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COVER

Young Miamians celebrate America's victory over Japan in August 1945. *Photograph courtesy Miami News Collection, Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami.*

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The *Quarterly* reviews books dealing with all aspects of Florida history. Books to be reviewed should be sent to the editor together with price and information on how they may be ordered.

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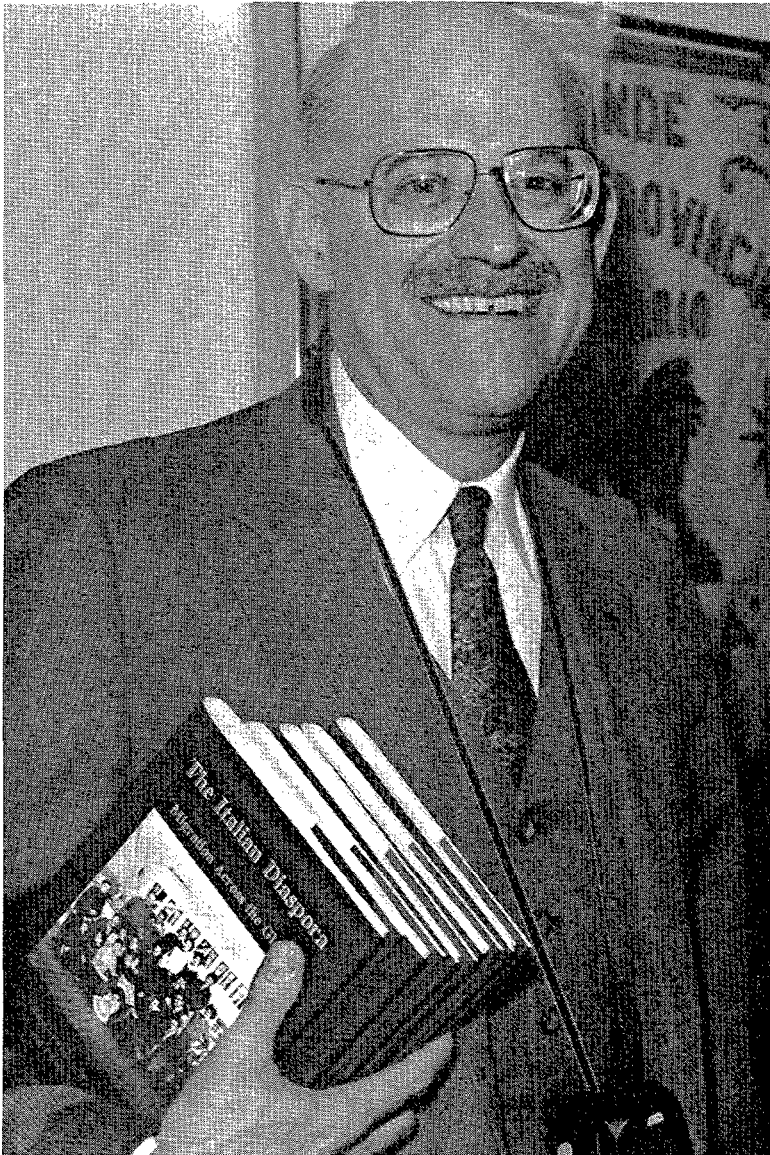
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This issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is dedicated to the memory of George E. Pozzetta.

GEORGE E. POZZETTA
1942-1994

GEORGE E. POZZETTA, professor of history at the University of Florida and editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, died on May 19, 1994, after a brief illness. Born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, George received a bachelor of arts degree and a master's degree from Providence College and a Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He taught at the University of Florida for twenty-three years and served as associate chair and graduate coordinator of the Department of History. An internationally renowned authority on immigration history and ethnicity, George authored or edited six books, including *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (coauthored with Gary R. Mormino), which received the 1987 Theodore Saloutos Prize as the best book in immigration history.

George's contributions to the University of Florida, to his academic discipline, and to the community extended far beyond a remarkable list of publications, awards, and prizes. George was an inspiring and award-winning teacher. Undergraduates, graduate students, and colleagues appreciated his ability to be simultaneously challenging and supportive. But it was George's warmth, generosity, sense of humor, and personal integrity that set him apart. No matter how busy he was or how many professional obligations he shouldered, George was always willing to assist new colleagues and graduate students on their arrival in Gainesville. A generation of faculty members in the Department of History felt immediately at home thanks to the famous Pozzetta hospitality.

Colleagues and friends knew they could always rely on George's judgement. He managed to combine unflinching academic rigor with an uncommon sense of humanity. George's professional associates outside the University of Florida, as well, knew and appreciated these qualities. They, too, recognized George E. Pozzetta as a superb scholar and as a man of extraordinary decency.

Last year George took over as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* from Samuel Proctor and sought to build on the reputation that the *Quarterly* had achieved under Sam's guidance during

the past thirty years. George encouraged extended review essays for the *Quarterly* and most recently added thematic issues— this number on World War II in Florida being the first of those. His enthusiasm for Florida history and for the *Quarterly* gave us all great optimism about the future of our journal.

The Department of History at the University of Florida has established the George E. Pozzetta Endowment Fund in memory of George, and the fund will be used to assist graduate students in pursuing their research for the Ph.D. Contributions can be made to the University of Florida Foundation, P. O. Box 14425, Gainesville, FL 32604, specifying the George Pozzetta Fund— all such contributions are tax deductible. This is a fitting tribute to the memory of George, who was strongly committed to graduate education and to students at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Jeffrey S. Adler
David R. Colburn

“HELL-BY-THE-SEA”:
FLORIDA’S CAMP GORDON JOHNSTON
IN WORLD WAR II

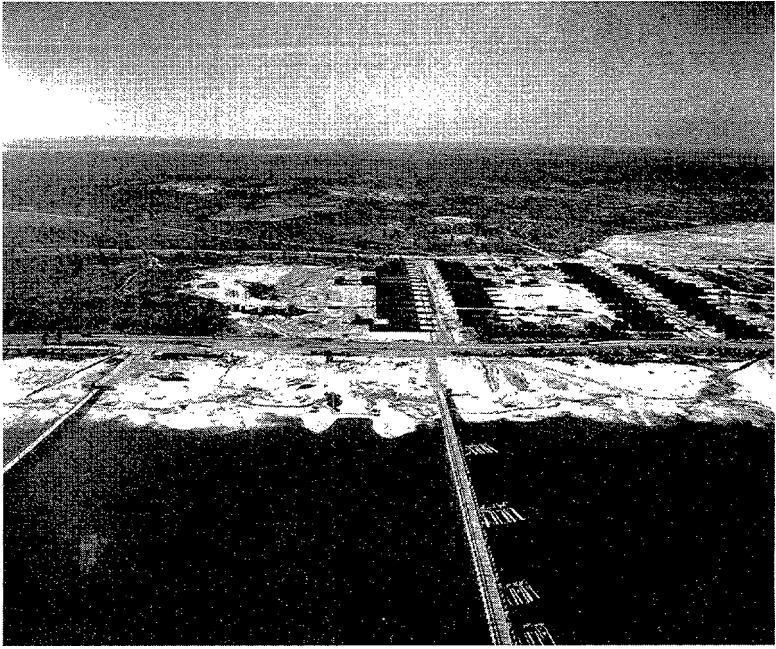
by DAVID J. COLES

WORLD War II was a profoundly transforming experience in the development of the South and the state of Florida. As historian George Tindall has noted of the region, “To a greater degree than the previous war it put people on the move: to shipyards, war plants, training camps, and far-flung battlefields.” Military facilities costing more than four billion dollars came into being throughout the South, and Florida shared fully in this expansion. The war also brought increased prosperity to both rural and urban areas and hastened the demands of black residents for greater political and economic opportunities.¹

Although scholars have long recognized the importance of these general developments, very little is known about how they precisely came about. More specifically, the many ways in which local communities were forced to adapt to changing conditions brought about by the war remain imperfectly understood. In terms of the military build-up in Florida, for example, the state served as the temporary home of nearly 200 installations during the war. Some were tiny, remote airfields used only for emergency landings, but others were major bases providing training and housing for tens of thousands of soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen. An examination of the creation, growth, and demise of one

David J. Coles is a doctoral candidate in history, Florida State University, and is supervisor of the reference unit, Florida State Archives. He would like to thank Gary Mormino and Canter Brown, Jr., for their assistance with this essay.

1. George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 694-95.



Aerial view of Camp Gordon Johnston, troop unit 1 at Lanark, 1943. *Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

of these posts, Camp Gordon Johnston, provides insight into the larger dynamics surrounding these significant processes.²

One of the state's most important military facilities, Camp Gordon Johnston probably constituted Florida's second largest installation in terms of physical size and the number of troops trained; moreover, it received a high level of notoriety during the war years for its crude living conditions and its dangerous training programs. Columnist Walter Winchell allegedly referred to the post as the "Alcatraz of the Army," where even the post chaplains went absent without leave. One soldier stationed there simply

2. Charleton Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 416-21, provides an overview of Florida's role in World War II, although a study by Gary Mormino, which is currently in progress, promises to be the standard work. See also David Ramsey, "Military Installations in Florida During World War II" (unpublished typescript, Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee), 1-16; and no author, "Military Set-up Florida" (unpublished typescript, Florida Collection), 1-8.

addressed his letters "Hell-By-The-Sea, Carrabelle, Florida." Today the camp's remains are largely ignored, with only a few of its hastily constructed buildings still standing in the small panhandle villages of St. Teresa, Lanark, and Carrabelle.³

In 1940, before American entry into World War II, only eight military installations existed in Florida. The armed forces expansion that had begun in 1940 and early 1941 with the partial mobilization of the National Guard and implementation of the nation's first peacetime draft had little affected the state. The Pearl Harbor attack, however, forced military planners to implement the organizing and training of the largest combat force in American history. Across the country workmen expanded existing military bases and constructed and occupied huge new installations within the period of a few months.

Many of these facilities were located in sparsely populated areas of the South. The geographical and climatological advantages of training in Florida appeared obvious, and the peninsula was strategically located for the defense of the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico ports. Consequently, between 1941 and 1945 new installations proliferated throughout the state.⁴

Notwithstanding the large military build-up, the northern Gulf coast of the Florida panhandle did not immediately attract the interest of army or navy administrators. Pensacola had long been home to a major naval base, and Jimmy Doolittle and his Army Air Corps squadron used nearby Eglin Airfield in preparation for their 1942 attack on Japan. Planners gave little thought to the coast between Tampa and Panama City as an area for facilities. During the war's early days a small airfield was located two miles to the west of Carrabelle, a sleepy fishing village southwest of Talla-

3. *Tallahassee Democrat*, August 15, 1980, May 26, 1985. No article or book-length history of Camp Gordon Johnston has been published. Several unpublished studies, including Gerald A. Butterfield, "Camp Gordon Johnston, Franklin County, and World War II" (unpublished typescript, Florida Collection); and Tim Few, "The Training of the Third Engineer Amphibian Brigade at Camp Gordon Johnston During World War II" (unpublished paper, Florida Collection) are available.

4. Geoffrey Perret, *There's a War To Be Won: The United States Army in World War II* (New York, 1991), 63-125. See also John Morton Blum, *V was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (New York, 1976); A. Russell Buchanan, *The United States and World War II*, 2 vols. (New York, 1964); Ramsey, "Military Installations," 1; Kathryn Abbey, "Florida, The Index Finger," (unpublished typescript, Florida Collection), 5-9.

hassee. Known officially as the Carrabelle Flight Strip, it served as an auxiliary landing site for the state capital's Dale Mabry Airfield. Other than this small intrusion, the coast between Apalachicola and St. Marks had by the spring of 1942 felt little of the impact of war.

This situation changed dramatically when military officials selected the area for a major amphibious training base to cover twenty miles of the coast and include more than 100,000 acres of training area. The impact on small towns such as Carrabelle, with a 1940 population of barely 1,000, proved enormous. Even Tallahassee, sixty miles away, soon felt the shock of several thousand boisterous GIs looking for entertainment on Saturday nights. Although civil-military relations remained generally good, later in the war there were a number of disturbances in the capital involving servicemen. Crime, including prostitution and its accompanying venereal disease, also climbed during the period. The war had come to north Florida.⁵

The Amphibious Training Center (ATC) originated out of a disagreement between the army and navy over amphibious training methods. Prior to the United States's entry into the war, large-scale amphibious operations had not been officially anticipated. The nation's strategic situation at the outbreak of war, however, convinced military planners "that landings on a large scale would have to be planned and executed in order to defeat the enemy."⁶

The United States military possessed two amphibious corps at the outbreak of the war, one serving with the Pacific Fleet and the other with the Atlantic Fleet. At this time the corps consisted of both army and marine units commanded by the navy. Army officials opposed this system as unwieldy and were skeptical of the navy's ability to train adequately the large number of army divi-

5. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940. Population, Volume II* (Washington, 1943), 45, 64, 96, 118-20; Mary Louise Ellis and William Warren Rogers, *Favored Land: A History of Tallahassee and Leon County* (Norfolk, VA, 1988), 144-64; Ramsey, "Military Installations," 4; no author, "Florida Military Set-Up," 1. Although no detailed figures have been located concerning the prevalence of venereal disease, as late as January 1946 the Camp Gordon Johnston newspaper claimed that the rate had increased 100 percent. See Camp Carrabelle and Camp Gordon Johnston Amphibian, January 21, 1946 (hereinafter, *Amphibian*; available on microfilm, Robert Manning Stozier Library, Florida State University).

6. Marshall O. Becker, *The Amphibious Training Center: Study No. 22, Army Ground Forces* (Washington, 1946), 1.

sions then being organized. These divisions, which were destined for service in the Pacific and European theaters, required familiarization with amphibious tactics.⁷

An April 1942 report for Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall ominously declared that the "planning, preparation, and training for amphibious operations up to that time had been so deficient that a real operation against a competent enemy could end only in disaster for American forces." The report stressed that "only the Army had both the means and the grasp of the problem to plan, prepare, and train the necessary ground and air forces for joint amphibious operations on the scale envisaged." The author recommended that the army "be charged with the planning, preparation, and training for large-scale amphibious operations; and that the Navy and the Marine Corps assist the Army only in procurement of the necessary shipping, landing craft, and special equipment, and with . . . technical advice and cooperation."⁸

The navy, already thinly stretched in early 1942 as a result of losses in the Pacific and its obligations to defend Atlantic shipping lanes, accepted this doctrinal change. Accordingly, in May 1942 the War Department established an Amphibious Training Center to be administered by the Army Ground Forces Command. The plan provided for training eleven infantry divisions and one armored division. Camp Edwards, Massachusetts, was designated as the center's original site, and four divisions were to be trained there. The War Department then planned to move the ATC to Carrabelle, where six divisions would receive training, and ultimately to Fort Lewis, Washington, as the site for the final two divisions.⁹

Policy and doctrinal changes later significantly reduced the number of divisions that passed through the ATC. Its original mission included training in both shore-to-shore and ship-to-shore amphibious operations, but the army eventually returned the latter to the navy's jurisdiction and concentrated only on shore-to-shore training. In army jargon this meant the development of doctrine and training of "all phases of the operations of Army units involved in embarking troops and equipment in small boats from the land, the approach to and landing on a hostile beach, the

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 1-3.

establishment of a beachhead, and the preparation and initiation of an attack inland.¹⁰

An Army Ground Forces site board examined several proposed training sites in Virginia, as well as the Everglades and Venice, Florida, before selecting Carrabelle as the ATC's second home. Its members looked for locations with the following characteristics: an island approximately ten miles offshore, a large sheltered body of water near a convenient bivouac area, a coastal area about twenty miles long with a number of one-mile landing beaches, and eight to ten miles of land suitable for training purposes inland from the coast. The official history of the ATC noted that, although "none of the sites visited possessed all of the features desired . . . the board felt that Carrabelle approached most nearly the basic requirements."¹¹ Brigadier General Frank Keating, who commanded the ATC throughout its history, opposed the Carrabelle site because of the "undesirable nature of the beaches and maneuver areas," and the surgeon general felt that the site was unhealthy. Nonetheless, the board approved the Florida site, "chiefly because no others appeared to be available and the urgent need for expediting amphibious training . . . outweighed sanitary considerations and the lack of certain desired features."¹²

The Amphibious Training Center began operating on Cape Cod's Camp Edwards in June 1942. The War Department planned to use the Massachusetts site as a stopgap until construction of facilities were completed at Carrabelle, which it considered the center's primary home. The staff and cadre had only a few weeks to prepare for the arrival of the first training unit, the Forty-fifth Infantry Division. Between July and October 1942 both the Forty-fifth and the Thirty-sixth Infantry divisions received amphibious training at the camp.¹³

While the ATC operated at Camp Edwards, army engineers supervised construction at Carrabelle. Once the site had been selected, the government moved quickly to purchase or lease the required land. Eventually, agents purchased about 10,000 acres directly from landowners, while 155,000 acres were leased, mainly

10. *Ibid.*, 2-3; William F. Heavey, *Down Ramp!: The Story of the Army Amphibian Engineers* (Washington, 1947), 1-9.

11. Becker, *Amphibious Training Center*, 9.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, 7-12; Heavey, *Down Ramp!*, 10-15.

from the St. Joe Paper Company. According to one source, government surveyors “boast[ed] of a world’s record in mapping the reservation. Working under veritable jungle conditions, the area was surveyed in 21 days.”¹⁴ Contracts were then quickly let for constructing the thousands of buildings required. Site clearing began on July 8, 1942, and actual construction commenced two weeks later. Initial contracts were completed in sixty days at a cost of about \$10,000,000.¹⁵

Once finished, the camp stretched for some twenty miles along the Gulf coast between St. George Island, Carrabelle, and Alligator Point. It included the villages of Lanark and St. Teresa. Four separate camps actually comprised the complex— three for the regimental combat teams which made up the bulk of each division passing through training and a fourth for the post headquarters, ATC headquarters, and support facilities. Prior to construction of a permanent building, the Lanark Hotel served as post headquarters. On the camp’s eastern boundary, pilots used Alligator Point as an aerial gunnery area, and to the west Dog and St. George islands were used to stage amphibious landings and airborne drops. A soldier later commented that because of the dozens of exercises that took place there, Dog Island was “the most ‘fought over’ piece of land in Florida.”¹⁶ Additional training areas occupied most of the interior lands north to the Crooked and Ochlockonee rivers.

The first troops arrived at Carrabelle on September 10, 1942. They consisted of support units, such as headquarters, quartermaster, military police, and medical corps detachments. Amphibious Command training units came the following month. The Florida site originally was known simply as Camp Carrabelle, but in January 1943 it officially became Camp Gordon Johnston. Although today he is as little known as the installation that once bore his name, Colonel Gordon Johnston was a distinguished cavalry officer of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. He earned a Medal of Honor while serving during the Philippine Insurrection and later fought in France with the Allied Expedi-

14. *Amphibian*, June 5, 1943; Captain James E. Davis, “They Went from Here,” *Florida Highways* 12 (September 1944), 12, 23, 24.

15. *Amphibian*, September 10, 1943.

16. *Ibid.*

tionary Force during World War I. Johnston died in a 1934 polo accident.¹⁷

Particularly in the camp's early weeks, living conditions were extraordinarily crude. Virtually all of the buildings were built only of light wood. Many of the barracks were prefabricated, had no floors, and few contained indoor latrines. Ironically, some of the soldiers suffered from the cold. The winter of 1942-1943 proved severe, and the barracks lacked adequate heating. The army did not build mess halls for some time, requiring troops to eat outside with mess kits for several months. A permanent chapel was not completed until a month after the men arrived, and no recreation center existed for several months.¹⁸

One camp amenity existed from the earliest days. A newspaper, originally untitled but known later as the *Amphibian*, appeared on October 16, 1942. The first issue included a poem by Sergeant Bill Roth which satirized the camp's poor conditions. Entitled *Hell in Camp Carrabelle*, it opined:

The rattlesnake bites you, the horsefly stings,
The mosquito delights you with his buzzin wings.
Sand burrs cause you to jig and dance
And those who sit down get ants in their pants.

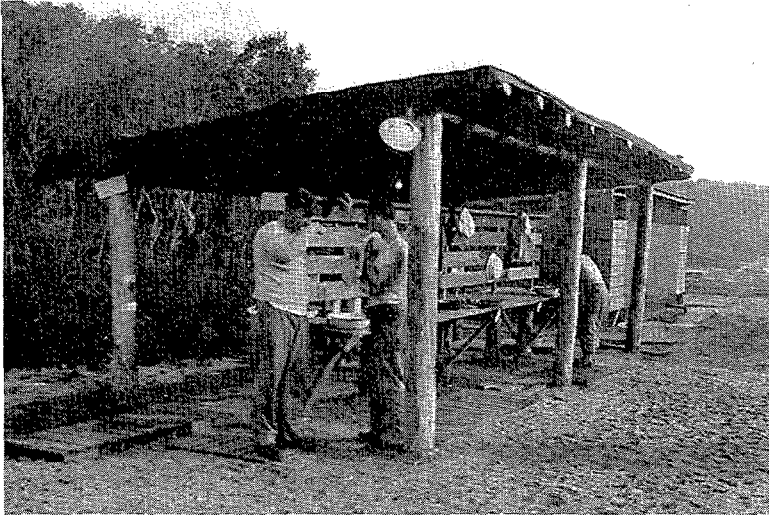
The heat in the summer is one hundred and ten
Too hot for the Devil, too hot for the men.
Come see for yourself and you can tell
Its a helluva place, this Carrabelle.¹⁹

Post conditions shocked many new arrivals. When troops of the Second Engineer Special Brigade learned that they were leaving Camp Edwards for Florida, according to the unit historian, "Everyone envisioned palm trees swaying back and forth in the

17. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1903), I, 578; *Amphibian*, May 1, 1943; *Who Was Who in America* (Chicago, 1942), I, 643.

18. *Tallahassee Democrat*, August 15, 1980, May 26, 1985; *Amphibian*, November 6, December 11, 1942, January 30, June 5, September 10, 1943; Interview of Howard J. Friedman by Virginia Perkins, December 16, 1975, M77-164, Junior League of Tallahassee, Oral Histories, 1976-1977, Florida State Archives.

19. Unnamed Camp Carrabelle newspaper, October 16, 1942, available on microfilm with the *Amphibian*.



Soldiers at a wash-up shed, Camp Gordon Johnston, C. 1944. *Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic collection, Florida State Archives.*

cool gulf breezes and the prospect of a warm winter in Florida, the millionaires [sic] paradise.” He added, “What a surprise was in store for them!”²⁰ The men of the 533rd Engineer Boat and Shore Regiment had similar thoughts. “It seemed that the unit was being unusually well taken care of— Cape Cod in the summer and Florida in the winter— and there was some doubt as to whether [General] Sherman was right [about war being hell],” began one soldier’s account.²¹ After traveling by rail and boat to Florida, the amphibians’ optimism about their new duty station quickly evaporated. Instead, they found that “Carrabelle did have palm trees and cool breezes (at times), but it also had rain, mud, swamps, lizards, chiggers, snakes, wild hogs, deer, flies, mosquitoes, sand fleas— and wilderness. The cantonment-type camp we had been told to expect was almost nonexistent. The following weeks can best be described in one word— rough. The job of setting up a new camp in this wilderness was no picnic. . . . At Carrabelle everyone

20. *Put 'Em Across: A History of the 2D Engineer Special Brigade, 1942-1945* (Harrisburg, PA, 1946; reprint ed., Fort Belvoir, VA, 1988), 19.

21. *Surf and Sand: The Saga of the 533d Engineer Boat and Shore Regiment and 1461st Engineer Maintenance Company, 1942-1945* (Andover, MA, 1947), 19.

pitched in to help build roads, barracks, latrines and mess halls until the camp was fairly well established and 'normal' life could be resumed and training started on the shallow beaches and sandy reefs of the Gulf of Mexico.²²

The lack of nearby recreational facilities provided another source of irritation for the troops. Only Tallahassee, with its restaurants, theaters, and— probably most importantly— Florida State College for Women and Florida A&M College, seemed an attractive location for visiting soldiers. But the town lay sixty miles away in a county where alcoholic beverages were not sold legally, and its entertainment facilities were inadequate for such large numbers of GIs. The troops also complained that airmen and soldiers from Dale Mabry Field just outside Tallahassee were able to fill all the best hotels and restaurants long before soldiers from Camp Gordon Johnston arrived. Before war's end the natural rivalry between men stationed at the two bases turned violent.²³

Passes and leave proved an infrequent luxury in any event, so soldiers often had to be content with on-base USO-sponsored dances, shows at the post theater, reading in the post library, and fishing from Carrabelle piers. The few soldiers with an opportunity to visit the surrounding small towns were appalled at the region's backwardness. One recalled: "Those northerners . . . who had thought of Florida as a state completely filled with resorts, recreation, and bathing beauties suffered a rude disappointment. The nearest town, Carrabelle, was dismal proof that *Tobacco Road* was not a figment of its author's imagination. To the north one passed through Sopchoppy and other towns made up of a few shacks and a swarm of hogs, until Tallahassee was reached. . . . There was a highway which ran in front of the camp, connecting Apalachicola to the west with Tallahassee. The traffic was light and bus service was, for all practical purposes, non-existent. It was soon obvious that the Florida Board of Commerce would not be flattered to hear the opinion of the newest residents of its northwest section."²⁴

If conditions at the camp shocked troops stationed there, local residents also had to condition themselves to the sight of thousands of soldiers crowding the area's small towns. By 1943 Carra-

22. *Put 'Em Across*, 19.

23. Ellis and Rogers, *Favored Land*, 144-64; *Put 'Em Across*, 19; Interview of Howard J. Friedman.

24. *Surf and Sand*, 20.

belle's population had more than doubled, as many soldiers brought families with them. Mary Butera, then president of the USO in nearby Sopchoppy, recalled the many soldiers' wives that stayed with local families because of a lack of base housing. New groups of temporary residents came and went as units rotated through the camp. Relations between soldiers and local citizens remained generally good, although Butera remembered that many servicemen attempted to take advantage of Florida's liberal divorce laws to end wartime marriages.²⁵

Another civilian, Tom Wineman, also had vivid memories of Camp Gordon Johnston during this period. Then twelve years old, he came to the camp with his father, a civilian contractor building officers' quarters near Lanark. Remembering it as a "God forsaken[,] tick and snake infested wilderness," Wineman recalled that living conditions for civilian workers and their families were the same as those for soldiers— crude barracks made of wood and tar paper. Base security was surprisingly lax, but when the youngster took a picture of a Sherman tank and sent his film to the post exchange to be developed, it was confiscated by censors.²⁶

By mid-October 1942 all of the ATC's support and training elements had reached Carrabelle. With the first student unit scheduled to arrive within a month, the cadre had to complete the basic facilities and, at the same time, prepare to train about 20,000 men. Over the next several weeks troops constructed extensive training aids required for the course, including large cargo net towers for disembarkation procedures, mock-ups and outlines of landing craft used for on shore preliminary training, and numerous obstacle and infiltration courses. The abandoned lumber town of Harbeson City was transformed into a German village known as "Shickelgruber Haven" for use in perfecting street-fighting techniques. The troops also cleared training areas, conducted rehearsals, prepared schedules, and received refresher courses. "The new location on the swampy shores of the Gulf Coast of Florida was certainly not an inspiring sight," recorded the official ATC historian. "Construction was not completed, and fifty yards from the fringe

25. Telephone interview with Mary Butera, Sopchoppy, FL, April 10, 1994, notes in author's possession; *Apalachicola Times*, March 5, 1943.

26. Tom Wineman to Leland Hawes, October 26, 1993, photocopy in author's possession; telephone interview with Tom Wineman, Largo, FL, April 9, 1994, notes in author's possession.

of the camp the casual wanderer found himself in a swampy, tangled, and snake-infested subtropical jungle." Nonetheless, the cadre managed to have the camp at least partially ready for trainees when they arrived in November.²⁷

The first unit to pass through the ATC at Carrabelle was the Thirty-eighth Infantry Division. From November 23 until December 30, 1942, the unit participated in classroom instruction and onshore training in amphibious techniques, followed by a series of amphibious exercises. The ATC's "Special Training Division" emphasized rugged, commando-style instruction designed to toughen the soldier. This included a realistic, live-fire obstacle course, a street-fighting course, water-survival exercises, and maneuvers in the camp's swampy interior.²⁸

Providing suitable instruction posed numerous problems beyond basic construction needs. Training was hampered, for instance, by poor land communication between the separate training areas and by the distance between the camp's various sections. The center also suffered from a chronic shortage of landing craft and other equipment. Some students used dummy rifles and explosive devices, and instructors were forced to hold different colored flags to represent vehicles and equipment. Noted an army historian, "The story was the same from start to finish of the Amphibious Training Center— bickering and indecision in higher headquarters; expansion of the training mission and objective without corresponding expansion of facilities; and attempts on the part of the Center to accomplish its mission with whatever means could be made available. . . . Improvisation and plain Yankee ingenuity frequently saved the day."²⁹

Even when these obstacles were surmounted, the results did not always meet expectations. The Thirty-eighth Division's training was to culminate with a major amphibious exercise on December 17-19, 1942. Unfortunately, the division and its supporting Engineer Amphibian Brigade failed miserably. Only one battalion landed in the approximately correct position, and another unit assaulted an undefended beach some twenty miles to the east. Not realizing their error, the troops advanced inland and "captured" the unsuspecting village of Crawfordville, located miles from the

27. Becker, *Amphibious Training Center*, 12.

28. *Ibid.*, 12-13, 45-48, 57-70.

29. *Ibid.*, 48.

camp's boundaries. After a brief pause for Christmas, which some of the troops were able to spend in Tallahassee, soldiers repeated the exercise. Fortunately, it ended with better results.³⁰

Other units followed the Thirty-eighth to Camp Gordon Johnston. January 1943 saw the arrival of the Twenty-eighth Infantry Division, commanded by the most famous soldier to train at the camp, General Omar Bradley. A future army group commander, Bradley held a less than favorable impression of the site and its facilities. These memories were still vivid years later when he wrote in his autobiography: "Camp Gordon Johnston was the most miserable Army installation I had seen since my days in Yuma, Arizona, ages past. It had been hacked out of palmetto scrub along a bleak stretch of beach. We were forced to scatter our three infantry regiments miles apart and thus could never train as a complete division. Moreover, it was bitterly cold in that northern leg of Florida. Every training exercise was a numbing experience. The man who selected that site should have been court-martialled for stupidity."³¹

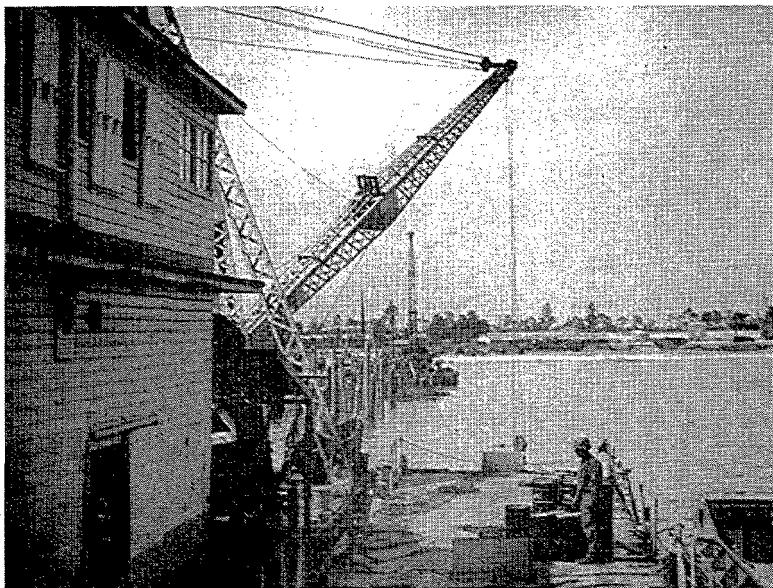
In fairness to the facility, even critics such as Bradley recognized its strengths. The general admitted that the training his division received there was invaluable to its later combat service. "Day after day," he recorded, "our various divisional units practiced assaulting a small island off the coast held by the 'enemy.' It was a new experience for all of us." Bradley explained further, "I had studied amphibious warfare in schools and on my own [had] read a great deal about the British World War I amphibious debacle at Gallipoli in the Turkish Dardanelles, but I had never actually 'stormed a beach' in a LCV [landing craft, vehicle and personnel] or the other small craft produced for this purpose since Pearl Harbor. The training imbued in all of us a healthy new respect for the tactical and logistical problems involved, especially the logistical ones, which, I saw, could become nightmares in a twinkling."³²

The Twenty-eighth Division trained at the ATC from late January through early March 1943. The final landing exercise began positively. Most units landed on the right beach at the right time,

30. *Ibid.*, 63-64.

31. Omar N. Bradley and Clay Blair, *A General's Life: An Autobiography* (New York, 1983) 112. Bradley's wife stayed at the lodge at Wakulla Springs, although the general noted that because of the hectic training schedule he could only visit her on Sundays.

32. *Ibid.*; Omar N. Bradley, *A Soldier's Story* (New York, 1951), 12-13.



Soldiers working on a pier at Camp Gordon Johnston, April 1944. *Photograph Courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

but tragedy struck on the second night when a severe storm struck the coast. Many landing craft tried to ride out the storm and were blown ashore and damaged or destroyed. The 302nd Coast Artillery Barrage Balloons Special Platoon, assisting in the exercise, saw all of its equipment destroyed. The most severe loss occurred in the Second Battalion of the 112th Infantry Regiment when a boat grounded on a sandbar. The coxswain, convinced that he had reached the designated beach, ordered the troops out of the boat, and the men disembarked into deep water that swept fourteen to their death. It was the worst loss of life recorded in camp history.³³

Despite this tragedy the Twenty-eighth Division's training proceeded more smoothly than that of the Thirty-eighth, and the ATC seemed ready to continue its operations. At this same time, the center received some positive publicity when the army permitted

33. *Historical and Pictorial Review of the 28th Infantry Division in World War II* (n.p., 1946; reprint ed., Nashville, 1980); *Amphibian*, March 13, 1943; *Apalachicola Times*, March 12, 1943.

Newsweek magazine to publish an article detailing the tough exercises taking place there. The article referred to trainees as "specialized amphibious shock troops," who "have already received intensive Army training [and who] get a concentrated supplementary course in Commando-type combat somewhat like that taught in British battle schools." It complimented General Keating for establishing "what is probably the closest approach to actual combat given to any American troops." Further publicity came when Grantland Rice Pictures produced a film at the camp and at nearby Wakulla Springs, entitled *Amphibious Fighters*.³⁴

These accolades were welcome, but premature, as the camp's Amphibious Training Center proved surprisingly short-lived. The Twenty-eighth Division was the last large unit to pass through the course. The Army Command quickly lost interest in administering shore-to-shore amphibious training. As a result the army chief of staff and Admiral Ernest King, chief of naval operations, agreed in March 1943 that the army would discontinue all amphibious training, save for a few engineer amphibious units and boat companies and that the navy would reassume these duties. Except for several independent battalions that were then undergoing training, no further units passed through the ATC, and the center formally disbanded on June 10, 1943.³⁵

The troops trained at Gordon Johnston soon demonstrated the value of their Florida experiences. Of the two full divisions trained at Carrabelle, the Thirty-eighth conducted several amphibious landings in the Pacific, including New Guinea and the Philippines. The Twenty-eighth Division never used its amphibious training in combat, but it did earn a fine record in the European theater of operations during 1944-1945. Additionally, the Fourth Infantry Division, one of the finest American divisions in the European theater, participated in amphibious maneuvers at Carrabelle in September 1943 after the ATC had formally disbanded. The Second, Third, and Fourth Engineer Amphibious brigades, which had manned the boats during training at the camp, also earned enviable combat records, conducting dozens of amphibious land-

34. Roland C. Gask, "Prelude to Invasion: Real Bullets Enforce Lesson at Army Amphibious Training Center," *Newsweek*, March 22, 1943, 22-23; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 1, 1945; *Amphibian*, November 13, December 13, 1943.

35. Becker, *Amphibious Training Center*, 17.

ings in the southwest Pacific with General Douglas MacArthur's forces.³⁶

With the closing of the ATC, Camp Gordon Johnston faced an uncertain future, but in September 1943 the installation entered a new phase when it received designation as an Army Service Forces (ASF) Training Center. Pacific fighting had brought requests for large numbers of small boat crews and amphibian truck companies for the army's use in island-hopping campaigns around New Guinea. As a result, Chief of Transportation Major General Charles P. Gross, apparently against his better judgment, selected Gordon Johnston as an ASF training center for both harbor craft companies and amphibian truck companies. The amphibian truck companies were equipped with vehicles referred to by the army as "1942 Amphibian, All-wheel Drive, Dual Rear Axle," but universally called the "DUKW." The DUKW revolutionized amphibious warfare, and the official history of the army's Transportation Corps claimed that training the amphibian truck companies "was a pioneer undertaking."³⁷

ASF units received advanced training which varied in length from fourteen to twenty weeks. Many of the troops assigned to these units were black, and the army, reflecting widespread racial attitudes of the period, often questioned the troops' ability to perform their duties. Officials complained that training frequently had to be extended due to the "preponderance of substandard troops." According to the army, "The personnel assigned to these units averaged far below the desired level of skill and initiative. This was especially true of Negro personnel, most of whom had no mechanical background whatsoever and low mechanical aptitude." Its account added, "When it became evident that service troops would be made up largely of Negro troops, the Chief of Transportation tried to have an exception made of amphibian truck companies, but he was unsuccessful because of the Army's overall manpower problems."³⁸ This attitude undoubtedly affected

36. Shelby Stanton, *Order of Battle, U.S. Army, World War II* (Novato, CA, 1984), 81, 104, 123, 513-14, 519, 533; *The Combat History Fourth Infantry Division* (n.p., 1945), 16; *Historical and Pictorial Review of the 28th Infantry Division*.

37. Chester Wardlow, *The Transportation Corps: Movements, Training, and Supply* (Washington, 1956), 445; Chester Wardlow, *The Transportation Corps: Responsibilities, Organization, and Operations* (Washington, 1951), 124,256; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, December 2, 1943.

38. Wardlow, *Transportation Corps: Movements, Training and Supply*, 448.

the quality of training received by these troops and their units. No available evidence suggests that the subsequent performance in combat of these units varied substantially from similar organizations comprised of white personnel.³⁹

While adapting to its new mission, the camp continued to face substantial challenges. Its population averaged about 30,000 during the later months of the war, making it the largest community in the region. In addition to boat and truck companies, the ASF Training Center trained port construction and repair and maintenance units. During 1944 and 1945 a steady stream of troops passed through the courses.⁴⁰ Conditions at Gordon Johnston had improved considerably from the early days of the ATC, but the camp still offered harsh living in an isolated area. Officials had established various recreational facilities, which by the spring of 1945 included a library, five theaters, three service clubs for enlisted men, a noncommissioned officers' club, and an officers' club. Additionally, baseball and basketball leagues and boxing matches added variety to the troops' entertainment. Six chapels ministered to the soldiers' spiritual needs.

Despite these improvements, recreational facilities remained inadequate, as did transportation to and from camp. Soldiers complained loudly of the unreliable service of the Lee Bus Line, which connected them with the outside world. Ultimately officials constructed a passenger railroad for weekend service between Gordon Johnston and Tallahassee.⁴¹

Black soldiers felt that they received substandard treatment. Long after a service club, library, and guest house were available for white soldiers, black troops remained without such facilities. The situation led one soldier to complain in the *Amphibian*: "Have these men not given up their homes and nice surroundings the

39. Despite critical comments on the capabilities of black units, the official history of the Transportation Corps notes that "the results generally achieved [by these units] were good" and that "in 1944 and 1945 the performance of these units in both assault and resupply operations was generally satisfactory. Some of them received citations for their accomplishments and conduct under fire." Wardlow, *Transportation Corps: Movements, Training, and Supply*, 448.

40. *Tallahassee Democrat*, August 15, 1980; Blanch D. Coll, Jean E. Keith, and Herbert H. Rosenthal, *The Corps of Engineers: Troops and Equipment* (Washington, 1958), 397-99; John D. Millett, *The Organization and Role of the Army Service Forces* (Washington, 1954), 327; Wardlow, *Transportation Corps: Movements, Training, and Supply*, 425-29, 444-49, 454-57.

41. *Amphibian*, October 27, 1944, April 14, 1945.



"Chow line," Camp Gordon Johnston, c. 1944. Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State archives.

same as other soldiers? . . . Are they not entitled to the same privileges as other men in the United States Army? We are not asking use of the Guest House or Service Club already here, but for one of our own which we feel is our legal right as soldiers."⁴² Another black noncommissioned officer commented that the "lack of recreational activities for colored troops has been and still is a number one problem. With inadequate recreation on the post and almost nonexistent [sic] in nearby towns, constant dissatisfaction and unrest exist among the troops."⁴³ Segregated facilities for black soldiers were later completed, but the delay reflected the poor state of race relations during a war ostensibly to preserve freedom at home and abroad.

In addition to the substandard treatment afforded in the military, black soldiers also faced Jim Crow segregation laws when they visited nearby towns. This situation was particularly galling to northern-born blacks accustomed to less stringent practices. Disturbances in Tallahassee involving black soldiers on leave from

42. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1944.

43. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1944.

Gordon Johnston occasionally erupted during 1944-1945. Military police from nearby Dale Mabry Airfield held jurisdiction over Tallahassee. Even though the army used black military police to patrol the predominantly black sections of Tallahassee, Gordon Johnston troops felt that they were often treated unjustly. In August 1944 the beating of a Gordon Johnston soldier by black military police led to a riot in which civilian police armed with tear gas and weapons battled a large group of black servicemen. The *Atlanta Daily World*, a prominent black newspaper, reported that the actions of white police "placed the lives of hundreds of . . . citizens in danger."⁴⁴

Two separate incidents took place in early October 1944 when black soldiers from Gordon Johnston fought with local civilian police and Dale Mabry MPs. The first disturbance began after white civilian police attempted to arrest a black soldier but were prevented from doing so and were then threatened by a large group of soldiers. Two hours later a fight between six drunken soldiers escalated into a minor riot when black soldiers attacked a force of black MPs trying to quell the disturbance. As a result of these incidents Tallahassee city manager Malcolm Yancey urged army officials to declare Tallahassee off limits to black soldiers on leave. Yancey stated, "If the military cannot control their men, I do not think it right and proper to expect a community of our size to furnish ample police for at least 1,000 drunken negro troops." Brigadier General William H. Holcombe, commander of the camp, evidently agreed. He temporarily stopped convoys taking soldiers to Tallahassee, and weeks later passes to the capital were still restricted for all Gordon Johnston troops.⁴⁵

Another serious incident occurred in April 1945 when 200 to 250 black servicemen from Dale Mabry Airfield and Camp Gordon Johnston rampaged through the streets of Frenchtown, the capital's black business and residential district. The troops threw

44. *Atlanta Daily World*, August 18, 1944; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, August 10, 1944. In August 1944 the army prepared a contingency plan in the event of increased racial disturbances in Tallahassee. The plan included cordoning off the predominantly black portions of the city and calling out members of the Florida State Guard. See "Racial Disturbance Plan, District No. 5, Fourth Service Command, for City of Tallahassee, 2 August 1944," RG 191, ser. 419, box 57, State Defense Council, Subject Files, Florida State Archives.

45. *Atlanta Daily World*, October 8, 1944; *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 14, 1944; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, October 2, 1944; Ellis and Rogers, *Favored Land*, 159; *Amphibian*, October 28, 1944.

bottles and rocks, damaged several black-owned businesses, and battled with military police and civilian law enforcement officials. The soldiers later claimed that their imminent departure overseas led to a determination to “take Frenchtovvn apart and paint it red.”⁴⁶ Despite these disturbances, training at Camp Gordon Johnston continued until the end of the war, with a large number of black ASF units passing through the installation.

During the spring of 1945 Allied armies raced across Germany, and Americans listened anxiously for news of the enemy’s surrender. When it finally occurred in early May, V-E Day brought jubilation to north Florida, although this was tempered by the realization that Japan still remained defiant. The camp commander issued a temporary state of emergency in the event that surrender news caused rioting among German and Italian prisoners of war that had been sent to the camp beginning in 1944. No problems occurred, either with the prisoners or celebrating American troops. The *Amphibian* reported that most of the men “took the sober view that there is still a big job yet to do and that to stop now would be almost sacrilegious.”⁴⁷

Training continued after V-E Day. The military believed that Japan would not surrender until its home islands were invaded, and amphibious units would be expected to play a major role. Such training remained dangerous, as was evident from an accident that occurred in July 1945. During an airborne exercise on Dog Island a group of paratroopers from Fort Benning, Georgia, were blown off course by high winds. A number of the men landed in East Pass, between Dog and St. George islands. Tragically ten soldiers drowned, weighed down by their heavy equipment.⁴⁸

News of the Japanese surrender in August 1945 caused jubilation in the camp. After an initial period of disbelief, “victory hit Camp Gordon Johnston like a delayed action bomb.”⁴⁹ Impromptu concerts and parades were held, and demand for beer was so great that bartenders served it warm. Soldiers on leave in Tallahassee joined in the celebration. A local newspaper reported the day after Japan’s surrender, “News of the Japanese capitulation last night hit Tallahassee with the force of Uncle Sam’s new atomic bomb and

46. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 2, 4, 1945; Ellis and Rogers, *Favored Land*, 157.

47. *Amphibian*, May 8, 1945; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, May 7, 1945.

48. *Amphibian*, July 14, 21, 1945; *Apalachicola Times*, July 20, 1945.

49. *Amphibian*, August 18, 1945.

was the signal for everybody to unloose that pent-up feeling and start what old-timers view as the most wild, spontaneous and enthusiastic celebration ever witnessed in the Capital City."⁵⁰

With the war's end, temporary installations such as Camp Gordon Johnston immediately became obsolete. Although designated as a redeployment camp, the number of troops stationed there declined quickly. The federal government moved to dispose of the more than 165,000 acres of land that it had bought or leased. In February 1946 the Army Service Forces Training Center was officially discontinued, and the remaining troops transferred to Fort Eustis, Virginia. Only a small caretaker force remained to read the final issue of the *Amphibian* on February 28. The installation formally closed one month later.⁵¹

Cleanup operations proceeded with all due speed. By the end of 1946 more than 60,000 acres of land had been sold or had its leases cancelled. In December of the same year the army returned to the St. Joe Paper Company some 37,000 acres and 600 barracks buildings. The army also paid a fee of \$37,000, "in lieu of a restoration of land to its original condition as prescribed by the [original] lease." Even after this transfer, the military still occupied about 1,000 buildings and 2,000 acres upon which was located the former post headquarters, hospitals, theaters, recreation centers, and mess halls.⁵²

The army, apparently in 1947, divested itself of the remainder of the old camp. The St. Joe Paper Company reclaimed most of the interior training areas, and along the coast some camp buildings were refurbished into tourist cottages. Shrimpers and fishermen, who had been largely displaced during the war, moored their craft again at Carrabelle. Lanark eventually became a retirement community. Today, few traces remain of Camp Gordon Johnston. One veteran who returned to the area during the 1980s lamented: "I spent four months training in this place and don't recognize a thing[.] I've been back to the Philippines, to Japan. It was easier to find the places I served there than when we were here."⁵³

50. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, August 15, 1945; *Apalachicola Times*, August 17, 1945.

51. *Amphibian*, February 28, 1946, Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 15, 1946.

52. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 3, 1946.

53. Tallahassee *Democrat*, May 26, 1985.

Despite the lack of commemoration, the training that took place at Camp Gordon Johnston from 1942 until 1945 played a role in the winning of World War II. In both the Pacific and European theaters, the ability to launch amphibious operations against enemy-held coastlines proved vital. Army troops entered the war with little practical experience in this skill, and the equipment and doctrine needed to conduct such operations successfully either did not exist or needed much refinement. Without the realistic training and the experience gained at Camp Gordon Johnston and the other ATCs, the blood spilled on numerous beaches might have been greater, and the length and cost of the war much longer.

GI JOE MEETS JIM CROW: RACIAL VIOLENCE AND REFORM IN WORLD WAR II FLORIDA

by GARY R. MORMINO

WHERE were you on December 7, 1941, and what did you experience on that memorable day? If you were Master Sergeant Warren Bryant, stationed at Tampa's MacDill Field, you were reminded of your place in American society. Bryant explained the coming of war: "When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor . . . all of the whites at MacDill Field were running around with loaded guns. We [blacks] had no guns and no idea of what was going on, so you can imagine what was running through our minds until we learned of the Japanese attack. Even with this knowledge it was of no comfort to be practically penned in our area with armed patty boys all over everywhere. We trusted them just about as much as a coiled rattlesnake."¹ "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow" examines the tensions and violence that erupted on and off military camps in Florida during World War II and their role in the development of the civil rights movement.

In the weeks following Pearl Harbor, African American leaders pledged a fight on two fronts—victory abroad against fascism and victory at home against racism. Articulating the urgency of fighting on two fronts was relatively easy; the reality of confronting segregated armed services and the Jim Crow South proved daunting.²

Although the United States fought World War II with images of democracy pressing the fight against tyranny, the U.S. military

Gary R. Mormino is professor of history, University of South Florida, Tampa.

1. Quoted in interview of Master Sergeant Warren Bryant, *The Invisible Soldier: The Experience of the Black Soldier, World War II*, comp. and ed. Mary Penick Motley (Detroit, 1975), 250-51.
2. Lee Finkle, *Forum for Protest: The Black Press during World War II* (Rutherford, NJ, 1975).

structure mirrored America's racially segregated society.³ The *Bradenton Herald* ran a flyer in 1943 announcing, "Negroes 18 to 50 years old may enlist as mess attendants in the U.S. Navy."⁴ The navy, however, operated under a racial caste system, and the U.S. Marines excluded African Americans entirely at the start of the war. As the war progressed, the military, pressed for manpower and pressured by group leaders, liberalized recruitment policies. In the summer of 1942 the marines, for the first time in 167 years, created a Marine Corps Negro Battalion. "Negroes having training as barbers, cooks, bakers, clerks, and truck drivers have been urged to enlist immediately," ran a marines advertisement.⁵

As Floridians marched off to basic training, the state's newspapers reported the news in black and white. "Two contingents of colored boys . . . headed for camp," reported the *DeFuniak Herald* in 1942. Later it noted, "Here are the names of the young men (white) who will leave."⁶ Other notices included: "17 White Men Off to Camp," "37 Negroes Sent to Camp Blanding," and "225 Negroes Are Called to Blanding."⁷

Historically, military service has offered minority groups in American society the opportunity to affirm their loyalty to the host society. Thus, immigrants volunteered in numbers out of proportion to their size in order to validate their patriotism. African Americans, however, encountered roadblocks in their path to military respect. "From the beginning of World War II," argues Richard Dalfiume, "the army set out to implement its version of separate but equal."⁸ Many black leaders remembered the bitter experiences of World War I when African Americans volunteered for the Great Crusade, only to return home to an America beset by race riots, a revived Ku Klux Klan, and nativist violence. Throughout the

3. Robert J. Jakeman, *The Divided Skies: Establishing Segregated Flight Training at Tuskegee, Alabama, 1934-1942* (Tuscaloosa, 1992); Finkle, *Forum For Protest*, 156-57; Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York, 1986), 143-204; Ulysses Grant Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, DC, 1966); Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the United States Armed Forces, 1939-1953* (Columbia, 1969).

4. *Bradenton Herald*, January 5, 1943.

5. Jakeman, *Divided Skies*, vi; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 16, 1942.

6. *DeFuniak Herald*, August 6, 30, 1942.

7. *Tallahassee Democrat*, August 21, 1944; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 27, 1941, June 4, 1943; *Hendry County News*, April 17, 1941; *Sanford Herald*, July 9, 1945; *Gadsden County News*, January 14, 1943.

8. Richard M. Dalfiume, *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Papers of the NAACP* (Bethesda, MD, 1989), xii.

Second World War, Florida's American Legion refused First World War African American veterans a charter.⁹

The very presence of black troops in the South sparked controversy in some quarters. Throughout the war, selecting camps for the training of African American soldiers vexed the War Department.¹⁰ In 1944 Florida Congressman Robert Sikes protested to Rear Admiral George D. Murray upon hearing reports that white and black sailors were billeted together at the Pensacola Naval Air Station. The admiral reassured Sikes that "in no cases is indiscriminate mixing of these groups permitted."¹¹

While many soldiers who trained in Florida found the weather balmy, others found the racial climate chilling. Between 1941 and 1946 racial conflict boiled over on and off Florida military bases. Participants included commissioned and noncommissioned officers, civilians and prisoners of war, military police and county sheriffs, Northerners and Southerners.

Tallahassee was the site of some of Florida's most serious racial disorders during World War II. Beneath the veneer of southern charm stood a city and region fiercely dedicated to preserving a segregated society. In 1940 Tallahassee had a population of 16,240, of which 40 percent were black. Tallahassee's large black neighborhood attracted African American servicemen from the Third Army Air Force stationed at Dale Mabry Field, located three miles west of the capital, and from the Amphibious Training Center at Camp Gordon Johnston sixty miles away in Carrabelle.¹²

Mobilization for war jarred the rhythms of city and campus. The 1942 homecoming game at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College reflected the changes. In 1941 fans packed Florida Stadium, forcing many white spectators to stand on the sidelines. The state mandated new seating procedures, which segregated black soldiers to the sidelines while white fans received reserved seating. "Two white military policemen who had been stationed there to

9. *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 30, 1944.

10. Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, 100-07.

11. *Pensacola Journal*, April 19, 1944. See also speech by Alabama Senator John Hollis Bankhead II, in *Atlanta Daily World*, August 4, 1942; *Fort Myers News Press*, August 3, 1942; *Bradenton Herald*, April 21, 1944.

12. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940. Population, Volume II* (Washington, 1943), 124; Tom Waggy, *Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida: Spokesman of the New South* (University, AL, 1985), 11-12, 48-49; Mary Louise Ellis and William Warren Rogers, *Favored Land, Tallahassee: A History of Tallahassee and Leon County* (Norfolk, VA, 1988), 151-52, 157.

keep the soldiers in the restricted area were busily engaged in forcing these former Florida students [now soldiers] to leave the regular grandstand," reported the *Atlanta Daily World*. An African American soldier filched a nightstick from an MP, and twenty-five MPs invaded the stadium searching for the offender and putting a "damper on the game."¹³

Tallahassee's Frenchtown became the setting for a series of ugly military riots, which frequently escalated into racial disorders. A familiar scenario emerged: African American troops from rival military bases converged upon Frenchtown. Arguments degenerated into a fracas, almost always made worse by the arrival of white Tallahassee and military police.

In September 1942 Tallahassee police responded to a fight between black soldiers and civilians in Frenchtown. Police shot and killed Private Wilbur Harris, allegedly for resisting arrest. According to the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, "Civilian officers and M.P.'s then lined up the negro soldiers and civilians along the streets until an emergency squad from Dale Mabry Field, armed with rifles, arrived."¹⁴ Two months later a black soldier at Dale Mabry Field violated racial decorum when he attempted to purchase a drink from a vending machine reserved for white civilian workers. Scores of black soldiers and whites scuffled, resulting in injuries to eight individuals.¹⁵

In the spring of 1944 authorities at Dale Mabry Field confronted a "mutiny." According to testimony, a group of black soldiers refused to obey orders until granted a forum to air their grievances about racial practices. Five soldiers, all northern blacks, received dishonorable discharges and long prison sentences.¹⁶

Protests echoed in the black press. A person identified as "A Constant Reader" wrote to the *Pittsburgh Courier* pleading: "Please tell me how the President of the United States knowing that we are at war, allows the Negro soldier to be treated so intolerably? . . . Does he condone the treatment of those soldiers in Alabama and those in Tallahassee, Florida?"¹⁷

13. *Atlanta Daily World*, November 3, 1942.

14. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, September 6, 13, 1942.

15. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1942; *Tampa Tribune*, November 7, 1942.

16. *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 8, 1944; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, May 4, 1944; *Fort Lauderdale Daily News*, May 4, 1944.

17. *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 29, 1944.

Black troops chafed at conditions encountered in north Florida. On one occasion the NAACP received a letter entitled "Mistreatment of Soldiers in Dixie," signed "Members of the 1869th engr avn bn [engineering aviation battalion]." The letter listed a litany of problems faced by "several hundred negro soldiers here at Dale Mabry Field." Writers noted, "Above all we have Southern White Crackers as officers over us who abuse us, and treat us worse than we would treat the lowest of dogs." The complaints pointed out that German prisoners of war received more respect and better food than African American troops. Indeed, "we are treated more like prisoners of war than members of the armed forces."¹⁸ Private E. Bryant claimed the commanding officer thinks, "The Negro's radical." He closed the letter, "I am always in there continuously fighting for the rights of the Negro in the service."¹⁹

African American soldiers also wrote hometown newspapers. "A Negro Soldier" appealed to the *Baltimore Afro American* to expose conditions at Camp Gordon Johnston. "We cannot go to the church services on the camp," he exclaimed, adding, "The service clubs are off limit for us." The author fumed over a recent episode. Black troops had organized a dance and invited female guests from Tallahassee. "There were about 30 lounging chairs for our guests to relax in but the white M.P. made them get out of them." During the evening the white military police "got a rope and started roping our girls off like sheep. . . . They were herded up like a flock of sheep." "Most of us hail from the North," confessed the soldier.²⁰

Letters and protests went unanswered, and in August 1944 another disturbance flared up in Frenchtown. The *Atlanta Daily World* described the tumult: "Armed with revolvers, riot guns and tear gas bombs, a group of Tallahassee civilian policemen, taking part in a disturbance involving only military personnel, placed the lives of hundreds of race citizens in danger." A city official recommended

18. Mistreatment of Negro Soldiers in Dixie, *Papers of the NAACP*: pt. 9, ser. B, Discrimination in the U.S. Armed Forces, 1918-1955, Armed Forces Legal Files, 1940-1950, roll 13, 613-14. All subsequent references to this source are taken from pt. 9, ser. B of the collection unless stated otherwise.

19. E. Bryant to NAACP, October 14, 1944, *Papers of the NAACP*: roll 11, 582-83.

20. Philip McGuire, *Taps For a Jim Crow Army: Letters from Black Soldiers in World War II* (Santa Barbara, CA, 1983), 5, 19-20.

to military authorities that black soldiers from Camp Gordon Johnston be banned from visiting Tallahassee on weekends.²¹

Normally, Sundays in Tallahassee passed quietly with ample portions of old-time religion, fried chicken, and rest. But on one Sunday in October 1944, Tallahassee reverberated with police sirens responding to two separate military riots. In the first imbroglio, black soldiers from Camp Gordon Johnston clashed with civilian and military police. Trouble could have been avoided, argued the *Atlanta Daily World*, "if the local police had allowed the colored MPs from Dale Mabry Field to arrest a soldier in this section. The police took things into their own hands, thereby creating excitement when they approached one of the men with drawn pistols. The soldiers then surrounded the police and would not allow them to take the soldiers." The paper reminded readers that while white MPs carried guns, their black counterparts generally employed nightsticks. Following the second incident involving soldiers and police, Brigadier General Holcombe, commanding officer at Camp Gordon Johnston, announced that "no more Negro soldiers would be conveyed to Tallahassee."²²

Alarmed by the fractious behavior of African American troops, the intelligence officer at Dale Mabry Field filed a "Weekly Report Concerning the Racial Situation." Major Sakser observed in November 1944, "There is of course still an occasional gripe from Negroes who are compelled to occupy rear seats in the city buses."²³

From the beginning of the war, the military made efforts to boost the flagging morale of African American troops. In 1942 the Army Air Force arranged a visit by the Ninety-ninth Fighter Squadron, the first such outfit manned by blacks. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., served as commanding officer of the decorated unit. His father, Benjamin O. Davis, was the first African American to hold the rank of general. General Davis visited troops around the world, urging harmony, and preached more understanding between townfolk

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21. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, August 10, 1944; *Atlanta Daily World*, August 18, 1944. For additional commentary on problems encountered at Camp Gordon Johnston see Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, 244, 266.
 22. *Atlanta Daily World*, October 8, 1944; *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 14, 1944; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, October 2, 1944.
 23. Frank J. Sakser, Historical Report of Dale Mabry Field, Tallahassee, Florida, November 1944, quoted in Erica R. Clark, "Tallahassee and Dale Mabry Army Air Base" (unpublished manuscript, Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee), 12.

and soldiers at home. Panama City, for instance, sponsored a GI Joe Day for Negro Troops. Groups such as Lee Norman and his band came South in an "All-Colored USO Show." Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Joe Louis, and Sugar Ray Robinson also toured Florida military camps.²⁴

The Negro Athletic Leagues and "all-colored" USO extravaganzas could not assure harmony. In April 1945 Tallahassee experienced its final and most serious military riot. Police battled at least 250 black soldiers from Dale Mabry Field and Camp Gordon Johnston who descended upon Frenchtown. The troops— many of whom had just received combat orders— had announced their intent to "paint it [Frenchtown] red" and "tear it apart." The neighborhood suffered heavy damage as rioters ransacked stores and establishments. Tallahassee police responded with tear gas, and military police, armed with tommy guns, arrested scores of soldiers. Authorities declared martial law for several hours. According to the *Tampa Bulletin*, a black newspaper, the guilty soldiers disappeared the next morning. The Tallahassee city manager recommended that authorities keep a detachment of MPs in the city.²⁵

Warnings had surfaced for some time about the potential explosiveness of conditions in north Florida. In March 1945 the NAACP's Roy Wilkins received a letter from A. Maceo Smith of the Texas NAACP. Smith had just interviewed former Dallas resident Corporal James Otis, who in early 1945 had served at Dale Mabry Field. Otis related "that there are more than 3,000 Negro soldiers at this Florida installation who are being discriminated against to the maximum degree." Moreover, "there is no Negro chaplain assigned to this contingent to whom these men may express their distaste for this treatment in confidence. Of the 3,000, 200 are wounded and sick soldiers needing hospital care."²⁶

Letters to the NAACP record an outpouring of frustration and the growing militancy of African American soldiers. Three such

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24. *Tampa Tribune*, March 21, October 16, 1942; Ellis and Rogers, *Favored Land*, 150; *Panama City News Herald*, September 1, 5, December 26, 1944; Orlando Air Field *The AAFSATONION*, April 10, 1943; Camp Blanding *Bayonet*, January 14, 1944; *Atlanta Daily World*, August 15, 1945.
 25. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 2, 4, 1945; *Gadsden County News*, April 5, 1945; *Tampa Bulletin*, April 21, 1945. The Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, houses the only extant copy of the April 21, 1945, *Tampa Bulletin*.
 26. A. Maceo Smith to Roy Wilkins, March 12, 1945, *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 12, 52.

1944 letters pinpointed problems at Tallahassee and Camp Gordon Johnston. Louis Alexander, writing "somewhere in Dutch New Guinea . . . where he read about troubles in Tallahassee," declared, "Being one of the many soldiers that was forced to take training at Camp Gordon Johnston, Fla., I found many things and conditions that were a blow to soldier morale."²⁷

In September 1944 William H. Hastie and Thurgood Marshall met to discuss Camp Gordon Johnston. Hastie, then dean at Howard University's law school but earlier a figure instrumental in promoting civil rights for African American soldiers, called for "an investigation of the physical conditions and treatment of Negro troops at the Camp." Several black soldiers had attempted to enlist Hastie's and the NAACP's assistance in exposing racial conditions at Carrabelle. Army officials had assigned blacks exclusively to clean the outhouses, and a group of seventy-five soldiers resisted the order, only to be sent to the stockade.²⁸ Private John Hammond, director of Negro Activities, contended, "Segregation has reappeared in all its fury."²⁹ A supporting letter, signed "One who would serve," urged the NAACP's Walter White to investigate Camp Gordon Johnston. "I believe I owe it to my race to report this. May I repeat, destroy this when you're finished."³⁰

Disturbed by mounting evidence of racial unrest on and off military bases, the NAACP commissioned a special study of the situation in July 1945. The association selected Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr., to tour fifteen troubled sites, including Camp Gordon Johnston, Dale Mabry Field, and MacDill Air Field. By July 1945, Camp Gordon Johnston contained 7,000 troops, including 1,400 African American soldiers. One hundred white officers commanded the base; two black officers, a captain, and first lieutenant led the "colored troops." The base had no black chaplain. The inspector found the black quarters "excellent" in terms of cleanliness but poor in the quality of recreational opportunities. Army Memorandum No. 97, which prohibited segregation in recreational facilities,

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27. Louis Alexander to NAACP, September 7, 1944, *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 12, 679-81.
 28. William H. Hastie to Thurgood Marshall, September 15, 1944, *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 12, 678.
 29. John Hammond to Walter White, September 11, 1944, *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 12, 676.
 30. "One who would Serve" to White, September 18, 1944, *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 12, 682-86.

was neither posted nor followed. Blacks and whites frequented the same dispensary but at separate posted times. The hospital staffed no black nurses, dentists, or physicians, and hospital lavatory signs indicated "colored" or "negro." African American soldiers complained of no opportunities to pursue advanced technical training and of the disrespect shown by white civilian clerks at the post exchange.³¹

Contemporaries and historians depict Tampa as Florida's most racially troubled city, noteworthy for both the number and intensity of disturbances. Ironically, the coming of the military to Tampa promised optimism, a safeguard against the vicissitudes of economic depression and labor turbulence. On July 14, 1939, the military announced plans for MacDill Army Air Field to be constructed at the southern tip of the uninhabited interbay peninsula. MacDill became headquarters for the Twelfth Air Force Combat Bomber Command. In mid 1941 the War Department activated Drew Army Air Field, headquarters for the Third Air Force, on the site of today's Tampa International Airport. MacDill and Drew fields helped prepare pilots and training crews for the B-17 and B-29 fleets.³²

MacDill officials trumpeted the benefits of the base in a steady stream of public relations documents. Beginning in 1943 a lavishly illustrated magazine, *Thunderbird*, was published. African Americans appeared occasionally in it, shown serving food and changing tires, but little else. In fact by 1945 MacDill housed 3,000 black servicemen, comprising a quarter of the base's troop strength. In July 1945 a single black chaplain constituted the only officer. In 1945 NAACP officials complained, "The post's policy is complete segregation of the races."³³

Tampa might have seemed an ideal setting for black troops. In 1940 African Americans represented 25 percent of Tampa's population, and a large black commercial district existed along the area known as "the Scrub." Nonetheless, race relations in Tampa foreshadowed trouble. The city boasted not a single African American

31. Data for Camp Investigation, MacDill Field, July 9, 1945, *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 9, 733, 742-45.

32. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 14, 1939, May 5, 1947; Karl Grismer, *Tampa* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 279-81.

33. *Thunderbird: MacDill Field Quarterly* 1-2 (1943-1944); Data for Camp Investigation, MacDill Field, July 12, 1945, *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 9,733, 750-93.

lawyer in 1940.³⁴ As events unfolded a black attorney would have been useful.

World War II was not the first encounter between African American soldiers and Tampa. During Reconstruction and again in 1898 the presence of black troops sent paroxysms of anger through the white community, contributing to violence and the formation of the Ku Klux Klan. "It is indeed very humiliating to the American citizens and especially to the people of Tampa," argued the *Tribune* in 1898, "to be compelled to submit to the insults and mendacity perpetrated by the colored troops that are now camped in this city."³⁵

Relations between the African American community and Tampa police in the decades prior to the 1940s had been at best patronizing and negligent— at worst, racist and brutal. Moreover, corruption infected city and county law enforcement officials, who allowed organized gambling and prostitution to flourish. Recurrent crises involving soldiers and police reinforced Tampa's image as "Hell Hole of the Gulf Coast." In 1942, as a result of repeated episodes of violence and civil rights violations, the American Civil Liberties Union branded Tampa one of eleven centers of repression in the United States.³⁶

African American soldiers vividly remembered their introduction to Tampa. One soldier reminisced that upon arriving in Tampa by train a "big red-necked sheriff" met the enlisted men. The deputy pontificated about southern manners and morals and about how social life was limited to one area of town— the black district along Central Avenue. Warren Bryant recalled, "When we got a chance to go to town we had to wait until all of the white soldiers who wished to go had been taken to their destination; then we were

34. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940. Population, Volume III* (Washington, 1943), 666. While Tampa supported no African American lawyers, the city did boast fifty-one black clergymen and forty-three black teachers in 1940. The Tampa City Federation of Negro Women's Clubs erected a recreation center for servicemen. See *Tampa Daily Times*, June 26, 1943; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 26, 1943.

35. Maria Louisa Daegenhardt Archer Reminiscences, Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami, transcription by Patsy West; James McKay, Jr., "History of Tampa of the Olden Days," *Tampa Times*, December 18, 1923; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 12, 1898; Willard Gatewood, Jr., "Negro Troops in Florida, 1898," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49 (July 1970), 1-15.

36. Alan M. Osur, *Blacks in the Army Air Forces during World War II: The Problem of Race Relations* (Washington, 1977; reprint ed., Washington, 1980), 90.

crowded like sardines into a couple of buses and driven directly to the colored section. . . . Frankly we [812th Aviation Engineers] were delighted when orders came for us to go. . . . Anything was better than this hell hole.³⁷

On July 15, 1941, soldiers and police clashed anew. An argument in the city's black commercial district resulted in the arrest of a black soldier by white MPs. Police sped the arrested man away to the nearby military stockade. While military police milled around the scene of the arrest, a black sergeant verbally harassed an MP. Police began clubbing the sergeant, and a Tampa patrolman shot him while he was prostrate. A near riot ensued as black soldiers charged the policemen, resulting in the shooting of a second serviceman.

In June 1943 a racial standoff occurred at MacDill Air Field. The event, never acknowledged in local newspapers, was classified as "a mutiny" by the War Department. According to the investigation, the affair erupted over a trivial incident in the base post exchange for black servicemen. An argument between a black soldier and a "tired, irritable white saleswoman" attracted a crowd, and soon a fight began. Some black soldiers apparently obtained guns, fearful of the consequences of the fracas. Authorities discovered the guns stored in a black barracks and charged Private Frank V. Stovall and eighteen other African American soldiers with conspiracy to riot and mutiny. Julia Padron, Stovall's cousin, asked the NAACP to "make an investigation at once." She added, "Frank thinks they got him and 18 other boys because they are from the North." Alice Baird, Stovall's sister-in-law explained, "We are quite worried about him because he is from the North, and the stories that come in here at the office from the camps in the south are enough to frighten me." On October 16 Stovall and nine fellow sol-

37. Robert P. Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1934* (Knoxville, 1988); Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Urbana, 1987), 280-86; Virginius Dabney, *Below the Potomac: A Book About the New South* (New York, 1939; reprint ed., Port Washington, NY, 1942), 128; *Tampa Daily Times*, January 15, 1944; Motley, *Invisible Soldier*, 250-52. Gordon Chambers also served with the 812th Aviation Engineers and recalls today the bitter encounters with civilian and military police. Interviews with Gordon Chambers, April 5, 12, 1994, notes in author's possession.

38. *Tampa Daily Times*, July 16, 1941; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 17, 1941; Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, 350-51.

diers faced a court martial at MacDill Field. All received sentences of ten years (later reduced to five years).³⁹

Black soldiers also complained about venereal disease checks— “applied to blacks only” — as they traveled to and from Tampa. Venereal disease would seemingly be a societal problem, but it acquired a racial stigma during the war. The problem was serious. Tampa’s Social Protection Division reported in 1945 that venereal disease rates among African Americans stationed locally reached a rate of 415 per 1,000, while the overall incidence was 158 per 1,000 soldiers. Tampa mayor Robert E. Lee Chancey attacked black servicemen rather than the source of the problem. “If we had no Negro soldiers here,” he insisted in 1943, “our record for social protection for military personnel would be one of the finest in the United States.”⁴⁰

In February 1944 a minor incident between police and black soldiers escalated into a riot. According to newspaper accounts, Tampa police raced enroute to a narcotics raid in “the Scrub” when a black serviceman cursed army intelligence captain T. L. Tedford, who was attempting to clear traffic. Captain Tedford ordered military police to arrest the offender. Black soldiers came to the aid of their fellow soldier, thereby preventing his arrest. Soon a crowd of more than 100 angry black residents surrounded the police and servicemen. City and military police reinforcements eventually dispersed the crowd and sped the suspect to the nearby military police substation. There, reported the *Tampa Daily Times*, “a huge mob, estimated at more than 4,000, assembled about the station and demanded that the man be released. Calls for help were broadcast and three armored riot cars . . . all city patrol cars . . . and sheriffs deputies rushed to the battle scene.” Altogether more than 100 civilian and military police “armed with machine guns, revolvers and bayonets” confronted the angry crowd. The protestors hurled bottles and flower pots at police. The press described the event’s denouement. “Faced by the menacing guns of

39. Stovall Court Martial, *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 5, 725-779; *Ibid.*, pt. 9, ser. C, Discrimination in the U.S. Armed Forces, 1918-1955, The Veterans Affairs Committee, 1940-1950, roll 4, 34456; Osur, *Blacks in the Army Air Forces*, 86, 103, 194.

40. Osur, *Blacks in the Army Air Forces*, 103; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 14, August 24, 1945; *Tampa Daily Times*, July 15, September 1, 1943; Dawn Truax, “Victory Girls and Social Protection in World War II Tampa,” in *Florida at War*, ed. Lewis N. Wynne (St. Leo, 1993), 29-49.

Army men, the Negroes finally dispersed and police immediately closed every saloon, juke joint, restaurant, theater and store on the street [Central Avenue]. Twenty-four Negroes were taken to the City Jail for trial . . . on charges of creating a disturbance and inciting a riot." The *Tribune* headline pronounced, "Civil and Army Police Quell Rioting Negroes."⁴¹

A rare wartime news account from a Florida black newspaper adds a fresh dimension to the February 1944 riot. "Innocent Church Leaders Arrested," an indignant *Tampa Bulletin* declared. "Those of us who were beginning to believe we were approaching a day wherein a minority group would be protected instead of being subjected to terrorism, and that racial feelings were ebbing, in an effort to create a united people, were sharply awakened by the men who represent the law in this city." The paper concluded, "How can we expect to even hope for victory with such treatment meted out to innocent Negroes of Tampa Sunday night?" The arrest list, noted the paper, included a deacon and an usher caught outside Beulah Baptist Church.⁴²

In February 1945 the *Atlanta Daily World* reported on continuing racial tensions at MacDill Field. "The German prisoners of war," noted the paper, "have started here a system of working hat in hand with the Bourbon South in the matter of giving the Negro soldiers another slap in the face." German POWs assigned as cooks at the MacDill base hospital refused to work if black military patients continued to dine in the same hall as whites, despite the fact that whites and blacks ate in separate sides of the mess hall. Hospital officials stated they were acting on orders from Washington and immediately began a system of feeding the African American personnel in a separate mess hall entirely. Morale, stated the reporter, plummeted "from humiliation to utter disgust."⁴³

When evaluating the sheer number of violent racial incidents, which resulted in several deaths and scores of injuries, historians

41. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 21, 22, 1944; *Tampa Daily Times*, February 21, 22, 1944; Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, 375.

42. *Tampa Bulletin* clipping in *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 12, 181. Sadly, only fragments of the black press have survived. During the war an extensive black press existed in Florida: the *Miami Whip*, *Pensacola Courier*, *Jacksonville Sentinel*, *Tampa Bulletin*, and *Pinellas Negro Weekly*. Only three extant single issues have been found.

43. *Atlanta Daily World*, February 9, 1945. The juxtaposition of German POWs and the Jim Crow South is well documented. For another incident in Florida see the case of Herbert F. Keresky, *Miami Herald*, May 7, 1985.

struggle to distinguish between what contemporaries branded as fracas, melees, riots, and mutinies. The difference between an angry crowd and a mob depends upon the perspective of time, distance, and politics. One historian of the South contends that during World War II racial disorders resulted in at least six civilian riots, twenty military riots or mutinies, and forty lynchings.⁴⁴ When evaluated individually, no single incident in Florida stands as a defining moment of the war years; when evaluated collectively, however, the violence and racism reveal deep flaws in military policy and civilian attitudes. Moreover, the many individual acts of war-time rebellion and frustration by African Americans had a cumulative effect on civilian and military leaders who in the summer of 1944 expressed growing alarm over the escalation of racial violence throughout the United States. The 1943 riots in Detroit, Los Angeles, Harlem, and Beaumont, combined with their own experiences, made authorities in Florida especially nervous.

In August 1944 the Army Service Forces, headquartered at Camp Blanding, prepared for the worst. In a series of secret documents, the agency anticipated renewed race riots and the imposition of martial law. The Army Service Forces targeted Tallahassee, Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, Tampa, and St. Petersburg. Reports detail each city. "In the city of Orlando," the report noted, "there is an undercurrent of tension, activated by union organizers and the presence of Northern negro soldiers in the community. Increased earning power caused by war activities . . . result in idleness and disorderly conduct and a resentment on the part of the white population toward negroes['] refusal to perform necessary work." In Miami, it was reported, "There are many negro dives and joints and it is in these areas that negroes of the trouble-maker type reside and congregate." In Tampa, authorities prepared a prospective press release: "Racial disorders, now in progress in Tampa, Florida between members of the Caucasian and negro races, with attendant riots and bloodshed, have progressed beyond the control of civil authorities."⁴⁵

In each targeted city the Army Service Forces identified the location of black-owned newspapers and radio stations. Future emer-

44. Albert James Burran, "Racial Violence in the South During World War Two" (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, 1977), 2.

45. Racial Disturbance Plan. District No. 5, Fourth Service Command, State Defense Council, box 57, ser. 419, RG 191, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

gency orders mandated: "All liquor stores, bars, dance halls, moving picture theaters and public places, where people may congregate have been ordered closed. The streets have been ordered cleared. . . . The congregation of more than three persons at any place is prohibited."⁴⁶

What had war wrought? In particular, what impact did the war have upon African Americans and race relations in Florida? World War II left a lasting military imprint on the state. Installations such as Camp Gordon Johnston, having served its usefulness, quickly returned to nature and developers. Dale Mabry Air Field surrendered its planes and personnel and became Tallahassee Community College.

Violence continued to pockmark MacDill Field, which now served the Cold War. A riot in October 1946 has been called by a leading military historian, "probably the largest riot the Air Force ever experienced."⁴⁷ Large numbers of African Americans complained that white troops received preferential discharges.⁴⁸ On the evening of October 27, 1946, a fight broke out at the Negro Non-commissioned Officers Club when young black soldiers attempted to enter a dance. White MPs fired into the crowd wounding a soldier. The black troops dispersed, reappearing at the white officers' quarters. Black soldiers chanted, "No more Jim Crow laws." Another crowd of 300 black soldiers marched upon the MacDill Avenue Gate, disarming an MP. The "mob" headed toward a well chosen target: the white-only, Gadsden housing project. Hurling stones and sticks, the black soldiers were repulsed by large numbers of civilian and military police. The chief of staff of the Strategic Air Command ordered an investigation of the "mutiny." The inquiry attributed the unrest to "communist" propaganda, which was brainwashing "the Negro soldiers to demand preference rather than equality." A black counterintelligence agent concluded that the problems stemmed from an appalling lack of opportunities and inferior segregated facilities. Nine GIs received long prison terms for the 1946 MacDill mutiny.⁴⁹

46. Ibid. Authorities declassified the files on January 22, 1993.

47. Alan L. Gropman, *The Air Force Integrates, 1945-1964* (Washington, 1978), 32.

48. *Chicago Defender*, April 27, 1946.

49. Gropman, *Air Force Integrates*, 64-70, 277-78; *Tampa Daily Times*, October 28-29, 1946; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 29, 1946; *St. Petersburg Times*, October 29, 1946; *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 11, February 8, 1947; Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, 229-31, 245.

In 1941 accounts of a lynching near Quincy, Florida, created a national uproar. The *New York Times* commented, "Nothing that can happen in this country is better grist for the Nazi propaganda mill than a lynching."⁵⁰ Lynchings at Marianna and Live Oak in 1943 and 1944 brought national opprobrium to the Sunshine State, but nothing matched the outrage following the October 1945 lynching of Jesse James Payne in rural Madison County.⁵¹ The Payne tragedy was America's only lynching in 1945, though in many ways it was an anachronism. Lynching as a forum for white supremacy had lost favor since the 1930s. Yet Florida's legal system and political/economic establishment stood uncompromising in its defense of white supremacy in 1945.

Amidst the gloom of racial injustice, faith and optimism abounded. Ocala's the Reverend Edward T. Davis told a story about the war. The government had ordered all eligible men to report to their selective service stations. W. H. Long dutifully appeared at Howard Academy. An imperious white man looked at Long and remarked, "I see you don't love your country." The black man replied, "Oh, but I do love my country, but my country don't love me."⁵²

This tale speaks forcefully of signs of optimism for African Americans in the 1940s. Edward Davis epitomized the role of Florida's African American minister. In 1940 the census listed only nine black lawyers but 979 black clergy in Florida.⁵³ The war accelerated the civil rights movement in Florida, an inner struggle for democracy, in which many of the leaders came from the church. The church took a leading role in accepting visiting black servicemen into the community and spearheaded bond drives, socials, and fund raisers during the war. The Reverend Edward Davis also mediated between Ocala's black and white communities. For example, he reassured whites about "Eleanor clubs," whose members, at a

50. *New York Times* quoted in "Wartime Lynchings," *The Crisis* 48 (June 1941), 183.

51. Burran, "Racial Violence in the South During World War Two," 201; Jack E. Davis, "'Whitewash' in Florida: The Lynching of Jesse James Payne and its Aftermath," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (January 1990), 277-98; *Tampa Daily Times*, June 17, 1943; *Pensacola Journal*, June 17, 18, 1943; "Wartime Lynchings"; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, August 25, 1944, *Atlanta Daily World*, October 13, 1945.

52. Edward D. Davis, *A Half Century of Struggle for Freedom in Florida* (Orlando, 1981), 163.

53. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940. Population, Volume III*, 648.

given signal, would allegedly take fatal action against their employers.⁵⁴

Throughout the war, the Reverend Davis headed the Florida State Teachers' Association (FSTA), an organization for African American teachers. Historically, Florida's black teachers and students suffered grievous inequalities. During 1934-1935 Florida's white teachers earned an average salary of \$881, whereas black teachers earned only \$412. Expenditures reflected even greater racial disparities: in 1934-1935 Florida spent \$41 on every white student but only \$15 for each black student. In 1944-1945 Florida paid white teachers an average salary of \$1,757, while black teachers made \$1,174.55

Lawyers from the NAACP and FSTA joined with African Americans in the early 1940s in filing lawsuits against Dade, Duval, Escambia, Marion, Lake, Hillsborough, Pinellas, and Palm Beach counties. Thurgood Marshall argued many of these cases. By 1945 Florida's black teachers had triumphed in the courtroom; urban counties now paid teachers' salaries based on training and performance, not race. The price was steep. Almost all of the pioneer litigants— Harry T. Moore (Brevard), Noah W. Griffin (Pinellas), Mary Blocker (Duval), Charles H. Stebbins (Palm Beach), and the Reverend Edward T. Davis (Marion)— lost their teaching jobs because of their principled stands.⁵⁶

Following the teachers' pay cases, the U.S. Supreme Court issued its historic ruling, *Smith v. Allwright*, on April 4, 1944. The decision sounded the death knell for the white primary, which disfranchised African Americans from voting in the all-important primary election. White Floridians reacted hysterically. Governor Millard Caldwell asserted, "This new menace to the independence

54. Davis, *Half Century of Struggle for Freedom in Florida*, i, ii, 36, 133, 162; *Ocala Star-Banner*, September 19, 1943; *Pinellas Negro Weekly*, October 8, 1944.

55. Davis, *Half Century of Struggle for Freedom in Florida*, i, ii; Gilbert L. Porter and Leedell W. Neyland, *History of the Florida State Teachers Association* (Washington, 1977); J. Irving Scott, *The Education of Black People in Florida* (Philadelphia, 1974), 2-3, 64-80; *Papers of the NAACP*, pt. 3, ser. A, The Campaign for Educational Equality, 1913-1950, 24 rolls, see especially rolls 6 and 22; "Teachers Win Raise," *The Crisis* 50 (November 1942), 360; "Teacher's Salaries," *The Crisis* 49 (March 1942), 100; *Atlanta Daily World*, July 11, 26, 1942; February 3, April 9, May 18, 1943; *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida, 1944-46* (Tallahassee, 1946), 118; *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1936* (Tallahassee, 1936), 205-06.

56. *Atlanta Daily World*, May 18, 1943; Scott, *Education of Black People in Florida*, 64-80.

of the state and party must be resisted with well-directed energy.”⁵⁷ Senator Claude Pepper intoned, “Southerners will not allow matters peculiar to us to be determined by those who do not know and understand our problem. The South will allow nothing to impair white supremacy.”⁵⁸ The Smith decision emboldened the wartime crusade for democracy. African Americans prepared to participate in Florida politics on a new level, although the path was paved with more hurdles.⁵⁹

Connecting the bridges of wartime agitation by black soldiers, the battle for the ballot, and civil rights was Harry T. Moore. In 1944 Moore and other black leaders formed a new organization, the Progressive Voters’ League, designed to mobilize African Americans. Moore served as executive secretary. As head of the Florida NAACP, he also helped double the state’s chapters between 1941 and 1945. The war also activated the NAACP, as evidenced by the many letters from soldiers who enclosed membership dues. “I love my race and am willing to do anything I am called upon to do,” wrote Sergeant Edward S. Porter, upon receiving his NAACP membership. “It is particularly encouraging to note that the spirit of the NAACP has moved into such places as Perry, Gulf Hammock, Chapley [sic], Dixie County,” Moore announced in January 1946. In October 1944 Florida NAACP branches numbered thirty-three with a total of 2,850 members. By September 1945 the organization had grown to forty-eight branches and 7,226 members.⁶⁰

After the war Florida’s African Americans pointed with justifiable pride to some tangible, hard-fought victories. For the first time in modern history blacks served on juries in Pinellas and Escambia

57. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 4, 1944; *Pensacola Journal*, April 4, 7, 8, 1944; *Bradenton Herald*, April 4, 1944.

58. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 5, 1944, *Miami Herald*, April 5, 1944; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 5, 1944; “Time Bomb,” *Time*, April 17, 1944, 20.

59. *Papers of the NAACP*, pt. 4, The Voting Rights Campaign, 1916-1950, 13 rolls, see especially rolls 6 and 7 for the torturous fight in which African Americans in Florida engaged to secure the franchise; Charles D. Farris, “Effects of Negro Voting Upon the Politics of the Southern City” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1953).

60. Caroline Emmons Poore, “Striking the First Blow: Harry T. Moore and the Fight for Black Equality in Florida,” (master’s thesis, Florida State University, 1992); Harry T. Goore, “Development and Activities of NAACP in Florida During 1945,” *Tampa Florida Sentinel*, January 12, 1946; Edward S. Porter to NAACP, September 29, 1942, *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 13, 670-72.

counties and secured positions as policemen in Daytona, Deland, Miami, Sanford, and Tampa.⁶¹

World War II had introduced thousands of black soldiers to Florida and in turn dispatched Floridians to the world. Never before had Floridians been exposed to so many new people and ideas. A cross fertilization followed. Black servicemen helped disseminate new ideas and introduced a new militancy at the local and state levels. Black troops, especially individuals reared in the North, railed against Jim Crow. Ironically, the military's failure to provide recreational facilities for blacks forced African Americans to make contacts at churches, fraternal orders, and bars. James McGovern maintained that black servicemen in Pensacola "made a special contribution to the beginnings of significant social and political change among local blacks." The community, for example, organized the Pensacola Improvement Association in 1942, an institution involved in the fight for civil rights.⁶²

African Americans emerged from the war with a tempered resolve never again to accept discrimination without protest. Sergeant Willie L. Lawrence, a student from Florida A&M College, wrote an essay, "Will We Still Be Denied," in which he concluded, "Democracy wake up and do not deny me any longer."⁶³ Spencer Griffin, Jr.'s, 1944 poem, "Our Fortitude," appears in the only extant issue of the *Pinellas Negro Weekly*: "We of the so-called Minority race/ Have often been told to stay in our place/ Our place in the world is wherever we choose/ Be an upright citizen we have nothing to lose."⁶⁴ Such individuals formed the new ranks of the civil rights movement nurtured by the war and the local, national, and

61. James R. McGovern, *The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola, 1900-1949* (DeLeon Springs, FL, 1976), 167; *Pensacola Journal*, May 15, 1943; *Tampa Daily Times*, December 2, 1941; *St. Petersburg Times*, December 2, 1941, July 21, 1947; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 10, 1944; *Pittsburgh Courier*; November 27, 1943, December 9, 1944, May 17, 1945; Council of Social Agencies, *Jacksonville Looks at its Negro Community: A Survey of Conditions Affecting the Negro Population in Jacksonville and Duval County, Florida* (Jacksonville, 1946), 84; *Atlanta Daily World*, August 27, 1942.

62. McGovern, *Emergence of a City in the Modern South*, 167. See also *St. Petersburg Times*, September 26, 1943; *Ocala Star-Banner*; September 19, 1943; *Tampa Daily Times*, June 26, 1943; *Cocoa Tribune*, January 21, 1943; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 15, 1944.

63. Willie L. Lawrence to White, October 3, 1943, *Papers of the NAACP*, roll 12, 806-07.

64. *Pinellas Negro Weekly*, October 8, 1944. Griffin was incinerator foreman at MacDill Air Field.

international forces for change that emanated from the conflict. The Second World War served as a seedbed for the modern civil rights movement.



African American soldiers during a drill at MacDill Field. Photograph reproduced from *Thunderbird: MacDill Field Quarterly* 1 (April 1943).

WOMEN AND WAR:
ST. PETERSBURG WOMEN DURING
WORLD WAR II

by ELLEN J. BABB

*“Rosie got a boyfriend, Charlie; He’s a marine. Rosie is protecting Charlie, Working overtime on the riveting machine.”*¹

DURING World War II, government agencies and private businesses recruited millions of American women for employment in wartime industries and in other nontraditional fields when the nation’s young men left for war. Government propaganda, national periodicals, and local newspapers worked in unison to promote female employment, and popular songs like “Rosie the Riveter” inspired allegiance on the home front. In a radical departure from previously sanctioned public behavior, older, married women— many with children— entered the country’s labor force en masse. Even though millions of women stepped well beyond previously accepted boundaries of home and “women’s sphere” during World War II, recruitment campaigns continued to define women’s new roles in domestic terms, reinforcing expectations that women would relinquish their wartime positions to veterans when peace returned.²

Meanwhile, at least “for the duration,” women worked in defense plants and in heavy industry to provide the military with necessary munitions and supplies. At the local level women entered administrative and business positions and ran family enterprises while their husbands, sons, lovers, and brothers engaged in military duty. Others served as nurses, clerks, secretaries, and transport pilots in the military and joined the newly formed “women’s branches” of the armed forces. To augment their roles as support personnel, women also volunteered in organizations like the Amer-

Ellen J. Babb is curator of education, Pinellas County Historical Museum, Largo, FL.

1. Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Time to the Present*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1983), 254.
2. *Ibid.*, 225-79; Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II* (Amherst, MA, 1984), 6-7.

ican Red Cross, rationed food and gas, bought war bonds, and planted victory gardens.³

This article focuses on the wartime experiences of women in St. Petersburg, Florida, to determine how the lives of individual women in this southern resort town compared with the lives of women nationwide during World War II. St. Petersburg is an interesting case study, given its unusual economic base and unique demographic makeup during these years of crisis.

With a population of more than 60,000, St. Petersburg lacked a solid industrial base when war broke out, relying on tourism and associated services for its economic survival. The city was spared total economic devastation when the War Department chose St. Petersburg as a site for training facilities. Local hotels, denied normal tourist occupancy, housed military trainees while city residents became civilian landlords, renting rooms and homes to military families and to workers who labored in Tampa's defense industries. St. Petersburg's resort image and its high percentage of middle-class retirees and winter residents provided a sharp contrast to the youthful, urban-industrial centers where so much of the research on women's wartime experiences has been focused to date.

In spite of these differences St. Petersburg women involved themselves in many of the same economic and volunteer activities as women in more industrial settings. In addition to taking jobs in traditionally "male fields" like automobile repair, welding, and city transit operations, St. Petersburg women commuted to jobs at defense plants in Tampa and, on occasion, left the area altogether to seek economic opportunities in states where the shortage of available male workers was particularly acute. Many other young women worked in family businesses or joined the Nurses Corps or new women's branches of the armed forces.

A strong racial caste system combined with the city's economic base to determine the scope of individual women's wartime experiences. White middle-class women experienced a great expansion of economic opportunities during the war years, prompting politically active women to demand recognition for their labor and

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3. Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York, 1989), 219, 222.
 4. Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Norfolk, VA, 1988), 299-303.

patriotic endeavors in the form of legal rights legislation. Meanwhile, the majority of black women remained sequestered in low paying, low status jobs. And, in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, families in the small Japanese American community that existed in St. Petersburg had their businesses closed and properties seized. They were denied any chance at economic advancement and suffered discrimination at the hands of their white neighbors.

Across racial lines St. Petersburg women shared a strong tradition of service in voluntary associations, and this was due in part to the large middle-class makeup of the city and the continuing influence of progressive Northerners who began making St. Petersburg their winter home in the early 1900s. Winter residents continued to play a leading role in wartime volunteer work in the city during the 1940s. Among white women, traditional church and civic organizations and women's clubs continued to flourish, but their services were augmented by new associations like the Defense Mothers and the Women's Volunteer Ambulance Corps. Black women also engaged in civil-defense activities and volunteer work in support of the war, but their efforts remained segregated from the activities of their white neighbors.

As in other cities across the nation, "women's work" remained the primary source of employment throughout the war years.⁵ Yet oral testimonies and select news features reveal a range of alternative occupational choices. Targeted advertising and fiction in national magazines, which resulted from cooperative efforts between the Office of War Information and magazine publishers, encouraged women to apply for positions in defense industries and other nontraditional fields. Under a patriotic veneer, the crafters of wartime propaganda continued to depict women's abilities in familiar feminine terms, stressing the need for women to work out of a sense of duty and not for any real personal satisfaction. On the home front and in the home women continued to play the role of "support staff."⁶

Locally, recruitment for many defense jobs traveled by word of mouth or through newspaper articles similar to the one written by Mr. R. M. Chase of the U.S. Employment Service (located in down-

5. Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter*, 22.

6. Mary Jo Buhle, review of *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II*, by Maureen Honey, *American Historical Review* 90 (October 1985), 1029.

town St. Petersburg). In one article, which appeared in the *St. Petersburg Times* on June 9, 1943, Chase informed women that Tomlinson Vocational School offered classes in machine shop, boat building, radio, and welding and that "women should take advantage of these courses in fitting themselves for a good-paying job." Yet Chase recognized that not all women would be able to find war work. Claiming that even "working in a laundry or dry-cleaning plant . . . [played] a big part in releasing some man for one of our vital war industries," he offered a now-familiar rationale for remaining within women's traditional sphere, an option forced upon many black women who took these low status jobs in the absence of any real opportunity elsewhere.⁷

For those with a choice, however, nontraditional employment often seemed more attractive. Mrs. V. M. Ellenberger and Selma Thomas were a mother-daughter team from St. Petersburg that answered the call for women welders. They worked the graveyard shift at the Tampa Shipbuilding Corporation, making the daily commute from their homes in St. Petersburg to Tampa. Like many housewives who found themselves employed for the first time during World War II, Mrs. Ellenberger cited civic duty as her reason for going to work. In a newspaper interview she proudly added that "if women can learn to be welders, there is nothing else they can't do."⁸

One thing they had to do was find new ways to balance family and work roles. Because the government viewed women's duty as temporary, it made few provisions to care for children or help with family services, and this lack of assistance saddled working mothers with additional burdens. One young woman, working as a welder in Tampa, sought affordable housing in St. Petersburg so that her children could live with her over the summer months. They lived with their grandmother in Winter Haven during the school year, presumably so they could continue their school work in a supervised, stable environment.⁹

While mothers sent children to be housed outside the city, St. Petersburg officials anxiously sought to attract adults, especially

7. *St. Petersburg Times*, June 6, 1943; Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York, 1986), 238-40.

8. *St. Petersburg Times*, March 28, 1943.

9. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1943.

men, to the city. As early as December 1941 an editorial in the *St. Petersburg Times* lamented “the loss of skilled workers to outside defense jobs because such employment [did] not exist at home for them.”¹⁰ City officials and local businessmen worried that in the absence of both tourists and defense contracts the local economy would collapse.

At first city leaders continued to promote St. Petersburg as a vacation resort, hoping to attract war workers who might need to “escape the grimness and worries of our country at war” by coming to a friendly resort where they “could condition themselves to meet the rigorous requirements of fighting and winning the greatest war in the world’s history.”¹¹ Despite the publicity and lobbying efforts of local officials, the city’s boardinghouses and hotels remained empty until June 1942 when the Army Air Corps arrived in St. Petersburg and leased almost every major hotel in the city. The number of servicemen training in St. Petersburg was so great (more than 100,000 Air Corps soldiers between June 1942 and July 1943) that tent cities were erected on public land to handle the overflow.¹²

The next boost to the local economy came in March 1943 when representatives of the War Manpower Commission approached the St. Petersburg Board of Realtors in hopes that St. Petersburg could provide housing for many of the defense workers employed in Tampa. Although Tampa expected an onslaught of some 5,000 new shipyard workers by July of that year, the commission would not authorize new housing in Tampa as long as surplus housing existed in St. Petersburg and Clearwater. Individual men and women rented rooms, homes, and apartments to defense workers and their families, and local realtors acted as brokers, submitting lists of available properties to the federal rental office located in the Chamber of Commerce building. Realtors and prospective landlords in turn received the names of workers and military personnel who needed housing.¹³

Evelyn Queen worked in her husband William’s insurance and real estate office during the war, and she remembers the high demand for housing. Her own specialty was insurance, a career

10. *Ibid.*, December 7, 1941.

11. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1942.

12. Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream*, 299.

13. *St. Petersburg Times*, March 16, 18, April 4, June 5, 1943.

she began after her husband was called up for service three times. Ultimately, William escaped the draft due to minor health irregularities, but the prospect that her husband might be drafted prompted Evelyn to train for and obtain her insurance license so that she could keep the family business running if William were called to war.

According to Evelyn, formal schooling did not exist locally for aspiring insurance agents. She remembers meeting with other "students" at the old Florida Power building on First Avenue South to share notes and learn from licensed agents already working in the field. She took the required course work through home correspondence courses. Evelyn obtained her insurance license and continued working in the family business until she retired in 1977. She went back to work part time after her husband's death the following year and remained actively employed in her late seventies.¹⁴

Many women, however, particularly those in traditionally male fields, realized that their employment was temporary and that they would be expected to return to their domestic duties once the war ended. A group of women aircraft mechanics (WAMs) at MacDill Field told a newspaper reporter that they not only expected to return home, but were looking forward to it. One woman said, "I'll be so glad when my husband comes home again. I love this work, but I want to make a home for my family."¹⁵ These women, including Dorothy Boyer and Emily Quirk of St. Petersburg, cleaned, repaired, and maintained airplanes at MacDill Field. Referred to as "girl grease-monkeys" by their male colleagues and crew chiefs, the women learned airplane mechanics by attending instructional classes at MacDill and then supplementing the formal course work with practical field experience. Their supervisors were initially skeptical of the "lipsticked mechanics" but in the end conceded that "the girl is eager to learn, capable of retaining what she has learned, and a thorough worker."¹⁶

For some young women wartime positions led to lifelong careers in the military as members of the women's branches of the Coast Guard (SPARs), Army (WAACs), Navy (WAVEs), Women's Air Force Service Pilots (WASPs), or Marines (MCWRs).¹⁷ News

14. Interview with Evelyn Queen, March 3, 1992, notes in author's possession.

15. *St. Petersburg Times*, April 18, 1943.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Evans, *Born for Liberty*, 222.

articles, magazines, and direct mail solicitations contained recruitment advertisements, and mobile units came to town to interview applicants. In January 1943 Navy-Coast Guard representatives visited Tampa in search of women "to fill the enlisted ratings and commissioned ranks available in the WAVEs and the SPARs."¹⁸ One recruiter came to St. Petersburg at the end of that ten-day campaign to meet with local women who were unable to make the trip to Tampa. The newspaper specified eligibility requirements: "Any woman from 20-36 is eligible to apply for an enlisted post . . . if she has two years of high school training, no children, and provided her husband isn't on duty in the same service."¹⁹

The first day the recruiting office was open more than 150 women came to City Hall to be interviewed, prompting recruiters to lengthen their stay by two days. Two months later the navy increased its quota for women recruits, and this time local club women offered their assistance as volunteer recruiters. In December 1943 the Army Air Corps staged an equally successful campaign in St. Petersburg. A highly publicized military parade featuring band members from Maxwell Field in Alabama preceded the event.²⁰

Flora E. Hamer of St. Petersburg was one of the first WAACs sworn in at MacDill Field. Although she was only commissioned as a second-cook, Flora made it clear that she intended to pursue a career in the army. "I wouldn't trade this for civilian life for anything," she said in a newspaper interview. "If there's still a standing Women's Army after the war is over, I expect to remain in it."²¹ Flora's story, accompanied by a photograph of her in uniform, was found in a feature of the *St. Petersburg Times* entitled "The Bugle Call." This regular column in the local newspaper reported on the military activities of the city's young white men and women. Information on black recruits and military trainees was not listed here but could be found in the weekly *Negro News Page* of the same newspaper.

When "The Bugle Call" first appeared in the paper in 1942, almost all of the photographs, news items, and features were about

18. *St. Petersburg Times*, January 5, 1943.

19. *Ibid.* At this time married couples could not serve in the same branch of the military. It was assumed that wives would give up their positions.

20. *Ibid.*, January 17, March 17, December 5, 1943.

21. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1943.

young men. But as mobilization efforts increased, more and more women were called to military service, and by 1943 young women like Edith “Shack” Shacklette and Lucille Brown commonly were the subjects of reports. These two young women joined the Nurse’s Corps, having previously pursued medical careers as civilians. Brown graduated with a nursing degree from St. Petersburg’s Mound Park Hospital Nursing School and served for five years as a supervisor at that hospital before reporting to Fort Benning, Georgia, to begin military duty. “Shack” was cited for bravery by General MacArthur and promoted as a result of her medical work in the Philippines. Between 1942 and 1944 the number of graduate nurses working in St. Petersburg dropped by 50 percent, as many women, like “Shack” and Lucille Brown, traded in their white caps for military blues and greens.²²

Dottie Moe, the reporter who wrote “The Bugle Call,” found that the field of journalism likewise afforded women new opportunities during the war due to the absence of male reporters and staff. In a speech before the St. Petersburg Kiwanis Club in March 1943, Moe remarked “how the call to war of male reporters had opened the field to women, and it [was] not unusual to see women news photographers and reporters covering everything from weddings to murders.”²³ Although middle-class white women experienced unprecedented access to new professions during World War II, even the most skillful were allowed to climb only so far. Most administrative and supervisory positions remained the enclave of white males, whether in newsrooms, hospitals, or factories.²⁴

The restraints on women’s occupational choices were perhaps sharpest in the armed forces. Women served as pilots during the war, but they invariably flew commercial airplanes or military transport planes instead of being involved in direct combat. In 1943 Mrs. Helen McBride of St. Petersburg Beach was an experienced pilot with numerous aviation awards and more than 1,000 hours of flying time to her credit. Military officials hired her as a civilian instructor to teach young pilots at Drew Field to fly bombing missions. Although she could hit targets with near-perfect

22. *Ibid.*, March 22, 1942, March 16, 1943; *Polk’s 1942 City Directory— St. Petersburg* (Richmond, 1942); *Polk’s 1944 City Directory— St. Petersburg* (Richmond, 1944).

23. *St. Petersburg Times*, March 17, 1943.

24. Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston, 1982), 87-88.

accuracy and was good enough to train over 300 young male pilots, McBride was never considered for combat duty.²⁵

Female entry into formerly male jobs on the civilian front meant confrontation with unions dominated by men. Here, at least, women had choices in how to respond. In March 1943 St. Petersburg municipal transit authorities hired eleven women to work as city bus and trolley operators. Demands on the city's mass transportation system had skyrocketed due to gas rationing programs and military transportation needs, and transit officials were forced to find drivers for the city's six new buses. Although women in other cities had been working as transit operators since World War I, the civil service commission in St. Petersburg had to amend its by-laws so that women could be hired legally for these positions. Interestingly, the first women were hired in the midst of a labor dispute between city officials and male operators demanding union recognition, overtime pay, and increased benefits.²⁶

The women evoked suspicion from both male supervisors, who initially questioned their capabilities, and from male colleagues, who wondered what stand the women would take in the labor dispute. The women succeeded in calming supervisors' fears long before the end of their probationary period. James Gibson, director of city transit, told a newspaper reporter that the women operators were as efficient (more efficient, in some cases) than the average male operator. The proficient manner in which they handled new responsibilities paved the way for the city to add women to the personnel roster in the following months.²⁷

The newspaper reported that at least some of the new female employees joined the union their first week at work. Although city officials claimed that the women were not brought in as strike breakers, the timing of their employment makes such motives somewhat suspect. At any rate, city officials must have been at least a little surprised to see how quickly the women chose sides.²⁸

When the union marshaled nearly 100 percent solidarity in demanding recognition, the votes of women union members were counted with those cast by men. The transit workers' labor dispute ended early in April 1943 with both city officials and union repre-

25. Evans, *Born for Liberty*, 222. Also *St. Petersburg Times*, June 20, 1943.

26. *St. Petersburg Times*, March 7, June 19, 1943.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

sentatives making concessions. Hourly pay did not increase, but the city reluctantly agreed to an overtime rate of time and a half. Operators had complained about working a seven-day week, and under the new agreement workers were given one full day off a week. Whether the city ultimately recognized the union is not clear.²⁹

Prostitutes benefitted during the war due to heightened demands for service. Although headlines in the *Tampa Tribune* relating to prostitution, "red light districts," and venereal disease in that city were commonplace, the *St. Petersburg Times* remained largely silent about these issues.³⁰ Since prostitution clearly existed in the city, the reasons behind this omission are uncertain. Perhaps prostitution was less visible in St. Petersburg than in Tampa. This may have been a function of military assignment policies. Service men were stationed at bases in Tampa on a semi-permanent basis, but recruits only spent four to six weeks in St. Petersburg training camps. Supervision of trainees was typically much stricter than the oversight of commissioned men, and trainees had less "leisure time." Alternately, the real difference between the two cities might have consisted of newspaper editors and city officials in St. Petersburg who consciously buried information in attempting to protect the city's middle-class family resort image.

As women found themselves on more equal footing with men in the work place and as partners on the homefront, they used their new public roles to fight for legal equality. Florida laws pertaining to married women's legal status were antiquated, and a young female legislator from St. Petersburg, Mary Lou Baker, made the revision of these laws and other women's issues her primary concern after she was elected to the Florida House of Representatives in 1942. Baker announced her fitness to run for political office in rhetoric reminiscent of that used by some feminists to claim women's moral superiority over men in the public arena: "Women have done, are doing, and will continue to do excellent work for defense. A study of legislation in Congress during the past will show that in the introduction, support, and enactment of

29. *Ibid.*, March 6, April 9, 1943; *Polk's 1944 City Directory— St. Petersburg*. The Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America— Local 1329— did not appear in the St. Petersburg city directory the following year.

30. Dawn Truax, "Victory Girls and Social Protection in World War II Tampa," in *Florida at War*, ed. Lewis N. Wynne (St. Leo, FL, 1993), 29-48.

progressive humane legislation, women members have about four times as much per member to their credit as have the men.”³¹

Baker was elected by her constituents in Pinellas County and served as the only female legislator in the 1943 Florida legislative session. She was only the second female legislator to serve in the Florida House of Representatives. Reelected for a second term in 1944, Baker served on the education committee, public health committee, and as chair of the women’s rights committee. Colleagues remember her for a series of women’s bills that she initiated and helped pass during her tenure.³²

In 1943 Baker authored what was commonly referred to as the “married women’s emancipation bill.” In this powerful piece of legislation married women in Florida, for the first time, were given the right to “transact their own business, to sue and be sued, and the right to contract and be contracted with.”³³ Known as House Bill 275, the law passed during the 1943 legislative session, its advocates’ case reinforced by the fact that so many women were running family businesses and engaging in new economic endeavors to fill the voids created by husbands who went to war.³⁴

Baker’s efforts to secure a Florida women’s jury service bill during the 1943 session were less successful. Arguments from Baker’s opponents indicate the high level of paternalism toward women despite their proven capabilities in the public arena during World War II. Even as government and private industry stepped up efforts to recruit women into the work place, male legislators argued that women were best suited for the domestic sphere. Making sure they stayed there, they claimed, was not only in the best interest of society, but was also in women’s best interests.³⁵

Fighting for legal equality was a long-term goal; supporting the fighting men abroad demanded more immediate attention from most women. Even those who did not enter the work force

31. *St. Petersburg Times*, March 4, 11, 1942.

32. Mary Carolyn Ellis and Joanne V. Hawks, “Creating a Different Pattern: Florida’s Women Legislators, 1928-1986,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (July 1987), 68-72; Biographies of Members of 1945 Florida House, *Florida Highways* 13 (April 1945), 29.

33. Mary Lou Baker, “The Divorce Traffic, Its Causes and Cure,” *Florida Law Journal* 13 (January 1939), 13-17.

34. *St. Petersburg Times*, March 21, June 6, 1943; *Laws of Florida 1943*, 484.

35. *St. Petersburg Times*, April 22, 1943.

contributed to the war effort by following Civil Defense guidelines in rationing food, gas, and other materials, by planting victory gardens and buying war bonds, and by becoming involved in volunteer activities. St. Petersburg had a long history of middle-class female volunteerism, and during the war traditional women's organizations like the YWCA, League of Women Voters, American Red Cross, and American Association of University Women, as well as numerous women's auxiliaries of church and civic associations continued to serve the community and engage in social networking. In addition, new organizations like the Defense Mothers, Bomb-a-Dears, Women's Volunteer Ambulance Corps, United Services Organization (USO), and Service Wives increased the options available to women interested in nonpaid war work.

The details of women's teas, weddings, and club meetings continued to dominate the women's pages of the local newspaper, but they were augmented with descriptions of the very real sacrifices women were making on the homefront. Special features depicted club women engaged in new forms of volunteerism, particularly those involved with war support. In December 1942 the *St. Petersburg Times* promoted YWCA-sponsored "airplane identification" classes in which young men and women trained to serve as "airplane spotters" in their communities. The high school Service Club of the YWCA— comprised of 235 young women— also sponsored classes in first-aid, made recreational items, collected books for soldiers, offered mending services to enlisted men, and entertained soldiers at the maritime training center in Bayboro Harbor.³⁶

A socially accepted venue through which white, middle-class women met soldiers was the junior affiliates of the Defense Mothers organization. These were the Bomb-a-Dears, the Brig-a-Dears, and the Avi-Aides. The largest and most popular of the three appears to have been the Bomb-a-Dears, which had more than 400 members in 1943. The club had its own weekly column in the *St. Petersburg Times* and held dances, dinner parties, and other forms of entertainment for the soldiers. Before they were eligible to volunteer with this service organization, young women were required to present references attesting to their moral character. Most of

36. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1942, January 24, 1943

the new recruits came from local high schools and the junior college.³⁷

The Defense Mothers were the real-life mothers of these young women, and they planned and chaperoned the group's activities. These included weekly dances at the beach for the military men from MacDill Air Base and nightly (except Sunday) dances at the men's center on the second floor of the Pier. The Army Band, the WPA orchestra, and the jukebox provided music for these soirees. Some of the "junior hostesses" also volunteered at the military hospital, formerly the Don Ce Sar Hotel, on Pass-a-Grille Beach.³⁸

A year earlier Pinellas County probation officer Al Rogero requested that children under the age of sixteen be placed on a 10 P.M. curfew in an effort to curb an upswing of juvenile delinquency. Of grave concern to Rogero was the fact that he was "having considerable trouble with girls under 14 dating soldiers."³⁹ Once this behavior came under the control of upper- and middle-class matrons, the social stigma associated with young middle-class women entertaining soldiers diminished.

For some St. Petersburg women, social encounters with soldiers led to marriage. Harriett Jones was in her late twenties when the Army Air Corps set up camp in St. Petersburg. As a customer service representative in the Florida Power Company billing department, Harriett's job was to turn on the power in the major hotels leased by the military. From her office window in downtown St. Petersburg, Harriett watched a daily parade of servicemen march and drill on city streets. Divorced and with a six-year-old child, Harriett remembers that the soldiers brought an aura of excitement to the otherwise sleepy resort town where she had grown up.

Harriett and a friend joined the local branch of the USO and were "regulars" at the Saturday night orchestra dances at the Pier. Officers and enlisted men met young women there with whom they could dance and talk. As much as Harriett enjoyed these social encounters, she recalls that all was not fun and games. There were strict regulations surrounding membership in the USO. Although women were not chaperoned, they were forbid-

37. *Ibid.*, January 1, March 24, 1943.

38. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1943.

39. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1942.

den to arrive at or leave the dances with a soldier. The women had to be at least eighteen years of age, and they had to commit to entertaining the men at least one other night a week in order to be permitted to attend the glamorous Saturday night dances. Week nights at the men's center on the Pier were fairly uneventful. The only music on these nights blared through the speakers of a jukebox, and entertainment usually consisted of cards, darts, and ping-pong.

During one of these "boring" evenings Harriett encountered her future husband, George Montague. They met in June 1942 and were still dating in July 1943 when the military transferred George to Keesler Army Air Base in Mississippi. A month later Harriett and George were married in Gulfport, Mississippi. Shortly thereafter they transferred to California and then to Yuma, Arizona, where they lived for the duration of the war. In Yuma, Harriett worked as a switchboard operator and a bookkeeper. For the first two years of their marriage Harriett's daughter stayed with her mother in St. Petersburg, and after the war Harriett and George returned to the city and made it their permanent home.⁴⁰

A wartime romance also led to wedding bells for Sophia "Yi" Roberts. Her story also illustrates the degree to which many winter residents participated in volunteer activities in their "second" home. Yi was a twenty-one year old living in St. Petersburg Beach when war broke out in December 1941. Although she and her family were permanent residents of New Jersey, they involved themselves in volunteer war work during the winter months they spent in St. Petersburg. Yi and her father, Walter Roberts, volunteered with the Civil Defense to be "plane watchers" and air-raid wardens. Security along the beach was particularly tight, and the Roberts's and their neighbors alternated shifts as they watched for incoming enemy planes over the vast waters of the Gulf of Mexico and Boca Ciega Bay.

In December 1941 Yi went back to New Jersey to spend the Christmas holidays at her family's home there. When she returned in January, many of her friends in St. Petersburg were joining the Women's Volunteer Ambulance Corps, and Yi decided to join as well. Comprised of approximately 120 young local women who trained two to three nights a week, the corps was established in St.

40. Interview with Harriett Montague, March 25, 1992, notes in author's possession.

Petersburg and elsewhere as a civilian defense measure. In the event of an emergency, these women could be activated to staff first aid stations established throughout the city.⁴¹

With these objectives in mind, the women learned first aid, map reading, riflery, morse code, and basic automobile mechanics. Most of the training was held outdoors, but Yi was particularly fond of the automobile mechanics classes held in downtown garages like Adcock Motor Company. She had always been mechanically inclined, so she was well ahead of the rest of the class when it came to changing oil and rotating tires. Most of the other women in her class were learning these skills for the first time.⁴²

On weekends Yi and her friends entertained soldiers who drove from Tampa for rest and recreation. They invited the young men to Yi's parents' beach house to swim, sail, and have outdoor barbecues "as friends, only." One of these young men was from Ocean City, New Jersey. His name was Joe Daily, and he and Yi were married in January 1943.⁴³

In her analysis of women during World War II, D'Ann Campbell found the rate of wartime volunteerism among black women nationally to be very low.⁴⁴ This was clearly not the case in St. Petersburg where black wives, mothers, and daughters supported the war effort through volunteer work in their own community every bit as much as white women in more affluent neighborhoods. Yet, racial segregation limited their roles. Local branches of the Red Cross, YWCA, and other community-wide volunteer organizations remained staunchly segregated throughout the war.

Their activities, conducted within the boundaries of St. Petersburg's African American community, included planting victory gardens, bond drives, Red Cross training, patriotic teas, and USO work. The husbands and sons of these women, serving in segregated combat and training units, fought for equality abroad in the hopes of having it at home. In the local black community, where some 2,000 blacks enlisted for service, the "black war effort was a great source of pride."⁴⁵

41. Interview with Sophia Daily, February 27, 1992, notes in author's possession.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge, 1984), 69.

45. Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream*, 303.

Rosalie Peck was twelve years old when recruiters came to St. Petersburg's all-black Gibbs High School with their "jaunty caps and leather strap bags."⁴⁶ Although Rosalie was too young to enlist, her older sister Theo signed up, and the military assigned her to a base in Tucson, Arizona. For their part, Rosalie and her classmates brought nickels and dimes to school to fill stamp books which were then traded for war bonds. Encouraged by school teachers and parents, they collected aluminum pots and pans for community salvage drives. One of Rosalie's favorite pastimes was identifying planes as they flew overhead on their way to or from MacDill Field. Citrus trees grew in the Peck's backyard, and on Sunday afternoons Rosalie's mother, who worked as a maid, baked cakes and made fresh lemonade for the young black soldiers who stopped to visit on their way to weekend activities at Jordan park.⁴⁷

Some middle-class black women participated in more formal types of war work. Mrs. Fannye Mae Ponder served as president of the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs from 1942 to 1946. Ponder was an active St. Petersburg club woman whose husband, Dr. James Maxie Ponder, had the distinction of being recognized the first physician to the black community, a position he assumed in 1926. During World War II, Dr. Ponder supervised physical exams for black army recruits. For her part in the war effort, Fannye traveled all over Florida selling war bonds. According to Ponder's son Ernest, she sold \$85,000 worth of bonds in St. Petersburg's black community alone.⁴⁸

Despite the fact that black women were expected to share equally in the sacrifices demanded by war, there were significant discrepancies in the types of employment opportunities available to blacks as opposed to their white counterparts.⁴⁹ Although national and local research points to qualitative increases in the jobs open to white women, the economic choices available to the majority of St. Petersburg's black women were similar to those existing before the war. The realities of life in this segregated, race-conscious city meant that African American women—married or single—continued to work menial, low-paying jobs in order to pro-

46. Interview with Rosalie Peck, January 25, 1994, notes in author's possession.

47. Ibid. Opened in April 1940 with monies allocated through the 1937 Wagner-Steagall Housing Act, Jordan Park was St. Petersburg's first federal housing project. Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream*, 270-72.

48. Interview with Ernest Ponder, April 10, 1992, notes in author's possession.

49. Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 76.

vide basic necessities for their families. Only one of the seven black women interviewed remembered knowing anyone who left town to secure new employment during the war.⁵⁰

Another group of minority women living in St. Petersburg at this time experienced even more severe restrictions in their personal lives and economic opportunities. A small Japanese American community existed in St. Petersburg at the time of America's entry into war. These Japanese Americans suffered dramatic personal losses as a result of wartime hysteria. The fear of enemy invasion was very real in coastal areas such as St. Petersburg, and security along the beaches became very tight. The Civil Defense recruited volunteers to watch for incoming planes from the towers of local hotels, and "dim-outs" at night were enforced to prevent enemy ships from seeing either the shoreline or allied ships.⁵¹

A hostile atmosphere of suspicion and fear within St. Petersburg resulted in the closure of local Japanese businesses, seizure of the owners' properties, and abrogation of their constitutional liberties. The situation of Aiko Sone, a native-born Japanese American woman, illuminates the predicament of these individuals in the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor.

Aiko owned the Sone Gift Shop on Second Street and First Avenue North in downtown St. Petersburg. On December 8, 1941, one day after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, local law enforcement officers and federal customs agents, in cooperation with the FBI, raided the Sone Gift Shop and neighboring Nikko Inn, owned by S. Noro Tsotaneguchi, Shoi Goto, and Iso Tanyguchi. The raids, ordered by the foreign property control officer in Atlanta, M. L. Smith, were authorized under the Trade Emergency Act. Police seized all cash and business records and padlocked the doors of the two businesses. Signs bolted to the front and back doors read: "This property is under control of the U.S. Government. All persons are hereby prohibited from entering the premises under penalty of law. Signed: H. Morganthau Jr., Secretary of the Treasury."⁵²

50. St. Petersburg city directories and newspaper classified advertisements provided ample evidence that most local black women continued to find work primarily as laundresses, domestics, cooks, and in other low-paying jobs in service industries.

51. Melody Bailey, "The Yellow Peril in St. Petersburg During WWII" (seminar paper, University of South Florida, December 1989), 7.

52. *Ibid.*, 8-10.

On December 18 Aiko Sone was allowed to reopen her business, but she and her compatriots continued to live under severe restrictions. Their bank accounts and assets remained frozen, they were forced to live off designated allowances from their business profits, and they were forbidden to leave the city. The *St. Petersburg Times* reported that many of the Japanese women felt threatened and were afraid to leave their homes, and the men also complained of abuse at the hands of white neighbors.⁵³

Because of the manpower shortage during World War II, many American women obtained a wide range of opportunities in traditionally "male fields" during the early and mid 1940s. The paths taken by women in St. Petersburg ran a parallel course. It made no difference that St. Petersburg was without both large war contracts and the types of industry that "Rosie the Riveter" most often found in larger urban settings. St. Petersburg women worked in neighborhood gas stations as auto mechanics, rented out rooms, managed family businesses, operated buses and trolleys, and did whatever else needed to be done to keep the homefront secure for their families and community. This included commuting to jobs in war industries in nearby Tampa, enlisting in the military, as well as participating in volunteer activities that directly supported the war effort. Race was a determining factor in the allocation of employment opportunities, and white women fared far better than black women both in the number and quality of jobs available to them.

The social realities of the Cold War era that followed largely negated advances women made in the public arena during the war years. Once the war crisis abated and their services were no longer needed, women were asked to return to "female-type" jobs in the mushrooming sales and clerical sectors of the economy and to leave their new-found freedoms and higher wages behind. Propaganda used to recruit married women with great fanfare during the war now encouraged married women to return home and embrace familiar stereotyped roles. Black women had no choice but to continue working, and most often they clung to the bottom rungs of the economic ladder, employed as laundresses and maids in private homes.

For a time the majority of American women resigned themselves to the restrictive roles prescribed for them in the postwar

53. *Ibid.*, 11; *St. Petersburg Times*, December 10, 1941.

years. Yet especially in tourist and service-oriented cities, demands for women's skills would quickly draw women back into the labor force. Then, memories of wartime gains and discontent with the new status quo would lead women toward a new battlefield in the 1960s and 1970s to resume the fight for economic and legal equality.

THE OTHER SIDE NOW: WHAT BLANDING PRISONERS OF WAR TOLD THE WEHRMACHT

by ROBERT D. BILLINGER, JR.

FIFTY years after the arrival of German prisoners of war in Florida their story is still little known.¹ Admittedly their presence was minimal since only about 4,000 out of the 378,000 German prisoners who spent time in America were detained in the state. Florida was one of forty-five states with POWs, and the base camp

Robert D. Billinger, Jr., is professor of history, Wingate College, Wingate, North Carolina. He presented a version of this article at the 1993 Florida Historical Society meeting in Pensacola. The author wishes to thank Lewis N. Wynne and Eliot Kleinberg for their assistance with this paper.

1. The Florida POW story was the focus of Robert D. Billinger, Jr., "With the Wehrmacht in Florida: The German POW Facility at Camp Blanding, 1942-1946," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 58 (October 1979), 160-73, recently republished in *Florida at War*, ed. Lewis N. Wynne (St. Leo, FL, 1993), and the subject of several reminiscences appearing in Florida newspapers: Bill Bond, "Residents Recall Days of POWs in Camp Near Leesburg," *Orlando Sentinel*, October 15, 1986, and Jerard Thornton, "WWII POW Returns to See Campsite," *Clewiston News*, December 31, 1986. As a result of the massive publication of studies supported by the German government in the 1970s and the declassification of American documents at about the same time, the story of German POWs in America has only been told in detail in the last twenty years. See particularly Herman Jung, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in amerikanischer Hand, USA* [German Prisoners of War in American Hands, USA] (Munich, 1972). This is volume X/1 of a massive twenty-two-volume series, Erich Maschke, ed., *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des Zweiten Weltkrieges* prepared by the Wissenschaftliche Kommission für deutsche Kriegsgefangenengeschichte established in 1957 with the assistance of the Federal Republic of Germany. For an evaluation of this series see Jake W. Spidle, "Axis Prisoners of War in the United States, 1942-1946: A Bibliographical Essay," *Military Affairs* 39 (April 1975), 62-63. Excellent studies in English include Edward J. Pluth, "The Administration and Operation of German Prisoner of War Camps in the United States during World War II" (Ph.D. diss., Ball State University, 1970); Judith M. Gansberg, *Stalag, U.S.A.: The Remarkable Story of German POWs in America* (New York, 1977); and Arnold Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War in America* (New York, 1979). Some recent studies of individual camps, regional POW employment, and German memoir literature include Allen V. Koop, *Stark Decency: German Prisoners of War in a New England Village* (Hanover, NH, 1988); James E. Fickle and Donald W. Ellis, "POWs in the Piney Woods: German Prisoners of War in the Southern Lumber Industry, 1943-1945," *Journal of Southern History* 56 (November 1990), 695-724, and Helmut Homer, *A German Odyssey: The Journal of a German Prisoner of War*, trans. and ed. Allan Kent Powell (Golden, CO, 1991).

at Camp Blanding, with its fifteen side camps, was only one of 155 base camps in the continental United States.²

Yet the experiences of German prisoners of war in Florida provide insight into the American handling of these Germans during World War II. Equally important, this story illuminates how prisoners coped with the hard realities of incarceration. This essay explores these dimensions, with special attention to how the ideological and political perspectives of internees influenced their stay in Florida.

What has been missing in scholarly works to date has been information about the views of German POWs. The most important reason for this lacuna has been the problem of access to relevant documents. Without written permission from former prisoners, the German military archives will release no materials regarding specific prisoners from its vast stock of oral and written interviews with former POWs.³

But German public records are generally declassified thirty years after the events that generated them.⁴ Thus materials taken in wartime judicial proceedings are now becoming available to researchers. One such set of proceedings are the inquiries of the Armed Forces Research Office for Injuries to International Law. This legal research branch of the German Supreme Command was set up in September 1939 to investigate war crimes by enemy military and civilians against members of the German armed forces and to investigate allegations from abroad regarding the German military.⁵

2. Billinger, "Wehrmacht in Florida," 160-61; Jung, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen*, 24; Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War*, 28. There were 551 branch camps in the United States.

3. This was the author's experience based on visits to the National Archives, Modern Military Branch, Washington, DC, and with the staff of the German Federal Military Archives (Bundesarchiv, Militärarchiv, Freiburg) The latter explained that the numerous oral and written interviews conducted by the Scientific Commission for the History of the German Prisoners of War (Wissenschaftliche Kommission für deutsche Kriegsgefangenengeschichte)— excerpts of which have been published in the multivolume work published by the Commission as noted in footnote 1— can normally only be used thirty years after the death of the source. See *Hinweise für Benutzer des Bundesarchives-Militärarchiv in Freiburg* [Information for Users of the Federal Archives-Military Archive in Freiburg].

4. See *Hinweise für Benutzer*, as cited above.

5. Alfred M. de Zayas, *Die Wehrmacht-Untersuchungsstelle: Deutsche Ermittlungen über alliierte Völkerrechtsverletzungen im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Munich, 1980).

Repatriated prisoners of war gave information to this office. Former prisoners released from American hands responded briefly in writing to questions on a form entitled "Report regarding the treatment experienced in British or American prisoner of war camps."⁶ In some cases repatriated prisoners were asked to provide notarized testimony to supplement the cursory information supplied on these forms. These elaborations are particularly helpful in illuminating the German perspective on America's POW program.

Four German POWs housed at the army prisoner of war compound at Camp Blanding between November 1943 and February 1944 filled out comprehensive reports on their experiences. They were repatriated to Germany in an exchange of wounded prisoners in March 1944.⁷ Their observations about Camp Blanding are available because the Wehrmacht found enough useful information in the answers given on the summary questionnaires to seek additional testimony from them.

Information they gave to the German military provides a German perspective on some of the violent conflicts within the camps that occurred early in the German POW experience in America. Such conflicts erupted at Camp Blanding in November and December 1943. These developments revealed both the fragility of American military control in the early years of stateside camps and the factions existing among Germans in some of the camps that made the segregation of various sorts of German prisoners absolutely necessary. This separation, more importantly, disclosed the diversity of opinion within Germany during the Nazi era. Hitler's totalitarian society, the Wehrmacht testimonies prove, worked hard but unsuccessfully to induce complete conformity within its own ranks.

Many American military officers were either ignorant of or cared too little about this reality. Despite warnings from the Provost Marshal General's office, camp commanders focused on the successful use of prisoners in work projects related to camp and civilian contracts and often let internal discipline within the camps

6. These materials are in the Bundesarchiv, Militärarchiv, Bestand: RW2/v. 109, Freiburg, Germany. They are entitled Oberkommando der Wehrmacht Wehrmachtuntersuchungsstelle für Verletzungen des Völkerrechts, USA, Kriegsverstöße gegen Kriegsgefangenen in den Lagern. Lager: Blanding.

7. Ibid.

take care of itself. As the experience of Camp Blanding demonstrated, the dangers facing German soldiers did not cease when they entered American camps.

The Wehrmacht's interrogation of repatriated Blanding prisoners disclosed the story of an odyssey only possible in an age of world wars. This journey took four wounded men from capture by the British in Tunisia in May 1943 to American custody in Oran, Algeria, and then by boat from Casablanca, Morocco, to Boston, Massachusetts. They traveled by train to Aliceville, Alabama, and later to Camp Blanding in Starke, Florida. Finally, repatriation came by way of Hallaron General Hospital in New York, passage to Barcelona, Spain, then transfer to Marseilles, France, and home to Germany in March 1944.⁸ The experiences these soldiers encountered along the way have remained part of German memories over the last fifty years.

Documents stemming from an inspection of Camp Blanding in the fall of 1943 by a representative of the Provost Marshal's office provide a portrait of this newly created German army detention center in Florida. When Captain Edward C. Shannahan of the Provost Marshal General's office arrived on December 26, 1943, to inspect the army compound at the German POW installation, the duty officer expressed great relief.⁹ Shannahan soon realized that he had stumbled into a very tense situation. Major Woodruff Lowman, the former prison officer at the post, had just taken over command of the POW compound. His predecessor had been relieved of duty on December 24 because of problems with the prisoners. Lowman had no familiarity with the rules of the Geneva Convention or with handling prisoners of war, and he was forced to take over the new army POW compound at a time of great unrest.

A riot had occurred on December 22 resulting in the removal of thirty prisoners for their own protection. Agitators within the compound had instituted a "reign of terror." "Flying squads roamed about the compound armed with clubs, threatening the lives of any other men who were so-called traitors." Over the next

8. *Ibid.*

9. Captain Edward C. Shannahan, Report of Incidents Occurring at Camp Blanding, December 22-30, 1943, filed with Record of Visit to Camp Blanding, December 26-29, 1943, RG 389, box 2656, Modern Military Branch, National Archives (hereinafter, MMB).

several days clusters of two or three prisoners requested that they be removed from the stockade. Removal of two more during the daily count at 6:00 P.M. on Christmas Day caused such a disturbance that guards were forced to use tear gas. The gas grenades were not accurately placed, and POWs were able to bury them while shouting "Sieg." At 10:30 P.M. Major Lowman instructed the officer of the day to remove the German spokesman and eight other leaders and to place them in several cells in the garrison prison.¹⁰ Finally, guards segregated about sixty-five Germans from the rest.

Such problems were not unique to Camp Blanding; the first years of the German POW experience in America saw numerous disturbances of a similar nature.¹¹ Problems proliferated with the creation of new German army compounds in late 1943. These new camps were designed to disperse the increasingly large number of German prisoners arriving in the United States and to provide labor on American military reservations where the draft had depleted civilian work staffs.¹² The number of German prisoners escalated from 990 in January 1943 to 12,300 by December because of the capture of the Afrika Korps in Tunisia in May 1943.¹³

Of the 378,000 German POWs in the United States during World War II, 135,000 were captured in North Africa.¹⁴ These men— as was seen at Camp Blanding— were among the toughest, most nationalistic, and ultimately most troublesome for American authorities. They viewed later arrivals suspiciously, calling them "punks" and "cowards."¹⁵ Yet even the Afrika Korps had dissenters in its midst, and this was the cause of violence in the opening days of the Camp Blanding experience.

The German army compound at Camp Blanding, eight miles east of Starke, opened on November 5, 1943, to hold 1,000 Afrika

10. Ibid. The soldiers were later removed to a hut outside the garrison prison. Shannahan ordered this because placing prisoners in cells for criminals contravened the Geneva Convention.

11. Gansberg, *Stalag, U.S.A.*, 47-63.

12. Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War*, 79.

13. Pluth, "Administration and Occupation," 123-24; Major General Archer L. Lerch, "The Army Reports on Prisoners of War," *American Mercury* 60 (May 1945), 546.

14. Jung, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen*, 8.

15. Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War*, 162-63, 169; Interview with David Forshay, former American guard at Aliceville and the Camp Blanding branch camp at Clewiston, West Palm Beach, FL, May 29, 1978, notes in author's possession.

Korps men.¹⁶ On that day the compound received 250 prisoners from Aliceville, Alabama, and 250 prisoners from Opelika, Alabama. By August 1945 it held 1,472 prisoners and was the base camp for about 5,000 more men held in fifteen branch camps throughout Florida. Each camp held 250 to 300 men.¹⁷ Shortly thereafter, one of the prisoners, Alfred Paschke, called the men together and told them that he was going to run the camp. He insisted that POWs do as little work as possible, try to destroy U.S. government property without getting caught, and “ride” the sick report.¹⁸

Real trouble at the compound started after an additional 500 men (again 250 from Aliceville and 250 from Opelika) arrived on

16. There had been a naval prisoner of war compound located at Blanding since September 24, 1942. It held the first contingent of captured German sailors—fourteen U-Boat prisoners rescued when their submarine was sunk off the U.S. coast. The Blanding naval compound was the first of four naval internment facilities in the United States. See John Hammond Moore, *The Faustball Tunnel: German POWs in America and Their Great Escape* (New York, 1978), 109. Even before the naval compound, there had been a temporary camp during the summer of 1942 for German civilians in various Latin American countries. Later, these civilians—some of them German-Jews—were moved to more permanent internment quarters in Texas, Oklahoma, and North Carolina. See Willy C. Bruppacher, Report of Visit to Camp Blanding, March 26, 1942, Department of German Interests, Swiss Legation, file 254, box 405, RG 389, MMB. See file 254, 311.7, 383.7, box 405, RG 389, MMB for requests made by Blanding officials to the Provost Marshal’s office for forwarding mail to former Blanding internees at the new camps.

17. In August 1945 Blanding’s branch camps included facilities at Leesburg, Winter Haven, Dade City, White Springs, Clewiston, Kendall (Miami), Drew Field (near Tampa), MacDill Field (Tampa), Orlando, Venice, Page Field (Fort Myers), Belle Haven, Belle Glade, Jacksonville, and Daytona Beach. See Semi-Monthly Report on Prisoners of War, August 1945, tab 116, in Provost Marshal General’s office, Prisoner of War Division, “Prisoner of War Operations,” unpublished monograph, historical mss. file, Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, Washington 1945, now available on microfilm through the Library of Congress. Later facilities were located briefly at Green Cove Springs and Banana River Naval Air Station (near Melbourne), and Melbourne. See War Prisoners’ Aid of the World Committee of YMCA to Department of State, December 19, 1945, file 711.62114 IR/12-1945, RG 59, Department of State, National Archives, Washington. In the western part of the state a separate base camp was established at Camp Gordon Johnston (near Carrabelle), with three branch camps at Eglin Field (near Crestview), Dale Mabry Field (on the outskirts of Tallahassee), and Telogia. See monthly state list of POW camps, July 1945, general file, RG 389, MMB.

18. Report of Captain Jadie H. Brown, December 30, 1943, enclosed with Shannah, Report of Visit to Camp Blanding.



German prisoners listening to the radio, Camp Blanding, 1943. *Photograph courtesy National Archives, Washington.*

November 12. According to one American officer, "It seemed that all of the 250 from Aliceville were either wounded or trouble makers."¹⁹ On November 15 a strike of all but about fifty men occurred. Its leaders, including Paschke, claimed that their work around the Camp Blanding military reservation was contrary to the Geneva Convention because it assisted the war effort. Despite explanations from the camp's commanding general that the required work was not contrary to the Convention, difficulties continued.

On December 7 Paschke, identified as a trouble maker by American authorities, was transferred to another prisoner of war camp. His followers, however, continued work slowdowns and threatened prisoners who did their work well. Tensions finally led to the riot on December 22, the removal of threatened prisoners, and the segregation of the most troublesome of the German leaders on December 25.²⁰

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

Captain Shannahan confronted this situation when he arrived at Camp Blanding on the evening of December 26, 1943. In interviews with German prisoners, Shannahan learned the essence of their complaints. They centered on a Camp Blanding “no work, no eat” policy and the claim that the sixty-five Germans segregated from their comrades by the Americans were traitors. This latter assertion stemmed from a letter the POWs had found from one of their fellow inmates to a captain in the French Foreign Legion. In the letter the “traitor” requested his release so that he might once again fight for France against the Nazis. The writer explained that he had been forced to leave Germany early in Hitler’s reign and had fought in the French Foreign Legion until the fall of France. Placed in a concentration camp by the Germans, he was later inducted into the German army in lieu of staying in the camp. He escaped to the Allied side shortly thereafter.²¹

Shannahan concluded that German suspicions were exaggerated and that probably only one or two real anti-Nazis were to be found in the camp. The balance of the sixty-five soldiers who had asked to be segregated for their own protection probably had rebelled only against the actions of their leaders. Shannahan therefore suggested to Blanding’s commanding officer that the 4th Service Command in Atlanta issue orders transferring Nazi agitators to a special camp in Alva, Oklahoma. Anti-Nazis were to be transferred to Camp McCain in Mississippi.²²

21. Shannahan, Report of Visit to Camp Blanding.

22. *Ibid.* A letter of January 4, 1944, from the Blanding POW commander requested that the War Department transfer thirty-seven men because their lives were threatened in the December 22 riot. See W. H. Lowman to assistant chief of staff, G-2, War Department General Staff, January 4, 1944, subject file, 1942-46, box 2476, Enemy POW Information Branch, RG 389, MMB. A note enclosed with this document indicated that the prisoners were delivered to Camp McCain, Mississippi on January 26, 1944. See A. R. Tiedgen, WOJG, U.S.A., Adjutant to Provost Marshal General, Washington, DC, January 27, 1944. A Department of State official, visiting the camp in early April with representatives from the International Red Cross Committee and the Swiss Legation confirmed that thirty-nine Germans were sent to Alva, while the sixty-five prisoners in protective custody were only slowly being sent elsewhere. At the time of his visit, thirty-seven men had been sent recently to Camp McCain, and he was sure that most or all of the rest would soon follow. See Charles C. Eberhardt, Report Regarding Visit to Prisoner of War Camp, Camp Blanding, Starke, Florida, April 6-7, 1944, Other Inspection Reports, Camp Blanding, FL, RG 389, MMB.



Interior view of German prisoners' barracks, Camp Blanding, 1943. *Photograph courtesy National Archives, Washington.*

The situation at Camp Blanding in December 1943 was caused, the camp commandant concluded, by the proximity of ardent Nazis and strong anti-Nazi elements. The anti-Nazis were members of the 962nd Regiment— which he described as a well known “communist” unit— and the 361st Regiment, a former French Foreign Legion unit containing Austrians, Czechs, and Poles, some of whom had served time in concentration camps before being drafted into the German army.²³

Testimony from the repatriated Germans adds detail to these findings. The four soldiers were among those individuals transferred from Aliceville, Alabama, who were “either wounded or trouble makers.”²⁴ Information that each gave to the Wehrmacht reveals both why the Americans had to deal with trouble makers and why German officials requested more complete, notarized testimony from the returnees. Each described incidents of maltreat-

23. Billinger, “Wehrmacht in Florida,” 165; and Lowman to assistant chief of staff, G-2, January 4, 1944.

24. Report of Captain Jadie H. Brown, December 30, 1943, with Shannahan, Record of Visit to Camp Blanding.

ment by Americans, especially by Jewish-Americans, and they all mentioned the presence of traitors in the camps, especially at Camp Blanding.²⁵

The stories they told initially had only two things in common: the soldiers were in Tunisia when the Afrika Korps was defeated in May 1943, and they were each already wounded when captured. One was a twenty-two-year-old private first class in the Tank Corps of the Herman Göring Division, another a soldier of the 962nd Infantry Regiment, a third was a forty-year-old private in the 665th Pioneers, and the fourth was a twenty-year-old signal operator on a patrol boat. They were all captured by the British between May 7 and 11, 1943.

Shortly thereafter, the four men and their fellow captives were turned over to the Americans in Oran, Algeria, transferred to Casablanca, Morocco, and then shipped to Boston. Once in the United States authorities transferred them by train to the POW facility in Aliceville, which held 6,000 prisoners. After making trouble there, they were sent to Camp Blanding.²⁶

Their first experience as a prisoner was at the hands of the British. They described their treatment as “good,” and more “fair” than the treatment later meted out by the Americans.²⁷ They had no complaints about the British, though they noted efforts to obtain military secrets.²⁸ One returnee also commented on the attentive English personnel at the British military hospital in North Africa.²⁹

Treatment by the Americans suffered in comparison. Each of the four prisoners mentioned the early theft of personal articles along with insignia from their uniforms.³⁰ They complained also of verbal abuse and inconsistent behavior by the Americans. One returnee reported that while waiting on the dock in Casablanca to depart for Boston, an American doctor asked a wounded German if he were in pain. Then, without troubling to help the wounded

25. See materials in the Bundesarchiv, Militärarchiv, Bestand: RW2/v. 109, Freiburg, Germany. Henceforth, the four repatriated, wounded Germans and their testimony to the German military jurists will be noted by the initials of the soldiers involved: WJ, BK, WK, and MM. All of these materials are found in the same archival packet in the Federal Military Archives, Freiburg.

26. WJ, WK, MM, BK

27. WK, WJ.

28. MM.

29. BK.

30. WJ, WK, MM, BK

man, he remarked, "Ask Hitler why you are in pain."³¹ Another stated that just before embarkation an American chaplain handed out cigarettes and matches but that these were confiscated before they boarded the ship. Then, when one German soldier smoked, the whole group— perhaps 500 men— were denied food for twenty-four hours.³²

After arriving in Boston the wounded prisoners were placed on a Red Cross train and sent to the facility in Aliceville.³³ Because some prisoners required special handling unavailable at the POW camp, two were sent to a Memphis, hospital. The indignity of traveling from Aliceville to Memphis and back again in slippers and pajamas in a train filled with civilian travelers was memorable.³⁴ Equally notable was the presence at the Memphis hospital of a pharmacist in the American army— a Jewish emigrant from Germany— who accosted the German POWs. He accused the Germans of burning "Marxist" literature, blamed Germany for starting the war, and declared that the Russians would win. Fortunately, a prisoner reported, an American military doctor sharply rebuked the pharmacist and ordered him to cease annoying the POWs.³⁵

In Aliceville the POWs were introduced to the American work program, a source of misunderstanding in the early days in the camps, both at Aliceville and later at Blanding.³⁶ When officials asked the Germans to pick cotton, Sergeant Warnstedt, the prisoners' spokesman and a camp leader, encouraged his comrades not to assist the American war effort. As a result, the approximately 150 resisters were first segregated in a branch camp and then transferred to Camp Blanding.³⁷

31. BK.

32. MM.

33. WJ, BK.

34. WJ.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Parker W. Buhrman, Report of Inspection of the Prisoner of War Camp, Aliceville, Alabama, November 26, 1943, Aliceville, AL, Inspection and Field Reports, entry 461, box 2653, RG 389, MMB. The Swiss representative observed that the prisoners did not believe they were required to work, except on a voluntary basis. Thus there were cases of noncooperation and insubordination on the part of prisoners who refused to work. The American State Department representative recommended that general discipline in the camp would improve if the camp commander clearly stated that prisoners were required to work and that those who refused would be subject to discipline.

37. WJ.

Before leaving Aliceville, however, the Germans heard of escape attempts by their comrades and of the deaths or woundings of others at the hands of American soldiers, some of whom they described as Jewish Americans. At the end of July or the beginning of August two prisoners tried to escape. They were discovered, and, according to the story told to the patrol boat radio man, one was shot despite the fact that both men had raised their hands to surrender.³⁸

A soldier from the Pioneer regiment claimed that while in the prison hospital in Aliceville he saw a German admitted who had received a shotgun blast to the chest and face. Reportedly, the wounded man, who died several days later, had been shot twice by a Jewish guard who had bragged that he would kill a Nazi. As a result, POWs at Aliceville refused to work for a month and demanded that Jewish guards be removed. They were still there, however, when the Pioneer's whole company, in retaliation for the special problems that they caused the Americans, were transferred— some to a disciplinary camp in Oklahoma and the wounded to Camp Blanding.³⁹

Several of the new arrivals described Camp Blanding as a place of unbearable heat and infested with snakes and deadly scorpions.⁴⁰ The camp, one of them reported, was a troop training area for white and black troops, but the Americans were rotated every three months while the Germans were not. Able-bodied Germans were forced to do rough work such as loading coal and ashes, street cleaning, and tree cutting. He did note, however, that the food at Blanding was no worse than at Aliceville. Nor were rations cut when the Germans resisted American attempts to propagandize them for democracy. Their camp leader successfully rejected American offers to send a German speaker among them to talk about democracy.⁴¹

In Blanding, too, conflicts between “communists” and “national socialist-thinking prisoners” broke out, as problems already apparent in Aliceville continued. A repatriated Panzer soldier warned the German military that in future they should be sure that probationary battalions not be used against the English

38. BK.

39. MM.

40. WJ, MM.

41. WJ.

or Americans. He observed that these troops, composed mostly of former political prisoners and criminals, too easily deserted to the enemy. In the American camps, he felt, they were given preferential treatment. In both Aliceville and Blanding conflicts occurred when members of these units separated themselves, formed soldiers' councils, and finally sought and gained protection from American authorities. According to the returnee, there were sixty "communists" at Blanding who went over to the Americans after one of them was nearly beaten to death by "loyal" Germans. Furthermore, one German had warned that there were as many as 120 more prisoners at Blanding who had secretly agreed to help the Americans.⁴²

The informant claimed further that he and his comrades attempted to find out who belonged to this group. But while loyal Germans stood outside and rejoiced that the sixty "communists" had been taken away, guards suddenly put on gas masks and threw tear gas grenades into the crowd. An American general threatened to revoke the prisoners' food and pay because of their open hostility to the others, but Sergeant Warnstedt pointed out that this action contravened the Geneva Convention. In response to these complaints, the Americans removed the prisoners' spokesman, three company leaders, and four sergeants from the camp and confined them in a barracks with negroes awaiting the death penalty.⁴³

Shortly thereafter the informant was transferred, but this time to his homeland. Along with three wounded comrades from Camp Blanding, he was transported to Halloran General Hospital in New York and medically screened for repatriation to Germany. The men were then placed on a neutral Swedish ship and included in a wounded prisoner exchange via Barcelona in March 1944.⁴⁴

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Mixed medical commissions, composed of three members (two Swiss and one American), examined all sick and wounded prisoners and certified them for repatriation. The commissions were activated in the United States in November 1943 and functioned until April 1945. During this time 7,941 German prisoners were examined, and those found eligible were returned to Germany in the course of five exchanges that occurred between October 1943 and January 1945. The Germans were shipped under Red Cross and neutral flags by way of Göteborg, Sweden, or Barcelona, Spain, and then to Marseilles as long as France was occupied by the Germans. See Pluth, "Administration and Operation," 387, fn. 3; and Jung, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen*, 244.

When the war ended in Europe in 1945, the number of confirmed Nazis in Camp Blanding was difficult to determine. The diehards had been transferred to other camps or had learned to conceal their opinions. Later arrivals and less fanatical Germans who manifested very different attitudes from the early prisoners now dominated Blanding's POW camp. For example, in the summer of 1945, after being shown newsreels of liberated German death camps, 1,000 prisoners took up a collection for concentration camp survivors. A German POW spokesman added: "The whole company had the occasion on 10 June 1945 to convince itself through a moving picture how the German government, during the past years, has mistreated and tortured to death citizens, foreigners and prisoners of war in the concentration camps and POW camps. Voluntarily, the company decided to forward the amount of \$411.00 to the German Red Cross, to be used for women, children and men, regardless of religion, who have suffered the most during the years of the German [Nazi] government. . . . We hope that all those criminals, regardless of class, religion, party, organization or military unit, will suffer just punishment."⁴⁵ In mid September the Blanding POW newspaper announced that a total of \$5,917.73 had been collected in the camp and its various branches for the support of "survivors of the victims of the German concentration camps."⁴⁶

By May 1946 all German POWs at Camp Blanding were gone.⁴⁷ Some were shipped directly to Germany through Camp Shanks, New York; others still had a year or so to spend in British or French prisoner of war camps. America's European allies "owned" about 178,000 of the 378,000 POWs in America yet held them in the United States during the war. This was particularly true of Afrika Korps men who had been captured by the British and were thus the first Germans to come to America, the last to leave, and some of the last to return from British and French captivity.⁴⁸

45. Gansberg, *Stalag U.S.A.*, 103-04.

46. *Der POW Zeit Spiegel* (a biweekly prisoner of war camp newspaper), Camp Blanding, no. 8, September 16, 1945, Lagerzeitungen B 205/332, Federal Military Archives, Freiburg, Germany.

47. Billinger, "Wehrmacht in Florida," 173. In April 1946 there were 243 POWs at Camp Blanding, but by May 1 all were transferred for repatriation. See Weekly Report, Prisoners of War, April 15, May 1, 1945, general file, RG 389, MMB.

48. Jung, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen*, 243-44.

What the Blanding prisoners told the Wehrmacht in 1944 reveals the early German POW experience in America in microcosm. The German government found that despite minimal thievery and verbal abuse in North Africa, American treatment of its captives largely conformed to the Geneva Convention. As one testimony concluded after a long recitation of ills, "The food with the Americans was generally good throughout and the handling was humane."⁴⁹ Stories of Jewish guards shooting prisoners came second hand and proved difficult to verify. It must be noted, however, that perceptions among German POWs that German Jews serving in the American army were "out to get" the POWs can be found in other POW stories and reminiscences.⁵⁰

Discipline within the camps was generally upheld, though sometimes ineffectually. American authorities insisted on a "no work, no eat" policy and segregated "Nazis" and overzealous "anti-Nazis" alike. Despite what "loyal" Germans reported, anti-Nazis were not usually allowed to enter American service. Often, their treatment was as harsh as that meted out to the Nazis.⁵¹

German reports from Blanding did not indicate that Americans often were as frustrated by anti-Nazi elements as by Nazi ones.⁵² Because discipline and cooperation within camps depended largely upon the German military hierarchy among prisoners, individuals who bucked the system were unwelcome. This was true whether they were Nazis resisting American efforts or anti-Nazis resisting both German and American military authorities, since disturbances caused administrative problems for American camp administrators. Often, camp commandants classified any "troublemaker" as a Nazi, thus often hopelessly mixing the segregation program.⁵³

49. WJ.

50. See for example Reinhold Pabel, *Enemies are Human* (Philadelphia, 1953), 149. Pabel was a former German POW held in America who escaped and whom the FBI discovered only in 1953.

51. WJ. Some Poles, Frenchmen, Czechs, Belgians, and Luxembourgers were eventually screened for possible use against Germany. See Pluth, "Administration and Operation," 360-61. Generally, however, being considered an "anti-Nazi" brought neither privileges nor guarantees of early repatriation after the war. See Koop, *Stark Decency*, 44, 46; and Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War*, 247.

52. Interview with David Forshay, former POW camp guard at Aliceville and Camp Blanding's branch camp at Clewiston, West Palm Beach, FL, May 29, 1978. See also Koop, *Stark Decency*, 30; and Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War*, 165.

Only later in the POW experience did American camp administrators get assistance from trained intelligence officers who helped segregate and “reeducate” POWs. These officers—interested in showing growth of anti-Nazi sentiment—used anti-Nazi elements as part of their wartime propaganda efforts and as preparation for a post-Hitlerian Germany. Small numbers of anti-Nazis were selected and sent to training schools for early postwar repatriation.⁵⁴

The Wehrmacht learned from Blanding POWs that Americans were beginning to recognize massive cleavages within German army ranks. Even the famous Afrika Korps, reputedly the most patriotic and fanatical of Hitler’s legions, suffered from disunity due to mixing of the “elite” with military units whose purpose was more penal. Probationary battalion members were also among those captured by the Western Allies. But what the Germans did not know was how slow Americans were to discover, understand, and utilize this situation. In part, perhaps, this oversight came about because Americans, great nonconformists themselves, distrusted nonconformists in the military— even in the German military.

The significance of the Blanding experience is clear. There were serious political tensions within the German army that reflected major ideological divisions existing in Germany’s totalitarian society. Both captives and captors soon realized that the German uniform concealed but did not efface differences that separated Germans. Communists, socialists, labor leaders, and democrats found themselves incarcerated with “patriotic Germans,” some of whom were Nazis. Others were just nationalistic German warriors who refused to cooperate with the “enemy” and despised those who did.

What Blanding prisoners told the Wehrmacht revealed the complexities of European nationalism, racism, and totalitarianism of the 1940s. German POWs had witnessed these tensions in their homeland, seen the horrors of war, and finally found themselves far from the front, but hardly safe. Endangered less by Americans

53. Pluth, “Administration and Operation,” 345.

54. This is the subject of Gansberg, *Stalag, U.S.A.* But such efforts, both in the camps and later in the confused political atmosphere of occupied Germany, had minimal effects. See Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War*, 224-27; and Jung, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen*, 237-38.

than by each other, many suffered from the political hatreds, fears, and terrors instilled in them by Nazi Germany. In the relative security of the Florida interior, the devils that German POWs brought with them broke forth to disfigure and kill what could have been a peaceful paradise in the midst of a world at war.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

compiled by KATHY L. KAPLAN

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BOOK REVIEWS

The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543, Volume I. Edited by Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. xxx, 569 pp. Board of Advisors, contributors, foreword, preface, acknowledgments, notes on translations and names, introduction, illustrations, maps, glossary, bibliography, index. \$50.00 per set.)

The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543, Volume II. Edited by Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. x, 588 pp. Foreword, illustrations, maps, appendix, index. \$50.00 per set.)

The years 1989-1993 marked the 450th anniversary of the expedition of Hernando de Soto through the present southeastern United States. Recognition of this anniversary and the Columbian Quincentenary of 1992 prompted much scholarly inquiry into the Spanish presence in North America. The publication of *The De Soto Chronicles* by the University of Alabama Press provides a fitting capstone to the observance and provides an important set of documents that will endure for generations.

The De Soto Chronicles combine translations of all known first-hand accounts of the expedition of De Soto with the early history by Garcilaso de la Vega, previously unpublished documents, and modern scholarly essays. An amazingly extensive bibliography of De Soto studies (599 entries) assembled by Jeffrey P. Brain and Charles Ewen also is included.

Volume I contains the bulk of the new material, as well as new translations of the accounts of Luys Hernández de Biedma (by John Worth), Rodrigo Ranjel (by John Worth), and A Gentleman of Elvas (by James Alexander Robertson with notes by John Hann). Newly translated documents include the recently discovered Cañate Fragment of another narrative (Eugene Lyon) and several small documents from the General Archive of the Indies, Seville (selected and introduced by Rocío Sánchez Rubio and

translated by David Bost). The volume also includes reprints of several documents previously translated by Buckingham Smith, such as the Concessions made by the king of Spain to De Soto, De Soto's will, a letter he wrote while at Tampa Bay, and others. A table of the parallel itinerary of the expedition, originally published as Appendix E of the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* by John R. Swanton, is included.

Volume I also contains three new essays: two on the life of Hernando de Soto by Rocío Sánchez Rubio (translated by Eduardo Kortright) and Paul E. Hoffman, and an overall introduction to the expedition of De Soto by Paul E. Hoffman. The two biographical essays deserve comment, as both provide different perspectives on De Soto the man. The Rubio essay portrays De Soto from the perspective of a Spaniard proud of her countryman's exploration. She views De Soto as a man of his times. She characterizes De Soto as "a man whose life followed the knife edge between glory and failure; it was a life filled not only with wealth, triumph, and satisfaction, but also with toil, want, and suffering" (I, p. 385). Hoffman's brief biography follows the career of De Soto from birth to the beginnings of his North American adventure. Hoffman paints a portrait of a man whose dealings with Indians were cruel, even sadistic (I, p. 441), and shows De Soto to have been an independent man with driving ambition— an ambition that was thwarted in Peru, forcing him to seek fame in North America. Hoffman's essay is particularly adept at giving us a feel for the force of De Soto's personality.

Volume II contains the history of the De Soto expedition written by Garcilaso de la Vega and translated by Charmion Shelby for the 1935 United States De Soto Expedition Commission. It also contains an essay on Garcilaso by Frances Crowley and the genealogy of Garcí Pérez de Vargas written by Garcilaso.

The new translations of the accounts of the expedition are quite readable and serve to correct some errors and omissions of earlier translations. For example, the previously available Bourne translation of the Ranjel narrative omits mention of the town of Piachi that was visited after Ulibahali, but the new translation by Worth corrects this fault (I, p. 285).

The editors have chosen a useful array of illustrations to complement the documents and essays. They include maps, portraits, artifact photographs, period engravings, and modern drawings of soldiers of the period.

These handsomely produced volumes contain translations of virtually all known documents from the De Soto expedition, as well as important new scholarship. For the first time all of these sources are available in one place. All of this information (1157 pages) is provided for the unbelievably low price of \$50, thanks to support from the Alabama De Soto Commission, Historic Chattahoochee Commission, J. Conrad Dunagan, the National Endowment for the Humanities, Panamerican Consultants, Inc., The Program for Cultural Cooperation Between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States' Universities, Southeastern Archaeological Conference, The De Soto Trail Commission, and an anonymous donor. The volumes are dedicated to Douglas E. Jones, chairman of the Alabama De Soto Commission and member of the De Soto Trail Commission, and provide a fitting tribute to his efforts to support De Soto studies. The editors, authors, translators, and support groups are to be congratulated for a lasting contribution to scholarship. These important volumes deserve to be on the shelves of every person interested in the history, ethnohistory, or archaeology of the southeastern United States.

Valdosta State University

MARVIN T. SMITH

Looking for DeSoto: A Search Through the South for the Spaniard's Trail.

By Joyce Rockwood Hudson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993. xviii, 230 pp. Introduction, maps, epilogue, further reading. \$29.95.)

Looking for DeSoto is the story of a scholar's pursuit of the solution to an important historical question, a warm account of a couple's sharing of interests, and a glimpse of the modern South. The book is the journal that Joyce Hudson kept as she accompanied her husband, Charles Hudson, on a six-week trek across the South seeking evidence regarding the route followed by Hernando de Soto and his army in 1539.

The narrative begins in Gainesville, Florida, on November 11, 1984. The story follows the Hudson's journey of the next six weeks as they followed what Charles Hudson believed was the route followed by DeSoto. In all, the Hudsons traveled through eleven states, from Florida to Oklahoma and Texas. Along the way they met with archaeologists and other scholars interested in the six-

teenth-century Southeast. In some cases they were gratified to find support for the route that Hudson proposed: topography that matched descriptions by the chroniclers of the DeSoto expedition, archaeological evidence of native settlements dating to the time period, or the absence of settlements along alternative routes. In other instances, the evidence failed to support Hudson's route, and he was forced to rethink his proposal.

They also encountered the modern residents of the area. The book contains fascinating vignettes of life on the road, from sleazy motels to encounters with wonderful people. Hudson has a real feel for the South and its people. It is easy to recognize the familiar South in her writing.

Joyce Hudson's writing is clear, direct, and unaffected. It effectively expresses her husband's passion about the search for the route of DeSoto and her own concerns about the modern South. The book is not a history of DeSoto's exploration of the Southeast, nor is it a scholarly account of ethnohistorical and archaeological research on the route. Joyce Hudson calls it "the most transitory of documents, recording the ideas we were exploring at that particular time, for those few weeks." I would argue that it is considerably more than that. It is a fascinating look at a scholar pursuing a topic of consuming interest. It is also a sympathetic portrait of the modern rural South. If you are interested in the story of DeSoto, if you are interested in the pursuit of history, or if you are interested in the South, this is a book worth reading.

University of Kentucky

JOHN F. SCARRY

The Spanish Missions of La Florida. Edited by Bonnie G. McEwan. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xxvi, 458 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, figures, tables, contributors, index. \$49.95.)

How odd that the *Florida Historical Quarterly* should send this important book on Florida for review to me in New Mexico. How hopeful. Perhaps, as archaeologist David Hurst Thomas and historian David J. Weber have reminded us lately, you in the colonial Southeast and we in the colonial Southwest can learn from each other. Still, the millennium dawns slowly; only a few of the scholars

whose articles appear in this collection have anything comparative to say about New Mexico.

What is evident in each of these sixteen complementary progress reports, most by historical archaeologists, is the shared excitement of their common quest, which is nothing less than the rediscovery of seventeenth-century La Florida, human and physical, in and outside the missions. The majority are site-specific, arranged more or less in chronological and geographical order: Santa Catalina de Guale on St. Catherines Island (Thomas), Santa Maria and Santa Catalina on Amelia Island (Saunders), the Convento de San Francisco in St. Augustine (K. Hoffman), St. Augustine's relationship to the mission frontier (Deagan), missions to the Mayaca and Jororo (Hann), Santa Fe de Toluca (Johnson), San Martin de Timucua/Fig Springs (Weisman), San Agustín de Utica/Baptizing Spring (Loucks), the San Martin/Fig Springs burial area (Hoshower and Milanich), San Pedro y San Pablo de Patale (Marrinan), Hispanic life on the seventeenth-century Florida frontier (McEwan), mission bioarchaeology (Larsen), plant production and procurement in Apalachee Province (C. M. Scarry), animal use at the missions (Reitz), beads and pendants from San Luis de Talimali (Mitchem), and Apalachee colono-ware (Vernon and Cordell). All, in one way or another, measure the effects of Spaniards on natives (e.g. disease and mortuary practice) and vice versa (e.g. foodways).

On the surface, Southeast and Southwest were and are worlds apart. Ask archaeologists in Florida who use paired proton precession magnetometry, gradiometry, high-speed soil resistivity, and conductivity to locate deep in soggy soil a few postmolds and their New Mexico colleagues excavating along telltale mounds for two-meter-thick foundations of stream-worn boulders. But who has the advantage?

"Perhaps it is just as well," John W. Griffin reasons in the foreword, "that we in Florida have been denied the highly visible masonry or adobe missions of the western borderlands, because this denial has spared us the often faulty or fanciful restorations and reconstructions of other areas. . . . Should actual reconstruction come to our Florida missions, archaeology as presented in these pages will keep it honest" (p. xvi). Out of this denial, too, it would seem, has come closer cooperation between archaeologists and historians. With scant physical evidence on the ground, where do Spanish documents say these missions were? Most of the con-

tributors cite the evidential works of historian John H. Hann. And archaeologist Kathleen Deagan, discussing labor and trade patterns, intermarriage, and concubinage, poses questions a historian can understand.

Accepting the differences, we might look for similarities. Missionization of both areas, Southeast and Southwest, was entrusted to Franciscans. Figures cited in the foreword for the height of activity in La Florida in the mid seventeenth century— “40 missions manned by 70 friars serving 26,000 Christian Indians” (p. xv)— are almost identical for New Mexico. A suggestive team report on the Patale mission, presented by Rochelle A. Marrinan, who admits a visit to the Southwest, calls into question the too hastily constructed Florida mission model of small, haphazard, rustic settlements. Wait until enough entire sites have been excavated, she counsels. If Franciscan missions elsewhere adhered to a more orderly, grander plan, why not here? “I believe,” Marrinan concludes, “that we will find that the Franciscan missionaries of *La Florida* were equally capable” (p. 286). Amen.

University of New Mexico

JOHN L. KESSELL

The Creek. By J. T. Glisson. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xvi, 267 pp. Foreword by Rip Torn, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, afterword, index. \$29.95, cloth; \$16.95, paper.)

Although Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings’s *Cross Creek*, published in 1942, contains memorable stories about the Creek and its people, J. T. Glisson, best known as Jake, extends that magic with his choric tales of being a young’un at the Creek more than fifty years later. The episodes begin with his parents, Tom and Pearlee Glisson, searching for a place in the Florida sun as opposed to working long hours in the farmlands of south Georgia and longing for land to call their own. Half of the money they had saved from their honest labors would cushion the journey.

In a used T-Model Ford truck, appropriately nicknamed Moses, taking a few household belongings, a few homemade canned vegetables, their two little tots Carlton and Marjorie, and high hopes, the Glissons were on their way south in 1921 on a

semiplotted course. South it was. Destination unknown. But when they came to Cross Creek, the search ended.

Tom stopped the truck. He and Pearlee stepped out midway of the old landmark steel bridge separating Orange Lake to the south and Lake Lochloosa to the north. They looked down at the gentle stream, enchanted, without speaking. Pearlee held their baby daughter in her arms, Carlton tugged at her skirt.

“The water was not the red clay color they were accustomed to; it was the clear amber of good Kentucky bourbon. Giant cypress trees along the banks mirrored the blue overhead . . . two homemade cypress boats floated beneath a huge live oak leaning over half the width of the creek. The boats were the only sign of human existence in the area other than the Bridge itself. Wildlife was everywhere: Egrets, cranes, and curlews waded along the edges, feeding on minnows and frogs, and soft-shell and alligator turtles poked their heads up for air, then disappeared beneath the surface.”

Tom then looked at Pearlee and asked, “What do you think?” “You brought me all the way down here,” she answered, “but now that I am here I would be willing to bet you, you’re not man enough to drag me away from this place.” They were content to stay.

Rural north central Florida was sparsely settled. There was no electricity, no inside plumbing, and no insect control. There was, on the other hand, a feeling of belonging and concern among the few families and assorted loners who comprised the unique community life.

In 1927, when J. T. was born, the Glisson family had settled into a relatively comfortable pattern of living off the land. They had a cow, a vegetable garden, plus an abundance of fish to eat and fish to sell from the two expansive lakes. The plan to buy their own land, however, was postponed. Baby J. T. was born with club feet and needed surgery to correct the deformity. The physician who delivered the baby arranged for treatment at the Shriners’ Hospital for Crippled Children in Greenville, South Carolina. J. T. was the first child to be admitted for treatment.

Three years later, having taken the baby in her lap by train back and forth from Cross Creek to the hospital, Pearlee’s J. T. could walk— even run. The dense forests with wild game, hammocks, snakes, alligators, and frogs were J. T.’s learning and playground. He became acquainted with net fishing, poaching,

whiskey stills, game wardens, and the Glisson's next door neighbor within hollerin' distance, "Miz Rawlings."

Known to the creek people as "the writer from up north," references to Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings are a part of J. T.'s most affectionate passages. And in the presence of Miz Rawlings and N. C. Wyeth (illustrator for *The Yearling*), J. T. was inspired to become an artist/illustrator, his successful profession.

The Creek is a gentle mix of good times, of tinseling Cracker voices, of not so good times, and of ongoing humor that springs from its characters in everyday experiences. For instance, Bernie Bass, lovable, the Creeks "most successful citizen," and "the most disconcerting person that outsiders encountered at the Creek"; Charlie, the poet of Burnt Island, also lovable, who got drunk once a year, got lost, then found; meetings at the Bridge, for men only, where disputes were settled amicably or with fisticuffs; the pleasures and platitudes of Mother Nature, summarily called "Ol' Gal."

In time, Tom and Pearlee realized their dream of owning land, and lots of it, along with a wholesale fish business. Then misfortune struck when Tom accidentally drank some tree poisoner from a gallon jug marked Coca-Cola that he mistook for water. The healthy fifty-year-old, 180-pound man faded into eternity. His last words to J. T. were:

"Son, life is like taking a trip on a train. Once you get on, you might as well make the best of the trip and enjoy the ride, because when the conductor decides for you to get off, this is as far as you go. . . . Take my advice and have a good trip, and enjoy it, and try not to miss anything."

J. T. hasn't missed much at all. His lessons learned as a boy from loving parents and his neighbors are a lingering presence in his book *The Creek*.

Gainesville, FL

KATHRYN HALL PROBY

Ringling: The Florida Years, 1911-1936. By David C. Weeks. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xvii, 350 pp. Foreword, preface, chronology, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95, cloth; \$24.95, paper.)

David Weeks, with *Ringling: The Florida Years, 1911-1936*, offers a fresh, penetrating presentation of the life and times of John Rin-

gling as a Floridian. Such was the man's impact during twenty-four years of winter residency, that a half century after his death he was selected in 1987 for the Florida Artists Hall of Fame. Along with Ernest Hemingway and Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, Ringling heads the list on a marble wall by the rotunda of the Capitol in Tallahassee. His importance today in Sarasota remains equally apparent.

Sarasota of 1911, the year John and Mable Ringling arrived, contrasted starkly with the city in 1936. John Ringling's death followed Mable's by seven years and occurred during the midst of the Great Depression. His financial and physical health depleted, the famous showman nevertheless left his mark. His bridges, statuary-lined and Australian-pine-bordered avenues, his commercial areas and subdivisions, the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, their palatial home Ca'D'Zan and winter quartering of Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus, permanently distinguished Sarasota from her coastal counterparts. A copy of Michelangelo's *David*, imported by Ringling for the museum, actually *became* the logo for the city of Sarasota. The Ringling imprint remains vivid today, six decades after his demise in New York, days before Ca'D'Zan was to be auctioned to satisfy his creditors.

Numerous works have addressed the Ringlings and their circus. These typically incorporate the Sarasota activities of John, his brother Charles, their sister Ida Ringling North, and their families and contemporaries. But no documentary work has been confined to John Ringling and his impact on Sarasota. David Weeks now fills that void.

Weeks consulted records in Manatee and Sarasota counties and in Tallahassee, *New York Times* accounts of Ringling's circus contemporaries, and court records dealing with Ringling lawsuits. Weeks met repeatedly with Henry Ringling North, John Ringling's nephew, protege, and heir who resided in Geneva, Switzerland, until his death in October 1993. From North, Weeks borrowed previously unpublished photographs of John and Mable, which add immeasurably to the value of the book by showing the couple in a new light.

The author used primary sources to document the broader aspects of Ringling— his oil wells in Oklahoma, his role as a major owner of the ornate Stanford White-designed Madison Square Garden after which Ca'D'Zan was styled; his western railroads and companies, ranches, and farms; the rail town he named Ringling,

and his private railroad cars and yachts and their winter dockings and sidings in Florida.

Weeks chronicles the important, often neglected, Sarasota context, noting the presence of other national figures, developers, winter season capitalists of New York City and Chicago, and local luminaries. Some minor errors along these lines include a description of Ringling as Sarasota's only art patron. Though Ringling's patronage was undoubtedly omnipresent, until her 1918 death Mrs. Potter Palmer's winter home was adorned with one of Monet's haystacks, along with works by Raffaello, Degas, and Cassatt from the prestigious Palmer collection in Chicago. Her descendants have maintained the tradition in their Sarasota homes.

David Weeks succeeds in compellingly readable fashion to focus new light upon John Ringling and his Sarasota contributions. His work and its endnotes, the legal processing of Ringling's bequest to the people of Florida, the epilogue regarding collections and restorations prior to the public opening of the museum and house a decade after Ringling's death and a comprehensive bibliography make important and lasting contributions to Sarasota and Florida history. The role of the wheeler dealers in the Florida land boom and the role of Ringling in particular in defining a modern city has been meticulously presented. *Ringling: The Florida Years* constitutes a fine piece of research and a welcome addition to the library of the scholar as well as every lover of good, non-fiction, documentary reading in Florida history.

Sarasota, FL

JANET SNYDER MATTHEWS

Farm Security Administration Photographs of Florida. By Michael Carle-bath and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1993. xii, 127 pp. Preface, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95, cloth; \$19.95, paper.)

Farm Security Administration Photographs of Florida examines photographs taken during the Great Depression and World War II by a succession of federal agencies: the Resettlement Administration (RA), Farm Security Administration (FSA), and Office of War Information (OWI). Between 1935 and 1943 John Collier, Dorothea Lange, Carl Mydans, Gordon Parks, Arthur Rothstein, and

Marion Post Wolcott took pictures of Florida from the panhandle to Key West. Michael Carlebach and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., faculty members at the University of Miami, explore the time, place, and topic of documentary photography through a forty-six page essay interfaced with photographs, which surveys Florida's difficulties in the 1920s and 1930s, the relief and recovery efforts of FDR, and the role of photographs in chronicling conditions, and a sixty-five-page folio of photographs laid out chronologically.

Farm Security Administration Photographs of Florida has a striking layout of some truly impressive images. But it is a problem-plagued book. The essay and bibliography have all of the pretensions of an introduction but none of the substance. The fiftieth anniversary of the FSA project resulted in a spate of state studies: *Mountaineers to Mainstreet* (1985), *A Kentucky Album* (1986), *Heartland New Mexico* (1989), and *A South Carolina Album* (1991). Coincidentally, several seminal books exploring the uses and abuses of documentary photography on the national scene appeared: *Dust Bowl Descent* (1984), *Let Us Now Praise Famous Women* (1987), *Official Images* (1987), *Symbols of Ideal Life* (1989), and *Mind's Eye, Mind's Truth* (1989). Any of these books could have pointed the way to analytical sophistication and contributed to the historical depth of Carlebach and Provenzo's work, but none were used. Cutting-edge interpretations produced over the past decade on the primary materials that Carlebach and Provenzo deal with are missing. Ironically, the bibliography is padded with innumerable references to studies that never appear in the footnotes. Even more peculiarly, the authors indicate having researched the correspondence of the FSA and its director, Roy Emerson Stryker, but the letters written by the staff about, and in, Florida are ignored. The result is a text that robs readers of what they need to know about the people, profession, and relationships involved, especially the experiences of the photographers themselves while in Florida, and their conceptions of the state and its residents.

The treatment of the photographs is as inept as the text. The photographs were selected to show "the broad range of subjects." Having cited the acclaimed *Documentary Photography*, the authors know the importance of viewing these photographs as part of the sequence in which they were taken and the emphasis placed on reading them as part of the assignment in which they originated. And yet the FSA photographs are wrenched from their roots and used out of context. Far from providing an overview, the selection

is lopsided, with agriculture and migrant labor scenes predominating. Icons, like Marion Post Wolcott's juxtaposing a black peddle wheel taxi cab driver against a Cartier jewelry store in Palm Beach, are missing. The work that Walker Evans did while passing through the state is also ignored. Besides the brief original captions provided by the photographers, the authors have added "where appropriate, additional explanatory material." But the information falls far short of elucidating the public health, housing, labor, tourist, and other assignments the photographers worked so hard on. In many instances the information provided completely misses the point of the accompanying picture. While the authors explain, for example, the meaning of the term "cracker," the circumstances behind the picture of a farmer arguing with the local sugar ration board shows how the far-off events of World War II reached all the way to the tiny farms of the hamlet of Escambia and affected lives on a daily basis in this remote cooperative resettlement community (which is never explained). The authors even mistakenly place the Withlacoochee River Agricultural Demonstration Project in the panhandle rather than in the environs of Hernando County where it belongs.

Typical of the book's slipshod and slovenly treatment is its coverage of Gordon Parks. The authors print some photographs that Parks took in Daytona Beach, but they never consult the autobiographical musings of this fledgling black photographer, who went on to a distinguished career as a staff member of *Life* and *Vogue* magazines, to author twelve books of poetry, fiction, and nonfiction, to film director, and to receive the National Medal of Arts. His writings explain the racial environment of Daytona Beach and the hostile atmosphere under which he had to operate. The photographs and accompanying text tell us nothing about his mission to capture the defense work performed by the National Youth Administration and the leadership provided on many fronts by the director of its Negro Division, Mary McLeod Bethune. The book concludes without addressing the tremendous repercussions of the New Deal on Florida and the dramatic transformations that took place during World War II in the state.

What the University Press of Florida has brought out is a coffee table book. Even then, *Farm Security Administration Photographs of Florida* is a primer on how to butcher one of the greatest documentary photography collections in the world.

Totch: A Life in the Everglades. By Loren G. "Totch" Brown. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. x, 269 pp. Foreword by Peter Matthiessen. Preface, photographs, maps, appendices. \$29.95, cloth; \$16.95, paper.)

Totch Brown's foray into autobiography has created a remarkable document, but this work does more than chronicle the life of an individual; it also provides its readers with an intimate view of a unique environmental setting. With simple eloquence, Mr. Brown brings alive the world of south Florida's fishermen, crabbers, and alligator hunters. But the author never allows his personal sympathies to cloud his judgement, and he honestly acknowledges the environmental damage such activities have inflicted on his beloved homeland. Anyone interested in developing a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between man and the Everglades will profit from reading this book.

Mr. Brown's narrative can be neatly divided into three parts. In the first section the author combines the story of his lineage with a brief description of white settlement among the Ten Thousand Island's bays and inlets. Mr. Brown's grandfathers, C. Mel Brown and Charles G. McKinney, pioneered the southwest coast of Florida, and both of Totch's parents were born on the Everglades fringe. The author's description of his father, battling to keep his family alive during the hard times of the Great Depression, infuses this section of the narrative with vibrant eloquence that can only be supplied by real-life drama. The narrative's second section flows naturally from the first. Economic necessity forced Mr. Brown to abandon his formal education in 1934, after only seven years, and pursue a livelihood based on his environmental knowledge. During this period Totch emulated his father and employed hunting and fishing skills to support his own family.

Mr. Brown's return from World War II serves as a convenient beginning for the final section of his narrative. This portion of the author's life began on familiar ground, but larger events forced Totch to adapt new strategies. In the 1940s two events— the arrival of a hurricane and the creation of a national park— would inexorably alter Totch and his world. The national park converted much of the author's erstwhile hunting grounds into a game preserve, and hurricane-induced flooding prompted the Army Corps of Engineers to construct water works that finally tamed the Everglades. Of the two events, the loss of the Everglade's natural runoff

proved most detrimental. Mr. Brown found himself confronted with the unsavory option of either poaching gators on protected land or fishing in nutritionally depleted waters.

Like his father before him, Mr. Brown found himself confronted with an economic dilemma. During the 1930s the elder Brown used moonshine whiskey to help support his family, and, some forty years later, his son turned to smuggling marijuana to accomplish the same end. This episode will surely cause his readers varying degrees of consternation, but, to his credit, Mr. Brown— who eventually served nineteen months in federal prison for his efforts— never tries to rationalize his culpability. To these men, accustomed to making their own way, moonshining and smuggling represented viable alternatives when extreme circumstances threatened the destruction of their independence.

Totch: A Life in the Everglades, will please a wide variety of readers because Mr. Brown's autobiography offers insights on several levels. This book contains a tale of pioneer Florida, the story of a family, a recount of environmental change, and the details of hunting and fishing, all bound together by the life of one man. Totch Brown's intimate understanding of his natural setting contrasts sharply with the perspective of those Floridians who view the state as an area suitable to the unlimited development of strip malls and theme parks. Totch Brown— foibles and all— has much to tell residents of the Sunshine State.

University of Florida

DAVID MCCALLY

A Sacred Trust: Nelson Poynter and the St. Petersburg Times. By Robert N. Pierce. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xv, 409 pp. Prologue, illustrations, photographs, appendix, sources and notes, thanks, index. \$34.95.)

Florida newspapers enjoy an unusual position in the field of journalism. There are more Pulitzer Prize-winning newspapers in Florida than any other state. From Panama City to Miami, nearly a dozen newspapers have won more than a score of Pulitzer Prizes for everything from freeing wrongly convicted inmates to the outrageous humor of Dave Barry.

One of the best of the best is the *St. Petersburg Times*, the state's second-largest daily newspaper and a fixture on every list of

top-ten newspapers nationally. Over the past three decades it has acquired a well earned reputation for its reporting and design. What makes its rise to prominence even more remarkable is that it has taken place in a town where there is not a great deal of news. Other great newspapers are found in such cities as Washington, New York, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia, where great stories tumble out routinely.

The man behind the *Times* was Nelson Poynter, who devoted his life to quality journalism at the *Times* and his well respected creation, *Congressional Quarterly*. Robert Pierce, a highly respected University of Florida journalism professor, has written a book that contains hundreds of wonderful stories about the newspaper and its proprietor, but falls far short as a biography of Poynter or a history of the newspaper.

The book contains hundreds of needless bits of minutia, while it leaves out important dates and details. Pierce identifies the model of car the wife of a *Times* executive was driving on the day Poynter died, but spends only one page discussing how Poynter obtained and was fired from jobs in Columbus and Minneapolis early in his career.

The book also leaves a number of significant questions unanswered. Pierce writes that Poynter was forced to sell the *Kokomo Dispatch* and lost the \$20,000 he had invested. Poynter then sent his father \$100,000 to save the debt-plagued *Times*. But where did Nelson Poynter get the \$100,000 if he had lost everything? In discussing a courageous trip that a black *Times* reporter took through the South in the 1960s, Pierce writes that it was a dangerous assignment "and this later proved true." But Pierce never explains how the assignment proved to be dangerous, leaving the reader to wonder what happened to the reporter.

Like many books about newspapers, this one wanders across the landscape, focusing on one individual, then another. The result is that it is difficult to follow when events are happening. For example, on page 225, Poynter acquires *The Evening Independent* from press baron Roy Thomson, but twenty pages later Thomson is again the owner. The reader will have to check carefully the footnotes to know that the second story occurred fifteen years before the first.

The book also suffers by being strangely out of date. Pierce discusses the rise of Wayne Kelly at *Congressional Quarterly* in the 1970s but fails to mention that Kelly himself was forced out in the

1980s. Elizabeth Whitney's promotion to business editor is covered, but that was nearly a decade ago, and there is no mention of the business editors who have served since.

Pierce was encouraged to write the book by editors at the *Times* and given access to company documents. But for most details about confidential workings of the newspaper, Pierce relies on stories from other publications.

Still to be answered by future studies is how a man who had a number of significant failures early in his life created such a great institution.

The Orlando Sentinel

JAMES C. CLARK

Selling the Dream: The Gulf American Corporation and the Building of Cape Coral, Florida. By David E. Dodrill. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. ix, 311 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, tables, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

David E. Dodrill's *Selling the Dream* is the story of the development of Cape Coral, a huge suburb of Fort Myers dredged out of coastal Florida sand so as to create thousands of waterfront lots for development at modest prices. It is also the story of Leonard and Julius (Jack) Rosen of Baltimore, Maryland, who founded the Gulf American Corporation and managed it from 1957 until it was sold in 1969.

The story begins in the 1950s when Florida was wide open to developers who engaged in uncontrolled dredging and filling operations without regard to the enormous damage caused to the Florida environment. Land salesmen used high pressure and sometimes misleading sales practices to induce people to buy lots on the installment plan. Leonard and Jack Rosen were first of all salesmen who had worked in carnivals before changing to market cosmetics. Believing that they could sell anything and that sales were the key to development, they employed a huge sales force which compiled lists of prospects from all over the nation and contacted them by telephone and direct mail. These prospects were treated to cocktail parties and dinners at which sales were made on the spot. The Rosens purchased an airline whose primary function was to fly potential buyers to the construction site. Planes and helicopters were available for aerial inspection.

Construction of streets and amenities as well as some homes progressed accordingly, but this was also a sales technique since prospects were more likely to buy if they saw progress being made. The firm expanded far beyond Cape Coral with its Golden Gates Estates, River Ranch Acres, and Remuda Ranch Grants, parts of which were too low for development.

Cape Coral became a reality, and most purchasers were pleased by the new community that arose from the Florida sand. But the high pressure sales tactics and misrepresentations brought complaints. The administration of Governor Claude Kirk, partially because of growing concern about the environment and partially because of complaints from dissatisfied purchasers, launched a campaign to bring Gulf American to account and, by extension, begin controlling companies and the sales practices that were reflecting adversely on the state. A mighty struggle ensued, but the Rosens were eventually obliged to sell out. The enterprise ultimately failed because it was unable to maintain a viable volume of sales without the high-pressure tactics that had become unacceptable.

In the long run the Rosens were applauded for making available homes in a desirable Florida setting to retirees at affordable prices. But, in the process, they obliged the state to rein in those practices that were doing so much damage to its environment as well as to its national reputation.

This is a good story about an important subject. It seems well researched and relatively well written. But it is organized in a topical fashion necessitating an irritating amount of repetition. Given the subject matter, that was perhaps unavoidable. In any event, it is a good book and a worthy contribution to modern Florida history.

University of Central Florida

JERRELL H. SHOFNER

The Gulf of Mexico: A Treasury of Resources in the American Mediterranean. By Robert H. Gore. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1992. 384 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, introduction, prologue, figures, photographs, tables, epilogue, footnotes, glossary, suggestions for further readings, index, color plate index. \$24.95.)

Robert Gore's objective is to bring the nonspecialist into the circle of knowledge bearing on the Gulf of Mexico and those

shorelines that define it. It is an objective that he has met beautifully, using a style free from the conventions of scientific writing. Gore brings drama to the Gulf at scales varying from sometimes troublesome phytoplankton to horrifying, exploding oil tankers. He offers the layperson a sourcebook to guide informed decision making.

The weakest portion of Gore's book is Part One, the historical overview. At least three aspects exhibit room for improvement. First, the work lacks temporal depth. A historical overview that begins with the arrival of the Spanish suggests a serious Euro-American bias. Native Americans had appreciated the Gulfs natural bounty for thousands of years prior to the sixteenth century. In the ancient garbage piles left by these early residents are clues not only to a human history but also to an environmental one. Present-day human residents have much to learn from this past. Second, the book lacks citations of recent research. In Gore's defense much of the current thought on the topics he writes about have only recently been published. Nonetheless, judging from his acknowledgments, he made no contact with professionals doing research in these topics. The result is an overview flawed with inaccuracies. For example, the Calusa were primarily fisherfolk, not "hunter-gatherers"; there is no evidence that they ever grew maize, beans, or tobacco; there is no evidence for fortified Calusa villages; there is no evidence that the Calusa tattooed themselves; and they used shell, not stone, for tools (pp. 30-31). Third, the author uses value judgements. However unintentional (Gore is clearly sympathetic toward the once-populous Native Americans), the use of language such as "primitive," "totally naked," "the gentle Tainos," is reminiscent of the "noble savage" mentality and seems anachronistic.

In Part Two (Gulf's physical characteristics), Gore misses an opportunity to take the long-term perspective one step further. His synopsis of "sea-level rise" is incomplete without consideration of the alternative school of thought— that mean sea level in the Gulf and elsewhere has fluctuated both below and above present-day levels in recent Holocene history. Although short, Part Three (physiography of continental shelf) goes far toward explicating the physiographic variation that exists around and in the Gulf. Part Four (biology) is the strongest portion of the book. Here, Gore excels in communicating the interconnectivity of all the Gulfs ecosystems and their inseparable relationship with interior

lands as far away as Montana. Enlightening overviews of the Gulf's industries are presented in Part Five. I was stunned to see on pages 260-61, however, that the author believes "archaeological diving, and exploring for lost treasure and artifacts" to be an acceptable form of public recreation! It is exactly this kind of message that encourages people to destroy scientifically and historically important cultural resources.

Having brought to the reader a basic understanding of the complex nature of the Gulf, Gore concludes the book in Part Six (anthropogenic pollution). Here, present-day issues of Gulf pollution now can be viewed in their proper context. Despite the shortcomings, Gore generally succeeds in presenting the Gulf at a human scale, one that we all recognize. Gore is to be applauded for his efforts in bringing this inviting story to the shopping malls of North America. I look forward to an even better second edition, one that treats archaeological/historical resources with the same respect given environmental ones.

Florida Museum of Natural History

KAREN J. WALKER

The Founders of America: How Indians discovered the land, pioneered in it, and created great classical civilizations; how they were plunged into a Dark Age by invasion and conquest; and how they are now reviving. By Francis Jennings. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993. 457 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, illustrations, maps, chronology, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

There is hardly any necessity for the reviewer to summarize the intended contents and point of view of this book, for both are clear in the title. Designed to expose a general audience to the history of North America's last twelve thousand years as told from an Amerindian viewpoint, it nevertheless lacks the kind of unified story line that would capture that audience. In some ways that is just as well, because the story it does tell is confused and often just plain wrong.

Francis Jennings is the learned author of many books and articles on Amerindians, his area of expertise being particularly the Iroquois League. Here, however, in attempting to tell the long pre-European history of the whole of the Americas, he is very much out of his depth with disciplines and sources with which he

is unfamiliar, and he exhibits an unfortunate tendency to judge the value of a research position by how it fits his own view of the facts.

That is not to say that there is nothing here that needs to be said. The title is indeed the heart of what Jennings is trying to say: that Indians were the original discoverers, pioneers, and builders of civilizations in the Americas, and, in spite of the terrible destruction wrought by European invasion, they are still here and indeed on the rebound. And Jennings is right to believe that this story still needs telling.

Jennings is voluble in his attacks on the biased thinking of his *bete noir*, Frederick Jackson Turner, whose hypothesis that the frontier determined American character Jennings exposes for its Eurocentric narrowness of vision. Yet although he is steadfast in his opposition to the notion of the "transit of civilization" from Europe to the Americas, he proposes a similar "transit" of civilization from Mexico to the Mississippi Valley in the shape of a Toltec migration, thereby unintentionally denigrating the achievements of North American Indians as surely as did the "moundbuilder" myth makers of the nineteenth century.

Jennings clearly believes that the pinnacle of civilized life is a classical multileveled "civilization" based on an agricultural regime (a conviction worthy of considerable discussion in itself); that agriculture only had one hearth in the Americas, Mexico, and for no clearly articulated reason he also concludes that only through the actual political hegemony of migrant Toltecs could agriculture have been spread to North America. Yet though this version of the development of Mississippian culture is central to his bringing "civilization" to North America, Jennings's strongest support for this position is Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz's questionable interpretation of the eighteenth-century Natchez Indian origin myth, not even an Indian claim. It goes completely against the painstaking archaeological reconstructions of the last fifty years, which has tended to a position that the great Mississippian cultures of medieval North America were indigenous developments going back much further than Jennings dates his Toltec migration.

This kind of credulity is unfortunate, but it is easy to see where it comes from: a lack of understanding of archaeology and the weighing of archaeological evidence. There is also a considerable lack of acquaintance with modern anthropological theory about social organization and a good deal of confusion about the degree

of disruption that took place, particularly in the Southeast, as a result of early European contact. Jennings is most at home when he gets to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Iroquois. He also has some interesting things to say about what he considers the mistaken claim that Amerindian political forms influenced the American articulation of liberal democracy, but the rest of the book is so disorganized and so marred by error that these useful observations are nearly swamped.

Mississippi Department of Archives and History PATRICIA GALLOWAY

A History of French Louisiana, Volume Two: Years of Transition. 1715-1717. By Marcel Giraud. Translated by Brian Pearce. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993. xi, 213 pp. Introduction, abbreviations, maps, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

Years of Transition, 1715-1717, volume II of Marcel Giraud's five-volume *A History of French Louisiana*, appears nineteen years after the translation of volume I. It was originally published in French in 1958. In two hundred pages of text Giraud covers a scant two years in the history of the colony, from the death of Louis XIV to the end of Crozat's commercial monopoly.

Louisiana, as we generally think of it today, did not then exist. While there were some settlers in the New Orleans area, especially along Bayou St. John, the main settlements were at Mobile and Dauphin Island. Both were not prospering and were poorly located for controlling the Mississippi River and the Mississippi Valley. Their harbors were shallow, and the Gulf soil was inadequate for agriculture. These factors would lay the foundation for a new colonial capital on the Mississippi and away from the Gulf coast.

The volume continues with the Crozat trade monopoly, which began in 1712. The Council of the Navy exercised control for the French government. The two years covered show how inadequately Crozat and the crown furthered the colony's development; both lacked needed financial resources. Moreover, Crozat wanted to make money any way he could, even if it meant exploiting the handful of miserable settlers who were then present.

Plans rather than accomplishments mark this brief era. Schemes existed for increasing defenses, settlers, and communications. The French thought of extending the size of Louisiana through encroachment into Spanish-held or claimed lands. There was a desire, too, to increase commerce with the Spaniards, but trade was erratic. The wish to improve conditions for the settlers remained unfulfilled because it meant spending money. Officials cherished the belief that Louisiana had great potential, but capital for investment was scant.

Because of this, food shortages continued, merchandise was scarce and expensive, trade goods were in short supply, and payment of salaries was always in arrears. The few soldiers present were poorly sheltered, fed, and paid. Moreover, few people expressed an interest in emigrating to Louisiana, and those who went were ill-equipped to meet the formidable challenges they encountered. In the end Crozat gave up his trade monopoly.

Despite Louisiana's primitive conditions and tiny population, a social hierarchy was emerging in the wilderness. The class-consciousness of the privileged few, top officials and military officers, dictated society. It was founded on rank and birth inasmuch as the colony possessed little wealth.

Giraud based his study on French archival documents, and their quality is unquestioned. There is, however, the impression through much of the book that Louisiana is being seen from France. Only in the later chapters is there a feeling of being in the colony and experiencing the difficulties settlers endured. Do not look for Crozat's first name (Antoine) anywhere in the book; it is not there, not even in the index. Nor will anyone find the Superior Council in the text or index unless you look for *Conseil Supérieur*. It is surprising that the term was not translated, especially since English-language studies invariably refer to it as the Superior Council.

The appearance of Giraud's second volume in English is a welcome addition to the history of French Louisiana. It makes available to an English-reading public an alternative to the tired Louisiana histories of Martin, Gayarré, and Fortier. It provides detailed explanations of conditions in the colony in the era prior to the founding of New Orleans. No one who studies the Mississippi Valley in the eighteenth century can ignore it.

An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730-1815. By Joyce E. Chaplin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. xiv, 411 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, tables, abbreviations, epilogue, statistical method, bibliography, index. \$45.00.)

This is an excellent book and one that is a strong addition to the intellectual and cultural history of the eighteenth-century South. Professor Chaplin describes and interprets the contradictions and conflict in thought and action among Southerners in South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida as they sought to establish their place in an expanding economy between about 1730 and 1815.

The author makes clear that southern planters in the lower South believed in progress and modern improvements. In that sense they were part of the emerging modernization. In rice production, for instance, planters adopted water wheels and pumps to control the water supply and also developed tidal irrigation. They introduced improved milling machinery and showed a lively interest in science and better farming practices. Overall, planters greatly increased their efficiency and productivity.

As settlers occupied the upcountry they, too, wanted to become a part of the growing market economy. In time cotton, which was first raised for home consumption, permitted upcountry farmers and planters to become successful commercial producers. They favored progress in the form of better machines, improved plant breeds, and other traits and characteristics of modernization.

While the author shows that planters and farmers in the lower South had a modern, progressive, capitalist outlook, they were flexible in making adjustments to changed economic conditions. During the 1730s the Seven Years War, and the American Revolutionary War, planters turned to self-sufficiency to meet such war-time problems as blockades and loss of markets. But after these crises ended, they returned to the market economy and looked to further improvements through science and technology.

Planters may have held modern views on production and marketing, but their position on human bondage was in sharp conflict with some ideas associated with modernization. At a time when there was growing emphasis on individual freedom, their continued commitment to slavery was traditional and backward looking.

In that regard planters chose stability over progress and modernization. They refused to adopt this aspect of modernization which might lead to social disruption and the loss of ancient values. The author argues that after 1815 the South chose commercial agriculture and slave labor over industrialization and free labor as its future direction.

Professor Chaplin has done an excellent job of looking at the mind of lower South planters over nearly a century and weaving their thoughts and actions through a maze of uncertainties and contradictions. She has done a prodigious amount of research in both foreign and American archives as well as in a host of other basic sources. The footnotes are almost intimidating. The book is beautifully written, but the nature of the subject does not lend it to light or easy reading. It is a book that the reader must think about seriously. Students of southern history, and colonial, intellectual, and social historians will find *An Anxious Pursuit* a stimulating and challenging book.

University of Georgia

GILBERT C. FITE, emeritus

A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters From African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861-1865. Edited by Edwin S. Redkey. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992. xix, 302 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations, index. \$49.95, cloth; \$16.95, paper.)

During the Civil War it was a common practice for soldiers to spend leisure hours in camp by writing letters to their families, friends, and local newspapers. Historians have long made use of soldiers' personal letters to glean information on battles, army life, and other topics. The tens of thousands of soldier letters published in newspapers have not been used to the same extent. Today these letters constitute one of the two least utilized major sources for the study of the war (the other consists of material in the National Archives).

In *A Grand Army of Black Men* Edwin Redkey provides 129 letters written to newspapers by blacks who served in the United States Army or Navy during the war. Many of the letters are printed only in part. About three-fifths of them are from the *Christian*

Recorder, the official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church published in Philadelphia. Another fifth of the letters appeared in the *Weekly Anglo-African* of New York. (The "Anglo," Redkey suspects, was the major voice of the black soldiers, but only a few issues survive.) The remaining letters appeared in the *Pine and Palm* (Boston) and in such journals as *The Liberator*, the Athens [OH] *Messenger*, and the Philadelphia *Press*.

Only a half dozen or so of these letters were from officers (including chaplains and doctors). Many were written by noncommissioned officers, the rest by privates. A few correspondents used a nom de plume, and their real names and grades are unknown. Some of the letters were written after the war ended and reflect the vicissitudes of the early Reconstruction period. Most of the letters were from men in the United States Colored Troops units, some from members of such famous outfits as the 54th and 55th Massachusetts regiments, and some from blacks serving in "white" regiments. Most were written by northern blacks who were more likely to be literate than were their fellows from the South. Five were from men in the navy.

Redkey has grouped some of the letters by the geographical area from which they were written, others by the topics with which they dealt. This latter group included such subjects as "Occupation Duty," "The Struggle for Equal Pay," and "Racism in the Army." Letters from correspondents in white regiments and in the navy are in separate chapters.

The material in *A Grand Army of Black Men* is of considerable value on several counts. For one thing the letters add to our store of knowledge about the military side of the 1860s—camp life, the black units, battles and campaigns. For another they provide useful descriptions of some of the places where the writers served. Seventeen of the letters are from Florida with most coming from the Jacksonville and Pensacola areas; one is from Gainesville.

Most readers will probably have a greater interest in the insights these documents provide into the minds of nineteenth-century black Americans and their attitudes about such topics as slavery, racism, colonization, and the right to vote. Readers must remember, however, that these letters were written for publication. For that reason they should be used with the caution appropriate for all material intended for public consumption.

The book's greatest weakness is its index. Redkey has indexed proper nouns, but he has not included military units or the many

topics on which the writers expressed their opinions. Comments on troop morale, slavery, education, and voting, for example, run through many of the letters, but there is no entry for any of these topics. There are some interesting remarks by blacks about “the ignorant Irish” and the “drunken Irish” (pp. 210, 268) that are not indexed under “Immigrants, black attitudes about” or “Irish, prejudice by blacks toward.” In any future edition Redkey should expand the index to include the topics about which black soldiers expressed their thoughts.

Decatur, GA

RICHARD M. MCMURRY

Sherman: A Soldier's Passion For Order. By John F. Marszalek. (New York: Free Press, 1992. xvi, 635 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Does the world of American historiography really need another biography of William Tecumseh Sherman? Is there still room to write anything fresh about the War Between the States? Can the hoary Sherman-Grant relationship actually be reassessed, or the Hood and Johnston versus Sherman contest bear yet another evaluation? Professor Marszalek obviously thinks so, and the present reader, after wading through this massive work, must agree with him. In short, this is a volume with something to say, even though it takes a long time to say it. Frequently the reader wishes for a stiff editor who might impose discipline on Marszalek, just as the author finds the search for order and stability to be the key to Sherman's personality and his apparently inconsistent behavior. The fight to complete the book is, however, well worth it; Marszalek has made his mark. *Sherman* acts as a successful counter to Albert Castel's *Decision in the West*, which sees this terror of the Confederacy as anything but that. Sherman was, claims Castel, afraid of direct military confrontation, particularly after Shiloh and Kennesaw Mountain. Instead of taking as his aim the absolute destruction of Hood's army, Sherman avoided serious confrontation with Confederate forces and, in fact, simply “did not like to fight.” Marszalek vigorously disagrees with this view.

Actually, Marszalek emphasizes Sherman's preference for strategy, the flanking maneuver, and most particularly destroying

the Confederacy's will to continue the war by ravaging the countryside between Atlanta and Savannah, and Savannah and the Bennett house in North Carolina where an exhausted Johnston finally surrendered. Sherman had no desire, writes Marszalek, to spill blood unnecessarily; his notion was to kill the Confederacy, which threatened the national order, by destroying property and the South's ability to continue the struggle. Sherman prompted psychological war against civilians; he "hated the idea" of killing for its own sake. His style of leadership was entirely different from Grant's, but the two men were close friends and each appreciated the other's accomplishments (pp. 309-10). In spite of his unusual ideas, Sherman was still an advocate of total war, a lesson he learned during the Meridian and Mississippi campaigns. He disliked Negroes and respected slavery as part of the national order. Although an advocate of a "hard war," he backed the idea of a "soft peace" (p. 359), a position that saw him ally with Andrew Johnson and become estranged from Edwin Stanton and even from Grant. In the postwar world he was outspoken in his opposition to black enfranchisement, and Marszalek proves to this reviewer's satisfaction that Sherman did indeed use the phrase most often ascribed to him, "War is hell," as well as many similar remarks concerning warfare that are just as short and pithy.

Sherman's life tended to be personally chaotic. As a child he was taken into the home of Thomas Ewing, a successful Ohio businessman and politician, when his own family disintegrated following the death of his improvident father. "Cump," as Sherman was sometimes called, ultimately married Ellen Ewing, his foster sister, who preferred to stay at home with her parents rather than follow Sherman to California, Florida, or Louisiana. For most of his life Sherman struggled for acceptance from the entire Ewing household, and Marszalek is uncertain that he ever really secured it. Ellen's powerful Catholicism stood between the two, and although Sherman was baptized in this faith, he never practiced it, much to his wife's chagrin. On his deathbed in 1891 his family saw to it that the unconscious Sherman was given the sacrament of Extreme Unction. Earlier, one of Sherman's sons had become a member of the Jesuit order, against his father's wishes.

Politically, Sherman could be depended upon to say the wrong thing at the wrong time, a pattern that kept him in hot water during most of the postwar years. He was, at heart, astonishingly naive about public affairs; his first love was the army and the

order it brought to his life— an order he was never able fully to establish in his own home.

Marszalek's picture of this interesting man is sympathetic, but he is not unaware of Sherman's flaws. He is seen as a legitimate hero of the Union, to be viewed on the same military level with Grant, if not higher. Marszalek's research is impressive, and although his style limps at times, the book is refreshingly free of the tired phrases of political correctness. For this "warts and all" study John Marszalek is due the thanks of the history profession and the general public. He has successfully transcended the usual predictable writing on military figures in the Civil War. Marszalek can be justifiably proud of this achievement.

University of Georgia

PHINIZY SPALDING

Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat. By Douglas B. Ball. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991. xi, 329 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, tables, appendices, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

For all the ink spilled discussing strategy and tactics in the Civil War, all the reinterpretations of Jeff Davis's statescraft, of Grant's sweeping vision, of Lee's attachment to Virginia, there has been little scholarly work devoted to the more mundane issues of logistics. The mobilization of food, clothing, and most of all money has gotten as little attention from scholars as it received in the first months of the Confederacy. That historical lacuna, at least for the Confederate treasury, has been answered by Douglas Ball's monograph, a sweeping critique of its secretary Christopher Memminger.

The book succeeds in synthesizing a scattered collection of primary sources into an interesting and coherent counterfactual argument. Memminger, according to Ball, should have immediately forced the independently managed banks of the South to stop specie (coin) payments to other banks and to lend their specie to the Confederacy in exchange for Confederate bonds. With this coin, mixed with Confederate bonds, they should have bought up southern cotton for export and instituted an ad valorem tax. Meanwhile in Europe a twenty-year bridge loan would

provide quick capital while the cotton worked its way through the Union blockades. This would have let the war last longer and forced the Union to provide better terms. Ball asserts that none of these suggestions were outside the reckoning of the Confederate cabinet, though Memminger appears to have blocked their consideration.

As counterfactual history goes, Ball does a fair job. He makes an effort to discuss the parameters of debate in the antebellum South on finance and credit. He also makes valiant attempts to quantify the fiscal requirements of the Confederacy, the quantity of specie available in the region, the quantity of cotton available for sale, and the yield on a southern tax infrastructure.

Still, one boggles at the prospect of such a centralizing project in the hands of the self-professed defenders of states' rights. Could the treasury have replaced all the cotton factors in the South with an administrative structure of local agents? Who would have graded all that cotton? Could Confederate procurement and financing have really been centralized in London? What would Toombs or Rhett have said about forcing state-controlled banks to suspend specie payments? To be fair, Ball sidesteps none of these issues, but I remain somewhat unconvinced.

Ball's failure to convince may have something to do with his constant, rhetorical attacks on Memminger's ideas without much quoting of him or analyzing of his position, Ball delivers more slams per sitting than Shaquille O'Neal! We are told that Memminger had a "Southern predilection for legalistic abstractions," that he had a tendency to "exalt doctrine while ignoring reality," and that Ball's counterfactual policy would have suggested itself had Memminger "dispense[d] with inconvenient legalisms" and if the Confederacy "possessed anything approaching a realistic vision of its possible future." More generally, Ball's first chapter, which considers antebellum thought on issues of finance and economy, does so without the secondary sources of the past twenty-five years. Absent from his discussion are the works of Drew Gilpin Faust, Peter Temin, or Robert Sharkey. His preference for primary sources is laudable but not when he unquestioningly equates southern thought with abstraction (which Faust and many others contradict) and Jacksonianism with hard money (which Temin, et. al. revise).

Finally, the audience for the book is somewhat specialized. Ball assumes that his readers remember the major events in Con-

federate finance, like the Erlanger loan, and that they are well acquainted with theories of monetary policy, like the relationship between the velocity of currency movement and purchasing power. Nevertheless, the research is impressive and the range encyclopedic. Students of Confederate policy will find it incisive and challenging.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

SCOTT R. NELSON

The Era of Good Stealings. By Mark Wahlgren Summers. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. xiv, 390 pp. Preface, illustrations, epilogue and coda, notes, index. \$49.95.)

In his latest book about political corruption during the nineteenth century, Mark Summers has again demonstrated his investigative skills. Everyone interested in the Reconstruction period will want to read this important book. But those unfamiliar with his work may miss it because of the imprecise title. The same title could have been used for a book about the 1830s, 1850s, 1920s, and 1980s. Indeed, Summers's 1987 book, *The Plundering Generation: Corruption and the Crisis of the Union, 1849-1861*, deals with corruption during the 1850s.

In this perceptive volume Summers presents a balanced account of a notorious era. Referring to Nicholas Biddle's favors, and loans to Daniel Webster and Henry Clay in the 1830s he underscores that influence peddling has had a long history in the American political system. The tremendous increase in government spending during the Civil War facilitated a new wave of corruption. At the same time, the end of slavery invigorated the reform movement, as America seemed to be reborn. Crushing the Confederacy and freeing the slaves proved to many that expansion of the national government was the most effective way to enforce reform. And the opportunities for plunder made reformers of those who were out of power. Even Republican reformers like Thomas Nast and the *New York Times* had a partisan reason for toppling the Democratic Tweed Ring.

The description of vote-buying allegations swirling around the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson makes an eyeopening read. Secretary of State William H. Seward and others formed a

“ways and means committee” to raise \$165,000 which was used to procure the president’s one-vote acquittal. What role did Thurlow Weed, the “King of the Lobby,” the Whiskey Ring, Custom House Ring, and the Indian Ring play in the sordid affair? Summers concludes that Johnson’s acquittal was not ensured by illegal means but rather by presidential patronage and political deals. Nevertheless, the “corruption issue” became prominent after the impeachment trial, and the election of Ulysses S. Grant seemed to signal the “dawn of reform.”

Summers takes a fresh look at the scandals of the Grant administration and why the great general was such a “great disappointment.” As in his 1984 book, *Railroads, Reconstruction, and the Gospel of Prosperity: Aid under the Radical Republicans, 1865-1877*, he recounts the shenanigans between railroad promoters and politicians. Yet he again concludes that the scandals, including the Credit Mobilier fiasco, “were exaggerated, almost beyond recognition,” especially by partisan newspaper reporters.

This book is well written and of general interest, but students of Florida history will find that it contains far less about the state than his 1984 work. Economic and business historians will also discover that it suffers from a lack of primary financial and legal records. Although Summers relied on an impressive number of manuscript collections, the papers of public figures usually hold sanitized financial records because incriminating evidence has been destroyed. No doubt private collections like Jay Cooke’s papers include damaging letters; however, they still present an incomplete financial picture.

Summers did not use the records of the comptroller of the currency, which would have revealed the chicanery among bankers and their political friends. With the establishment of the national banking system in 1863, examiners from the office of the comptroller of the currency began to document questionable loans and transactions of national banks. A review of the regulatory records of the thirty-five national banks that failed between 1865 and 1874 would have disclosed those deals and the cozy relationships between Comptroller of the Currency Hiland R. Hulburd and the officers, directors, and stockholders of the defunct banks.

Summers also ignored bankruptcy and other case files of the U.S. District Courts. An analysis of the bankruptcy and litigation records of railroads and other corporations would have allowed

him to follow the paper trail of the promoters, politicians, and lobbyists. Until the financial and legal records are studied, the story of corruption during Reconstruction will remain only partially told.

Florida State University

RAYMOND B. VICKERS

Witness for Freedom: African American Voices on Race, Slavery, and Emancipation. Edited by C. Peter Ripley. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. xxiv, 306 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, editorial statement, chronology, introduction, glossary, bibliographical essay, index. \$29.95.)

Witness for Freedom is a collection of documents from the Black Abolitionist Papers Project which lays out in rich detail the full range of African American life and culture in America during the antebellum period. This work affords a sweeping perspective that combines black concerns about freedom with daily experiences, from black support of gradualist emancipation to concerns about Reconstruction.

Editor C. Peter Ripley's selections insightfully convey how African American views on abolition developed. In 1828 a speech by abolitionist David Walker advocated cooperation with white abolitionists, a view shared by many black advocates for freedom. By the 1840s and 1850s disillusionment with moral reform and moral suasion, the touchstones of abolition favored by whites, replaced black support of gradual emancipation with demands for immediate emancipation. A growing militancy convinced free blacks that abolition must be driven by the African American community. One letter defined the relationship between white and black abolitionists: "They are our allies— OURS is the battle" (p. 184). Realizing the fight could not be won by relying on whites or moral suasion, many black leaders insisted, "Physical and political efforts are the only methods left for us to adopt." Demands for political power became part of the antislavery crusade. Some black leaders urged support of a Liberty party free from political compromise, while others favored working within the Republican party. Calls for physical resistance became more powerful with the Fugitive Slave Law's passage, to which Frederick Douglass offered a physical rem-

edy: "A good revolver, a steady hand, and a determination to shoot down any man attempting to kidnap" (p. 184).

As black efforts and thought grew steadily independent and militant, so too did the organizations that kept black abolition strong and maturing. Antislavery societies helped to fund the African American press. *Freedom's Journal*, the *Weekly Anglo-African*, and others offered a forum for abolitionist information and developed an African American identity that preserved black culture and symbolized an example of self-reliance and ability. Professional abolitionists inspired the black community, placed the antislavery message before the largest number of people, and combatted racial stereotypes. Former slaves recounting the cruelty of slavery made lectures successful tools against proslavery arguments.

Black abolitionists' words and ideas also reveal how much insight a people who knew they were only partly free possessed. Frustration with white leadership and prejudice against blacks in the abolition movement prompted Samuel Cornish, editor of the *Colored American*, to recognize that "Prejudice against color, after all, is the test question" in determining the outcome of the antislavery fight. Free blacks also wrote and lectured on the federal government's ironic welcoming of refugees from abroad while passing the Fugitive Slave Law. Philadelphia blacks, gathered in 1850, condemned the "hypocrisy which welcomes to our shores the refugees from Austrian tyranny, and at the same time would send the refugees from American Slavery back to a doom, compared with which, Austrian tyranny is mercy" (p. 181). Harsher accusations came in 1857 from Philadelphia businessman Robert Purvis who forcefully stated, "I assert that the Constitution is fitting and befitting those who made it— slaveholders and their abettors" (p. 177).

These are rare glimpses into the minds and hearts of black Americans during a time of great change and halting progress. A thoughtful introductory overview, a table of chronology, and a glossary of terms provide a perfect accompaniment for anyone studying racial relations during the antebellum era.

Witness for Freedom is a small portion of the treasure in the Black Abolitionist Papers Project. The voices within chronicle the hopes and frustrations of working toward freedom, a journey with an indelible imprint on African American history.

Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African-American Church in the South, 1865-1900. By William E. Montgomery. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993. xiii, 358 pp. Preface, illustrations, epilogue, index. \$29.95.)

In *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree*, William E. Montgomery traces the development of the African-American church in the South from the end of the Civil War to the beginning of the twentieth century, although he devotes far less attention to the latter years of that period than he does to those of Reconstruction.

Montgomery locates the roots of the post-Civil War church in the independent black denominations of the North and in the "invisible institution," or informal church, of the slave community. He then describes efforts of the northern denominations' missionaries who came South during and after the Civil War but concludes that the freed people themselves, especially former slave preachers, were more important in establishing African-American churches in the Reconstruction South. The Methodist and Baptist congregations they founded symbolized freedom and offered their members continuity with their African and slave pasts.

Strongly influenced by recent scholarship on African cultural survivals within slave society, Montgomery frequently finds evidence of African influence on postwar practices. He shows how these influences and the freed people's situation fostered a distinctive theology, worship, and role for the church in society, one that was at once sacred and secular. Black churches provided various community services, including social welfare and education, and they played an important role in politics. During Reconstruction the many ministers who became politicians often advocated conservative policies and embraced reconciliation with whites. After Reconstruction, Montgomery concludes, most, though certainly not all, African-American ministers adopted an integrationist rather than a nationalist stance.

Montgomery never really addresses the seeming paradox that a church so rooted in African and separatist traditions so often adopted conservative and integrationist positions. He mentions but slights the importance of the slaves' antebellum experience in white churches. In similar fashion he acknowledges that some blacks felt forced out of these congregations by white racists' behavior after the war, but he stresses that blacks voluntarily chose to leave as an affirmation of their own traditions. He may well be

correct in his emphasis. Perhaps the ambiguity between separatist origins and conservative policies reflected only the persistence of an antirevolutionary strain within slave religion that historian Eugene D. Genovese has so ably explored. But what if whites' discriminatory treatment played a larger role in causing blacks to withdraw from white churches than Montgomery suggests? If the formation of black churches involved a not all together welcome abandonment of a common religious and institutional heritage rather than just an affirmation of a distinctive African-American faith, then continued conservatism and an integrationist approach might seem less paradoxical. In any case Montgomery's account would have benefitted from further exploration of the religious tradition whites and blacks shared. He never cites Kenneth K. Bailey's articles on this issue— nor for that matter books by James M. Washington and Edward L. Wheeler that discuss other aspects of his topic.

Despite these failings, *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree* remains a useful and important book. Montgomery skillfully incorporates much other recent scholarship on African-American culture and politics with evidence from a wide variety of primary sources in order to draw some important conclusions about the African-American church. He notes, for example, the significant role of women within black churches even as he acknowledges continued male domination of the institution. He repeatedly reminds readers that the African-American church was never monolithic and in several places carefully exposes some of its divisions. But most important, Montgomery provides exactly what he promises, an "exploratory rather than definitive" history of a central institution within the South's African-American community (p. xii). It provides a solid introduction to a most important topic, one not available in any other single book.

Louisiana State University

GAINES M. FOSTER

Booker T. Washington and the Adult Education Movement. By Virginia Lantz Denton. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xiv, 264 pp. Preface, illustrations, afterword, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

Though the white and colored signs have disappeared from the southern landscape, frequently an intellectual segregation sep-

arates the black experience out of the American experience. For example, often there is black history and then there is history— a segregation sometimes contributing to black isolation. As W. E. B. DuBois brilliantly explained, African Americans have been characterized by a “double consciousness.” As such, they have been both out of the mainstream, struggling against America’s oppression, and concurrently they have advanced America, usually along paths parallel to those of whites. Obviously, their experience warrants integration into standard academic disciplines.

The primary objective of Virginia Lantz Denton’s *Booker T. Washington and the Adult Education Movement* is to lift the legendary Tuskegee educator to his rightful place within the field of adult education. Denton defines this field as including “all the experiences of mature men and women in which new skills, knowledge, values, and interests are enhanced, combining the various processes of social change, culture, production, politics, and service.” Her study of Washington, the great exemplar of self-help and vocational education, was prompted by his virtual absence from the literature of adult education, even though Tuskegee Institute originated in educating mostly adults.

In centering Washington in adult education, Denton devotes about two-fifths of the text to the educational status of blacks in slavery and early freedom and the personal odyssey of Washington in the 1856-1881 period as grounding and grooming for his subsequent roles in adult education. She then delineates his plethora of initiatives in this area, commencing with his 1881 establishment of Tuskegee Institute in rural Alabama. Discussed particularly within the perspective of “Social Change Through Extension: Taking Adult Education to the Masses,” these initiatives embraced night school and bible school; a steady rhythm of Negro conferences; traveling demonstrations to farmers; local visits and state tours; transforming renters into land owners; funnelling northern philanthropy into all levels of black education; the national programs of his National Negro Business League, National Negro Health Week, and the National Urban League; and finally, his international influence, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Having surveyed these activities, Denton evaluates them and their originator via her chapter “Private Politics, Public Perceptions, and Pioneer Precedents.” Buttressed by Gunnar Myrdal’s *An American Dilemma*, she concludes that Washington “effected significant change in every area of adult life.” Moreover, she finds his

leadership relevant to the present. Moving on, she makes her most significant Washington evaluation within the context of the adult education discipline. For example, she demonstrates how he fits into four popular theoretical approaches: andragogy (the art of teaching adults), humanism, developmentalism, and behaviorism; and she asserts that his vigorous pursuit of the American Creed, or democratization, was in accord with the unifying idea that has animated the adult education movement.

Through this well-documented and well-written study, Denton successfully integrates Booker T. Washington into the adult education movement. Her interpretation could have benefitted, however, from greater connections between Washington and his era's general currents in adult education such as university extension services. Also, a rounded consideration of his adult and nonadult educational work would have brought his leadership into sharper focus. Moreover, one should be beware of Denton's surprising attitude towards the historically controversial Washington. Just as Pontius Pilate declared in relation to Jesus, "I have found no fault in this man," Denton does likewise with Washington. Conceding no ground, she castigates his chief critics from one end of this century to the other. Though her hero was indeed a titan, no mortal can be perfect—especially one pressed on every side by racial considerations in a racist society.

Alabama State University

Elaine M. Smith

James Branch Cabell and Richmond-in-Virginia. By Edgar MacDonald. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993. xxiv, 373 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, chronology, photographs, bibliographical notes, works cited, index. \$39.95.)

In the acknowledgments to his literary biography of Cabell, Edgar MacDonald proposes "to present [Cabell] as he was seen by his contemporaries and as he saw himself in his writings. . . . He was pretty much like my father, a quiet man who kept most of his opinions to himself in light of my mother's own flow of talk" (p. ix). A revealing statement, it sheds light, perhaps, on MacDonald's interesting blend of sympathy and not-always-concealed irritation in his portrait of the Richmond writer.

James Branch Cabell and Richmond-in-Virginia, as its title indicates, is an intriguing and sometimes frustrating portrait of a man and his place. MacDonald gives an insightful description for the uninitiated: "Despite its mythology, Richmond grew out of a polyglot culture, a nexus between north and south, east and west. Its head was given to an industrial north, its heart to an agrarian south. Down the James it looked eastward to a European homeland; to the west, it felt the lure of the frontier" (p. xiii). MacDonald argues that in Cabell's youth it was perceived that "Richmond had an English class hierarchy— old families (Virginians), old Richmonders (lawyers, physicians, clergymen), old merchants. . . . In reality the 'best people' in Richmond have always been a heterogeneous lot, intermarriages having occurred between the 'old' and 'new' in every decade" (p. xv). In this milieu MacDonald places the Cabells and Branches, who were not of the oldest families but who occupied respected positions in the social order.

Noting that it was "a Richmond custom that newlyweds would live with a parent or parents until the children arrived," MacDonald describes Cabell's birthplace at his Grandmother Branch's home, later the site of the Richmond Public Library. "It amused a mature Cabell to observe that he had been born on the second floor (approximately) of the public library" (p. 11).

The marriage of Cabell's parents was not a stable one, and MacDonald comments, "While the residences of his Grandmother Branch and his Grandfather Cabell were fixed, stable, geographical poles in a slowly turning Richmond, the abodes of young James Cabell's parents were peripatetic" (p. 24).

Of Cabell's education at William and Mary, MacDonald notes that Cabell was perceived as different from the norm. Noting that at this stage of its history the college was largely attended by rural, middle-class youths many of whom were on teaching scholarships, MacDonald describes Cabell's appearance: "Classroom attire at such colleges as William and Mary was the ubiquitous dark Sunday-best suit, usually ill-fitting and inhibiting. The cut of young Mr. Cabell's clothes set him apart, and the cane and yellow gloves marked him as someone outside the experience of his rustic counterparts" (p. 46).

Other important experiences for Cabell at William and Mary were his role in resurrecting the college literary magazine and the formation of two important friendships. As MacDonald describes

it: "While Dr. Robert Cabell and Anne Harris Branch gave physical life to James Branch Cabell, Charles Washington Coleman and Gabriella Brook Moncure were more truly the parents of the literary figure who emerged in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Coleman put the pen in his hand and Moncure gave him the inspiration."

Another creative act MacDonald writes of is Cabell's "pygmalion" activities after his marriage to Priscilla Shepherd, a widow four and a half years older than the author. He describes Cabell as "a dangerous thirty-three," increasingly aware "that he would be a fool not to strike while he still had some looks left." MacDonald shows him after his marriage engaged in "making over his wife's appearances and social graces; the myth-maker waved his wand over their 'anonymous house.' Old portraits, antiques, bric-a-brac replaced the furniture store decor."

For Cabell, MacDonald writes, "The prosaic rituals of domestic life with his wife and stepchildren were tinged with irreality, contrasting strangely, indeed disturbingly, with the more real intensity of his dreaming." Although this aspect of Cabell's aloof character is convincingly described, it is nevertheless true that in the biography, the discussion of Cabell's life seems more compelling than the analyses of his works. MacDonald either assumes his readers have a good prior knowledge of the work, or he feels that in his study the emphasis on the writer's life rather than his works is of primary importance. There are, however, a number of important facets of Cabell's literary career treated here, including the often-discussed publication history of *Jurgen*, his long-time relationship with editor Guy Holt and his friendships with Carl Van Vechten, Joseph Hergesheimer, and Frances Newman. MacDonald also includes Hugh Walpole's penetrating assessment of Cabell's writing style. "It is the easiest thing in the world to denounce it as affected, perverse, unnatural, and forced. It would be at once an artificial style were it not entirely natural to the man." Even less flattering was Charles Baldwin's remark about Cabell that "he wrote English 'as though it were a dead language'" (p. 268).

Of particular interest to readers of Florida literature is MacDonald's extensive treatment of Cabell's friendship with Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings as well as his accounts of Cabell's response to local reaction to his Florida books, such as a comment he made in 1942: "The last week has been wholly insane with parties in honor of [*The First Gentleman of America*], of which Florida approves, with

naivete, because it is about Florida and it has been mentioned by Kate Smith over the radio" (p. 311). Of the reception to *The St. Johns* (coauthored with A. J. Hanna), Cabell remarked: "I am not over eager to write any more Floridian history after Florida's reception of the St. Johns. Outside the state, the book had . . . a mild triumph; inside, there seemed to be an obscure resentment that the history of Florida had not been presented, as is customary, in a form which nobody could read" (p. 317).

Cabell's relationship with Ellen Glasgow has long been a subject of interest to scholars, and MacDonald recounts in detail the development of their friendship. He notes that Glasgow's "national prominence ranked with Cabell's. Her social standing in Richmond, however, ranked higher than his in local judgment, and he stood in awe of her commanding presence. If her deafness was a tribulation to her in society, it was not so inhibiting an affliction as his shyness" (p. 283). MacDonald traces Cabell's influence on Glasgow's development of the idea of her novels constituting a "social history" and describes how the two writers ultimately became boosters for one another's literary reputations. But his inclusion of a comment Cabell made about his reaction to Glasgow's death is revealing: "I admit that I went all to pieces and displayed a depth of emotion which I could not but admire" (p. 321).

The self-consciousness of this remark is indicative, finally, of the portrait of Cabell we see here. Although much of Cabell's work is biographical, he carefully controlled the image of himself that he presented for view. Readers of MacDonald's work will gain insight into what informed Cabell's life and work but will come away feeling that, as MacDonald suggests, there was always a protective mask surrounding James Branch Cabell, one that is well described here but never really removed.

Florida State University

ANNE E. ROWE

The Management of College and University Archives. By William J. Maher. (Metuchen, NJ: Society of American Archivists and Scarecrow Press, 1992. xv, 430 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, appendices, index. \$49.50.)

Vanity Letters: Documenting Modern Colleges and Universities. By Helen Willa Samuels. (Metuchen, NJ: Society of American Archivists and Scarecrow Press, 1992. 281 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, index. \$29.50.)

Researchers in the field of United States history depend upon the combined efforts of librarians and archivists to acquire, manage, and preserve the primary and secondary source materials that comprise the written historical record. Yet relatively few historical researchers are thoroughly familiar with the current professional theories, practices, and attitudes of archivists and librarians. The formal graduate education of historians emphasizes literature, historiography, and research methodology, but it seldom includes required course work in either librarianship or archival theory and management.

Customarily, historians learn about individual archives or libraries by pursuing sources important to their own interests. Through the experience of visiting various repositories and interacting with the staff members in each, historical investigators gradually familiarize themselves with local holdings, procedures, working conditions, and personalities, but they may well remain unaware of current professional trends in these very important related disciplines. Fortunately, the publication of two significant new works will make it much easier for historians and anyone else with an interest in American history to acquire a basic understanding of current thought and practice in the realm of archives.

The Management of College and University Archives by William J. Maher of the University of Illinois is a clearly written, detailed, nuts-and-bolts guide to understanding or establishing an academic archive, which also carefully places the college archive within the context of standard archival practice. In contrast, *Varsity Letters* by Helen Willa Samuels of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is a more theoretical and narrowly focused work. It is concerned not with all aspects of archival administration and technique but rather with the selection of documentation for archives.

Maher has arranged his presentation in seven sections or extended chapters covering a substantial number of related issues. Following the introduction Maher effectively describes the fundamental elements of a successful academic archival program. He then compares the unique conditions facing the academic archivist to general conditions within the discipline by explaining archi-

val theory, procedures, and techniques. Maher proceeds in the subsequent four sections to discuss special problems facing college archivists (such as machine-readable records), special challenges (such as ever-changing lines of institutional authority), on-going programmatic activities (such as records management), and, in conclusion, the critical challenge of maintaining effective personal working relationships within the framework of the larger institution.

Each section of *The Management of College and University Archives* contains excellent bibliographic notes. Besides providing clear explanations of terminology throughout the text, Maher has included five useful appendices: a select annotated bibliography about archival management, the Society of American Archivists 1979 "Guidelines for College and University Archives," the 1975 "Resolution on Theses and Dissertations" of the SAA College and University Archives Committee, a general bibliography on archival theory and practice, and a series of model forms used in operating an archive. The book also includes a thorough index.

While *The Management of College and University Archives* is a comprehensive work that strives to relate the academic archival variant to the wider archival world, *Varsity Letters* focuses on just one aspect (albeit vital) of archival work—collection development or the selection of appropriate documents to be preserved in the archive. Specifically, *Varsity Letters* advocates a new archival collection development approach or theory called institutional functional analysis.

Briefly, Samuels argues that archivists should select records for preservation based on the functions of the institution that produced them, rather than with reference to the administrative structure of that body. Thus, the first step in selecting records should be to perform an institutional functional analysis. Samuels identifies seven basic functions common to academic institutions: confer credentials, convey knowledge, foster socialization, conduct research, sustain the institution, provide public service, and promote culture. She contends that, using institutional functional analysis, such a list of basic functions could be prepared for any organization, regardless of its formal administrative apparatus.

The volume consists of ten chapters. The first explains the rationale behind Samuels's functional approach to selection and the second identifies the seven basic functions of universities. Each of the next seven chapters lucidly defines the several activities that together make up one of the seven basic functions. These seven chapters are the strength of the book, for they both list the compo-

ment academic activities for each function and give lucid descriptions of the types of institutional records that document such activities. A very brief bibliography follows each of these chapters. Finally, the book concludes with a sample Institutional Documentation Plan and an index.

Varsity Letters provides an intriguing overview of the multifaceted nature of the modern American university. The reader finds himself intellectually challenged by Samuels's well reasoned placement of certain university activities under one or another of the seven basic functions and favorably impressed by her mastery of the evidentiary potential of the numerous documents churned out by the academic machine. Perhaps because the book was intended as a call for a new intellectual approach to archival selection, Samuels has kept footnotes to a minimum and avoided a general bibliography altogether.

Nationally, the emergence of archival units at colleges and universities is a fairly recent phenomenon dating from the 1950s and accelerating rapidly during the following decades. The arrival of these two informative titles, copublished by The Society of American Archivists, in a sense marks the coming of age of academic archives and archivists. Maher's insightful book, with its straightforward and matter-of-fact style, is the first truly comprehensive treatment of this subject and seems likely to remain the standard work for many years. Samuels's articulate argument is a significant contribution to the literature on archival selection and the complexities of the contemporary American university.

Readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* can gain a great deal of insight into the operation of historical repositories by consulting these two skillfully created works. Researchers desirous of improving their relationships with curators or of advocating the selection by curators of certain types of materials essential to their own needs would likewise do well to become acquainted with these books. Public as well as academic libraries will find *The Management of College and University Archives* and *Varsity Letters* essential for both patrons and staff.

BOOK NOTES

The well known journal *Southern Living* has brought together a collection of essays from its “Southern Journal” section to publish a slim volume entitled *Southern Journal: Moments in Time*. Intended as a diary of southern ways— a literary daybook that documents “southernness”— the book covers a broad array of topics, including family history, beauty pageants, and antiques. It can be ordered from Southern Living, P. O. Box 523-A, Birmingham, AL 35201. Make out a check for \$6.95 to Southern Living Journal Book.

The colorful history of merchant seamen and pirates operating in the Atlantic and Caribbean is revealed in Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*. Using a huge array of historical sources, the book reconstructs the social and cultural world of the seamen who sailed the oceans in the first half of the eighteenth century. Rediker recreates life along the waterfront, with its brothels, alehouses, and street brawls, as well as the experiences aboard ship, especially the natural terror that shaped the existence of those who sailed the waters in small wooden vessels. It is available from Cambridge University Press, 32 East 57th Street, New York, NY 10022 for \$42.95.

Amelia Wallace Vernon’s *African Americans at Mars Bluff, South Carolina* traces the history of the African American community in this small farming community from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. The author was prompted to write the story when she learned in the 1970s that two hewn-timber houses built by African Americans about 1836 were to be torn down. She began to interview older residents of the community who related stories that connected back to the days of slavery. In the course of relating this century-long saga, the author reveals a host of interesting discoveries, including an intriguing hypothesis linking the introduction of rice growing to the skills and materials brought by slaves. The book can be ordered from Louisiana State University Press, Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70893-5053 for \$29.95.

The Rivers of Florida, edited by Del and Marty Marth, is a handsomely illustrated volume introducing the major waterways of the state. Composed of photographs, maps, and essays, the book devotes attention to eighteen different rivers including the Suwanee, Apalachicola, Withlacoochee, Kissimmee, and Waccasassa. The editors make an eloquent plea for the historical and commercial significance of the state's principal tributaries, making clear that they constitute one of Florida's most valuable natural resources. It is available from Pineapple Press, P. O. Drawer 16008, Southside Station, Sarasota, FL 34239 for \$24.95.

A special 50th anniversary edition of Theodore Pratt's *The Barefoot Mailman* has recently appeared. First printed in 1943, the story details the work of the barefoot mailmen of Florida who tramped a hundred-mile stretch of beach along the roadless southeast coast. They found it was easier to walk barefoot on the soft sand than to try and traverse the route inland. It took three days each way for the carrier to cover his route between Miami and Palm Beach. The typical mailman walked nearly 7,000 miles each year, often under a broiling sun (and an occasional hurricane). Mail was delivered in this fashion until the 1890s when the railroad took over delivery operations. Order the volume from the Florida Classics Library, P. O. Box 1657, Port Salerno, FL 34992-1657 for \$7.95.

W. Horace Carter has published *Florida Nature Coast: Tales and Truths*, a collection of vignettes and stories about life along the Nature Coast—encompassing the shore areas of Dixie, Levy, Pasco, Hernando, Citrus, Taylor, Jefferson, and Wakulla counties. The first portion of the volume is devoted to historical coverage of the hardy settlers who came to the region around the turn of the century. Dramatic acts of violence, natural disaster, and romance dot these pages. The book can be obtained from The Atlantic Advantage, P. O. Box 67, Highway 701, Tabor City, NC 28463 for \$14.95.

The Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research recently published issue no. 7 in its series *Florida Archaeology*. The series is intended to provide information about the activities of the Florida Division of Historical Resources relating to archaeology, anthropology, and history. The current publication, *Visitation and Revolts*

in Florida, 1656-1695, consists of a series of translations by John H. Hann of the best sources of information on the missions of Spanish Florida and on the natives whom they served during the second half of the seventeenth century. It can be ordered from the Museum of Florida History, History Shop, 500 South Bronough Street, Tallahassee, FL 32399-0250 for \$12.00.

Robert "Frogfoot" Weller has published *Galleon Hunt*, a history of treasure salvage operations in the Florida Keys. The volume focuses on the 1950s, the treasure salvage years, and the pathfinder of modern salvage techniques, Art "Silver Bar" McKee. For anyone who has dreamed of recovering gold doubloons and silver pieces of eight, this is a must read. Order the book from "Crossed Anchors Salvage," 1818 17th Avenue North, Lake Worth, FL 33461.

William Lee Miller's *The Business of May Next: James Madison and the Founding* is now available in a paperback edition. The volume examines the nation's founding not from the heroics of the battlefield and podium but from the quiet work of reading and thinking. The author shows that James Madison's great research project into what went wrong with other republics is as critical to our national life as Bunker Hill and *Common Sense*. At its heart the book outlines the moral, political, and intellectual underpinnings of the American political system. It is available from the University Press of Virginia, P. O. Box 3608, University Station, Charlottesville, VA 22903 for \$10.95.

The question of whether and, if so, how the South is "different" from the rest of the nation continues to intrigue students of American history, literature, and culture. In *The Burden of Dependency: Colonial Themes in Southern Economic Thought* Joseph J. Persky relates this question to the history of southern economic thought from its beginnings in the seventeenth century through the mid-twentieth century. Closely reading the works of Thomas Jefferson, George Fitzhugh, Henry Grady, and others, Persky traces the history of an idea that had important consequences— the southern sense of economic dependency. Southerners deeply resented what they perceived as economic exploitation— first by Great Britain and later by the industrial North— and Persky believes this resentment may help explain southern restiveness throughout much of

U.S. history. This intriguing book may be ordered from the Johns Hopkins University Press, 701 West 40th Street, Suite 275, Baltimore, MD 21211 for \$28.50.

A second edition of James C. Cobb's *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-90* has recently been published by the University of Illinois Press. The new volume integrates the southern experience more fully into national and international economic developments than the first, and it includes much new material on the South in the 1980s. The book can be ordered from the press at 54 East Gregory Drive, Champaign, IL 61820 for \$32.50, cloth; \$13.95, paper.

From C. Vann Woodward, the dean of southern history, comes the third edition of his highly acclaimed *The Burden of Southern History*. Published first in 1960, this Louisiana State University Press publication has been twice revised by the author. As in the original volume, Woodward explores "The Search for Southern Identity" and "The Irony of Southern History." This edition adds three new essays to the 1968 revision: a further reflection on the theme of irony and changes in race relations and separate essays on writers William Faulkner and Robert Penn Warren. This fine book can be ordered from the press, P. O. Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70894-5053; \$35.00, cloth; \$11.95, paper.

Those who saw the highly acclaimed Civil War movie *Glory* will remember Colonel Robert Gould Shaw. He was the child of Boston aristocracy, an abolitionist, and commander of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry, the nation's first all-black fighting regiment. *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*, edited by Russell Duncan and published in paperback by Avon Books, is now available. This collection of nearly 200 letters, many written from Shaw to his mother, portrays a complex and fascinating man. He led an advantaged life, receiving his education at the finest preparatory schools and then at Harvard University. His correspondence after assuming command of the Fifty-fourth notes his struggles with racism, doubts that black soldiers would measure up to white men in battle, and whether blacks *should* fight for their own freedom. The book can be ordered for \$12.50 from Avon Books, 1350 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10019.

Returning to print in paperback is LaWanda Cox's *Lincoln and Black Freedom: A Study in Presidential Leadership*. First published in 1981, this study of Abraham Lincoln's short-lived role in Reconstruction tempers the view of the slain president as the "Great Emancipator" with evidence that his commitment to African American freedom was often obscured by his desire to achieve the joint goals of union and emancipation. Despite the political expediency of Lincoln's policies, Cox demonstrates that his wartime reconstruction efforts in Louisiana incorporated significant freedoms for the former slaves. Had the president lived through his second term, Cox believes, the conflict between Congress and Andrew Johnson would have been avoided and African Americans would have received a more lasting measure of justice and equality. To order *Lincoln and Black Freedom* for \$14.95 contact University of South Carolina Press, 1716 College Street, Columbia, SC 29208.

Michael O'Brien, one of the South's leading intellectual historians, has brought together in one volume a series of essays previously published in numerous sources but introduced by an original piece. Despite covering a wide variety of topics, from W. J. Cash to Hugh Legaré and southern romantics in Italy to C. Vann Woodward, O'Brien maintains a consistent theme throughout; that is, southern intellectuals need to be taken seriously on their own terms within a framework of southern culture and without value judgements based on an implicit comparison between North and South. Order this Brown Thrasher book from the University of Georgia Press, 330 Research Drive, Athens, GA 30602. The price is \$19.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in Tallahassee, May 18-21, 1995. The Florida Historical Confederation will also hold its workshops at that time. The convention hotel will be the Ramada Inn North. Jerrell H. Shofner, chairman of the program committee, invites proposals for papers and sessions related to all topics in Florida history. The special emphasis will be "Women in Florida History and Florida's Sesquicentennial." Those wishing to read a paper or organize a session should submit an abstract and vita to Dr. Shofner, Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197. Dr. Joe Knetsch is chairing the local arrangements committee.

Awards and Honors

The Florida Historical Society annually awards three literary prizes for original work done in Florida history. The awards for 1993 were announced at the annual meeting held in Fort Myers, May 19-21, 1994. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History was awarded to Jeffrey A. Drobney, West Virginia University, for "Where Palm and Pine Are Blowing: Convict Labor in the North Florida Turpentine Industry, 1877-1923," which appeared in the April 1994 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The judges were Dr. Joe M. Richardson, Florida State University; Dr. Kenneth Kiple, Bowling Green State University; and Dr. Merlin Cox, Gainesville. The prize memorializes Professor Thompson, a Florida and southern historian who was a long-time member of the history faculty at the University of Florida. His family established an endowment to support the annual award.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award was given to Jerald T. Milanich, Florida Museum of Natural History at the University of Florida, and Charles Hudson, University of Georgia, for their book *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida*, published by the University Press of Florida. The judges were Dr. Larry Rivers, Florida A & M University; Dr. Jane Dysart, University of West Florida; and Dr. John W. Partin, Tampa. Rembert Patrick was secretary

of the Florida Historical Society and long-time editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. A noted Florida and southern historian, he also served as president of the Southern Historical Association and chairman of the history department at the University of Florida.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was presented to Kevin McCarthy, University of Florida, and Maxine Jones, Florida State University, for their book *African-Americans of Florida*. This book was published by Pineapple Press. The judges were Dr. Peter Klingman, Tampa; Sam Boldrick, Miami-Dade Public Library; and Susan R. Parker, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board. Dr. Tebeau is professor emeritus of history at the University of Miami, author of *A History of Florida*, and editor emeritus of *Tequesta*.

The Florida Historical Society recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by graduate and undergraduate students. The LeRoy Collins Prize was awarded to Heather McClenahan, a graduate student at the University of South Florida, for her paper "Governor LeRoy Collins and the Senate Election of 1968." The winner of the Caroline Mays Brevard Prize was Richard England, an undergraduate student at the University of South Florida, for his paper "A History of Citrus County Florida." The Society also recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history by a middle/high school student. The Frederick Cubberly Prize was given to Flordeliza Abad of Pensacola High School for her essay "The Effect of Geography on the Timber Industry at the Port of Pensacola at the Turn of the Century" and to her teacher, Kent Rettig.

The Society awarded three Golden Quill Awards, which are given for outstanding media participation relating to Florida history. The recipients were Eliot Kleinberg, *Palm Beach Post*; Florida Trust for Historic Preservation for *Florida Heritage*; and Ironwood Productions for *Florida History in Song*.

The Society also presented five new awards: the Presidential Service Award was given to Dr. David R. Colburn, University of Florida, and the Membership Recruitment Award was presented to Richard Prescott of Fort Myers. The Director's Local Society Award and the Director's Service Award were presented to the Fort Myers Historical Museum; and the Director's Donor Award was given to Armando Mendez of Fort Myers.

Dr. Joe Knetsch has been awarded the Scientific and Research Award by the Florida Society of Professional Land Surveyors. Dr. Knetsch is a member of the society's board of directors and an expert on the history of Florida surveying and cartography. He received the award in recognition of the essays he has published in the *Florida Surveyor* journal and for the many seminars he has conducted on the history of surveys and surveyors in Florida. He received this honor at the annual convention, of the society held in Ponte Vedra Beach on September 21, 1993.

The Hillsborough County Historical Commission announces the selection of Hampton Dunn to succeed the late Tony Pizzo as the honorary historian of the county. An award-winning Tampa newspaper reporter and managing editor of the *Tampa Times*, Hampton Dunn has written eighteen books. He is currently chairman of the Historic Tampa/Hillsborough County Preservation Board and is vice chairman of the county's historical commission. He is a former president of the Florida Historical Society.

The Georgia Historical Society announces the 1994 winners of the E. Merton Coulter Award and the William Bacon Stevens Award. The Coulter Award, an annual prize for the best article published in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, was presented in 1993 to Jonathan Sarris, a doctoral student in history at the University of Georgia, for his article "Anatomy of an Atrocity: The Madden Branch Massacre and Guerrilla Warfare in North Georgia, 1861-1865," which appeared in the Winter 1993 issue of the *Quarterly*. The Stevens Award, given every second year for the best article published by a student, was presented to James Granade at the Medical College of Georgia for his article "The Twilight of Cotton Culture: Life on a Wilkes County Plantation, 1924-1929," published in the *Quarterly's* Summer 1993 issue. The Coulter Award carries a stipend of \$500, and the Steven's Award \$250. Both were presented to the authors at the society's annual meeting in Savannah on April 9, 1994.

Louisiana State University Press announces that Winthrop D. Jordan has won the 1994 Bancroft Prize for his book *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek: An Inquiry into a Civil War Slave Conspiracy*. The volume tells the story of an abortive slave rebellion in the area around Natchez, Mississippi, in the spring of 1861 and of the sub-

sequent lynching of at least forty slaves. Jordan is the William F. Winter Professor of History at the University of Mississippi and the author of several other books, including *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro*.

The Pensacola Historical Society announced at its annual meeting that Dr. William S. Coker of the University of West Florida has received the Heritage Award. He received this honor in recognition of his many contributions to Pensacola history, especially for his long involvement with the Panton Leslie Papers Project. This project has resulted in the publication of *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Borderlands: Panton, Leslie and Co. and John Forbes and Co., 1783-1847*, and many articles dealing with the economic and social development of the Spanish borderlands.

News

The Tampa Bay Regional History Museum Preview Center was opened to the public on March 12, 1994, at Harbor Island. A private preview reception, hosted by the board of directors and trustees, was held for the press, representatives of the city and county government, local historians, and initial contributors to the museum's efforts the evening before the opening. The Preview Center examines the Tampa Bay area's 450 years of recorded history. Through photographs, displays, and exhibits the Center attempts to provide visitors with a sampling from the richness of materials available in the full museum.

An ambitious microfilming project has resulted in the preservation of *The Dade City Banner*, according to Bill Dayton, chairman of the Dade City Historic Preservation Advisory Board. Microfilm copies will soon be available for purchase. The film covers the years 1914 through 1970. Contact Melanie Cooksey, Collection Development Librarian, Pasco County Library System at (904) 567-3576 for further information.

The Tampa Historical Society announces the completion of repairs and renovation to its headquarters in the former Peter O. Knight cottage at 245 Hyde Park Avenue. The house began as the first Tampa home of Peter O. Knight and his wife Lillie Frierson shortly after their arrival to the city in 1889. Knight played a prom-

inent role in Tampa's early growth as an organizer of the Tampa Suburban Railway Company. He later served as president of the Tampa Electric Company for twenty years. The house became the official home of the Tampa Historical Society in 1978, and over the years many members and benefactors have contributed toward its maintenance. The refurbished building features a library and new displays of the society's collections. For information contact the society at 305 South Hyde Park Avenue, Tampa, FL 33606; (813) 259-1111.

The Museum of Southern History in Jacksonville was recently opened at 4304 Herschel Street (at Lexington Avenue). A group of Jacksonville Civil War history buffs created the museum in 1975 to preserve what Director Michael B. Snyder calls "the most misrepresented period of American history." For a number of years the museum shifted among the homes of board members. What started as an accumulation of Civil War memorabilia has grown to a collection of southern history extending through 1900. Two unique items in the collection are the Confederate battle flag used in the 1864 Battle of Olustee and a miniature scene of the Battle of Antietam built by a Jacksonville man, which contains about 2,000 hand-painted soldiers, 250 horses, and 130 cannons. Of special note, the museum contains a 2,500 volume research library. The museum is supported by private donations and contributions from the Sons of Confederate Veterans. Hours of operation are 10:00 A.M. to 6 P.M., Tuesday through Saturday, and admission is free.

The Pensacola Historical Museum has opened a new exhibit entitled *Collectibles*. The exhibit includes cameos in crystal, historical pewter figurines, and art glass paperweights. There are also many spoons and historic maps of Pensacola. The museum is open every day except Sunday and is located in Old Christ Church on Seville Square.

The Clewiston Museum, founded in 1984, is an expanding museum, collecting and displaying a variety of items that deal with the history of Clewiston and its environs. During the fall of 1994 the museum will mount exhibitions featuring the *Tampa Tribune* and the logging industry of the Big Cypress Swamp. For information contact the museum at 112 South Commercio Street, Clewiston, FL 33440; (813) 983-2870.

Meetings

The University of Georgia will sponsor a symposium entitled "Black and White Perspectives on the American South," on September 29-30, 1994. The two-day conference at the University's Center for Continuing Education in Athens will include sessions devoted to "The Historical Development of Southern Race Relations," "Class, Race, and Gender," "Culture," and "Justice and Power," in which participants will explore the differences and commonalities of white and black experiences in, perceptions of, and impacts on the region. Speakers include John Boles, William Chafe, James Cobb, Melissa Fay Greene, Daryl Dance, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Vincent Harding, Trudier Harris, and George Wright. For more information contact Professor William Holmes, Department of History, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602; (706) 542-8848.

The 38th Annual Missouri Valley History Conference will be held in Omaha, Nebraska, March 9-11, 1995. Proposals for papers and sessions in all areas of history are welcome. Proposals, accompanied by a one-page abstract and vita, should be sent by October 15, 1994. Contact Dale Gaeddert, Chair MVHC, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, NE 68182.

Grants

Grants ranging from \$1,000 to \$5,000 for scholars of all disciplines whose work examines the Irish-American experience are available from the Irish American Cultural Institute, an educational foundation based in St. Paul, Minnesota. The next deadline for proposals is August 15, 1994. For further information call or write the Institute at 2115 Summit Avenue #5026, St. Paul, MN 55105; (612) 962-6040.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING
January 29, 1994

The semiannual meeting of the officers and board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 1:15 P.M. at the Porcher House, Cocoa, January 29, 1994, by David H. Colburn, president. Those attending included Raymond O. Arsenault, Patricia Bartlett, Canter Brown, Jr., Hampton Dunn, J. Larry Durrence, Jan F. Godown, Milton Jones, Joe Knetsch, Marinus H. Latour, Stuart B. McIver, Thomas Muir, Susan R. Parker, Gordon Patterson, George E. Pozzetta, Daniel L. Schafer, Jerrell H. Shofner, Rebecca A. Smith, Cynthia Putnam Trefelner, Patsy West, and Lindsey Williams. Also present were Executive Director Lewis N. Wynne, Associate Director Emily Adams Perry, and the Society's secretary, Marilyn Potts. President Colburn introduced new members of the board, and Nick Wynne briefly described the history of the Porcher House.

Marinus Latour and Emily Perry reported on the Roesch House restoration. The Society has received a zoning variance from the city of Melbourne to permit the Society to use the Roesch House as its headquarters, although the area is zoned for residential use. The city's planning department requires three parking places: one handicapped space will be placed at the Roesch House, and the other two spaces will be located on the vacant parcel of land just to the north of the Rossetter House property. Architect John Parks of Tampa has prepared drawings for the restoration. The Society is soliciting bids, due February 8, 1994, from general contractors for the restoration. Good local publicity has resulted in the donation of services such as fumigation and title searches. Nick Wynne added that on December 7, 1993, the Roesch House was designated a Brevard County historic landmark and that a player piano is being given to help furnish the house. Dr. Colburn thanked Emily Perry for her efforts.

The minutes of the May 1993 meeting, as printed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, were approved.

Those present reviewed the 1993 financial report and discussed related issues. Nick Wynne and Dr. Colburn noted that the income statement for 1993 was slightly better than 1992. Nick

Wynne reported that the 1993 annual meeting in Pensacola grossed \$8,000. Nick Wynne noted that the Rossetters donated \$100,000 for the Roesch House restoration and moving expenses and that annual appeal donations total \$9,665. Dr. Colburn reminded the board that when the Society moves to Melbourne it will lose the University of South Florida's secretarial support. He also asked for marketing ideas for *Florida Portrait*, the state history published by the Society, and cautioned the Society against committing to future book publications.

Dr. Wynne reported that 1993 expenses mainly fell into two categories: personnel and office costs (telephone, travel, supplies, etc.). The increase in office expenses resulted from operations at two locations and from travel to Pensacola. He also noted that the Florida Historic Records grant was received in 1992, but expenses occurred in 1993.

Nick Wynne displayed the most recent issue of *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, and Editor Susan Parker thanked him for his work on the issue. President Colburn pointed out that *Journeys* is operating at a \$3,000 annual deficit and asked that the board at some point consider ways to reduce the deficit. Patsy West suggested contacting the meeting of the state's social studies teachers as a way to market it to teachers. Dr. Wynne recommended that the Society absorb *Journeys for the Junior Historian* costs for a few more years in the hopes that it will become self-sufficient. Susan Parker noted that the magazine has received a number of in-kind donations.

Nick Wynne proposed to deaccession and sell the James Bard painting of the *J. Sylvester*. He observed: 1) although the *J. Sylvester* traveled the St. Johns River for a time, the painting pertains to the Hudson River rather than to Florida; 2) the Society needs funds for supplies and labor to care for its collections; 3) the Peabody Museum has expressed an interest in the painting; 4) the James D. Julia auction house (which specializes in such materials) estimates a value of \$45,000-\$60,000; 5) all funds received from the sale would be used for collections care. Those present discussed the proposal. The library committee has considered related ethical issues and is rewriting the collections policy to define better the Society's acquisitions interests.

Marinus Latour presented the library committee report. The committee met in Tampa on November 20, 1993. University of South Florida archivist James Roth attended the meeting and reported on collections care needs. Roth discussed the necessity of

replacing storage folders and boxes with archival containers, estimated at \$10,000 for supplies. The committee considered deaccessioning the Bard painting and voted three to one to recommend deaccessioning. The collections manual has been rewritten and is being reviewed by the committee. Mr. Latour reported: 1) the committee agreed that the Society should maintain and expand its collection as a resource for researchers; 2) these collections should focus on information of regional, state, and national importance to Florida; 3) local materials should be referred to local societies; 4) where no adequate local society exists, materials should be referred to regional repositories or acquired by the Society; 5) the Society should limit its collections to two-dimensional materials (books, papers, etc.).

Marinus Latour suggested a five-year program for collections. Those present discussed the collections needs and proposals, including: 1) whether the Society should collect modern, in-print publications; 2) immediate needs (\$10,000 for supplies and \$18,000 for labor); 3) the uncertainty of long-range costs; 4) possible locations for the collections. The proposed five-year program was tabled until later in the meeting.

Marinus Latour made a motion that the Florida Historical Society's board authorize the deaccession of the Bard watercolor, *J. Sylvester*, for sale through an auction house or to a museum— the reserve price to be not less than \$45,000. The proceeds from this sale are to be used only for the preservation of the Society's collection; that is, for the purchase of materials and necessary services. An amendment to the motion was made and approved to change the reserve price to not less than \$52,500. The motion, as amended, was approved. A motion was made and approved to spend \$25,000 for the purchase of paper storage materials and for the care of the collection, subject to the sale of the Bard painting.

Those attending reviewed the proposed 1994 budget as presented by Dr. Wynne. The budget is based on the assumption that the Society headquarters will remain in Tampa through 1994. Dr. Wynne submitted three alternative budgets, incorporating the following scenarios: 1) employing an associate director full time, selling the Bard painting, and rehousing the collection; 2) not employing an associate director, selling the Bard painting, or rehousing the collection; 3) not publishing a newsletter, employing a half-time associate director, and not selling the Bard painting. Board members extensively discussed the proposed budget. A mo-

tion was made and approved to adopt the first of the three proposed budgets.

Marinus Latour made a motion that the Florida Historical Society commit to a five-year program for the preservation, housing, recording, and organization of the Society's collection, with the following goals as a guide: 1) First Year (1994) – a) purchase the needed collection storage materials; b) adopt a collections management, procedure, practices, and policy manual, including a collections statement; c) decide on a temporary or permanent site in Brevard County for the relocation of the Society's collection; d) begin planning for a capital campaign to fund the Society's resource center. 2) Second Year (1995) – approve plans for a capital campaign for the resource center. 3) Third Year (1996) – complete financing and begin work on the resource center. 4) Fourth Year (1997) – employ a full-time archivist/curator. 5) Fifth Year (1998) – the Florida Historical Society's Florida Resource Center opens.

Those present discussed the motion, noting, among other things, the need for flexibility, the ongoing search for a temporary or permanent site, and the implications of committing large expenses and running a capital campaign. It was emphasized that the motion proposes goals rather than makes commitments and can and should be changed in the future. The motion was approved.

President Colburn reported on the activities of the Florida 150th Anniversary Committee: 1) Committee chairman Gary Mormino has resigned from the committee; 2) Senator Graham had a staff member contact the National Archives and Library of Congress concerning the Sesquicentennial, and the National Archives has expressed an interest in preparing a traveling exhibition. Senator Graham has expressed an interest in promoting an event at the Kennedy Center in Washington. Joe Knetsch reported that he has been contacting people in Florida, and local support is good. Susan Parker announced that the St. Augustine Historical Society is planning a three-month celebration with, among other things, a commemorative tee shirt. Nick Wynne mentioned that the Society is planning thirty second to one minute public service announcements for television. The Florida Humanities Council will seek proposals for 1995. Tom Muir suggested that a letter of support be submitted to the state legislature mentioning past legislators who were active in the Society.

Dr. Pozzetta presented the *Florida Historical Quarterly* report. He has a backlog of manuscripts. Several procedural changes have

occurred: 1) a new editor; 2) new offices; 3) a separate budget entry in the University of Florida budget. He reported one problem, a \$500 shortfall in funds for postage. A motion was made and approved to authorize the executive director to provide additional funds, if necessary, for postage for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

A location for the 1996 annual meeting was discussed. Verbal or written proposals have been received from Miami, Key West, and Melbourne. A motion was made and approved for the Society's annual meeting to take place in Brevard County in 1996.

Nick Wynne presented the membership committee report. Brochures have been distributed to board members for use in recruiting new members. Rodney Dillon is compiling a list of individuals to chair a recruitment committee for each county.

Those present discussed expanding the board with five at-large members, which was approved at the May 1993 business meeting. A motion was made to enact the proposal to add five at-large members, to be elected at the May 1994 business meeting. An amendment to the proposal was made and defeated to add three at-large members rather than five. After considerable discussion the motion was approved ten to eight.

Dan Schafer reported that sixty-three proposals have been received for the annual meeting program.

Milton Jones submitted a motion to require that any proposed amendments or changes to the bylaws be submitted in writing in advance. After discussion the motion was withdrawn, to be revised and resubmitted at the May 1994 board meeting.

Milton Jones made a motion to revise the bylaws concerning the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*: 1) Amend Article II to eliminate Section 2 entirely; renumber existing Sections 3 through 9 to be Sections 2 through 8; change the reference in existing Sections 4 and 5 to Section 3 to reference new section 2. 2) A new Article V would provide: Article V— Editors of Publications, "The Board shall appoint the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and Editors of the Society's other publications to serve at the pleasure of the Board. Editors shall not be officers or Board members." 3) On adoption of the new Article V, the existing Article VI would become Article VII; existing Article VII would become Article VIII, and existing Article VIII would become Article IX. The motion was approved.

The meeting was adjourned.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . .

1994

Sept. 28- Oct. 1	American Association for State and Local History	Omaha, NE
Oct. 14-16	Southern Jewish Historical Association	Raleigh, NC
Oct. 27-30	Oral History Association	Albuquerque, NM
Oct. 26-30	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Boston, MA
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	Louisville, KY

1995

Jan. 5-8	American Historical Association	New York, NY
Feb. 6-12	Florida Archaeology Week	
March 30- April 2	Organization of American Historians	Washington, DC
May 18	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Tallahassee, FL
May 18-21	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 93RD MEETING	Tallahassee, FL

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FROM

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

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$25; family membership is \$30; library membership is \$35; a contributing membership is \$50 and above; and a corporate membership is \$100. In addition, a student membership is \$15, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0917. Telephone: 813-974-3815 or 974-5204; Fax: 813-974-3815. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.



THE WAR'S OVER

THE WAR

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Reaction Race
90 Miles to
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to China