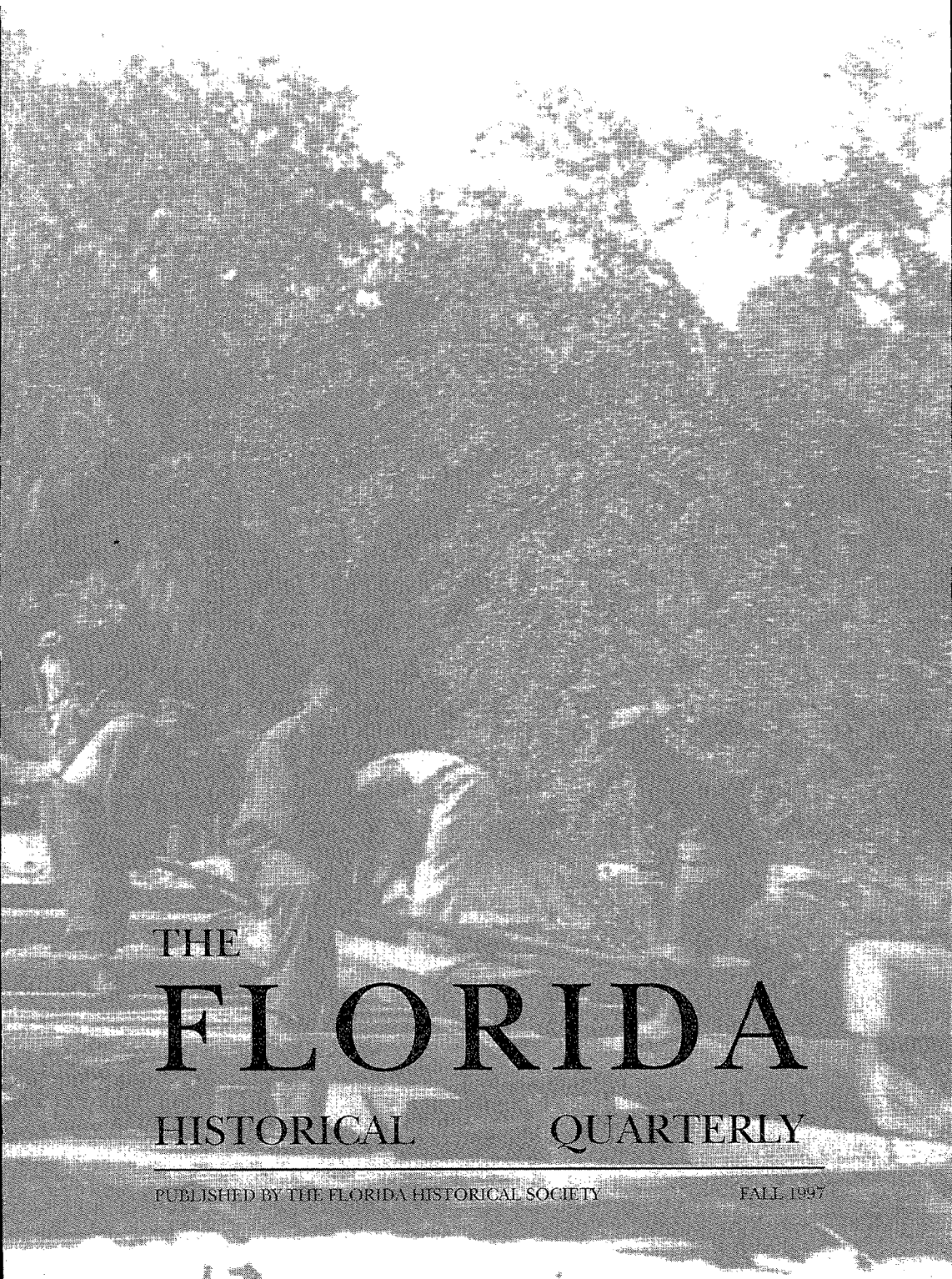

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COVER

New Deal funds helped Sarasota and many other southern cities weather the Great Depression. The cover illustration shows Civilian Conservation Corps employees at work in the newly created Myakka State Park. *Photograph courtesy of the Walter and Margret McWhorter Collection, Sarasota Department of Historical Resources, Sarasota.*

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Sarasota: Hardship and Tourism in the 1930s

by RUTHMARY BAUER

SUNSET AT SARASOTA

The poet's inspiration, the painter's delight;
To any common mortal, a wonderful sight,
The sky iridescent, golden, amethyst, jade, pastel blue,
Reflected in waters of a deep emerald hue.

The bay truly beautiful as day gives way to night,
The wavelets all aglitter in the sun's setting light,
Would stir the soul of Satan with feelings sublime;
May you see what I saw, and know the thrill that's mine.

The lights along the causeway (a quiet artistic span
That unites fair Sarasota with the isle of St. Armand)
Twinkle in the twilight, like starlets in a sky of gold,
And mirror in the bay their beauty to behold.

No tourist should fail to view it where the sky is at its best.
Come here to Sarasota, you'll be a welcome guest.
From the park before the Mira Mar when the sun begins to set,
You will behold a vision you never can forget.

Then view the gulf at Lido, and stroll along the strand;
Dip into its waters and dig into the sand;
See the nation's beauties who come here to bathe
And sport upon the snow white beach or float upon the wave.

Back home you'd go rejoicing for having seen this land
And tell your friends about it with adjectives so grand.
They'd never spend a winter north 'mid ice and drifting snow,
But haste to Sarasota where summer's zephyrs blow.

Dr: C. McCue
Winter visitor from Goodells, Michigan
Sarasota Herald, *March 4, 1930*

FROM 1922 to 1926, Sarasota experienced the top-of-the-world exhilaration of the great Florida land boom as it evolved from

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Ruthmary W. Bauer is a graduate student at the University of South Florida in Tampa. She wishes to thank Ann Shanks at the Sarasota County Department of Historical Resources for her help and support.

a frontier town into a modern city. During this crucial period Sarasotans debated the course of the city's development. Some residents wanted the city to become a deepwater port while others, among them developers John Ringling and Owen Burns, envisioned Sarasota as a metropolitan resort for the moderately wealthy settler and the winter visitor. During the early and mid-1920s real estate developers embarked on a flurry of new construction that included plush resort hotels, skyscrapers, and upscale residential communities. The city's first contemporary theater, the Edwards Theater, staged its grand opening in April 1925. The value of existing real estate skyrocketed. Belle Haven Inn, built in 1887, sold for $500,000, well above its 1914 purchase price of $35,000.[1]

Land sales slowed and then halted in the fall of 1926, and life in Sarasota changed from glorious to bleak. After the real estate bust, a group of businessmen approached John Ringling with the idea of moving the circus's winter quarters to Sarasota from Bridgeport, Connecticut. The move to Florida, they argued, would save the circus money since the animals would be able to remain outdoors during the winter months. The county commissioners provided the circus with 160 acres and tax incentives. In exchange, the circus provided free advertisement for Sarasota in the circus programs and on the circus train. Following its 1927 national tour, the circus moved to Sarasota and resided in town from December through March every year until its move to Venice in 1959. The circus was an economic godsend for the city, sustaining local merchants and drawing visitors to the area to see practice performances. Over the years, the circus provided Sarasotans with seasonal jobs as carpenters, canvass makers, and seamstresses.[2] The circus eased some of Sarasota's economic hardships but it was not enough to protect the city from the devastation of the Great Depression.

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1. The Sarasota and El Vernona (now John Ringling Towers) Hotels, the First Bank and Trust Company, the American National Bank Building, Whitfield Estates, Cherokee Park, and Sapphire Shores were all constructed during this four-year period. See *Sarasota Herald,* November 20, 1925; Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Sarasota* (Tampa, 1977), 215.
2. David Chapin Weeks, *Ringling: The Florida Years* (Gainesville, 1993), 41, 73-74, 91, 150; Gene Plowden, *Those Amazing Ringlings and Their Circus* (New York, 1967), 169-71; Pete Schmidt, "John Ringling and His Impact on Sarasota," *Sarasota Life,* Volume I (December 1970), 15; Grismer, *Story of Sarasota,* 244; and Ernest J. Albrecht, *A Ringling by Any Other Name: The Story of John North Ringling and His Circus* (Metuchen, N.J., 1989), 289.

Contradictions characterized Sarasota's history during the 1930s. Despite the decade's dire conditions, the city's population increased by almost fifty percent and public services were expanded and improved. Prominent people, such as former president of the United Press International Karl Bickel, and Crosley Radio Corporation owner Powel Crosley, Jr., built homes in Sarasota and contributed to the area's growth. By the end of the decade, the city's *Visitors' Guide* ranked the county among the wealthiest in the United States.[3]

Sarasotans weathered the depression in part by producing much of their own food, especially fruits and vegetables, and by using the barter system for payment of goods and services. Arthur Esthus, owner of Esthus Transfer Service, transported travelers' baggage or household goods and often accepted payment in the form of produce or household items. According to his son Pete, "By 1935, along with other items of furniture, we owned an electric refrigerator and a player piano. We never knew what Dad would bring home next."[4] Gordon Higel, a long-time Sarasota resident, likewise remembered that a lot of people bartered during this cash-poor period. Audrey Albritton Causey recalled that she was unaware of the depression since her grandfather grew enough fruit and vegetables to sustain his immediate family and help his relatives and neighbors. The family raised chickens and ducks and produced milk, cream, butter, and cottage cheese from its two milk cows. "We didn't know what the depression was all about because we had everything there on the place that we needed."[5] Karl Albritton, a local citrus grower, was not adversely affected by the depression although the citrus industry did have its ups and downs. His family always had plenty of food and he was able to pay his employees two to three dollars a day.[6]

3. According to the 1945 census, Sarasota's population was 8,398 in 1930 and by 1940, the city had grown to 11,141 citizens. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Seventh Census of the State of Florida, 1945* (Tallahassee, 1946), 84; Sarasota Chamber of Commerce, *Sarasota Visitors' Guide 1939* (Sarasota, 1939), 27.
4. Bernice Brooks Bergen, *Sarasota Times Past: A Reflective Collection of the Florida Gulf Coast* (Miami, 1993), 88; Pete Esthus, interview by author, October 6, 1995, Sarasota, tape recording.
5. Gordon Higel, interview by author, October 6, 1995, Sarasota, tape recording; Audrey A. Causey, interview by Dottie Davis, July 31, 1980, transcript, p. 5, Sarasota County Department of Historical Resources (hereinafter SCDHR).
6. Karl Albritton, interview by author, October 14, 1995, Sarasota, tape recording.

As Sarasota's number one industry during the decade, tourism was essential to the city's financial health. During the 1930s, Sarasota– self-proclaimed "Florida's most attractive city"– continued to attract winter visitors, as did St. Petersburg and Miami, two of the state's popular resort cities.[7] Sarasota's climate, beaches, sport fishing, hunting, two excellent golf courses, professional baseball spring training, and other outdoor activities made the city an attractive winter destination. The city was also able to offer cultural activities and entertainment. In addition to the performances at the Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus Winter Quarters, tourists enjoyed the John and Mable Ringling Art Museum and the spectacular Sara de Soto Pageant, which locals compared to New Orleans' Mardi Gras. The pageant was an elaborate dramatization of the tragic love between Hernando de Soto's daughter and Chichi-Okobee, heir to the Black Heron Indian tribe. The legend, written by George Fleming Chapline, was based on a story about a young Seminole chieftain who took his own life when his sweetheart died. Traditionally the event lasted three days, and Sarasotans dressed in Indian and Spanish garb and participated in a parade, a reenactment of the legend, and a formal ball.[8]

The depression posed challenges to town boosters who tailored their advertising accordingly: they appealed to financially strapped potential visitors by claiming it was cheaper to spend the winter in Sarasota than in the North. They encouraged potential tourists to "Cancel your coal bills– and cold bills– by substituting the glorious climate of Sunny Sarasota for those bleak winter months."[9] Sarasota mimicked St. Petersburg and Miami, both of which employed sophisticated advertisements to entice winter vacationers. St. Petersburg, nicknamed the "Sunshine City," hired a publicity director who used everything from babies to bathing beauties to sell the city. Miami created a new slogan– "Stay

7. Sarasota Chamber of Commerce, *Visitors' Guide, Season, 1930-31* (Sarasota, 1930).
8. The legend can be found in its entirety in Neal Chapline, *Once Upon a Morning* (Franklin, N.C., 1980), 134-39. Variations of the legend were reprinted in the *Sarasota Herald* in conjunction with the pageant. Also see *Sarasota City Directory*, 1930 (Jacksonville, 1930).
9. Sarasota Chamber of Commerce, *Visitors Guide, Season, 1930-1931*, 5.

Through May"– and presented summer fashion shows and plays at the civic theater to encourage visitors to stay longer.[10]

Despite a burgeoning tourist trade, unemployment posed a problem. In 1931, a committee on unemployment created by the Chamber of Commerce confirmed fears that already-scarce jobs were going to nonresidents. The Chamber urged local companies, particularly Palmer Farms (which the Chamber found was guilty of hiring non-residents), to hire Sarasotans. In June, the Chamber created and distributed pledge cards encouraging potential employers to hire as many additional employees as possible for the last two weeks of June and the first week of July. The laborers would be paid twenty-five cents an hour and could be hired through the county welfare agent. In addition to employing local workers, residents also were encouraged to patronize local businesses. In July, the *Sarasota Herald* urged citizens to purchase bread– "the staff of life"– from the four local bakeries. The editorial claimed that "It is short sighted for Sarasotans to buy bread baked in other cities, where the labor employed in its production spends its payroll with merchants in those other cities."[11] To assist the needy, Sarasotans also employed charity. At least two benefits to aid the unemployed were held in November: the "Helping Hand" benefit at the Edwards Theater, which collected about $275, and a championship diamond ball series held at Payne Park between two city teams, the Gulls and the Tarpons.[12]

Transiency posed a problem in Sarasota and throughout Florida as unemployed men and women sought jobs and a better way of life. Transients in Sarasota chopped wood in exchange for a cup of coffee and some food. The police then gave them a choice of directions– north, south, or east– drove them to the city line, and sent them on their way. The St. Petersburg Home Patronage Committee posted signs that read "DO NOT COME HERE SEEKING WORK– A CITY'S FIRST DUTY IS TO EMPLOY ITS OWN CITIZENS."[13] Miami used its "hobo express" to transport transients on to the next county.[14]

10. Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Gainesville, 1996), 261; Helen Muir, *Miami, U.S.A.* (Miami, 1990), 161.
11. *Sarasota Herald,* July 1, 1931.
12. Ibid., November 29, 1931.
13. Ibid., November 30, 1932; Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream,* 257.
14. Arva Moore Parks, *The Magic City Miami* (Miami, 1991), 130.

As the major industry, tourism hampered the city's ability to deal effectively with the problem of unemployment. Chamber members considered holding a public meeting to address the issue but decided to keep quiet about the dire conditions while continuing their efforts to find work for those who needed it. Miami and St. Petersburg boosters likewise adopted a code of silence, fearing the loss of tourists. Miami, "play city of the nation," hid its barefoot children, while St. Petersburg business leaders banished the word "depression" from the local lexicon.[15]

The *Sarasota Herald's* New Year's Day editorial proclaimed better times for the city and county in 1932, and the new year began on an optimistic note. The newspaper predicted that construction of the new post office would spur additional growth and a revival in the real estate market. The new S. H. Kress building generated the largest building revenue for the year. The three-story steel and concrete building boosted Sarasota's economy and later became one of the city's landmarks.[16]

In addition to new construction, the city also hosted several conventions. The Tin Can Tourists (TCT) Convention promised to bring thousands of people to the city. Sarasota also hosted the Florida Medical Convention and the Florida Federation of Art Convention. The tarpon sportfishing tournament enjoyed another successful year, Palmer Farms claimed a world record shipment of celery, and the Boston Red Sox announced plans to hold spring training in Sarasota. In addition, the TCT, as well as other tourist groups and local organizations, contributed funds to the unemployment relief committee.[17] Unfortunately, the optimism was short-lived. The Sara de Soto Pageant, an annual event since 1916,

15. Minutes, Sarasota Chamber of Commerce, June 9, 12, 13, 15, and 18, 1931, mss 64, box 2, folder 6, SCDHR; Muir, *Miami, U.S.A.,* 193; Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream,* 262.
16. *Sarasota Herald,* January 1, July 2 and 5, 1932, January 4, 1933.
17. The Tin Can Tourists were winter visitors who traveled in trailers. They were middle-aged or older and represented most trades and professions. Many were retirees. Three theories exist as to the origin of the name. One theory alludes to their habit of eating from tin cans. A second holds that their trailers looked like tin cans. A third claims that the travelers put tin cans over the car's radiator cap to identify themselves as club members. Sarasota recognized the value of the TCT who met in Sarasota County from 1919 until 1937, and a local chapter was established January 7, 1921. See Bernice Brooks Bergan, "The Story of Sarasota's Tin Can Tourists," *Times Newspaper;* December 30, 1990, newsclipping in Tin Can Tourist file, SCDHR; *Sarasota Herald,* March 18 and 23, April 4, 1932, January 2 and 3, 1933.

was discontinued. Despite new revenue realized from the recently legalized pari-mutuel wagering at the dog and horse tracks, the city, burdened by a $6 million debt, could not afford it.[18] In addition to abandoning local traditions, the city cut salaries by ten per cent and decreased its operating expenses by more than $60,000. Even the Chamber of Commerce struggled. In December, unable to pay the principal or interest on its building, the Chamber deeded the property back to the Bank of Sarasota.[19]

Nineteen thirty-three and 1934 proved difficult for Sarasota, particularly for public education. Throughout the state, subjects considered "nonessentials," such as art, music, home economics, physical education, and manual training, were eliminated from the curriculum. Forced to cut expenses, the local school board eliminated payment of private transportation to and from school. No savings was too small. The board cancelled the ten dollars T. L. Williams received each month to transport his four younger children to Booker School, Sarasota's school for black students, because he had an older son who worked at the school as a janitor and the children could ride with him.[20]

Desperate to save money, the board closed the schools on February 24, 1933, and reopened them on a tuition plan. On February 27, 750 white children registered on a tuition plan of three dollars a month for elementary school students and five dollars a month for high school students. Class size decreased by fifty percent with the implementation of the tuition plan; classes were combined and the students completed eight months' work in seven, thus complying with the rules of the Southern Association of Accredited Schools. The school board also ended the school year early. Sara-

18. Pari-mutuel wagering at dog and horse tracks was legalized in 1931. Florida's sixty-seven counties shared the revenues equally. *Sarasota Herald,* July 9, 1932; Del Marth and Martha J. Marth, eds., *Florida Almanac, 1990-1991* (Gretna, La., 1990), 58. Pari-mutuel betting and illegal gambling provided a big boost to Miami's economy as well. Muir, *Miami, U.S.A.,* 180-90; Ann Armbruster, *The Life and Times of Miami Beach* (New York, 1995), 58.
19. The city's indebtedness was the result of unpaid bonds passed for street improvements and unpaid taxes and property assessments, some of which dated back to the bust years of 1925-29. See *Sarasota Herald,* June 13, 1930, November 30, 1931. For city budget cuts and fiscal difficulties, see Ibid., January 2 and 3, 1933; and Minutes, Sarasota Chamber of Commerce, December 14, 1932, mss 64, box 2, folder 6, SCDHR.
20. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1971), 399; *Sarasota Herald,* January 4, 1933.

sota High School closed on April 20; the three elementary schools did not close until May.[21]

The 1933-34 school year also represented a low point for the Ringling School of Art, which had been founded two years earlier as a branch of Southern College (now Florida Southern College) in Lakeland. Thirteen day students and one dormitory student registered for the fall semester. President Verman Kimbrough assembled the faculty and presented them with an ultimatum: they could move their families into the empty dorms or look for other jobs. The faculty agreed unanimously to move into the dorms. Remarked one faculty member: "Nobody had any place to go anyway." Kimbrough aggressively recruited potential students, and when school opened in the fall of 1933, forty-six students resided in the dorms. Nevertheless, the school was required to make further economies, In 1934, the school eliminated the junior college and music courses to concentrate solely on art. During the 1934-35 school year, teachers received five months' salary out of eight; the following year they received seven months' salary.[22]

Like other southern cities, Sarasota benefitted from New Deal work and relief programs. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) funded several projects which provided work for Sarasota's unemployed. The Washington Boulevard sewer project, which employed an average of thirty men per day, was completed in July 1933. By November, two more projects were in progress, with nine additional planned. Minimum wage on FERA jobs was forty cents an hour for a thirty-hour work week. The first Civil Works Administration (CWA) checks, totalling almost five thousand dollars, were distributed to 641 workers. The checks ranged from $3.60 to $12, averaging less than $7 per check. CWA projects included a tick

21. *Sarasota Herald,* March 1 and 30, April 18, 1933.

22. The Ringling School of Art was originally a junior college that offered both art and business classes. Dr. Ludd M. Spivey, president of Southern College, approached John Ringling with the idea of the school. Spivey purchased the Bay Haven Hotel for the amount of the back taxes and insurance, and Ringling's contractors did the renovations. In 1933 the faculty, angered that monies generated by the school were being sent to pay salaries on the Lakeland campus, petitioned for the school to become independent of Southern College. The petition was granted and the Ringling School of Art received an independent charter on May 14, 1933. See Ringling School of Art and Design file, SCDHR; *Sarasota Herald Tribune,* October 4, 1964 (faculty quotation); Robert E. Perkins, *The First Fifty Years– Ringling School of Art and Design, 1931-1981* (Sarasota, 1982), 5.

eradication project and repairs to the county courthouse, Ringling Boulevard, Sarasota Hospital, and Bahia Vista Avenue.[23]

In an attempt to stimulate trade and goodwill during the slow summer months of 1933, Sarasota merchants and the *Sarasota Herald* organized a popularity contest open to all young white women. When customers purchased an item or paid on an account, they received a certain number of votes to place on their favorite contestant. The young lady receiving the most votes won an all-expenses-paid trip to Chicago for the Century of Progress Expedition. Second prize was a trip to Cuba. Interest and participation in the contest helped to settle old bills and generate new business.[24]

Problems with unemployment and public education did not deter city boosters from aggressively promoting Sarasota as a prime tourist destination in the winters of 1934 and 1935. The *Sarasota Herald* printed a Mail-It-Away edition of the paper which extolled Sarasota's history, its beautiful beaches, fantastic recreational activities, and bountiful wildlife and fish. The paper tried to present Sarasota as the prosperous home of the famous and well-to-do. In addition to well-known businessmen, Sarasota was home to such noted writers and artists as "Moon Mullins" and "Alley Oop" creators Frank Willard and V. T. Hamlin; Robert Herrick, author of *Master of the Inn;* poet Witter Bynner; landscape artist Adolf Shulz; and sculptor Adrian Pillars. The paper stressed that most businesses were year-round and not seasonal. Sarasota County supported fourteen commercial dairies, a small but thriving poultry industry, and a strong plant nursery business. The county boasted being fifth in the nation for celery production; it also grew strawberries, papaya, pineapple, mangos, guavas, bananas, pomegranates, sugar apples, and natal plums.[25]

By the mid-1930s Florida's economy appeared to reach a turning point, particularly in the resort cities. During the early years of the depression, Miami's aviation industry had grown, with both American and Eastern Airlines providing passenger service to and from Miami. By the mid-1930s tourists from Latin America arrived via Pan American, and northern tourists arrived via Eastern. In addition, both Delta and National Airlines began serving the city. The first Orange

23. *Sarasota Herald,* July 7, November 28, and December 3, 1933.
24. Ibid., June 2 and July 2, 1933.
25. *Sarasota Herald,* December 3, 1933, December 2, 1934. The Mail-It-Away was sent to members of the Sarasota Tourist Club and past visitors to the city.

Bowl Football Classic was held on New Year's Day 1933 and quickly became a tourist attraction; the parade was added on New Year's Eve day in 1936. By 1935, the worst was over for St. Petersburg, too, as tourism revived the city's economy.[26]

The same held true for Sarasota. The Sara de Soto Pageant was revived in 1935. The Players, Sarasota's theatrical group, participated in the reenactment of the legend, accompanied by original music and narrated over a loudspeaker system. The TCT numbered 2,369 and filled 1,004 camping units. The Chamber of Commerce remained active during the year and appeared to be more financially stable than in previous years. For the first time in several years, the Chamber was able to pay the dues ($25) required to join the Florida Chamber of Commerce. The members agreed to allocate $100 for signs at Stickney Point Road and Tamiami Trail to draw attention to the scenic beach route into Sarasota, and they agreed to pay the delinquent Tarpon Tournament bill of $200.[27]

Federal funds continued to support the reviving local economy. FERA employed approximately one hundred men in a beautification project that included cleaning school grounds, parkways, roads, and public grounds. In October, a Works Project Administration (WPA) project to drain a golf course employed forty men. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) arrived in Sarasota in 1935 and made a dramatic impact on Sarasota County by creating Myakka State Park. The park's approximately 25,000 acres were acquired from three sources. In 1934, the state foreclosed on 6,000 acres in the lower Myakka Lake region. That same year, A. B. Edwards of Sarasota persuaded the Florida Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund to purchase an additional 17,000 acres at 37-1/2 cents per acre. To complete the acreage, Potter and Honore Palmer donated approximately 2,000 acres of Bertha Palmer's Meadow Sweet Pastures Ranch.[28]

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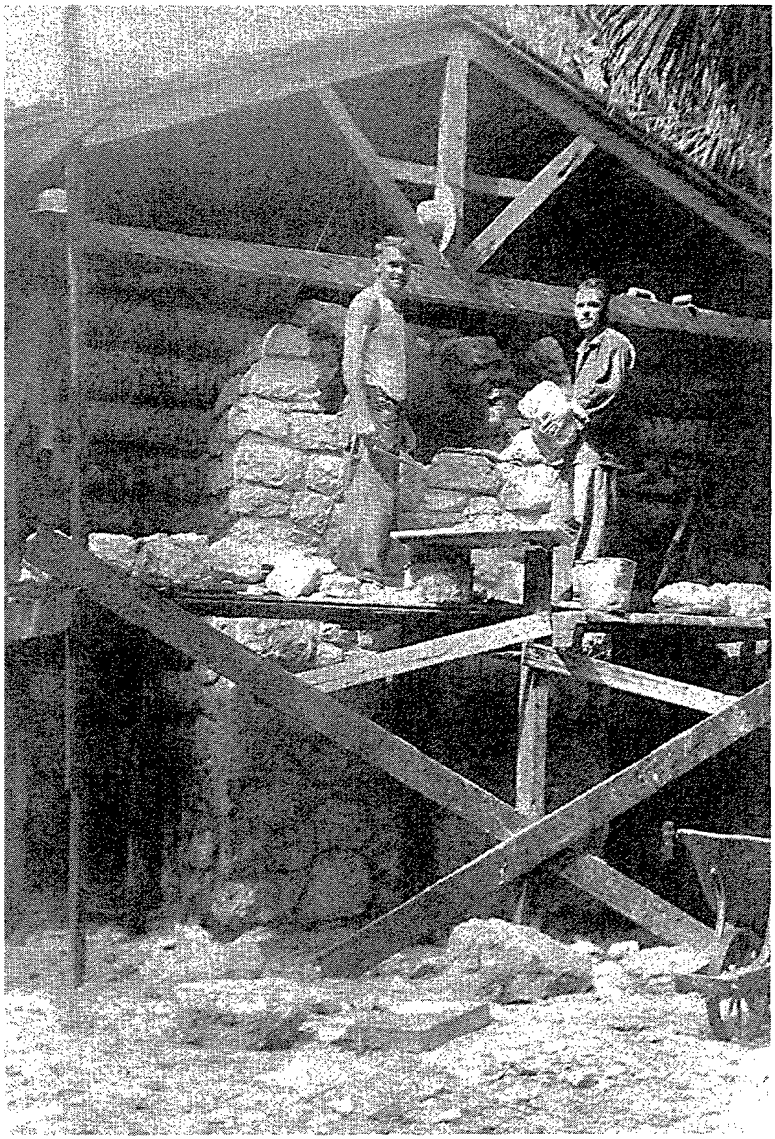
26. Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream,* 260; Parks, *The Magic City Miami,* 133.
27. Minutes, Sarasota Chamber of Commerce, January 24, 25, and 30, 1935, March 8, 1932, February 5, April 26, and October 25, 1935, mss 64, box 2, folder 6, SCDHR.
28. The golf course in question was probably the Bobby Jones golf course. See Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Sarasota* (Tampa, 1946), 244. Beginning in August 1933, the CCC was actually the first New Deal agency to work in Florida. Its initial project was the creation of the Olustee National Forest which employed 300 men. Tebeau, *A History of Florida,* 402; *Sarasota Herald Tribune,* November 15, 1994; Janet Snyder Matthews, *Sarasota: Journey to Centennial* (Tulsa, 1985), 132.

The Myakka project employed between 160 and 210 young men who worked eight hours a day, Monday through Friday. They received room and board, and the money they earned (between $25 and $30 per week) went to their families. Recreational activities included billiards and boxing, and the men could continue their education by taking classes such as mathematics and bookkeeping.[29]

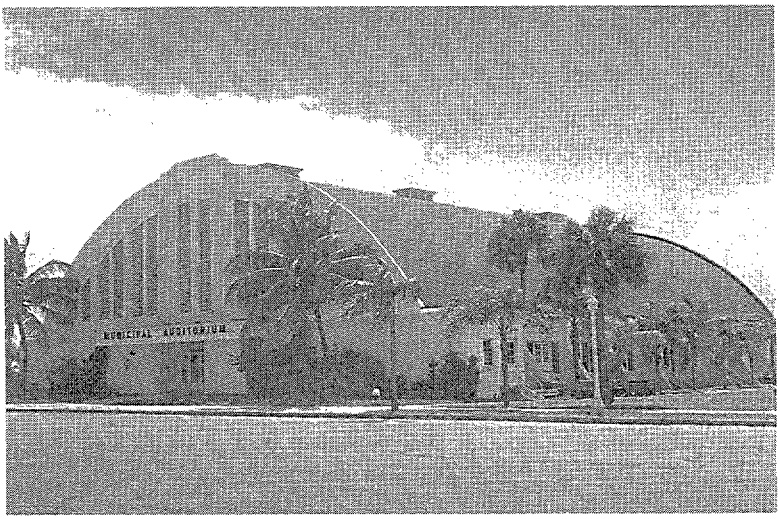
The project included the creation of bridges, firebreaks, an earthen dam, cabins, outdoor fireplaces, and a pavilion; improvements to Sugar Bowl Road (today's State Road 72); and reforestation. CCC employees planted 9,900 trees and countless flowers and shrubs. By the end of the project, more than 100,000 seedlings had been planted. The buildings were constructed with indigenous materials. The foundations and chimneys were built with Manatee County hard lime rock. Hand-hewn pine timbers formed the main framing, and pecky cypress was used for the lighter framing and doors. Siding material consisted of palmetto logs, and the roofs were built from hand-riven shingles made from cypress blocks. Myakka State Park was dedicated on February 18, 1941, and opened to the public on June 1, 1942.[30]

The city's economy continued to improve in 1936 and 1937. Clothiers, grocers, and automobile dealers all registered sales increases. New building permits in 1936 reached heights not seen since 1927. George L. Thacker, president of the Chamber of Commerce, hailed the current local conditions in the construction industry as "the most sound, and the most promising" in the past quarter century. "Sarasota, today, is faced with a substantial demand for homes and modern business structures. In fulfilling this demand, the local building trades are enjoying one of the briskest summer seasons."[31] By the end of 1937, building in Sarasota had passed the half-million-dollar mark.[32]

29. *Sarasota Herald,* March 3, 1935. Also see Jerrell Shofner, "Roosevelt's 'Tree Army': The Civilian Conservation Corps in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (April 1987), 433, 450.
30. *Sarasota Herald,* March 3, 1935; *Sarasota Herald Tribune,* November 15, 1994; Shofner, "Roosevelt's 'Tree Army,'" 438.
31. *Sarasota Herald,* December 1, 1936. Building permits and value for 1927 equaled 428 and $470,567 respectively. In 1936, 345 permits were issued at a value of $383,233. See ibid., April 25, 1937 (quotation).
32. Ibid., January 2, 1938.



Civilian Conservation Corps employees at work in Myakka State Park. *Photograph courtesy of the Walter and Margaret McWhorter Collection, Sarasota County Department of Historical Resources, Sarasota.*



The Municipal Auditorium, built with Works Progress Administration (WPA) money, opened on February 24, 1938, with three thousand people attending the Sara De Soto Pageant Ball. *Photograph courtesy o/the Sarasota County Department of Historical Resources, Sarasota.*

The most spectacular building projects for 1937 and 1938 were the construction of the Municipal Auditorium and the Lido Beach Casino, both WPA projects. The creation of the auditorium evolved from Mayor E. A. Smith's 1935 proposal to develop a bayfront park. In 1937, the city purchased thirty-seven acres from a defunct hotel project for $15,000. To qualify for federal monies, the city had to guarantee a certain level of funding. A group of prominent businessmen raised $10,000 to acquire a $50,000 WPA grant.[33] The building, which was shaped like an airplane hanger, was designed by Thomas Reed Martin, a well-known local architect. The city provided the skilled labor through its general fund, and the unskilled labor was provided by the WPA. Included in the project were the construction of forty shuffleboard courts, nine tennis courts, two

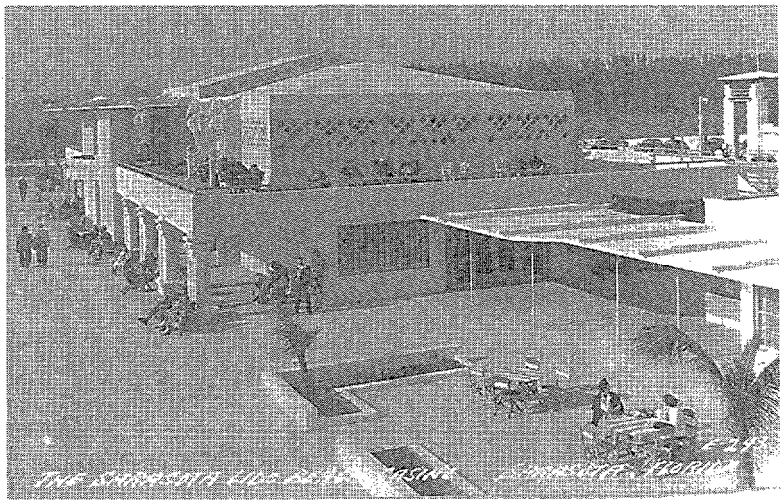
33. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Register of Historical Places Registration Form, n.d., in Municipal Auditorium-file, SCDHR. The businessmen included Karl Bickel, Samuel Gumpertz, Ralph C. Caples, R. P. Hazzard, Michael Cantucuzene, and William G. Selby. See Wilson Stiles to David R. Sollenberger, March 29, 1990, in Municipal Auditorium file, SCDHR.

grass bowling greens, lighting for night activities, and parking for 800 cars. The total cost of the Bayfront Project was $131,000.[34] The event staged for the grand opening of the Municipal Auditorium was the annual Sara de Soto Pageant Ball, which drew some 3,000 revelers, on February 24, 1938.[35]

In January 1938, Chamber of Commerce President Roger Flory, fearing that Sarasota's beaches would be overtaken by private enterprise, moved to preserve some areas for public use. The availability of public beaches would lengthen Sarasota's tourist season by making the city a year-round resort. "When our beaches are properly equipped, there is no reason why a large summer business should not follow," stated Flory.[36] Mayor Verman Kimbrough negotiated with John Ringling North for 1,300 feet of Lido Beach on Lido Key which originally belonged to John Ringling and had become part of his estate upon his death in December 1936. The property was deeded to the city for $35,000, which was then returned to the city for delinquent taxes.[37]

Bickel recommended architect Ralph S. Twitchell for the project, and Twitchell's design appeared in the *Sarasota Herald* on July 20, 1938. Next, the city council prepared a project request, with an estimated cost of $100,000, for the WPA. The federal government gave tentative approval for the construction contingent upon the city's ability to provide $40,000 towards the project. The city voted to issue special beach casino notes to raise the necessary funds. A special referendum was held on July 19, and the public ratified the action by more than two to one in favor of the beach notes, which were quickly snatched up by local residents and interested winter visitors.[38]

34. "90-HD-9 Report of the Historic Preservation Board on the Proposed Designation of 801 N. Tamiami Trail as Historically Significant Pursuant to City Ordinance 86-3019," n.d., p. 3; also see Memorandum re 90-HD-9 Report, August 31, 1990, both in Municipal Auditorium file, SCDHR.
35. National Register of Historic Places, Statement of Significance, p. 15. in Municipal Auditorium file, SCDHR. The Municipal Auditorium was officially listed in the *National Register of Historic Places* on February 24, 1995. See George W. Percy to Sarasota Board of County Commissioners, April 4, 1995, in Municipal Auditorium file, SCDHR.
36. *Sarasota Herald,* January 2, 1938.
37. Ibid., October 30, 1938; Jeff LaHurd, *The Lido Casino: Lost Treasure on the Beach* (Sarasota, 1992), 15.
38. *Sarasota Herald,* October 30, 1938; LaHurd, *Lido Casino,* 18.



The Lido Beach Casino, another WPA project, opened to the public on May 23, 1940. *Photograph courtesy of the Sarasota County Department of Historical Resources, Sarasota.*

Construction began the end of July 1938. The casino complex consisted of three dining areas, a center building that included a ballroom and two lounges, a children's pool, an Amateur Athletic Union of the United States [AAU] regulation pool, a bath house with lockers and showers, and thirty-nine cabanas. Built of concrete with large seahorse columns, it was painted in bright tropical shades. Sarasota County archivist Wilson Stiles considered the casino complex "celebratory architecture-buildings celebrating the water, air, and light of one of the most beautiful beaches in the world, and at the same time, proclaiming the emergence from the gloom of the Florida land-crash and the Depression and the hope for a new prosperity for Sarasota."[39] The final cost of the casino was $250,000. The city contributed approximately $150,000 in land, cash, and materials; the WPA covered the balance. Sarasota's "quarter million dollar casino" opened to the public on May 23, 1940.[40]

Also in 1938 the city expanded the Sarasota Tourist Park, where most of the TCT camped. The park added forty acres to accommodate 2,000 camping units and additional shuffleboard and

39. Quoted in LaHurd, *Lido Casino,* 9.
40. Grismer, *Story of Sarasota,* 248; Del Marth, *Yesterday's Sarasota* (Miami, 1973), 134.

horseshoe courts. The Tourist Park was a miniature city with its own fire truck manned by volunteers, an auditorium that seated 2,000 and accommodated 600 couples on the dance floor, a commissary which provided extra milk and bread but did not compete with Sarasota grocers, and a police officer who directed traffic within the park.[41] With the completion of the Municipal Auditorium, the Lido Beach Casino, and the expansion of the Tourist Park, the 1930s ended on an optimistic note for Sarasota.

Were the thirties and the depression harsh for Sarasota? It is true that many people in the city suffered economically during this period, but many would agree that Sarasota's economic problems, like most of the state's, were the result of the real estate bust of 1926 and not the stock market crash of 1929.[42] Two banks closed during the decade. The Bank of Sarasota was forced into liquidation and placed in the hands of the state banking department, but the failure of the bank to open on August 29, 1932, caused no noticeable disturbances in the city's financial circles. Edith Ringling voluntarily liquidated the Ringling Trust and Savings on May 1, 1933, paying the depositors in full with her own money.[43] In contrast, the Palmer National Bank remained strong throughout the decade.

Sarasota, like Miami and St. Petersburg, survived the depression years for several reasons. When the stock market crashed in 1929, residents noticed little change since they had already experienced serious economic changes and sacrifices during the real estate bust which hit in 1926. Although Sarasota had experienced substantial growth during the boom it remained, for the most part, a rural area with celery, citrus, and numerous other fruits and vegetables as economic mainstays. Consequently, many residents were able to grow their own food for subsistence and for sale. Furthermore, the pleasant climate made Sarasota attractive to businesses such as the Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus. The circus provided employment for local residents during the winter months and attracted tourists who, in turn, patronized local mer-

41. Unidentified newsclipping (1938?), Tin Can Tourist file, SCDHR.
42. Tebeau, *History of Florida,* 393; Higel, interview.
43. The bank's liabilities totaled $1,244,982.46, with deposits totaling $955,223.13. See *Sarasota Herald,* August 29, 1932, newsclipping in Bank of Sarasota file, SCDHR. Edith Ringling reportedly paid the depositors in full at a personal loss of $250,000. John F. McCarthy to Dennis Watson, April 24, 1984, in Ringling Trust and Savings Bank file, SCDHR; Grismer, *Story of Sarasota,* 221.

chants. New Deal programs provided work and hope, as they did throughout the United States. Most importantly, though, the community worked together, not only to provide for those less fortunate, but also to continue the campaign to entice winter visitors and tourists who were so vital to the area's economy.

Lonely Vigils: Houses of Refuge on Florida's East Coast, 1876-1915

by SANDRA HENDERSON THURLOW

BETWEEN 1875 and 1886, ten houses of refuge and a life-saving station were built at intervals along Florida's east coast below St. Augustine. Their primary purpose was to aid shipwreck victims, but they provided strongholds in the wilderness as well. The stations, as they were called by the early settlers, joined four lighthouses to establish a governmental presence and a framework to which pioneer development clung.[1]

Organized efforts within the United States to aid shipwreck victims began shortly after the nation's birth, but it was not until many years later that the federal government took over the endeavor. In 1871, in response to Captain John Faunce's impressive report citing the value of property saved and number of lives spared by a largely volunteer service, Congress appropriated $200,000 to the Revenue Marine Bureau of the United States Treasury Department for the creation of a life-saving service. The United States Life-Saving Service was created in 1878 and eventually merged with the Revenue Cutter Service to form the United States Coast Guard in 1915. Sumner I. Kimball served as general superintendent of the Life-Saving Service during its entire existence. Kimball, a lawyer from Maine, served in his state's legislature before becoming a clerk in the Treasury Department in 1861. A decade later he was

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Sandra Thurlow, a trustee of the Historical Society of Martin County (which operates the Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge as a museum), lives in Stuart. She is the author of *Sewall's Point: The History of a Peninsular Community on Florida's Treasure Coast*. Material assembled by the author in preparing this article is on file at the Historical Society of Martin County in Stuart.

1. Lighthouses stood at Mosquito Inlet (name changed to Ponce de Leon Inlet), Cape Canaveral, Jupiter Inlet and Cape Florida. In 1907 the Hillsboro Inlet Lighthouse was put into service. Neil E. Hurley, *Keepers of Florida Lighthouses, 1820-1939* (Alexandria, Va., 1995), 17, 21, 22, 71, 73, 97.

placed in charge of the Revenue Marine Bureau where he remained until the Life-Saving Service was created.[2]

Five of Florida's eventual ten houses of refuge were constructed in 1875; the remainder were built a decade later. These stations were needed in Florida because, according to Kimball:

> On the coast of Florida, when vessels strand, they usually come well up to the shore, so that sailors find little difficulty in reaching the land. Until of late, however, these shores were almost uninhabited, and mariners cast upon them were exposed to the terrors of starvation and thirst.[3]

A gifted and practical leader, Kimball was the ultimate bureaucrat. The country was divided into a dozen districts, with Florida's east coast facilities in the Seventh District. The life-saving station at Jupiter Inlet likewise was under the administration of the superintendent of District Seven. An additional Florida facility, a life-saving station almost identical to the one at Jupiter Inlet, was located near Pensacola.[4]

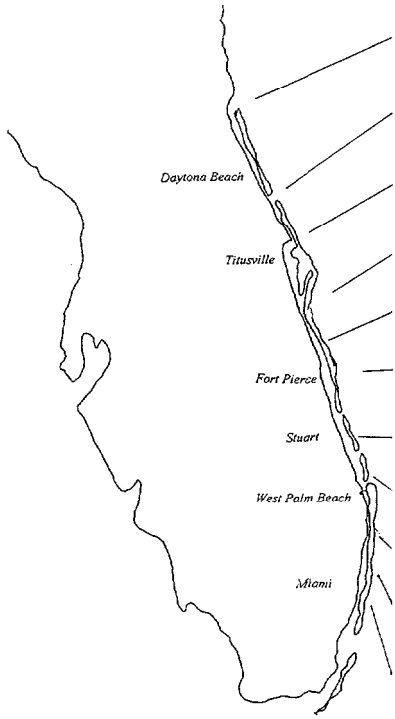
Much of the success of Kimball's system rested on the shoulders of his district superintendents. These men were required to be residents of the territory they administered and had to possess good character and habits. Not surprisingly, they also were required to be familiar with the coast and capable of managing men and equipment. The district superintendents were to look after the needs of the stations, make requisitions for station supplies and repairs, and visit the stations at least once a quarter. They were dis-

2. Stephen Harry Kerber, "The United States Life-Saving Service and the Florida Houses of Refuge" (master's thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 1971), 3, 8; "Sumner Increase Kimball," *The New International Encyclopedia* (New York, 1905), xi, 494-95; Rebecca Harding Davis, "Life-Saving Station's," *Lippincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 17 (March 1876), 307.

3. Sumner I. Kimball, "Organization and Methods of the United States Life-Saving Service," speech read before the Committee on Life-Saving Systems and Devices, International Marine Conference, November 22, 1889 (Washington, D.C., 1890), 4.

4. Ralph Shanks and Wick York, *The U.S. Life-Saving Service: Heroes, Rescues and Architecture of the Early Coast Guard* (Petaluma, Calif., 1996), 158. The Seventh District became the Eighth District in 1900. The Pensacola station was in a separate district, grouped with other facilities in Texas. A life-saving station at Sullivan's Island, SC, was also in the Seventh District. Both stations are beyond the scope of this article.

U. S. LIFE SAVING SERVICE FACILITIES ON THE EAST COAST *OF* FLORIDA



1. Smith's Creek/Bulow House of Refuge, 1886
20 miles south of Matanzas Inlet
Lat. N. 29° 26' 10" Long. W. 81° 06' 15"

2. Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge, 1886
On beach outside the lagoon
Lat. N. 28° 51' 30" Long. W. 80° 46' 20"

3. Chester Shoal House of Refuge, 1886
11 miles north of Cape Canaveral
Lat. N. 28° 36' 40" Long. W. 80° 35' 50"

4. Cape Malabar House of Refuge, 1886
30 miles south of Cape Canaveral
Lat. N. 28° 03' 10" Long. W. 80° 32' 45"

5. Indian River/Bethel Creek House of Refuge, 1876
11 miles north of Indian River Inlet
Lat. N. 27° 40' 00" Long. W. 80° 21' 20"

6. Indian River Inlet House of Refuge, 1886
South side of Inlet
Lat. N. 27° 29' 45" Long. W. 80° 17' 50"

7. Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge, 1876
Saint Lucie Rocks, North side Saint Lucie Inlet
Lat. N. 27° 12' 00" Long. W. 80° 09' 50"

8. Jupiter Inlet Life Saving Station, 1886
1 mile south of inlet
Lat. N. 26° 55' 40" Long. W. 80° 04' 00"

9. Orange Grove House of Refuge, 1876
5 ½ miles south of Lake Worth , 27 miles south of Lake Worth Inlet, and 37 miles south of Jupiter
Lat. N. 26° 27' 30" Long. W. 80° 03' 20"

10. Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge, 1876
7 miles north of New River Inlet
Lat. N. 26° 08' 00" Long. W. 80° 06' 00"
(This house of refuge was moved 3 miles south in 1891)

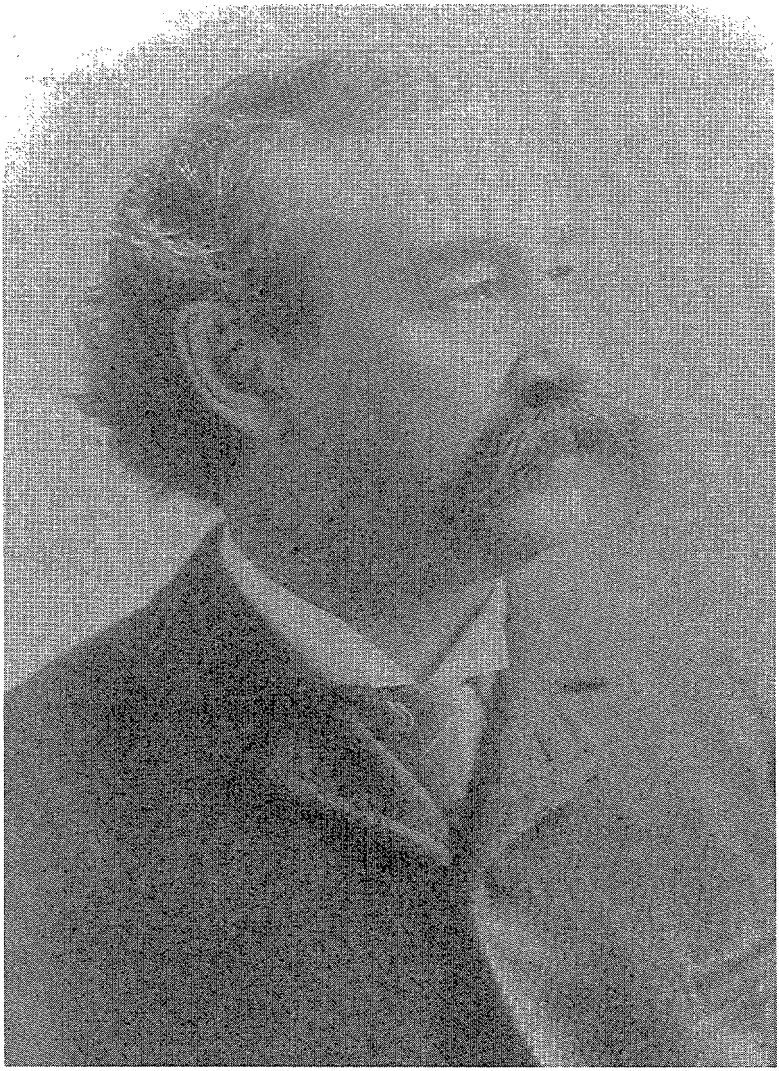
11. Biscayne Bay House of Refuge, 1876
10 miles north of Boca Rattones, Narrows Cut
Lat. N. 25° 54' 10" Long. W. 80° 08' 00"

Treasury Department, *Annual Report of the Operations of the United States Life-Saving Service,* Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1886 (Washington, D.C., 1887) 369.

bursing officers and paymasters for their districts, and *ex officio* inspectors of customs.[5]

The colorful. opportunist and lawyer, William H. Hunt, who settled near the Miami River in 1866, helped acquire the land on which the first five houses of refuge were built and served as the first superintendent of District Seven. He and his sidekick William Gleason brought their families to South Florida with dreams of es-

5. Kimball, "Organization and Methods," 10.



Sumner I. Kimball, n.d., general superintendent of the U.S. Life-Saving Service, 1871-1915. *Photograph courtesy of Records of the U.S. Coast Guard, National Archives, Washington, D. C.*

tablishing an empire of land and power.[6] Superintendent of U.S. Life-Saving District Seven was just one of the hats Hunt wore. At dif-

6. Thelma Peters, *Biscayne County, 1870-1926* (Miami, 1981), 18.

ferent times he served as Dade County Commissioner, state senator representing Dade and Brevard Counties and Dade County Superintendent of Schools.[7]

Judging from official U.S. Life-Saving Service correspondence, Hunt performed his duties conscientiously.[8] After Hunt's death in 1882, Champlin H. Spencer of Port Orange took over as District Seven superintendent. South Florida was still so sparsely settled that inspection trips were extremely rigorous. Though the government provided a small sailboat for inspection trips, Spencer complained that he had to replace the sails at his own expense. Upon reaching the Jupiter Lighthouse when a storm was brewing, Spencer had to borrow a small boat which he pushed through the Everglades to Lake Worth "making miles a few inches at a push."[9]

By the time Frank W. Sams succeeded Spencer there were an additional five houses of refuge for which to recruit keepers. The Jupiter Inlet Life-Saving Station likewise needed to be staffed with an additional keeper and a six-man life-saving crew. Sams, a New Smyrna city councilman in 1887, went on to serve as state senator from 1899 to 1910.[10] In 1890 Hiram B. Shaw, who owned a boatyard at Ormond, became district superintendent. He built the *Corrinne*, a fifty-foot schooner, for use on inspection trips. Samuel Coutant, who later served as keeper of the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge, was the *Corrinne's* skipper.[11] By the time Edgar Chadwick, the last district superintendent, took over, the U.S. Life-Saving Service was in a period of transition.[12]

7. F. M. Hudson, "Beginnings in Dade County," *Tequesta* III (July 1943), 19-21.
8. Hunt's documents are meticulously detailed. See W. H. Hunt to S. I. Kimball, January 26, 1880; "Quarterly Estimate for Funds for Life-Saying Service on the Coast of Florida," March 31, 1880; W. H. Hunt to S. I. Kimball, March 22, 1881; and W. H. Hunt to S. I. Kimball, August 6, 1881, all in Records of the U.S. Coast Guard (hereinafter USCGR), Record Group 26, National Archives.
9. Champlin H. Spencer to Captain James J. Merryman, Inspector of Life-Saying Stations, November 6, 1884, copy in Canaveral National Seashore Collection, Titusville.
10. T. E. Fitzgerald, *Volusia County Past and Present* (Daytona Beach, 1937), 145, 202.
11. Alice Strickland, *The Valiant Pioneers* (Miami, 1963), 78; Alan W. Shaw, "Houses of Refuge," *Halifax Historical Herald* IV (1978), n.p.
12. Hiram B. Shaw is listed as District Superintendent of District Eight in the 1909 *Official Register of the* U.S. *Life-Saving Service.* Edgar Chadwick is listed as District Superintendent in the 1914 *Official Register.* See Treasury Department, Official *Register of the* U.S. *Life-Saving Service* (Washington, D.C., 1909), 3, and *Official Register of the U.S. Life-Saving Service* (Washington, D.C., 1914), 19.

As important as the district superintendent's job was, the ultimate success of the Life-Saving Service depended on the keepers. The very sparseness of Florida's population that necessitated the system of houses of refuge in 1875 made staffing the facilities a challenge. Fortunately, from the Life-Saving Service's perspective, making a living in the wilderness and procuring lumber with which to build a house was so difficult for the early settlers that a government paycheck, albeit a small one, and a sturdy structure in which to live, had great appeal.[13]

District superintendents recruited and nominated keepers for each station. While keepers of life-saving stations needed to be capable of handling a boat in rough water, keepers of the houses of refuge did not have to be professional boatmen. Most of the keepers listed their occupation as "farmer" in census reports. Like the superintendents, keepers had to possess good character and be able to read and write.[14]

For three of the first five keepers District Superintendent Hunt drew on longtime South Florida residents. Two of the three, John Houston of Bethel Creek, and Washington Jenkins of Fort Lauderdale, had families. The third, Edward Barnott of Biscayne Bay House of Refuge, soon took a wife. One of the remaining two keepers, Hannibal Pierce, who was appointed to serve at the Orange Grove House of Refuge, was a relatively new settler who had come south to make a fresh start and restore his wife Margretta's health. Fred Whitehead, the first keeper at Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge, had arrived recently in South Florida with his wife and young son.[15] Kimball understood that families would enable his system to succeed. Not only could they help out in times of emergency; they also would alleviate the keepers' loneliness and make their often bleak duty bearable.[16]

13. Charles W. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida,* ed. Donald Curl (Coral Gables, Fla., 1970), 67.
14. Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Population, T9, reel 126; Florida State Census, 1885, M845, reel 1; Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Population, T623, reels 166 and 167; Kimball, "Organization and Methods," 6.
1.5. Charles Pierce, son of Hannibal and Margretta, mentions the Whiteheads and provides valuable information on life at the three southernmost houses of refuge in his 698-page memoir, "On the Wings of the Wind." This unpublished manuscript contains details omitted in its published version, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida.* Charles Pierce, "On the Wings of the Wind," 162, Historical Society of Palm Beach County.
16. Kimball, "Organization and Methods," 11.

Washington and Mary Jenkins, with children Mary (standing), Martha (on mother's lap), Alberta, and Henry, c. 1881. This is the only formal portrait known to exist of a house of refuge family taken during their days of service. *Photograph courtesy of Fort Lauderdale Historical Society.*

Living conditions were isolated and spartan. In response to an 1878 Life-Saving Service questionnaire that asked, "What is the number of male inhabitants between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five years within three miles of your station?" at least two keepers answered "None."[17] Keepers regularly travelled anywhere from four to twenty-four miles for provisions. In a letter to Kimball, District Supervisor Sams complained that it was often impossible for the various keepers to get provisions for shipwreck survivors.[18]

Years could go by without a shipwreck, but as fate would have it, David Brown, keeper of the Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge, was away securing supplies when the steamship *America* encountered a heavy gale, sprang a leak and had to be beached. It was the keeper's son who spotted the ship and, accompanied by another man, "proceeded to the scene of disaster and rendered all aid possible." The crew later signed a note saying they "were most hospitably taken care of at the Gilbert's Bar Station, and we heartily recommend Keeper Brown and his family for their courteous treatment."[19]

Back-to-back shipwrecks near the Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge on October 16 and 17, 1904, made Captain William Rea's years of duty the most eventful of all the keepers'. Official reports of the two wrecks read like adventure prose.

> A terrible gale was raging, accompanied with torrents of rain. There was a high sea. The night was dark and the storm so severe it was impossible to see anything. The keeper kept light burning which attracted the sailors to the station and fortunately caused them to land nearer than otherwise. One man came ashore on the floating lumber and got to the station cold, hungry and naked. After given clothing, he assisted in rescuing six others of a crew of twelve. All were more or less injured and some severely. All totally exhausted and would have died before morning but for the timely assistance, as none of the six were able to stand when brought into the station, being

17. Sumner I. Kimball, List of Questions, July 20, 1878, copy in Historical Society of Martin County Collection, Stuart, Fla.
1s. Frank W. Sams to Sumner Kimball, June 26, 1888, copy in Canaveral National Seashore Collection.
19. Treasury Department, *U.S. Life-Saving Service Annual Report of the Operations of U.S. Life-Saving Service for Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1885* (Washington, D.C., 1886), 186-87.

> chilled through from exposure to the elements, without clothing and exhaustion from hanging onto the riggings, battling the waves that were one mass of lumber. Many were dashed against the rocks many times before the Keeper could rescue them.
>
> The Keeper worked all night on the beach hunting through the lumber for disabled seamen, the air full of flying lumber, the breaking of which sounded like a report of thousands of rifles.[20]

The very next day, the *Cosme Colzado* ran ashore some three miles north of the life-saving station. When the fifteen men of the *Cosme Colzado* joined those from the *Georges Valentine* already at Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge, there were twenty-two seamen to be cared for, clothed and fed.[21]

The keepers' dwellings were relatively simple affairs, "with the capacity sufficient for the residence of a family, and for the temporary shelter of as many as are likely to need it." Each house was furnished "with cots and provisions sufficient to succor twenty-five persons for ten days. No boats or apparatus are provided, except a small galvanized iron boat for the use of the keeper." Family members assisted the keeper in various ways. They patrolled the beach after storms, "searching for persons possibly cast ashore."[22] Wives tended to clothing provided by the Woman's Sailor Relief of New York and "became housekeeper and mother to wrecked sailors."[23]

Equipped to deal with the victims of maritime tragedies, refuge families themselves suffered from the inhospitable climate and primitive conditions. For Wilson Price's grandmother, who lived with her husband at the Bethel Creek House of Refuge, life consisted of "collecting rain water to drink, storms, and above all loneliness." Price noted that "for a young Irish woman far from home,

20. "Wreck Report, U.S. Life-Saving Service, Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge, October 16, 1904," October 31, 1904, in USCGR, RG 26, photocopy at Historical Society of Martin County.
21. "Wreck Report, U.S. Life-Saving Service, Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge, October 17, 1904, Disaster," October 21, 1904, USCGR, RG 26, photocopy at Historical Society of Martin County.
22. Kimball, "Organization and Methods," 4, 11.
23. *Stuart Messenger,* September 5, 1918.

it was a hard life."[24] When interviewed many years later, Mary Penden, who joined Edward Barnott at the Biscayne House of Refuge as his teenage bride, told of losing and burying three babies at the station.[25] In his memoir, Charles Pierce tells of the death of ten-year-old Flora Bradley while her parents were keepers at the Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge.[26] Flora Bradley was the victim of a mysterious illness that struck keepers and their families through the years. Her brother Guy also became very ill but survived. Though some have theorized that the sickness at the stations was connected with impure water, probably families suffered a variety of ailments.[27] The fact remains that the houses of refuge were frequently unhealthy places. Emily Lagow Bell's memoir tells of her husband Jim's debilitating sickness when he served at the Indian River Inlet House of Refuge.[28] Washington Jenkins was so ill at the termination of his service that he literally had to be carried ashore in Miami to get medical attention.[29]

Documents pertaining to the service of Ludvig Hovelsrud and Ludger Gignac, two keepers who served consecutively at the Bethel Creek House of Refuge between 1901 and 1907, poignantly illustrate the hardships endured by keepers and their families. Ludvig and Laura Hovelsrud came to Oslo, Florida, from Norway via Minnesota. Ludvig, born in Norway in 1859, emigrated to Minneapolis with a younger sister. Laura Oldsdtr Freng was born in Norway in 1865 and left with a group of young people bound for St. Paul in 1885. Ludvig and Laura were married in Minnesota in 1888, came to Florida with their six children in 1900, and bought twenty acres of land from Arthur and Ida Krogel.[30]

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24. Wilson Price, "Ludger Joseph Gignac," November 30, 1992, unpublished manuscript, Historical Society of Martin County.
25. Peters, *Biscayne Country*, 49-50.
26. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida*, 164.
27. See, for example, J. C. Whitney, entry for June 17, 1903, Bethel Creek House of Refuge Log, copy in possession of Kathleen Bradley, Park Ridge, Il.
28. Emily Lagow Bell, *My Pioneer Days in Florida* (Fort Pierce, Fla., 1928) 43-44.
29. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida*, 152.
30. *Vero Beach Press-Journal*, January 4, 1987. Their children were Herman (b. 1889), Laura (b. 1890), Helen (b. 1892), Rachel (b. 1894), Joseph (b. 1895) and Fritz (b. 1897) Roderick Brodt Nolte, *Roots and Branches, A History of Two Nowegian Emigrant Families*, (San Ramon, Calif., 1993), 9. A seventh child was born after the Hovelsruds arrived in Florida. Though details are not known, Herman, the Hovelsrud's oldest son, lost his arm in a shark attack.

Official registers indicate that there was "no keeper" at the Bethel Creek House of Refuge for the years 1897 through 1900.[31] In the U.S. Life-Saving Official Register published July 1, 1901, Ludvig H. Hovelsrud's name appears. Hovelsrud filled in for an ailing W. H. Fulford at the Biscayne Bay House of Refuge from August 16, 1900 until November 2, 1900.[32] After the experience Hovelsrud probably thought he knew what duty at a house of refuge entailed. He and his family packed up their things in Oslo, the little Norwegian community south of Vero, Florida, sold their home and moved into the Bethel Creek House of Refuge.[33]

It was not very long before Hovelsrud was taken ill. His last official journal entry was on June 12, 1903. On June 14, 1903, Laura made the entry, "Keeper took sick very sudden last night with chills and fever, had a very bad night. Family in charge." Subsequent entries made by a third party document the tragic decline of the Hovelsrud family.

> June 15, 1903: Keeper is getting worse with diarrhea and fever. Sent Herman, keeper's son to the post office with his transcript, and also with letter to Dr. Hughlett of Cocoa about the sickness.
> The children went to the post office to get the medicine. Dr. Hughlett thinks Keeper has dysentery. Family in charge.
>
> June 16, 1903: Keeper is getting worse. Sent for Dr. Holmes of Sharpes but learned that he is not at home. Keeper's son came home from the post office sick with fever. Stayed in bed most of the day. Mr. Anderson of Vero brought the mail tonight. Spoke to Mr. Anderson if he knows of a man who could take keeper's place. He says everybody he knows around is engaged in work, but he would speak to Mr. Whitney one of the fishermen at Vero. Maybe he could come. Family in charge.

31. Treasury Department, *Official Register of the U.S. Life-Saving Service* (Washington, D.C., 1897), 11; *Official Register of the U.S. Life-Saving Service* (Washington, D.C., 1898), 11; *Official Register of the U.S.Life-Saving Service* (Washington, D.C., 1899), 11; *Official Register of the* U.S. *Life-Saving Service* (Washington, D.C., 1900), 11.
32. Thelma Peters, "The Log of the Biscayne House of Refuge," *Tequesta* 46 (1986), 59-60. Hovelsrud is misspelled Hovilsrud in the article.
33. Inga Olla Helseth, "The Helseths," in Anna Pearl Leonard Newman, ed., *Early Life on the Indian River* (Stuart, Fla., 1953), 50; Anna Helseth to Katherine Bradley, April 21, 1987, copy in author's possession.

> June 17, 1903: Keeper is very sick. The son also in bed. Sent for Dr. Hughlett, also sent letter to Capt. H. B. Shaw, Supt. concerning the sickness and substitute. Mr. Whitney arrived 10 a.m. He will stay as substitute if it agrees with Capt. Shaw. Mr. Whitney went to Vero in the evening and brought Dr. Hughlett to the station. Dr. found keeper in a very bad state of dysentery. Gave medicines to keeper and son. The little baby is also sick.
>
> June 18, 1903: Keeper, son and baby is not better. The Dr. left this morning 8 o'clock. Mr. Whitney carried him to the railroad station. Dr. says all this sickness is due to bad drinking water from the rotten wooden tank. Have to boil the water.
>
> June 21, 1903: Keeper is very weak, has not had any rest. Herman the son is getting better, the girl also. The keeper's wife is as much in bed as she is up.
>
> June 23, 1903: Keeper went to Heaven this morning at half past seven. "Peace to his ashes." Mrs. Hovelsrud is left with seven small children.[34]

Ludvig Hovelsrud died just days short of his forty-fourth birthday. Laura Hovelsrud and her seven children moved to Miami.[35]

French Canadian Ludger Gignac followed Hovelsrud as keeper at the Bethel Creek House of Refuge. After losing his first wife in childbirth, Ludger left Deschambault, Quebec, a small village on the banks of the St. Lawrence River that had been the home of his family for over 200 years. He made his way westward working as a logger and at some point in the 1890s left the woods and became a surfman in the United States Life-Saving Service in Jackson Park, Illinois. While in Chicago, he met and married Mary August Wilson, a native of Ireland who immigrated to the United States with her widowed mother. Ludger and Mary were married on August 25, 1896, and had three children before they left Chicago. Ludger was appointed keeper of the Bethel Creek House of Refuge in September 1903. He was informed that he would have to

34. Bethel Creek House of Refuge Log.
35. *Vero Beach Press-Journal,* January 4, 1987.

pay his own travel costs from Chicago to Vero and that his salary would be $600 per year. Two more children were born to Ludger and Mary during their time at the Bethel Creek House of Refuge.[36]

Joseph Gignac, a theology professor, was appalled by the conditions in which his brother lived and urged Ludger to return to Quebec. Joseph worried that Ludger would never escape his service. According to Joseph, conditions at Bethel Creek were so bad that "it seems ten times easier to select a president for the United States than a keeper for taking your place." He urged Ludger "Not to loose courage but . . . fight strongly until you get your liberty. It is a sad revelation for me and probably for you, that you were prisoner on this awful island." He hoped that one day his brother could escape the Life-Saving Service and return to "a civilized country."[37] July 1, 1907, is the last time Ludger Gignac's name appears in the U.S. Life-Saving Service Official Register. He returned to Quebec City and accepted a minor post in the legislature.[38]

In spite of the primitive conditions, many children were born at houses of refuge. Charles Pierce's younger sister, Lillie, was born at the Orange Grove House of Refuge.[39] At least two of Jack and Martha Peacock's children, Rafaela and Richard, were born at Biscayne Bay House of Refuge. Their father coded their birth into the official log by writing "local stranger arrived."[40] Washington and Mary Jenkins increased their family by two children during their service at Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge.[41] Henry Spencer Fromberger was born at the Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge while his parents John and Agnes served there.[42]

A few house of refuge keepers, like Dennis O'Neill, Charles Coman, and Ezra Stoner, remained single during their years of service while others, like Stephen Andrews, Ed Barnott and Hubert Bessey, were married during their tenure. Most of the keepers entered employment as married men with families. The keeper with the largest family was Jack Peacock, who, with his wife, Martha, had

36. Price, "Ludger Joseph Gignac." Arthur was born in January 1906 and Delphine, Wilson Price's mother, was born in February 1907.
37. Joseph Gignac to Ludger Gignac, September 13, 1907, Historical Society of Martin County.
38. Price, "Ludger Joseph Gignac."
39. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida,* 74-76.
40. Peters, "The Log of the Biscayne House of Refuge," *Tequesta* 38 (1978), 61.
41. Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Population, T9 Florida, reel 126.
42. Agnes Fromberger to Mrs. Frank Oliver, May 14, 1953, reprinted in (Ft. Lauderdale) *New River News,* April 30, 1974.

eleven children. Some couples, like the Johansens, Besseys and Reas, who served at the Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge, remained childless, but they were the exception rather than the rule.[43]

It seems only natural that interrelationships developed between the Life-Saving Service employees and their fellow guardians in the wilderness, the lighthouse keepers. Often house of refuge keepers were assistant lighthouse keepers before entering the Life-Saving Service. Charles Carlin, who was the only keeper of the Jupiter Inlet Life-Saving Station, had previously served as assistant keeper at the Jupiter Lighthouse. Hannibal Pierce and Fred Whitehead also did short stints as lighthouse keepers.[44] Their service, however, cannot compare to that of members of the Quarterman family who spent most of their lives in the shadow of the Canaveral Lighthouse.

Orlando Quarterman was the only keeper at the Chester Shoal House of Refuge from the time it opened in 1886 until 1915 when the Life-Saving Service became defunct. Orlando Quarterman's wife, Jerusa, the daughter of the longtime keeper of the Canaveral Lighthouse, Mills Burnham, was no stranger to isolation and the rigors of coastal pioneer life. Since it was the only life she knew, she had a much better chance to survive the lonely vigil than did city-bred women like Margretta Pierce, Fanny Brown, Lydia Bradley or Mary Gignac. The Quarterman's daughter Kate married Axel Johansen, who served as keeper at the Gilbert's Bar and Key Biscayne Houses of Refuge, and thus spent not only her childhood but also her married years within the Life-Saving Service. Orlando Quarterman, Jr.'s name appears on the register of keepers at the Biscayne Bay House of Refuge from 1907-1914.

Kate Quarterman's husband, Axel Johansen, a Norwegian sea captain, actually washed ashore near the Chester Shoal House of Refuge. After Kate and her sister found him unconscious on the beach, the family took Johansen to the house of refuge and nursed him back to health. Though Johansen went back to Norway, he ultimately returned to Florida and married Kate Quarterman and entered the United States Life-Saving Service himself.[45]

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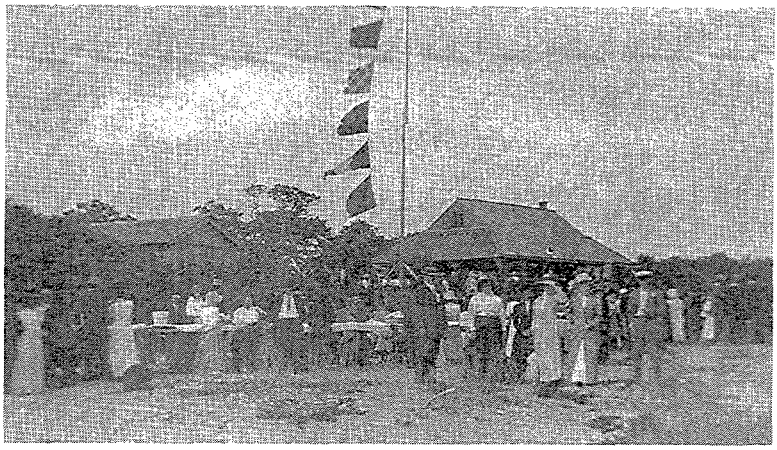
43. "First White Settler Came Ashore on Log," unidentified newsclipping (1930?), Fort Lauderdale Historical Society; Florida State Census, Population, 1885, M845, reel 1; Peters, *Biscayne Country*, 56-59, 88-91.
44. Hurley, *Keepers of Florida Lighthouses*, 74.
45. Shaw, "House of Refuge."



Community celebration at the Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge, 1911. *Photograph courtesy of Fort Lauderdale Historical Society*

Axel Johansen was not the only house of refuge keeper who literally washed up on a Florida beach. At least two other longtime house of refuge keepers were introduced to the state in this manner. John Thomas "Jolly Jack" Peacock, who did service at three different houses, and Dennis O'Neill, who served as keeper of the Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge from 1889 to 1894, were shipwrecked off Florida before joining the Life-Saving Service to help other shipwreck victims.[46]

Samuel and Louisa Coutant's twenty-two years of service at the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge rivals the Quartermans' service in longevity. The Coutants' two daughters grew up and were courted by their future husbands at the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge. Harold, the Coutants' youngest child, spent his entire youth at Mosquito Lagoon. He took up photography as a hobby, and his photographs document daily life at the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge.[47]

As Florida's population increased, conditions endured by Life-Saving Service employees and their families changed. During the

46. Ralph Middleton Munroe and Vincent Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story* (New York, 1930), 69; *New River News* (Ft. Lauderdale), January 31, 1972.
47. Harold Coutant, interview by Rush Hughes, tape recording, 1960, and Harold Coutant's photographs, both at Historical Society of Martin County; *Stuart Daily News*, May 24, 1926. Eleanor Willits Glass family records, in her possession, Stuart, Florida.

Northern visitors pose atop the remains of the 1904 wreck of the *Georges Valentine* near Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge. *Photograph courtesy of Agnes Tietig Purlin.*

early days of the service, sailboats were the primary mode of transportation, and practically everyone who came down what is now the Intracoastal Waterway stopped at the houses of refuge. Invariably, guidebooks published in the late nineteenth century mention the houses of refuge as points of interest.[48] Picnics and gatherings of all sorts were held at houses of refuge after there were enough local settlers to socialize. Like other houses of refuge, Gilbert's Bar was a popular stopping place for those cruising the inland waterway. One travel account, published in the *East Coast Advocate* in 1890, recounted the experience of a weary band of travellers who arrived late one night.

> The genial keeper, Mr. Bessey, aroused, and dancing commenced, followed by a moonlight stroll on the beach, retiring at 3 a.m. In the morning they were awakened by the most delightful music proceeding from the aforesaid music box, and played by a master hand. After breakfast, a dip in the old ocean, another stroll on the beach, exploring those rocks and caves, which were a sight worth seeing, our

48. See Charles Ledyard Norton, *A Handbook of Florida* (New York, 1892), 218-26, 227; J. M. Hawks, *The East Coast of Florida: A Descriptive Narrative* (Lynn, Mass., 1887); James A. Henshall, *Camping and Cruising in Florida* (Cincinnati, 1884), 54, 59, 66, 71, 97-99, 102-103.

> party returned well satisfied with their trip and making plans for another in the future.[49]

Agnes Fromberger, whose husband, John, served as the keeper of the Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge from 1895 to 1906, recalled that

> there was considerable travel by boat from Jacksonville to Key West, some of the people were traders but a great many were retired people seeking a warmer climate and recreation in fishing and bathing. There were a number interested in real estate in a fast growing country, especially after the coming of the railroad. Those coming by land stopped at Stranahan's Camp; if by boat they usually stayed at the station, sometimes a few days, often longer, mostly according to favorable tides and weather. . . . Everyone was friendly and helpful to newcomers. Among the main diversions were fishing and hunting and bathing. Part of the social life were the picnics and swimming parties at the beach, when the folks from the mainland would come to the station . . . and picnic on the porches of the station and under the trees. Frequently visitors from other parts of the country would dock at the station. . . .[50]

In her memoir of her days spent at the Indian River Inlet House of Refuge, Emily Bell remembers that "the tourists in the winter made our house a visiting place. It was very large and comfortable. They would bring lunch and spend the day before going North."[51]

Logs kept by early keepers indicate that Seminole Indians bearing venison and other game frequently called at houses of refuge.[52] Agnes Fromberger recalled that Seminoles often camped overnight on the station grounds. According to Mrs. Fromberger,

49. "A Trip to Gilbert's Bar Station," *East Coast Advocate,* October 3, 1890.
50. Agnes Fromberger to Mrs. Frank Oliver, May 14, 1953, reprinted in *New River News,* April 30, 1974.
51. Bell, *My Pioneer Days in Florida,* 42.
52. Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge Log, 1883-1884, photocopies in Fort Lauderdale Historical Society; Lillian White, "Jupiter Lifesaving Station," *Loxahatchee Lament* (Jupiter, Fla., 1978), 335-41.

"They were very well behaved and never gave any trouble. They often brought venison to sell."[53] When settlements with trading posts came into being, the Seminoles ceased to visit the coastal houses.

In the early 1880s, in addition to their usual duties of observation, record keeping and maintenance, keepers were instructed to preserve strange specimens of fish and marine curiosities for the Smithsonian Institution.[54] Throughout the Life-Saving Service era, keepers supplemented their government paychecks with other activities such as beekeeping, boat building and farming. Several keepers provided lodging to others outside the realm of their life-saving duties. After Charles Carlin's wife and children moved out of the Jupiter Life-Saving Station, but while he was still in charge of its operation, the family opened the Carlin House, a popular hotel/boarding house across from the Jupiter Lighthouse.[55]

A number of the earliest keepers held or had held political positions. John Peacock, who served at three different houses of refuge, was Sheriff of Dade County as well as Collector of Revenue and Assessor of Taxes for Dade County before he joined the Life-Saving Service.[56] Edwin Bradley, once keeper of the Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge, went on to become Superintendent of Dade County Schools.[57] Dennis O'Neill, a keeper at the Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge, was inspector of elections for his Dade County precinct. The Orange Grove House of Refuge itself became involved in politics when the county seat of Dade County was changed from Miami to Juno in 1890. Factions almost came to blows and the Orange Grove House of Refuge actually gave refuge to the men who transported the Dade County books up the coast.[58]

Many keepers and their family members were associated with the United States Postal Service before, during and after their Life-Saving Service tenure. Annie Andrews, whose husband, Stephen, was a longtime keeper at the Orange Grove House of Refuge, es-

53. Agnes Fromberger to Mrs. Frank Oliver, May 14, 1953, reprinted in *New River News,* April 30, 1974.
54. *Florida Star,* February 15, 1883; Wallace R. Moses, *Sunny Florida Portrayed* (London, 1884), 136.
55. Lillian White, "Mary Moore Joyner Carlin," *Loxahatchee Lament,* 299-302.
56. F. M. Hudson, "Beginnings in Dade County," *Tequesta* III (July 1943), 21.
57. Mary Collar Linehan, *Early Lantana, Her Neighbors and More* (St. Petersburg, 1988), 14.
58. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida,* 226-30.

tablished the Zion Post Office at the house of refuge.[59] Several keepers before or after their service held mail contracts. Ed Barnott skippered the mail boat between Key Biscayne and Key West before he became the keeper of the Biscayne Bay House of Refuge.[60] Others who held mail contracts were John Houston who served at Bethel Creek, and Edward Bradley, who served at the Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge. Charles Pierce, whose parents served at the Orange Grove and Key Biscayne Houses of Refuge, spent his career in the United States Postal Service.[61]

The Orange Grove and Fort Lauderdale Houses of Refuge were stopovers for the men who carried the mail along the beach before the Florida East Coast Railway was constructed. Theodore Pratt's novel *The Barefoot Mailman,* published in 1943, gave the men who carried the mail from Jupiter to Miami a catchy name and recognition that persist today. Historical markers have been erected to memorialize barefoot mailman Ed Hamilton who disappeared when he tried to swim the Hillsboro Inlet in 1887.[62]

One of the barefoot mailmen was Guy Bradley, whose parents served at Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge and whose sister died there. Guy also died tragically. On a July day in 1905, Guy, one of Florida's first game wardens, then a married man with two young sons, was killed in the line of duty by plume hunters near Flamingo, Florida. His death focused national attention on wading bird protection and led to victories on the conservation battlefront.[63]

By 1896, the Florida East Coast Railway opened up the coast to development and a new mode of transportation altered the lives of house of refuge keepers and their families. They were able to receive their mail and supplies on a more regular basis and many of the goods that were previously transported by sea were now shipped by rail. Oddly enough, perhaps the lives of the keepers and their families became even more uneventful as there was less coastal traffic to observe and record. Even so, the need for the res-

59. Greater Delray Beach Chamber of Commerce, *Delray Beach, The Early Years* (Delray Beach, Fla., 1986), n.p. Records of the Post Office Department, Reports of Site locations, 1837-1950, Florida Ml 126, reel 88 (Brevard) and reel 89 (Dade), Record Group 28, National Archives.
60. Peters, *Biscayne Country,* 50.
61. Gilbert L. Voss, "Introduction," *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida,* 22-23.
62. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida,* 213-17.
63. Charles M. Brookfield, "The Guy Bradley Story," *Audubon Magazine* 57 (July-August, 1955), 170-74.

cue and refuge of seamen continued into the twentieth century as evidenced in the back-to-back wrecks of the *Georges Valentine* and the *Cosme Colzado* near the Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge in October 1904.[64]

Malabar House of Refuge, in existence less than five years, was discontinued in 1891.[65] By 1915, when the United States Coast Guard was created by merging the Life-Saving Service and the United States Revenue Cutter Service, the Jupiter Inlet Life-Saving Station and the Orange Grove House of Refuge had already been deactivated.[66] The eight facilities that remained became part of the Coast Guard and went on to new service. Of the eleven life-saving facilities that once stood on Florida's east coast, Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge on Hutchinson Island near Stuart is the only one that remains. It has been operated as a museum by the Historical Society of Martin County since its purchase by the county in 1955.

64. Janet Hutchinson, *History of Martin County* (Stuart, Fla., 1975), 60-61.
65. Treasury Department, U.S. *Life-Saving Service Official Register* (Washington, D.C., 1891).
66. Treasury Department, U.S. *Life-Saving Service Official Register* (Washington, D.C., 1914),

APPENDIX

House of Refuge Keepers

Compiled from Treasury Department, U.S. *Life-Saving Service Official Register* 1880-1909, 1914

(Dates refer to listing in register)

Smith's Creek/Bulow House of Refuge

July 1, 1886 -July 1, 1900	William Wallace
July 1, 1901 -July 1, 1909	Edward A. Lapp

Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge

July 1, 1886 -July 1, 1890	Jacob Summerlin
July 1, 1891 -July 1, 1909	Elwin S. Coutant
July 1, 1914	Lee Huntley

Chester Shoal House of Refuge

July 1, 1886 -July 1, 1914	Orlando Quarterman

Cape Malabar House of Refuge

July 1, 1886 -July 1, 1890	Joseph M. Hopkins

Indian River/Bethel Creek House of Refuge (#l)

April 1, 1880	John Houston
June 1, 1883 -July 1, 1884	Alonzo W. Masters
July 1, 1886 -July 1, 1887	Charles A. Stoeckel
July 1, 1888 -July 1, 1890	Henry B. Archibald
July 1, 1891 -July 1, 1896	David Wingood
July 1, 1897 -July 1, 1900	No Keeper
July 1, 1901 -July 1, 1902	Ludvig H. Hovelsrud
July 1, 1903	No Keeper
July 1, 1904 -July 1, 1907	Ludger Gignac
Jan. 1, 1908 -July 1, 1909	Vincent O. Coste
July 1, 1914	Walter Kitching

Indian River Inlet House of Refuge

July 1, 1886	James S. Bell
July 1, 1887	Henry B. Archibald
July 1, 1888 -July 1, 1891	Harry H. Jenkins
July 1, 1892 -July 1, 1896	Benjamin W. Jerome
July 1, 1897	No Keeper
July 1, 1898 -July 1, 1909	Harry H. Harvey
July 1, 1914	Byron Dawley

APPENDIX

House of Refuge Keepers
Compiled from Treasury Department, U.S. Life-Saving Service Official Register
1880-1909, 1914
(Dates refer to listing in register)

Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge (#2)

April 1, 1880	Ezra Stoner
June 1, 1883 -July 1, 1884	David Brown
July 1, 1886 -July 1, 1888	Samuel F. Bunker
July 1, 1889 -July 1, 189 1	David McClardy
July 1, 1892 -July 1, 1901	Hubert W. Bessey
July 1, 1902	Axe1 H. Johansen
July 1, 1903 -July 1, 1906	William E. Rea
July 1, 1907 -July 1, 1909	John H. Fromberger
July 1, 1914	Axe1 H. Johansen

Jupiter Inlet Life-Saving Station

July 1, 1886 -July 1, 1900	Charles R. Carlin

Orange Grove House of Refuge (#3)

June 1, 1880 -July 1, 1897	Stephen Andrews
July 1, 1898 -July 1, 1899	No Keeper

Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge (#4)

April 1, 1880	Washington Jenkins
June 1, 1883	Edwin R. Bradley
July 1, 1884	John Thomas Peacock
July 1, 1886 -July 1, 1888	Charles W. Coman
July 1, 1889 -July 1, 1894	Dennis O'Neill
July 1, 1895 -Jan 1, 1905	John H. Fromberger
Jan 1, 1906 -July 1, 1909	James B. Vreeland

Biscayne Bay House of Refuge (#5)

April 1, 1880	Edward Barnott
June 1, 1883 -July 1, 1884	Hannibal D. Pierce
July 1, 1886 -July 1, 1890	John Thomas Peacock
July 1, 1891 -July 1, 1902	William H. Fulford
July 1, 1903 -Jan. 1, 1905	Axel H. Johansen
July 1, 1905 -July 1, 1906	Vincent O. Coste
July 1, 1907 -July 1, 1914	Orlando A. Quarterman

SPECIAL SECTION

Rosewood: Before & After

EDITOR'S NOTE

In this Special Section, two senior historians of Florida history examine the root causes and consequences of the unfortunate developments at Rosewood, Florida, in 1923. In the first article, "Rosewood and America in the Early Twentieth Century," David R. Colburn, professor of history at the University of Florida, shows how the carnival of violence that erupted at Rosewood was neither random nor isolated. A wave of racial violence swept across the nation during the late 1910s and early 1920s, the unfortunate result of the social, economic, and cultural upheavals that accompanied the nation's involvement in World War I. According to Dr. Colburn, "these cultural and racial concerns thoroughly permeated Florida during this era."

In her article, "The Rosewood Massacre and the Women Who Survived It," Maxine D. Jones, professor of history at The Florida State University, reminds us that tragedies like Rosewood have long-term consequences for the victims. In a series of poignant portraits, Dr. Jones traces the lives of several female victims in the years following the events at Rosewood. Fortunate to have survived the violence there, they nevertheless suffered the loss of relatively secure surroundings, and went on to lead lives marked by economic and psychological struggle. As Dr. Jones so eloquently states, "more than homes and furniture had gone up in smoke. A legacy, as well as hopes and dreams, had disappeared also."

Rosewood and America in the Early Twentieth Century

by DAVID R. COLBURN

RACE relations in the Rosewood-Sumner area had been reasonably harmonious for as long as most residents could remember, but all that changed forever on the morning of January 1, 1923. When James Taylor, a millwright at the Cummer Lumber Company in Sumner, left home before sunrise to prepare the mill for its daily operations, all seemed normal. Later that morning, his wife, Fanny Taylor, answered a knock at the door. Within minutes of the encounter at the Taylor's front door, relations between blacks and whites were permanently altered. Claiming she had been assaulted by a black man, Taylor allowed others to say that she had been "raped." It was the one word that no one in the region wanted to hear, least of all the black residents of Sumner and nearby Rosewood.[1]

What actually happened to Fanny Taylor on that cold New Year's morning will remain forever sealed in history, but the events that followed her alleged attack will not. Within an hour, bloodhounds tracked the scent of the alleged attacker to Rosewood, three miles from Sumner. Although Fanny Taylor never suggested that her attacker was a resident of Rosewood, the community would be permanently damaged by the events that unfolded during that first week of January 1923.

Over the course of the next few days, innocent residents of Rosewood would be murdered for allegedly hiding the man who attacked Fanny Taylor, even though the man was never found in the town. The wrath of the white mob remained undiminished by

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1. Maxine D. Jones, David R. Colburn, R. Tom Dye, Larry E. Rivers, and William W. Rogers, *A Documented History of the Incident Which Occurred at Rosewood, Florida, in January 1923,* Report submitted to the Florida Board of Regents, Tallahassee, Fla., December 22, 1993, pp. 23-27.

these events, however. Women and children were forced to hide in the Gulf Hammock Swamp for fear of losing their lives. Before the week was out, the mob returned to plunder and burn down the town of Rosewood and drive all the black residents from it forever.[2]

For many Americans in the late twentieth century, Rosewood became a defining event in American race relations during the era following World War I. Florida's decision to compensate the black survivors of Rosewood in 1994 and the rendering of the events of Rosewood in the popular film of the same name by movie director John Singleton in 1997 shaped the public's understanding of racial conditions in the 1910s and 1920s. But the historical reality is that Rosewood constituted but one such event in an era of extraordinary racial anxiety and conflict. Why had American race relations turned so violent in this particular period? And why did these developments lead to the destruction at Rosewood and to racial violence in other areas of Florida?

The years from 1913 to 1917 had been, ironically, a period of remarkable reform. In that four-year period, President Woodrow Wilson pushed through Congress a plethora of reform measures that built upon and enlarged the progressive initiatives of President Theodore Roosevelt at the turn of the century. Concerned about the consequences of an unfettered industrialism on the nation and the American people, Wilson curbed its worse excesses through tariff, banking, and antitrust legislation, and by expanding social justice programs for working men and women and their children.[3]

Despite its achievements progressivism had begun to show its age by 1917, virtually exhausted by four intense years of reform. Increasingly, the president and the public turned their attentions to the worsening conflagration in Europe. The sinking of the *Lusitania* with the loss of many American lives, along with the subsequent destruction of numerous other American merchant ships by the German navy, focused American attention on European developments. In response to the escalating number of attacks against Americans and their property, the nation declared war against the Central Powers in May of 1917.[4]

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2. Ibid., 28-53. Also see Michael D'Orso, *Like Judgment Day: The Ruin and Redemption of a Town Called Rosewood* (New York, 1996), 1-13.
3. The best single volume on Wilson's progressive record is Arthur Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917* (New York, 1954).
4. Ibid., 252-82.

Although the war stymied further reform as the nation concentrated its energies on mobilization, these years also fostered a spirit of cooperation and national unity as the public rallied behind the war effort. The war, in fact, was ballyhooed in the United States as the triumph of this nation's democratic institutions over the venal rule of Europe's royal households. And Americans from all segments of society seemed to welcome the war effort as an opportunity to demonstrate the superiority of its way of life over that of a decadent Europe.[5]

In spite of the rhetoric and apparent national unity of the war years, however, all was not well within the fabric of American society. By fostering unity, the patriotic fervor of the war years also glossed over and suppressed difference. Moreover, despite government efforts to bring all Americans together in the struggle against German barbarism and its anti-democratic institutions, government and private sector leaders did almost nothing to offset racism and discrimination in American society or to include African Americans in war mobilization. The superiority of the American way of life was not so obvious if one looked below the surface and especially if one talked to black Americans. Racial and ethnic tensions were widespread, and no amount of rhetoric could hide or diminish them.[6]

Indeed, the war years saw black Americans further tyrannized by a renewed racism which was fostered, in part, by the policies of the Wilson administration. Although President Wilson had expressed a desire to recruit black voters into the Democratic Party, he allowed his cabinet officials, half of whom were southerners, to pursue policies that further dispossessed black Americans at the federal and state levels. In the Postmaster General's Office and in post offices throughout the South, for example, blacks found themselves removed from office and replaced with white southerners. The president remained notably silent as his party turned its back on black citizens.[7]

The coming of World War I offered few opportunities for blacks to improve their lot despite their commitment to the war effort and their demonstrations of patriotism throughout the duration of the conflict. Nor did the pledge of the United States to make the world

5. See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York, 1965), 194-233.
6. Ibid.
7. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era,* 63-66.

"safe for democracy" seem to have any special meaning for black citizens who continued to encounter racial violence and oppression at home. Still, many blacks believed that if they persevered and continued to make sacrifices on behalf of the nation, white leaders would be forced to recognize their contributions and take steps to improve their place in society.[8] Such was not to be the case.

In the midst of war mobilization and the social and political upheaval that accompanied it, the nation not only turned its back on its African American citizens, but whites in nearly every section of the country took legal and extra-legal steps to make sure that blacks remained second-class citizens. Racial fears sparked much of the hostility and violence against African Americans, and the victimization of blacks permeated domestic developments in the United States during and after World War I.

From individual lynchings to sustained violence against entire black communities, whites in both the North and South lashed out against black Americans in a ferocious and often calculated manner during the years 1917 to 1923. Aided by a federal government that refused to intervene to protect the life and property of black citizens, whites took whatever steps they felt were necessary to keep blacks in their place. From Chicago to Tulsa, to Omaha, East St. Louis, and many communities in between, and finally to Rosewood, Florida, white mobs, often in alliance with law enforcement officials, made clear their determination to deny blacks the rights and privileges accorded whites. Much, but certainly not all, of the violence in the South took the form of individual lynchings. By contrast, racial tensions in the North typically erupted into lawless outbursts by white mobs against entire black neighborhoods.[9] Rosewood more closely paralleled the violence in the North.

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8. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans,* 4th ed. (New York, 1974), 335. Also see David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York, 1980).
9. In Chicago, law and order was suspended for thirteen days in July 1919 as white mobs made foray after foray into black neighborhoods, killing and wounding 365 black residents and leaving another 1,000 homeless. In June 1921, the 11,000 black residents of Tulsa were burned out of their homes and businesses. Over a thousand residents were left homeless and forced to live in tents in the winter of 1921-22. See Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920* (Chicago, 1967); Scott Ellsworth, *Death in the Promised Land: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (Baton Rouge, 1982); also see Elliott Rudwick, *Race Riot in East St. Louis, July 2,* 1917 (Urbana, 1982) and William M. Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York, 1970).

What had happened to the public's commitment to make the world "safe for democracy"? black citizens asked. And why, after many blacks had fought overseas and others had contributed to the war effort at home, had white citizens turned against them with such fury?

The roots of white America's violent outburst can be traced to the prewar period when black Americans began to flee the South in record numbers to escape the oppression of segregation and the economic havoc created by the boll weevil's devastation of the cotton economy. They were also drawn north by the promise of freedom and economic opportunity. The labor shortage created by immigration restrictions drove labor agents from northern industries and railroads into the South during this period in search of black workers. Over 40,000 black Floridians joined approximately 283,000 African Americans from other southern states in the migration to Chicago and other midwestern and northeastern cities. The Pennsylvania Railroad alone brought twelve thousand African Americans to work in its yards and on its tracks, all but two thousand of whom came from Florida and Georgia.[10]

While economic opportunities and the promise of freedom influenced the decision of black southerners to migrate, most went north because of the mounting racial violence in the South. A dramatic increase in the number of lynchings, reaching nearly sixty per year in the early 1910s, was a graphic indication of escalating racial tensions and fears. The threat of death and mob violence had become sufficiently widespread that the average black citizen no longer felt safe in the South. As one study of the black migration notes, both whites and black believed that lynchings were "one of the most important causes" and that the fear of the mob had greatly accelerated the exodus. One black man wrote from Georgia that "our people are Leaving the south in Large Numbers, for we want to be in a country where there is peace and happiness and where our wives and daughters will be respected." A Florida woman added, "Negroes are not so greatly disturbed about wages. They are tired of being treated as children; they want to be men."[11]

10. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 350.
11. See Florette Henri, *Black Migration Movement North, 1900-1920: The Road From Myth to Man* (New York, 1975), 49-58 (quotations); Tuttle, *Race Riot;* Ellsworth, *Death in the Promised Land;* also Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 349-50, 369-70; and Stewart E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck, *Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings* (Urbana, 1995).

The codification of segregation in the 1890s and early 1900s did not fully relieve white anxiety. Moreover, the emergence of the "New South" and the economic and social transition that many leading whites sought for the region during the first two decades of the twentieth century heightened tensions among many rural and urban whites, especially those in the working classes. Many among this group feared they would lose economic and social status as their region embraced northern industrialism. Indeed, during this period many whites were forced off the farms and into cities to find work. These new wage earners worried that they were losing status to blacks and that the region was abandoning the racial, political and cultural values that had defined it and which had furnished them a special place because of their whiteness. The apprehension among whites in the region surfaced in race relations and in contacts with other minority groups. In Atlanta, Georgia, in the 1910s, pencil factory manager Leo Frank was falsely accused of raping and killing a young woman and then lynched because he was a Jew. Native whites resented all that Frank– a successful, urban, Jewish businessman– represented.[12]

Recruiting efforts directed toward blacks by northern businessmen, and especially the suggestion that someone would actually desire their services and be willing to pay a decent wage for them, was a new and welcomed development for black southerners. Not only was there work in these midwestern and northeastern cities, but the pay was dramatically higher than what an African American could make in Florida and in other southern states. Moreover, blacks could also vote and move about freely in the North. One black southerner wrote that "Duren the month of April and may when the Tax Collector who dutie it was to have the [Voter] Regester book in ever district so the collrd could regester he fail to do so. then when we ast him to do so he head them to Read Certain things and if they Miss a ward he could turn them down. therefore our people Could not Vote in this Last Election." Many African Americans thought they had found the promised land in the North, and they wrote to their relatives and friends encouraging them to follow in their footsteps. One black man from Chicago told a friend in Hattiesburg: "I should have been here 20 years ago.

12. Leonard Dinnerstein, *The Leo Frank Case* (New York, 1968).

I just begin to feel like a man. It's a great deal of pleasure in knowing that you have got some privilege My children are going to the same school with whites and I dont have to umble to no one. I have registered– Will vote the next election. . . ."[13] However, all was not as well as this man and others initially believed.

In Florida and the South, the response of whites to the massive departure of black residents was two-fold. At first, white southerners ignored or expressed satisfaction with this exodus. For many years, up through the first decade of the twentieth century, white Floridians, for example, had seriously discussed sending local blacks to a foreign country or to a region in the western United States. Napoleon Broward, while serving as governor of Florida from 1905-1909, proposed that Congress purchase territory, either foreign or domestic, and transport blacks to this territory where they could live separately and govern themselves.[14]

As the migration escalated throughout Florida and the South in the years 1910 to 1917, racial tensions increased in both the North and the South. The migration combined with hardening racial stereotypes, the emergence of the second Ku Klux Klan, and the gradual build-up in preparation for World War I to amplify racial fears and personal insecurities in ways the nation had not witnessed since the Reconstruction era. African Americans viewed the migration as an opportunity to escape the oppression in the South and to secure freedom and opportunity in the North. White southerners worried that the migration was creating unrest and dissatisfaction among those who stayed behind. Northern whites expressed anger at the large black migration and its impact on housing, neighborhoods and jobs. The use of blacks as strikebreakers in the North and the rapid expansion in the membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in both regions during the years from 1914 to 1920 added to white concerns. Northern whites blamed blacks for the loss of jobs and income, while southern whites denounced the inte-

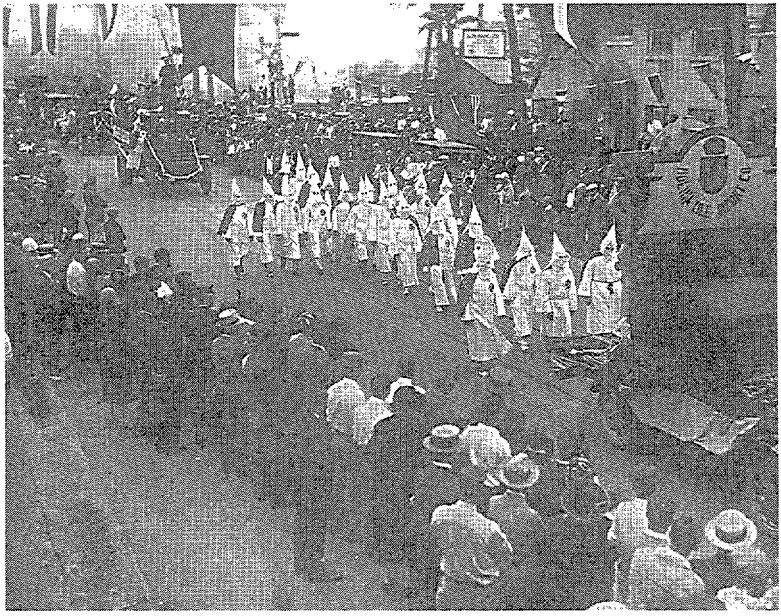
13. See John Dittmer, *Black Georgia in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (Urbana, 1977), 186-89 (first quotation); William H, Harris, *The Harder We Run: Black Workers Since the Civil War* (New York, 1982), 51-76 (second quotation); Henri, *Black Migration,* 60.
14. David R. Colburn and Richard Scher, *Florida's Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Tallahassee, 1980), 221.

grationist efforts of the NAACP for raising black expectations and for promoting racial unrest in the region.[15]

Underscoring much of the racial hostility were stereotypes and misconceptions that pervaded white America. In his study of the race riot in Chicago in 1919, William Tuttle notes that whites believed that blacks "were mentally inferior, immoral, emotional, and criminal. Some secondary beliefs were that they were innately lazy, shiftless, boisterous, bumptious, and lacking in civic consciousness."[16] Many of these assumptions were a carryover from the days of slavery. Newspapers reinforced these attitudes by publishing stories that highlighted black crimes and immoral behavior and by seldom reporting positively about the daily lives of black citizens and black families. Because few whites in the North had very limited, if any, personal contact with blacks, their racial attitudes were shaped by what they read or what they heard.

These depictions of blacks as less than human, and white fears in both North and South about racial integration, helped spur the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia in 1915. In that year, the motion picture *The Birth of a Nation,* based on Thomas Dixon's book *The Clansman,* kindled great interest in the activities of the first Klan among whites and sparked the revival of the second Klan. Despite complaints from Harvard University President John Elliott, settlement house leader Jane Addams, and Booker T. Washington that the movie was inflammatory, and despite protests by whites and blacks against it in many northern cities, the film won a widespread following among many whites. Moreover, Dixon undercut the protests by persuading his friend, President Woodrow Wilson, to stage a private screening for himself, Mrs. Wilson, and the cabinet members and their families. Wilson lauded the film, which he said was "like writing history with lightning, and my only regret is that it is all so terribly true." The president's endorsement effectively purged the opposition. Whites flocked to see the movie. In

15. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 348-53; also see George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge, 1967), especially 143-218.
16. Tuttle, *Race Riot,* 104. Also see David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: the First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965* (Garden City, NY, 1965) and Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York, 1994)



Members of the KU Klux Klan march in the Fiesta of the American Tropics Parade in Miami, December 31, 1925. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

New York City alone, it ran for forty-seven weeks and enjoyed sell-out crowds for much of this period."

By portraying the Klan in heroic and romantic terms and alleging in its dramatic conclusion that the Klan had saved southern civilization from a cowardly and conniving black population, *The Birth of a Nation* proved instrumental in resurrecting this secret and violent organization in all parts of the country and in demeaning an entire generation of blacks. Although the movie grossly distorted the reality of Reconstruction, it coincided with white concerns about the black migration and the growing hostility toward racial and ethnic difference in American society. Wherever the movie was shown, race relations deteriorated and racial clashes frequently occurred.[18]

17. For a more detailed account of the impact of *The Birth of a Nation,* see Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism,* 22-27.
18. Ibid., 26-27.

The second Klan spread rapidly throughout the South and into many northern communities as well. Often allied with local police and sheriff's departments– indeed many police and sheriff's deputies moonlighted as Klansmen– the Klan sought to intimidate blacks into quietly accepting segregation and abandoning their aspirations for equality. Throughout this period, the Klan enjoyed a legitimacy in many areas of the country that it had not experienced previously. Prominent political and economic leaders in communities from Indiana to Florida belonged to the Klan. In an editorial in the *Gainesville Daily Sun* in 1922, the editor noted that he was a member of the Klan and praised the organization's many noble qualities.[19] The Klan often conducted publicly advertised parades through the center of southern communities, much like those festivities that occurred on Memorial Day and the Fourth of July, with Confederate flags flying and large, boisterous crowds of whites cheering Klan members in full regalia.

World War I heightened racial concerns among whites at the same time that it sought to rally Americans behind the war effort. The spatial and social dislocation that took place during the mobilization efforts for World War I enhanced contact between whites and blacks in ways which whites, especially those from the South, were not comfortable. In particular, the arming and training of black soldiers in the South, where most of the training bases were located, increased fears among white natives about the potential for armed insurrection. The army worried particularly about where to train the predominantly black 92nd Division and eventually decided to train the unit in the North. But many other black troops, especially in support units, received their training or were stationed in the South. Skirmishes between whites and blacks often occurred in southern communities when black soldiers came to town and failed to follow southern social customs, and the threat of more serious violence seemed omnipresent. German propaganda added considerably to white anguish by encouraging African Americans to lay down their arms or turn them against their real enemies– southern whites. In August 1917, the worst fears of whites materialized when armed black soldiers killed seventeen white residents of Houston, Texas, following a prolonged period of harassment of black troops.[20] For many whites, Armageddon had arrived.

19. *Gainesville Daily Sun,* December 30, 1922.
20. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 336-40.

During the war years, racial confrontations escalated and rumors of pending racial assaults circulated to such an extent that conditions boded ill for race relations following the war. Clashes frequently occurred in many southern communities between black soldiers and local whites, although none was as severe as the incident in Houston. At East St. Louis, Illinois, black competition for white jobs during the war years ignited a fierce race riot on July 2, 1917, in which nine whites and thirty-nine blacks lost their lives, and black homes were indiscriminately torched. Over three hundred buildings in the black section of town were destroyed with a value above $500,000. Shouts of "Burn 'em out!" were heard throughout the melee and would become the battle cry of white mobs during this period.[21]

Compounding white anxiety and hostility, rumors circulated in 1918 that black soldiers had been warmly received in Europe and had their way with white women in France. White militants back home warned other whites that black veterans would no longer be content with black women when they returned from Europe. Such claims by militants tapped into one of the great fears of southern white men. Southern culture had been constructed around a set of mores and values which placed white women at its center and in which the purity of their conduct and their manners represented the refinement of that culture. An attack on women not only represented a violation of the South's foremost taboo, but it also threatened to dismantle the very nature of southern society. The sexual concerns trumpeted by white militants also constituted part of the sexual lore that had developed around slavery and the alleged bestial nature of black men. Within this culture, white men had the responsibility to uphold the honor of that society and to protect white women from the alleged depravity of black men.[22]

These cultural and racial concerns thoroughly permeated Florida during this era. As the massive exodus of African Americans from Florida's northern counties continued during the war and the postwar years, Governors Park Trammell (1913-1917) and

21. Rudwick, *Race Riot in East St. Louis,* 41-57.
22. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 346-47, 361; William Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellurn South, 1830-1860.* ed. by Drew Gilpin Faust (Baton Rouge, 1981), 118-19. Also see Glenda E. Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1996) and Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black/White Relations in the South Since Emancipation* (New York, 1984).

Governor Sidney Johnston Catts (1917-1921) helped to perpetuate and intensify the nativist and racist atmosphere in Florida during the 1910s and 1920s. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

his successor Sidney Catts (1917-1921) initially ignored it. Trammell, who had been the state's attorney general prior to becoming governor, was no friend of black Floridians. During his attorney generalship, he had disregarded the lynching of twenty-nine blacks and did the same when another twenty-one were lynched during

his governorship. The leading spokesman of nativism in Florida, Catts had been elected on a platform that was anti-Catholic and anti-black. Once in office, he publicly labeled blacks "an inferior race," and he refused to condemn two lynchings in 1919. When the NAACP complained about the lynchings and the governor's failure to take action against the lynchers, Catts denounced the organization and blacks generally, declaring that "your race is always harping on the disgrace it brings to the state by a concourse of white people taking revenge for dishonoring a white woman, when if you would . . . [teach] your people not to kill our white officers and disgrace our white women, you would keep down a thousand times greater disgrace."[23]

Catts reversed himself, however, when New South business leaders, especially those in the lumber and turpentine companies, began to complain that the continued out-migration of blacks was having a devastating effect on labor availability and labor costs in Florida. Newspapers and businessmen, in the state echoed the Columbus, Georgia, *Enquirer Sun* which observed, "the black laborer is the best labor the South can get, no other would work long under the same conditions." Catts suddenly pleaded with blacks to stay in Florida, and called for unity and harmony among the races. Few black citizens were persuaded, however.[24] Moreover, policies by local officials seemed to run precisely counter to the governor's call for peaceful race relations. Officials in Jacksonville, for example, warned labor agents against recruiting local blacks, charged them a $1,000 licensing fee for recruiting black citizens, and on occasion threatened their lives to discourage them from persuading more blacks to leave. Despite the efforts of state and local officials, the migration continued to escalate as a silent protest against racial conditions in Florida and in the South generally.

With the end of World War I, racial concerns about the black migration and returning black veterans coincided with the resurgence of nativism. Whites expressed concern that their society was being overrun by people who had very different values and political beliefs than they did. Author Madison Grant captured their concerns best in a book entitled *The Passing* of *the Great Race,* which was originally published in 1916 and then reissued in 1921 and

23. Colburn and Scher, *Florida's Gubernatorial Politics,* 222.
24. Henri, *Black Migration,* 72; Colburn and Scher, *Florida's Gubernatorial Politics,* 222.

1922 because of its widespread popularity. Grant believed that the superior Nordic race was in danger of being overwhelmed by the increasing numbers of inferior peoples, especially immigrants from southeastern Europe and blacks. Fearing the destruction of American civilization, Grant saw miscegenation as the great evil and urged that laws be strengthened to preserve the Nordic race.[25]

The massive wave of immigration prior to World War I along with the migration of African Americans in the nation's cities spurred nativist opposition. The second Ku Klux Klan, in particular, owed much of its success to fears about ethnic and racial difference and competition for jobs, and the organization played upon American concerns by attacking both blacks and immigrants indiscriminately. Books like *The Passing of the Great Race* provided a persuasive intellectual defense for immigration restriction and racial separation.[26]

Despite mounting political support for legislation to limit the impact of ethnic and racial groups, domestic developments continued to create social havoc as the nation reconverted to a peacetime economy. Urban workers, for example, complained bitterly about hourly wages and working conditions which had remained unchanged during the war years, and many walked out on strike when management refused to negotiate. The particular involvement of recent immigrants in the labor unrest and in the Socialist movement in 1919 and 1920 led many to believe that American institutions were being subverted by ethnic and racial militants. Emotions ran so high in some communities that residents convinced themselves that Communist labor groups, with allies in the NAACP, were plotting to overthrow the United States. Evangelist Billy Sunday sensed their concerns when he told an audience, "If I had my way . . ., I would stand them [Communists] up before a firing squad and save space on our ships."[27]

The continued migration of black southerners and the expansion of black neighborhoods into white residential areas further magnified racial concerns in the North. In Chicago, where the black population had expanded from approximately 30,000 in 1900 to 109,000 in 1920, and where competition for housing and

25. Higham, *Strangers in the Land,* 149-57. Also see Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race* (New York, 1916).
26. Higham, *Strangers in the Land,* 149-57.
27. William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Peril of Prosperity, 1914-1932* (Chicago, 1958), 66.

jobs was understandably intense, a peaceful beach scene on July 27, 1919, turned ugly when whites stoned a black swimmer who allegedly crossed over into the white area. Racial confrontations erupted throughout the city on the following day with both groups arming themselves and attacking one another. By the second day, two armed camps had formed, and whites assaulted the black residential area on the south side of the city. For thirteen days, Chicago was literally without law and order as the violence went back and forth, with black residents mostly on the receiving end. Over 38 people were killed, another 520 wounded, and 1,000 people lost their homes in one of the nation's worst race riots.[28] The violence in Chicago, East St. Louis, Omaha, and several other northern communities left the dreams and aspirations of black citizens shattered.

As events in these cities documented, black citizens had changed their attitudes about white violence and intimidation. No longer content to sit quietly by while white mobs stormed their communities and destroyed their property, blacks began to defend themselves against the mounting violence. Encouraged to do so by the NAACP and other black leaders, blacks appeared in public with rifles at their sides. Many also volunteered to assist white police officers in defending black prisoners whose lives were threatened by white mobs. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, a band of armed blacks arrived at the jail to offer assistance to police officers who were outmanned and outgunned in an effort to protect black prisoners from a hostile white crowd. The presence of an armed black population in their midst, however, sent shivers through the white community and contributed to a paranoia that fed racial fears and hostility.[29]

Newspapers in the South added to white fears by publishing almost a daily litany of alleged racial attacks and rapes by black men against white women. A day seldom went by during the period from 1917 to 1923 in which an incident of this kind was not reported on the front page.[30] Such news helped sell papers to readers who had a lurid fascination with the violent and grotesque.

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28. Spear, *Black Chicago,* vii, 201-22; Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (New York, 1983), 17. Also see Lisabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York, 1990), 30-38.
29. Rudwick, *Race Riot in East St. Louis;* Ellsworth, *Death in the Promised Land;* and Tuttle, *Race Riot.*
30. See especially *Atlanta Constitution, Gainesville Daily Sun,* and *Jacksonville Times-Union* in late 1922.

Violent retribution was the accepted manner of response in the South, in particular, but also increasingly in the North as well, for crimes against white women. Lynchings escalated steadily, from thirty-eight in 1917 to fifty-eight in 1918, as whites sought to reimpose segregation following the war and as the competition for jobs intensified amidst a troubled postwar economy. During the period from 1918 to 1927, lynch mobs took the lives of 454 persons, of whom 416 were African American. In Florida, 47 black citizens were lynched during the same period, It was open season on African Americans, with any violation of southern racial codes, not just rape, sufficient to warrant execution. So violent and inhumane did society become during this era that communities posted public notices in newspapers inviting people to come and watch the burning of a live Negro.[31]

Florida was very much a part of this violent period. In addition to the forty-seven blacks who died by lynching, the Klan attacked the black community of Ocoee, Florida, in western Orange County in November 1920 when two black men attempted to vote. Mose Norman and July Perry had gone to the polls to protest the exclusion of blacks from the political process. Perry had arrived first and been chased away by local officials. He returned later in the day with Norman and also brought his rifle to protect them. Word quickly spread that Perry was armed, and sheriffs deputies, accompanied by Klansmen, arrived that evening in Ocoee to arrest Perry and Norman. The two refused to go quietly, however, and other black residents defended them. Within minutes a gun battle erupted during which deputies and Klansmen killed six black residents. Two whites were also killed in the hail of bullets. In the aftermath of the gun battle, deputies and Klansmen turned their anger against the entire black community, destroying twenty-five black homes, two churches, and a lodge.[32] Whites justified their actions in the Orlando newspaper, pointing out that Perry had armed himself

31. See Tolnay and Beck, *Festival of Violence* and W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930* (Urbana, 1993) for lynching statistics during this era; also Tindall, *Emergence of the* New *South,* 172; Williamson, *Crucible of Race;* and Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana, 1990), 228-35.

32. "Lynching - Ocoee, Florida," Part 7, Series A, Reel 9, Group 1, Series C, Administration Files, Box G-353, Papers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (microfilm edition). Also see Lester Dabbs, Jr., "A Report of the Circumstances and Events of the Race Riot on November 2, 1920, in Ocoee, Florida" (master's thesis, Stetson University, 1969).

and shot at a deputized posse that was trying to arrest him. To Perry, Norman and other black residents, the deputized posse looked more like a Ku Klux Klan mob.

Approximately two years later, race relations took another terrible turn in the state when a white school teacher in Perry was allegedly murdered by an escaped black convict in December 1922. Her badly beaten body was discovered by local residents less than one month before the Rosewood incident. The convict and an alleged accomplice were quickly captured by the sheriff and placed in the Perry jail. Local whites, joined by men from as far away as Georgia and South Carolina, gathered at the jail in Perry and forcibly took the two black men from the sheriff and his deputies. They escorted Charlie Wright, the escaped convict, outside town where they beat him brutally in order to extract a confession and to determine if others were involved. Despite the severity of his injuries, Wright refused to indict anyone else in the crime. He was subsequently burned at the stake. The mob's vengeance remained undiminished, however, and members subsequently seized two other black men whom they suspected of being involved in the teacher's murder. Both black men were shot and then hung, although neither was ever implicated in the crime. Following the murders, the white mob, still not appeased, turned its fury on the entire black community and burned a church, Masonic lodge, amusement hall, and black school. Several homes were also put to the torch, despite the fact that no local black resident was accused of participating in the crime and most had expressed their sympathies and horror at the death of the school teacher. Although many in the mob may have belonged to the local Klan, none wore regalia during the attack against those charged with the teacher's death or during the assault on the black community.[33]

The Perry story was recounted on the front page of the *Gainesville Daily Sun* from December 4th to the 13th, and it left local white and black citizens in a state of high tension. The day after events in Perry concluded the *Sun* reported that two blacks killed a white farmer at Jacobs, Florida, near Marianna.[34] This story and rumors of other such acts in the *Sun* caused great consternation in the white community. Whites lived in fear, apparently persuaded by such news stories that blacks were bent on taking revenge against

33. *Gainesville Daily Sun,* especially December 8-9, 1922
34. Ibid., December 14, 1922.

white women and men for the destruction of the black community at Perry. Black residents in the area knew that such stories were untrue but they could not persuade local white neighbors otherwise.

Many local blacks worried that they were sitting on a tinder box that might well explode at any moment. Their premonitions proved only too accurate. Less than a month after Perry, following the alleged assault against Fanny Taylor in Sumner on the morning of January 1, 1923, a group of white men descended on Rosewood. Over the next few days, at least eight people would be killed and the predominantly black township burned to the ground. What had been a peaceful, law-abiding black community had been consumed by white rage and a society distorted by race.

Historian George Tindall wrote in 1967 that Rosewood was the last of such racial clashes in the South.[35] The violence ended as the state and national economies improved and as blacks and whites increasingly condemned the widespread destruction. Moreover, few could point to an increase of rape or violence by blacks as justification for such community-wide violence. In Florida, white businessmen feared that the racial violence at Perry and Rosewood would discourage tourists from coming to the Sunshine state. The economic boom in the state in the 1920s offered many the first chance for real prosperity and few wanted to jeopardize that. Business leaders pressured political representatives to stop the violence and to restore law and order. Individual acts of violence and lynching continued in Florida and elsewhere, but a modicum of order and stability had returned to southern life. It was a civility, however, that offered black residents little more than a respite from violence and it offered no relief to the former residents of Rosewood.

35. Tindall, *Emergence of the New South,* 155.

The Rosewood Massacre and the Women Who Survived It

by MAXINE D. JONES

FANNIE Taylor's screams on the morning of January 1, 1923, shattered the peace of several Levy County communities. Her subsequent accusations of being attacked by a black man set in motion a chain of events that before the end of the week had resulted in at least eight deaths and the destruction of a town called Rosewood. Fewer than four thousand blacks resided in Levy County in 1920. The 3,960 African Americans comprised 39.9% of the county's population, and as long as they remembered the place ascribed to them they lived in relative harmony with area whites.[1]

The records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) reveal only one lynching in Levy County, that of Washington Bradley in 1904 for murder, but this did not mean that Levy County blacks were unfamiliar with violence and intimidation. From the turn of the century to 1922 whites in nearby Alachua County had lynched at least sixteen blacks, and five more were lynched in Marion County for various offenses ranging from train wrecking to insulting white women. Florida led the nation in the number of lynchings in 1920 with eleven. Gender offered no protection from mobs fueled by hate and anger. Two black females were tortured and lynched in the Alachua County town of Newberry. The names of Stella Long, the mother of four children, and her friend, Mary Dennis, who was pregnant with her third child, were added to the NAACP's 1916 lynching statistics.[2]

Observing race relations in surrounding counties, Rosewood's black residents no doubt considered themselves fortunate, but Fannie Taylor ended that. Her accusations destroyed the community and forever affected the lives of the African American women who lived there. The proud mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, aunts and

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1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920-1932,* (Washington, D.C., 1935), 701.
2. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918* (New York, 1919), 24.

nieces in this tightly knit black community were sent into a downward spiral that, for some, continued throughout their lives. The hunt for Jesse Hunter, Fannie Taylor's alleged black attacker, began on Monday, January 1, 1923, in Sumner, three miles west of Rosewood, and when it ended six days later, Rosewood, the community, was gone. The burned-down houses and corpses could be counted, but the psychological damage was almost immeasurable.

Rosewood was a small, predominantly African American community. Precinct 9 in Levy County, of which Rosewood was a part, had a black population of 342 in 1920.[3] Approximately eighteen to twenty-five African American families lived in Rosewood proper, and most of them owned their homes and property. Emma and James Carrier lived in a comfortable, well-furnished two-story home with glass windows and a front and back porch. In addition, they owned an organ. Sarah and Heyward Carrier also lived in a two-story house with a piano. Rosewood residents hunted, farmed and successfully lived off the land. Emma Carrier sold eggs and vegetables from her home garden.[4] Some of the residents, however, worked in nearby Sumner to help make ends meet. The men labored at the Cummer Lumber Mill and the women worked in private homes. Widow Mary Hall supported her children cleaning, washing and ironing for local whites, in addition to working part-time for white store owner John Wright.[5] Sarah Carrier, the matriarch of the Carrier family, was in fact working for Fannie Taylor on the morning of the alleged attack and disputed Taylor's claims. The man whom Sarah Carrier and her granddaughter, Philomena Goins, witnessed leaving the Taylor's home on that New Year's Day morning was white. Fannie Taylor was white; Sarah Carrier was black. In such a situation Carrier's word counted for little. Before the day ended a mob had visited Rosewood, aroused fear among its

3. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Population of Florida, Series T, Reel 225, Enumeration District 98, Sheets 6-12, Levy County, Florida, Precinct 9.
4. Testimony of Wilson Hall, State of Florida, House of Representatives, Public Hearing, Special Master *In the Matter For Relief of Arnett T. Goins, Minnie L. Langley, et. al, Claimants vs. State of Florida, Respondent,* February 25, 1994, Volume II, 129-130, 137; Testimony of Minnie Lee Langley, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume I, 36-37; Minnie Lee Langley, interview by Tom Dye, Tallahassee, September 24, 1993, transcript.
5. Testimony of Wilson Hall, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume II, 137, 166-67; Arnett Doctor, interview by Maxine Jones, Larry Rivers, and William W. Rogers, Tallahassee, September 23, 1993, transcript.

residents, nearly lynched Aaron Carrier and succeeded in killing Sam Carter, a forty-five-year-old blacksmith.[6]

Carter's death had a chilling effect on the Rosewood community. It hoped that the violence had ended with his death, but after three days of deceiving calm, a shootout occurred at the home of Sarah Carrier on Thursday, January 4. Sarah Carrier's son Sylvester, believing that there was safety in numbers, had convinced his relatives to gather at his parents' two-story home for protection. James and Emma Carrier, their children and grandchildren joined Sarah, her children and grandchildren. Sylvester's wife, Gertrude, was also there. That night a group of white men approached the Carrier home and when those inside refused to come out they began shooting. Sylvester Carrier, protecting his relatives barricaded inside the Carrier home, exchanged gunfire with whites for several hours.[7] Mob members Poly Wilkerson and Henry Andrews were killed and several more were injured. Both Sylvester Carrier and his mother, Sarah, died from gunshot wounds. Others were wounded, including Reubin Mitchell, who lost an eye, and Emma Carrier, who was shot in the hand and wrist. When the whites retreated, those in the house still living escaped to the swamps.[8]

When the whites returned on Friday to collect the bodies of their dead they set fire to the Carrier house. Their anger unspent, the men torched five more houses and a black church and killed Lexie Gordon. When Gordon, a widow in her mid-fifties, left her hiding place under her house once it was set on fire, a member of the mob shot and killed her. Later that same day, Mingo Williams was killed near Bronson. In the meantime, other Rosewood residents, many of them women and children, joined the Carrier clan in the woods and swamps.[9]

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6. See Maxine D. Jones, David R. Colburn, R. Tom Dye, Larry E. Rivers and William W. Rogers, *A Documented History of the Incident Which Occurred at Rosewood, Florida, in January 1923,* Report submitted to the Florida Board of Regents, Tallahassee, Fla., December 22, 1993. Cited hereafter as *Rosewood Documented History*.
7. Langley, interview; Arnett T. Goins, interview with Larry Rivers, Tallahassee, September 24, 1993, transcript; *Rosewood Documented History,* 37, 40-41: Testimony of Arnett Goins, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume I, 76-77.
8. *Rosewood Documented History,* 41, 43-44; Langley, interview; Testimony of Minnie Lee Langley, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume I, 47-49; Michael D'Orso, *Like Judgment Day: The Ruin and Redemption of a Town Called Rosewood* (New York, 1994), 67.
9. *Rosewood Documented History,* 44-48.

On Saturday, January 6, James Carrier left his temporary asylum in the swamps and became the sixth African American to die. Twenty-five or thirty white men took Carrier, the victim of two strokes, to the black cemetery and after questioning him, reputedly made him dig his own grave before shooting him.[10] And on the seventh day, Sunday, January 7, instead of resting, whites finished what they had started. They returned to Rosewood and deliberately burned the remaining twelve or thirteen structures. "Masses of twisted steel were all that remained of furniture formerly in the negro homes, [and] several charred bodies of dogs, and firearms left in the hasty retreat, bore evidence to the mob's fury which set fire to the negro section of [Rosewood]. . . .[11] For those keeping score, at least two whites and six blacks were dead, and an African American community was completely destroyed. But more than homes and furniture had gone up in smoke. A legacy, as well as hopes and dreams, had disappeared also.

The violence had a tremendous psychological impact on everyone who lived in Rosewood. The women and children especially suffered. Only nine years old at the time, Minnie Lee Mitchell Langley more than seventy years later vividly recalled the events of that week. She remembered the mob on day one looking for Jesse Hunter and calling for a rope to lynch her Uncle Aaron. And on day four Minnie Lee ended up in the middle of the shootout. When she heard that Sarah had been shot she ran downstairs looking for her grandmother Emma.

> So when I got downstairs I met cousin Syl and he pulled me [and said] "come here let me save you," and he carried me in a little old wood house [bin]. The wood house was sitting right up under the stairway, me and him got in that wood house. He got behind me in the wood house, and he put the gun on my shoulder, and them crackers was still shooting and going on. He put his gun on my shoulder.[12]
>
> Syl got up under the wood bin, put the gun on my shoulder, told me to lean this way. I leaned over, and then Poly

10. Ibid., 51-52; Langley, interview.
11. *Jacksonville Times-Union,* January 8, 1923; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* January 8, 1923; *Gainesville Daily Sun,* January 8, 1923; *Rosewood Documented History,* 54-55.
12. Langley, interview.

> Wilkerson, he kicked the door down. When he kicked the door down, Cuz' Syl let him have it.[13]

After seeing her uncle almost lynched, her great-grandmother Sarah killed and her cousin Sylvester kill and wound others to protect his family, the nine-year-old black girl must have been in shock. Then she was forced to run for her life and hide in the woods and swamps.

The beginning of the new year had brought unusually cold weather to the area, and when the men, women and children escaped from the Carrier home on the night of the shootout they had been dressed for bed, not for two days of terror in the cold, wet swamps. "It was cold, man it was cold. Jesus, I will never forget that day," Minnie Lee asserted.[14] From her refuge in the woods she could see the smoke and the flames coming from her family's burning property. "All our houses [were destroyed] they burned every house in that town . . . churches and everything, they left nothing. . . . Took all our chickens and cows and everything from us. . . . We see the fire burning. . . that fire just leaping over the railroad. . ."[15] She remembered spending at least two nights in the swamps before being rescued. Concerned whites made arrangements to assist the women and children and sent word to those hiding that a train would be sent to take only the women and children to safety. Minnie Lee and her friends, neighbors and relatives were taken to Gainesville by train.[16]

That experience scarred Minnie Lee forever. Her family, the Carriers and the Goins, probably suffered more than any other families in Rosewood. The others endured the same fear and lost their homes and sense of family and community, but those trapped in the Carrier house during the shootout experienced a terror that crippled them for the rest of their lives. Minnie Lee never knew her mother who had died soon after she was born. Her grandmother Emma Carrier took her in and became the mother figure in her life. But Emma was never the same after Rosewood. She had been wounded during the shootout and her husband, James Carrier,

13. Testimony of Minnie Lee Langley, Florida House of Representatives, *In The Matter for Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume I, 45-48.
14. Minnie Lee Langley, Sworn Statement, given to Stephen F. Hanlon, Jacksonville, June 2, 1992, 30.
15. Langley, Sworn Statement, 47-49.
16. Testimony of Minnie Lee Langley, Florida House of Representatives, *In The Matfor Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume I, 52-53; Langley, interview.

Minnie Lee Langley testifying before the Florida Legislature on Rosewood. *Courtesy of Mark Wallheiser, Tallahassee Democrat.*

had been killed. Minnie Lee recalled years later that her grandmother "ain't never gotten well. . . . She just took sick over what happened, and she never did get well."[17] The family reunited in Gainesville but life was different. The security that she had known for nine years was gone. The two-story home with the front porch and an organ, the home filled with love, was gone. Her school and church were no longer a part of her daily life. Her dream of becoming a nurse was now just that– a dream.

The children now had to help support themselves. Minnie Lee and her brother Reubin found work wherever they could. Minnie Lee washed dishes and milked cows to earn money. They survived as best they could, but during the summer of 1924 Emma Carrier died, and with her the promise to help her granddaughter to become a nurse. And so Minnie Lee drifted from Alachua County back to Otter Creek and Wylly in Levy County before ending up in Jacksonville where she managed to get an eighth-grade education.[18] The young woman stored the memories of Rosewood in the inner recesses of her mind and attempted to build a new life.

Minnie Lee Mitchell arrived in Jacksonville in 1926. Initially she worked in the homes of white women caring for their children, Later she secured a job with a brush and switch broom manufactur-

17. D'Orso, *Like Judgment Day,* 67.
18. Ibid.; Testimony of Minnie Lee Langley, Florida House of Representatives, *In The Matter for Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume I, 54-55.

ing company where she remained for thirty-two years, her salary increasing from 75 cents an hour to $3.75 an hour when she retired in 1980 with no pension.[19] She gave birth to a daughter in 1930 and married Clifford Langley in 1936. They managed to purchase a home in 1956, but Clifford died before they moved in. Minnie Lee never forgot about her life in Rosewood, or the violence that killed her relatives and destroyed her world. She never talked about it either, not even to her husband or daughter Dorothy. In 1994 she explained why she never talked about it. "It hurt me. It was just building up in me to just think about how my folks went down and how they killed them and everything. Took everything we had."[20]

Minnie Lee never understood why the violence had occurred. "We ain't had no problems back there, not with the white folks, not with no one. Ain't had a bit of problems. I don't understand why them peoples did us like that."[21] She never understood the attack on Rosewood, and though the fear may have diminished over the years, the fear that "those crackers might just come up there [Jacksonville] and find me and kill me up there" never went away completely.[22] But she was determined to get on with her life. Described as feisty, spunky, independent and free-spirited, Minnie Lee was a survivor. More than anything she wanted her daughter and her adopted son to have a better life than she did, telling them "I don't want y'all to come up like I come up."[23]

She worked hard and provided as stable a life for her children as she could. When the story of Rosewood was belatedly made public in 1993-94, Minnie Lee Mitchell Langley was finally ready to tell her story. It was as if she had been preparing for this moment since her world had come crashing down around her in January 1923. In hearings held by the State of Florida, Langley's painful and poignant description of what had happened the first week of 1923 left her listeners spellbound. This frail but dignified woman, now eighty years old, relinquished at last the terrible secret she had har-

19. Testimony of Minnie Lee Langley, Florida House of Representatives, *In* The *Matter for Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume I, 57-58; D'Orso, *Like Judgment Day,* 64, 67.
20. Testimony of Minnie Lee Langley, Florida House of Representatives, *In The Matter for Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume I, 58; D' Orso, *Like Judgment Day,* 64.
21. D'Orso, *Like Judgment Day,* 64.
22. Testimony of Minnie Lee Langley, Florida House of Representatives, *In The Matter for Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume I, 59.
23. D'Orso, *Like Judgment Day,* 64.

bored for seventy years. Through it all, Langley claimed, "I never lost my faith."[24] Langley's friend and attorney, Stephen F. Hanlon, believed that the enormity of what had happened at Rosewood, especially being in the middle of the shootout, was still very real for her. Minnie Lee Mitchell Langley may have been the most seriously damaged person to have survived the experience. She died December 15, 1995.[25]

There was plenty of suffering and pain to go around, and Minnie Lee Langley by no means had a monopoly on it. Others, both men and women, adults and children, experienced the same fear and carried the burden of Rosewood with them. Their lives, too, were transformed by that week of violence. As a young girl growing up in Rosewood, Philomena Goins dreamed of becoming a teacher and a jazz and opera singer. The Rosewood incident, however, placed her dreams on hold. Eleven-year-old Philomena accompanied her grandmother Sarah Carrier to do laundry for Fannie Taylor on January 1, 1923. She saw a white man enter and later leave Taylor's house that morning. She also watched as Fannie Taylor convinced Sumner whites that she had been assaulted by a black man. Philomena's experience was similar to that of Minnie Lee. She too was trapped in the Carrier house during the shootout and sought refuge in the swamps. She strongly believed that God heard their prayers for help and delivered them safely from the white mob. Through it all her faith never wavered. However, she never trusted whites again, and she was afraid until the day she died.[26]

Philomena's parents, who were not in Rosewood at the time of the violence, found Philomena and her brothers, Arnett and George, in Gainesville and took them to Tampa.[27] When her mother died in 1930, Philomena dropped out of school to care for her brothers and sister. Scarred by Rosewood, she nevertheless continued to chase her dreams of becoming a professional singer. In Florida she became the featured singer for the Charles Bradley Band. She performed on stage with Ella Fitzgerald and Chick

24. *Tallahassee Democrat*, December 18, 1995; Stephen F. Hanlon, interview by author, June 26, 1997.
25. Hanlon, interview.
26. Arnett Doctor, interview by author, June 29, 1997; Doctor, interview with Jones, Rivers, Rogers; Arnett Turner Goins, Sworn Statement, given to Stephen F. Hanlon, Orlando, February 25, 1993, 16-18.
27. Philomena's parents were George and Willie Retha Carrier Goins. Goins, Sworn Statement, 3-5.

Webb and traveled to New York, Chicago, and other major cities. She eventually married and settled down briefly in Jacksonville before relocating to Lacoochee, in Pasco County. She was no longer on stage, but Philomena Goins Doctor gained a reputation as an amateur producer and promoter, successfully bringing top-rate entertainment to the small mill town.[28]

On the surface all was well, but Philomena was extremely protective of her children, Arnett and Yvonne. She shielded them from whites and refused to allow her children to get too close to them. She instilled in her children her own distrust and fear of whites.[29] Clinical psychologist Carolyn Tucker, who interviewed several of the Rosewood survivors, gave a name to Philomena Goins' overprotectiveness. Her "hyper-vigilance" as far as her children were concerned and her fear of whites were classic symptoms of post-traumatic stress syndrome.[30] According to her son Arnett, financial circumstances compelled his mother to work for whites whom she in reality hated. Hatred and fear was the legacy from Rosewood that she passed on to her children. The week of white violence so traumatized Philomena that she never recovered. She lost her grandmother Sarah and her uncle Sylvester as well as a secure home environment. She never forgot the two-story house with lace curtains and the grand piano, things she should have been able to pass on to her children.[31]

White hatred and violence took away her "ability to positively interact with people irregardless of their ethnicity," as well as her dignity. Once a member of two of the leading families in Rosewood– the Carriers and Goins– Philomena Goins in one week's time had nothing tangible to give to Arnett and Yvonne. But she did give them a strong sense of their historical past. She taught them about James Weldon Johnson, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and her favorite, Marian Anderson. She taught them the Negro National Anthem and insisted that they sing it for her on a reg-

28. Testimony of Arnett Goins, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume I, 82; Doctor, interview by author, June 29, 1997.
29. Doctor, interview by author, June 29, 1997; Testimony of Arnett Doctor, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief,* March 4, 1994, Volume V, 502, 527.
30. Testimony of Dr. Carolyn Tucker, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume II, 177, 188,224.
31. Doctor, interview by author, June 29, 1997.

ular basis.[32] Every Christmas Philomena told her son and daughter about Rosewood. Arnett recalled that this was the season "when my mother would really become somewhat depressed, and she would recount the events that occurred at Rosewood. And there has not been a Christmas that I can remember that my mother has not recounted what happened at Rosewood with her immediate family."[33]

In spite of the hatred and fear that festered inside her, Philomena Goins maintained her faith in God and became an active member of the AME Church. She served on the board of trustees, the usher board and was chief soloist in the choir. Annette Goins Shakir, who spent every summer with her aunt in Lacoochee, remembers a woman who took pleasure in dressing nicely. She wore makeup, perfume, hats and jewelry. But she was hard to read at times: affectionate one minute, chilly the next, threatening one moment and protective the next. At times, Philomena could be domineering and stubborn, and at others, a very giving and loving woman.[34]

Philomena Goins Doctor emerged as matriarch of the family, and she insisted that what had happened at Rosewood remain within the family. The fear and anger she experienced in January 1923 permanently embittered her and she demanded silence not only from her relatives, but also from friends who had survived the incident. Rosewood was to be discussed only among family. Philomena Goins Doctor died in January 1991. According to her only son, she was "a happy person with a tormented past."[35]

Lee Ruth Bradley also survived the Rosewood massacre. One month shy of her eighth birthday, Lee Ruth's experience differed from those of Minnie Lee and Philomena. On the night of January 4, while Minnie Lee and Philomena were barricaded inside the Carrier homestead, Lee Ruth and three of her siblings were sheltered by merchant John Wright, one of the few whites residing in Rosewood. Wright warned Lee Ruth's father, John Wesley Bradley, to take the older boys and to "hit the woods."[36] John and Mary Jo

32. Ibid.
33. Testimony of Arnett Doctor, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief*, March 4, 1994, Volume V, 473.
34. Doctor, interview by author, June 29, 1997; Annette Goins Shakir, interview by author, June 16, 1997.
35. Doctor, interview by author, June 29, 1997.
36. Lee Ruth Davis, Sworn Statement, given to Stephen F. Hanlon, Miami, May 4, 1992, 25-27.

Wright ensured that the Bradley children were protected from the violence they speculated would take place that night. The children were fed and put to bed. After feeding the four youngsters breakfast on Friday morning, the Wrights left them alone while they attended Poly Wilkerson's funeral in Sumner.[37]

Even though instructed to remain in the house, Lee Ruth, her sister and two brothers left soon after the Wrights departed. She led her siblings to nearby Wylly to their brother's house, but they were not permitted to stay. It was too dangerous. Lee Ruth reported that they were led into the woods: "We walked through water. We sat on a log on the trail. . . . We sat there all day long." Later, Hoyt, her oldest brother, convinced her to return with the others to the Wrights. On their way back they saw men with guns and so they crawled most of the way back. John and Mary Jo Wright were out searching for the Bradley kids and were pleased when they answered their calls. They were soon placed on a train with other black women and children and sent to Gainesville for safety.[38]

The Bradley children remained in Gainesville for about three weeks. They were then taken to a paternal aunt. Their father, a widower, reclaimed his kids and relocated to Palatka. Although shielded somewhat from the violence in Rosewood, Lee Ruth remembered that "they killed everything in Rosewood. They didn't want anything living in there. They killed everything."[39]

The Bradleys, like the many other Rosewood families, were uprooted. They lost both their land and their strong sense of community. After a few years in Palatka, the Bradleys moved to Miami where Lee Ruth came of age. Over the years she worked as a private nurse, a mail and receiving clerk at Lane Bryant, and was hired to do various tasks by the Dade County School Board. She retired in 1981. In 1992, at age seventy-seven, Lee Ruth recalled how "rough and hard" it had been those last days in Rosewood. "It is sometimes a nightmare to me," she said and credited the Lord for getting her through it all. Lee Ruth Bradley Davis was a strong-willed woman of great religious faith who spent all day at church on Sundays. Arriving at seven o'clock in the morning, she helped prepare break-

37. Ibid., 27-28.
38. Ibid., 31-32.
39. Ibid., 44.

fast for 350 people before attending Sunday School and the eleven o'clock morning service; she rarely returned home before three o'clock in the afternoon.[40] Lee Ruth Bradley Davis died in 1993, but not before sharing with millions of viewers her Rosewood horror story on the Maury Povich show from her hospital room in Miami. Unlike Philomena, she felt "very strongly" that this story should be made public, and it was, in part, because of her "boldness and persistence" that the world was made aware of what had happened the first week of January 1923.[41]

At one time Mary and Charles Bacchus Hall owned 140 acres in Rosewood. They lived in a two-story house and operated a store and farm. When Charles died around 1920, Mary worked even harder to take care of her family. Wilson Hall, born April 10, 1915, remembered that his mother, a mentally and physically strong woman, worked in Sumner as a domestic, "dogged logs" at the mill and "worked for a while on the railroad . . . stripping crossties."[42] When whites went on the rampage in Rosewood, Mary Hall made every effort to protect her children. Wilson Hall described how his mother, assisted by her male friend, Henry Price, helped them to escape:

> [W]hen they started to coming you [could] see the automobiles, see for miles, but when my mother looked out the window upstairs she saw the cars coming then she went and got all the kids up said, "yall lets go, cause they are coming.
>
> [Y]ou know we were all [a]sleep, so quite naturally she went around and got us all up cause the house we were living in was pretty good size, but after she went around and got all of the kids up she brought [them] to the back door, then she took them all downstairs to the back gate . . . we all headed for the swamps, but then before we got started, she started to counting her kids and find out there was one missing, and so she said well, she had Charles in her arms,

40. Ibid., 70.
41. D'Orso, *Like Judgment Day*, 52; Testimony of Arnett Doctor, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief*, March 4, 1994, Volume V, 495,497.
42. Testimony of Wilson Hall, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief*, February 25, 1994, Volume II, 35-137, 165; D'Orso, *Like Judgment Day*, 154-55.

> she thought it was Mary, she had me by my hand, I was standing by her. . . . So then she said to Henry, said ah "we got a child missing," said who do you have? He looked and said, "I got Charles." He said, "well Mary is left in the house, we can't leave her." Mr. Henry said, "well, I'll go back and get her," so he dropped Charles and went back in the house and got Mary, and brought Mary out, and then she counted all the kids and said well they are all here now and [we] all started out to the swamp.[43]

Mary Hall and her "barefeet and pretty naked" children remained in the swamps for a day and a half before catching the train to Gainesville. Mary Hall arrived in Gainesville with her "naked, tired and hungry" children and managed to find her brother who operated a fish market there. He took them in for a month and helped his sister find a three-room shack where they lived for six or seven years.[44]

The violence at Rosewood traumatized Mary Hall. With little education, it was impossible to get a decent paying job, so she did a lot of begging that first year. Then her brother relocated his business to Crystal River in Citrus County, in effect stranding her. Eventually Hall found work as a maid and cook, often bringing leftover food home to feed her children. When her children were old enough they sought employment too. Mary had to depend on whites to earn a living, but she never trusted them again. Even when John Wright and others came to Gainesville to convince her to move back to Rosewood, she refused. She also refused to sign papers transferring ownership of her property.[45] Her children were forbidden to speak of Rosewood.

Mary Hall's daughters, Margie and Mary Magdalene, were fourteen and three, respectively, when they were forced to leave their home. Margie remembered that "we were forced to leave our home at night wearing on[ly] night clothes. We escaped by way of the swamps and bedded there one night. The next night, my family boarded a train headed towards Gainesville. We arrived in Gaines-

43. Wilson Hall, interview by author, Tallahassee, September 24, 1993.
44. Hall, interview by author; Testimony of Wilson Hall, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume II, 156.
45. Hall, interview by author; Testimony of Wilson Hall, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief,* February 25, 1994, Volume II, 155, 165-66, 164; Mary Hall, interview by Tom Dye, Tallahassee, September 24, 1993, transcript.

ville destitute & wondered [sic] aimlessly until rescued by my Uncle Joe Davis."[46] When Mary Magdalene was old enough, her mother explained to her why they did not have a home, and how "the white mob drove us away [from Rosewood] leaving us the Hall family with nothing. . . ."[47] Mary Hall took another husband, Henry Price, but she never recovered all that she lost in Rosewood. She hoped, however, that her children might one day want to reclaim their land.[48]

Those who survived Rosewood were held prisoner by their memories of that week of terror. Rosewood haunted them and refused to let go and many of them suffered in silence. It was a subject too painful to discuss for those who survived it and "a mistake" not to for many of their sons and daughters. But Philomena Goins Doctor had issued her edict and Rosewood was not to be discussed publicly. Other family members, while respecting her wishes, disagreed with Philomena. They believed that what had happened at Rosewood should be made public so that all the world could know. In 1993, after Philomena's death, Lee Ruth Bradley Davis and Minnie Lee Mitchell Langley appeared on national television and shared their stories. Philomena's son, Arnett Doctor, had been obsessed with what had happened to his family in Rosewood and had been secretly gathering information for years. He wanted Rosewood to become a public issue and wanted the state of Florida to address it. Under his leadership and the counsel of the law firm of Holland and Knight, the men and women who had survived the violence at Rosewood sought compensation from the state.[49]

In 1994 the Florida House of Representatives held hearings *In The Matter For Relief Of Arnett T. Goins, Minnie L. Langley, Et. AL, Claimants vs. State of Florida, Respondent.* At the hearings Minnie Lee Langley recounted her life in Rosewood and the violence that ended it. Lee Ruth Bradley Davis had died several months before the hearings began. Philomena's brother Arnett T. Goins and her son Arnett

46. Margie Hall Johnson, Rosewood Survivor Affidavit, August 1994, Office of the Attorney General, Hollywood, Florida; Margie Hall Johnson, interview by Larry Rivers, Tallahassee, September 24, 1993.
47. Mary Hall Daniels, Rosewood Survivor Affidavit, August 1994, Office of the Attorney General, Hollywood, Florida.
48. Testimony of Wilson Hall, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief*, February 25, 1994, Volume II, 166; Hall, interview by author, September 24, 1993.
49. Doctor, interview by Jones, Rivers, and Rogers, September 23, 1993.

Doctor, told the story that she had labored so hard to keep hidden. Margie and Mary Magdalene Hall shared their memories with a group of college professors commissioned by the legislature to study the week of violence. The suffering, pain, and loss that had been kept buried for more than seventy years was finally exhumed.

Dr. Carolyn Tucker testified that the survivors exhibited symptoms associated with a post-traumatic stress disorder. Such symptoms included fear, avoidance, hyper-vigilance, recurring memories, denial, and emotional numbness. Dr. Tucker also suggested that the mob violence at Rosewood had a negative impact on the parenting and social skills, as well as the economic viability, of the survivors and their descendants. She concluded that Rosewood "disrupted the passing down of tradition."[50] Minnie Lee, Lee Ruth, Philomena and the other Rosewood residents failed to inherit their families' businesses and property and were denied the positive role models that had been abundant in their community. Instead of fulfilling their dreams of becoming entrepreneurs, landowners, teachers and musicians, they became maids, and cooks and boot blacks. They were unable to pass the proud tradition of Rosewood on to their children.

After listening to hours of testimony from the survivors, their descendants and expert witnesses, hearing officer Richard Hixson recommended to the Florida legislature that the survivors who sustained emotional trauma be compensated in the amount of $150,000 each, that families who could demonstrate a property loss be compensated, and that a scholarship fund be established for the Rosewood families and their descendants. Hixson also recommended that the Florida Department of Law Enforcement investigate the incident that occurred at Rosewood to determine if charges could be brought against those responsible for the violence.[51] On April 4, 1994, the Florida House of Representatives passed the Rosewood Compensation Bill by thirty-one votes. The Senate followed suit, voting 24-16, on April 8. Governor Lawton Chiles signed the Rosewood Compensation Bill into law on May 4, 1994. More than two million dollars were distributed to nine Rosewood survivors and their descendants. Minnie Lee Mitchell Lan-

50. Testimony of Dr. Carolyn Tucker, Florida House of Representatives, *In the Matter For Relief*, February 25, 1994, Volume II, 180.

51. Florida House of Representatives, Special Master's Final Report, March 21, 1994.

gley, Robie Robinson Mortin, Mary Magdalene Hall, Margie Hall Johnson and Dorothy Goins Hosey were the only women who survived Rosewood willing to stake their claim to the money. They each received a check for $150,000.[52]

The money, of course, could never erase their memories, heal their scars, or replace the loss of family members and property. Nor could the money restore the sense of community and the legacy that they were unable to pass down to their children. But it was an acknowledgment from the state that it had not done all it could to protect its African American citizens. For the elderly survivors, the money could help to insure adequate health care and security. Perhaps the money and the scholarships could even help break the cycle of poverty in which these families were trapped. Philomena Goins Doctor probably would have disapproved of the public hearings and the resulting publicity, but she would have agreed with Governor Chiles when he proclaimed on the day he signed the Rosewood Compensation Bill, "Ignorance and racial hatred can lead to death and destruction. Let us use the lesson of Rosewood to promote healing."[53]

52. The State of Florida compensated nine survivors of the Rosewood Massacre. They are Minnie Lee Mitchell Langley, Arnett T. Goins, Wilson Hall, Willie Evans, Dorothy Goins Hosey, Mary Magdalene Hall Daniels, Margie Hall Johnson, Lonnie Carroll and Robie Robinson Mortin. Arnett Doctor, however, claims that there are others still alive who survived the violence at Rosewood, but who are afraid and thus unwilling to go public.

53. *Tallahassee Democrat,* May 5, 1994.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions. By John H. Hann. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996. xvi, 400 pp. Foreword, preface, list of names, maps, notes, glossary, abbreviations, bibliography, index. $49.95 cloth.)

Awarded the Rembert *W. Patrick Memorial Book Award for 1996.*

The Indians of Florida were the first native people of North America to experience European exploration, and they were the first to experience long-term colonization and missionization. Yet, perhaps because of the formidable technical difficulties in researching their history, their story has gone untold until quite recently. Researching their history requires one to exploit early modern Spanish documents, but also to possess the knowledge to critically interpret an archaeological record that is now over a half-century old. And for the Timucua there is the added challenge of gaining at least a structural grasp of the Timucuan language, for which historical sources exist as well as a recent linguistic analysis by Julian Granberry. John Hann possesses these qualifications, and over the past decade he has published three books which have placed the history of the native peoples of Florida on a new footing: first his book *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (1988); then *Missions to the Calusa* (1991), a compendium of translated documents with critical commentary; and now *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions.*

Hann's *History* begins with an introductory description of the Timucuan-speaking peoples and their homeland (chapters 1 and 2); chapters 3 and 4 survey initial European exploration and colonization by Juan Ponce de León, Pánfilo de Narváez, Hernando de Soto, Jean Ribaut, René de Laudonniére, and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés; chapters 5 through 8 survey salient Timucuan social, economic, political, and linguistic patterns; and just short of two-thirds of the book (chapters 9-16) recount the history of the Timucua from initial missionization in the late 1500s to their last years in Florida in the early 1700s.

Novel interpretations, the fruit of decades of closely reading the documents, are scattered throughout this book. For example,

Hann doubts that the Timucuan-speaking Ocone are to be linked to the Oconee River Valley of Georgia solely on the basis of the resemblance of the two names (4); he is justifiably skeptical of John R. Swanton's interpretation of the Tawasa on the basis of the Lamhatty document (6); he explains the historical origin of the ethnonym *Timucua* (15-19); he argues that Garcilaso de la Vega's description of Timucuan settlement patterns was probably based on Apalachee practices (32); he notes that the Timucuans could not store corn for more than three or four months because it became infested with grain moths and was eaten by weevils (93); and he describes a pattern of ceremonial wailing as a greeting that is reminiscent of practices among the Caddoan-speaking peoples of Arkansas, Louisiana, and eastern Texas (104-105). Many other examples could be cited.

I noticed only one anthropological lapse. The succession of a female chief's *(cacica)* daughter to her office is consistent with matrilineal succession, not patrilineal succession (93). What is to be explained is why there were so many female chiefs among Timucuan-speaking peoples. Hernando de Soto and Juan Pardo encountered notable female chiefs in the Carolinas, and one wonders whether female chiefs in matrilineal societies was a phenomenon that occurred mainly on the eastern and southern margins of the Mississippian Southeast. In the interior of the Southeast, the native societies were no less matrilineal, but the political leaders were normally male.

By far the most original contribution of this book is Hann's historical account of the missionization of the Timucua, their experience under Spanish rule, and their destruction at the hands of the Carolina colonists and their Indian allies. This early historical continuity among native peoples is most unusual for the Southeast, where a substantial historical gap exists between the documentation of the sixteenth-century explorers and that of the French and English of the late seventeenth century. The details of everyday mission life in Hann's book are fascinating, particularly as revealed by the Timucuan revolt of 1656. And in this regard, one expects that John Worth's forthcoming book on this revolt will reveal even more.

John Hann is a historian's historian. Details are important to him, and he includes most of his scholarly argumentation and commentary in his text rather than in endnotes. The long list of mission names, Indian villages, and ethnonyms in Hann's pages will tax all but the most determined readers, who will wish for more

maps. For historians and anthropologists interested in the social history of the early Southeast, this book will be indispensable. But readers who want easier access to the Timucuans may well want to begin with Jerald Milanich's *The Timucua* (Blackwell, 1996).

University of Georgia **CHARLES HUDSON**

Miami: The American Crossroad, A Centennial Journey 1896-1996. By Arva Moore Parks and Gregory W. Bush with Laura Pincus. (Needham Heights, Mass.: Simon and Schuster Custom Publishing for the Institute for Public History, University of Miami, Coral Gables, 1996. xii, 220 pp. Foreword by Marjorie Stoneman Douglas. Acknowledgments, preface, photographs, index, bibliography, about the authors and collaborators. $11.24 net paper.)

Winner of the Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award for 1996.

Since he arrived on the campus of the University of Miami in 1983, Gregory Bush, a professor in the Department of History, has taken his discipline beyond the classroom to the community at large. Bush's most notable accomplishment to date in the realm of public history has been the pivotal role he played in the conception and launching of the Louis Wolfson II Media History Center, a superb repository of television news footage and documentary film employed in classrooms, accessible to the general public through frequent screenings at the county's main library (which hosts the Center), and used by filmmakers.

Bush was aware that eleventh graders in Dade County's public and private schools, who are required to study history, received little if any instruction in the rich history of their locale. Accordingly, he decided in the early 1990s with the centennial of the City of Miami approaching, to prepare a book consisting of primary source material on Miami and Dade County history for students at this level. Bush received a sizable grant for preparation of the study, as well as the assurance from Simon and Schuster Customer Publishing and Prentice Hall, in a joint offer of support, that the former would print 30,000 copies of the work and dispense the lion's share to students without cost.

Bush began the project in collaboration with Henry Green, a colleague at the University of Miami. Later, in 1995, Bush turned to

Arva Parks, an accomplished Miami historian with significant clout and high visibility in the community. The final result of this pairing (with a great deal of assistance from Bush's students and former students) was *Miami: The American Crossroad, A Centennial Journey, 1896-1996,* published through the University of Miami's Institute for Public History. This sparkling study is now in the hands of all eleventh-grade students in Dade County.

Miami: The American Crossroad is a centennial journey and more, since it traces Miami's history from the time when the earliest known inhabitants lived in the area more than 10,000 years ago to the end of the tumultuous twentieth century. The readings contained within the book are relatively brief, chronologically arranged, and faithfully follow the main currents of the area's history. Each section of readings is introduced with an enlightening essay by the editors. The readings include first person accounts of Miami at different junctures in its history, newspaper and magazine articles, diary entries, government documents, transcripts of speeches, excerpts from memoirs, the reflections and observations of prominent persons, ranging from Frank Lloyd Wright to Michael Mann, producer of "Miami Vice," and essays on various elements and aspects of the city by many Miamians who have forged distinguished careers. Parks was instrumental in obtaining contributors in the last category. *Miami: The American Crossroad* also contains sidebars on prominent and interesting personalities, events, and institutions. Photographs and illustrations add significantly to the study.

The work is particularly strong in the realm of social history, which should pique the interest of its youthful readers. The material on the city's tumultuous political history, however, is sparse, reflecting the failure of Miami historians (with the notable exception of Raymond Mohl) to fully explore this vital sector of its history.

It is both the hope and belief of this reviewer that *Miami: The American Crossroad* will help area students begin to grasp the rich, multi-layered history of Miami and Dade County. Additionally, this timely anthology will attract a wider audience. I am already employing it with good results in a college-level class in Miami and South Florida history comprised almost exclusively of students who long ago completed their undergraduate degrees.

Miami Dade Community College
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PAUL S. GEORGE

The New Orleans Cabildo: Colonial Louisiana's First City Government, 1769-1803. By Gilbert C. Din and John E. Harkins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996. xix, 330 pp. Preface, abbreviations, illustrations, bibliography, index. $45.00 hardcover.)

Except for diplomatic history, scholars have long neglected the four decades in which Spain controlled Louisiana (1762-1803). For the most part, the few twentieth-century historians who have examined Spanish Louisiana have been unduly influenced by earlier French Creole historians who felt that the Spaniards who administered the colony were cruel and corrupt. These historians viewed the Cabildo– the institution that provided New Orleans with municipal government during the Spanish era– in an unfavorable light, mainly because they relied on published accounts of biased French and American travelers who visited the town in the late Spanish period when the Cabildo's influence had declined and two poorly qualified governors held office. Based on these descriptions, historians have concluded that these stories about the Cabildo were true for the entire period, thus lending justification to their insistence that Spain's rule was ineffective and had no lasting influence on Louisiana.

These myths, however, should be permanently laid to rest by Gilbert C. Din– the pre-eminent historian of Spanish Louisiana– in his new, all-encompassing study of the New Orleans Cabildo. Din's work builds upon John E. Harkins' 1976 Ph.D. dissertation on the Cabildo, which was based solely on Works Progress Administration translations of Spanish documents. Din has revised Harkins' manuscript using the original Spanish Actas del Cabildo as well as other documentation from various Spanish archives, and has introduced new interpretations based upon his own expert knowledge of Spanish Louisiana. The result is a highly informative and surprisingly readable account of the New Orleans Cabildo which explains its exact function, composition, and administration. In telling the history of the Cabildo, Din provides the reader with a deeper understanding of colonial New Orleans, while also placing the city and its government in context through comparisons with other municipalities in the Spanish Borderlands, North America, as well as Spanish America.

Din has made his comprehensive study more understandable by organizing it topically instead of chronologically. Following in-

troductory background chapters, Din examines the Cabildo's officers and employees, and its relations with the Spanish governor, intendant, and the Catholic Church. Although the New Orleans Cabildo reflected the interests and aspirations of Louisiana's Creole elite, particularly the planters, Din finds that the Cabildo usually acted to reconcile imperial policies and local concerns, and positively contributed to the administration of Spanish Louisiana by working as a liaison between the various components of colonial government. Din then provides an in-depth look at the daily mechanics of colonial New Orleans by studying the Cabildo's work in areas such as municipal finances, race relations, food and marketing, medicine and health regulations, public works, land grants, and ceremonial functions. Despite the fact that Spanish law did not assign the Cabildo responsibility over many of these areas, the city government assumed control over them due to the lack of any alternatives.

Anyone who has ever lived in New Orleans will be startled to learn that the Cabildo succeeded in most of its endeavors; particularly surprising is its vigilance in the field of public works. Only in the last days of Spanish Louisiana, when illness and death ravaged the Cabildo's members and antagonistic governors were in charge, did the institution lose power and prestige. For most of the era, however, the New Orleans Cabildo had higher per capita revenues than most Spanish American cities, and it devoted almost all of its income, unlike other Spanish American municipalities, to the community's well-being. Thus, the author concludes that the New Orleans Cabildo was more comparable to municipal governments in the United States than to those in Spanish America. Gilbert Din has produced a study of the New Orleans Cabildo which focuses on the institution's many positive contributions instead of its few failures and thereby has helped shed a new light upon Spanish Louisiana, free from the biases of past historians.

University of West Florida F. TODD SMITH

Journal of a Visit to the Georgia Islands of St. Catherines, Green, Ossabaw, Sapelo, St. Simons, Jekyll, and Cumberland, with Comments on the Florida Islands of Amelia, Talbot, and St. George in 1753. Edited by Virginia Steele Wood and Mary R. Bullard. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1996. x, 103 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, short titles, abbreviations, location symbols, notes, credits, index, notes on the contributors. $22.95 hardcover.)

Jonathan Bryan's career as a leader in the development of the southern frontier was resurrected in Alan Gallay's fine biography. Now the publication of Bryan's long-ignored journal adds a noteworthy addendum to the life and times of this astute colonial entrepreneur. Likewise, Bryan's journal provides an informative glimpse of coastal Georgia in the waning years of the Trust just prior to the colony's transformation as a lucrative rice-producing region. In the vanguard of South Carolina planters who migrated to Georgia, Bryan and his cohorts sought productive rice lands and status; they were the founders of an economic and social system that would characterize the region for the next century.

Although many questions remain about the provenance of Bryan's journal, since 1974 it has been among the holdings of the Georgia Historical Society. Presumably, it was prepared as a report for John Reynolds, Georgia's first royal governor. In August 1753, seven months after he moved to Georgia, Bryan and a small party that included William G. DeBrahm, John Williamson, and William Simmons began their voyage of exploration down the Georgia coast.

They first visited St. Catherines Island, partially owned by the Bosomworths, then on to William Simmons' intended settlement up the Newport River. After exploring the uninhabited island of Sapelo, their next stop was St. Simons Island and Frederica, which they found in a "ruinous condition," the typical plight of Georgia's coastal fortifications. Since hostilities still simmered with the Spanish and their Indian allies in Florida, an armed scout boat joined the expedition before it proceeded to Jekyll Island. On Cumberland Island they found the ruins of Fort St. Andrew and visited the lonely detachment at Fort William. Deterred by inclement weather from visiting Amelia, Talbot, and St. George Islands, nonetheless Bryan's journal contains interesting comments about them. Enroute back to Savannah, they were entertained by Adam Bosomworth on St. Catherines; they visited Mark Carr's planned site of Sunbury and called on the Maxwell family at Green Island.

Bryan arrived home before the end of August, having been away for nearly a month.

Although he never explained the real purpose of his journey, Bryan's main interest was land. Between 1753 and 1756 he added more than 18,000 acres to his holdings through grants and purchases. Bryan noted that the coastal region was ideally suited for cultivating rice, corn, oranges, and indigo, and for both lumbering and fishing. He envisioned the rivers of south Georgia as conduits of trade for the Florida hinterland and the barrier islands as sites for prosperous ports. As he commented on Amelia Island, "what a Pity so much pleasant good land should lie uninhabited" (32).

Bryan's journal is only ten printed pages, however, the editor's detailed notes take up thirty-five pages; their bibliography adds another sixteen pages. The book is enhanced by a number of excellent maps and illustrations. Wood and Bullard have again demonstrated their intimate familiarity with the geography, history, and archaeology of the Georgia and North Florida coasts. Well written and superbly edited, Bryan's journal will be useful to scholars who are interested in both Georgia and Florida history during the mid-eighteenth century.

Georgia Southern University R. FRANK SAUNDERS, JR., EMERITUS

Understanding the American Revolution: Issues and Answers. By Jack P. Greene. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1995. xii, 401 pp. Preface, index. $68.50 hardcover, $24.50 paper.)

Jack Greene has masterfully compiled a series of previously published essays which explain the American Revolution from political, intellectual, social, and diplomatic perspectives. The volume revolves around four major themes: the causes of the American Revolution; the American colonies' role in the developing crisis; the war's effect on existing political cultures; and finally, the actors involved in the crisis and the war's impact on them. In addressing these four themes, Greene does so as a colonial historian who views the subject as an outgrowth of British imperial history. This approach demonstrates the continuity of the topic and conveys a clear understanding of how difficult it was for the American colonists to declare their independence and why it became absolutely essential that they do so.

Greene contends that the American Revolution resulted from inept British imperial policy. Acknowledging that it is neither possible nor desirable to attribute one single cause to such an unwieldy and complex subject as the American Revolution, he argues that attempts at colonial reform in the mid-eighteenth century forced the colonists to assert their independence. While England attempted to tighten its authority over the colonies, local institutions and colonial attempts to understand their constitutional standing moved the colonists toward revolution. Considering themselves British subjects loyal to the Crown, American colonists believed it was their right and responsibility to formulate policy for themselves. In order to avoid the inevitable conflict, the British Parliament would have had to recognize American sovereignty in its own right, an idea conceived too early to be acceptable.

The second and third themes focus on American involvement in the developing crisis and the Revolution's lasting effects. Using Virginia as an example, Greene contends that colonists' perceptions of themselves and of British society made it morally imperative that the colonies break away from the mother country. The Stamp Act crises, which encouraged feelings of uncertainty about the colony's constitutional standing within the empire, created an external threat to the colony's self image. While reeling from Great Britain's passage of the Stamp Act, the colony also experienced the effects of both the Robinson scandal and the Chiswell case. These internal scandals suggested that Virginia's gentry was guilty of the same moral decadence as its accused British counterpart. To save the colony's self-image– one based on virtue and liberty– the gentry embraced reform. As Greene astutely points out, the Virginia gentry's drive to purge itself of the same corrupt characteristics believed to be prevalent in the British ruling class paved the way for the final break with British royal authority.

However, Greene also argues that the Revolution was limited. It originated in the desire to limit governmental intrusion into the private sphere. Following the Revolution, which required enormous collective action, the American colonists once again embraced individualism and limited governmental involvement– a return to the status quo.

Finally, Greene examines the various actors engaged in the shaping of both British and American opinion during the crisis. Chapters eleven, twelve and thirteen are devoted to Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, and Philip Mazzei, respectively. Accord-

ing to the author, these men served as cultural brokers between the Old World and the New World, providing greater understanding to parties on either side of the Atlantic. Consequently, they were often the ones most impacted by the trans-Atlantic conflict.

The chapter entitled "The Alienation of Benjamin Franklin, British American" symbolically demonstrates the growing rift between the Americans and their British counterparts. Although he had a deep affection for Britain, London and the British people, Franklin placed significant blame for the growing crises on Britain's failure to appreciate the deep affection colonists had for their mother country or to realize the significant role the colonies could serve in the future development of the British empire. According to Greene, Franklin's final alienation from the British government reflected the growing estrangement of the American people from the mother country. Like Franklin, the American colonists were the victims of British suspicion and British failure to recognize both Franklin's and the American colonists' affection and loyalty to the British empire.

Understanding the American Revolution is a comprehensive, well-researched study of the various factors which contributed to the American Revolution. Throughout, Greene skillfully outlines where scholarship of the American Revolution has succeeded and failed. He poses significant questions which must be answered before the American Revolution can truly be understood.

Florida International University PATRICIA FARLESS

Political Culture in the Nineteenth-Century South: Mississippi, 1830-1900. By Bradley G. Bond. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. 343 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, bibliography, index. $35.00 hardcover.)

Bradley G. Bond's sophisticated examination of the "social ethic" and "political culture" of nineteenth-century Mississippi rests partly on a quantitative examination of social and economic change in a dozen sample counties. Most of the book, however, studies white Mississippians' statements and political behavior, though not such policy outputs as teachers' salaries or railroad construction. Bond argues persuasively that, throughout the transforming changes that he traces, a bedrock racism persisted.

In effect, Bond extends into the twentieth century the insights Edmund S. Morgan voiced in *American Slavery– American Freedom* concerning the importance of race and slavery to the emergence in the eighteenth century of republican ideas and practices. Emphasizing twin dimension of independence– economic and political– Bond analyzes participation in the market as well as in politics. Bond's white Mississippians, measuring success in these terms and in their denial of those prerogatives to their black neighbors, did all they could to prevent black Mississippians' access to the market or the ballot box. Black Mississippians supplied whites an economic mudsill and an ideological touchstone.

Bond neglects the most important fact of life in nineteenth-century Mississippi: black residents outnumbered whites from the 1830s to the 1930s. Before emancipation, whites saw "northern despotism and black liberty" as twin threats. Two years before secession, one man denied there could ever be "equality of the races," for blacks "cannot live amongst us except as our slaves or our masters." The formal end to slavery did little to force a reconsideration of this view. White Mississippians insisted that, slave or free, black Mississippians must be kept poor, dependent, powerless– landless and disfranchised. Whites thus submerged their differences in a unified commitment to "theories of race that. . . secured the foundation of white liberty in black subjugation."

Despite its title, this case study of "the nineteenth-century South" makes scant reference to either the history or the historiography of Florida, Virginia, or even the only other state with a slave majority, South Carolina. Bond's Mississippians display a uniform commitment to white supremacy– an analysis that runs counter to V. O. Key's findings in *Southern Politics* for all southern states in the twentieth century except for Mississippi and South Carolina. Was Mississippi the South?

Bond's title begs a second important question. It is embarrassing that a book published by Louisiana State University Press in 1995 speaks of southerners as if all were white. Bond counterpoints "southerners" and "slaves," "Mississippians" and "blacks." He applies the term "residents," rather than "citizens," only to white people in pre-war Mississippi. In which state did Mississippi slaves reside? Future comparable studies of other states must employ a different rhetoric of race.

We learn little here how black Mississippians contributed to, responded to, or possibly created an alternative to the political culture otherwise so well explored. On occasion, Bond acknowledges

the difficulties the Freedmen's Bureau had trying "to impose free labor on a population half of which despised the notion," or observes that the Redeemers in Mississippi sought to "return" blacks to a voiceless and powerless status in society similar to that known under slavery." Yet he renders black Mississippians voiceless by ignoring them as voters or officeholders, though they were agents as well as objects of political life in nineteenth-century Mississippi. Twice in the 1870s Mississippi had a black U.S. Senator, but this book nowhere mentions Hiram R. Revels, and Blanche K. Bruce first appears only as he leaves the Senate. How did Bruce get into office, and how did he represent his constituents?

The presence of a black majority impelled white Mississippians' tenacious hold on their power and privileges. The two groups must share space and time in the history of southern political culture. Promising, innovative, provocative as this study is, the title suggests its major shortcomings and the main direction future scholarship must take.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University PETER WALLENSTEIN

Nelson A. Miles and the Twilight of the Frontier Army. By Robert Wooster. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996. xvii, 391 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $18.00 paper.)

Born on August 6, 1839, in Westminster township, Massachusetts, Nelson Appleton Miles grew up on the family farm. Moving to Boston in 1857, he worked in various commercial enterprises and was engaged in selling crockery at the beginning of the Civil War. After the disaster at Bull Run, he raised enough money to outfit a company in the Twenty-second Massachusetts Infantry, becoming its first lieutenant. His rise was meteoric. His first break came when he served as aide-de-camp to O. O. Howard. From there he commanded a regiment, a division, and, temporarily, the Second Corps. Four times wounded, he received the Congressional Medal of Honor for bravery at Chancellorsville and by the end of the war had achieved the rank of major general of volunteers. Accepting a colonelcy in the regular army in 1866, he continued his ascendancy.

A contemporary described Miles as the most ambitious officer in the United States Army. Those who helped him were his friends; those who did not or who stood in his way were enemies. Among those whom he consistently hated as rivals were George Crook, John Gibbon, and Ranald Mackenzie. Among his steadfast friends were George Armstrong Custer and Winfield Scott Hancock. Miles was well placed in his rise to power. He married the niece of William Tecumseh Sherman, who eventually commanded the army, and John Sherman, the sometimes secretary of the treasury, U.S. senator, and secretary of state. These men and dozens of others received almost daily prompting from Miles in furtherance of his career.

But one thing was certain: Miles had talent. Lacking sophistication, he possessed a facile mind and resolution of purpose. Personally courageous, he had the ability to inspire the men under him and the persistence to follow through until he had succeeded. While his Civil War career involved one triumph after another, his Indian Wars' successes were even more spectacular: it was Miles who defeated Crazy Horse, chased Sitting Bull into Canada, captured Chief Joseph, and sent Geronimo into exile. His exploits earned him a general's rank and command of the Division of the Atlantic.

His final triumph was earning the rank of commanding general of the United States Army on October 2, 1895. Serving until August 8, 1903, Miles continued his intrigues, independent actions, and public outbursts at those whom he considered inept or obstructionist. While he brilliantly engineered the capture of Puerto Rico during the Spanish American War, he made the mistake of earning Theodore Roosevelt's enmity, and it was the cowboy president who retired Miles on his sixty-fourth birthday. Never finished, Miles was an unsuccessful candidate for president in 1904 and Congress in 1913. He died on May 16, 1925, while attending the Barnum and Bailey Circus in Washington, D.C.

Central to this study are military records in the National Archives and Miles' papers in the Library of Congress, as well as the diaries, letters, and memoirs of his friends and associates. Wooster is the first scholar to use a new cache of Miles' papers and documents recently acquired by the U.S. Military Institute, Carlise Barracks, Pennsylvania, and a typescript of letters written to Miles' wife from a private source. Wooster is one of the major talents presently at work in nineteenth-century military history, and his biography replaces all previous attempts. As an explication of the workings, rivalries, and intrigues of the frontier army, it ranks among the best

yet produced. Hopefully, this new Bison Book edition will make this fine 1993 study available to many more readers.

Sheridan, Wyoming JOHN D. MCDERMOTT

A Very Violent Rebel: The Civil War Diary of Ellen Renshaw House. Edited by Daniel E. Sutherland with a foreword by Frank L. Byrne. Voices of the Civil War Series. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1996. xxv, 285 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, editorial policy, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $34.00 cloth.)

While every casual student of the Civil War knows about Mary Chesnut and her diary, few other Confederate women have received as much attention for their journal-keeping during the war. Ellen Renshaw House, a fierce supporter of the Confederacy despite her residence in Knoxville, the heart of East Tennessee, recorded her experiences during the three years between 1863 and 1865. House's descendants recently discovered her diary and have generously arranged for its publication in the Voices of the Civil War series. House's perspective as a Confederate woman behind Union lines, as well as her accounts of her forced relocation to Georgia, distinguish her narrative from most other published works. The skillful editing of Daniel Sutherland, typical of this series, greatly aids the reader in connecting Ellen House with a broader historical context.

House began keeping a journal in January 1863, partly as a way to record her experiences for her soldier brother Johnnie. In September, she started daily entries, chronicling the effects of the Confederate siege of Union-controlled Knoxville. House certainly was no impartial recorder of events. Rather, she spiced her narrative with references to how much she hated Yankees, cheered Confederate victories, and openly scorned men who took the oath of loyalty to the Union government. House explains how the siege of Knoxville affected the occupation forces as well as civilians. She endured privations, which included having to move out of her parents' home because the Union army wanted to use it, because she saw half-starved Union troops in town as evidence that her sacrifices would soon be rewarded by Confederate victory. While she rarely felt compassion for the invaders, she regularly did her part to help the cause by comforting prisoners of war kept in the local jail. Her Confederate sympathies eventually landed her in trouble,

however. In 1864, Union authorities ordered her to move beyond their lines into Confederate territory.

After she left Knoxville, Ellen's journal becomes sketchy. She did not record much of her journey as a refugee to Eatonton, Georgia, to remain with friends. There Ellen ironically experienced few of the hardships of the Confederacy's last days; she noted that her life in exile, mostly playing chess and cards, with dancing thrown in, had little connection to reality. Following the end of the war, House returned home to Knoxville and maintained her diary through the end of 1865. Her narrative effectively shows the bitterness of East Tennessee's former Confederates, who chafed under the oppression of rule by the Union military and spiteful local Unionists. Violence had not stopped when the fighting ended, as Ellen painfully realized when her beloved brother Johnnie was fatally shot in December 1865, prompting her to close her journal.

House's account is particularly valuable for the mix of unfounded rumor and accurate information she recorded. While in Knoxville, Ellen picked up many wild rumors about the progress of the war, yet she also gleaned nuggets of reliable news from soldiers in both armies. Sutherland's notes serve the reader well here, as he sorts the wheat from the chaff without obscuring the author's voice. The placement of the notes at the end of the book enables the reader to use them according to individual preference. While Ellen's diary is definitely an interesting account of one Confederate woman's experience, it does not add much to our knowledge of the Civil War, especially outside East Tennessee. However, particularly for people interested in the effects of war on southern civilians or the experiences of Confederate women, her narrative is worth a look.

University of Kentucky CHRISTOPHER M. PAINE

The Alabama– the Kearsarge: The Sailor's Civil War. By William Marvel. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. x, 337 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, appendices, glossary of naval terminology, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 hardcover.)

Curiosity about the life of the common sailor in the Civil War motivated William Marvel to write this maritime history. The author uses the famous Confederate raider the CSS *Alabama* and her nemesis the Federal ship USS *Kearsarge,* as the backdrop for his study of the social history of the men who served on those ships.

Through the use of wartime diaries, letters, journals and official documents he has pieced together a history of the blue-water Civil War sailor. Marvel contends that the daily life of the Civil War soldier has been recorded in copious detail, but the poor blue jacket has been largely ignored in the vast panoply of Civil War literature. One unique feature is the unpatronizing way in which the author examines the role African-American seamen played on both the Confederate and Union ships.

The author contends that no work of note has been written about the *Kearsarge* or the *Alabama,* and he does a superb job of documenting the construction of both ships. The secrecy of the building of ship 290 *(Alabama)* at the shipyards of John Laird and Sons in Liverpool, England, and the attempts to side-step international maritime laws, is an intriguing story. His description of the construction of the USS *Kearsarge* at the shipyards in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, gives insight into the frenzied response by a Federal navy fearful of the newly developing Confederate navy.

Interesting features of the book include Marvel's examination of maritime law; the role of naval law and custom and the significant role it played in the lives of both Confederate and Federal seamen; and efforts by both Federal and Confederate authorities to respect, or secretly circumnavigate, those laws.

The author details the exploits of the CSS *Alabama* at sea: the sinking, burning or capturing of sixty-plus Northern ships, the impact on maritime activities, and the fear spread by the *Alabama.* The less colorful saga of the *Kearsarge* at sea paints a picture of frustration and monotony. One is struck by the frequent number of repairs that the *Kearsarge* and *Alabama* required. This frequent maintenance contributed to the frustration encountered by the crews.

In discussing the shipboard life of both Federal and Confederate sailors, Marvel incorporates a good deal of anecdotal material. It is this human aspect that gives the book a feeling of warmth and familiarity. According to Marvel, underlying all was the boredom and monotony of daily activity. Alcohol seemed to be the chief remedy for counteracting the monotony of life at sea. Desertion was common on both ships, and the men who enlisted were not always motivated by patriotism. One caveat: many of the enlisted men came from foreign ports and their views often stand in contrast to those of their American shipmates.

It is extremely difficult to find letters, diaries, or journals written by common seamen; most crewmen served in nameless obscu-

rity. To the author's credit, he found those sources and does a superb job interweaving them into the narrative. The boredom of shipboard life is reflected in the writing of the history and the reader is unavoidably exposed to a monotony of his/her own.

Marvel's examination of the activities of the *Kearsarge* and *Alabama* during the period 1861 through 1863 is thorough, but provides little that is startingly new. His study of the life of the deep-water sailor is the strength of this work, and if one is interested in the social history of the Civil War blue jacket, this is a good addition to your library.

Kutztown University DAVID L. VALUSKA

Colonel Burton's Spiller & Burr Revolver: An Untimely Venture in Confederate Small-Arms Manufacturing. By Matthew W. Norman. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996. xiv, 137 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, appendices, bibliography, index. $18.95 hardback).

With the outbreak of the American Civil War, the Confederacy encountered a dilemma: how would they arm their troops for the upcoming hostilities? Almost all of the United States' weapons factories were located in the North, mostly along the Connecticut River Valley. These factories, and the experienced workmen who labored in them, were a critical advantage for the Union.

Weapons confiscated from Federal arsenals and arms that had been purchased from northern manufacturers during the prewar buildup helped to fill the gap initially, but the South was soon driven to import guns from Europe and establish arms manufactories of their own. The weapons crafted in the South for use in battle by Confederate soldiers have long held a romantic place of pride for collectors and scholars of Civil War firearms, and many books and articles have been written on this topic. While early writings were generally based upon observation of the artifacts themselves (rather than examination of hard-to-find archival sources) in recent years a number of new and more scholarly publications have appeared-revolutionizing the study of Confederate weapons and Southern manufacturing in general.

Colonel Burton's Spiller & Burr Revolver, by Matthew W. Norman, fits neatly into this new generation of research. Spiller & Burr revolvers

have long been highly valued artifacts of the Civil War, but little was known of the firm that produced them. The names Spiller and Burr refer to two principal businessmen and investors in the company, but the driving force behind the project was James H. Burton. Burton was the most qualified man in the entire Confederacy when it came to small arms manufacture; he had been foreman, then acting master armorer, at Harper's Ferry Armory and the chief engineer of the factory in England that manufactured Enfield rifles.

As the South had no revolver factories, Burton was able to secure an extremely lucrative contract to fill this strategic need. Much of the money was supplied up front, providing most of the capital necessary to establish the factory (which was eventually located in Atlanta). Rather than invent a new, untested design, Burton wisely chose to make almost exact copies of a previously existing and successful product– the Whitney revolver. Because the Whitney company was located in the North, there were no concerns about patent infringement!

Norman does an admirable job describing the unique challenges faced by Burton in establishing a revolver factory from scratch. The depth of the author's research is evident throughout, as he makes good use of government and factory records, letters, diaries and secondary sources.

Like so many Confederate industrial ventures, the Spiller & Burr factory failed spectacularly. In this instance, the overriding problem was a lack of skilled workmen. Norman shows how the Confederate government and military, through an amazing combination of self-destructive parochialism and inefficiency, prevented this key factory from acquiring a sufficient labor force. In a downward spiral of failure, the factory could not produce pistols on time, had piles of them rejected as defective, was taken over by the government, moved to Macon and was eventually broken up with the approach of Federal troops. Total production was about 1,500 pistols– dramatically below estimates and not nearly enough to be a noticeable aid to the Confederacy at a time when some of her soldiers were entirely unarmed.

Norman has succeeded in portraying, in rare detail, the story of a Confederate venture that should have worked but did not. It is in many ways typical of Confederate industrial efforts, and a telling portrayal of a golden opportunity squandered.

Lincoln, RI STUART C. MOWBRAY

Bentonville: The Final Battle of Sherman and Johnston. By Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. xix, 336 pp. Preface, author's note, maps, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $37.50 hardcover.)

In *Bentonville,* Nathaniel Cheiars Hughes, Jr., offers a tactical study of the only major Civil War battle fought in North Carolina. As Hughes states in his preface, this book "is only an effort to provide narrative structure to a chaotic event, clouded by time." The chaotic event occurred March 19-21, 1865, and pitted two old adversaries, Union Major General William T. Sherman and Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston. Sherman commanded a sixty-thousand-man juggernaut that had rolled steadily northward from Savannah since February 1. He hoped to link with additional Union forces at Goldsboro, North Carolina, then either march on the state capitol in Raleigh or move by rail to join U. S. Grant's army outside of Petersburg, Virginia.

Johnston was summoned from retirement by Confederate General Robert E. Lee to gather a force to stop Sherman. By March 18, he assembled near Bentonville approximately nineteen thousand men, including remnants of the Army of Tennessee, garrisons in Savannah and Charleston, and North Carolina state troops. The following day, Johnston ambushed Sherman's isolated left wing commanded by Major General Henry W. Slocum, dealing it a hard, but not fatal, blow. Having exhausted most of his forces in this attack, Johnston was forced to assume a defensive posture on March 20. Meanwhile, Major General Oliver O. Howard's right wing linked with Slocum. Sherman failed to launch a coordinated assault against the outnumbered Confederates on March 21, although a spirited attack by Brigadier General Joseph A. Mower's division nearly turned Johnston's left flank. After fending off Mower, Johnston retreated northward that night.

Hughes is partially successful in peering through the clouds of time surrounding the Battle of Bentonville. He excels in setting the stage for the altercation when describing the northward march of Sherman's war machine and comparing it to Johnston's valiant attempt to amass a ragtag collection of Confederate units capable of stopping him. He couples this with profiles of many participating Union and Confederate officers. Hughes also convincingly depicts Bentonville as a metaphor for the Confederacy's rapidly evaporating hopes.

Hughes' detailed tactical coverage often makes for confusing reading. This results in part from his decision to discuss different phases of the battle from strictly a Union or Confederate viewpoint in separate chapters. For example, in discussing Johnston's ambush, Hughes explains the Confederate attacks in one chapter, then spends three chapters detailing the reactions of the Union forces, usually without identifying the opposing units or their commanders. When Hughes returns his attention solely to the Confederates and an analysis of the ambush in yet another chapter, the reader is hard-pressed to recall what exactly happened in the preceding chapters.

Hughes often disrupts the flow of his narrative by using multiple quotations within a single paragraph. The book would have proved more readable had Hughes paraphrased more often. In those instances where he provides his own interpretation and analysis of the battle, Hughes entertains and informs his reader. In most cases, he lets the quotations perform the narration.

Hughes' thirty-one-page bibliography indicates an extensive consultation of primary and secondary sources. However, most of his revealing primary sources were written by Union participants. While these materials give detailed descriptions of Sherman's actions, many of Hughes' Confederate primary sources provide far less tactical information. This does not reflect an oversight by the author, but a failure by many Confederate officers to write battle reports,

Hughes' *Bentonville* should prove welcome reading to those who have awaited a lengthy treatment of Johnston's last stand against Sherman. It is not, however, the definitive account.

Virginia State Library DALE HARTER

The Great South Carolina Ku Klux Klan Trials, 1871-1872. By Lou Falkner Williams. (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. xiii, 197 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth.)

On its face, a book which examines the Ku Klux Klan trials in a single state over a two-year period would seem overly narrow in focus and possess only limited regional readership appeal. Lou Falkner Williams' study, *The Great South Carolina Ku Klux Klan Trials, 1871-1872,* however, is far more important and expansive than the title implies. Williams' account of these trials demonstrates clearly that although Civil War combatants had laid down their

arms, the issues which had propelled the nation into war were far from settled. White South Carolinians, stripped of political power and their chief form of property, set out to use the highly effective weapon of terror to keep the state's freedmen from exercising their newly won civil rights. By utilizing the tactics of intimidation and violence, white South Carolinians organized into a paramilitary but ever-political organization– the Ku Klux Klan– and sought to thwart the extension of political rights to the state's African-American population. In response, the federal government launched an aggressive campaign to identify and punish the offenders and thus stem the tide of anti-black, anti-Republican violence; in the process federal authorities hoped to force the federal courts to acknowledge and bless a newly expanded federal system which extended protection to all citizens. The contest which ensued saw opposing sides square off on the issue of states' rights versus federal rights. Would postwar America embrace a broad interpretation of the Reconstruction amendments and legislation that effectively nationalized black civil and political rights? Or would the nation retreat to the traditional laisez-faire, conservative view of limited constitutional and federal authority? Moreover, the contest pitted "white supremacy versus black equality, vigilante justice and the code of honor versus the rule of law" (31). In short, these few cases tried from 1871 to 1872 tested nothing less than the federal government's ability to protect the lives of black Americans.

White South Carolinians living in the upcountry in 1870 and 1871 unleashed a torrent of violence against blacks and Republicans. Northern-born governor Robert K. Scott called upon the federal government for intervention which came swiftly. President Ulysses S. Grant effectively declared martial law, the first time such action had been taken in peacetime. He ordered additional troops sent to the state and suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in nine South Carolina counties, facilitating the arrest of hundreds of suspected Klansmen. Congress responded as well with additional legislation, the Ku Klux Klan Act, the third in a series of Enforcement Acts, and held hearings to determine the extent of Klan activity in the former Confederacy.

Responsibility for the prosecution of suspected Klansmen fell upon Attorney General Amos T. Akerman and David T. Corbin, U.S. Attorney for South Carolina. The task was an ominous one for many reasons, but primarily because Corbin faced uncharted, murkey constitutional waters. The prosecution's strategy posited that

the Fourteenth Amendment conferred positive rights and dramatically altered the nature of the federal system by promoting an expanded sphere of authority for the federal government. The federal government maintained the right to intervene and protect (black) citizens not only from state powers but from individuals within the states when the state itself was unable or unwilling to protect them. The defense naturally claimed that such reasoning overstepped the boundaries of federal authority and that it was the job of the states, not the central government, to police and protect the rights of its citizens.

Despite the high constitutional stakes that were laid bare by these cases, legal maneuvering and judicial rulings precluded a high court ruling on these weighty issues. And while a few Klansmen were convicted and punished for their crimes, a constitutional test of federal Reconstruction policies and amendments would have to wait, thus ending the South Carolina Ku Klux Klan trials "not with a bang but a whimper" (111). In failing to bring all black Americans under its umbrella of protection, the federal government opened the door to nearly a century of segregation, political disfranchisement and racial violence. This slim but important book echoes an all too familiar chorus, that white South Carolinians, unrepentant and intransigent, had indeed lost the war but won the peace.

Princeton University DIANE MILLER SOMMERVILLE

An Island in the Lake of Fire: Bob Jones University, Fundamentalism, and the Separatist Movement. By Mark Dalhouse. (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. viii, 211 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95 cloth.)

God's Rascal: J. Frank Norris & the Beginnings of Southern Fundamentalism. By Barry Hankins. (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1996. viii, 220 pp. viii, 220 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index. $24.95 cloth.)

These books make significant contributions to the study of both southern religion and American Protestant fundamentalism. They tell a story that has been virtually ignored by historians working in both fields. Scholars of fundamentalism like George Marsden, Joel Carpenter, William Trollinger, and Margaret Bendroth

rarely discuss southern circumstances or at best incorporate them into a national pattern, obscuring specific regional developments. On the other hand, historians of religion in the modern South (like Kenneth K. Bailey, E. T. Thompson, Samuel Hill, and Charles Wilson) generally minimize the fundamentalist presence on the southern scene (though both Hill and Wilson have become more sensitive to it in recent work). Moreover, scholars like Nancy Ammerman, Bill J. Leonard, Joe Barnhart, and David T. Morgan have given considerable attention to the recent fundamentalist-moderate quarrel among Southern Baptists and have produced some fine monographs. These authors, though, do not push their discussion of the historical roots of the conflict much past World War II. Nor do books by Michael d'Antonio and Michael Lienesch, which discuss the rise of the religious Right in the last two decades, consider in detail its historical antecedents. Dalhouse and Hankins successfully blend the work on southern religion with the historiography of fundamentalism and help make clear the South's contribution to the religious Right.

Both authors begin their stories with the current scholarly consensus that fundamentalism emerged among American Protestants as a response to the social and intellectual changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Predominantly northern and urban in origin, fundamentalism represented a loose coalition of Protestants that rejected the theological trends that tried to accommodate traditional Protestant orthodoxy to the findings of science and the critical study of the Bible. During the 1920s the northern Baptist and Presbyterian denominations became the battleground between fundamentalist and liberal factions with the former seeking to thwart the latter's growing control of their churches and to preserve their traditions' distinctive theological heritage. Defeated in denominational politics and embarrassed by the Scopes trial, fundamentalists retreated and began creating a network of churches, schools, magazines, and missions agencies that gave their movement an institutional structure. During the 1940s and 1950s, fundamentalists split over the issue of membership in and cooperation with denominations dominated by theological liberals. One group adopted a more moderate tone emphasizing a positive program of evangelism and tried to shed the negative image of fundamentalism by calling themselves evangelicals. The other group maintained a militant, separatist stance and wore the label fundamentalist as a badge of honor.

Dalhouse uses the story of Bob Jones University (BJU) as a case study of these developments. In some ways, *An Island in the Lake of Fire* makes an excellent companion piece to *Reforming Fundamentalism* in which George Marsden uses Fuller Seminary to tell the story of moderate fundamentalists' evolution into post-World War II evangelicals. In Dalhouse's narrative, the development of BJU reveals how the school's leaders followed the separatist impulse to its logical outcome. Founded in 1927 by a Methodist evangelist, this school was clearly a part of the emerging network of institutions that fundamentalists founded upon their retreat from the denominations. Despite moving from Florida to Cleveland, Tennessee, and then to Greenville, South Carolina (its current location), the school remained true to its founder's vision of providing a liberal arts education in the context of a fundamentalist subculture. This continuity resulted in part from the fact that three generations of Bob Joneses have been president of the school. More important than the geographical migration was the school's gradual isolation first from southern denominations, then from moderate evangelicals, and finally from other fundamentalists. In charting these developments, Dalhouse describes the evolution of the militant, separatist wing of post-World War II fundamentalism and its pursuit of doctrinal and institutional purity.

While Dalhouse excels in describing the university's curriculum, student life, and ties to the national movement, he misses the opportunity to explore its place in a regional context. For example, Dalhouse notes that BJU regularly attracted more students from outside the South and attributes this fact to the Jones family's desire to have the school serve a national constituency. The unanswered question is why BJU held such small appeal to southern Protestants. Yet some southerners did attend, southerners served on its governing boards, some southern churches contributed to the school not only their money but also their children, and BJU's graduates filled the pulpits, directed the choirs, taught the Sunday school classes, and led the youth groups of southern churches. Had Dalhouse analyzed these networks he could have done much to describe which southern Protestants were attracted to fundamentalism and contributed to defining the movement's place in southern religion.

If Dalhouse fails to explore the regional context, Hankins may be claiming too much for the role of J. Frank Norris in bringing fundamentalism to southern Protestants. That Norris is a pivotal figure in the story of fundamentalism in the South is not to be de-

nied, but Hankins overstates his case in claiming that "Norris introduced fundamentalism in the South" (2). Dalhouses's work alone is sufficient to make clear that the growth of fundamentalism in the South was a more complicated story. Furthermore, fundamentalists had a fairly active southern Bible conference and itinerant preaching circuit established by the early 1900s at least a decade before Hankins has Norris converting to fundamentalism in 1917. Also, given Hankins' demonstration of how Norris's personality and actions alienated not only many southern Protestants who might have been sympathetic to the fundamentalist cause but also fundamentalists in the national movement, Hankins' conclusion that Norris "helped shape both the religion of his region and the fundamentalist movement nationwide" (2) seems misleading. Any "shaping" that Norris did was more one of reaction against Norris's activities than one of positive leadership. In part, Hankins does not give a clear picture of the size or the scope of Norris's following. It is also disappointing that the sources did not permit a closer examination of Norris's childhood and private life. Thus *God's Rascal* is a portrait of the public career of one of the more notorious fundamentalists of the first half of the twentieth century.

But what a picture it is. Norris embodied many of the characteristics usually associated with southern fundamentalists: loud, intransigent, sanctimonious, and self-promoting with more than a touch of hypocrisy. Hankins traces Norris's turbulent, fifty-year career from his childhood in Texas hill country to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Fort Worth. From this base, Norris tried to make himself a leader among Texas Southern Baptists and within the national fundamentalist movement. According to Hankins, he cast himself as the populist preacher defending the values of rural Texans against sophisticated city pastors. But Norris's censorious attacks during the 1910s and 1920s on respected Baptist leaders, charging them with fiscal mismanagement and theological liberalism, were unconvincing because of the half-truths and outright lies he published. Further undermining his credibility was a series of scandals, not the least of which were a criminal investigation for burning down his sanctuary to claim the insurance money and an acquittal for the murder of an unarmed man on the basis of self-defense. In an effort to enlarge his following, Norris became pastor of Detroit's Temple Baptist Church and for over a decade led both congregations. In addition to the usual religious issues, Norris began including assaults on the New Deal,

organized labor, and communism. Beset with a rebellion in his own empire and weakened with age, Norris died in 1952. Woven into this narrative is Hankins' careful examination of Norris's sermons and rantings, and this analysis is the most important contribution of *God's Rascal.* Hankins does a remarkable job organizing this material into topical chapters that cover Norris's religious beliefs, political attitudes, and racial views. In each chapter, Hankins carefully charts Norris's ideological twists and turns, rendering Norris's thoughts more logical and coherent than they appear in published form. He also places this discussion accurately within a variety of historiographical traditions that illumine Norris's place in history.

Together, *An Island in the Lake* of *Fire* and *God's Rascal* represent notable pieces of the story of fundamentalism in the South. Both books belong not only in academic libraries but also in general collections available to the broader public.

Mississippi University for Women WILLIAM R. Glass

Looking for Clark Gable and Other 20th-Century Pursuits. By Virginia Van Der Veer Hamilton with a foreword by Wayne Flynt. (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1996. xiv, 205 pp. Foreword, preface, photographs, index. $21.95 paper.)

Virginia Van Der Veer Hamilton has personal attributes– intelligence, curiosity, restless energy, and what this reviewer's major professor used to call "a facile Pen"– that have made her a successful journalist, essayist, and historian. She even has a literary name. All of this talent comes into appealing focus in her new book that is, in sum, a collective look at some of the events (large and small) and people (famous and not famous) of the United States and especially the South since the 1930s.

After a brief and insightful foreword by historian Wayne Flynt of Auburn University– he notes that taken separately, her pieces "entertain," and that taken together, they "educate" *(x)– Looking for Clark Gable* unfolds. She divides the book into four parts: "A Childhood in the Great Depression," "Journalist," "Historian," and "P. S.: Some Personal Notes." Professor Hamilton refers to her work as a "retrospective," which is accurate because the book contains a large and varied number of her articles written over a number of years and presented chronologically. Many of them were done while she was a reporter and feature writer on Alabama's Birmingham *News.*

Yet, the book is much more than that. As the reader goes along– the prose is that of someone who began as a good writer and is even better today– she or he (in my case) is treated to autobiographical information that reveals an only child raised in an intellectual family whose politics were liberal but never doctrinaire. For those who think a liberal in Alabama was an anomaly, this book and her scholarly works on, among others, United States Senator Lister Hill and United States Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black will dispel that erroneous notion.

The person who peruses these pages will be informed on the major issues of earlier decades viewed in retrospect, but, better still, as seen through the analytical eyes of a young woman who writes with honesty and without rancor. The flavor and immediacy of stories recounted as they occurred is not the least of the book's attributes. Professor Hamilton's anger approaches the point of boil only when she describes some of the inequities women faced when competing with men in a world whose major players were, she realizes, sometimes condescending but more often just oblivious. Even her justified displeasure at the sexual bias of the time, while directly and forcefully stated, is accomplished philosophically and, often, with humor.

A brief review cannot do justice to the many themes and subjects that abound in *Looking for Clark Gable.* The reader meets Lillian Smith; Henry A. Wallace; the youthful Jamelle Folsom (wife of Governor James E. "Kissing Jim" Folsom); the author Robert Payne, who wrote over a hundred books and always dressed in the same blue suit, red tie, and rumbled white shirt; and a host of other intriguing people. She writes movingly about blacks and whites and the civil rights movement, and always with candor, respect, and commitment.

The book will appeal to people of all ages and all levels. Not unexpectedly, she writes a piece defending the much maligned "general reader" that some scholars seem to dismiss. The book is highly recommended because it is educational and also because where else will you find a person's junior year in college (in her case Birmingham Southern) described as: "I lay on the grass in the last warm days of that third fall and read poetry and Plato and mostly just watched the brown leaves, hitch-hiking in the wind" (34)?

Florida State University WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

Harry S. Truman Versus the Medical Lobby: The Genesis of Medicare. By Monte M. Poen. (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1996. xii, 260 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. $16.95 paper.)

More than one hundred years after Germany established the first state health insurance system, the United States remains one of the only major industrialized nations lacking comprehensive, tax-supported health care. This deficiency can be attributed largely to the efforts of organized interests that have defeated every major health insurance initiative proposed since 1915, with the notable exceptions of Medicare and Medicaid. Monte Poen's *Harry S. Truman Versus the Medical Lobby: The Genesis of Medicare* examines the competing interests that advanced and opposed greater government involvement in health care in the five decades before 1965.

Poen focuses on the political contest that pitted New Dealers, liberal Democrats, health insurance advocacy groups, and organized labor against the medical lobby, conservative Democrats, Republicans, and their allies who opposed government regulation of health care. With the death of Franklin Roosevelt in the spring of 1945, advocates of government-sponsored health reform gained a strong supporter of national health insurance, President Harry Truman. Unfortunately, as health reform advocates mounted their campaign for national health insurance, Truman lent the effort little public support because he was distracted by postwar reconversion and foreign affairs, and because he feared being unfavorably compared to FDR. His most passionate advocacy came during the presidential campaign of 1948, helping him win a second term, but doing little to advance health reform legislation. Only when failure was imminent in 1952 did he propose targeted hospital insurance for the elderly, a measure enacted thirteen years later as Medicare.

Poen has written a lively legislative history based on extensive research in the government sources and the papers of health reform advocates. Unfortunately, he was denied equal access to the papers of groups and individuals opposing health reform, leaving him only public documents as sources. Poen uses these sources well, giving readers a detailed understanding of the major issues and debates. However, the narrative suffers from an unevenness where the motives and ideas of the health reform advocates are presented as rich, complex, and contested, while those of the health reform opponents are not. Poen never convincingly captures the urgency

which drove the medical lobby and political conservatives to muster the considerable resources needed to oppose health reform.

Readers familiar with recent studies on the formation of social policy written by scholars such as Theda Skocpol and Linda Gordon will notice that Poen does not address intellectual assumptions about race, class, or gender in society that may have influenced health reform debates. For example, Poen does not explore how the issues of race and gender may have led conservative Democrats from the segregated South to oppose race-inclusive government operated health programs that may have challenged white supremacy. Nor does he explain how social ideas about "deserving" groups contributed to the enactment of health care for children, mothers, military veterans, the poor, and the elderly, while universal health insurance measures met defeat. Because Poen does not explore how public policy is socially constructed; his study misses an important component of the debate over government-sponsored health care.

Harry Truman Versus the Medical Lobby provides a concise and clearly written introduction to the political history of health reform in the United States. Though lacking a thorough analysis of the social attitudes driving the health insurance debate, Poen's book is a good starting point for those wishing to acquire a basic overview of the political forces that shaped American health care policy from 1915 to 1965.

University of Wisconsin-Madison STEVEN BURG

Perfect Villains, Imperfect Heroes: Robert F. Kennedy's War Against Organized Crime. By Ronald Goldfarb. (New York: Random House, 1995. 357 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $26.00 hardcover.)

In the early 1960s part of the newly elected Kennedy administration's New Frontier agenda included a significant war against organized crime and its corrupt labor union and racketeering practices. President John F. Kennedy appointed his brother, Robert F. Kennedy, to head the Justice Department. The driving force behind this undertaking, the younger Kennedy radically changed the way that department would operate for years to come.

Former Kennedy administration counsel Ronald Goldfarb describes the new attorney general in his book *Perfect Villains, Imperfect*

Heroes. Amid charges of nepotism, RFK revamped the Justice Department and gave it a direction unprecedented in American history. The new attorney general hired young, idealistic lawyers (among them author Goldfarb) and directed a fight against an expanding national crime syndicate.

The Justice Department had a number of strong (and controversial) attorneys general in its history whose name recognition extended outside Washington and into the heartland. In the 1920s, A. Mitchell Palmer directed the department against real and perceived domestic subversion with the famous "Palmer raids." In the late 1960s and early 1970s, President Nixon's attorney general, John Mitchell, achieved similar national stature in an era of protest and civil disobedience. Robert Kennedy's approach to the job was different from the two, but as the newly revamped Justice Department went to work, his name recognition proved equal to that of Palmer and Mitchell.

The Eisenhower administration had concerned itself with domestic subversion in the 1950s. J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director since the Palmer era, deemed this emphasis of utmost importance. The FBI director's critics charged him with having a myopic vision of organized crime. When Robert Kennedy arrived, much of this changed.

Kennedy became head of the Justice Department and Hoover's boss, and the number of organized crime investigations rose precipitously. Kennedy's views on law enforcement were shaped by his experience in the 1950s as counsel to the McClellan Rackets Committee that had as one of its primary targets Teamster Union boss James R. Hoffa. Soon, Ivy League-bred RFK and his whiz kids proceeded to engage in epic confrontations with the street-wise union chief by way of the forthrightly dubbed "get Hoffa" squad.

Other organized crime figures were not spared by the younger Kennedy brother. Mob bosses in large cities and in the South soon felt the wrath of the high-spirited attorney general. Tampa mob boss Santo Trafficante was among them and found himself at odds with the Kennedy brothers from the beginning. Trafficante's racketeering run-ins with the Kennedys were exacerbated by the continuing intrigue over Cuba and its Communist dictator Fidel Castro.

Trafficante had earlier been used by the CIA in the CIA/Mafia plots to assassinate Castro, so the Tampa (and Florida) mob boss had worked for the government in an agent capacity. It was a story similar to a World War II episode in which the government used

New York mobster Lucky Luciano in the highly successful Operation Underworld which utilized the mafia to prevent espionage and sabotage by the Nazis. Trafficante was part of an executive action program that existed in two phases. The first preceded Kennedy and utilized the Tampa boss, Chicago mobster Sam Giancana, and Los Angeles mobster Johnny Roselli. The second phase dropped Trafficante and Giancana and utilized Roselli.

While Goldfarb never emphasizes the conflicting interests of the war on organized crime and the war against Castro, they proved to be factors which intensified the hatred the mobsters felt for the Kennedys, particularly for Bobby since he not only was the attorney general but because he played a role in the Kennedy vendetta against Fidel Castro. Goldfarb quotes a Jack Anderson column in which Roselli tells Anderson that Trafficante's hatred of the Kennedys led him to become an informer for Castro. Unfortunately, Goldfarb cannot document this association and disregards the fact that Trafficante had an even greater hatred of Castro who seized his gambling operations in Havana. Trafficante's attorney, Frank Ragano, whose memoir, *Mob Lawyer* gives a narrative of the Trafficante legacy, dismisses the "Trafficante as Castro agent" scenario. Ragano, whose own knowledge of the Tampa mob boss is superior to even the CIA's in some respects, claims Trafficante was always anti-Castro. CIA documents from the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, back up this portion of the Ragano scenario.

Ronald Goldfarb's book may have some shortcomings. These are excusable because the release of many federal records of the CIA/Mafia plots and anti-Castro Cuban exile groups have been postponed indefinitely, or at least until the next review period, which is in the second decade of the next century. Goldfarb and fellow RFK whiz kid staffer G. Robert Blakey have both written books on this era and these major figures of organized crime. Blakey, who later served as chief counsel of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, concluded that organized crime members assassinated the president. Goldfarb reaches the same conclusion. In coming to these conclusions, both have relied surreptitiously on Trafficante attorney Frank Ragano. And both have exposed a national crime network which included one of Tampa's own, a man whose own business extended into the darkest corners of U.S. intelligence operations.

Florida Atlantic University FRANK DEBENEDICTIS

From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism. By Gareth Davies. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1996. xii, 320 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth.)

Somewhere in the 1960s liberalism took a fatal turn. Liberalism in the early 1960s was in concert with traditional American philosophy, which emphasized individualism and self-help and eschewed dependency. By the end of the decade, however, liberals began to espouse a policy which guaranteed a minimum income for every American family. In this ambitious study of American welfare policy in the 1960s, Gareth Davies argues that Lyndon Johnson should not bear the blame for this departure but instead points to liberal critics of LBJ's Great Society.

Davies charts this movement to the "income strategy" in a fascinating examination of the 1960s. A number of factors led to this shift, such as the Watts riots, the failures of the Great Society, the Vietnam War, and the general polarization of politics in the later years of the decade. Davies convincingly argues that the crucial change was in both the definition of dependency and in the understanding of the causes of poverty. Liberals came to understand independence as "freedom from want, however achieved" (235). If this meant dependency on the government, so be it. At least recipients were free to live their lives unencumbered by the exigencies of the economic cycle or a racist public which had long denied blacks and other minorities a fair opportunity in the job market. Those on the dole, in other words, were no longer stigmatized.

Davies emphasizes the importance of race in comprehending this shift to the income strategy. The War on Poverty became a war on racism, and the rising black militancy in the middle years of the decade gave rise to the assumption that the poor did not become that way by their own actions but by the inherent racism of American society. By adopting this strategy liberals broke with the traditional American philosophy emphasizing increased opportunities and self-help as conditions for welfare recipients. Liberals were hoping to demolish the dichotomy between the perceived "deserving" (the elderly and disabled) and "undeserving" (the unemployed) poor, but their pursuit of the income strategy alienated many middle- and working-class Americans and actually reinforced the concept.

The strength of this book lies in Davies' depth and breadth of research. But it also illuminates far more than the story of welfare

policy. By examining the changing political climate within which the discourse over policy took place, Davies also provides an intricate analysis of sixties social change. In particular, this volume explains the waning of the New Deal coalition and sheds further light on the decline of the Democrats as the party's diverse elements took different stances on welfare policy.

Elegantly written and solidly researched, this timely offering effectively assesses the transformation of welfare policy. It should be read by anyone interested in the current debate over welfare.

University of New Mexico RICHARD D. LOOSBROCK

BOOK NOTES

The University Press of Florida recently published the *Atlas of Maritime Florida* by Roger C. Smith, James J. Miller, Sean M. Kelley, and Linda G. Hardin. The first of its kind, this atlas offers readers a fifty-six-page introduction to 13,000 years of Florida maritime history and geography. The book opens with an overview of the state's physical environment, followed by individual chapters on maritime industries; navigation and ship types; navigational hazards like hurricanes, reefs, and shoals; and shipwrecks. The atlas contains fourteen maps, numerous illustrations and photographs, and a bibliography. For a copy of this paperback atlas, call the University Press of Florida toll free at l-800-226-3822. *Atlas of Maritime Florida* costs *$9.95*.

Charles Scribners Sons is pleased to announce the publication of the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries: Florida* (1997), the tenth volume in a forty-volume series. County by county, this volume charts the development of the state of Florida. Counties are the fundamental unit of economic, legal, political, and social organization. What began as a local seat of justice evolved into a repository of official information concerning every individual within the county's jurisdiction: from the recording of births to the issuing of marriage certificates and the probating of wills. Though their roles may vary from state to state, counties cover every part of the nation (except Alaska) and nearly all have changed significantly since being created. This atlas is divided into two parts. The first section documents all boundary changes for the entire state. Section two details changes in individual counties. The book also includes a table of county creations, a table of censuses, census outline maps, index, and a bibliography. This very helpful source book is available in hardback for $125 from Charles Scribner's Sons, 1633 Broadway, New York, NY, 10019-6785. (212) 654-8451.

Eliot Kleinberg, a native Floridian and a staff writer for the *Palm Beach Post,* knows that history is more than the stuff written in books. Kleinberg has traveled the state searching out the most intriguing historic places, and has compiled fifty-seven of his favorite historic haunts in *Historical Traveler's Guide to Florida* (1997). The

book is divided by geographic region. Each entry contains a brief history and information for those interested in visiting the site. The historically curious can read about (and are encouraged to visit) places as different as the Barker House in Ocklawaha, a two-story, l00-year-old home, and site of a 1935 shootout between the notorious Ma Barker and her son, Fred, and federal agents; or Cross Creek, placid refuge of Florida literary treasure Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. *Historical Traveler's Guide to Florida* is available in paperback for $14.95 from Pineapple Press, Inc., of Sarasota. Phone: (914) 953-2797.

According to the editors of *The Geology of Florida* (University of Florida Press, 1997), "whether viewed by an astronaut from the window of the Space Shuttle or by a schoolchild on a classroom globe, few natural regions are immediately recognizable as Florida" (xvii). Editors Anthony F. Randazzo, professor of geology at the University of Florida, and Douglas S. Jones, curator and chair of the Department of Natural Sciences at the Florida Museum of Natural History, have compiled the first comprehensive geology of the state of Florida to be published in over thirty years. This up-to-date reference book brings together leading geoscience authorities from academia, state and federal geological surveys, and private industry in a liberally illustrated summary of Florida's geologic history. This important volume contains chapters on the development of the Florida peninsula and panhandle, geomorphology, plate tectonics, geochemistry, hydrogeology, vertebrate and invertebrate paleontology, geologic history, coastal and marine geology, and environmental geology. This four-hundred-page reference book also includes nearly three hundred illustrations, thirteen tables, and a useful bibliography. *The Geology of Florida* is available in hardback from the University Press of Florida for $39.95. Call toll free l-800-226-3822.

Barbara Purdy, professor emerita in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida, and the late Roy C. Craven, Jr., professor of art emeritus at the same institution, have published *Indian Art of Ancient Florida* (University Press of Florida, 1996), a lush, four-color book that examines the artwork of Florida's Precolumbian peoples. It was during the Archaic period (8000 - 4000 B. C.) that the first Florida art pieces were created, and this volume offers "a fine sampling of a unique native American artistic heritage"

(x), from the Paleoindian through the Historic periods. The authors examine artwork constructed of antler and bone, wood, shell, stone, ceramics, and metal. They remind us that "the twentieth-century concept of 'art for art's sake' is [not] valid for preindustrial societies" (xi); the pieces displayed here are both art and artifact, aesthetic objects and anthropological tools. *Indian Art of Ancient Florida* is available in hardback from the University Press of Florida for $34.95. Call toll free: l-800-226-3822.

From Fort Payne to Flomaton, and from Sylacauga to Spring Hill, Alabama's railroads crisscrossed the state, transporting raw materials to distant markets and providing one of the keys to the state's economic development. *Alabama's Railroads,* written by Wayne Cline and published by the University of Alabama Press (1997), is the first comprehensive history of the formation of the state's railway system. Through the use of personal accounts, newspaper articles, and government documents, this amply illustrated book examines the creation of Alabama's railways, from the chartering of the Tuscumbia Railway Company in early 1830 to the maturity of the system in the mid-twentieth century. Cline uses accessible, nontechnical language to introduce readers to the pioneers of the state's railroad system. This book is available from the University of Alabama Press in hardback for $39.95. Write to the press at P.O. Box 870380, Tuscaloosa, AL, 35401. Or call: (205) 348-5180.

The Johns Hopkins University Press proudly announces the issuance of the second edition of *Standing at the Crossroads: Southern Life in the Twentieth Century* by historian Pete Daniel, curator at the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution. This engaging survey probes the continuity and changes in southern culture in this century. Daniel, born and raised in rural North Carolina, writes knowingly and movingly of southern people and rural landscapes, moving effortlessly from an analysis of stock car racing to a discussion of the impact of air conditioning on southern development. This book is available in paperback for $14.95 from The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2715 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD, 21218.

M. E. Sharpe, Inc., has issued the second edition of *Politics in the New South: Republicanism, Race and Leadership in the Twentieth Cen-*

tury by Richard K. Scher, professor of political science at the University of Florida. Originally published in 1992, *Politics in the New South* is a useful, highly readable, and analytically sophisticated survey written, in the words of the author, "to appeal to a wide range of readers" (xi). This primer on twentieth-century southern politics and political change includes a preliminary chapter on the socioeconomic context of the "old" southern politics; subsequent sections analyze the emergence of southern Republicanism, the impact of the civil rights movement, and changes in southern political leadership. This book is available in hardback ($64.95) and paperback ($27.95) from M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 80 Business Park Drive, Armonk, NY 10504. Phone: (914) 273-2106.

Gerald L. K. Smith: Minister of Hate, by Glen Jeansonne, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, is now available in paperback from Louisiana State University Press. Originally published in 1988, this full-length biography traces Smith's tempestuous career, from his. association with the Louisiana Kingfish, Huey P. Long, in the 1930s to the creation of the anti-Semitic Christian Nationalist Crusade. The paperback edition contains a new preface by the author and a new forward by historian Leo P. Ribuffo. It is available from the LSU Press for $19.95. Phone: (504) 388-6666.

HISTORY NEWS

Call for Papers/Conferences

1998 FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING

"The Spanish American War:
A Centennial Observance, 1898-1998"

May 28-30, 1998
Holiday Inn Select
Downtown Tampa
Room rate for the conference will be $65.00, double or single

Call for papers: Please send a brief synopsis of proposed paper (not more than 500 words) with a current curriculum vitae. Individual papers and panels accepted. Please include audio-visual requirements, if any. Specify which date (Friday or Saturday) best suits your travel plans. Please send proposals to:

Dr. Raymond Arsenault, Program Chair
Department of History
University of South Florida-St. Petersburg
140 7th Avenue South
St. Petersburg, FL 33701

Deadline for Submissions: January 15, 1998

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is planning a special issue for 1998 to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Papers on any historical aspect of the space industry, particularly its effect on Florida, are welcome. Manuscripts should follow the guidelines printed in the *Quarterly* and should be submitted for consideration by *December 1, 1997.*

The Annual Meeting of the Oral History Association will be held at Buffalo, New York. The theme of the conference is "Crossing the Boundary, Crossing the Line: Oral History on the Border." *Deadline for paper proposals* is *December 15, 1997.* For details, contact

Debra Bernhardt, Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, 70 Washington Swuare South, New York, NY 10012. Phone: (212) 998-2640; FAX: (212) 995-4070; E-mail: bernhardt@elmerl.bobst.nyu.edu.

The Eleventh Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, "Breaking Boundaries," will be held on June 4-6, 1999, at the University of Rochester, New York. Submit proposals in triplicate, postmarked by January 31, 1998, in a single packet marked "ATTN: Berkshire Conference" to the appropriate chair. Send proposals on U.S. and Canadian topics to Nell Painter, Department of History, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 08544-1017; on European topics to Sharon Strocchia, Department of History, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322; on Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the Pacific, and all comparative topics to Teresa Meade, Department of History, Union College, Schenectady, NY 12308-2365. For more information. visit the conference website at www-berks.aas.duke.edu.

Awards and Honors

The Florida Historical Society annually awards three prizes for original work in Florida history. Those for 1996-97 were announced at the annual meeting in Jacksonville, May 29-31, 1997. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for the best article in the *Quarterly* was awarded to Raymond B. Vickers for "Addison Mizner: Promoter in Paradise," which appeared in the Spring 1997 issue. The prize memorializes Professor Thompson, a long-time member of the history faculty at the University of Florida. His family established an endowment which supports the annual grant.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award was given to John H. Hann, Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, for *A History* of *the Timucua Indians and Missions* published by the University Press of Florida. Rembert Patrick was secretary of. the Society and long-time editor of the *Quarterly.* He was also chairman of the history department at the University of Florida and past president of the Southern Historical Association.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was presented to Gregory Bush and Arva Moore Parks for their *Miami, The American Crossroad: A Centennial Journey, 1896-1996* published by Prentice Hall. Dr. Tebeau is professor emeritus of history at the University of Miami.

The Society also recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by students. The 1996-97 Leroy Collins Prize for the best essay by a graduate or undergraduate student went to Susan R. Parker of the University of Florida for "Spanish Florida's 'Urban' Indians." Ms. Parker, a doctoral candidate, has also been awarded one of the American Historical Association's prestigious Albert Beveridge grants for research in the history of the Western Hemisphere.

The Carolyn Mays Brevard Prize was awarded to Ian D. Joseph, Florida Institute of Technology, for the best essay by an undergraduate student. His essay was entitled "Zora Neal Hurston: Lone Conqueror of the Double-Conscious Demon." The Frederick Cubberly Prize for the best essay by a middle/high school student was awarded to Melanie Brown for "Old Hometown Community Classroom." Her teacher at Pensacola High School is Connie Brown.

The Society also gave four Golden Quill Awards for outstanding media participation relating to Florida history. *Florida Living Magazine* was awarded for its continuing excellence. For outstanding print media, the recipients were Roberta Sandler for "Guide to Florida Historic Walking Tours" and U. S. Cleveland and Lindsey Williams for "Our Fascinating Past, Charlotte Harbor: The Later Years." Susan Gage was recognized for her work at Florida Public Radio.

The Florida Historical Society is currently accepting nominees for book and essay prizes to be awarded at the 1998 Annual Meeting. The Rembert W. Patrick Book Prize is awarded by the Society to the author of the best scholarly book in Florida history. The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award is given to the author of the best book in Florida history for young readers. Books published during 1997 are eligible for the award. Those interested in submitting nominees should send six (6) copies of the book by April 15, 1998, to Dr. Nick Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, Florida, 32935. Please be sure to indicate for which award you are applying.

The Leroy Collins Graduate Essay competition is open to all graduate students in all universities. Eligible are papers written on Florida history topics which are the result of in-class assignments.

The papers must be properly footnoted, show evidence of substantial scholarship, and be completed in the calendar year prior to the submission date. The award in this category is $200 and a plaque.

The Carolyn Mays Brevard Undergraduate Essay competition is open to all undergraduate students in all universities, colleges and community colleges. Papers are to be written on Florida history topics, show evidence of substantial scholarship, and be completed within the calendar year prior to the submission date. The prize consists of a $200 stipend and a plaque.

The Frederick Cubberly High School Essay competition is open to all high school students in Florida (public, private, or home) in grades 8-12. The papers are to be written on Florida history topics, be the result of in-class assignments, be properly footnoted, show evidence of substantial scholarship, and be completed within the calendar year prior to the submission date. The Cubberly award carries a $250 stipend and a beautiful plaque.

The procedures for submitting papers for consideration are the same in all three above categories. Papers should be sent in five (5) copies, with a cover letter detailing the class for which it was written and a *curriculum vitae* or *resume.* A valid telephone number and address should be included.

The deadline for submission is April 15, 1998. The awards will be made at the Society's annual banquet on May 30, 1998, in Tampa, Florida, and the winner is expected to attend. Entries should be mailed to: The Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, FL 32935, and must be received by 5:00 p.m. on April 15.

Noted historian and journalist Hampton Dunn of Tampa has been named the recipient of the Florida Historical Library Foundation's Pioneer Award for 1998. This annual award was created by the Foundation to recognize the contributions of individuals who are members of "pioneering" families and who have contributed to the knowledge of Florida and its peoples through books, oral histories, monographs, and documentaries. The award will be presented to Mr. Dunn at the Society's Annual Meeting banquet in Tampa in 1998.

Events

The Koreshan State Historic Site will host its Third Annual Old Time Music, Arts and Trades Festival November 15-16 from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. This event features local artists, period tradespeople, a Native American camp, musicians, food vendors and gift items for sale. Admission is three dollars per person. Children under six are free. The Park is located at U.S. Highway 41 and Corkscrew Road in Estero, two miles west of I-75 exit 19. Additional information regarding this event may be obtained by called the Park Manager at (941) 992-0311.

The Dade Battlefield Society and Florida Park Service will present the Seventeenth Annual Reenactment of Dade's Battle on Saturday and Sunday, January 3 and 4, 1998, at the Dade Battlefield State Park in Bushnell, Florida. The park opens at 10:00 a.m. The reenactment will be at 2:00 p.m. The day's activities will feature a Seminole Camp selling crafts, weapons, and clothing; a military encampment; books and paintings; an arms drill; and a museum. Donations are five dollars for an adult, children under twelve are admitted free. More detailed information may be obtained by calling (352) 793-4781.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
95TH ANNUAL MEETING

May 29-31, 1997

Radisson Riverwalk Hotel

Jacksonville, Florida

BRIDGING TIME:
LIFE ALONG THE ST. JOHNS

Thursday, May 29, 1997

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION ANNUAL MEETING

8:30 a.m.	REGISTRATION (Society and Confederation)
8:30 a.m.-12:00 noon	COFFEE AND CONVERSATION

CONCURRENT SESSIONS

SESSION 1

9:00-10:30 a.m.	The Florida Historical Library: A New Beginning Nick Wynne, Executive Director, *Florida Historical Society*

SESSION 2

9:00-10:30 a.m.	Florida Historical Records Program Grants Deborah Walk, *Ringling Museum of Art*

SESSION 3

10:45-12:00 noon	Historic Preservation: Everybody's Business Fred Gaske, *Bureau of Historic Preservation*

10:45-12:00 noon — Making Do: Exhibits From the Hardware Store
Ed Swanson, *St. Lucie County Historical Museum*

12:00-1:15 p.m. — CONFEDERATION LUNCHEON AND AWARDS PRESENTATION

2:00 p.m. — ANNUAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING FOR THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

6:00-8:00 p.m. — WELCOME TO JACKSONVILLE WINE AND CHEESE RECEPTION

Friday, May 30, 1997

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING

8:30 a.m-2:00 p.m. — REGISTRATION

8:30-9:00 a.m. — COFFEE AND CONVERSATION

CONCURRENT SESSIONS

SESSION 1

9:00-10:30 a.m. — PRIVATE COLLEGES IN FLORIDA

Chair: Robert A. Taylor, *Indian River Community College* and *Florida Institute of Technology*

"Life at Saint Leo College in the 1890s"
James J. Horgan, *Saint Leo College,* paper read by Eddie Herman, *Saint Leo College*

"The Florida Institute of Technology"
Gordon Patterson, *Florida Institute of Technology*

SESSION 2

9:00-10:30 a.m. — WAR, RACE, AND FLORIDA SOCIETY
Chair: Eric Jarvis, *King's College, Ontario, Canada*

"Race and the Civil War in South Florida"
Irving D. Solomon, *Florida Gulf Coast University*

"Jacksonville Goes to War: 1916-1918"
Nick Wynne, *Florida Historical Society*

"The Tiger and the Snake: Rutledge Pearson and Haydon Burns During the 1960 Jacksonville Riot"
Abel A. BartIey, *University of Akron*

SESSION 3

10:45-12:00 noon GENDER AND THE CIVIC ETHIC IN MODERN FLORIDA
Chair: Tracy J. Revels, *Wofford College*

"Mary Brown and Mary McClure in Early Winter Park"
Donna E. Rhein, *Winter Park Public Library*

"The Life of a Florida Clubwoman: Willie Lowry and Tampa's Club Movement"
Pattie Dillon, *Mississippi State University*

SESSION 4

10:45-12:00 noon EDUCATION IN POST-RECONSTRUCTION FLORIDA
Chair: Kari Frederickson, *University of Central Florida*

"Segregation in Public Education in Post-Reconstruction Florida"
Evan Bennett, *University of South Florida*

"N. W. Sheats in the 1912 Democratic Primary for State Superintendent of Education"
A. O. White, *University of Florida*

SESSION 5

10:45-12:00 noon WRITING FLORIDA HISTORY
Chair: Gary R. Mormino, *University of South Florida*

"Constructing *The Saint Johns River.* The Stormy Collaboration of Alfred Hanna and James B. Cabell"
Jack C. Lane, *Rollins College*

"Writing Charlton Tebeau's *A History of Florida*"
William Marina, *Florida Atlantic University*

6:30-7:15 p.m. PRE-BANQUET RECEPTION

7:30-10:00 p.m, ANNUAL MEETING BANQUET AND AWARDS PRESENTATION

Charlton Tebeau Book Award
Rembert Patrick Book Award
Arthur W. Thompson Best Article Award
LeRoy Collins Graduate Essay Award
Carolyn Mays Brevard Undergraduate Essay Award
Frederick Cubberly Award
Golden Quill Awards
Dorothy Dodd Award
Presidential Awards

Saturday, May 31, 1997

8:30 a.m.-12:00 REGISTRATION

8:30-8:45 a.m. COFFEE AND CONVERSATION

8:45-9:15 a.m. ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

CONCURRENT SESSIONS

SESSION 6

9:20-10:30 a.m. EARLY FORMS OF COMMUNICATIONS IN FLORIDA

Chair: Robert Snyder, *University of South Florida*

"Florida's Houses of Refuge and the Jupiter Life-Saving Station"
Sandra Thurlow, *Martin County Historical Society*

"Radio at the University of Florida: WRUF, 1925-1940"
E. L. "Ted" Burrows, *Stuart News*

SESSION 7

9:20-10:30 a.m. FLORIDA IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA
Chair: Patricia Bartlett, *Matheson Historical Center (Gainesville)*

"The Dixie Highway: Good Roads Movement in Florida"
Bradley Keeler, *University of Central Florida*

"What Women Really Read: The 1918 Accession Book of the Carnegie Library, Bradenton, Florida"
Pamela N. Gibson, *Homes Beach*

SESSION 8

10:45-12:00 noon FLORIDA CITIES
Chair: Marinus Latour, *Matheson Historical Center (Gainesville)*

"Henry J. Morton's St. Augustine"
Thomas Graham, *Flagler College*

"Historic Gainesville Houses"
Melanie Barr, *Alachua County Historical Commission*

"Jacksonville Before Consolidation"
James B. Crooks, *University of North Florida*

SESSION 9

10:45-12:00 noon LIFE AND LABOR ALONG THE ST. JOHNS

Chair: Pamela J. Hall, *Indian River County Library*

"From the St. Johns River to Silver Springs"
Mark V. Barrow, *Matheson Historical Center (Gainesville)*

"'Shakin' Jacob': Jacob Cummer and the North Florida Timber Industry"
Jeffrey A. Drobney, *Youngstown State University*

"The Bridges of the St. Johns River"
Roy A. Jackson, *Florida Department of Transportation*

Sponsored by the Jacksonville Historical Society

MINUTES OF THE MAY 29, 1997
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

The Florida Historical Society Board of Directors held its semi-annual meeting on Thursday, May 29, 1997, at the Radisson Hotel in Jacksonville, Florida. The following Board members were in attendance:

Joe Ackerman
Patti Bartlett
Tom Bowman
Mary Ann Cleveland
William Coker
Allison DeFoor
James M. Denham
Jose Fernandez
George Franchere
Kari Frederickson
Sandra Johnson
Marinus Latour
Doug Milne
Larry Rivers
Niles Shuh
Robert Snyder
Bob Taylor
Cynthia Trefelner
Ted VanItallie
Nick Wynne
Pamela Hall

Minutes of the January 18, 1997, meeting were approved as written with the substitution of "UCF" for "editorial center" for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Motion made by Allison DeFoor, seconded by Robert Taylor. Motion carried.

Members of the board were introduced by Executive Director Nick Wynne.

Dr. Wynne gave a brief recap of the director's report which had been mailed to all Board members. He added that Patrick Smith was absent, due to illness in his family, and that Jenifer Marx was out of the country and unable to attend.

Joe Ackerman asked if there was a way we could schedule our annual meeting so as not to be in competition with the Florida Trust meeting. After discussion, it was moved by Allison DeFoor and seconded by Marinus Latour that Dr. Wynne open negotiations for a joint meeting/endeavor. Motion carried.

Dr. Frederickson gave the Editor's report for the *Quarterly*. Both the fall and winter issues are planned and each will contain an

article by a senior historian. For the Space issue she has requested articles from fifty NASA-related institutions. She will have a graduate assistant for ten hours a week next fall. Plans are underway to create a web page for the Quarterly. Dr. Frederickson asked how members of the *Quarterly* editorial committee were selected. It was the concensus of the Board that no real procedure was in place. After discussion, Allison DeFoor moved that members of the FHS Quarterly editorial board be selected by Dr. Frederickson and confirmed by the FHS Board; these members would serve three-year staggered terms, and could be reappointed indefinitely. Ted Van Itallie commented that this would be a good time to ask all those currently on the *Quarterly* Board if they wished to continue, and to select staggered terms for those who wish to remain on the board. Nick Wynne suggested that all geographical areas of Florida be considered in selecting *Quarterly* Board members. Larry Rivers asked that a resume from each potential Board member be included as part of the confirmation package. Mike Denham seconded the motion. Motion carried unanimously.

Cynthia Trefelner reported on *Journeys for the Young Historian,* our publication for youth. She has found that subscriptions may last for a year or two, then the child in question is out of fourth or fifth grade and the subscription stops, and a whole new market of students has to be recruited. Home schoolers are the best market so far; no schools have yet subscribed.

Robert Taylor reported for the Nominating Committee. Louise Gopher, our first Native American, has agreed to serve if appointed. The candidates are:

Asa Coates Williams, President-elect
Dr. Robert Snyder, Univ. of South Florida, Tampa
Sandra Johnson, Pensacola
Alma Clyde Field, Cocoa Beach
Lindsay Williams, Punta Gorda
Dr. Thomas Graham, Univ. of North Florida, St. Augustine
Louise Gopher, Brighton Reservation
Nancy Buckley, Stuart

Dr. Taylor moved and seconded by Allison DeFoor, that these candidates be nominated at the general meeting for election to the FHS Board. Motion carried unanimously. Since Sandra Johnson and Bob Taylor have already been appointed to the Board to fill unexpired terms, they will be re-affirmed at the General meeting; the others will be appointed.

The subject of a board retreat was brought up by Allison DeFoor. Mr. DeFoor stated that he was concerned that the Society will have difficulty in dealing with the changes wrought in the society when Miss Carrie's funding becomes available. He stated that a retreat would help, and suggested Ann Henderson of the Florida Endowment of Humanities as a facilitator, and made a motion to that effect. Discussion followed on the advantages of using a professional facilitator unaffiliated with any non-profit organization within the state.

The Board agreed to decide first on the need for a retreat, and then on the choice of facilitator. It was pointed out that unless the board agrees to follow the points bought out by a retreat, a retreat would be useless and expensive.

Dr. Coker suggested that we not hold a retreat but instead appoint committees and have the committees work on specific areas of concern. Mr. DeFoor declined to alter his motion. Bob Taylor suggested that committees not be appointed until the new members were appointed to the FHS Board at the general membership meeting.

Allison DeFoor had to leave the meeting for his return to Key West, and withdrew his motion.

Bill Coker moved that committees be appointed and to report in January; George Franchere seconded. Motion carried. Dr. Wynne is to select committees and duties.

Nick Wynne suggested that the Florida Historical Confederation be taken over by the FHLF. This would provide a vehicle to reinvigorate the FHC through seminars in facilities and collections management. Moved by Jose Fernandez, and seconded by George Franchere. Carried unanimously.

Dr. Wynne asked the board to approve an increase in student membership rates. The $15 student rate only covers about 71% of the actual cost of a membership. It was moved by Tom Bowman and seconded by Niles Shuh that the membership rates for students be increased to $25, and after the student graduates, for every year that he/she has paid the $25 student rate, that individual can purchase a full membership for $27.50. Motion carried unanimously.

Dr. Coker discussed the duties of the Standards and Review Committee, whose job will be to maintain the high level of the FHS *Quarterly* after our current contractual agreements expire. Dr. Frederickson was appointed as an ex-officio member of that committee. Pam Hall requested that she be replaced on that committee

due to her inexperience with FHS board and duties; her resignation was accepted with regret. Larry Rivers agreed to fulfill that vacancy on the committee.

The next meeting sites for our annual meetings were discussed, with a request for our meeting submitted by Dr. Irving Solomon for the 2002 meeting in Ft. Myers. It was moved by Ted Van Itallie and seconded by Mary Ann Cleveland that the 2002 meeting be held in Ft. Myers. Motion carried unanimously.

Pam Hall mentioned that Tom Mickler had died, and asked that a letter of condolence be sent to Georgiana, his wife. Dr. Wynne explained that the Society sends a resolution to family members of deceased FHS members. She asked about the possibility of purchasing the Florida ephemera from the Micklers. Dr. Wynne said "You get a price, we'll find a donor."

Dr. Wynne said that he has applied for $235,000 in renovation funding for the library. Results not yet in.

The next Board meeting will be held the third Saturday in January 1998.

There being no further business to come before the Board, the meeting was adjourned at 4:45 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE MAY 31, 1997 FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUSINESS MEETING OF THE GENERAL MEMBERSHIP JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

The Annual Business Meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held on Saturday, May 31, 1997, at the Radisson Hotel in Jacksonville, Florida.

The meeting was called to order at 8:50 a.m. by Executive Director Nick Wynne.

The first order of business was the annual resolution recognizing those FHS members who had died the previous year. Each family will receive a copy of the proclamation expressing the Society's sorrow at the death of their family member. Those members include Carol Washbon, Tom Mickler, Jim Horgan, Dena Snodgrass (and Sarah Matheson, if she was a current member as of December '97-PB). The motion was made by George Franchere and seconded by Jane Powers to issue the proclamation. Motion carried unanimously.

Dr. Wynne asked the members to authorize an increase in student membership rates. At the present time, the $15 student rate only covers about 71% of the actual cost of a membership. The FHS Board has recommended that (1) the membership rates for student be increased to $25, and (2) after the student graduates, for every year that he/she has paid the $25 student rate, that individual can purchase a full membership for $27.50. (In other words, a student who has been a member of FHS for four years can purchase full membership for four more years for only $27.50 a year.) The motion to increase student membership rates was made by George Franchere, seconded by Milton Jones. Motion carried unanimously.

Raymond Vickers of Tallahassee has requested assistance from the Society in gaining access to bank records of the 1980s. Jeff Drobney read a resolution urging the town of Tallahassee to permit Mr. Vickers access to the banking records, as permitted via Statute 19. Joe Cruikshank moved, with Marinus Latour making the second, that the resolution be accepted and sent to Tallahassee. Motion carried unanimously.

Dr. Wynne reported to the membership that the FHS library building is now fully air conditioned, the collection is unpacked,

on our new shelving, and available for research. The Library phone number is 407-690-1971, and all members are urged to come to Cocoa and do research, Dr. Bob Taylor has volunteered to serve as Director of Collections for the library, and he was thanked for his kindness in so volunteering. Those members of the Florida Historical Library Foundation who were present were introduced (Ada Parrish, Clyde Fields, Speedy Harrell) and thanked for their assistance with the library. Dr. Wynne stated that local membership in the Library Foundation would shortly be supplemented with individuals from all over Florida, and requested that nominations of interested individuals be sent to him.

The possibility of transferring the Florida Historical Confederation to the Library Foundation was briefly discussed, with Dr. Wynne stating that the original mission of the FHC was to provide training and collections management information to historical museums within FHS membership. Now that the Florida Historical Library Foundation has been created to manage the FHS Library, this organization is more closely aligned with the FHC mission. Transferring the FHC to the FHLF would enable the FHLF to revitalize the Confederation. The motion was made by Sandra Johnson and seconded by Joe Cruikshank to transfer the FHC to the FHLF. Motion carried unanimously.

Dr. Wynne asked anyone in the membership who knows of a microfilm reader/printer for donation to the FHLF to please contact him. The map cases which we so urgently needed have been anonymously donated by a generous Society member.

Dr. Bob Taylor announced that eight new Society Board members have been approved by the Board for ratification by the general membership. These are the nominees:

Asa Coates Williams, President-elect
Dr. Robert Snyder, Univ. of South Florida, Tampa
Sandra Johnson, Pensacola
Alma Clyde Field, Cocoa Beach
Lindsay Williams, Punta Gorda
Dr. Thomas Graham, Univ. of North Florida, St. Augustine
Louise Gopher, Brighton Reservation
Nancy Buckalew, Stuart

It was moved by Jane Powell and seconded by John Mahon that these individuals be elected to the Board of the FHS. Motion carried unanimously.

Dr. Wynne stated that all committees of the FHS are open to any current member, not just board members, and that Dr. Coker would be making his selections soon. Dr. Wynne asked that any member selected to serve on a committee be notified by a letter from Dr. Coker.

Future meeting sites were announced by Dr. Wynne. The next meeting, with the Centennial of the Spanish American War as its central theme, will be held in Tampa (1998). Other meetings will be in Daytona (1999), Key West (2000), Pensacola (2001) and Ft. Myers (2002). The FHS policy in the past has been to keep hotel rates to $65, single or double, and if we cannot keep this rate, we plan to seek another site for the meeting.

Dr. John Mahon thanked the Society for their resolution seeking protection of Arsenio Otie Key. The St. Johns Water Management District has just purchased that Key, partially in response to our resolution. The Southwest Florida Water Management District is considering buying the Seminole War site of Camp Izard, at the request of the Seminole War Sites Foundation, Inc. Dr. Mahon urged members of FHS to support all efforts to protect Seminole War sites.

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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 $35; family membership is $40; library membership is $45; a contributing membership is $50 and above; and a corporate membership is $100. In addition, a student membership is $25, hut proof of current status must he furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society. 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, FL 32935. Telephone: 407-259-0511 or 259-0694; Fax: 407-259-0847. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.