress, *Enforcement of the Prohibition Laws*, 157-58; 160-61.
 21. Localism had little or no bearing on litigation involving homicides that stemmed from prohibition enforcement. Out of eleven cases instituted against federal officers for killing suspected violators of prohibition, coroner's juries dismissed eight as justifiable homicides. The remaining three tried in state courts ended in one acquittal, one conviction overturned in federal court, and one conviction upheld following a federal court's review. Clearly federal agents who killed civilians in Florida did not have to confront hostility from either judge or jury. See United States Congress, *Enforcement of the Prohibition Laws*, 181, 192, 196, 198, 200, 202, 208-09, 215.

In *Buchanan v. State* (1928) the Florida Supreme Court heard its first and only homicide case stemming from prohibition enforcement. A Taylor County jury had indicted and convicted moonshiner J. W. Buchanan of first-degree murder with recommendation of mercy and had sentenced him to life in the state prison. Claiming mistrial, Buchanan appealed to the high court.²²

According to court reports, Buchanan and his wife shared a hardscrabble life in a four-room cottage about fourteen miles from Perry, Florida, in Taylor County. One December morning in 1926 Buchanan left his home to go on a deer hunt. Accompanied by companion D. W. Blue, Buchanan returned home at mid morning and asked his wife to prepare a lunch for the two men. As his wife made lunch, Buchanan noticed that two men in an automobile had arrived at his front gate. The driver, Jacob P. Brandt, sounded the car's horn, and Buchanan stepped out to meet his visitors. After brief introductions Buchanan invited Brandt and his partner Walter D. Mobray into the house. When the three men reached the front path, Buchanan told his guests to wait there while he informed his wife that they had company.²³

At this point Buchanan's account conflicted with the prosecution's reconstruction. According to the government's version the two agents went to Buchanan's home "for the purpose of making a purchase of liquor, upon which to base the issuance of a search warrant." After stating their business Buchanan allegedly ran into his house, secured two guns, returned, and opened fire on both officers. Alarmed and wounded, Mobray tried to escape. He staggered a distance of about twenty-five feet before falling to the ground. Brandt fared no better. Buchanan first shot him with a pistol in the left shoulder. Then, as Brandt sought shelter under the house, Buchanan unloaded his shotgun on the helpless officer.²⁴

22. *Buchanan v. State*, 95 Fla. 301 (1928). While more exceptional than typical, *Buchanan* spawned litigation that provides clues to the nature of prohibition enforcement in Florida. In addition to placing federal enforcers within their cultural and institutional contexts, an examination of this legal contest helps ground moonshiners within their local community.

23. *Ibid.*, 303, 305-06.

24. *Ibid.* United States Congress, *Enforcement of the Prohibition Laws*, 160-61.

In his initial trial Buchanan claimed he had killed the officers in self defense. Despite many contradictions in statement and fact, Buchanan tried to reconstruct the events to justify the homicides.²⁵ He shot and killed Brandt because, as Buchanan put it, "he started to shoot me first and I had to shoot him for my own protection."²⁶

Later testimony revealed the improbability of Buchanan's account. As the courtroom drama unfolded, Buchanan's chances for acquittal deteriorated. A sheriff, several neighbors, and his hunting companion Blue testified against Buchanan. His neighbor J. P. Jones claimed that a week prior to the shooting he had asked Buchanan "if he was not afraid to have whiskey in the house." In response, Buchanan boasted that "he would walk over anybody that went to search his place."²⁷

Following his conviction in the lower court Buchanan appealed the decision to the state supreme court. The high court, however, found the original trial flawless. With this issue resolved, Buchanan still had to stand trial for killing agent Mobray. As expected, the second court drama replicated the first. A jury heard the same testimonies, arguments, and, after comparable deliberation, reached the same verdict. Buchanan again appealed his conviction claiming that the officers had unlawfully entered his home.²⁸

The high court again found the appellant's position untenable. When the two men told Buchanan their business and he acknowledged, he in effect invited them to enter his home to search it. "This amounted," wrote Justice Armstead Brown, "to waiver of his right to demand the production of a legal search warrant and rendered the existence of such a warrant immaterial. It removed from the case the question of the lawfulness of their entry."²⁹

Besides illuminating the selective nature of prohibition enforcement in north Florida, Buchanan is significant for another

25. Buchanan maintained that he had "returned the officers' fire when he ordered them not to enter a room where his wife was dressing." See *Gainesville Sun*, September 17, 1927.

26. *Buchanan v. State*, 304.

27. *Ibid.*, 303-06.

28. *Ibid.*, 309-11.

29. *Ibid.*

reason. The case shows clearly that neither the state courts nor the local community impeded the enforcement of federal law. The kind of state obstructionism that Miller and others have found elsewhere failed to occur in north Florida. In Buchanan's case, his peers and neighbors proved his harshest critics.³⁰

Most arrests and/or investigations stemming from prohibition enforcement in Florida occurred without violence or bloodshed. The typical case, more often than not, arose from a citizen's complaint and invariably ended in a conviction. Of twenty-two cases examined by the author, approximately 91 percent resulted from a local citizen's discontent. In fact only one case in the entire sample stemmed from an investigation initiated by prohibition agents.

Although a multitude of factors prompted Floridians to inform on moonshiners, a few dominated. For instance, an irate customer denied credit by a former supplier may have evened the score by reporting the bootlegger to the authorities. And some moonshiners turned in competitors in order to divert suspicion from their operation and to capture a larger share of the liquor market. Still, others could have turned informant for highly personal reasons. A woman married to a man who consumed too much liquor may have felt compelled to eradicate the source of her family's woes by notifying the authorities of the source of her husband's whiskey.³¹

In one case, to illustrate, a group of Florida women met at their church and decided to put an end to a local bootlegger's business. Following through on the plan, one of them sent a

30. In his comparative study of federal law enforcement in the South and West between 1870 and 1893, Cresswell claimed that local resistance impeded the efforts of federal attorneys and marshals to enforce the nation's laws. But such efforts proved to no avail, he asserted, because the Justice Department, "often achieved a surprisingly strong record of enforcement of the nation's laws." See Cresswell, *Mormons & Cowboys, Moonshiners & Klansmen*, 16, 264.

31. One mountain moonshiner at the turn of the century, when asked who did the informing, provided a keen analysis. "Sometimes hit's some pizen old bum who's been refused credit. Sometimes hit's the wife or mother of some feller who's drinkin' too much." "Then again," he claimed, "hit may be some rival blockader who aims to cut off the other feller's trade, and divert suspicion from his own self." But in general "hit's jest somebody who has a gredge agin a blockader fer family reasons, and turns informer to git even." Quoted in Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlander* (New York, 1913; reprint, Knoxville, 1976), 171.

letter to a prohibition investigator and asked him "to search [the dealer's] house and be sure and search all of his property, for I understand that he has some buried." She mentioned also that the women of her church would "keep watch on his place." She refused to sign the letter, however, fearing: "He will know who done it, for he has said that I would report him, as he sells [liquor to] my husband and boys and I do not approve of it."³²

After receiving this letter and other reports from neighbors that John P. Finley (the alleged liquor trafficker and a sixty-year-old paraplegic) had "stated on different occasions that the Court would not put him in jail as he was crippled," the officers considered him a community nuisance. Agents went to his grocery store and requested a bottle of beer. When Finley delivered the drink they immediately arrested the merchant as he sat in his wheelchair. The church women, who had wanted Finley's speakeasy shut down, could thus rest assured for they had purged the community of a perceived moral danger.³³

Some Florida women, however, saw nothing immoral about dealing in alcoholic spirits. Prohibition investigators found 832 bottles of beer at the Crawfordsville home of Mrs. Lena M. Severance. Following her arrest the sixty-three-year-old housewife confessed owning the beer found at her home. As it turned out, she had been handling beer for about one and a half years due to her husband's poor health. "We would do nothing else to make a living." She countered, however: "I did not sell the beer. I sold cheese and crackers and gave the beer to drink with the sandwiches. . . . I have never been arrested for any violation of the National Prohibition Act."³⁴

In light of the socioeconomic conditions that characterized the state in 1930, Severance and Finley probably had difficulty finding paying customers for their illicit product. Starting in 1929 per capita accountable income began a precipitous decline

32. *U.S. v. John P. Finley and Dan Moore*, box 7, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee, August term, 1932, FRC.

33. *Ibid.* As it happened, the deputy prohibition administrator received numerous letters voicing similar concerns. One informer complained that several moonshiners "were bad violators and were ruining the homes of the women and children of Monticello." *U.S. v. Ralph M. Utley*, box 886, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Pensacola, October term, 1932, FRC.

34. *U.S. v. Mrs. Lena Severance*, box 7, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Pensacola, September term, 1933, FRC.

throughout the state. Dropping from \$510 to \$478 in 1930, it fell again in 1931 to \$392.³⁵ Anecdotal evidence amplifies these numbers. In 1931 an attorney who filed a report on prohibition enforcement in Florida for the Wickersham Commission described the panhandle as “a countryside barren of anything but pine forests, a few large sawmills, and miserable unpainted neglected habitations.” Concluding that life there proved “anything but gay,” he implied that the region’s abject poverty had led to many liquor transgressions that involved primarily the “manufacture and distribution of a cheap moonshine product in small quantities.”³⁶

As the Great Depression deepened, poverty in the panhandle worsened.³⁷ Pressed by mean circumstances, many hardscrabble farmers turned to moonshining to tide them through trying times.³⁸ Consequently, prohibition agents found such farmers vulnerable game. A still found by officers in a Taylor County swamp, for example, prompted the arrest in March 1932 of Josh McCall and Dave Padgett—two backwoods yeomen farmers and part-time moonshiners—on charges of manufacturing and possession. McCall, a forty-one-year-old widower with eight children to support, owned eighty acres of land on which he kept fifty hogs and four cows. Although his real estate and livestock had a combined value of \$300, the farm proved inadequate to sustain his family. McCall, who claimed he had “never been arrested for anything before,” turned to moonshining to supplement his family’s meager income. Yet the distillery that McCall admitted owning produced little extra

35. Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 400-01.

36. Buckley, “Prohibition Survey of Florida,” 108.

37. During the first quarter of 1933 “the number of Florida families on relief averaged about 90,000,” or a little more than 20 percent of all households. By the end of the year the percentage of families receiving public assistance had increased to 26 percent of the total population. Although the proportion of families on relief varied from county to county, “almost one-third of the recipients . . . lived in rural areas and [in] towns under 500 people.” See Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 399-400.

38. According to Kephart, “The immediate effect of prohibition was to put an enormous premium on illicit distilling.” Therefore “farmers and others who never had before been able to make more than the barest subsistence, [then] saw a chance to get rich in a few months.” Small wonder that “among a poverty-stricken class of mountaineers the temptation to run secret stills inflamed and spread.” See Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders*, 188.

cash. He stated, "Times are hard and there is not much sale for whiskey."³⁹

Unlike McCall, Padgett insisted that he had nothing to do with the still. "I was not getting one penny from it. I had been in the woods looking after some hog trap pens that I had [put] there for the purpose of catching hogs to be marked." Deputy Prohibition Administrator J. B. Edwards remained unconvinced of Padgett's innocence and recommended that the government prosecute him along with McCall for violating the Volstead Act.⁴⁰

Due to the severe dearth of money in the region, the local economy often regressed to a barter system. Realizing that the Volstead Act banned the sale of alcohol, another moonshiner, N. W. Padgett, contrived that he did not sell whiskey but instead claimed he used liquor as a commodity of exchange. Unswayed by this pseudolegal defense, in 1933 the federal court at Tallahassee convicted Padgett for possession and sentenced him to pay a \$100 fine. Since Padgett had no money to pay the penalty, he spent thirty days in the Leon County jail.⁴¹

Although some violators, such as Padgett and McCall, managed to eke out a bare living, their deprivation proved relative when compared to the destitution of other less fortunate moonshiners. In Leon County in 1932, for example, Agent Clyde V.

39. *U.S. v. Josh McCall*, box 7, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Pensacola, March term, 1932, FRC. In 1930 the average Florida farm comprised 85.2 acres and had an estimated value of \$7,175.54 at \$84.22 per acre. In contrast, the national average equalled 157 acres worth \$48.52 per acre, or \$7,617.64. Although the size of McCall's farm fell just below the state mean, its given value (\$300) represented only 4.1 percent of the value of a typical Florida farm. If McCall correctly stated the value of his property, he must have owned swampland or some other marginal-quality soil. For these and other agricultural statistics, see Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: Agriculture* (Washington, 1930), 60, 129, 455.

40. *U.S. v. Dave W. Padgett and Josh McCall*, box 7, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee, March term, 1932, FRC. Two years earlier the Federal Court at Gainesville had convicted and fined Padgett \$50.00 after the defendant pleaded guilty to possession. Past records notwithstanding, Padgett and other moonshiners who owned no land could rightly consider themselves farmers because parts of the Florida range remained open until 1949. Tebeau, *Histoy of Florida*, 382.

41. *U.S. v. N. W. Padgett*, box 7, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee, January term, 1933, FRC.

Land paid \$3.00 to Charlie J. Jacobs for a gallon of moonshine, put a twenty-five-cent deposit on the jug, and then arrested him for sale and possession. Jacobs, a forty-five-year-old, poverty-stricken white, had been living in the area for only three weeks. In his statement to the arresting officers, the Georgia transplant claimed he had moved to Florida in search of work. Finding no job offers there, Jacobs began selling "whiskey to negroes for fifty cents per pint." Although, he had considered escaping and returning to Georgia, Jacobs said "he changed his mind and decided to take his medicine." Owing no real or personal property, and uncertain about his future, a destitute Jacobs added: "The place where I live belongs to a negro woman who teaches school near Tallahassee. I do not know what her name is, she comes to the house and collects the rent— \$3.75 per week."⁴²

The illusion that moonshining would deliver easy money enticed many impoverished but otherwise law-abiding citizens to enter the illicit trade.⁴³ Such mistaken beliefs made these people not only ripe for exploitation by bootleggers but also easy targets for federal agents. For example, Levie Thomas, a tenant farmer arrested for operating a still, initially claimed that his patron, Ralph Casseaux, owned the distillery. Later, Thomas changed his story and claimed the still "belonged to me and no one else had an interest in [it]." Thomas said that he had operated the still for about two months and had produced fifty gallons of whiskey since he began the operation. If Thomas spoke the truth, his thirst for moonshine knew no reasonable limit. Thomas said, "I drank most of the whiskey that was made in the still and gave the balance to my friends." The prohibition investigators failed to consider seriously Thomas's confession and recommended that the government prosecute him.⁴⁴

42. *U.S. v. Charlie J. Jacobs*, box 7, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Pensacola, March term, 1932, FRC.

43. Of course moonshining was not peculiar to either highland (Scotch-Irish) or lowland (cracker) southern culture. As Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta have noted, "Prohibition provided Italian immigrants, among others, with unforeseen opportunities to capitalize upon the public's disdain for the Volstead Act." In short, "marketing moonshine brought together economic opportunity and immigrant resolution." Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World Of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Urbana, 1987), 264.

44. *U.S. v. Levie Thomas*, box 7, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee, July term, 1932, FRC.

In addition to underscoring the selective nature of federal prohibition enforcement, some cases reveal the ubiquitous tension that has characterized race relations in Florida. After uncovering a white man's stock of moonshine stored in a shack where a poor black named William M. Riley had lived, federal agents arrested the African American. Subsequently, a frightened Riley gave anxious and somewhat inconsistent testimony. "The whiskey that the officers got out of the house was mine. I rented the place from Mr. Davis and I pay him \$1.00 per month for rent. I do not want to tell on the white folks, as they would kill me. I did not put the whiskey in the house. A white man brought it from Taylor County. He left it there until he could come and get it."⁴⁵

Yet, unlike Riley, some poor black moonshiners possessed considerable entrepreneurial talent, enabling them to set up their own operations and compete confidently with whites in the illicit liquor trade. These enterprising African Americans did not intimidate easily. When caught and prosecuted, they rarely cowered before the white-dominated criminal justice system, and they often pleaded innocent.

In *U.S. v. Samuel Kilpatrick* (1932), for instance, prohibition officers arrested Samuel Kilpatrick, a twenty-five-year-old African American, on charges of manufacturing liquor. The agents discovered twelve fifty-gallon fermenters, three hundred gallons of rye, and some cane sugar mash (but no still) in an open swamp in Wakulla County. After seizing and destroying the contraband, the officers followed a well traveled path approximately three hundred yards from the place of operation and found the missing still in a ditch to the side of the path. Agents continued along the trail until they reached a shack that appeared vacant. Without warrants they entered the house through the back door and found Kilpatrick asleep on a cot in a corner. On the floor next to the cot the officers noticed the cap of the still and promptly arrested Kilpatrick. When they asked him if the cap belonged to the still they had just seized,

45. *U.S. v. Frank Kinsey, William Riley, Charlie R. Hancock, and Homer Faglie*, box 7, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee, October term, 1932, FRC.

Kilpatrick remained calm. He fitted the cap on the still but denied "knowing that the distillery was back in the swamp."⁴⁶

On March 5, 1934, almost three years after his initial arrest, Kilpatrick finally had his day in court. Federal judge William B. Sheppard issued a general order that disposed of Kilpatrick's and seventeen other prohibition cases pending in the Tallahassee district court. "It appearing to the Court that the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States has been repealed," Sheppard wrote, "and [because] no power is left in this court to impose judgment in said cases, it is thereupon ORDERED AND ADJUDGED that each and every one of the styled causes be and are hereby separately and severally dismissed."⁴⁷

With ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment national prohibition had come to an end.⁴⁸ The nation, as some texts imply, had returned to its senses by abandoning its experiment in national social control. From this viewpoint, repeal had become necessary because prohibition was unenforceable.⁴⁹ But when viewed from the vantage point of north Florida, prohibition enforcement takes on a new light. For example, a rough analysis of data gleaned from the case files of twenty-two moonshiners tried in the Northern District indicates that the average north Florida moonshiner usually plied his trade with one or two assistants and owned personal property valued at \$878.03. Yet if one excludes the five wealthiest violators from the sample, average net worth for each moonshiner falls to \$74.50. Although these estimates remain more suggestive than conclusive

46. *U.S. v. Samuel Kilpatrick*, box 46, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee, January term, 1932, FRC.

47. *U.S. v. Samuel Kilpatrick, Livingston Jarvis, et. al.*, found in *U.S. v. Leo G. Carraway*, box 7, United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee, July term, 1932, FRC. In *Clark v. U.S.*, 69 F.2d. 258 (1934) a federal circuit court ruled that repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment invalidated all convictions for unlawfully transporting intoxicating liquor.

48. The United States Supreme Court initially interpreted the Twenty-First Amendment in a manner that bestowed upon states absolute power to restrict and/or regulate intoxicating liquors within their borders. See David S. Versfis, "The Effect of the Twenty-First Amendment on State Authority to Control Intoxicating Liquors," *Columbia Law Review* 75 (1975), 1578-1610.

49. For a concise interpretation that stresses the failure of prohibition see Paul S. Boyer, et. al., *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Lexington, 1993), II, 827-28.

and should be used with caution, they suggest that prohibition enforcement in north Florida fell unfairly upon poor people largely because federal agents practiced selective enforcement.⁵⁰

Moreover, this selective approach assured that prohibition cases instituted by federal agents ended in high conviction rates. The bureau's agents initiated primarily open-and-shut cases in which the defendant's guilt, if not admitted, was usually a pre-determined factor, leaving little room for legal contests in the courtroom. This helps to explain why federal prosecutors in the Northern District improved their conviction rates from 65 percent in 1928 to a high of 89 percent in 1932.⁵¹ Plea bargaining, however, provides a second cause— and relates directly to the first— for the district's high conviction rates between 1928 and 1932.⁵² In 1931, to illustrate, defendants pleaded guilty in 80 percent of liquor prosecutions tried in Northern District courts.⁵³ The rather widespread use of plea bargaining in federal courts during prohibition was, in part, "a consequence of professionalization— professionalization of police, professionalization of trials, and professionalization of legal training."⁵⁴ Plea bargaining was also a consequence of enforcement. Many alleged liquor violators suffered personally due to the failed economy. Beaten, bedraggled, and perhaps fatalistic, this lot— and many other Americans who suffered in the 1930s— blamed themselves for their hardships. Small wonder that when men and women took to moonshining and got caught, they submitted with dignity and pleaded guilty to preserve what little self esteem they had left.

50. Of this sample, at the time of arrest, the average moonshiner possessed 5.1 gallons of whiskey. In his analysis of mountain moonshiners, Kephart claimed that in larger operations "the owner himself may not actively engage in the work, but may furnish the capital and hire confederates to do distilling for him, so that personally he shuns the appearance of evil." *Our Southern Highlanders*, 105.

51. Data compiled from *Report of the Attorney General* (Washington, 1919- 1934). A closer look at this data show that between 1920 and 1928 the Northern District's rate of conviction averaged 68 percent. Between 1929 and 1932, however, the same courts raised their conviction rate average to 86 percent.

52. Judge Sheppard, one of prohibition's harshest critics, "adhered to the technical requirements of the Volstead Act but employed a variety of procedural devices, especially plea bargaining to mitigate harsh penalties." See Hall and Rise, *From Local Courts to National Tribunals*, 60, 75.

53. Data from *Report of the Attorney General* (Washington, 1919-1934).

54. See Padgett, "Plea Bargaining and Prohibition," 449.

Moonshiners became less submissive, however, as repeal of prohibition became more certain. Their new-found confidence, coupled with a change in attitude by juries and judges, helps explain the marked drop in conviction rates for 1933. In other words, with repeal appearing imminent, neither judges nor juries felt much obligation to convict a person for violating a moribund law. Perhaps equally significant, defendants, anticipating the inevitable repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, became less inclined to plead guilty.

Furthermore, raising the Volstead Act's standard of intoxication to 3.2 percent alcohol, provides a crucial reason for the diminished number of liquor cases instituted during 1933. Because the new standard permitted sale of near beer after April 1933, the pool of potential violators probably subsided.⁵⁵ It is possible that erstwhile moonshiners may have switched from whiskey to beer production in order to capture a share of the newly established legal market. If so, prohibition officers would have found fewer suspects to arrest.

In sum, when judged by the swollen dockets and high conviction rates in Florida's federal courts, authorities had little difficulty arresting or convicting violators during most of the prohibition era. Meeting little more than token resistance from either the culprits or local institutions, agents usually arrested small-time violators whose product served a limited local market. This is not to say, however, that the government was any closer to winning the war on illegal liquor. Bather it seems that prohibition enforcement had become paradoxical.⁵⁶ Professional criminals managed to supply large quantities of liquor with little fear of federal intervention because bureau agents focused most of their attention on small-time operators.

55. In April 1933 Franklin Delano Roosevelt called Congress to a special session and urged legislators to pass a bill that changed the Volstead Act's standard of intoxication to 3.2 percent alcohol. Encouraged by the above measure, several legislators in the Florida house introduced an important state taxation bill premised on the legalization of 3.2 beer. After overcoming considerable opposition in the senate and by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Governor David Sholtz signed five bills on May 8, 1933, that legalized near beer, light wine, and similar beverages. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, April 7, 9, 11, May 9, 1933. See Alduino, "Noble Experiment in Tampa," 219.

56. For a penetrating analysis along these lines see William A. Link, *The Paradox of Progressivism: 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill, 1993).

THE FLORIDA CRACKER BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR AS SEEN THROUGH TRAVELERS' ACCOUNTS

by JAMES M. DENHAM

LIEUTENANT Colonel John Wilder of the Union occupation force was stationed for most of the Civil War in Key West. A week after Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox he visited Cedar Key. Located near the mouth of the Suwannee River, Cedar Key was an important rendezvous point for refugees, Union troops, Confederate deserters, and Unionist sympathizers. On April 20, 1865, Wilder wrote his mother that when he arrived there were about 2,000 white refugees, a "great curiosity; crackers most of them— that is poor whites, not more intelligent or virtuous than the negroes." He described them as "pale, cadaverous, ignorant, and many of them fierce." Some of the group had joined the Federal army. "Most of them," he claimed, "have been persecuted by" the Rebels "and are very implacable. They are splendid rifle shots and go about all over the state. They talk of killing this man or that, when they go out as a matter of course— not in fight, but in murdering him."¹

Wilder's comments were typical of many northern commentators who were convinced that the majority of southern whites were victimized by wealthy slaveholders. But Wilder, like most other outside observers, failed to appreciate their general contentedness with their lot, a satisfaction that flowed from a rough form of independence— a kind of inner gratification that outsiders rarely realized. This is not to say that southern whites— espe-

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1. John Wilder to mother, April 20, 1865, Wilder-Loomis Papers, box 47, fol. 3, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida (hereinafter, PKYL).

cially the “plainer” elements— lived in a kind of idyllic dream world, but it does suggest that a people living in the midst of a bountiful country might not understand their poverty, either in intellect or in material circumstances. Perhaps their apparent ambivalence came from a latent pleasure ethic and not a work ethic— a value system based on the enjoyment of life instead of the accumulation of property.

Such a contention can be examined through an exploration of the cultural characteristics of the “Florida cracker” as seen through the eyes of travelers in the first half of the nineteenth century. Accounts left by these visitors invariably included comment on the economic pursuits, migratory natures, living habitations, tendency toward violence, and social diversions of the common folk. This rich information thus provides a window from which to view the lives of Florida crackers.

Between 1821 and 1861 Florida evolved from a virtually vacant province of Spain, inhabited by a few thousand military officials, refugee Indians, and blacks, to an American-dominated agricultural society. During this period Florida experienced immigration from a number of sources, swelling its population to about 160,000 inhabitants. Migrants came from the upper South, the northern states, and Europe, but most settlers came to Florida from directly adjoining states.²

Those who ventured into Florida from Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and South Carolina sought more-fertile lands either for growing corn and cotton or for grazing hogs and cattle. These migrants brought their cultural values and beliefs and played a major role in making Florida a close replica of its neighboring states. Alternately referred to as crackers or poor whites, these “plain folk” were by far the most numerous inhabitants in the state. They were also the social group that received the most comment from outsiders during the antebellum decades. Always

2. James E. Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic and Contemporary* (New York, 1952), 357; Roland Harper, “Antebellum Census Enumerations in Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 6 (July 1927), 50-52. Florida circuit court minutes reveal the presence of immigrants from England, France, Austria, Portugal, the German and Italian states, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Russia. State census takers in 1855 estimated that nearly 3,000 of Florida’s inhabitants were born outside of the United States. See “Census Returns,” in Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, September 8, 1855.

in evidence at land sales, courthouse days, or public elections, these folk represented the state's most ever-present yet elusive social element. Although some excellent studies exist on them, we know far more about the white upper classes and blacks, both slave and free, than we do about those whom historian Wayne Flynt referred to as "Dixie's Forgotten People."

Terms such as "poor whites," "crackers," and "white trash" have perplexed historians for many years. The first to study these people in a thoughtful way was Frank L. Owsley, who designated them as "plain folk" – a group he distinctly separated from poor whites. Owsley's plain folk were independent, nonslaveholding, white farmers and herders – a kind of middle class.³ Whether writers agreed with Owsley or not, they tended to handle the common folk as roughly as they were dealt with by contemporaries.

Recently some historians have reacted with concern over what they perceived as a tendency to use the term poor white as a label of contempt for a large portion of southern whites. Southern historian I. A. Newby has noted that "plain folk" have "never evoked much sympathy." Their history, he noted, "has been more often overlooked or caricatured than studied systematically and evenhandedly. Alternately disparaged, patronized, and ignored, these people have never received what every group is entitled to – a sympathetic look into their history that seeks to understand them on their own terms. Historians, like other people, have stigmatized all or many of them as 'poor whites,' 'white trash,' 'crackers,' 'rednecks,' or 'lintheads,' and smeared them with the demeaning qualities these terms convey – benumbing poverty, social wretchedness, assorted bigotries, moral and physical degeneracy. . . . Generally reserved for the kinds of people once disparaged as the 'undeserving' poor – the most deprived of people whose life-styles openly flout middle-class notions of work, accumulation, and social discipline – those labels have become encrusted with the prejudices poor southern white people have always endured." Finally, Newby

3. Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk in the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1949); and Randolph B. Campbell, "Owsley Thesis," in *The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, ed. Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris (Chapel Hill, 1989), 1422-23.

wrote: "Terms that embody such prejudices are not useful for historians and should be discarded. They are epithets at best, moral judgments at worst. Even the most neutral of them—'poor whites'—focuses attention exclusively on the economic aspect of identity and, in turn, on victimization and degradation."⁴

Much confusion has also arisen from attempts by historians to differentiate poor whites from yeoman farmers. No doubt this has been true because distinctions at the time were as blurred as they are today. As one historian has observed, "Many a small farmer living in rude comfort, his wealth concealed in cattle and swine off foraging in the woods was mistaken for 'white trash.'"⁵ Great confusion also characterizes attempts to differentiate or single out groups such as crackers merely by economic status. Perhaps Grady McWhiney summarized these fruitless attempts best: "Some Crackers were rich, others poor, and still others were neither; but they all more or less acted alike and shared the same values. And that is the point: Cracker does not signify an economic condition; rather, it defines a culture."⁶ A plausible differentiation separating yeoman farmers and poor whites was not only the degree of poverty or squalor, but also a rough designation based on self-sufficiency or independence. At any rate, the class lines separating all southern plain folk were as unclear as they were artificial.

Florida crackers, and generally all southern "plain folk," shared a strong adherence to popular democracy, a hatred of Indians, and a firm sense of racial superiority over blacks, who they believed were only fit for slavery. They possessed a power-

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- 4 . I. A. Newby, *Plain Folk in the New South: Social Change and Persistence, 1880-1915* (Baton Rouge, 1989), 3-4. For more on these issues see Grady McWhiney, *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa, 1988), xiii-xix; Wayne Flynt, *Dixie's Forgotten People: The South's Poor Whites* (Bloomington, 1979); idem, *Poor But Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites* (Tuscaloosa, 1989), ix-xiii, 1-35. A new work that addresses poor people in America and tends to eschew racial interpretations is Jacqueline Jones, *The Dispossessed: America's Underclass from the Civil War to the Present* (New York, 1992).
- 5 . George Brown Tindall, *America: A Narrative History*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (New York, 1988), I, 574. This is also the contention of Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "Antebellum Southern Herdsman: A Reinterpretation," *Journal of Southern History* 41 (May 1975), 147-66.
- 6 . McWhiney, *Cracker Culture*, xiv.

ful sense of family and extended kin networks, which had important ramifications for relations with neighbors and outsiders. They had a vigorous streak of individualism and resolve that derived from living on the isolated frontier. These self-reliant folk usually acted on their own authority. They had a reluctance to surrender matters of controversy with their fellow man to a higher authority. They rarely "went to the law" or to the courts, usually choosing to settle personal offenses among themselves.⁷ Both before and after the Civil War the specter of vigilantism was ever-present among these folk.

Squatters who farmed on a small scale, cattle and hog drivers, and others sometimes designated by contemporary observers as "crackers" arrived on the Florida frontier in large numbers even before Florida passed into American hands. The term "cracker" derived from one of three activities: their skillful use of the whip, which they "cracked" while driving cattle or hogs through the open range; their practice of boasting or making a "crack"; or their habit of "cracking" or crushing corn for making

7. On southern plain folk see Owsley, *Plain Folk in the Old South*; and Bruce Collins, *White Society in the Antebellum South* (London, 1985). For vivid accounts of cracker life in frontier Florida see Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes; or, Florida, New and Old* (Jacksonville, 1883; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1963), 52-72; William W. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1963), 14-45; Achille Murat, *The United States of North America* (London, 1833), 60-79; Rowland Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta, 1902); and Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*, ed. James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, 1953). On cracker herding practices see Terry G. Jordan, *Trails to Texas: Southern Roots to Western Cattle Ranching* (Lincoln, 1981); Grady McWhiney and Forrest McDonald, "Celtic Origins of Southern Herding Practices," *Journal of Southern History* 51 (May 1985), 165-82; and idem, "The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation," *American Historical Review* 85 (December 1980), 1095-1118. For herding on the open range in Florida see Joe Akerman, *Florida Cowman: A History of Florida Cattle Raising* (Kissimmee, 1976); James E. Lewis, "Cracker— Spanish Florida Style," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63 (October 1984), 184-204; John S. Otto, "Hillsborough County (1850): A County in the South Florida Flatwoods," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (October 1983), 180-93; idem, "Florida's Cattle-Ranching Frontier: Hillsborough County (1860)," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63 (July 1984), 71-83; idem, "Florida's Cattle-Ranching Frontier: Manatee and Brevard Counties (1860)," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (July 1985), 48-61; and idem, "Open Range Cattle Herding in Southern Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (January 1987), 317-34.



A pair of crackers meet on the trail. Photograph reproduced from Edward King, *The Great South*, ed. W. Magruder and Robert R. Jones (Baton Rouge, 1972).

bread.⁸ To determine which of these had the most influence in cementing the term is impossible.

Most descriptions of crackers depicted a nomadic, ignorant people content with squalid living conditions and governed by a latent warlike nature. Roaming from place to place, cracker families led a hand-to-mouth existence. Many squatted on unclaimed portions of the public domain. They built temporary shacks or lean-tos, planted corn, and stayed until they were expelled by lawful purchasers.

Of all characteristics commented upon in travelers' literature, perhaps the most notable was the mobility of the cracker. Soon after Florida became a state, Frank Hatheway, a clerk in a Tallahassee dry goods store, witnessed the influx of farmers into east Florida. On January 18, 1846, he noted in his diary that during an afternoon walk on the "Augustine Road" he encountered a family from Baker County, Georgia, on their way to east Florida. When he inquired as to where they hoped to reach, one family member told him "they had no specific destination, but would 'sit down' at the first place that pleased them."⁹

The Comte de Castelnau, a French naturalist traveling in Florida in 1838, was also struck by the mobile ways of crackers. They were always on the move, seeking more-fertile and unclaimed lands. "They put all that they own in their wagons," he observed, and "go through the woods hunting for a new dwelling sometimes a hundred leagues from the former one." The French visitor added that most of them "do not own their land . . . but settle in the first place that they find vacant, without being concerned about the name of the owner, who, if he comes to assert his authority, does not receive more response than a bullet from a rifle."¹⁰

Achille Murat, son of Napoleon's famous cavalry commander and a Frenchman who settled in middle Florida, was more descriptive. He represented crackers as "poor citizens usually

8. McWhiney, *Cracker Culture*, vii; Charles Reagan Wilson, "Crackers," *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, 1132.

9. Frank Hatheway Diary, January 18, 1846, in Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University.

10. Comte de Castelnau, "Essay on Middle Florida, 1837-1838," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 26 (January 1948), 236, 238.

not very industrious, who not possessing the means of buying lands, live upon those of others, and work them until they are expelled by the proprietors. Their poverty is entirely the fruit of their idle and drunken habits." They "pursue this sort of life from choice, from taste, and perhaps, even from habit. For the most part, they have a wife and children, some negroes, and sometimes very numerous flocks. They rarely raise two crops from the same land; on the contrary they quit a district as soon as it becomes peopled." Their houses were "huts" which "may easily be constructed in two or three days." Murat mentioned that he had often met whole families on the move with a cart full of household furniture, children, and one or two men leading about thirty cows and hogs. He continued: "After the questions; Where do you come from? Where are you going? Which are always cordially answered, the head of the family has asked me some details relative to the country, and requested me to direct him to the creek, or the nearest spring. A week after, I have been astonished to see a hut there, a field of cattle, and some poultry; the wife spinning cotton, the husband destroying trees by making a circular incision in them, called a girdle, in short, setting their household goods without making enquiry as to whom the land belonged. Frequently also, I have seen them, after a few days sojourn, abandon their dwelling for the slightest cause, and transport themselves— God Knows where."¹¹

When on the move through the country, crackers often hitched a cow or a horse to a cart with poles. Newton Henry, a soldier stationed at Fort Heilman during the Second Seminole War, witnessed such a scene and wrote relatives in the North that crackers rarely drove single carts "without lines as in our country. They use this article [poles] considerable on their plantations, and when the horse is harnessed into the cart, they mount his back with a long stick, the walls of the cart serving for stirrups, which bend their knees up to about right angles & 'Off she goes.' Once I saw three cracker women coming to market in this manner on the horse and two sitting in the tail of the cart with their legs hanging out. These are fair samples of the Crackers."¹²

11. Murat, *United States of North America*, 51-54.

12. Newton Henry to Calvin Henry, November 16, 1839, misc. mss. no. 15, box 70, PKYL.

The living accommodations of the crackers were almost always of the crudest sort, not only because they were made mostly from materials close at hand, but also because they were often only intended for temporary use. Captain Jacob Motte, a surgeon in the regular army stationed in Newnansville during the early phase of the Second Seminole War, noted that the typical "abode . . . consisted of a shed built of slab boards enclosing an area about twelve feet square." These "mansions," claimed Motte, usually contained several families in the same house.¹³ Ellen Brown, who immigrated to east Florida in the 1830s from Ithaca, New York, wrote relatives that newcomers were forced to erect living quarters similar to the ones crackers inhabited. These clapboard houses, she wrote, were nothing more than "split out wrought [logs] nailed together perpendicularly. [They] make the most unsuitable houses you can imagine. I knew a tree to fall on one and beat it right down to the ground, cupboard, crockery and all. A family would be more safe in the crust of a pumpkin, and about as well sheltered from the weather as a hen coop."¹⁴

Assessments of Florida and its inhabitant—specially its crackers—varied widely and were often contradictory. Observers' comments reflected as much about themselves as they did about the locals. During 1838 Stacy Flanigan, a sailor on board the United States frigate *Constellation*, visited most of Florida's ports. When the vessel reached Pensacola, he shared his impressions of Florida with his niece in Pennsylvania. He thought Florida was "one of the most wretched places in the world and the inhabitants are of pretty much the same stamp, selfish, ignorant, and inhospitable."¹⁵ Newton Henry agreed, "You ask for a description of the Southerners, the people of Florida are an ignorant set devoid of hospitality, and very penurious."¹⁶

Edward King, somewhat of a professional traveler, was less harsh in his judgements. Although he visited Florida a decade after the Civil War, his appraisal was similar to many prewar

13. Motte, *Journey into Wilderness*, 90-92.

14. Ellen Brown to Mannevillette Brown, July 23, 1839, Anderson Papers, United States Military Academy, West Point, NY (hereinafter, USMA).

15. Stacy Flanigan to Emily White, July 9, 1838, misc. mss., PKYL.

16. Newton Henry to Calvin Henry, November 16, 1839.

observers. He depicted Florida's less cultured elements as a "soft voiced, easy-going, childlike, kind of folk, quick to anger, vindictive when rage is protracted and becomes a feud. . . . But they live the most undesirable lives, and surrounded by every facility for a luxurious existence, subsist on 'hog and hominy,' and drink the meanest whiskey." But, unlike Flanigan, King found the crackers "generous and noble in their rough hospitality."¹⁷ When it came to hospitality, the remarks of observers were often contradictory. One suspects that like most other human beings, crackers were hospitable to travelers in so much as they were treated with respect. Their notions of honor and self esteem were such that— as with other Southerners of the time— they "gave as good as they got."

Physical descriptions of crackers were almost always unflattering. For example, Ellen Brown noted that the "country folk," she encountered in the Suwannee River area were "made of clay indeed. They are the most squalid and miserable looking creatures in the world."¹⁸ The Comte de Castelnau described crackers as "tall, sturdy, bold, addicted to drinking, and habituated to interlarding their words with terrible curses. Accustomed to living alone in the woods, they have adopted the habits of savages with whom they are in constant contact; at every moment their conversation is interrupted with war cries." "They leap about and howl," wrote Castelnau, "and make no effort to restrain their passions." Crackers seemed to possess a seemingly inbred ambivalence toward the law. They are not "checked by human laws— these cannot reach them in the midst of the woods, nor by religious principles that are totally unknown to them, these men know no other power than physical force, and no other pleasure than carrying out their brutal passions."¹⁹

Achille Murat agreed and added fighting to the list of undesirable qualities. He noted that "there exists no form of government" among them; "every dispute is amicably terminated by the fist. . . . The land or their houses have, in their eyes, but a

17. Edward King, *The Great South*, ed. W. Magruder Drake and Robert Jones (London, 1875; reprint ed., Baton Rouge, 1972), 420-21.

18. Ellen Brown to Mannevillette Brown, January 31, 1837, Anderson Papers, USMA.

19. Castelnau, "Essay on Middle Florida," 238-39.

secondary value,” but not so for their livestock. “Each of these has its mark; and if any are stolen, he assembles his neighbors, and the proofs in hand, they go together to the thief, and administer to him a punishment more or less severe. According to their morality, cowstealing is the greatest crime.”²⁰

Most descriptions of Florida’s crackers depicted a people affable in temperament but also capable of fierce rages. Observers noted that they could be aroused to armed combat at a moment’s notice. The Comte de Castelnau recounted an incident he witnessed at Chattahoochee involving some travelers and a cracker ferryman. Late one evening a party of weary travelers came up to the opposite side of the river “tired by a long days journey; they wanted to cross it and called loudly for the boatman to go and get them; the latter lying carelessly in his ferry boat heard them for an hour but did not condescend to even answer them; finally, at my urging he decided to do his duty, but having been rebuked rather keenly by the travelers, he coolly seized a pistol and fired at point blank at one of them who miraculously was not hit.” The Frenchman also remembered meeting a young man on the road traveling from Tallahassee to the Apalachicola River. “According to the custom of the Country,” the man “immediately started a conversation. His manner was gentle and affable and I felt sympathetically drawn toward him. Soon we spoke of the purpose of his trip, and he drew from his bosom a bowie knife a foot and a half long, and told me very quietly that he was going to Columbus to find one of his cousins who owed him some money, and that he intended to kill him if he did not pay him.”²¹

Castelnau was also fascinated by the tendency of frontier folk to make frightful physical encounters the focus of raucous public entertainment. The Frenchman noted that when “a young man longs to fight, which is very often,” he goes to a public place and begins crowing until a crowd gathers. He “imitate[s] a cock and cry[s] out from on horseback: ‘I am a horse but I defy anyone to ride me.’ Sometimes they fight with their fists but generally with a pistol, a bowie knife or iron covered

20. Murat, *United States of North America*, 51-54.

21. Castelnau, “Essay on Middle Florida,” 238-39.

cudgel."²² In 1843, during his trip through east Florida, Episcopal bishop Henry Whipple also observed this "fighting spirit," which he claimed, "was so prevalent that it was necessary for a man to keep double guard on his tongue, else he might be called out by some of these worthies."²³

Newcomers who settled in Florida's lightly inhabited areas sometimes found themselves surrounded by a people they regarded as primitive as the environment. In 1839, for example, Corine Aldrich, an army surgeon's young bride from upstate New York, wrote her brother of her experiences living in a room adjoining a store at Mineral Springs, a small village on the Suwannee River in Columbia County. The store also served as post office, barroom, and social center. "My ears are constantly assailed," she wrote, "by inquiries for letters, oaths and curses at disappointment, badly read extracts from the different newspapers, cracker remarks, chicken fights, horse races, betting and bullying, country politics, and horse laughs. I only hope that I may not degenerate."²⁴

Such appraisals were not confined to Northerners; similar comments often came from other Southerners who settled in Florida. In 1842 John Purveance, a recent arrival from Wilmington, North Carolina, warned his uncle that Mineral Springs and the entire surrounding region were peopled by a folk as dishonest as they were crude. "Don't stop anyone from coming out but a Rogue or a Drunkard," he wrote, "as there are plenty of them here now." Jacob Motte, the Harvard-educated scion of a Huguenot family from Charleston, was seldom without a disparaging comment about the frontier folk he encountered. Throughout his sojourn in Florida he lamented the "total ab-

22. *Ibid.* For more on southern violence see McWhiney, *Cracker Culture*, 146-70; and Elliot Gorn, "'Gouge And Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch': The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry," *American Historical Review* 90 (February 1985), 18-43; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982); Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin, 1979); and John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800-1861* (Cambridge, 1956).

23. Lester Shippee, ed., *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844* (London, 1937), 25.

24. Corine Aldrich to Mannevillette Brown, March 31, 1839, Anderson Papers, USMA.

sence of reading material on the frontier . . . , the lack of which produces a group of people . . . the 'dumbest in the world.'²⁵

If Motte loathed the ignorance of crackers, Edward King lamented their lack of literacy, but he did not use this limitation as a cause for contempt. "In the backwoods," he wrote, "there is an alarming amount of ignorance among the adults; there are hundreds of men and women who have not the simplest rudiments of education and many amusing stories are told of the simplicity and boorishness of the 'Crackers.'²⁶

Observers also commented on the crackers' rough country humor. Bishop Whipple remarked about this quality several times during his sabbatical to east Florida in 1843. He remembered, for example, an incident that took place in Judge Isaac Bronson's court in St. Augustine. "Some of these crackers," he recalled, "have a good deal of humor and have a happy faculty of making doggerel poetry. A gentleman whose name was N. Burrit was the other day teasing one of these fellows for rhymes. After a while the cracker commented: 'God made a man & called him Nelson Burrit. After he saw his face he was sorry for it.' Thus turning a good joke on the lawyer, his tormenter."²⁷

Humorous incidents also flowed from the humble civility of these local folk. Mrs. Robert Raymond Reid, wife of the prominent judge and governor, recounted an episode during her late husband's days of riding circuit. Judge Reid took a few moments out of a busy court session to perform a civil marriage for a backwoods cracker couple. Mrs. Reid described the man as "ugly enough but the woman [was] beyond all comparison for hideousness." After the brief ceremony Judge Reid closed with, "'Now kiss, you are one.' 'Arter [after] you is manners,' said the cracker, causing members of the bar present to shout with laughter."²⁸

Ellen Brown found a similar scene at a cracker wedding ceremony near Newnansville. The spectators must have burst into laughter when the bride's turn came to respond and "instead of

25. John S. Purveance to Alexander McRea, March 3, 1842, misc. mss., PKYL; Motte, *Journey into Wilderness*, xiv.

26. King, *Great South*, 420-21.

27. Shippee, ed., *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary*, 27.

28. *Ibid.*, 46.

the words 'I will' lo and behold she ejaculated 'I won't.' The justice, supposing there must be a misunderstanding on her part, repeated but she again astonished the company with 'I won't— I told you I would not before' and took her seat, determined not to obey." Miss Brown, somewhat a supporter of women's rights herself, applauded the girl's stubbornness. She ended her correspondence to her relative in Ithaca by exclaiming, 'Hurrah for the Crackers!'"²⁹

Political occasions were important forums for social diversion, and candidates for office often found themselves attending dancing parties to seek votes. Such occasions rarely lacked alcoholic beverages. Enoch Vann, a Madison County attorney and candidate for office in 1860, accompanied his opponent, a man named Mays, on a speaking tour of Madison, Taylor, and Lafayette counties. As Vann and Mays prepared for a debate at the Taylor County Courthouse, Vann noticed a "one horse cart . . . backed up to the door, and a person . . . dealing out drinks to all who wanted them." The dispenser of the goodwill was Vann's adversary. When the debate concluded, Vann found himself alone. Mays and the others had adjourned to the less formal surroundings of a small log house. "I noticed that a large number of men went into that house," claimed Vann, "so I took my stand at the door. The house was crowded, and there were several who could not get in. Finally I heard Judge Mays singing a song, one verse of which ran thus: "When I was young I used to wail/ Upon ole massa and hand de plate/ Fill the bottle when its dry/ And brush away the blue-tailed fly./ Jim Crack Corn, and I don't care/ Jim Crack Corn, and I don't care/ Ole Marsa gone away." All joined the chorus and yelled "Hurrah for Mays!" Vann interpreted this turn of events as certain political defeat. "I forthwith mounted my horse," he remembered, "shoved my hat on the back of my head and took the nearest route homeward bound."

On another occasion Vann and his adversary attended a backwoods dancing party in his district in hopes of addressing the crowd. But fiddling, dancing, and drinking dominated the evening. Vann watched the dancing in the doorway of the "lean-to" and wrote: "A fat girl . . . , breathing heavily and in full

29. Ellen Brown to Mannevillette Brown, July 14, 1838, Anderson Papers, USMA.

perspiration, asked me if I was almost through smoking. I apologized," remembered Vann, "and was about to pocket my pipe when she informed me that she would like to smoke a little herself. I again apologized for not offering my pipe before—carefully wiped the stem on my coat tail and handed the pipe to her with a polite bow. She puffed away until she had to move up" and rejoin the others. "She wiped the stem under her arm and returned to pipe to me and galloped off. Of course I commenced smoking right off— for I do not know how many voters were looking on, whose votes I would have lost." Nevertheless, Vann might have saved himself the trouble. "When the election came off," he wrote some years later, "I 'tailed the the ticket'—the fire-eaters having the majority by many votes."³⁰

Five years later, as the Civil War was winding down, Lieutenant Colonel Wilder visited Cedar Key and attended a country ball conducted by white refugees. A fiddler provided musical entertainment and "young men and maidens" were plenty. The Union officer described the rural mode of dancing as "not cotillions but regular break downs where two only danced at a time as fast and as long as they can stand, when two or more take it up." Wilder remembered the female dancers were "chewing tobacco, dipping snuff, and drinking water out of a tin dipper." The "ballroom" was a "barn and the spectators— a motley crowd of children, pigs, soldiers, women, civilians, and everybody else."³¹

Life among the crackers provided amusement for some, but Lieutenant Henry Prince, a regular army officer stationed near Newnansville during the Second Seminole War, could not hide his elation when he learned of his transfer away from such folk. "Lewis is to be transferred back to Micanopy," he recorded in his diary, "so I will be off tomorrow. Farewell ye crackers! & ye cracker girls & farewell ye *one* 'roomer' log houses where lives & sleeps, a whole generation. Farewell the dirty foot, slipshod; but never knew a stocking; the unwashed face; ropy hair; the swearing, lazy, idle, slut! Ye slouched hats & grandshires courts— good bye. Ye drinking, drawling, boasting, cowardly

30. Enoch Vann, *Reminiscences of a Georgia-Florida-Pinewoods Cracker Lawyer* (n.p., 1937), 34-35.

31. John Wilder to mother, April 20, 1865.

Sliggards— Fare ye well!”³² Whether friendly or hostile, these ever-present frontier folk always gained the attention of those who lived or traveled among them.

Despite the amount of commentary on them, there is still much to be learned about crackers in antebellum Florida. What was their relationship to the institution of slavery? What percentage were landowners? Did they grow cotton, or did they rely solely on driving cattle and hogs for economic survival? Were they part of the market economy in Florida? Their political activities and affiliations remain a mystery. Were they Baptists, Methodists, or unchurched? And finally, impressionist travel accounts indicate that crackers were generally anti-Confederate, but was this really the case? These and other questions are certainly worth exploring in an effort to understand these people more clearly.

Despite massive immigration into Florida from the North and other sources in the twentieth century, traces of cultural values that have their origins in Florida’s “cracker past” are still visible. One of the most obvious legacies is the determination to ensure the least possible governmental interference in people’s everyday lives. Individualism, animosity toward taxation, a latent distrust of government-sponsored social programs from education to social services— as well as an ambivalence directed against both the promoters and recipients of these programs— certainly have their roots in the cultural legacies of Florida’s common folk. By examining Florida’s crackers we look through a window into our own existence. The study of the culture of this group allows us to understand the state’s contemporary society more fully and with a deeper appreciation of the many different human elements that have gone into making our diverse society..

32. Henry Prince Diary, May 14, 1838, in the private possession of Frank Laumer, Trilocochee, FL.

RELIGION AT THE POLLS: A CASE STUDY OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY POLITICS AND RELIGION IN FLORIDA

by WAYNE FLYNT

FLORIDA politicians show up in strange places. Shawn Ryan, pop music writer for *The Birmingham News*, authored a column on March 2, 1990, about Governor Robert Martinez's attempt to purge Florida record stores of obscene material. A special session of the Florida legislature had just pulverized the governor's antiabortion legislative package. Martinez sought to recover by ordering a record by 2 Live Crew, "As Nasty As They Wanna Be," removed from record store shelves in Dade County. The fact that the governor of a state with more than its share of adult book stores and pornography palaces should have targeted records as an issue on which to take his stand probably tells more about political strategy than religion. He explained to a *Newsweek* reporter, "If you answer the phone one night and the voice on the other ends begins to read the lyrics of one of these songs, you'd say you received an obscene phone call."¹

The fact that Governor Martinez, no bluenose Puritan, took this position emphasizes how enduring religio-moral values are to American political discourse and how, generally, Florida historians have overlooked the subject. Martinez's responses speak to important historical traditions in the state long ignored by historians, who by and large do not take evangelical religion as seriously as do ordinary citizens. This article will explore these trends, using Governor Sidney J. Catts's career as an example of the historic practices at work. Although the times and issues changed from nativist xenophobia in 1916 to moral majoritarianism in 1990, the importance of religion in defining the contours of political debate in Florida remain constant.

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1. Shawn Ryan, "Off the Record," *The Birmingham News*, March 2, 1990; Jerry Adler, Jennifer Foote, and Ray Sawhill, "The Rap Attitude," *Newsweek*, March 19, 1990, 57.

The political activity of religiously affiliated people demonstrates some very important patterns that have shifted dramatically over the past century. When the century began, Protestants and Catholics operated at predictably opposite ends of the political spectrum. Nativist and anti-Catholic feeling ran so high that organizations such as the American Protective Association, the True Americans, The Guardians of Liberty and the Ku Klux Klan could often count on a solid Protestant vote merely by identifying the religious affiliation of a candidate or the local extent of the "Catholic conspiracy."

By the 1980s Catholics and Baptists were politically if not ecumenically unified on a wide range of issues: opposition to abortion, support for prayer in public schools, and federal aid to church schools, just to name three examples. Fundamentalists have largely controlled the Florida Baptist Convention, severed relations with Stetson University, and generally have more in common with conservative Roman Catholics than with moderate Baptists. In fact, the growing contemporary preoccupation with moral and family issues threatened to redefine the contours of American politics during the 1980s. If historians could ignore the religious context of Florida politics for nine-tenths of the century, they have a lot of catching up to do during this decade.

The claim of historical oversight needs some qualification. David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher pay brief attention to the formal religious affiliation of Florida governors. They correctly note that nine of fifteen governors between 1900 and 1955 were Baptists (make that ten of fifteen if one includes Albert W. Gilchrist who, though christened an Episcopalian, spent his adulthood active in a Baptist church).

Of course such statistics must be weighed against the political opportunism of several generations of southern politicians who knew well that church membership was good politics. Hence David Sholtz converted from Judaism to Congregationalism. Even Congregationalism might seem a little strange to the state's Baptists, but during the Great Depression there were more important problems to consider. And at least Sholtz would not perplex voters with talk of bar mitzvahs and Hanukkah celebrations. Duncan Fletcher, who faced the constant threat of embarrassment from his wife's Unitarian-Universalism and Spiritualism, kept careful ties to Jacksonville's First Baptist Church. Senator Park Trammell was a more consistent Baptist,

but his biographer suggests this may well have been due more to his wife's devotion than to his own.

The last Baptist to serve as Florida's chief executive was Acting Governor Charley E. Johns, a Baptist businessman and legislative power broker who served most of Daniel McCarty's term from 1953 until 1955 after the governor died of a heart attack. It may be instructive that of the four governors to whom Colburn and Scher attribute the lowest public ethics, two (Sidney Catts and Charley Johns) were Baptists, and the other two (Haydon Burns and Claude Kirk) were Methodist and Episcopalian.² Whether Charley Johns's practice of voiding state contracts in order to award new ones to political allies dealt a death blow to Baptist governors is unknown. Likely the changing religious and political demography of the state had more to do with the eclipse of Baptist influence. Florida's increasingly heterogeneous religious landscape dominates the post-Johns religious affiliation of the state's governors: two Episcopalians, two Methodists, a Presbyterian, a member of the United Church of Christ, and a Roman Catholic.

Religion often became an issue of controversy in twentieth-century Florida's public life. Scholars have shown that in 1928 and again in 1960 evangelical Protestants bolted the Democratic party in large numbers rather than vote for a Catholic presidential nominee. In 1978 Robert L. Shevin lost a runoff for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination to Robert Graham partly because he was Jewish and from Miami.³ Which of these facts hurt him more is a matter of speculation.

Despite such passing recognition, no systematic treatment of the religious context of Florida politics exists. In their biographies of Napoleon Bonaparte Broward and LeRoy Collins, Samuel Proctor and Tom Waggy do not analyze religion extensively. The book on Florida governors by Colburn and Scher devotes half a page to religion and only lists denominational affiliations. Although Waggy ignored religion as a topic, like several other essayists, he correctly emphasized religio-moral values

2. David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher, *Florida's Gubernatorial Politics in the 20th Century* (Tallahassee, 1980), 35-39, 291.

3. Marie Marmo Mullaney, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1983-1988* (Westport, CT, 1989), 73-75.

as the source of LeRoy Collins's courageous stand for racial justice. Speaking to Presbyterian churchmen, Wagyu notes that Collins challenged them to go "All the Way for Christ" when racist mobs howled at their doors or when innocent people were fired for their kindness to blacks. The governor warned that no legal resolution could end racial injustice because the issue involved "moral rights" and "principles of brotherhood." To demand that African Americans "stay in their place," forgoing their legitimate rights, was "not a Christian point of view." Although Wagyu makes it absolutely clear that Collins's religious and moral presumptions underlay his racial assumptions and provided his most effective arsenal against Florida's racists, religion does not play a role in the story. A passing reference to "Presbyterian" is all that appears.⁴ Contemporary commentators on Reuben Askew's courageous advocacy of school busing frequently mentioned his religious values, but whether historians seeking other motives do any better explaining his actions remains to be seen.

A number of studies have recognized the significant correlation between religion and political action nationally. They have shown that 57 percent of Catholics who voted for president in 1960 identified themselves as Democrats. Among Jews the figure was 66 percent. Among Baptists it was only 47.6 percent. In fact, Baptists have been moving toward the Republican party since Harry Truman, one of their own, carried Baptist counties on his way to the 1948 Democratic upset victory. In 1956 Adlai Stevenson received 50 percent of the Baptist vote, Lyndon Johnson carried 49 percent in 1964, Hubert Humphrey got only 24 percent (George Wallace and Richard Nixon split the other 66 percent) in 1968, and George McGovern 25.5 percent in 1972. Jimmy Carter, of course, dramatically reversed this downward cycle in 1976, winning 57 percent. But 1976 was the "year of the Evangelical," when news magazines ran features on born again Christians, and Jerry Falwell launched the Moral Majority. Although Carter did better among self-styled evangelical voters than Democrats normally, he still failed to woo most of them from the Grand Old Party.⁵

4. Tom R. Wagyu, *Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida: Spokesman of the New South* (Tuscaloosa, 1985).

5. Albert J. Menendez, *Religion at the Polls* (Philadelphia, 1977), 197-99.

By 1980 many evangelicals who had voted for Carter four years earlier repented and returned to the house of their fathers, now made more hospitable by the presence of Jerry Falwell and assorted Southern Baptist luminaries. In fact, in 1976 many new right evangelicals rejected Carter as a religious imposter. Third Century Publishers rushed out a "Christian's guide" in 1976 to help evangelicals elect "God-directed candidates." The guide denounced Carter while rejoicing in the election of Mickey Edwards in Oklahoma, Bob Durnam and Bob Badham in California, and John Myers and Dan Quayle in Indiana.⁶ Specific Florida data tying Carter's declining popular vote from 1976 to 1980 to religion are impossible to produce. But if evangelicals nationwide were disappointed in Carter's performance, it seems logical that some of his eroding support in the sunshine state stemmed from disillusion among his born again 1976 supporters.

The Christian right thrived during the 1980s when Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush granted its leaders unparalleled access to the White House. Bush and Vice-President Quayle spoke to the Southern Baptist Convention, though neither was Baptist, an honor that, incidentally, was not bestowed upon Jimmy Carter who was a born again believer and one of their own.

Nor did religious rightists return to the traditions of their fathers in 1992. Despite an unprecedented Democratic ticket composed of two Southern Baptists and one spouse whose opposition to nasty record lyrics sounded like Governor Martinez's, white southern evangelical and fundamentalist Protestants opted for a politically correct Episcopalian. Admittedly Clinton's reputation as a womanizer made this defection easier to understand than the 1980 desertion of Carter, but by and large the religious right seemed capable of forgiving sins of the flesh more easily than sins of ideology.

Clinton-Gore in fact won a majority of Catholic, Jewish, black Protestants, and religious liberals and narrowly lost mainline

6. *Ibid.*, 203. For insight into the nature of Christian right political involvement see Matthew C. Moen, *The Christian Right and Congress* (Tuscaloosa, 1989), and *idem*, *The Transformation of the Christian Right* (Tuscaloosa, 1992).

Protestants— usually a GOP bastion. But Bush won decisively among the 17 percent of the electorate that identified itself as “white born-again Christians.” He took 61 percent of that vote compared to 23 percent for Clinton and 15 percent for Perot. In ninety-six heavily Southern Baptist counties in eleven southern states, including Florida, Bush won 46 percent to Clinton’s 40 percent. Bush’s three strongest states were Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina. Among the 40 percent of Alabama voters who listed themselves as “white born-again Christians” Bush beat Clinton 67 to 23 percent.⁷

Victories by religious right candidates in Oklahoma, California, Indiana, and Michigan make clear that Florida has no monopoly on voters whose ballot choices are swayed by religious issues. But the denominational mix is significantly different according to region. For instance, 58 percent of Baptists in the mid 1970s resided in the South, while only 16 percent of Roman Catholics and 19 percent of Jews lived in Dixie (64 percent of Jews live in the East, 10 percent in the Midwest, and 7 percent in the West; for Roman Catholics 41 percent live in the East, 28 percent in the Midwest, and 15 percent in the West). Even within the South the pattern varied. The traditional bible belt South is a Baptist camp. In Alabama, Baptists represent 31 percent of the population, in Arkansas 26 percent, in Georgia 28, Kentucky 26, Mississippi 32, North Carolina 25, Oklahoma 26, South Carolina 28, Tennessee 28, and Texas 22.⁸ Florida is notably absent from states of the Baptist dispensation, although that would not be the case if the discussion pertained only to north Florida. The bible belt meanders across state boundaries well into central Florida before it encounters a solid barrier of religious heterogeneity constructed from immigrants drawn from every state and a multitude of foreign countries.

Florida politics in the twentieth century can be analyzed in numerous ways. The most famous description is “every man [and woman] for himself [herself],” reflecting the politics of factionalism. The rise of a strong Republican party is changing that characteristic by forcing Democrats to impose some unity and order onto its natural and preferred state of anarchy. Supreme

7. Albert J. Menendez, “Analysis: Clinton Won Most Religious Votes,” *Baptists Today* 10 (November 26, 1992), 1; *The Alabama Report* 1 (November 1992), 2.

8. Menendez, *Religion at the Polls*, 207, 216.



Governor Sidney J. Catts (1917-1921). *Photograph courtesy P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.*

Court cases mandating one person/one vote, with the resulting transfer of power to southern Florida, took a long time to bring results, but now a south Floridian can become governor. The rapidity of population growth in Florida creates the greatest political flux of any southern state, making reelection an unusually risky venture.

Today's conventional political wisdom is tomorrow's ancient history. Courthouse gangs and party elites have come and gone with such regularity since the 1960s that one needs a scorecard to keep up with the players. In many ways Florida is the most nonsouthern of southern states. In politics, as in religion, it drifts ever closer to national patterns. Other than Sidney J. Catts, Florida cannot even claim a respectable demagogue. Claude Kirk tried but fell far short of Catts's "high standard."

Two givens characterize the state: religion is an increasingly important barometer of political behavior, and Florida is a different sort of southern state. From these two facts one may draw an obvious conclusion. Scholarly discussion of twentieth-century Florida politics must focus less on politicians and political processes and more on religious context.

Precisely how would attention to religious context enrich our understanding of Florida's political processes? The administration of Sidney J. Catts offers a concrete historical example. He was admittedly the only preacher-governor in the state's history, but, as references to Robert Martinez, Robert Shevin, LeRoy Collins, and others illustrate, he was by no means the only governor to address issues directly within the context of religious and moral assumptions. Catts was elected governor as an Independent Prohibitionist in 1916, was defeated handily by Duncan Fletcher for a Senate seat in 1920, and then lost close gubernatorial contests in 1924 and 1928. How did religion affect Catts's career and produce these outcomes?

In 1916 Florida's Negro Baptists led all denominations with 70,000 members, and Southern Baptists accounted for the largest number of white Protestants in the state with 57,732 members organized in 686 churches. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South trailed just behind with 51,505 communicants. Roman Catholics lagged in fifth place with only 24,650 members, or 7.5 percent of the total church population. The Catholic Church ranked sixth in terms of the value of its property.⁹

These rankings remained fairly constant for a decade. In 1926 Florida's 528,000 church members (a 57 percent increase from 1916) were divided among the same three leaders: Southern Baptists (white) 103,000, Negro Baptists 98,000, and

9. United States Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1916* (Washington, 1919), pt. 1, 160-62.

Methodist Episcopal Church, South (white) 74,000. The number of Roman Catholics had increased only to 39,000.¹⁰

Sidney Catts understood the world of white southern evangelicals as well as any man in Florida. Indeed, he had served a long apprenticeship as a Baptist pastor in Alabama prior to living in Florida. Here he honed many of his basic approaches to life and religion.

One skill nourished by the southern evangelical church, but little understood by historians, was the power to persuade an audience. At the heart of any evangelical religious process is the ability to move people to action: to accept Christ as personal savior, to change conduct, to tithe, to assume a position of service or ministry. Clergymen assumed roles of leadership in southern politics, and many Florida Populist leaders were evangelical preachers. In the next generation many preachers carried the banner of progressivism, as did Sidney J. Catts.

Offspring of a black belt Alabama planter family, Catts attended several schools before deciding on a career in law. Following a short stint at Cumberland University Law School in Tennessee, Catts practiced law briefly before feeling "called" to the Baptist ministry. As with every other decision in his life, he defined this one in religious metaphors. He described his decision to enter Florida's 1916 governor's race in similar terms: "For weeks before I announced, I could not sleep at night. I felt a call that I was trying to resist. I firmly believe, and was finally convinced that I was called of God to make that race. And after I got into the fight I was more and more convinced of the truth of my vision."¹¹ Catts needed a near-messianic confidence in his own vision and mission. He had resided in Florida only five years, had no money, contacts, or name recognition, and was ignored by both the press and his own party.

A second skill Catts learned in Alabama churches also served him well at Florida political rallies. Churches that place the pulpit in the middle of the church send a powerful symbolic message: the sermon and not the liturgy is central. The ability to move a congregation of people to voluntary action to change

10. United States Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1930), I, 44-45, 58, 162, 310.

11. *The Birmingham Age-Herald*, December 14, 1916.

conduct or society is no small accomplishment. One person who heard Catts preach called him "a power in the pulpit." Another termed him "one of the best impromptu speakers I ever listened to." In his 1904 race in Alabama's Fifth Congressional District against Thomas Heflin, one correspondent described his campaign through the hill country: "The people here have not heard anything to equal this address since the days of the campaigning of the lamented William I. Samford [former governor]."¹² When Governor-Elect Catts visited Birmingham in December 1916, curious citizens asked him to speak about his recently ended campaign, which had created such a national sensation. He obliged with an hour-and-a-half address. The newspaper reporter described a speech "of gripping intensity with a narrative filled with dramatic incidents, interspersed with humorous happenings." The "more impassioned parts of the speaker's address were cheered to the echo," and when Catts finished the audience cheered for more.¹³

Unfortunately, the two parts of Catts that were so interchangeable to him—religion and politics—confound historians who insist that the expression of Christian faith in Dixie was essentially other-worldly and escapist. The actions of Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, Jesse Jackson, the Moral Majority, and Operation Rescue in the last decade of the twentieth century place this assertion on weak ground. Sidney Catts's career casts doubt upon the premise as applied to the first decades of the century.

In its mildest form, southern religion called for moral rearmament. A revivalist sermon at Catts's Fort Deposit church in July 1894, for example, attacked "ballot box stuffing as a common practice that Democrats used to count out Populists in that election year, Blind Tigerism, Waltzing, vulgar anecdotes and such things."¹⁴ This curious philippic, blending public and private and political and personal morality, points to themes that extend throughout Catts's Florida career. He frequently engaged in political campaigns on behalf of prohibition. As pastor

12. *The Alabama Baptist*, March 26, 1891, June 22, 1893; *The Montgomery Advertiser*, April 9, 1904.

13. *The Birmingham Age-Herald*, December 14, 1916.

14. *The Alabama Baptist*, August 2, 1894.

of Tuskegee Baptist Church, he also kept careful watch for heretical racial views at Tuskegee Institute. As a speaker at the 1904 Alabama Baptist Convention, he spoke on "The Preacher and Politics." He had precise notions on the subject. As pastor of Mt. Willing Baptist Church, he had just completed an unsuccessful campaign for Congress against a demagogue who taught him well how to appeal to the masses.¹⁵

The religious world of Sidney Catts was also obsessed with the menace of immigrants, particularly those who were Roman Catholic. In 1894 the nativist American Protective Association came to Mobile, Alabama, where it waged war against a Catholic candidate for mayor. During these decades all three of Alabama's major cities—Mobile, Montgomery, and Birmingham—elected Catholic mayors. Evangelicals grew increasingly uneasy about the link between the Vatican and American politics. *The Alabama Baptist* editorialized in 1894: "There is one peculiar fact about Catholicism. Wherever it prevails you observe a low state of morals. Marital ties set lightly. Fornication and adultery are common. The Sabbath has been changed from a holy day to a holiday. Gambling is fashionable. Saloons are numerous and prosperous. . . . There is no question that rum and Romanism go together. Indeed, the very stronghold of rum in this country is Romanism."¹⁶

How deeply such attitudes penetrated Catts's consciousness soon became apparent. Speaking at Tuskegee Institute on the "Persecutions and Martyrdoms of the Church," Catts described ecclesiastic and secular history as a battle between Papist and democratic forces. He reasoned that "every movement of Jehovah seems to be directed against the temporal power of the Pope, and for enlightenment and good government." Historical evidence appeared on every hand: Italian unification was a blow to the power of the church, as were Andrew Jackson's incursions into Florida.¹⁷ Catts was discovering what many Florida politicians would learn: bad history can make good politics.

But the most complete revelation of Catts's remarkable blend of religious context and political opportunism came in his De-

15. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1901; *Alabama Baptist State Convention, Report for 1904*, (n.p., 1904), 46; *Hayneville City-Examiner*, March 31, 1904.

16. *The Alabama Baptist*, February 15, 1894.

17. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1900.

ember 1916 speech in Birmingham. So many critical elements of Florida's political tangle were unraveled there. He was introduced that evening by Dr. A. J. Dickinson— pastor of First Baptist Church, graduate of the University of Chicago, theological liberal, pastor to Hugo Black (who may well have been in the audience), advocate of social Christianity, and himself a future candidate for public office. The man who presided at the meeting, a man name Dozier, was one of the leading anti-Catholic luminaries in the city. Dickinson opened the meeting with a simple premise: no one should be allowed to vote who held obligation to any agency or institution higher than America. Dozier also announced a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan to be held in the same hall immediately after Governor-Elect Catts finished his speech.

Catts no doubt swelled attendance at the Klan meeting by his remarks. He stated that his decision to run for governor resulted from “the pernicious influence” and “domination of the Jesuits.” He entered the campaign to force the other candidates to explain where they stood “on the principles of our organization” (The True Americans?). But they clearly “knew nothing about our American platform and they cared less.” “I had been lecturing in every little church and schoolhouse scattered over the state every night after I finished my work. . . . I had informed the people in the country on the menace which threatened our state.”

What was the menace? Less than one-fifth of Florida's population was Catholic, he warned (the real figure was nearer one-fifteenth, but that was too low to frighten the common folk), yet they held two-thirds of all offices in Florida (a bit of ministerial hyperbole, like estimating the size of a revival congregation). Catholics, through “unseen and invisible methods,” controlled government and the press: “The Catholics were about to take Florida and I told the people about it wherever I went. I was trampling on their toes and raising the devil to such an extent that many of the Catholics wanted to kill ‘Old Catts.’” Weary of harassment from police and threatened with assassination, he spoke “with both hands on big pistols which were loaded in every chamber.” Eschewing towns, he campaigned in the country, taking a collection at each stop to get him to the next. His campaign to take “our public schools out of the hands of those holding allegiance to a foreign potentate” triumphed despite

attempts to steal the election from him. Lest Catts appear exclusively as the hero of this crusade, he acknowledged that he did have friends in high places: there was God, of course, but also Tom Watson, Catts told his hushed audience, "the greatest leader of our cause, Americanism." At this point the crowd broke into thunderous applause.¹⁸

Thomas E. Watson, former leader of Georgia Populism and still a spokesman for rural, southern plain folk, began publishing a series of articles in 1909 on "the Roman Catholic Hierarchy" in his *Jeffersonian* magazine. The paper had many subscribers in Florida between 1910 and 1916, and secret anti-Catholic societies spread like wildfire under the stimulus of Watson's acid-tipped pen. The paper's emotional excesses help explain how sane, kindly people became so mesmerized by Catts's crackpot mixture of religious bigotry and pseudohistory. Italics and bold-faced type, all-capital letters, and red-inked headlines added a sense of urgency to the torrid prose. The series on "The Roman Catholic Hierarchy: The Deadliest Menace to Our Liberties and Our Civilization" began in August 1910 and ran for twenty-seven months. It was so successful that the series spawned an even more lurid sequel entitled "The History of the Papacy and the Popes." Published in book form, the exposés enjoyed wide circulation until banned from the mail for their salacious content during the First World War.

A sample of what rural Floridians were reading just prior to and during Catts's gubernatorial campaign helps explain his phenomenal rise to power. Article titles do justice to the finest grocery store tabloid: "The Murder of Babes"; "The Sinister Portent of Negro Priests"; "How the Confessional is Used by Priests to Ruin Women"; "One of the Priests Who Raped a Catholic Woman in a Catholic Church"; and "What Happens in Convents." Tom Watson probably provided the most prurient reading available to an entire generation of Florida evangelicals.¹⁹

Such activity slowly changed the state. In 1910 the nativist Patriotic Sons of America helped defeat St. Augustine Catholic congressional candidate Lewis W. Zim. Four years later United States Senator Nathan P. Bryan, a Methodist layman, appointed

18. *The Birmingham Age-Herald*, December 14, 1916.

19. Selected titles from *The Jeffersonian*, 1910-1916.

Peter Dignan postmaster of Jacksonville. Dignan was a respected member of the city council and was also a Catholic. Billy Parker, a newly arrived immigrant from Pennsylvania, used the appointment as the catalyst for a series of bitter speeches on Jacksonville street corners vilifying Catholics in general and Dignan in particular. It was Parker who apparently organized Jacksonville's chapter of the Guardians of Liberty and circulated its paper, *The Menace*, across the state. Soon Protestant backlash to the Dignan appointment reached such proportions that anti-catholic groups persuaded Baptist governor Park Trammell to abandon his already announced candidacy for the First Congressional District and to enter the Senate campaign against Bryan.²⁰

The best expression of the cumulative effect of all this propaganda on Florida residents is contained in a brief, bigoted, but eloquent correspondence to Park Trammell in May 1916. One writer was M. F. Green of Perry, Florida, located squarely within north Florida's bible belt: "I think most of us of Florida [in Taylor County at least] has enough of Bryanism, Negroism, and Catholicism, they can all go to H - for my part."²¹ Trammell had tuned his ear to Florida's religious discord as finely as had Catts. Senator Trammell had stopped white teachers from instructing black pupils in a Catholic school and arrested three sisters who persisted in their educational tasks. William Collins, chief of police in Okeechobee, wrote Trammell congratulating him for removing white teachers from Catholic schools enrolling blacks. He also deplored a Catholic paper circulating in Florida that criticized the way Trammell had handled the matter. S. G. Bartow, exchange editor of *The Menace*, wrote Trammell from the Aurora, Missouri, headquarters of The Guardians of Liberty. He requested information regarding Florida's new law restricting whites from teaching blacks for use in a forthcoming issue

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20. W. T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Live Oak, 1936), 123-24; Wayne Flynt, ed., "William V. Knott and the Gubernatorial Campaign of 1916," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 51 (April 1973), 423-30. The most complete account of the role of religious nativism in the 1916 Florida elections can be found in Wayne Flynt, *Cracker Messiah: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 25-93.
21. M. F. Green to Park Trammell, May 12, 1916, Park Trammell Papers, reel 1, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida (hereinafter, Trammell Papers).

of *The Menace*. The masthead of Bartow's stationary carried a logo that was playing well in the sunshine state: "The Roman Catholic Political Machine: The Deadliest Menace to Free Institutions and Liberty," R. C. Boulvare wrote Trammell eight days later from Kendrick, Florida, boasting of his membership in an anti-Catholic organization claiming 15,000 members in Florida: "We are . . . instructed to vote for Catts and Trammell!"²²

It was true, as Fuller Warren wrote in 1949, that Sidney Catts "hanged the Pope to every oak tree in West Florida during the years between 1910 and 1925."²³ But Catts did not purchase the rope. He arrived in a state already seething with religious animosity and xenophobia. To understand Catts's remarkable 1916 Florida race without understanding his evangelical roots or the religious context of his political campaign is like *Newsweek* trying to comprehend Robert Martinez's assault on 2 Live Crew without reference to a Florida religious mindset fed up with cultural sewage. Historians who ignore religious context are constantly surprised when they encounter men like Sidney Catts and Robert Martinez in American politics. More careful attention to religious popular culture would reduce the surprise.

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22. William Collins to Trammell, May 15, 1916, S. G. Bartow to Trammell, May 15, 1916, R. C. Boulvar to Trammell, May 23, 1916, reel 1, Trammel Papers.
 23. Fuller Warren, *How to Win in Politics* (Tallahassee, 1949), 175. For examples of the impact and spread of anti-catholic nativism and bigotry during the 1920s see David P. Page, "Bishop Michael J. Curley and Anti-Catholic Nativism in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45 (October 1966), 101-17; and Stephen R. Prescott, "White Robes and Crosses: Father John Conoley, The Ku Klux Klan, and the University of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 71 (July 1992), 18-40.

Berry Benson's Civil War Book: Memoirs of a Confederate Scout and Sharpshooter. Edited by Susan Williams Benson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. xvii, 203 pp. Foreword, preface. \$19.95.)

Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee: A Portrait of Life in a Confederate Army. By Larry J. Daniel. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. xvi, 231 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

This War So Horrible: The Civil War Diary of Hiram Smith Williams. Edited by Lewis N. Wynne and Robert Taylor. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. xvii, 175 pp. Preface, introduction, maps, photographs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$21.95.)

In 1952 Bell I. Wiley wrote that the "Civil War affords an unusually good opportunity for the study of the plain people," since "absence from loved ones caused lowly folk who rarely took pen in hand during times of peace to write frequent and informative letters and to keep diaries, and thus to reveal themselves in rare fullness." Historians of the war have given credence to this notion, since the gauge used to determine where scholars are in their thinking is reflected in their analysis and interpretation of the thousands of works chronicling the minutiae of deeds and passions of those who fought. From their works emerge various interpretations revealing the "rare fullness" that excited Wiley. The recent surge of scholarship focusing on the rank-and-file soldier serves several purposes, but perhaps most importantly it tells us where historians of the period are in their analysis of the war.

While Civil War scholars have been slow to embrace the approach Wiley inaugurated over forty years ago, which emphasizes the rank-and-file soldier and the socialization of war, the usefulness of that approach is reflected in the three works

under review. These works illustrate how letters, diaries, and memoirs can serve as useful tools, especially if they are incorporated into larger considerations that may tell us something we did not already know. Perhaps what we have in the diary of Hiram Smith, Berry Benson's memoirs, and the common soldier of the Army of Tennessee is a part of the real, personal, and unconditional war that serves to remind us of what scholars of the period already sense— war is hell.

Herman M. Hattaway summed it up best when he characterized Berry Benson and perhaps many of the common soldiers of the war as “the stuff of which legends are made” (p. ix). Berry Benson, Confederate scout and sharpshooter, witnessed the first shot at Fort Sumter and fought with Lee's Army of Northern Virginia until its surrender at Appomattox Courthouse. He encountered considerable action, and his war was filled with the extremes of life and death. Although just eighteen years old when he joined the army, he was soon singled out as a talented marksman and fierce southern partisan, whose leadership abilities were put to quick use. He rose quickly to the rank of sergeant, and on several occasions he commanded his company. He participated in the battles of First Manassas, Seven Days, Sharpsburg, Chancellorsville, the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Petersburg. His recollections, completed in 1878 and based on his— and partially his brother's— wartime diaries and letters, reflect a soldier thoroughly dedicated to the southern cause. Although he was plagued with numerous hardships— including having been captured twice— his curiosity, restless energy, and pluck overshadowed the physical deprivation, fatigue, and death inhabiting his surroundings. According to Hattaway, “Benson was so keenly aware of how bad things sometimes were that he found it believable— as he was told— that in the field some wretched Confederates had picked grains of corn out of horses' dung, washed them, and cooked them for food” (p. x). Although nearly one half of Benson's memoir is devoted to his numerous near-captures and the unfortunate occasions when he was captured, his highly illuminating story serves as a building block to the larger issues, such as the maturation of innocent youth into seasoned veteran in the span of a few short years.

In many ways Hiram Smith Williams shares with Benson a common experience in the Civil War, proving that the war was anything but romantic. As a recent arrival from New Jersey to

the South in 1859 and a member of the middle class without ties to the slaveholding aristocracy, Williams was certainly a unique Confederate. As a member of the 40th Alabama Volunteer Infantry, Williams was always looking for ways to improve his condition by recreating the world he left behind— a message social historians should find interesting, valuable, and useful. As a skilled craftsman, he offered his services to General Alexander P. Stewart's Pioneer Corps, which was responsible for completing various engineering tasks. As a member of the Pioneers, he frequently was called upon to build hospitals and to assist surgeons in the operating room. His descriptions of these scenes reflect a soldier increasingly questioning the war's legitimacy. In 1864 he was reassigned to the Army of Tennessee and participated in the Atlanta campaign as a member of the Pioneer unit. Late in the year he rejoined the 40th Alabama on duty in defense of Mobile harbor until March 1865 when he finally rejoined the Army of Tennessee in its attempt to stop William Sherman.

Upon his return to his company in February 1864, Williams assessed the damage of war and the loss of his comrades: "What a change from the company in which I first volunteered two years ago. . . . Their graves are scattered from Dog River all through Mississippi, at Columbus, Deer Creek, and Vicksburg, to this place. Such is war" (p. 27). Williams's longing for the war to end is reflected in his comparison of American civilization to that of the Greeks and Romans. "Are we better off to-day than the Romans or Greeks were two thousand years ago?" he writes, "Are we happier? No. And yet the happiness of mankind is the great bubble that we all grasp for, the philosopher's stone we have sought for ages" (p. 54). By May 1864 Williams had seen war "in all its horrid and distable qualities," and it was permanently impressed in his memory (p. 70).

As a skilled journalist, Williams used his literary skills to capture at length the harshness and humor of a soldier's life. Although he wrote for posterity— aware that his diary would be read by others— Williams still managed to capture the originality of war. Fortunately, the editors have allowed Williams to speak for himself with grace and eloquence and therefore have allowed him to bring the Civil War to life. His experience during the war was as common as it was distinctive. Although he was not involved in most of the combat experiences of the 40th Alabama, his significance, much like Benson's, rests not in what

he did as a soldier but rather how he felt about what he did as a soldier. For Williams, as with Benson, the real usefulness of their memoirs reaches beyond the historical facts that help to chronicle the military campaigns, since these letters go beyond the battlefield. They reveal, for example, that respect came with incidents large or small. Benson's memoir suggests that soldiers mourned more following the death of Stonewall Jackson than they did over the tragic outcome at Gettysburg (p. 39). Benson also reveals that courage was demonstrated not only on the battlefield but perhaps more so in the hospital, since soldiers were forced to come to grips with the alterations of their bodies, which ultimately necessitated an alteration of the mind.

Seeking "to discover exactly who were the men of the Army of Tennessee" (p. xii), Larry J. Daniel casts his net wide and integrates scores of letters, diaries, memoirs, and unit histories throughout his text to achieve a distinctive perception of the soldiers' real war. His meticulous and careful examination of these documents has served scholars of the common soldier and of the West well, since he provides a number of important insights into the Civil War's least understood fighting force. Inevitably, there is some comparison of the eastern and western Confederate soldiers, and this is among the many strengths of the book. Although he contends that eastern and western soldiers were more alike than not, he proceeds to lay out a number of principal differences. For example, he argues that the Army of Tennessee, unlike its eastern counterpart—Army of Northern Virginia—could not maintain its cohesiveness through confidence in leadership and battlefield victories. Instead, he argues, much like Thomas L. Connelly, that cohesiveness was achieved at the brigade or regimental level and by "punishments, a sense of commitment instilled through religious fervor, a bonding of the troops through shared suffering, and a certain perverse pride that arose from their common experiences of serving under losing generals" (pp. 148-49). He acknowledges, however, that this certainly did not explain a soldier's fighting motivation. A cursory glance at both Williams's and Benson's memoirs would indicate the degree to which soldiers fostered a certain passion for the cause, but beyond that there were other compelling reasons to fight.

Daniel also suggests that "western troops often viewed the results of various battles from a perspective different from that of modern historians." Victory could be determined by how

many pieces of artillery were captured, who left the battlefield first, and the numbers of prisoners taken during the battle. Although he chronicles the hardships of the Army of Tennessee, many of which extended beyond the battlefield—morale, arms, camp life, medical care, discipline, religion, and fighting spirit—Daniel concludes by contending that perhaps the common feature of the army's solidarity, despite a lack of refinement that characterized other armies, such as the Army of Northern Virginia, was the soldiers' courage.

Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee goes far to satisfy those interested in what shaped and defined armies in the Civil War. Daniel's exhaustive research is impressive and his narrative rich in detail. By offering a view from the trenches, he is able to arrive at some definite conclusions as to who the men of the Army of Tennessee were and how they felt about soldiering. Although the portrait of army life for the western soldier that emerges is often a depressing one, readers will find that soldiers survived through courage and faith.

Scores of letters, diaries, and memoirs, essentially constituting the foundation for our understanding of the Civil War from the soldier's perspective, have seen the light of day since the war's close. The abundance of narratives emanating from those who participated in the war have highlighted for scholars the real war. But it is the observations and conclusions from these documents recording the "rare fullness" that serve as the cornerstone of scholarship. In this regard, all three works under review achieve distinction. Although *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee* must stand in the ranks with similar works that focus on the common soldier in a specific army, it offers perceptive analysis and conclusions as to the "how" as well as the "why" men endured the conflict. Conversely, both *Berry Benson's Civil War Book* and *This War So Horrible: The Civil War Diary of Hiram Smith Williams* further our knowledge of the common soldier. And if, in any case, these works do not tell scholars much they did not already know about the nature of the Civil War, perhaps they may serve as points for departure for those historians seeking to bring the war into its proper political and social context.

Isabel the Queen: Life and Times. By Peggy Liss. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. x, 398 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

Federico García Lorca has said, "In Spain the dead are more alive than the dead of any other country in the world." Indeed, to many Spaniards today, no long-dead person is more alive than Isabel of Castile. A freshet of books and articles about Isabel have recently appeared; Peggy Liss, a recognized Hispanic studies scholar, has written perhaps the best of the lot. This is a sensitive, balanced, and comprehensive biography of the Catholic queen, placing her life and deeds within their proper fifteenth-century context while fairly presenting both beneficial and harmful aspects of her reign.

In 1451 Isabel, the daughter of King John II, was born at Madrigal de las Altas Torres in the high plateau country of Old Castile. At that time the kingdom of Castile was disunited, as restless nobles rebelled against King Henry, Isabel's half-brother. Often left alone in the midst of turmoil, Isabel learned to rely upon God for strength and developed the qualities of patience, determination, and constancy.

Isabel married Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469 in an evident love match that had remarkable consequences for Spain. When both succeeded to their respective thrones, their kingdoms were also united. Isabel often hid her deeds within this royal partnership, but she was a dominant force in shaping the Church within Spain for national purposes. The royal pair also restrained the particularism of cities and grandees. By greatly augmenting royal revenues, they decreased the reliance of the crown upon the Cortes, thus advancing absolute monarchy. Isabel was the chief architect of this thorough, systematic consolidation of royal power.

Liss demonstrates that both Isabel and Ferdinand were responsible for the establishment of the Inquisition in Castile and Aragon. She also sees Isabel's support of the Inquisition as symptomatic of the reign, incorporating "crusade, personal salvation, apocalyptic hopes and fears, social control, royal power, and benefit to the royal treasury."

The greatest influence upon Isabel's life was the reconquest of Spain from the Moors. Its last phase, the Granada War, became her cause; she set herself the difficult task of assembling

and supplying the Castilian armies. Finally, in the watershed year of 1492, Granada surrendered. Then, after Columbus's voyages, Spain projected its reconquest energies onto a world stage. But, despite the triumphs of Spain at home and in the Indies, Isabel's last years were made tragic by the deaths of her son Juan, two daughters, and her grandson Miguel. Her daughter Juana slowly went insane.

Today, many condemn Isabel for her part in the expulsion of the Jews and Spain's conquests of the Native Americans. Peggy Liss fully and honestly describes the long history of European and Spanish anti-Semitism and how Isabel's Christian piety led her to the extreme act of expulsion of the Jews in 1492. After the Columbian voyages, Isabel and Ferdinand addressed the governing of the Spanish territories in the Americas. In the Indies the weaknesses of Castilian policy towards the Native Americans were soon revealed. All the queen's best intentions could not prevent the destruction of peoples unable to stand up to the Europeans' powerful weapons of cultural and military conquest. In the end, epidemic disease proved the most powerful weapon of all.

To Isabel, modern Spain owes its foundation. The Americas, including Florida, and the Pacific regions still bear her mark. This fine biography vividly depicts the life of the Catholic queen, a world-changing personality.

Center for Historic Research, Flagler College

EUGENE LYON

Ponce de León and the Discovery of Florida: The Man, the Myth, and the Truth. By Douglas T. Peck. (St. Paul, MN: Pogo Press, 1993. xiv, 87 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, photographs, maps, epilogue, bibliography, list of illustrations, index. \$16.45.)

Juan Ponce de León is a fine example of the relationship between modern Floridians and our Spanish heritage. We know a little, but not a lot, and much of what we do know is confused. For instance, everyone equates Juan Ponce with the search for the Fountain of Youth. But, as author Douglas Peck points out in this slender volume, that story is a post-Ponce myth. On the

other hand, few people realize that Juan Ponce explored portions of both the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of Florida in 1513 and that eight years later— a full century before Plymouth Rock— he attempted to establish a full-scale Spanish colony here. One way to remedy this educational deficit is through popular, readable books such as this.

A preliminary chapter provides background on Juan Ponce and sources of information and interpretations about his Florida expeditions. The only extant account of Juan Ponce's first voyage is a second-hand one recorded in the Spanish historian Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas's *Historia General*. Presumably (hopefully?) Herrera's account was derived from Juan Ponce's original log or report.

The heart of Peck's study lies in his second and third chapters, which reconstruct Ponce's route, pinpointing his Florida landfalls. Two short, final chapters cover Ponce's 1521 voyage and the Calusa Indians of the southwest Florida coast, among whom both of Juan Ponce's expeditions probably landed.

So where did Juan Ponce make landfall on the Atlantic coast? Was it south of Cape Canaveral, as Peck contends, or north of the Cape, as others have opined, or at St. Augustine, as a popular tourist attraction advertises? The answer is: we do not know. The Herrera account contains too few details. Worse, some historians working with the latitudes provided in that account agree that Juan Ponce's pilot reckoned some latitudes $1\frac{1}{2}$ degrees too far north. As a consequence many different conclusions can be drawn from the same set of data.

Will we ever be able to definitively track Ponce's Florida sea route? I doubt it, unless more documentary clues are found. But until that takes place, Juan Ponce buffs would do well to study transcriptions of two pertinent sixteenth-century sources published in the 1980s by the Naval Museum in Madrid. The first, the *Espejo de Chaves* (1983), compiled by the 1530s by Alonso de Chaves, the royal cosmographer, is both a guide to coastal locations in the Americas, including Florida and the Bahamas, and a textbook on how to navigate. One section covers the east and west coasts of Florida, and some of the latitudes given there reflect the same $1\frac{1}{2}$ degree latitude error found in Herrera's rendering of Ponce's log. Interestingly, in that section Juan Ponce's Rio de Corrientes and Cabo de Cruz (in Herrera they are the stream La Cruz and the Cabo de Corrientes) are

both north of Cape Canaveral, suggesting Ponce indeed made landfall well north of the cape.

The second source, published in 1985, is Juan de Escalante de Mendoza's *Itinerario de Navigation*, written in 1575 as a textbook for students learning navigation. Mastering the *Itinerario* and the pertinent parts of the *Espejo* would turn any modern historian or navigator into a sixteenth-century Spanish pilot who could greatly increase our knowledge of the Spanish geography of coastal Florida, not to mention the Bahamas, and help to solve the puzzle of Juan Ponce's initial voyage to Florida.

Florida Museum of Natural History

JERALD T. MILANICH

General James Grant: Scottish Soldier and Royal Governor of East Florida. By Paul David Nelson. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xi, 207 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

James Grant has never received, until now, full biographical consideration. One reason for this unmerited neglect may be the awkwardness of mining the essential Grant papers in Ballindalloch Castle in remotest Banffshire. Paul Nelson has worked these papers extensively. He adds much interesting detail to, but essentially confirms, the verdict on Grant of historians Charles Mowat and Mark Boatner.

Grant was a hedonist, an autocrat, and totally feudal in his outlook. He saw nothing wrong with slavery. Without it, he believed Florida planters were bound to fail. As a member of parliament he voted against abolitionist legislation, even though he thus defied his patron, William Pitt the Younger, to whom he was usually subservient. In eighteenth-century Britain, currying favor with the great was all but unavoidable for professional progress. Like his counterpart George Johnstone, first governor of British West Florida, Grant advanced his career more through political and aristocratic "connexion" than through intrinsic merit.

Grant was an energetic and somewhat effective administrator but not a thinker. He was a reactionary. He is not to be associated with the contemporary Scottish Enlightenment, and

he had no sympathy for, and little understanding of, the arguments and aspirations of Americans before the Revolution.

What will probably most interest readers of *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, is Grant's governorship from 1764 to 1771 of the British colony of East Florida. He misread the gubernatorial role. Admittedly a correct reading in the turbulent 1760s could baffle almost anyone, but Grant was unusually insensitive in several directions. He was an imperialist who did not understand the workings of the British Empire. He did not, for instance, see that in Indian and military affairs his was not the highest authority, even in East Florida. The result was needless friction.

Neither did Grant understand Americans. As was his duty, he enforced the Stamp Act and levied the Townshend tariffs but could not imagine how there could be objections to them. It was also his duty to summon a representative assembly, but, suspicious of institutions that might nurture democratic notions among colonial subjects, he ignored his instructions on the topic. He would have been a disastrous governor of a more thickly settled province.

Grant's many years in parliament get only cursory attention in this biography, which rightly recognizes that he was primarily a soldier. His active military career lasted over forty years, from King George's War through the Revolution. Nelson rates him more highly as a strategist than as a tactician. In fact, on both counts, Grant's record is mixed. He was capable of shocking blunders (as before Fort Duquesne in 1758) and admirable victories (as at St. Lucia in 1778). His chief military flaw was to misinterpret intelligence. As commander of the New Jersey posts in 1776, his assessment of the Americans' capabilities resulted in their first substantial victory of the Revolution. It is a comment on the system within which Grant worked that neither this failure at Trenton, nor others in Pennsylvania, did more than slow his promotion.

Although Nelson tends to take Grant at his own valuation, he has written a useful book. That Grant boasted publicly that Americans could not fight has been called a myth. Nelson proves that to not only did he say it but also came to rue his stupid words. Nelson also provides much detail not found elsewhere, especially about Grant's significant, if not always successful, but unjustly neglected role in the American Revolution.

Grant was a "typical eighteenth-century loyal Scotsman" is Nelson's conclusion. One has to wonder whether being a colonial governor and full general, both tiny, powerful minorities, did not exclude Grant from typicality.

Auburn University

ROBIN F. A. FABEL

Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815. By Kathryn E. Holland Braund. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993. xvi, 306 pp. Introduction, preface, illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$37.50.)

In 1764 British Indian superintendent John Stuart described trade as "the original great tye" linking Native Americans and Europeans, and, in this welcome addition to the Indians of the Southeast series, Kathryn Braund assesses this tie between Euro-Americans and Muscogulges (Creeks) from its origins to the aftermath of the Creek War of 1813-1814. Going beyond Verner Crane and other scholars of the last two generations, Braund expertly discusses not only the rationale, structure, and operation of trade but, sensitive to recent ethnohistorical concerns, how it changed Creek society and shaped tribal destiny. Running throughout is a persistent paradox: the trade made Creeks powerful and dependent at the same time.

Deerskin was the basic Creek unit of exchange, more important by far than Indian slaves or stolen horses. In return, Europeans offered a variety of goods: firearms, tools, and woolen duffels and strouds. From the beginning, the British (often Scots) had an advantage over French and Spanish rivals because of entrepreneurial acumen, superior goods, and a well organized network linking London, Bristol, and Charleston through an extensive system of credit. From Charleston (and later Savannah) traders, packhorsemen, and other functionaries transported goods inland to Augusta and then along a series of trails to Upper and Lower Creek villages in Georgia and Alabama.

For a century the deerskin trade encouraged a misplaced Creek confidence. After all, they were arguably the largest southern "tribe" or "nation," and their homeland, strategically

situated at the junction of competing European empires, abounded with whitetail deer. They also succeeded in playing the Europeans off against one another— a reflection of circumstances rather than conscious policy. And yet this “power” could not disguise a growing dependency on European goods. Indians as consumers were Indians at risk. John Stuart’s attempts after 1763 to protect native interests through a system of trade regulation failed, and unscrupulous traders continued to ply their clients with rum and credit, which resulted in Creek cessions of land to offset mounting debts.

As Braund carefully demonstrates, the trade brought many changes to Creek life— consumerism, a business-oriented class of metis (mixed bloods), heightened village factionalism, the loss of certain traditional crafts and manufactures, the genesis of the Florida Seminoles, and exposure to the perils of monopoly. Creek leaders sometimes responded to these pressures in creative ways, for example blending traditional clan-based retaliation with the demands of British law for individual culpability and punishment. So wedded to the dictates of trade were the Creeks that their allegiance to Britain or the colonies in the American Revolution depended in part on access to goods.

After the Revolution, the dwindling deerskin trade was largely confined to the British firm of Panton, Leslie, and Company, operating out of Spanish-controlled Pensacola. White Americans were now little interested in the business and instead focused their energies on acquiring Indian lands. For Braund, the period after 1783 is basically an epilogue, and trade had less impact on Creek society than the profound internal changes and white expansion that led to the Creek War. Her contention that economic factors were foremost in the war should be compared with Joel Martin’s emphasis on a Creek religious millenarian vision.

Braund has combined extensive research in British and American archives with an impressive overview of secondary literature and is at her best in describing how trade actually operated, from the mundane details of organization and production to the ways it reshaped Creek society. At times, however, she seems uncertain about her central paradox, about the degree to which the Creeks actually controlled— or even influenced— what was transpiring and the extent to which they were swept along (victimized?) by larger historical forces. It is fitting

when dealing with such an important topic to leave some ambiguities unresolved, some questions unanswered. That these remain in no way detracts from this fine book.

University of Tennessee

JOHN R. FINGER

The Seminoles of Florida By James W. Covington. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. x, 379 pp. Preface, maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95, cloth; \$18.95, paper.)

In 1957 Edwin C. McReynolds published *The Seminoles*, which included the Seminoles outside of Florida in Indian Territory. In 1973 Charles H. Fairbanks published *The Florida Seminole People*, an excellent historical/anthropological account, but too short—100 pages—to tell the full story. Now comes James W. Covington with the first book-length account of the whole history of the Florida Seminoles from their Creek origins to the present.

He shows with special skill how the attempt of the United States to confine the Indians to a reservation after 1823 totally disrupted their lives and made them entirely dependent on the U.S. government. When that government failed to deliver subsistence, some Seminoles actually starved to death. Harassed by slave catchers—white and Indian—whipped when caught outside the reservation, under intense pressure to get out of Florida, they had no choice but to fight. Thus they began the Second Seminole War.

Covington presents facts concerning that war that have not been sufficiently stressed in the literature. One fact is that both Osceola and Coacoochee in late 1837 doubted the ability of their people to stand one more year of war. Another is that the control held by the Prophet over Seminole activity in 1838 exceeded the control that Osceola and Micanopy had been able to exert from 1835 to 1837. The third is that Osceola's bands consisted mainly of blacks. A final one is the power of hereditary leaders among the Seminoles, out of war as well as in it.

Covington documents the decline of the Seminole population from 5,000, when the United States gained control over

them, to less than 300 at the end of the Third Seminole War in 1858; then he traces the slow rise up to about 1,500 at present. The Indians had continually to adapt to white encroachments, and Covington excels in the difficult task of locating camps and bands at different times. He shows how fragmented the Seminoles actually were, using two languages, coming from diverse Creek sources, and lacking a common chief.

A familiar theme running through the history is the relentless pressure of the whites to acquire Indian land, slaves, and other property. An apt quotation by Micanopy conveys the tragic position of the Indians: "The white people will not rest or suffer us to do so. . . . These Negroes are ours and we will not consent to surrender them. [But] if you send and take our property. . . . by force we cannot help ourselves" (p. 62). Covington shows this theme to be partially reversed during the last 100 years, as white organizations—private and governmental—have undertaken to secure land once owned by the Seminoles for them to inhabit.

After the three wars, the Seminole story for nearly nine decades, while not especially dramatic, is one of survival and slow increase. This changed. "With the exception of the Second Seminole War," Covington states, "the post-World War II period produced perhaps the most startling changes ever felt by the Seminole community" (p.232). These changes included instituting suit under the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1934, a judgment in their favor, but no payment as of 1992. They include formal Seminole chartering under white direction in 1957 and federal recognition of the Miccosukees as a separate tribe in 1962. There was a rise from almost nothing in education, in public schools, reservation schools and even in colleges. Cattle programs expanded profitably; herds were made private in 1953. The Seminoles live now not in chickees but in concrete blockhouses. Most of them have become Christians. Health care is of rising importance. The tribe has made significant profits from selling cigarettes free of state tax. In 1979 they opened their first bingo hall, which has been highly profitable. Under the leadership of James Billis, beginning in 1984 the annual tribal income has increased from \$500,000 to more than \$10,000,000. These startling changes are covered in an insufficient space of only forty pages.

The Seminoles of Florida is indispensable to all persons interested in modern Indians (since the eighteenth century) of this state.

University of Florida

JOHN K. MAHON, emeritus

Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln. By Michael F. Holt. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992. ix, 365 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, graphs, index. \$35.00.)

For more than twenty years Michael Holt has been a leading historian of politics in antebellum America. This collection reprints nine essays that appeared between 1970 and 1990, and they should be read by any serious student of American politics unfamiliar with the author's important past contributions. There is also one new article, which will be part of a forthcoming book, that examines the disappearance of the Whig party. Most interesting, an extended introduction outlines the author's changing philosophy of how we ought to study political history.

The author, who was once a pioneer of the "new political history," which emphasized studying grass-roots voting behavior as essential to understanding political development and conflict, has now repudiated much of his earlier work and methodology. The story of politics, Holt now contends, "can most profitably be told from the perspective of political leaders, rather than voters." This is because "at most times the motives, decisions, and actions of officeholders and other politicians had greater impact in causing political change than did the values of voters" (p. 28). He advocates, then, a return to elite studies, political history essentially divorced from social history.

Voting, Holt now maintains, most often was a referendum on the actions of the party in power (its policy output) and not the function of how social, ethnic, or religious groups aligned within the electorate. Also, he proposes again the idea that men often voted in response to short-term fluctuations in the economy (much like their reaction to policy). This contention is central to the author's earlier work on the Antimasons, Know-Nothings, and the election of 1840. Mass voting behavior, particularly the level of turnout, would still have a place in Holt's political

history in order to reveal voters' attitude toward the system as a whole and to explain the periodic surges of antipartyism, also vital issues in his earlier work.

Holt makes further recommendations for the future of political history. He urges more attention to short-term, "chance" occurrences, especially among party leaders, that changed the course of political development. For example, he argues that the Whigs nominated Harrison in 1840 and Taylor in 1848 largely due to capricious events preceding the nominating conventions. Finally, the author vows to pay more attention to the political context in which parties operated. This consideration takes center stage in the book's one original essay about the Whigs' demise. Although the argument advanced here is not substantially different from *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*, Holt has highlighted the importance of the organizational, political, and ideological context by comparing the Whigs' collapse to the Republicans in the 1970s and British Conservatives of the 1840s and 1850s—asking why these latter parties survived in the face of problems equal to those of the Whigs. Briefly, he concludes that the federal system with frequent election contests made it easier for a third party challenge in the 1850s than the 1970s. The American obsession with republicanism ensured a more vigorous public response (than in England) when the policy alternatives apparently disappeared between the major parties and they lost their purpose in the political system.

One has a sense of sadness when reading the author's lamentations about much of his earlier work, which was admired by so many readers. One hopes he has not thrown out all that was good with the little that may have been bad. And although an absolute judgment on Holt's new agenda must await his book, social and intellectual historians, as well as followers of the new political history, will likely meet it with much skepticism.

Domestic Novelists in the Old South: Defenders of Southern Culture.

By Elizabeth Moss. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992. xii, 249 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

When dealing with nineteenth-century proslavery ideology, historians routinely examine the works of male writers, especially those of Thomas Dew and George Fitzhugh. Elizabeth Moss argues, however, that five female domestic novelists—Caroline Gilman, Caroline Hentz, Maria McIntosh, Mary Virginia Terhune, and Augusta Jane Evans—offered their own defense of the “true” South. Since these authors, publishing between the mid 1830s and 1866, reached a larger audience than male apologists, historical attention to their “original contribution to the proslavery ideology” is not only warranted; it is overdue.

These five novelists saw the South as “an ordered, harmonious society governed by the aristocratic code of noblesse oblige.” Faced with northern charges that slavery destroyed family life among both blacks and whites, they depicted the peculiar institution as “part of a larger system of reciprocal relationships that made southern society the moral superior of the individualistic North.” Unlike their male counterparts, however, these domestic writers eschewed scientific and sociological arguments. And, where the men emphasized the responsibilities of masters and advised women to accept subordination, the female novelists depicted women, especially plantation mistresses, as having a “redemptive” role to play in southern life.

Writing primarily for an upper-class audience, the five women advised household mistresses to eschew laziness, extravagance, and frivolity so they could serve as the virtuous mainstays of their households and communities. In that way, southern women could exert their influence to maintain their society rather than change it. (By contrast, northern domestic novelists encouraged women to use their influence to recast their society along more feminized lines.)

Moss analyzes the works of Gilman, Hentz, and McIntosh in the first generation, placing their writings in the context of earlier sectional strains. These three, nurtured on stories of the American Revolution, saw the South as endangered by an increasingly materialistic North. But where they sought sectional reconciliation, the later generation, represented by Terhune

and Evans, was less sanguine. They harbored more animosity towards Northerners, observing in them not only a dangerous materialism but, even worse, a disruptive individualism that led some to join the women's rights movement.

By analyzing the writings of the five authors in the context of both their lives and the developing sectional crisis, Moss adds to our understanding of an important and overlooked element of proslavery ideology. She also notes that, although few read their works today, their idealistic descriptions of the old South as a place governed by a responsible planter class which genuinely cared for appreciative slaves lived on in the postwar myth of the Lost Cause. Finally, the five novelists, while instructing southern women to embrace their domesticity, nonetheless, left behind strong female figures who, in turn, inspired later writers such as Ellen Glasgow and Margaret Mitchell.

Moss does not overlook the ironies inherent in their works. Although they sought sectional reconciliation, they perpetuated regional stereotypes that deepened hard feelings and helped lay "the intellectual foundations for civil war." Simultaneously, while instructing southern women to remain in the household, they themselves were professionals who needed and welcomed the income from their writings.

Nonetheless, after reading Moss's analysis of these authors, no one will ever again see southern women as passive bystanders during the ideological debate between antebellum North and South. The work has the added merits of being gracefully written, well grounded in primary sources, and enhanced by internal literary references within the text and additional footnoting. It will prove valuable to those studying the Old South and women's history. It will also appeal to scholars interested in literary, social, and cultural movements of the nineteenth century.

University of Central Florida

SHIRLEY A. LECKIE

Southern Women: Histories and Identities. Edited by Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Theda Perdue. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992. vi, 203 pp. Introduction, notes on contributors, index. \$29.95.)

This useful collection of essays derives from the inaugural Southern Conference for Women Historians held at Converse College in June 1988, a conclave that provided much of the

impetus for the now-burgeoning field of southern women's history. The book opens with Jacquelyn Dowd Hall's cogent historiographical survey of southern women's history, in which Hall warns against imposing any prescribed ideological structure of sisterhood on the southern past and urges instead attention to the many voices of black and white southern women. *Southern Women* gives us many voices more than any coherent argument for a particular casting of southern women's identities. In a bow to their intellectual forebears, who over the past quarter century have recovered so much of New England women's history and written it into the larger public record, the contributors to this volume invest much effort trying to locate southern women's place in public life and thought. A secondary theme, reflecting more-recent currents in women's historical writing and fully in keeping with a region of fictional Coldfields and real Eudora Welty's and so many other storytellers, is the way southern women remembered and controlled their own histories and identities through narrative.

The essays on public life range from Susan Westbury's valuable discovery of Virginia women's political awakening during Bacon's Rebellion, to an examination of women Loyalists in Revolutionary South Carolina, to case studies of the suffrage movements in Alabama and Galveston, Texas, to Roseanne Camacho's nuanced reading of the dualities of race and gender that informed Lillian Smith's writings. Such essays point to southern women's ability to mobilize publicly to protect their own interests, even as some such women invoked themes of women's supposed moral superiority to justify their advances into the public sphere, but the essays do not explain the uneven, even spasmodic, nature of southern women's political involvement. The lack of any discussion of women during the Civil War contributes to such an impression, but so too does the failure of the contributors and editors to try and stitch together patterns showing women's political identities evolving over time or in comparison with developments elsewhere, within and outside the South.

The secondary theme of identity-through-narrative includes three fascinating essays. In an excellent study of historical sleuthing, Kent Leslie relates the unusual story of Amanda America Dickson, a mulatto slave in Georgia who shared her white slaveholder father's property and values and retreated into a "make-believe" world of personal privilege rather than identify

with the larger black community. Leslie discovered Dickson through the recollections of Dickson's granddaughter, who told, and sometimes concocted, a tale of an almost autonomous Dickson in part to establish her own definitions of class and color boundaries. Cheryl Thurber tracks the evolution of the mammy myth from its inchoate antebellum beginnings to its mature form at the turn of the century when whites fashioned a myth of an asexual, loyal mammy to reassert their own cultural and social control over black images and even to justify lynching black men who, in whites' fevered imaginations, supposedly betrayed the trust between the races that the mammy myth exemplified. In the boldest and most disturbing of the essays, Darlene Clark Hine argues that southern black women, ever vulnerable to rape and physical threat, developed strategies of dissembling to conceal their true selves, even from their men. Although Hine cannot document fully her insistence that "many black women quit the South out of a desire to achieve personal autonomy" and to escape "sexual exploitation from inside and outside their families," her argument for noneconomic causes for migration demands close consideration in any future analysis of the "great" or any black migration. Hine also echoes Jacquelyn Hall in reminding us that there are many and competing identities, interests, and narratives. No monolithic southern woman ever existed, whatever her color, and not all the stories are, or will be, told.

Reading *Southern Women* recalled the remarks of those exslaves who confessed to WPA interviewers that they had given up writing the history of their lives because they would have to tell too much. Rather than tell too much, many other southern women left their histories alone. *Southern Women* insists those stories can no longer be forgotten or ignored. As yet, the recovery of southern women's history is an imperfect enterprise. The volume under review leaves many basic questions unasked, especially what made southern women southern and when, if at all, southern women became southern. It slights religion and family identities and issues in favor of public activities. But in their very diversity of subject and method, and in their uniform clarity of expression and urgency of purpose, the essays stand as an invitation to expand the scope of southern history to include women in the stories Southerners must tell about the south.

Fair to Middlin': The Antebellum Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley. By Lynn Willoughby. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. xiii, 198 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$26.95.)

Lynn Willoughby wanted to write a "primer on the mechanics of the . . . cotton trade" that "could be understood by the general public" (xii). She explains how the cotton trade of one isolated river valley became part of the integrated national economy and describes the port of Apalachicola as part of the international market economy. She concludes that the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River, although quite distinct from other river systems, was "a microcosm of the mechanics of the entire South's cotton trade." The distinctiveness of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee system challenges the claim of it being a "microcosm."

Navigable southern rivers usually connected a port city, small communities in the hinterland, and a primary trading center at the fall line. Each river system developed a distinctive economy, but Willoughby, all too briefly, gave only a glance at Savannah, Mobile, or New Orleans. The Apalachicola/Chattahoochee system included Columbus, Georgia, at the fall line, with Apalachicola on the Gulf of Mexico. Eufaula, Alabama, Fort Gaines and Albany, Georgia, represented some of the interior towns. The variety of businessmen operating in this cotton trade included country merchants, factors, cotton buyers, brokers, commission merchants, speculators, forwarding merchants, shipping merchants, and the related occupations of warehousemen, compress operators, weighers, and insurance agents. Although each occupation had a distinct function, their operations became blurred in succeeding chapters.

Apalachicola, the third-largest port on the Gulf of Mexico after Mobile and New Orleans, had few business connections with these larger ports. Apalachicola developed its distinctive characteristics as a port city with a small, permanent population and an itinerant and seasonal commercial population that caused the port to explode into a major business center as thousands of bales of cotton arrived from the hinterlands on river boats. About 40 percent of Apalachicola cotton went to foreign ports, and the remaining 60 percent went to domestic

ports on the east coast. Apalachicola, according to Willoughby, had stronger business connections to New York than to New Orleans.

Three chapters dealing with cotton money, cotton banks, and cotton financing illustrate some of the problems in the cotton trade. Three states with different money and banking laws complicated commerce in the Chattahoochee/Apalachicola river valley. The chapters on money, banking, and financial complexities are a bit repetitious and sometimes over explained. Nevertheless, they are the most rewarding ones for the reader who is trying to understand the cotton trade at the local level. Willoughby implies that while Columbus expanded as a manufacturing and commercial center, Apalachicola declined during the 1850s because the business community did not have a bank and could not provide adequate credit facilities.

A chapter on "Cotton Men" adds a human dimension and helps to place the businessmen in perspective with the regional economy. A concluding chapter all too briefly comments on river transportation and credits the railroads in the valley as being a major factor in reducing the Apalachicola cotton trade. The author's analysis of railroads and the cotton trade supplants her previous emphasis on credit/banking as the cause for the decline of the port of Apalachicola.

Willoughby supplies a reasonable analysis of the mechanics of the cotton trade, but, by emphasizing the traders in the major towns, she gives only cursory treatment to two important facets. Small farmers, comprising 60 percent of the growers, relied on the local storekeeper. Yet the author devotes only four paragraphs to the country merchant. In a similar manner, steamboat owners and captains often served as more than transportation agents in the cotton trade. Although Willoughby emphasizes Apalachicola and international trade, the absence of references to the annual *Commerce and Navigation Reports* or to treasury department records is puzzling. A few minor errors do not seriously detract from the overall contribution of the work. *Fair to Middlin'* is, indeed, a primer for understanding the cotton trade of one river valley. Lynn Willoughby's study of the Apalachicola cotton trade is a welcome addition to the antebellum history of Florida and to southern economic history.

In the Hands of Providence: Joshua L. Chamberlain and the American Civil War. By Alice Rains Trulock. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. xxii, 540 pp. Preface, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

Over the past several decades Maine's Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain has become one of the most recognized, and compelling, figures of the American Civil War era. He was a central character in Michael Shaara's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Killer Angels* and also in Ken Burns's documentary *The Civil War*. Despite Chamberlain's own prolific writings on his wartime experiences, including the classic *Passing of the Armies*, however, there has yet to be a complete biography produced about him. The late Alice Rains Trulock has remedied this neglect in her book.

Lured away from his professorship at Bowdoin College by the coming of sectional war in 1861, Chamberlain joined the 20th Maine Infantry and was destined to lead it through some of the worst fighting of the conflict. A born soldier who relished martial life, he gained renown for the stand his regiment made on the rocky slopes of Little Round Top at Gettysburg in the face of overwhelming Confederate attacks. With ammunition all but exhausted, a last-minute bayonet charge led by Colonel Chamberlain himself cleared the field of Southerners and saved the day, and perhaps the war, for Union forces. For this action Congress awarded the scholar-warrior the Medal of Honor. Author Trulock retells the story of that fateful July day in Pennsylvania with considerable narrative skill, which makes a familiar tale seem new and original.

Chamberlain went on to brigade and division command in the Army of the Potomac and played a key role in U.S. Grant's 1864 Virginia campaign. After receiving a near-fatal wound before Petersburg, Chamberlain was honored with the only battlefield promotion to full brigadier general Grant ever issued to one of his officers during the Civil War. Based on his fine combat record, the Maine man was finally selected to take the official surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox. Here perhaps he made his greatest contribution to his country. By ordering his troops to salute the vanquished rebels for their bravery in both victory and defeat as they laid down their arms, he began the process of national reconciliation between North and South.

Students of Florida history will be particularly interested in Chamberlain's postwar career, since he made several trips to the sunny peninsula for his health and to seek financial opportunities. In 1882 he became president of the Florida West Coast Improvement Company and later of the Ocala and Silver Springs Company, as well as investing in railroads, hotels, and orange groves. Unfortunately, all of Chamberlain's Florida ventures proved unsuccessful, but he truly enjoyed the climate, and occasionally he piloted a steamer that ran between Cedar Key and Homosassa. Such pleasures faded as time and his six war wounds took their toll on Chamberlain's constitution. He finally died after years of constant pain in 1914.

Exhaustively researched, well written, and illustrated with many rare photographs, *In the Hands of Providence* is a standout in the crowded field of Civil War biography. The author wisely lets Chamberlain speak for himself by quoting extensively from his musings on the war, which was for him and other veterans the central event of their lives. Trulock has constructed a definitive and thoughtful study worthy of the man and his times.

Indian River Community College

ROBERT A. TAYLOR

Why the Confederacy Lost. Edited by Gabor S. Boritt. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. xii, 209 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, contributors, index. \$19.95.)

The Gettysburg Civil War Institute (CWI), Gettysburg College, has been a formative force in shaping the literature on the Civil War. For many years CWI has brought together some of the seminal Civil War scholars and provided them with a forum for advancing and refining their thoughts. The highly regarded centennial volume, *Why the North Won the Civil War*, was a product of this conference series. The 1991 meeting focused on the perennial subject of the military equation in analyzing why the Confederacy lost.

Gabor Boritt, professor of history at Gettysburg College and director of CWI, has edited this volume. In his "Introduction," Dr. Boritt tries to justify the book's military focus. He argues that scholars who study factors other than military cannot adequately explain why the Confederacy lost.

In the opening essay, the well known Civil War historian James McPherson obliquely disagrees with the view that military factors are the most compelling, stating, "Despite all the efforts to explain why the North won or why the South lost . . . we still do not have a consensus." McPherson states that most interpretations can be characterized as internal— limited to the Confederacy only, or external— factors affecting the progress of the war in both sections. This typology is usually employed to demonstrate that Union victory was inevitable, a conclusion that McPherson maintains is wrong. Rather, he states, it is only through the careful analysis of the contingency of individual events— military, political, and social— that one can begin to comprehend southern defeat.

Archer Jones, who contributed to a similar volume, *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (1986), illustrates the inextricable relationship between strategy and political needs. Jones believes that each side effectively employed and adapted military strategies to meet the exigencies of their respective domestic and international politics. He does maintain, though, that the "Confederate armies melted away not because men lacked supplies but because they and their families no longer had the political motivation to continue."

The issue of military leadership is addressed by Gary Gallagher, who published two books on this subject. He maintains that the generals— Grant, Sherman, and Lee— decided the course of the war. Gallagher argues that their success or failure influenced other factors— social, economic, and political. His essay is overly ambitious, and there are three distinct topics that could have been developed. Of these only the extended defense of Lee, which consumes more than one-half the article, is really given adequate coverage.

In the succeeding essay, the author of *Civil War Soldiers*, Reid Mitchell, stresses their importance. Richard Current had argued this point in his essay "God and the Strongest Battalions" (1960). Mitchell differs from Current, though, in stating that it was not overwhelming numbers that ensured victory, but the loss of Confederate will exacerbated by the growing "perseverance" of Union forces.

In the concluding article, Joseph Glatthaar has crafted a provocative essay on the crucial role of black soldiers. Dr. Glatthaar notes that nearly 190,000 blacks served in the Union army and

navy. Their contribution, Glatthaar insists, "helped to make the difference between victory and stalemate or defeat."

This volume will produce much discussion and argument among Civil War scholars. The decision to focus on military issues and exclude the voluminous scholarship on other subjects— economic, political, and particularly social— will generate much controversy. The essays themselves are provocative and will stimulate debate for some time. We are all grateful that CWI has brought fresh perspectives to an old subject.

National Park Service

MICHAEL G. SCHENE

Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction. By Eric Foner. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. xlv, 290 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, sources cited, illustrations, photographs, notes, indices. \$75.00.)

Old myths die hard, and, among them, has been the portrait of black Reconstruction-era officeholders as little more than a mass of illiterate and incapable tools in the hands of corrupt Carpetbaggers. Fortunately for Florida, the 1965 publication of Joe M. Richardson's *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877*, combined with Jerrell H. Shofner's 1974 *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*, proved the myth's lie insofar as this state is concerned. The fact of a similar regional experience was confirmed in careful detail in Eric Foner's prize-winning 1988 synthesis, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Business*.

Despite these and other efforts by historians over the past four decades, most black officeholders remain virtually unknown to us as individuals. Faced with that immense gap in our ability to understand them and their lives, Foner again has stepped forward to offer a substantial contribution. He has identified 1,465 individuals who served in southern public office during Reconstruction and provided biographical information on his subjects when readily available. Included also is a helpful, though brief, review of the historiography of black involvement in Reconstruction government and politics and a summary look at the magnitude of black officeholding, the backgrounds of

black officials, the paths by which blacks became politically involved, the trials and tribulations of their service, and the nature of their lives after politics. Numerous photographs and other likenesses enhance the volume.

Where so few resources are otherwise available, Foner's effort deserves praise. Readers may be somewhat surprised, though, by what is not included. Most importantly, the author's definition of Reconstruction is an extremely limited one. "To be included in *Freedom's Lawmakers*," he observes, "an individual must have held some office before the end of Reconstruction, a date that varies from state to state and that I define as the election that produced simultaneous Democratic control of both houses of the legislature and the governorship" (p. xiii). As a result more than half of the entries relate only to South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Fifty-eight Florida officials are mentioned, of whom forty-two were state legislators. Omitted are the additional forty or so men who served in the legislature between 1877 and 1889, but not before 1877. More than 150 other men who held local office in this state after 1876 likewise are neglected.

Within the limits he has set, Foner asserts that he has included a substantial majority of all black officials, including "all major state officials, members of constitutional conventions, and legislators" (p. xiii). If Florida's example is typical, he has not met his goal. At least eleven legislators are overlooked. They are: Lucien Fisher, Birch Gibson, Alfred Grant, Scipio Jasper, David Montgomery, Zach H. Morehead, George Nixon, Samuel Petty, R. A. Stearns, John N. Stokes, and John Sunday. Montgomery's omission especially is troubling as he very nearly became lieutenant governor in 1877. Eight local officers are listed, while 100 or more are not.

In a work of this magnitude, mistakes naturally will creep in, and no claim is made that this text is "completely accurate" (p. xiii). Florida users will note minor errors in that Joseph E. Lee's middle initial is misstated; Benjamin Thompson served in the legislature from Jefferson, not Columbia, County; and Charles Thompson held his legislative seat during 1873-75. George W. Witherspoon, a very prominent political and church leader, did not live until 1937. He died at Key West in December 1891.

This book is a good beginning at identifying and individualizing in a comprehensive manner the men who overcame

the shackles of slavery and racism to help govern themselves and their states during Reconstruction. This reviewer hopes that it will prompt renewed efforts toward completing this important task.

Florida State University

CANTER BROWN, JR.

Whistling Dixie: A Dictionary of Southern Expressions. By Robert Hendrickson. (New York: Facts On File, 1993. xxxi, 251 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction. \$24.95.)

Robert Hendrickson gets down to a gnat's eyebrow, giving readers strong picturesque images, lyrical sounds, and imaginative humor that will tickle any word buffs funny bone. He plows fertile furrows of diverse southern dialects as if he were dropping goober peas and guano in new ground and wishing for a gully-washer.

Indeed, Hendrickson has a good ear for earthy Southspeak; he fills a croker sack with front-porch talk and crackerbarrel yarnspinning that would have pleased Mark Twain and sent Florida folklorist Will McLean into songbird splendor. His linguistic harvest is big enough to choke a shoat.

Whistling Dixie is the first of five volumes to come, comprising the Facts On File Encyclopedia of American Regionalisms, portending a more definitive reference of collected expressions for writers and researchers. Writers of southern literature will delight in this essential reference. Obviously some Southerners—indeed, native Floridians of the rural panhandle and the small-town peninsula—might be able to supplement this listing from personal experience—one of the author's aims as his language search continues.

For native Southerners, especially Floridians, his findings flood the mind with memory, nostalgia, and belly laughter. Nuggets on these pages flavor southern literature from William Faulkner to Eudora Welty to Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings to Erskine Caldwell and newer generations of Dixie writers. It is a sweet magnolia of sayings, a plate of sweet potato pie, a gumbo of the tacky, titi, Tarheel talk, and genteel Charlestonian; the long drawl of whopper-jawed baccy spitters arguing stumphead qualities of sippin' whiskey. From Louisiana's lagniappe to the

light bread, white lightning and gopher-pulling of Florida panhandle. Among many gems: the Faulknerian “evening was already finding itself,” the expressive “looks like the bad end of bad luck,” and the low estimation of being “worth doodley squat.”

Along with residue from Scarlett O’Hara, Senator Claghorn, and Tobacco Road, you find Rawlings’ Florida Scrub, Jody’s flutter mill (*The Yearling*), along with the Florida river cooter and “Floridy” Cracker. Even a Florida room to catch the sun, which has become an architectural phrase across the state. Expressions coined and honed in more-agrarian times have not been entirely smothered by homogenizing television, the new regimen of political correctness, and especially urbanization of the pastoral South.

Hendrickson believes South Mouth is very much still vocal, detectable in regional accents from East Texas to the Carolinas, from the Virginia tidewater to the palmetto latitudes of Florida. While many expressions are archaic or snippets from southern literature—preserved by folklorists—others still decorate southern talk. He contends it is a reflection of regional pride that lingers despite the reality that urban clustering and late twentieth-century culture have diminished the earthiness of an earlier, mainly agricultural-base, region.

He shows a wide-open ear tuned to common speech and an immersion in the details of southern history from which that speech has sprung. This collection is for browsing, for pleasurable page turning, for serious researchers seeking phrases that portray southernisms of the past in a reflection of affectionate continuity. His well-phrased introductory essay establishes the origins of southern dialect, which springs from a variety of sources: Cajun, Creole, Gumbo, Gullah, and Conch. He says Southerners are proud of their accents and distinctive verbal expression. As a south Georgian says, “It’s the closest thang on God’s green earth to the King’s natchul English.” Linguists agree, since the North was settled by immigrants who learned English as a second language and were heavily dependent on the written word. By contrast, Southerners have always relied on the spoken word. In that respect, southern speech is closer to the native speech of England, and often Elizabethian England. Rooted in the spoken word, southern speech is a much more sensitive and effective medium of communication.

Dialect differs widely within regions, whether it is the pleasing softness of the Virginia Tidewater or the easy drawl of the South Carolina Low Country and the General Southern Lowland. Here more than 60,000,000 talk southern in sixteen states, from southeast Texas and Florida north to southern Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

Southern speech, Hendrickson says, is not endangered, despite increased American mobility and the same-speak of television. It is too widespread and deeply rooted in the past. He writes, "Who knows, perhaps the lazy or relaxed rhythms of Southern speech will even become the national mode within the next century or so." Now that's downright friendly that it could happen *raht cheer*. As sure as God made little green apples.

Pensacola News Journal

JESSE EARLE BOWDEN

Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America. Edited by Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993. xii, 238 pp. Preface, contributors, index. \$39.00.)

Historians of urban policy have usually sought to explain the development of public policy. In *Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, a group of scholars approaches the issue from a very different perspective, exploring the social effects of policy. They devote particular attention to analyzing the ways in which early and mid-twentieth-century policy decisions produced some of the problems of the modern city.

Like many collections, this volume grew out of a lecture series. Such roots account for the strengths and the shortcomings of the book. The contributors are first-rate scholars, and their essays cover important ground. But despite the high quality of the individual pieces, the volume lacks a unifying theme. Some of the essays offer assessments of the secondary-source literature on large topics. Others are based on original research and offer micro-level analyses. Moreover, two essays, though interesting, deal only indirectly with public policy.

Essays by Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl examine the human consequences of urban policy. In a superb review of the literature on the black ghetto, Hirsch emphasizes the role of

the government in facilitating and accelerating racial segregation. If the first ghetto arose largely as a result of the interaction among racial discrimination, market forces, and demographic changes, the second ghetto— as well as the modern ghetto— reflected the active hand of government policy. Zoning ordinances, slum clearance and renewal programs, federal housing policies that directed public funds away from poor and black neighborhoods and toward middle-class, white, suburban areas, and highway construction efforts permitted— and often ensured— increasing racial segregation. The modern urban crisis, Hirsch concludes, is a legacy of urban policy since the 1930s.

Mohl addresses a similar theme in his essay on highway construction in Miami. Interstate-95 displaced thousands of black Miamians and destroyed a vibrant black section of the city. Drawing from previously published work, but adding new detail and analysis, Mohl explains that many policy makers were more concerned with the completion of the highway project than with the social effects of the construction. Other influential Miamians seized the excuse of highway building either to profit from the displacement or to isolate the city's black population from commercial and white areas. Like Hirsch, Mohl emphasizes the ways in which private interests, notably real estate developers, influenced and distorted public policy. Far from endangering the interests of the business community, urban policy often became a tool of business leaders. The ghetto and racial conflict, in short, were effects of policy decisions.

The remaining essays present different and loosely related perspectives on urban policy. Michael B. Katz, in an essay that offers preliminary observations on a large research project, suggests ways in which the policies of early twentieth-century charity organizations affected poor New Yorkers. Katz notes the diversity and resilience of the urban poor. David R. Goldfield provides a brief survey of black political power in the urban South. Carl Abbott's essay explores the process of economic globalization as well as its effects. Interestingly, Abbott argues that local policy makers (rather than federal officials) usually forge responses to modern economic shifts. Thus, globalization presents unusual opportunities for local leaders to chart the economic futures of their cities. The volume concludes with Sam Bass Warner, Jr.'s, wide-ranging discussion of the environmental impact of urban society.

In short, this collection contains useful essays, though it lacks a unifying approach or theme. Nor does the book include an introduction that identifies common topics or definitions. Despite its limitations the volume offers a collection of highly intelligent essays on the modern city.

University of Florida

JEFFREY S. ADLER

Miami: Architecture of the Tropics. Edited by Maurice Culot and Jean-François Lejeune. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993. 190 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, introduction, photographs, illustrations. \$39.95, paper.)

This book is a product of an exhibition organized by the Foundation pour l'Architecture of Brussels and the University of Miami School of Architecture for the Center for the Fine Arts in Miami. The lavish photographs and drawings in this volume mirror rather closely the exhibition. The text, which seems to be a quest to discover the real Miami and its urbanistic context, contains a "Foreword" by Mark Ormond, director of the Center for the Fine Arts, and an introduction, entitled "Transatlantic," by Caroline Mierop, the curator of the exhibition. Maurice Culot, president of the Foundation pour l'Architecture, gives a very personal, impressionistic view of Miami and its history in the chapter "Blows to the Heart and Fleeting Impressions."

For the historian the most interesting chapter is the somewhat tongue-in-cheek work "The Three Traditions of Miami" by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, probably America's most innovative contemporary urban planners and both associated with the University of Miami School of Architecture. It is their claim that in its short history, Miami architecture has seen only three reoccurring stylistic traditions: the Cracker vernacular, the Mediterranean Revival, and "frivolous" modernism. The Cracker vernacular is the original wooden architecture of the area, with its broad protective overhangs and sheltering porches. That this style was so environmentally correct for the tropics meant that a new generation of architects in the 1950s and 1960s, most trained at the University of Florida School of Architecture, once more made it popular in south

Florida. The authors call this later work "contemporary Cracker."

For Duany and Plater-Zyberk, the Mediterranean Revival began in Miami with F. Burrall Hoffman, Jr., and Vizcaya and became the style of choice in the 1920s. While the authors claim that the thick masonry walls and small openings for windows and doors made for less environmentally sound buildings than the Cracker style, they say that they were superb for air conditioning which is "the real climate of Miami now." The authors forget that the best of the 1920s Mediterranean Revival buildings were designed with cross ventilation, broad loggias, grassy courtyards, tiled floors, and very high ceilings that kept them cool even in the hot Florida summers. While Duany and Plater-Zyberk say that postmodernism in Miami often takes the Mediterranean tradition for its form, which in turn causes "great damage to its reputation," the exhibit was housed in the greatly admired Mediterranean-inspired postmodern Dade County Cultural Center, designed by Philip Johnson and John Burgee.

Duany and Plater-Zyberk say modernism began on Miami Beach in the 1930s with the Art Deco hotels of architects such as Henry Hohauser, V. H. Nellenbogen, and Russell Pancoast. The authors suggest it continued in the "Brasilia style," with Morris Lapidus's flamboyant hotels of the 1950s. Today, they say, the tradition is "spectacularly in the care of Arquitectonica."

Duany and Plater-Zyberk say that supporters of the three traditions continue to argue about which is the true "style" for Miami. They suggest that the true style might be a hybrid of all three. While realizing that this could create an eclectic monster, they also understand that the tropical landscape will ultimately dispose of all mistakes.

In "Dream of Cities," Jean-François Lejeune, also associated with the University of Miami School of Architecture, discusses urbanism in the last years of this century. Although he traces Miami's urbanistic development, and tells of various plans for the city's second century, Lejeune never defines what Americans really want in their cities. Most Americans are tired of suburban sprawl and mirrored-walled "edge cities" off expressway interchanges. On the other hand, if the "real war against suburban mediocrity must be waged in the trenches of private development" then Miami as well as the rest of Florida is in real trouble.

The final chapter, "Tropical Cocktail," contains brief introductions to pictorial essays on domestic architecture in Miami and the new developments of Seaside and Windsor, planned by Duany and Plater-Zyberk. This is a beautifully designed book with many striking color photographs. It is at its best, as was the exhibit, in detailing the contemporary work of the young architects of Miami. I even believe the photographic essays on Seaside and Windsor can be defended, though the purist might wonder why a book entitled *Miami: Architecture of the Tropics* features a village in the Florida panhandle and a development over a hundred miles up the coast from the Magic City.

Florida Atlantic University

DONALD W. CURL

Free Men in the Age of Servitude: Three Generations of a Black Family.

By Lee H. Warner. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992. 168 pp. Acknowledgments, introductions, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.00.)

Anyone who explores Tallahassee's historic district cannot help but be impressed with the work of George Proctor, a skilled craftsman who built several of the capitol city's oldest structures. Apprenticed as a carpenter in St. Augustine, Proctor migrated to Tallahassee with the first rush of settlers. Proctor's skills were in great demand in this free-wheeling frontier town. Borrowing, building, and speculating, Proctor prospered in the flush times of the 1820s and 1830s; that is, until the Panic of 1837 sent Proctor and others like him reeling. The life of George Proctor demonstrates the perilous nature of entrepreneurial activity in the early nineteenth century. Bucking boom and bust cycles in a time before federal loan programs and FDIC was difficult—but for a free black man in a slave society, it was well-nigh impossible.

George Proctor, his father Antonio, a military hero, and his son John, a Reconstruction politician, constitute three generations (1743-1944) of one of Florida's most remarkable families. Lee Warner, executive director of the Aslo Center for the Performing Arts in Sarasota, reconstructs their lives using deed books, court records, government documents, and newspapers. The task is difficult because the Proctors left no personal papers.

It is made even more so by the fact that generations of Tallahassee—white and black—have embellished their accomplishments—so much so that they constitute a fictional yet vivid folklore.

George Proctor moved with his aging father to Florida's new territorial capital with the first rush of settlers in the early 1820s. Through his own ability and the patronage of William Pope DuVal, James Westcott, and other prominent whites, Proctor contributed markedly to the town's physical growth. He borrowed, paid debts, sued, and was sued much as any other builder-businessman. And yet as the Panic neared, Proctor borrowed heavily to finance a series of new construction projects. He also borrowed to purchase a wife. When the collapse came, George was threatened with losing his family. Prominent whites intervened to prevent this ultimate humiliation. But as the economic situation worsened in Tallahassee, so did the ability of a free black to climb out of debt. George made the fateful decision to go to California to try and restore his finances. He never saw his family again. George's dreams of financial security and freedom for his family literally went up in smoke when a hotel he partially owned burned. Proctor's family was subsequently sold into slavery, albeit to owners who by all accounts treated them with compassion.

Ironically, John Proctor remembered his adolescence as the slave of a prominent Tallahassee storekeeper as some of the fondest years of his life. After the Civil War he joined Florida's ruling yet fractious Republican party. His career as assemblyman and federal officeholder exemplified the political opportunities available for blacks in the era. But black participation in politics was short lived. By the 1880s Proctor and others like him fell victim to the restoration of white political control sweeping the South. Though he lived to be 100, Proctor's political career was over at the age of forty.

Warner develops several themes which tie this work together. First, white patronage played a large role in the Proctor's prosperity. Second, the Proctors thrived best in towns which were in their earliest stages of development. The fluid, flexible, impermanent nature of St. Augustine in the Second Spanish Period, early territorial and Reconstruction Tallahassee, and Sonoma, California, during the Gold Rush fitted this requirement. This was the sort of environment in which talent was

more important than tradition, skill more important than status. As these towns matured, the opportunities for free blacks lessened. Racial prejudice against blacks certainly existed, but it was not of the sort blacks experienced in later years.

Lee Warner should be commended for his attempt to illuminate the lives of this remarkable family. His work with county records demonstrates that it is possible to reconstruct the lives of those he calls the "inarticulate." His description of early Tallahassee, especially the building trade in the new territorial capital, is superb. Some, however, may disagree with his assertion that Tallahassee society in the 1830s and 1850s differed as markedly as he contends. Others may question the contention that Southerners fought the "civil war in the name of slavery" (p. 63). These minor criticisms aside, Warner's work is a welcome addition to Florida history, black history, and family history.

Florida Southern College

JAMES M. DENHAM

Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Enduring Legacy of African-American Families. By Andrew Billingsley (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992. 442 pp. Foreword, introduction, tables, figures, notes, selected bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$27.50.)

Andrew Billingsley has written extensively on the black family for more than two decades. In his latest effort, *Climbing Jacob's Ladder*, he continues his preoccupation with the subject in a new and well researched analysis of the multi-dimensional nature of African-American family structures and relationships. He presents eighteen chapters of discussion and statistical data that focus on the origins, development, and metamorphosis of the black family in this country from the time of slavery to the present.

The arguments that Billingsley posits in attacking the myths and misconceptions that presently surround the institution of the black family command the reader's attention and respect. For example, he contends that the black family is not disappearing but continues to adapt to the social, political, and economic changes taking place in American society and the world today. Using primary and secondary sources that span the last thirty

years, he focuses on lower-, middle-, and upper-class black families and the impact of economic conditions as primary determinants of their viability and stability. Billingsley comes to grips with the idea held by certain social scientists that black single-parent families are inherently unstable. He rejects the notion that one may judge the stability of the black family by comparing it to families from other racial and ethnic groups in America. Citing specific cases of single parents, the author describes how they have provided for the necessities of life for their children, with the assistance of both extended and augmented families.

In seeking to advance further discussion of the multi-faceted nature of the black family in America, Billingsley has produced a provocative study, as well as a skillful analysis of recent scholarship on the subject. A major contribution lies in the author's ability to explain clearly and simply the various social forces shaping, molding, and changing the overall composition of the black family today. He not only states the problems, he proposes what might be done to ameliorate them.

This work will be of value to students, scholars, general readers, and policy makers interested in understanding the complexities of the black family in American society today.

Florida A&M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

Claude Kirk and the Politics of Confrontation. By Edmund F. Kallina, Jr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. ix, 253 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$34.95, cloth; \$18.95, paper.)

In this very readable monograph, historian Edmund Kallina, Jr., sets himself a formidable task: to salvage the historical reputation of the maverick one-term (1967-1971) governor Claude Roy Kirk, Jr., Florida's first Republican chief executive in the state's modern history. That Kallina is only partially successful in this forbidding attempt at historical resuscitation does not seriously diminish the value of the work he has here undertaken.

Kirk's historical reputation, embellished by both memory and pen since he left office twenty-two years ago, has been that

of a political loudmouth who made a big noise, accomplished little in his four-year term, and, having become a public embarrassment to the state's voters, was dispatched by them at the earliest possible opportunity—when he stood for reelection in 1970.

Such a view, Kallina asserts, is woefully wide of the mark. "In the four years he governed," writes the author, "the most sweeping changes in the history of twentieth-century Florida took place, most notably the radical transformation of Florida's government and politics." "Aided by forces both external and internal to the state," Kallina claims, "Kirk led what amounted to a revolution." These are strong words, and the achievements that Kallina cites as proof of this putative "revolution" do not justify his claim. They do persuade, however, that Kirk's record as governor is much more credible than his critics have ever conceded.

The changes that Kallina heralds, and which build the case for Kirk's redemption, can be briefly cited: a new state constitution that enlarged gubernatorial authority and significantly strengthened the powers of the legislature. Representatives to Tallahassee now would meet annually, with support staff that dwarfed pre-1968 support levels. In addition, as Kallina observes: "A massive reorganization took place within state agencies and bureaus. At the insistence of the governor [Kirk] some legislators and other reformers, state government became more open, more rational, more professional, and more responsible." Certainly, to the degree that the changes occurred, Kirk deserves some of the notice for having assisted in effecting them. That the massive bureaucratization of state government that followed has well served the citizens of the state is a much more arguable proposition. Hence, if this is the case on which the Kirk recovery depends, the case is not altogether persuasive. As Kallina himself observes, Florida's less than successful efforts to address the quality of its public education, its ever-mounting incidence of violent crime (which Kirk, to his credit, did try to address), and its administration of social and health services, much criticized, all raise disturbing questions, not only about Kirk's term as governor but the administrations of those who followed him. Kallina also argues that Kirk was the first modern governor to address the environmental problems brought on by Florida's rapid growth, and he cites Kirk's willingness to bring

environmentalist Nat Reed into service as proof of his commitment to conservation and preservation.

Claude Kirk had political skills that he used to great advantage following his surprise victory over Robert King High in 1966. He was a quick study, colorful, with a ready wit. Plain spoken and flamboyant, he was an amusing public figure. Confronted with a series of crises— most notably a statewide teachers strike in 1968— he responded with tactics that confounded his adversaries. Inheriting a Republican party that in victory was deeply divided, he did little to bind up the party's wounds and, in effect, by his fractious actions assisted the Democrats' return to power. Repudiated by voters in 1970, he disappeared as a serious force in Florida politics, having had a brief but sensational moment in the florida sunshine. It is his good fortune that he has fallen into the hands of a capable scholar who has done much to recoup Kirk's misbegotten legacy, even if the recovery is incomplete. Readers will enjoy this foray into Florida's recent past.

University of Florida

AUGUSTUS BURNS, III

BOOK NOTES

Michael Gannon's best-selling *A Short History of Florida* is available in a paperback edition. Generously illustrated and engagingly written, the volume leads readers from an examination of the indigenous tribes of Florida in the pre-Columbian era to a consideration of contemporary issues and concerns. It can be ordered from the University Press of Florida, 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611 for \$9.95.

Marjory Stoneman Douglas holds the deserved title of the nation's first lady of conservation because of her lifelong commitment to saving the Everglades. In commemoration of her 100th birthday in 1990, Pineapple Press has published Douglas's autobiography, *Voice of the River*, in a new paperback edition. John Rothchild edited 200 hours of taped memoirs to add a lengthy introduction to this account of her life. The volume can be obtained from the press at P. O. Drawer 16008, Sarasota, FL 34239 for \$17.95, cloth; \$9.95, paper.

Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region, edited by Raymond A. Mohl, has been republished in a paperback edition by the University of Georgia Press. Mohl has contributed an essay on immigrants in Miami, and Raymond Arsenault's classic essay on the impact of air conditioning on the development of the region (notably including Florida) is reprinted in this collection. Many of the other ten essays deal with events and issues in Florida. The book may be purchased from the press at 330 Research Drive, Athens, GA 30602 for \$14.95.

The University Press of Florida has reprinted *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936*, by Robert P. Ingalls of the University of South Florida. Ingalls's work centers on antiunion vigilantism directed by the city's elites against the cigar makers of Tampa's Ybor City—skilled workers who were largely Latin, foreign born, class conscious, and militant. It can be obtained from the press at 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611 for \$16.95.

A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucua Language, by Julian Granberry, examines the language of the extinct seventeenth-century Timucua people of central Alabama and north and central Florida. Taken from surviving contemporary records, this book describes the grammar and lexicon of the language and traces the origins of these largely forgotten people. It can be obtained from the University of Alabama Press, P. O. Box 870380, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0380 for \$19.95. The press has also published a paperback edition of *Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs*, a lively examination of the humor of nineteenth-century Alabama through the writings of journalist Johnson Jones Hooper. It is an acknowledged classic of frontier humor of this period and is available for \$14.95.

In *Courage in Persona: The Autobiography of Thomas A. Wright, Sr.*, a longtime Gainesville civil rights leader and Baptist preacher adds his story to the growing body of post-World War II African-American autobiography. Wright was born in Covington, Georgia; raised in Boynton Beach, Florida; and educated at Florida Memorial College and Howard University Divinity School. Upon graduating from the latter in 1954, he was hired as pastor of St. Mary's Baptist Church in St. Augustine. Civil rights activism began soon after, and as a result of such activities Wright eventually was pressured into leaving the city. In 1962 he and his family moved to Gainesville where he spent seventeen years as the head of the local NAACP branch. Primarily intended as an inspirational text, Wright's autobiography will nonetheless interest historians for its insights into the quest for racial equality in two Florida cities. *Courage in Persona* can be ordered from the author, 2505 NE 8th Avenue, Gainesville, FL 32601. The price is \$12.00.

Not Slave, Not Free: The African American Economic Experience Since the Civil War, by Jay R. Mandle, focuses on the economic roles played by African Americans since emancipation. The bulk of the work centers on the way in which African Americans were intertwined in the rural, agricultural southern economy prior to World War II. Other sections of the book discuss the postwar migrations from the South and the problems and opportunities encountered in America's cities. Mandle concludes that an acceleration in the economic growth of the United States requires a substantial gain in African-American education. The

volume can be ordered from Duke University Press, 6697 College Station, Durham, NC 27708 for \$29.95, cloth; \$12.95, paper.

Pineapple Press, P. O. Drawer 16008, Sarasota, FL 34239, has brought out two volumes of interest to readers. Florida's "book culture" is the subject of Kevin M. McCarthy's *The Book Lover's Guide to Florida*. The volume includes discussions of authors and their works and also careful descriptions of literary sites (covered in each section in geographic order to facilitate the volume's use as a travel guide). A principal purpose of the book is to explore the rich and ongoing history of Florida's literary culture. It can be ordered for \$27.95, cloth and \$18.95, paper.

The second volume is *African Americans in Florida*, by Maxine D. Jones and Kevin M. McCarthy. This heavily illustrated, folio-sized volume traces the history of African Americans in Florida from the arrival of Estevanico the Black, a member of the exploration party of Panfilo de Narvaez in 1528, to the present. The book highlights the lives of fifty notable African Americans representing all walks of life and varieties of accomplishments. The authors have also supplied a detailed description of the 141 sites on the Florida Black Heritage Trail which mark contributions to the state's history and culture. It is available in a cloth edition, \$24.95, and paperback, \$17.95.

Tampa's Julius J. Gordon has continued his documentary studies of nineteenth-century southwest Florida by issuing his *Afro-Americans of Hillsborough County, Florida, 1870-1890*. The volume offers references to blacks gleaned from census schedules, newspaper entries, county records, city directories, cemetery books, and other sources. Information is arranged alphabetically by name. Appendices contain, among other things, abstracts from the Tampa *Florida Peninsular* (1855-1871), a schedule of birth places of blacks in Florida, schedules of family relationships, lists of slaves reclaimed from the Seminoles (c. 1837), and Hillsborough County's 1860 census schedules for slaves. The volume is fully indexed and includes numerous illustrations. Gordon's documentary series has already proved invaluable for researchers in southwest Florida history and geneal-

ogy, and this work maintains the high standards of his earlier efforts. It may be obtained by contacting the author at 215 West Grand Central Avenue #708, Tampa, FL 33606-1992. [Reviewed by Canter Brown, Jr., Florida State University.]

In October 1968 Jacksonville and Duval County, Florida, became one government, abolishing duplicative functions and widespread political corruption while saving millions of dollars in the process. Before consolidation the city and county were in a state of political crisis, and community needs were not being met. Consolidation effectively addressed the most pressing problems of this situation. The entire process is fully explored in a revised version of Richard Martin's study, *A Quiet Revolution: The Consolidation of Jacksonville and Duval County and the Dynamics of Urban Political Reform*. The volume is available from White Publishing Company, 1650 Prudential Drive, Suite 300, Jacksonville, FL 32207 at a cost of \$15.00.

Brightly Burns the Flame: The Story of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Ft. Pierce, Florida, by Robert D. Tylander, was issued at the centennial celebration of St. Andrew's Church. The volume consists principally of various memories, newsclips, and diary entries of parishioners. They reveal the range of activities and interests of the church membership. It can be ordered from St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, 210 S. Indian River Drive, Fort Pierce, FL 34950 for \$18.50.

In November 1752 a hurricane swept over Santa Rosa Island and obliterated a small Spanish outpost located there, burying it under white sand for two centuries. In the early 1960s archaeologists discovered the site, calling it the "most important archaeology discovery in the history of the Southeast United States." Dr. Hale Smith of Florida State University conducted a major excavation of the site in 1964, which yielded numerous artifacts and a more accurate understanding of early Spanish settlement. The full story of this dig is contained in *The Excavation of Santa Rosa Pensacola: An Insider's Account*, by Leora M. Sutton. The volume can be ordered from Patagonia Press, P. O. Box 284, Bagdad, FL 32530 for \$6.85. The same press has also published *The Mobile Cadets, 1845-1945: A Century of Honor and Fidelity*, edited by William S. Coker. This volume covers the col-

orful history of the Mobile Cadets, a military company first organized in Mobile, Alabama, in 1845. The bulk of the text comes from an anonymous manuscript history of the unit which covers the period 1845-1874. The volume contains a number of illustrations and can be ordered for the price of \$17.50.

Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community, by James Oliver Horton, is an inquiry into the historical forces that unified and divided free African Americans in the pre-Civil War North. The book documents the complexity of antebellum African-American communities and provides the opportunity to compare experiences in northern locations with what is known about free blacks in the South. It can be ordered from Smithsonian Institution Press, 470 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 700, Washington, DC for \$39.95, cloth; \$15.95, paper.

Edwin Forbes's *Thirty Years After* is one of the most remarkable firsthand accounts of the Civil War ever published. Originally issued in 1890—thus the title—the book has now been reissued in a lavish, oversized facsimile edition. It is both a pictorial and written record of the daily experience of war, and it stands as a classic publication for several reasons. The volume contains hundreds of etchings of Civil War scenes along with twenty equestrian portraits of Union generals such as Grant, Sherman, and Custer. It can be ordered from Louisiana State University Press, P. O. Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70894 for \$65.00.

A Bibliography of Florida: Volume I: 1507-1845, by James A. and Lana D. Servies, is the first in a series of volumes that, when completed, will describe the printed literature of Florida from the earliest times through the close of World War II. Entries are grouped in chronological sequence according to the year of original publication. Almost every entry is fully annotated; particular attention is given to such specific Florida content as biographical sketches, portraits, maps, illustrations, travel narratives, and other features. The first volume consists of 3,106 entries, and it is fully indexed. It is available from King and Queen Books, P. O. Box 15062, Pensacola, FL 32514-0062 for \$165.00.

Vic Knight's Florida is a sprightly collection of trivia and insight into the state's past. A tenth-generation native, the author rambles through Florida's five-hundred-year history to dispel numerous myths and bring to light fascinating aspects of folklore and culture, all done with "a healthy dose of humor." It can be ordered from Pelican Publishing Company, 1101 Monroe Street, P. O. Box 189, Gretna, LA 70053 for \$16.95.

The history of Fort Myers from the perspective of its earliest pioneers is contained in *Early Fort Myers: Tales of Two Sisters*, by Alberta Colcord Barnes and Nell Colcord Weidenbach. A generous picture section complements the full rendition of the people, events, and issues that dominated the founding of Fort Myers. Order the volume from the Southwest Florida Historical Society, 10091 McGregor Boulevard, Fort Myers, FL 33901 for \$12.95.

The sixth edition of *The Complete Guide to Florida Foundations, 1994*, the only comprehensive source of information about grant-making foundations operating in the State of Florida, is now available. The volume includes detailed profiles of over 1,500 grant programs available to nonprofit organizations, educational institutions, government entities, and individuals in Florida. Copies can be ordered from Alice N. Culbreath, Managing Editor, 9350 South Dixie Highway, Suite 1560, Department F-6, Miami, FL 33156; (305) 670-2203.

My Dear Mother and Sisters: Civil War Letters of Capt. A. B. Mulligan, 1861-1865, compiled and edited by Olin Fulmer Hutchinson, Jr., documents the war career and family history of a deeply committed Confederate officer. The core of the volume consists of 259 letters that give an account of Captain Mulligan's life and military experiences. It is available directly from the author at 4706 Cheviot Road, Charlotte, NC 28269 for \$22.30.

HISTORY NEWS

Awards

The St. Augustine Historical Society announced its 1993 awards at its January meeting. Michael Gannon, distinguished service professor and director of the Early Contact Institute at the University of Florida, received the award for extraordinary contributions to the St. Augustine historical community. Among Professor Gannon's many activities, the Society took special note of his numerous scholarly writings, his years of teaching Florida history, and his devotion to historic preservation and research. Dr. William R. Adams, president of Historic Property Associates in St. Augustine, received an award for outstanding professional work. Dr. Adams was praised for his continuing contributions to St. Augustine's preservation efforts. Daniel L. Schafer, professor of history at the University of North Florida, was presented with an award for scholarly contributions in the fields of St. Augustine and Florida history. The awards committee noted his many articles and book publications in these areas. Finally, Charles A. Tingley received the award for outstanding volunteer work in the St. Augustine community. He was founding president of the Friends of St. Augustine Architecture and is the current president of the St. Augustine Archaeology Association.

The Tampa Historical Society recently announced that its D. B. McKay Award was presented to Robert E. Synder and Jack B. Moore, both of the University of South Florida, for their publication *Pioneer Commercial Photography: The Burgert Brothers, Tampa, Florida*. The volume won the 1992 Charlton Tebeau Award of the Florida Historical Society.

Michael Gannon and Kathleen Deagan, both of the University of Florida, have received a sizable award to continue their study of the remains of the first Pedro de Menendez fort (1565) at St. Augustine. The site has been called the "Spanish Plymouth Rock." Those interested in learning more about the fort may consult the January 1993 issue of *Discover* magazine, which features the discovery as one of the top fifty science stories of the year.

Meetings

The Florida Historical Society will hold its 92nd annual meeting at the Sheraton Harborside Hotel, Fort Myers, Florida, on May 19-21, 1994. The theme of the meeting is "Pathfinders of Florida." The gathering will be hosted by the Fort Myers Historical Society and Museum, which has scheduled a variety of tours and events. Anyone with questions about the program for the meeting should contact Dr. Daniel Schafer, Department of History, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL 32216; (904) 646-2880. Questions concerning local arrangements and conference activities should be directed to Patti Bartlett, Director, Fort Myers Historical Museum, P. O. Drawer 2217, 2300 Peck Street, Fort Myers, FL 33902-2217; (813) 332-5955.

The inaugural meeting of the Southern Oral History Organization will take place at the Atlanta History Center on April 29-30, 1994. Highlighting the meeting will be a screening of the recently completed documentary film "The Uprising of 1934," which portrays Piedmont mill workers and the textile strike of 1934. Award-winning film makers George Stoney and Judith Helfand will be present to discuss their work. The meeting will also feature workshops on oral history and the classroom, the media and oral history, and community-based oral history. Persons interested in learning more about the Southern Oral History Organization can contact Cliff Kuhn, Department of History, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA 30303; (404) 651-3255.

A competition will be held to select outstanding papers to be included on the program for the Religion and the American Civil War Symposium, scheduled for October 13-16, 1994. The meeting is sponsored by the Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi, in cooperation with the Louisville Institute for the Study of Protestantism and American Culture. It is funded by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trust. Those interested should send a one-page abstract and a vita to Charles Reagan Wilson at the Center, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677. Papers selected will also be included in a volume of edited papers on the subject following the conference.

National Register of Historic Places

The Florida Department of State, Division of Historic Resources reports that the following Florida properties were added to the National Register of Historic Places during the year 1993: *Brevard County*— Dr. George E. Hill House; and Marion S. Whaley Citrus Packing House. *Citrus County*— Floral City Historic District. *Columbia County*— Horace Duncan House; and Lake Isabella Historic Residential District. *Duval County*— Casa Marian Hotel. *Highlands County*— Elizabeth Haines House; and Old Lake Placid ACL Railroad Depot. *Hillsborough County*— Downtown Plant City Commercial District; North Plant City Residential District; and Seminole Heights Historic District. *Indian River County*— Old Vero Beach Community Building. *Lake County*— Clermont Woman's Club. *Leon County*— Leon High School. *Manatee County*— Whitfield Estates-Broughton Street Historic District. *Marion County*— Alfred Ayer House; General Robert Bullock House; James Riley Josselyn House; Thomas R. Ayer House; and Lake Weir Yacht Club. *Martin County*— Lyric Theatre. *Orange County*— Apopka Seaboard Air Line Railway Depot; Carroll Building; John N. Huttig Estate; and Ryan & Company Lumber Yard. *Palm Beach County*— Via Mizner. *Polk County*— Bartow Downtown Commercial District; Beacon Hill-Alta Vista Historic District; East Lake Morton Residential District; Mountain Lake Estates Historic District; Northeast Bartow Residential District; Old Lakeland High School; Polk Theatre & Office Building; and South Bartow Residential District. *Sarasota County*— Earle House; and El Patio Apartments. *St. Johns County*— Solla-Carcaba Cigar Factory; Villa Zorayda; and Xavier Lopez House. *Volusia County*— Amos Kling House; Ann Stevens House; Barberville Central High School; Bartholomew J. Donnelly House; El Pino Parque Historic District; Gamble Place Historic District; Olds Hall; Strawn Historic Agricultural District; Strawn Historic Citrus Packing House District; Strawn Historic Sawmill District; and Holly Hill Municipal Building. *Wakulla County*— Wakulla Springs Archaeological & Historic District.

Activities

The St. Augustine Historical Society has recently inaugurated a research project entitled "The Black Heritage of St. Augustine" and is currently surveying historical, anthropological,

and cultural work being done on the subject. The Society is soliciting news of ongoing research and reprints of published work on the black experience, and it requests that articles to be considered for publication in *El Escribano*, the Society's publication, be sent as well. For information contact Page Edwards, Jr., Director, St. Augustine Historical Society, 271 Charlotte Street, St. Augustine, FL 32084.

The Florida Humanities Council has recently announced its 1994 Speakers Bureau. Any nonprofit organization in the state that is likely to attract an audience of thirty or more is eligible to request a speaker. Speakers' expenses are paid by the Florida Humanities Council; the primary responsibility of the hosting organization consists of providing an audience, a suitable meeting room, and adequate publicity. Listed speakers for 1994 include many Florida Historical Society members, including Canter Brown and James Denham. A full listing is contained in the Council's brochure, along with application procedures and an explanation of guidelines. Contact the Council at 1514½ East Eight Avenue, Tampa, FL 33605-3708; (813) 272-3473.

"Places in Time: Historic Landscapes and Architecture in Dade County," will be a featured exhibition at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida. The show contains more than 100 platinum prints of historic sites in Dade County by architectural and fine art photographer John Gillan. It will run from April 22 to July 4, 1994. For more information write the Museum at Metro-Dade Cultural Center, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami, FL 33130.

The editors of *CrossRoads: A Journal of Southern Culture* are soliciting manuscript submissions for the fourth issue of the journal to be published in Spring 1994. Work from academic, creative, popular, and folk perspectives on any aspect of the featured topic, "The Southern Landscape: A Southern 'Sense of Place,'" will be considered. Scholarly papers should be accessible, accurate, and tightly constructed; all submissions should be typed and double-spaced. Authors should make use of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Include a correctly stamped, self-addressed envelope and a short biographical statement. Submissions should be mailed to P. O. Box 726, University, MS 38677.

The Alachua County Museum and Archives has recently opened in Gainesville, the first phase in the development of the county's Matheson History Center complex. The larger project will encompass the renovation of the 1867 Matheson House and the opening of an adjacent native plant botanical garden. The new museum and archive facility houses thousands of documents, books, photographs, maps, and artifacts specific to the area, and it is one of the most comprehensive repositories of local history in the state. Heretofore many of these items had reposed in private collections or were forgotten for decades in attics and scrapbooks.

"Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida," a travelling display of about 500 photographs, documents, and other objects, was created a decade ago at the Soref Jewish Community Center in Fort Lauderdale. The exhibit chronicles the 231-year history of Florida's Jews. It has travelled to eleven Florida cities over the past several years and is now on display in the B'nai B'rith Klutznick National Jewish Museum in Washington, D.C.—the first stop on a national tour.

The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia, will present an exhibition of paintings by Earl Cunningham (1893-1977), a self-taught American artist, from February 12 to June 18, 1994, at the High Folk Art and Photography Galleries. Inspired by the Maine seacoast of his childhood and by Florida, where he later settled, Cunningham painted hundreds of seascapes. He also drew from his nautical experiences sailing schooners. For further information, write or call High Folk Art and Photography Galleries, Georgia-Pacific Center, 30 Houston Street, Atlanta, GA 30303; (404) 898-9286.

Obituaries

Herbert J. "Jack" Doherty, Jr., died suddenly in his home in Gainesville, Florida, on December 12, 1993. With his passing, the Florida Historical Society has lost a long-time supporter and true friend. Jack served as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 1962-1964, and as a valuable member of the journal's editorial board from 1969 to his death. He also sat as a member of the Society's board of directors from 1962-1972 and from 1977-

1978. Most notably, Jack Doherty served with distinction as president of the Florida Historical Society from 1966-1968. Throughout his association with the Society, he has dutifully carried out numerous committee assignments on behalf of Florida history. In addition to promoting the state's history through his leadership and administrative expertise, he also made important scholarly contributions. Jack Doherty published two well received books in state history, *The Whigs of Florida* (1959) and *Richard Keith Call* (1961), in addition to numerous carefully crafted articles and book reviews. Readers of the journal are very familiar with the many essays he has contributed over the years, most of which have focused on the political history of Florida and development of the state's railroads. He will be sorely missed by all his friends and associates, as well as by everyone who shares his delight in the history of Florida.

Anthony P. "Tony" Pizzo, founder and first president of the Tampa Historical Society, died on January 2, 1994. In honor of his many contributions to Tampa history, the Tampa Historical Society has created the Tony Pizzo History Award, which will be given each year to recognize an individual who has made a significant contribution to the understanding and preservation of the city's past. More information on the award can be obtained by contacting the Society at 305 Hyde Park Avenue, Tampa, FL 33606; (813) 259-1111.

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