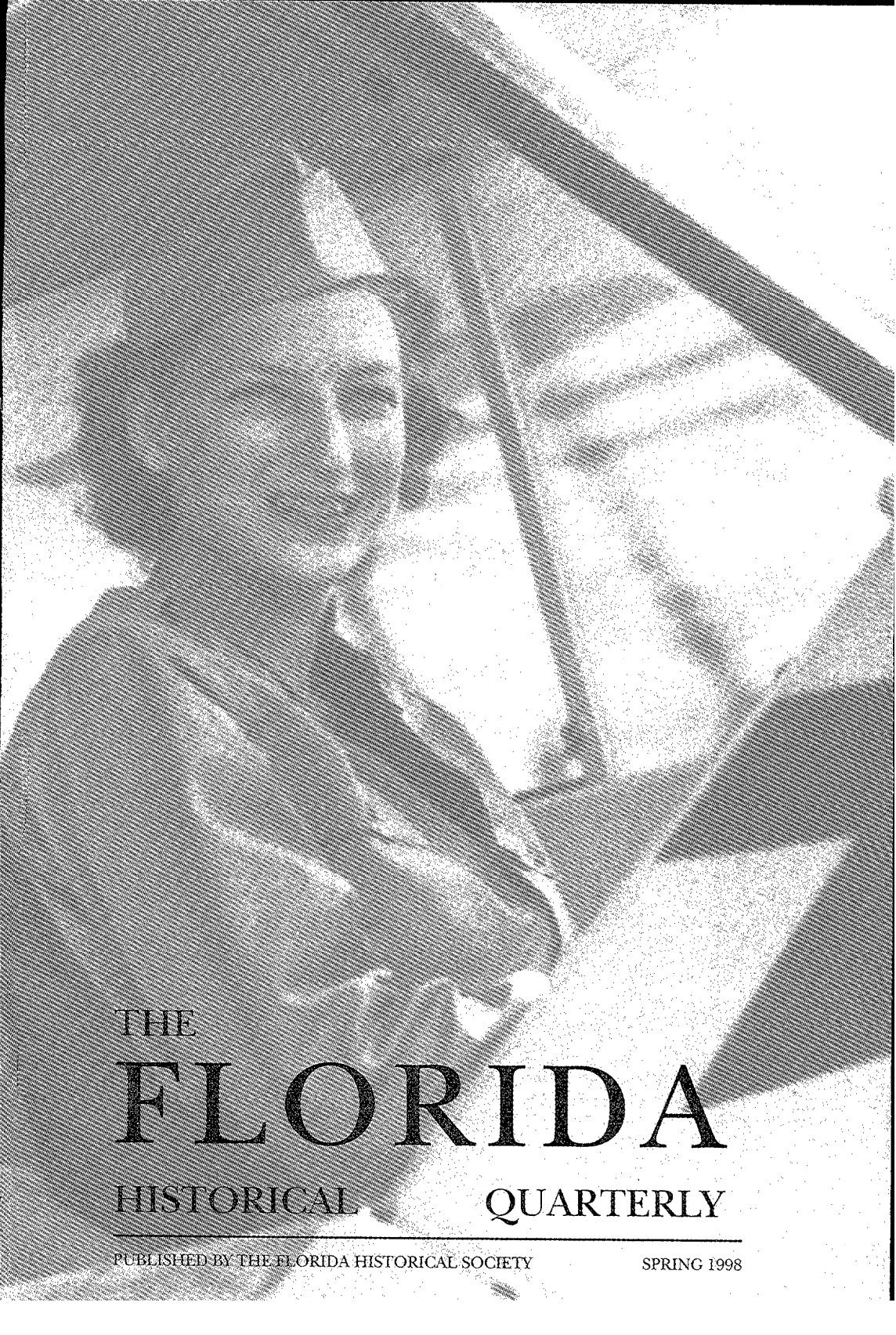

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COVER

During World War II, the 1st Air Squadron, Florida Defense Force encouraged women to join, as did the Civil Air Patrol. The Clifford sisters, Ruth and Mary, of Lakeland served first with Florida's Defense Force and then with the CAP. *Photograph courtesy of Thomas Reilly, Safety Harbor, Florida.*

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The Florida Architecture of F. Burrall Hoffman Jr., 1882-1980

by DONALD W. CURL

EVERYONE interested in Florida's architectural history should know of Francis Burrall Hoffman Jr. and his connection to Miami's great villa Vizcaya. Few realize he had a distinguished Florida career spanning over sixty years and designed buildings in several sections of the state. In fact, when the United States entered World War I in 1917, the thirty-five-year-old Hoffman may have been, in terms of cost of commissions, Florida's most successful domestic architect. In only eight short years of private practice, Hoffman had designed Vizcaya, the Biscayne Bay mansion, for industrialist James Deering, large oceanfront residences in Palm Beach for Mrs. Frederick Guest and her brother Henry Carnegie Phipps (their father had been Andrew Carnegie's partner), and probably had received the commission for the elaborate music room of Pittsburgh industrialist Joseph Riter, which he completed at the war's end. Moreover, Hoffman returned to Florida to design several houses and Our Lady of Mercy Chapel on Boca Grande; a half century later he began to winter on Jupiter Island where he completed his last major commissions.

Hoffman, the son of F. Burrall Hoffman Sr. and Lucy Shattuck Hoffman, was born in New Orleans on March 6, 1882. Both he and his father were named for Frances Amelia Burrall, the great-grandmother of the younger Burrall Hoffman. Although his father's firm, Shattuck and Hoffman, did most of its business in the South, the Hoffman family came from a distinguished line of New Yorkers that began with Martin Hermanzen Hoffman who immigrated to America from Sweden in 1657.[1]

Burrall Hoffman Sr.'s father had begun the family association with New Orleans during the Civil War where he served as a colonel on the staff of General Benjamin Butler. His son said that when he first arrived in the city in the early 1880s a delegation from the

Donald Curl is professor and chair of history at Florida Atlantic University.

1. William Wickham Hoffman, *Eleven Generations of Hoffmans in New York: Descendants of Martin Hoffman, 1657-1957* (New York, 1957) 1-2, 25.

Boston Club, "the best and oldest Club in the city," called to tell him he had been elected to honorary membership. When he asked why this great honor, a delegate said: "Don't you know what your father, Colonel Wickham Hoffman, did for us here? He gathered up all the family silver which had been looted by officers and soldiers and returned it to its owners." Shattuck and Hoffman, his partnership with his brother-in-law, Albert Richardson Shattuck, served as merchants and negotiators of loans on improved farm properties. It also owned a sugar plantation on the Bayou Teche and a cotton plantation on the Mississippi River. Until the turn of the century, the Hoffman family maintained residences on St. Charles Avenue in New Orleans and on East Sixty-second Street in New York City.[2]

Although the younger Hoffman began his schooling in New Orleans, his parents enrolled him in Georgetown Preparatory in 1893. After a year at Georgetown University, he entered Harvard, his grandfather Wickham Hoffman's alma mater, in 1899. As a member of a wealthy and socially prominent New York family, Hoffman easily gained membership in Spee, Hasty Pudding, and the *Lampoon*. In 1898 his father built a large limestone-fronted town house at 58 East Seventy-ninth Street in New York City. The house was designed by Carrere and Hastings, who, in the decade since completing the Hotel Ponce de Leon in St. Augustine for Henry Morrison Flagler, had become established architects with nearly one hundred commissions including that for the New York Public Library on Fifth Avenue. Hoffman, perhaps inspired by the firm's work for his family, became interested in an architectural career, and finding that Harvard had no degree program, spent his senior year in the Carrere and Hastings office. From 1903 to 1907 he attended the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris and after receiving his diploma with honors, returned to the Carrere and Hastings office in 1907.[3]

Hoffman remained an apprentice architect, working in the Carrere and Hastings drafting rooms for two years. While there he helped design Mrs. E. H. Harriman's enormous French Renaissance manor house in Arden, New York, and later completed the

2. Ibid., 22, 26, 29.
3. Ibid., 35-36; F. Burrall Hoffman Sr. to the Rev. Haven Richards, January 11, 1894, October 3, 1894, and October 2, 1897, in Alumni files. University Archives, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.; David Gray, *Thomas Hastings, Architect: Collected Writings Together with* a *Memoir* (Boston, 1933), 32-34.

design for the gates of the Harriman family cemetery in Arden. In the fall of 1910 he left Carrere and Hastings and entered into an association with Harry Creighton Ingalls, a former student at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, who became a well-known theatre designer. In 1911 Ingalls and Hoffman received the commission for the Little Theatre (now the Helen Hayes Theatre) in New York City.[4]

Over the years, Hoffman's commissions often came from members of his own family such as the commission for St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church in Lenox, Massachusetts, where the family often spent summers. Many also came through friendships he gained at Harvard. These included several commissions for Henry Francis du Pont and a number of projects for New York banker Clarence Dillon and members of Dillon's family.

The design of Vizcaya, Hoffman's first large commission and the major commission of his career, came as a result of his Harvard connections. He later recalled entering into it almost by accident. Sometime in 1912, Deering's art adviser, Paul Chalfin, stopped by Hoffman's office on East Fortieth Street and asked "if I would be interested in doing a house for a client of his– an art collector. But he didn't tell me who the client was."[5] Chalfin, a fellow Harvard graduate and a student of painting at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, had served as curator of Asiatic arts at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. He had returned to New York in 1909 to write art criticism when interior decorator Elsie de Wolfe asked him to organize a lecture series on art, decoration, and architecture for the women of the Colony Club, which she had decorated. One speaker Chalfin scheduled fell ill just before the lecture and a friend recommended Hoffman as a substitute. Hoffman later said that he had never met

4. Brendan Gill, "F. Burrall Hoffman, Jr.: A Gentleman Architect in the Beaux-Arts Tradition," *Architectural Digest* 50 (July 1993), 32-42. In the period before America entered World War I, while Hoffman was associated with Ingalls, they completed two additional theatres: the Neighborhood Playhouse for the Henry Street Settlement and the Henry Miller Theatre; and three churches: St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church in Lenox, Massachusetts, the Queen of the Most Holy Rosary Church in Bridgehampton, New York, and St. Brigid's Roman Catholic Church in Westbury, New York. Hoffman also submitted a proposal for the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington. His mother headed the women's committee to raise funds for the shrine. His proposal failed to win acceptance.
5. Ibid.; *Miami Herald,* January 21, 1979.

Chalfin before the lecture and had no further contact with him until asked to design Vizcaya.[6]

James E. Deering, the heir to a farm machinery fortune, had hired Chalfin as his art expert on the recommendation of their mutual friend and Chalfin's employer, Elsie de Wolfe. When Chalfin failed in his career as an artist and critic, de Wolfe employed him as a decorator. Deering asked de Wolfe to recommend someone knowledgeable in art who could travel with him and monitor his collecting. Deering planned to build a winter residence in Miami where both his father and brother had houses. He employed Chalfin to help select the art and furnishings for his mansion. They began collecting for the new house on a European trip in the summer of 1910. At first, Deering planned a Spanish house, though later he decided it should be "of the Italian villa type." The two men then spent a year in Italy and discovered the Villa Rezzonico, one of the historic sixteenth-century buildings on the Brenta River. The villa, with its four massive corner towers and somber exterior contrasting its sumptuous interior and monumental central courtyard, served as the prototype for Deering's Florida mansion.[7]

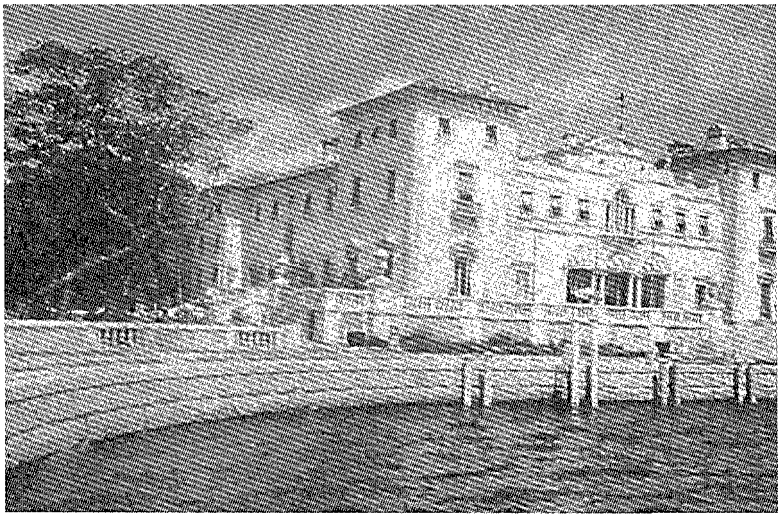
Deering and Chalfin's collecting produced warehouses full of architectural and decorative artifacts by 1912. Hoffman later recalled that Chalfin asked him to "make plans for his client Mr. Deering in such a way that use should be made of the many treasures of antiquity that had been acquired." When the thirty-year-old Hoffman saw the "ceilings, mantels, grilles, statues, fountains, furniture, tapestries, carpets, and so on" in the warehouses, he realized the extent of the design problem he faced.[8]

A massive twenty-foot-high three-tiered carved white limestone French Renaissance mantelpiece determined the proportions of the largest reception room of the villa. A set of wrought-iron gates with an imposing carved stone surround from the Palazzo Pisani in Venice also set the height of the tea room and in turn the entire

6. James T. Maher, *The Twilight of Splendor: Chronicles of the Age of American Palaces* (Boston, 1975), 180-81. For his chapter on Vizcaya, Maher interviewed both Burrall Hoffman (April 14, 1965) and Diego Suarez (April 20 and June 4, 1965); Kathryn Chapman Harwood, *The Lives of Vizcaya: Annals of a Great House* (Miami, 1985), 16-17.

7. Maher, *The Twilight of Splendor;* 178-80; Ellen Edwards, "Blueprints of Another Time," *Miami Herald, Tropic Magazine,* 1977, undated clipping from collection of the Historical Society of Palm Beach County, West Palm Beach, Antonio Canova, *Ville Venete: Catalogo Della Mostra Fotografica* (Vicenzia, 1984), 122-23.

8. Maher, *The Twilight of Splendor,* 181.



Vizcaya as seen from Biscayne Bay. *Photograph courtesy of Vizcaya Archives.*

first floor. Carved wooden and delicately molded plaster ceilings determined the size of the other rooms, while particular pieces of furniture, such as an Empire bed from the Palace of Malmaison, set the decor for different apartments. Paneling, French silk wall hangings with a palm tree design, painted panels, and a rug "dating from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella" all had to be accommodated into the design.[9]

Deering purchased 130 acres of mangrove swamp and hammock land on the shore of Biscayne Bay in December of 1912, and Hoffman began drawings at the site early in 1913. After a trip to Europe that summer he found that his original scale needed adjustment. "I had to redesign the loggias around the open court at the center of the house. I changed the number of arches along each loggia from seven to five. As a result, each arch was larger, and in better scale." On this trip he also discovered on Lake Como the Villa Pliniana that featured a loggia that opened on two sides. "It

9. Ibid., 188; see also Merrill Folsom, *Great American Mansions* (New York, 1963), 5-7.

was perfectly beautiful. At Vizcaya I adapted it to serve as the loggia between the inner court and the terrace along the bay."[10]

Hoffman completed his part of the construction of Vizcaya by the fall of 1916. Already, Chalfin had taken over the site, as shipments of furniture and furnishings arrived from the New York warehouses. Because Deering insisted his house be finished by Christmas 1916, Chalfin directed a frantic installation of panels, ceilings, and the other decorative treasures collected by the two men. With the villa nearing completion, Chalfin now envisioned a career in architecture as well as decorating, and he asked Hoffman to make him associate architect of Vizcaya. Hoffman consented.[11]

When Deering arrived in Miami on his yacht, *Nepenthe,* on Christmas Day 1916 and tied up between the stone breakwater barge (with its carvings by A. Stirling Calder) and the bay front terrace of the house, Chalfin arranged the pageantry. He now had full charge of the final details of the house and supervised the completion of the gardens. By July 1917, when *The Architectural Review* published "'Vizcaya,' the Villa and Grounds: A House in Miami, Florida" and listed F. Burrall Hoffman Jr. and Paul Chalfin as "Associate Architects," Hoffman was engaged in camouflage training in the United States Army. In the section on the gardens, Chalfin failed even to mention Diego Suarez, the young landscape architect whom Deering and he had met in Florence and hired to design Vizcaya's grounds. After the magazine caught up with Hoffman, now on active service in Europe, he wrote Chalfin. "I told him what I thought of what he had done, I never spoke to him again."[12] At the same

10. Maher, *The Twilight of Splendor,* 188; see also, Nicholas N. Patricios, *Building Marvelous Miami* (Gainesville, 1994), 149-51; Patricia Gabriel, *The Villagers' Book of Outstanding Homes of Miami* (Coral Gables, 1975), 29-33. Although Kathryn Chapman Harwood claims that Pliniana was the villa of Pliny the Younger, the historic site of his villa in Bellagio is today owned by the Rockefeller Foundation and there is no Villa Pliniana. Harwood, *The Lives of Vizcaya,* 19-20, and trip to the site on Lake Como by author, May 1997.
11. *Miami Herald,* January 21, 1979; Maher, *The Twilight of Splendor,* 203-204.
12. "'Vizcaya,' the Villa and Grounds: A House in Miami, Florida," *The Architectural Review* 5 (April 1917), 121-67; *Miami Herald,* January 21, 1979. A number of articles were published in 1917 on Vizcaya and its gardens; none mentioned Suarez. One lists Hoffman and Chalfin as "co-architects." See "The Gardens of Vizcaya," *Vogue* (July 15, 1917), 36-37, 75. Augusta Owen Patterson, *American Homes of To-day: Their Architectural Style, Their Environment, Their Characteristics* (New York, 1924), contains many photographs of Vizcaya which she credits to both men as co-architects, as well as a photograph of the Riter music room.

time, Hoffman the gentleman took no action to attempt to correct the article.

Chalfin continued to claim credit for Vizcaya's design, virtually ignoring Hoffman's contribution, Nonetheless, his architectural and decorating business failed, and Chalfin was residing, nearly penniless and almost blind, in Clinton, New Jersey, in 1953 when Dade County purchased Vizcaya from the Deering heirs. In March of that year, Aline B. Louchheim [later Aline Saarinen], the *New York Times'* architectural writer, interviewed him for an article on the new Dade County Museum. In it she said that originally Hoffman had been commissioned to design the house, "but happily James Deering met Paul Chalfin, who became associated and later said 'Hoffman did the plumbing, I did the house.'" She called Chalfin's skillful taste, "for all of its preciousness, flamboyance and exquisiteness, . . . sensitive and knowledgeable." Writing of the baroque grandeur of the gardens, Louchheim names various artists who completed individual details without mentioning Diego Suarez.[13]

Hoffman, the consummate gentleman, had ignored Chalfin and his claims of designing Vizcaya for over thirty years. Now the artist-architect felt he had to take action. An angry Hoffman and his attorney met with the publisher of the *New York Times* and told him that unless the newspaper agreed to run a correction, Hoffman planned to sue. Diego Suarez also prepared an indignant seven-page statement that attacked the article and gave a detailed history of the design of the house and gardens. He concluded: "I strongly object to Mrs. Loucheim's [sic] article. Her story is biased in so far that it only renders tribute to the imagination and genius of Mr. Chalfin. The massive ability and indeed the great achievement of Mr. Hoffman as an architect are not only ignored, but perhaps on account of inaccurate information, he is referred to in a manner which is not only offensive but untrue."[14]

On Sunday, May 17, 1953, under a picture of the Vizcaya breakwater, Hoffman received his retraction. After declaring it made an inadvertent error in the earlier article, the *New York Times* gave

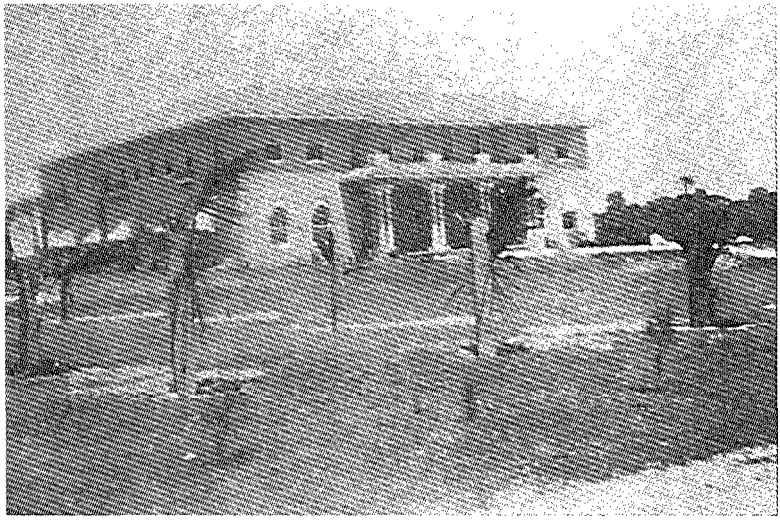
13. Harwood, *The Lives of Vizcaya*, 289-96; *New York Times*, January 11, March 15, 1953. Three years later the *Miami Herald* still credited Chalfin with the major part of the design. *Miami Herald*, May 27, 1956.
14. *Miami Herald*, January 21, 1979; Statement of Diego Suarez, 1953, copy of original in Vizcaya archives.

Hoffman full credit for the design of the "fabulous palace." "In 1912 F. Burrall Hoffman, a well-known architect, was engaged to design a villa for Mr. Deering in such a way that use could be made of the treasures [collected by Deering and Chalfin]. All the plans for Vizcaya were drawn up in Mr. Hoffman's office and his name alone appeared on them as architect with that of Harry Ingalls as associate. After the work was completed in 1916, Mr. Hoffman gave his consent to Mr. Chalfin's name being joined to his as associate architect."[15] After thirty-five years, Hoffman finally received national recognition for his design of Vizcaya.

With hindsight, it is possible to say that Paul Chalfin contributed the dream and the vision that convinced Deering to attempt the grand project that became Vizcaya. Without his training and connoisseurship the dream might never have become reality. At the same time, no one today questions the role played by Hoffman. Architectural historian James Maher says that Burrall Hoffman's wit and resourcefulness allowed Vizcaya to escape the dour rigor of its inspiration, the Villa Rezzonico, and achieve in its architecture a spirited yet serene baroque lyricism which showed Hoffman's particular gift of "adapting and subtly recombining old forms in new ways."[16] Carl J. Weinhardt Jr., an early director of Vizcaya, said that "it is the finest house ever built in the United States, and that the whole complex is among the most brilliant achievements in the history of our national domestic architecture. . . . In this one commission, . . . F. Burrall Hoffman Jr. established a permanent place in the history of our country's architecture."[17]

Before Hoffman completed Vizcaya, Mrs. Frederick E. Guest and her brother, Henry C. Phipps, both commissioned large ocean-front houses in Palm Beach from the architect. In 1916, Palm Beach remained a hotel resort and few vacationers owned their

15. *New York Times,* May 17, 1953.
16. Maher, *The Twilight of Splendor,* 180.
17. Harwood, *The Lives* of *Vizcaya,* ix; see also, Carl J. Weinhardt Jr., "Vizcaya, Miami, Florida," *The Magazine Antiques* 121 (January 1982), 312-21; and "Villa Vizcaya, Miami, Florida," *Harper's Bazaar* 142 (July 1917), 40-43. It has been pointed out that Vizcaya also contributed greatly to the development of Miami and southeast Florida. The labor force, sometimes numbering close to a thousand, contained numerous skilled workmen who remained in the area and were necessary components of the great building boom of the early 1920s. Metropolitan Dade County Office of Community Development, Historic Preservation Division, *From Wilderness to Metropolis: The History of Architecture of Dade County, 1825-1940,* 2d ed. (Miami, 1992), 60-61.



Heamaw, Henry C. Phipp's 1916 house in Palm Beach as seen from the north. *Photograph courtesy of Historical Society of Palm Beach County, West Palm Beach.*

own residences. Those who did, with only minor exceptions, built on the lakefront. Mrs. Guest's Villa Artemis and Phipps's Heamaw were the first of the resort's large oceanfront mansions and inaugurated the trend that after the war transformed Palm Beach into a "cottage colony" in the style of Newport and Bar Harbor.[18]

Both the Villa Artemis and Heamaw, like Vizcaya, had large interior patios completely surrounded by the rooms of the house. The major reception rooms of both Palm Beach houses faced the ocean with windows and French doors opening onto porches and terraces. Both were also entered from the side. From their construction until the 1928 hurricane, Ocean Boulevard separated the estates from the beach. After the hurricane destroyed the road, the landowners in this section successfully petitioned the town government to abandon the roadway.[19]

There are no detailed historic photographs of the Villa Artemis though the severely plain white house with turquoise trim had

18. Donald W. Curl, *Mizner's Florida: American Resort Architecture* (New York and Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 61-62; *Palm Beach Post*, April 12, 1916; see also Donald W. Curl, Palm Beach County (Northridge, Calif., 1986), 59-71.
19. *Palm Beach Post,* April-June 1929.

neo-classical window and door surrounds with Grecian-style decorative panels above many windows. Loggias on both the first and second floor with Doric columns overlooked the pool, a small circular Greek temple, and the ocean beyond. In 1967 Villa Artemis's owners removed its second story and placed a glass roof over the central patio, creating a large, sunny living room.[20]

Heamaw's most prominent architectural feature was a large porch and sun deck on its oceanfront facade. In 1923 Addison Mizner designed a wing that included a two-story living room (often called the ballroom), a small library, and a sun room-loggia. In 1931 Maurice Fatio remodeled the facade of the original house and added a new, imposing entry. In 1972, after the death of Phipps's widow, Gladys Mills Phipps, the house was razed and the oceanfront portion of the estate subdivided.[21]

As his last commission in Palm Beach, Hoffman designed a large music room addition for Joseph Riter. In 1916, Riter purchased Bywater Lodge, which had been built by Arrow shirtmaker George Bywater Cluett on the lakefront in 1903. The room was completed by February 1920 when Riter hosted a concert for over a hundred guests. The 35-by-70-foot room, called a "miniature theatre," was decorated in the Italian Renaissance style with a cypress ceiling painted by Robert Winthrop Chanler, a friend of the architect's who had decorated Vizcaya's grotto pool area. The room contained a pipe organ and a sliding stage, "fully equipped for a professional performance." Riter's efforts to bring more cultural

20. Villa Artemis drawings for remodeling, Marion Sims Wyeth Collection, Preservation Foundation of Palm Beach. When the contractor attempted to remove the second story walls he discovered that Hoffman had used reinforced concrete, rather than the usual hollow tiles. The expensive tempered steel drills required to break the concrete broke easily, greatly prolonging the job and, ultimately, bankrupting the contractor. Richard M. Hunter, draftsman for Marion Sims Wyeth, interviews with author, 1986-87; Diana Guest Manning, interview by David A. Hanks Associates, April 6, 1991, David A. Hanks Research Report, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal. Hanks Associates researched Hoffman's commissions for the architect's nephew and his wife, Lindley and Judy Hoffman of Palm Beach.

21. Curl, *Mizner's Florida,* 83, 212-13; Alexandra Fatio, *Maurice Fatio: Architect, New York and Palm Beach* (Palm Beach, 1993), 128-30; *Palm Beach Post,* August 30, 1972; *Palm Beach Daily News,* August 31, 1972. In 1975 B.D. Cole, Inc., an insurance company, built a new office building in Belle Glade which included "sixteen tons of coral rocks...removed from [Heamaw along with] arches, columns, even the original doors." To complete the new building, the company brought an Italian artisan to "refit the stone pieces together properly." *Palm Beach Daily News,* April 12, 1975.

activities to the resort during the winter season ultimately resulted in the founding of the Society of the Four Arts. Unfortunately, after his death in 1928 the house and music room were destroyed.[22]

The great period of Palm Beach development came in the 1920s. Addison Mizner, Marion Sims Wyeth, Maurice Fatio, Howard Major, and John L. Volk, along with many out-of-town architects who completed one or two commissions, created the Mediterranean ambiance that today means Palm Beach to the world. Hoffman, after executing commissions for Guest, Phipps, and Riter, certainly could have become one of the resort's leading social architects; instead, he disappeared from the scene. Perhaps the patrician Hoffman found the twenties' social maelstrom of nouveau riche, pretentious small town social leaders, and the truly old guard, all jockeying for position, just too distasteful. As the heir to generations of wealth and social position, he never depended on his architectural career for his living. Brendan Gill has also suggested that Hoffman's career as a "gentleman architect" in the tradition of Lord Burlington or Thomas Jefferson, designing projects for family, friends, and neighbors, and accepting only those commissions he found interesting, began in the 1920s.[23]

In 1921 Hoffman entered into a partnership with his younger brother Murray and they completed a number of New York City town houses and Long Island country estates. In this period he also cooperated with New York architect Lafayette Goldstone in the design of three luxury upper East Side apartment buildings. In 1928 they designed a fifteen-story building with delicate wrought-iron detailing at 132-140 East Seventy-ninth Street. According to William Hoffman, the apartment won a city prize as "best of the year." Hoffman specially designed a penthouse in this building for his

22. Mrs. George B. Cluett Diary, 1900-1917, Cluett House and Museum Archive, Troy, New York; "Among the Palms," *Palm Beach Life* 26 (March 6, 27, 1917); *Palm Beach Post,* October 24, 1919, January 22, 1920, and June 12, 1928; "A Spacious Dignity Dominates this Palm Beach House," *Vogue* (February 1, 1920), 57; Harwood, *The Lives of Vizcaya,* 233-36.

23. *Palm Beach Post,* February 2, 1921; *see* also Curl, *Palm Beach* County, 59-71; Gill, F. Burrall Hoffman, Jr.," 32. A short newspaper article mentions another possible Palm Beach commission: "[Hoffman] is making plans and sketches for a fine place soon to be built on the ocean front with a unique swimming pool." *Palm Beach Post,* March 12, 1919. This possible residence has never been identified. A later article mentioned that Chalfin was designing an Italian villa for an ocean front location south of the Breakers. This commission was never completed. *Palm Beach Post,* March 21, 1919.

own use. The next year their fifteen-story building with neo-classical motifs at 4-10 East Seventy-second Street also received the "best of the year" award. In 1929 they also designed a second twenty-story neo-classical building at 730 Park Avenue. In that same year Hoffman, no longer associated with his brother, designed a lavish eight-bedroom Mediterranean-style house for Helen and Henry Potter Russell. Certainly his largest and most luxurious house since Vizcaya, it was for the Russells' twenty-two-square-mile thoroughbred ranch, known as the Double H, in California's Carmel Valley.[24]

In May 1927, Hoffman married Mary Virginia [Dolly] Kimball. From a wealthy Virginia publishing family, Dolly established a career as an interior decorator. According to Livingstone Elder, Hoffman's longtime draftsman, the architect closed his office with the stock market crash in 1929 and used a studio he owned on East Seventy-ninth Street and Elder's own office for his architectural work. He and Dolly also began to spend the spring in an apartment in Paris, summer in a small pavilion on the property of a chateau in the French countryside owned by Dolly's sister, and fall in their New York City penthouse. Late each fall when Hoffman returned to New York, Elder said that he usually had one commission. "Just one. We never did more than one," Elder commented. "I think he just didn't want to be bothered.[25]

Hoffman's next Florida commission came in 1935 when he designed a house for M. Sheldon Whitehouse's plantation in Monticello. Monticello had been the center of the antebellum cotton production in Florida. At the war's end the land had given out and the area never regained its agricultural supremacy. By the end of the nineteenth century, many of the cotton plantations of middle Florida and southern Georgia had become quail hunting preserves for northern sportsmen. Whitehouse, a former ambassador to

24. "Chronology of F. Burrall Hoffman, Jr.'s life," Hanks Research Report, CCA; Hoffman, *Eleven Generations,* 36. William Hoffman does not indicate who granted the "best apartment prize." Goldstone won the Gold Medal of the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects in 1914 for an apartment on East Sixty-second Street. *New York Times,* June 23, 1956; photographs of the various apartment buildings are found in the Vizcaya archives. Bruce David Colen, "Stonepine: Sophisticated Equestrian Retreat in California's Carmel Valley," *Architectural Digest* 44 (October 1987), AD Travels, 32-40.

25. Livingstone Elder, interview by David A. Hanks Associates, April 1, 1991, Hanks Research Report, CCA. Elder, a registered architect in New York State, remained associated with Hoffman for many years. The drawings for most of Hoffman's projects were completed in Elder's office until the 1960s.

M. Sheldon Whitehouse's plantation house, 1935, Monticello, Florida. *Photograph courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. W. Stanley Proctor, Monticello, Florida.*

Great Britain, asked Hoffman to design a "shootings bunks" on his twelve-hundred-acre estate. According to Livingstone Elder, the house had some very attractive rooms and a "wonderful flying staircase." He also recalled that Hoffman had used some very handsome old Spanish doors left over from the Deering purchases for Vizcaya. In general, the Hoffman design emulated many of the antebellum houses found in the area.[26]

Among Florida resorts, two patrician enclaves attempt to retain both anonymity and isolation from the tourist and social scenes. It is little wonder that Hoffman became associated with both resorts. Boca Grande, on Gasparilla Island on Florida's west coast, is connected to the mainland by a narrow private bridge with a toll high enough to discourage casual visitors. Since the late nineteenth century, the island has been a refuge for an American elite who enjoy yachting, fishing, and golf in a relaxed, informal atmosphere. This elite, often termed "the beachfronters," derived its island social po-

26. Elder, interview; contemporary slides from Mr. and Mrs. W. Stanley Proctor, current owners of El Destino Plantation; see also Clifton Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1967* (Tallahassee, 1968).

sition more through "family background" than wealth. The island has also long been associated with the du Pont family.[27] Boca Grande's attempts at anonymity have been so successful that neither Cleveland Amory nor Stephen Birmingham in their social histories of American resorts mention its existence. Jupiter Island, which before its incorporation was called Hobe Sound after its mainland post office, is actually mentioned by both.[28] Amory later wrote about Jupiter Island: "There are big frogs from big puddles and big frogs from little puddles, but there are no little frogs from any kind of puddle." Although only twenty-five miles north of Palm Beach, it has gained the reputation as more relaxed and "old-clothesy," a place for old wealth, tired of the pretensions of its southern neighbor. Until recently only members of the Jupiter Island Club could purchase or build houses in the town; hence, it has remained, in the words of one observer, a place of "seclusion, solitude, and tranquility."[29]

Shortly after the commission for the Whitehouse plantation, Hoffman received several commissions for houses on Boca Grande. Hoffman had visited the island many times with Harvard classmate Henry Francis du Pont. In 1938 he designed houses for his older brother, William Wickham Hoffman, a New York banker, and for New Yorker Mrs. Michael Van Buren. For William, Hoffman designed a two-story frame regency-style house with an ornate oval window in the attic eave of the entrance facade. A projecting wooden balcony provides shelter for the entrance door. He designed a Spanish colonial house for Mrs. Van Buren. Its U-shape enclosed a patio that today shelters a swimming pool. A large tower contains a guest bedroom. Two years later he designed houses for Florence Shaw and Holstead Lindsley. The Shaw house, a large stucco cottage with two wings separated by an outdoor passageway, and the Lindsley house,

27. Charles Dana Gibson, *Boca Grande: A Series of Historical Essays* (St. Petersburg, 1982), 66-78, 83-84.
28. Cleveland Amory, *The Last Resorts: A Portrait of American Society at Play* (New York, 1948), 136-50; Stephen Birmingham, *The Right Places (for the Right People)* (Boston, 1973), 98, 233.
29. Cleveland Amory, "The Last Stand of the Rich," *Saturday Evening Post* 225 (November 1, 1952); see also *Palm Beach Post,* April 18, 1976; Linda Marx, "Hobe Sound: Where the Blood is True Blue but Cameras Rarely Flash," *Palm Beach Life* (February 1982); *Palm Beach Post,* December 11, 1983; *New York Times,* March 10, 1985.

a more formal residence in Mediterranean style with red tile roofs, are still typical of the Boca Grande houses of this era.[30]

In his book *Eleven Generations of Hoffmans in New York,* William Wickham Hoffman says that his brother Burrall would have been a greater success in his architectural career if he had not participated in the two world wars. Certainly, what seemed like a growing practice in Boca Grande vacation houses ended with these commissions. Although he later completed drawings for a proposed guest house for Charles W. Englehardt on the island, his only other commission came in 1949 when he designed Our Lady of Mercy Mission. The small Roman Catholic chapel in spare Italian Renaissance style, with its elegant entry's old wooden doors taken from the same Spanish monastery as those at the Whitehouse plantation, coral keystone surround, and small bell tower, remains a fitting capstone to his island designs.[31]

After the war, the Hoffmans continued their schedule of spring and summer in France and fall in New York, though now they usually spent the winters in Florida, arriving shortly after Christmas. In this period Hoffman also published his first book on classical architecture in Tennessee, collaborating with Gifford A. Cochran. Published in 1946, the volume contains a short history of the state and its architecture from pioneer days through the period before the Civil War, as well as histories and drawings, both floor plans and facades, of its most architecturally notable structures. He also designed a chapel for Portuguese fishermen in Bermuda, planned further alterations for Christ Church and memorial library in the Winterthur Museum for Henry Francis du Pont, completed extensive alterations for the Fifth Avenue apartments of Pierre David-Weill, head of Lazard Freres, and Amory Houghton, and the Washington house of C. Douglas Dillon. Dillon, secretary of the treasury

30. Hoffman, Van Buren, Shaw, and Lindsley houses, Hanks Research Report, CCA. A recent visit to the island by the author found that all four houses still exist, though there have been alternations and additions made in several cases. The Hoffman house is on the north side of Twelfth Street on the Gulf; the Van Buren house is on the north side of Tenth Street and extends through to Eleventh on the Gulf; the Shaw house is on the north side of Eleventh in mid-block; and the Lindsley house is on the south side of Thirteenth Street on the Gulf.

31. Hoffman, *Eleven Generations of Hoffmans,* 36. Hoffman served as a civilian employee of the Special Services Division of the Bureau of Aeronautics, Department of the Navy from 1942 to 1945 and in 1946 received a meritorious Civilian Service Award from the navy. See Hanks Research Report, CCA. Mrs. Michael Gavin of Long Island and a long time Boca Grande resident, commissioned the chapel.

under President John Kennedy and later ambassador to France, was the son of Clarence Dillon, the architect's Harvard classmate. Over the years Hoffman received a number of commissions for Clarence Dillon including in 1954 a vacation residence at Round Hill in Montego Bay, Jamaica. The house, made up of a group of pavilions, each with its own hipped roof, was an early version of a style the architect later used in several Florida houses. In 1962 Hoffman also completed a memorial chapel for St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Peapack, New Jersey, in memory of Mrs. Dillon.[32]

In 1965 he and Dolly decided to build on Jupiter Island. The Jungle is the first of four island houses that he designed in the next five years. A cottage by earlier standards, the elegant and classically austere Regency villa made up of three joined white stucco pavilions, overlooked the club golf course. The entry, centered in the large middle pavilion, is reached by double Palladian-style steps leading from the walled motor court. A small entrance hall opens into the impressive sixteen-foot-high living room. Originally the house had no dining room, though later the guest bedroom became a dining room and Hoffman added a new guest house by the swimming pool. The southern wing of the house contained two bedrooms that opened onto a small pool-side terrace. Contrary to the usual practice of large room-sized closets for expensive resort houses, the Hoffmans, who spent so much time in Europe, preferred armoires to closets, though there were large closets off both master bathrooms. The northern wing of the house contained a pullman-style kitchen without a window and two small staff bedrooms. Brendan Gill says that the Jungle "possesses, both inside and out, an air of dignity that falls just short of grandeur. Moreover, one senses that the degree of this falling short has been exquisitely calculated to establish the nature of the social relationships that the structure means to make possible."[33]

32. Gifford A. Cochran in collaboration with F. Burrall Hoffman, *Grandeur in Tennessee: Classical Revival Architecture in a Pioneer State* (New York, 1946); Elder, interview, Hanks Research Report, CGA. The Montego Bay house is now the vacation home of Ricky and Ralph Lauren and although refurbished by the late decorator Angelo Donghia, remains little changed from the original design. Steven M. L. Aronson, "High Style in Jamaica," *House and Garden* 156 (October 1984), 12-27, 230, 232, 234; "This Man Has an Island," *Town and Country* 146 (March 1992), 68-82.

33. Mary McDougall, "Seaside Urbanity," *House and Garden* 155 (December 1983), 133-40; Gill, "F. Burrall Hoffman, Jr.," 40; Susan Mary Alsop, "Hobe Sound Regency: The Florida Retreat of Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Auchincloss," *Architectural Digest* 53 (August 1996), 48-53. The Hoffman house is on Gomez Road.

The Hoffman house so "enchanted" the John A. Prossers that they asked the architect to design an exact copy next door. Hoffman the artist refused. While the room layout is similar, he designed larger living and dining rooms, and the exterior looks nothing like the Hoffman house. The new house had flat roofs with parapets topped with pineapple finials and a formal Georgian entry with a pediment over the front door, giving it an English Regency facade and creating two distinctively different houses.[34] In 1969 he designed another similar house on Beach Road for General Paul Peabody. Once more the exterior design, although including hip roofs over the major sections of the house, changed style. Neo-classical Ionic pilasters flank the front door and there are large keystones over the windows of the entrance facade.[35]

In 1970, Hoffman received his last major commission, his fourth winter vacation house for Jupiter Island. Harlequin House, designed for C. Douglas Dillon, sits on the highest site on the island. Brendan Gill calls it "the second-greatest work of [Hoffman's] career" and says that it embodies the basic principles of the architectural profession: "beauty, utility, and fitness."[36] It is a large one-story U-shaped house enclosing a sheltered swimming pool. From the entrance court the visitor enters the north wing through a formal porch with Tuscan columns, which in turn leads to a vestibule, and then through an arcade to a loggia overlooking the courtyard and pool. Beyond the loggia the large living room faces the ocean. In keeping with its relaxed informality, the house has no dining room. A master bedroom suite with office and dressing rooms and four additional bedrooms and baths complete its southern wing. Staff quarters and the kitchen are in an extension of the northern wing.[37]

34. Tom Green, "Island Homes and . . . The Rewards of Diversity," *Island Through the Years* (Hobe Sound, Fla., 1988), 76-83. Hoffman once said that the advantage the arts enjoyed over other professions was that they could be practiced in old age. While Hoffman continued to practice, he never opened a Florida office, choosing to use the facilities and draftsmen of Marion Sims Wyeth's Palm Beach office. Hunter, interviews with author, 1986-87. Plans for some of the Jupiter Island commissions can be found in the Wyeth collection. Wyeth, one of Palm Beach's original society architects and the designer of Florida's Governor's Mansion, had also graduated from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The Prosser house is on Gomez Road.
35. Peabody House, Hanks Research Report, CCA. The plans, in the Wyeth collection, were actually drawn by the then eighty-one-year-old Wyeth. The Peabody house is on Beach Road.
36. Gill, "F. Burrall Hoffman, Jr.," 35.
37. See plans, Wyeth collection.

As in the case of Vizcaya, the architect designed an interior "of meticulous detail that rivals any on the Island." He and Dolly, who served as the decorator (she had earlier decorated the American Embassy in Paris for the Dillons), found six of the living room's antique Chinese wall paper panels in Paris. Hoffman then designed the rest which he had made in Hong Kong. Although both Hoffmans maintained a close friendship with the Dillons, several disagreements surfaced during the design and construction of the house. According to Richard M. Hunter, the draftsman for Harlequin in Marion Sims Wyeth's office, Dillon found the proportions of the loggia's Egyptian lotus capital columns disturbing and insisted they be redesigned after they had been installed. Dillon also told an interviewer that he had demanded more closet space and that Hoffman had only reluctantly agreed.[38]

Hoffman was eighty-eight when he completed Harlequin House.[39] During his sixty-plus-year career, his adherence to classical taste kept him true to his Beaux-Arts training. He also remained true to his status as a gentleman architect. From Villa Vizcaya in 1914 to Harlequin House in 1970, Florida architecture was enriched by Hoffman's work. In his book on the Hoffman family, William Hoffman concludes his brother's entry in the volume by telling of his architectural triumphs and his unusual talent for painting in water colors, though perhaps for the consummate social architect, Burrall Hoffman found the final comment more to his liking: "As a soldier he never failed in his duty, and as a sportsman he never turned from a fence." Hoffman died on Jupiter Island at the age of ninety-eight in 1980.[40]

38. Green, "Island Homes," *Island Through the Years*, 82. During a tour of the house for the Founder's Circle of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, February 26, 1994, Dillon pointed out how the new wall paper panels had faded much more rapidly than the original six panels; Hunter, interviews with author, 1986-87; Hanks Research Report, CCA. The Dillon house is on Beach Road.

39. Hoffman's last known work, at age ninety-seven, consisted of planned alterations of a Georgetown house at 3018 Dumbarton Avenue. N.W. for himself and Dolly. In 1973 they had sold their Paris residence and divided the year between Washington and Jupiter Island. Mary McDougall, "Style of a Lifetime: Mrs. F. Burrall Hoffman's distinguished house in Georgetown," *House and Garden* 159 (March 1987), 178-83, 206.

40. Hoffman, *Eleven Generations of Hoffmans*, 37-38; *Palm Beach Post*, November 30, 1980; *Miami Herald*, December 1, 1980.

Florida's Flying Minute Men: The Civil Air Patrol, 1941-1943

by THOMAS REILLY

As the United States teetered on the brink of war, many worried that the country was woefully unprepared to defend its own shores. Several prominent Americans developed the idea of a civilian defense force to patrol the offshore waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and the Gulf of Mexico. A committee headed by Gill Robb Wilson, National Aeronautic Association president and aviation editor for the New York *Herald Tribune,* presented a Civil Air Patrol (CAP) plan to Fiorello H. LaGuardia, director of the United States Civilian Defense, mayor of New York City, and World War I flyer. Unlike many of his civilian and military counterparts, LaGuardia took seriously the threat of German submarines, once telling a *New York Times* reporter that "[w]e've got to hustle and provide our forces with everything they need so they can end the menace as soon as possible."[1]

From the earliest stages of planning, lower-ranking officers of the army air forces had given only half-hearted support to the role of the Civil Air Patrol. The navy was even less supportive. On March 4, 1942, representatives of the Tanker Committee of the Petroleum War Council suggested the navy authorize the use of Civil Air Patrol aircraft to patrol sea-lanes. Major General Carl Spaatz of the army air forces was warm to the idea; Admiral Ernest J. Ring, the Atlantic Fleet commander, was not. In fact, Rear Admiral Donald B. Duncan, assistant chief of staff, claimed CAP was "a scheme promoted by the builder[s] of pleasure aircraft" interested in selling more airplanes. Rear Admiral Richard S. Edwards, deputy chief of staff for operations, believed the Civil Air Patrol would "serve no useful purpose except to give merchant ships the illusion that an

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Thomas Reilly is an aviation consultant with over twenty-five years experience in the airline industry. He is the author of *Jannus, An American Flier* (Gainesville, 1997).

1. Ladislas Farago, *The Tenth Fleet* (New York, 1962), 13.

adequate air patrol is being maintained" and that "lost amateur flyers will require the use of anti-sub vessels to look for them."[2]

The navy's opposition to the Civil Air Patrol stemmed from inter-branch conflict dating back to 1921 when Colonel William F. Mitchell embarrassed the navy by proving that airpower was more than capable of destroying armor-plated sea-going warships. Furthermore, as Ladislas Farago pointed out in *The Tenth Fleet,* "[s]ince the U-boat was, for all practical purposes, an integral part of the war at sea, the Navy took it for granted that overall jurisdiction should be vested in it."[3] Finally, the army air forces and the navy had far different approaches to the German submarine threat. According to Farago, Admiral Ernest Ring and the navy "had a preventive approach to the problem, concentrating on the protection of convoys and leaving offensive action to escort vessels, mostly when the U-boats mounted their attacks. The Air Force thought this approach far too defensive, if not defeatist. It advocated an offensive approach to seek out and attack the U-boats wherever they were and destroy them before they could attack."[4]

Bringing the CAP to life was not an easy task. *The Sportsman Pilot* opined that "[o]fficial indifferences and the good old Army game prevented anything concrete from happening. . . ."[5] Fortunately, General Henry H. Arnold did not share that view and appointed a board to study the proposal. Headed by Brigadier General George E. Stratemeyer, the board was comprised of Colonel Harry H. Blee, Major Lucius P. Ordway Jr., and Major Alexis B. McMullen, the former director of Florida's state aviation department. The board unanimously embraced the idea of the CAP. The farsighted General Arnold undoubtedly deserves much of the credit for the Civil Air Patrol. *U.S. Air Services* reported that "many officers of the Army and Navy were inclined to look askance at these civilian airmen in their put-puts and wanted to ground them for the duration."[6]

The prototype for the Civil Air Patrol was the New Jersey Civil Air Defense Services, an organization that had been developed by Gill Robb Wilson. It used New Jersey's civil aviation fleet for "liaison

2. Michael Gannon, *Operation Drumbeat* (New York, 1990), 355-56.
3. Farago, *The Tenth Fleet,* 102.
4. Ibid., 103.
5. *The Sportsman Pilot,* January 15, 1942, 22.
6. *U.S. Air Services,* March 1943, 18.

work and for patrolling uninhabited stretches of coastline as well as [for] enhancing security measures for protecting vital installations such as dams, aqueducts and pipelines."[7] In the late 1930s and early 1940s other states developed their own civil air defense systems, as did the Airplane Owners and Pilots Association.[8]

The 1st Air Squadron, Florida Defense Force officially came into being on May 28, 1941, when Brigadier General Vivien Collins mustered the outfit at Morrison Field in West Palm Beach. According to General Collins, the mission of the outfit was to "be the first unit called in case of trouble anywhere– to transport riot equipment from the State Arsenal at St. Augustine to any point in the state where the local infantry company may need it." In August, Florida's lawmakers passed legislation making provisions for "the use of volunteers for home defense during the entire period the Florida National Guard is on active Army duty."[9] Wright "Ike" Vermilya Jr. was appointed head of the 1st Air Squadron, Florida Defense Force on May 28, 1941, and by November, the group claimed at least a dozen airplanes, twenty-six officers, and forty-one enlisted men.[10] The State Defense Council was chaired by Governor Spessard L. Holland; George L. Burr Jr. was appointed executive director, and Brigadier General Collins, adjutant general of Florida, served as the overall commander, Vermilya reported to General Collins, and Collins reported to Governor Holland.[11]

During a recruiting trip to Miami in November, Vermilya signed up fifty-five pilots with fifty-four airplanes. A recently organized Miami squadron boasted men and women from the ten surrounding counties. Vermilya claimed "the squadron would not be used for combat, but would work as observers for transportation and communications in case of emergency."[12]

Captain Vermilya had been working on Florida's civil air defense organization long before it had been formally recognized. Vermilya was the perfect man for the job; he was an experienced aviator, a longtime fixed base operator, and a former member of the Arkansas National Guard. Equally important, he had the re-

7. Frank A. Burnham, *Hero Next Door* (Fallbrook, Calif., 1977), 23.
8. *Miami Herald,* November 9, 1941.
9. *The Sportsman Pilot,* August 15, 1941, 12.
10. *Miami Herald,* November 5, 1941.
11. *Palm Beach Times,* November 23, 1941.
12. *Miami Herald,* November 6, 1941.

Brigadier General Vivien Collins addresses members of the 1st Air Squadron, Florida Defense Force on May 28, 1941. *Photograph courtesy of Thomas Reilly, Safety Harbor, Florida.*

spect of most civilian fliers in Florida and was nearly as well known as the governor.[13]

13. *Palm Beach Times,* November 23, 1941.

Florida's civilian air force was originally organized on a ninety-day basis. When it proved successful, the operation was extended. Strictly a volunteer organization, three-year enlistments were required. The men were not paid for their service unless their squadron was called to active duty. The state of Florida provided uniforms and weapons. Training was similar in scope to that received by the men of the National Guard. Each week the enlisted men drilled in military procedures. All flight officers and many enlisted men also received radio instruction.[14]

All officers were sworn in as first lieutenants, except for Wright Vermilya and the squadron's medical officer, who were commissioned as captains. Requirements for enlistment were few: all officers had to be licensed pilots or have at least a year of prior military service. The initial organization called for twenty-six commissioned officers, twenty-one noncommissioned officers, and twenty privates. The fleet of aircraft included Stinsons, Cubs, Voyagers, Cessnas, Fairchilds, Aeroncas, Grumman Widgeons, and two Grumman G-21 amphibians capable of speeds of two hundred miles an hour. The nose of each airplane bore the legend "1st Air Squadron, Florida Defense Force."[15]

After the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, many American publications made a concerted effort to remain neutral. Others did not and called for preparedness. *The Sportsman Pilot* recommended a civilian air force to augment the army. "There is a list of services that can be performed by non-scheduled pilots and aircraft during all phases of a national emergency-from the less serious to the most critical," the editors wrote. "These services can be most effective when organized, probably along military or semi-military lines. Such a set-up will automatically make the participating non-scheduled planes and pilots recognized officially as essential to the welfare of the nation and will thus guarantee better than anything yet proposed the preservation of the fundamental structure of our great non-scheduled aviation activity for the nation's service now and of course, in the post-emergency period, when expansion will exceed even the fondest dreams-provided the goose that lays the golden egg is protected now."[16]

14. *Palm Beach Times,* November 23, 1941.
15. *Palm Beach Post,* November 23, 1941.
16. *The Sportsman Pilot,* November 15, 1941, 5.

The Civil Air Patrol began operations on December 1, 1941, only a few days prior to the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Only one month earlier, off the coast of Iceland, a German U-boat had picked off the American destroyer *Reuben James.* The Nazis had been patrolling the sea lanes of the Atlantic with near impunity. Merchant marine vessels were easy pickings. U.S. Navy ships did not present much more of a challenge; the two-thousand-ton *Reuben James* had been armed with four four-inch guns, anti-aircraft batteries, depth charge racks, and torpedo tubes. Ninety-nine men were lost. Germany immediately claimed responsibility for the sinking. A German official reported that "the Germans were fully within their rights, and responsibility lies on Roosevelt's shoulders."[17]

The Germans had prepared for America's entry into the war long before December 1941. Their submarines had secretly patrolled thousands of miles from Canada south along the East Coast, throughout the Gulf of Mexico, and along the Gulf coast. They were well prepared to wreak havoc on domestic and foreign civil shipping as well as on military ocean-going vessels. Florida, with its hundreds of miles of coastline, was especially vulnerable. When war struck, the American navy was as unprepared to defend its shores as its air forces had been at the start of the First World War. As Frank A. Burnham has noted, the meager force protecting American shipping included "a handful of antiquated subchasers, five old Eagle boats, three ocean-going yachts pressed into military service, less than a dozen Coast Guard vessels, four blimps and an occasional airplane."[18]

Between January and December 1942, forty-three allied tankers were lost on the U.S. eastern seaboard; nine of these were sunk off Florida. Many people called for blackouts and argued that the bright lights of Florida's coastal cities made perfect backdrops for the captains of the German submarines. It was their belief that Allied ships were silhouetted against the city lights.

The call for blackouts was not, however, unanimous. For the most part, east coast Florida resort owners, civil defense authorities, and mayors argued against them. They believed that blackouts and dimouts were not necessary and would prove hazardous to the economy and lead to an increase in crime. The latter group was

17. *Miami Herald,* November 1, 1941.
18. Burnham, *Hero Next Door,* 24-25.

probably correct in their opposition to blackouts. Historian Clay Blair points out that "[o]nly rarely were moon, weather, and tactical conditions such that distant shorelines were advantageous to the very few German U-boats operating in Florida waters."[19]

Without a doubt, the German submarines had to be checked. Had the German U-boats not been contained, the American war effort would have been greatly compromised. Oil supplies would have been diminished, valuable civilian and military ships destroyed, and American lives lost. The negative psychological implications of German submarines attacking with near-impunity would have been devastating. Fortunately, Admiral Ernest King came around and authorized the use of armed small aircraft flown by Civil Air Patrol pilots over the heaviest offshore Atlantic sea-lanes.[20]

Within days after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, the Civil Aeronautics Administration temporarily suspended the licenses of all private pilots. Each flyer was required to furnish proof of United States citizenship by presenting either a birth certificate or third-class radio license. Once verified, licenses were countersigned and returned to flyers.[21]

Private flyers were strongly encouraged to join either the military or the Civil Air Patrol if they had any hope of flying during the duration of the war. There were obvious concerns regarding gasoline rationing; perhaps more important were security issues. The sheer number of military training flights being undertaken endangered civilian flyers. Armed military planes ensured that no unauthorized flights were made over secret or sensitive areas. Reed Landis, Aviation Aide to LaGuardia, said, "If you are making an unauthorized flight over some restricted area, don't worry about having your license revoked, or that you may be fined or jailed . . . you may be shot down."[22]

LaGuardia appointed Major General John F. Curry of the army air forces the first national commander of the Civil Air Patrol.[23] Gill Robb Wilson was named executive director, reporting to General Curry. The aviation planning staff of the Civil Air Patrol included several prominent Floridians such as A. B. McMullen and Harry

19. Clay Blair, *Hitler's U-bout War* (New York, 1996), 500.
20. Gannon, *Operation Drumbeat,* 179.
21. *Palm Beach Post,* January 12, 1942.
22. *U.S. Air Service,* February 1942, 34.
23. *Aviation Magazine,* January 1942, 146.

Playford of St. Petersburg. The objective of the CAP was to guard thousands of miles of coastline and protect essential shipping from the German submarines that menaced the entire length of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.[24]

A Civil Air Patrol wing was organized in each state.[25] On December 10, 1941, Fiorello LaGuardia announced that Wright Vermilya, already in charge of Florida's civil air defense, was to be the CAP wing commander for the state.[26] The state's 1st Air Squadron was easily melded into a CAP unit. Vermilya and his group had been planning for just such an occurrence for many months. Cecil Z. Cornelius of West Palm Beach, John L. Gresham of Daytona Beach, Peter J. Sones of Haines City, Laurie Yonge of Jacksonville, and Arthur Corry of Quincy served as trusted advisors to Vermilya and assisted him in developing staff arrangements. Staff officers under the wing commander included adjutant and officers in charge of personnel and medical, intelligence and public relations, training and operations, equipment and supplies, transportation, and communications. By early January 1942, Vermilya had organized his Florida wing into seven operational groups, each with a commander and staff.[27]

The CAP was set up on a regional basis to be aligned with the nine army air forces areas within the United States. The bureaucracy which controlled the coastal patrol units was frequently cumbersome. While technically under the direction of the army, the commanders of coastal patrol units actually received their orders from the navy's Eastern Sea Frontier headquartered in New York City.[28]

Those eligible to serve in the CAP included "any citizen pilot of good character, certified by the CAA in the grade of Private pilot or higher grade [and] any citizen of good character, holding a government certificate for any skill or experience related to aviation, such as aircraft and engine mechanic, control tower operator, radio telephone operator. . . ." Persons interested in CAP auxiliary duty could "volunteer for clerical work, driving of cars or ambulances, watchman, first-aid instruction or kindred service"; and

24. *Palm Beach Post,* January 12, 1942.
25. *Civil Air Patrol Handbook* (Dallas, 1942).
26. *Palm Beach Post,* December 11, 1941.
27. Ibid., January 4, 1942.
28. *US. Air Services,* March 1943, 18.

those eligible for CAP apprentice duty included any like citizen "who will undertake mechanic, airport supervision, control tower or other instruction under the training program of the CAP" The minimum age for service was sixteen. No one under eighteen was accepted for flight duty. Women were encouraged to apply and made up a large segment of the Civil Air Patrol.[29]

While women were not necessarily treated as equals, once they proved their mettle, they were generally accepted. Initially, women were not allowed to fly; that later changed. From the very beginning, Major General Curry attempted to make the female volunteers welcome. "There must be no doubt in the minds of our gallant fliers that they are needed and, in my opinion, indispensable to the full success of the CAP," Curry declared. "A great part of the program made in organizing civilian aviation under the Civil Air Patrol has been due to the volunteer help given by female fliers-members of the Ninety-Niners and the Women Flyers of America."[30] Florida's own Jacqueline Cochran, future commander of the WASPS, was a member of the CAP Enlistment of a woman of Cochran's stature went a long way toward giving female aviators credibility.[31] By June of 1943, the Civil Air Patrol claimed a membership of 75,000; ten percent were women.[32]

At the outset of the war, CAP received over one thousand applications. Demand for enlistment in the Civil Air Patrol was so heavy that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the national CAP headquarters could not handle the flood of paperwork. *Aviation Magazine* advised those pilots interested in joining CAP to "get an application blank from a CAA office, a state aviation officer, or an airplane dealer, now or soon. File a fingerprint card with it, and send a 1½ inch by 1½ inch photo. Then, don't telephone Washington, and don't write to the government. And don't come to Washington; there are no rooms to be had."[33]

By the end of the first year of Civil Air Patrol operations there were over 65,000 CAP volunteers at more than one thousand air-

29. United States Office of Civilian Defense, *Civil Air Patrol Organization, Purpose, Program, Enlistment* (Washington, D. C., n.d.), 6.
30. Quoted in Robert E. Neprud. *Flying Minute Men, The Story of Civil Air Patrol* (New York, 1948), 17.
31. Ibid.
32. Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume I, The Battle of the Atlantic, September 1939-May 1943* (Boston, 1947), 278.
33. *Aviation Magazine,* January 1942, 146.

ports throughout the United States. Major General Earle E. Johnson wrote: "The most spectacular work is on the Coastal Patrol which began to operate early in the year when the Axis was taking heavy toll of American tankers and merchant vessels on the vital supply routes along our shores."[34]

In many respects, the flying operations of the Civil Air Patrol were every bit as important, and often as confidential, as those of the army air forces. On March 6, 1942, the Office of Civilian Defense advised aviation writers that "in covering operations of the Civil Air Patrol, all members of the press [must] observe the same rules in protecting military secrecy as are applied to stories about Army and Navy operations."[35]

Three bases were originally charted for Operation– Atlantic City, New Jersey; Rehoboth, Delaware; and West Palm Beach, Florida. The sites of the first three Civil Air Patrol bases had been chosen for good reason: they were located near deep water and major ocean-going shipping lanes. Thus, they were prime locations for German submarines preying on defenseless merchant marine vessels. It had become open warfare on ships. In May 1942 alone, the *S. S. Eclipse, S. S. DeLisle, S. S. Amazone, S. S. Java Arrow,* and *S. S. Halsey* had all been sunk within two days by German torpedoes. The bases at Atlantic City and Rehoboth were scheduled to open first. If they proved successful, the base at West Palm Beach would be activated. An $18,000 grant covered the ninety-day trial for the three bases. Funds were extremely tight. CAP volunteers received no salary and were responsible for their own expenses. When on army-ordered missions, members received eight dollars per day. Eventually owners of aircraft received "a moderate rental, varying with horsepower. . . paid for planes per hour per flight."[36]

West Palm Beach, Base Number 3 at Morrison Field became operational on March 30, 1942. The army quickly took over the airfield, filling the runways and parking ramps with sleek fighter planes and heavy bombers.[37] When traffic from army aircraft proved to be too heavy, Major Vermilya moved his operation to

34. Ibid., December 1942, 251.
35. Kendall K. Hoyt to all aviation writers, March 6, 1942, Civil Air Patrol folder 1, Smithsonian Institution National Air and Space Museum, Washington, D.C.
36, "The Civil Air Patrol Patriotic Service of Great Value," speech of Honorable Hatton W. Sumners of Texas in the House of Representatives, January 28, 1943, p. 5, Civil Air Patrol folder 1.
37. *Palm Beach Post,* March 18, 1942.

nearby Lantana. The Lantana facilities were crude. Eight portable canvas hangars, each capable of housing one airplane, were erected. Maintenance work was performed outside.[38]

The CAP fleet consisted of privately owned single-engine Fairchild, Stinson, Beechcraft, Waco, and Grumman Widgeon aircraft. The equipment was old and frequently seemed incapable of flight. Henry McLemore, a newspaper columnist, told of a flight with CAP pilots:

> The two CAP captains brought me down in a ship that looked as if it were on lend-lease from the Smithsonian Institution. I would not be at all surprised, in fact, if its motor wasn't stolen from Eli Whitney's cotton gin. Yet this crate, this fugitive from a salvage drive, is the pride of the coastal patrol base from which they operate.
>
> We took off from a military base and the kids there couldn't help but laugh as we taxied to the line between rows of modern dive-bombers and pursuit planes. The airspeed indicator showed 80 miles per hour as we were airborne and 210 when we cleared a pine thicket so closely that I could have robbed a sparrow's nest had I chosen to. Captain Mosely was at the controls and Captain Keil at the repairs. Keil tied some mysterious strings together, put on some earphones that didn't work, and manually held a ventilator closed. It was the only plane I was ever in that underwent repairs while taxiing to take off.[39]

In March 1942, the government worked out a deal that allowed owners of aircraft used in CAP missions to buy liability and property damage insurance. Underwritten by several companies, a $100,000 policy carried a six-month premium of less than $15. The policy had several exclusions and did not cover "any liability in respect of bodily injuries or in respect of damage to or destruction of property resulting from or arising consequences of: the act of any enemy of the United States; the approved aircraft or its occupants being shot at or bombed by any persons whatsoever; or the partici-

38. C. Y. Nanney Jr., *The History of the CAP Coastal Patrol Base No. 5* (Daytona Beach, 1943), 16.
39. Quoted in Neprud, *Flying Minute Men*, 17.

pation of the approved aircraft or its occupants in actual hostilities."[40]

Any available civilian airplane was pressed into service. At first the single-engined aircraft carried no bombs or guns. Eventually the planes were outfitted with jury-rigged three-hundred and twenty-five-pound depth charges or two one-hundred-pound demolition bombs. CAP eventually developed a bomb rack that could "carry two demolition and two smoke bombs (for marking sub locations) operated by a lever on the floor. The bombsight, hung outside the window[,] was effective up to 3,000 feet and is made of materials worth only 20¢."[41]

A Floridian by desire, not birth, Zack Mosley and his brainchild, the cartoon strip *Smilin' Jack,* undoubtedly did a great deal to publicize the Civil Air Patrol. Mosley, himself a member of the CAP at West Palm Beach, flew during the day and drew his strip at night. The commanding officer at the Lantana Field permitted him to construct a small studio on top of one of the hangars.[42] Mosley, who eventually became the third wing commander from Florida, was seldom far from the action.

In fact, Zack Mosley claimed that Ike Vermilya was responsible for the arming of the small CAP airplanes. Mosley recalled that after two West Palm Beach pilots had located a German submarine sitting on a sandbar in the Atlantic near Cape Canaveral in 1942, they radioed their finding to Vermilya, who promptly made phone calls to the bases at Tampa and the Banana River Naval Air Station for an airplane equipped with bombs. No luck. By the time a depth-charge-equipped bomber was located at the Jacksonville Naval Air Station and flown south, the tide had come in and the submarine had escaped. Vermilya telephoned General Arnold with his disappointing report. Arnold ordered Vermilya to "start gettin' those little Civil Air Patrol planes armed with bombs, even if you have to throw th' damned bombs outa' th' WINDOWS!"[43]

Cruising only a few hundred feet above the water, the pilots flew as far as fifty to sixty miles offshore. Dawn to dusk, the CAP pilots patrolled the shipping lanes searching for German subma-

40. Aero Insurance Underwriters, Associated Underwriters, United States Aviation Underwriters Insurance for Civil Air Patrol Public Liability and Property Damage Advertisement, March 1942, Civil Air Patrol folder 1.
41. *Time,* January 25, 1943, 19.
42. Zack T. Mosley, *Brave Coward Zack* (St. Petersburg, 1976), 50.
43. Ibid., 55.

rines. The German U-boat commanders referred to the CAP airplanes as "yellow bugs."[44]

Conditions were difficult and accidents were not uncommon. Single-engine airplanes were pushed to their limits; maintenance procedures were in large part undertaken by civilian volunteers with rudimentary training. Men and women lost their lives– ninety aircraft went down with twenty-six fatalities and seven serious injuries.[45] Fortunately many of the pilots did survive. One such episode is reflected in the story of Pilot Wiley R. Reynolds and his observer, Lieutenant R. J. Cohn, members of Base Number 3, who encountered difficulty on July 11, 1943, while on a routine mission over the Atlantic Ocean near Lantana:

> [The] [e]ngine started missing and losing power at about 1500 ft. Dropped a couple of smoke flares to get wind direction. Saw small craft below and circled near. Occupants of craft signaled us to drop our 100 lb. demolition bomb safe. As I got closer to the water I pulled on full flaps, shut off ignition and hauled back on controls. Ocean was calm. Plane nosed over, then settled back to float about 8 minutes before sinking in 150 ft. of water. Landing craft picked us up in about 5 minutes. My observer, who did not know how to swim, kept cool, inflated his one man raft and held on to plane wing and raft. I opened door on left side and swam around to my observer. All this time my cousin, Harry Bassett and Alex Thomson was circling in a companion plane calling base but could not be heard at Lantana due to local thunderstorms. We arrived in Fort Pierce about an hour later.[46]

Following their rescue, Reynolds and Cohn were inducted into the "Duck Club." Founded by Colonel L. A. "Jack" Vilas, the Duck Club honored those CAP pilots involved in crashes. A red duck sitting upon the water, floating on a series of blue wavy lines, superimposed on the blue Civil Air Patrol disc became the insignia awarded to those fortunate enough to survive water crashes. A total of 112

44. Neprud, *Flying Minute Men,* 46.
45. Civil Air Patrol, Civil Air Patrol Operations Report, September 3, 1943, Civil Air Patrol folder 1.
46. Wiley R. Reynolds to Lester E. Hopper, 1943, Civil Air Patrol folder 1.

CAP members received the Duck Club award, the majority represented by pilots and observers serving at Florida bases.[47]

Julius L. Gresham of Daytona Beach volunteered for duty in the CAP only days before Pearl Harbor. Well qualified for service, he had attended Horner Military Academy in Charlotte, North Carolina. A Marine Corps veteran, Gresham had served in Santo Domingo for eighteen months. Owner of a successful automobile dealership in Daytona Beach, Gresham possessed an important asset: an airplane. Like many Floridians, Gresham had served with Wright Vermilya at West Palm Beach as a member of the 1st Air Squadron, Florida Defense Force.[48]

On May 1, 1942, Major General Earle Johnson, Colonel Harry H. Blee, and Major General George Noland inspected the West Palm Beach operation. Pleased with what they saw, they concluded that Florida needed more bases. On May 12, Gresham received orders to activate a base at Daytona Beach. He was not given much time. Vermilya wanted the Daytona Beach operation up and running by May 18.[49]

Almost immediately, Gresham and Lawrence W. Grabe headed to Daytona Beach. They were forced to start from scratch. Daytona Beach Municipal Airport offered paved runways but little else. There were no suitable buildings or radio equipment. The fleet included a Stinson 105 owned by Gresham, Grabe's Luscombe, and an Aeronca Chief owned by the Daytona Beach Aero Club. There was no funding for the operation. Men and women came from all over Florida and throughout the United States to serve in the Daytona Beach CAP. North Carolina, Ohio, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Tennessee, Kansas, Maine, New York, Kentucky, and Connecticut were well represented.[50]

Personal funds of members of the CAP were pooled and the city of Daytona Beach agreed to a loan. Several dilapidated buildings left over from a Works Progress Administration project were carefully torn down, then reassembled near the sole airport hangar. Civil Air Patrol volunteers erected a headquarters, as well as radio, maintenance, weather, and engineering shops. Their meager

47. Colonel Lester E. Hopper, Civil Air Patrol Historical Monograph Number One, *An In-Depth Study of Civil Air Patrol's Duck Club Membership* (Washington, D. C., 1984), 10.
48. Nanney, *The History of the CAP Coastal Patrol Base No. 5*, 11.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 25-27.

funds went toward the acquisition of telephones, radios, and furniture. Tents were erected on the flight line and equipped with cots for the use of pilots between flights.[51]

The local chapter of the Red Cross directed by Helen Meeker and Lucille Prettyman offered its assistance to Gresham. Red Cross workers quickly set up a canteen that sold sandwiches, coffee, and cigarettes. The canteen opened at 4:30 a.m. and remained open until late in the night.[52]

In a period of only one week, Gresham pulled together his executive and operations staffs. Robert Boynton, operator of a flying service at the Daytona Beach Airport, became operations officer; Clarence Simpson was his assistant. Larry Grabe, whose civilian experience was in the dry cleaning business, became the intelligence officer. Larry Schmarje became the engineering officer; John Ragland, manager of the Daytona Airport, was named the airdrome officer; and Areal C. Sage, an employee of the Florida Bank and Trust, served as head of administration.[53]

As the men filtered in, the base's fleet of airplanes grew. Albert M. Crabtree flew in with his Ranger Fairchild. Ben Handler owned a Waco C-6, Isaac Beatty a Warner Fairchild, H. D. Clinton a Culver Cadet, A. W. Stone a Monocoupe, June Horner a Ranger Fairchild, and Erskine Boyce a Waco.[54]

May 19, the target date for the base's first mission, came and went. Crews were determined for a mission to be flown on May 20. At noon, Julius Gresham scribbled the day's mission on the mission board. Albert Crabtree and David Booher, serving as pilot and observer respectively, were scheduled to fly Crabtree's Fairchild on the base's first mission at 1:30 p.m. Gresham had determined that each flight would be assigned a fruit as its code name. Lime was to be the code name of Crabtree's first flight. Crabtree remarked that he hoped "the flight wouldn't be as sour as the fruit it represented."[55] Harry Clinton as pilot and Ed Walton as observer were scheduled for a mission at 1:34 p.m.; Bill Tyree and Bill Chastain would take off at 1:40 p.m.; and Ben Handler and Shelburne Carter were scheduled for a 3:00 p.m. mission to Melbourne.[56]

51. Ibid., 11.
52. Ibid., 12.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., 25-27.
55. Ibid., 9.
56. Ibid., 12-13.

Larry Grabe, Julius Gresham, Bob Boynton, and Clarence Simpson briefed the pilots and observers. Following their briefing, the pilots inspected their airplanes. At exactly 1:30 p.m., with little fanfare, Crabtree's Ranger Fairchild lifted off the runway of the Daytona Beach airport and Civil Air Patrol Coastal Patrol Base Number 5 was in business.[57]

From that point on, the base became responsible for almost uninterrupted anti-submarine patrols. German submarine, or "pigboat," activity was especially heavy off Daytona Beach. Commander Gresham's pilots did everything in their power to keep a two-hundred-mile area of the coast clear. The base's pilots patrolled the area from Jacksonville to Melbourne. Gresham recalled, "We were in the most sub-infested territory to be found anywhere."[58] Each day, Gresham's pilots flew more than sixty-five hours of patrol missions. Regular routes included a dawn mission to Melbourne, and 1:00 p.m. and 3:00 p.m. patrols of the Jacksonville and Melbourne sectors. Each day the army and navy made special requests.[59]

Ultimately a total of thirty-nine airplanes were assigned to the base. Accidents were a routine part of daily life. Three aircraft were lost at sea, four were damaged in major ground accidents, and another three were damaged in minor ground accidents.[60]

At a few minutes after 2:00 p.m. on October 28, 1942, while on a routine patrol a few miles off the coast and northeast of St. Augustine, the engine of Albert Crabtree's Ranger Fairchild died, forcing Crabtree to make an in-the-water crash landing. Neither Crabtree nor Lieutenant Francis McLaughlin, his observer, were injured. After floating in the rough waters of the Atlantic Ocean for nearly two hours, they were picked up by the Coast Guard.[61]

Less than a month later, another of the base's pilots was forced to crash land at sea. On November 22, while on a patrol fifteen miles east of Daytona Beach, the engine of Lieutenant Lew Rhodes' aircraft suddenly cut out. After crashing, the airplane (owned by Gresham) floated for eight minutes then sank. Rhodes and Lieutenant Gates Clay floated helplessly in the Atlantic Ocean

57. Ibid., 13.
58. Neprud, *Flying Minute Men,* 36.
59. Nanney, *The History of the CAP Coastal Patrol Base No. 5,* 17.
60. Ibid., 25-27.
61. Ibid., 28.

for an hour and a half until they were rescued by a navy PBY patrol bomber.[62]

A second airplane owned by Albert Crabtree was lost at sea on February 2, 1943. Lieutenants Wesley C. Wallace and Robert Wimp had flown Crabtree's Stinson Voyager nine miles northeast of Matanzas. Suddenly they experienced engine failure and were forced to ditch in the ocean. Forty minutes after their crash, they were rescued by a passing freighter. The freighter later rendezvoused with a navy crash boat and the two CAP officers were returned to Flagler Beach.[63]

On October 1, 1942, Gresham was ordered to move his base to Flagler Beach. Within three weeks, the changeover had been effected, and operations began on October 28. The new base was a major improvement over the Daytona Beach facility. It sported a six-plane hangar, a pilot's lounge, and offices for operations, intelligence, administration, the officer of the day, and the commanding officer. A radio shack complete with a pair of transmitters sat atop the administration building.[64]

Most of the data on Florida's Civil Air Patrol activities during this period was considered restricted military information. Unfortunately, details of the day-to-day missions and patrols and encounters with the German "pigboats" are not available. What is known, however, is that from May 19, 1942, through August 31, 1943, 127 men and women served at CAP Coastal Patrol Base Number 5. They suffered no fatalities, and CAP pilots flew in excess of 17,000 hours of operational missions equalling approximately 1.7 million air miles.[65]

In July 1942, Pete Sones was named full-time base commander at the Civil Air Patrol's Coastal Patrol Station Number 13. Activated on July 9, 1942, the base commenced its operation at Tampa's Peter O. Knight Airport. Its initial mission was to perform search and rescue missions for the aircraft flying from the numerous bases in the Tampa Bay area. Pilots from Base 13 took part in frequent simulated bombing attacks designed to teach citizens how to react in the event of German air raids. On one such mission, a fleet of thirty-five Civil Air Patrol airplanes attacked Tampa. The small

62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., 16.
65. Ibid., 18.

Peter J. Sones of Haines City, Florida, served as commander of the CAP's Coastal Patrol Station Number 13 at Sarasota. Sones received the Exceptional Civilian Service Medal for his service. *Photograph courtesy of Thomas Reilly, Safety Harbor, Florida.*

planes bearing the emblem of a red three-bladed propeller with a white triangle on a blue disc dropped several thousand flour-filled paper bombs.[66]

When German submarines began their movement into the Gulf of Mexico, several CAP bases were already established at Gulf coast cities, including Panama City and Sarasota.[67] When its mission was revised to that of coastal watch, the base at Tampa was relo-

66. Lynn M. Homan and Thomas Reilly, *Pete Sones: Racing the Wind* (St. Petersburg, 1996), 46.
67. Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations* in *World War II, Volume I,* 279.

cated to Sarasota and headquartered at the municipal airport. Men and women from Orlando comprised the majority of Sones' command. Its first patrol operation was August 7, 1942. Command meant more than giving orders and pushing paper; Sones flew as often as possible. In a period of one year, he flew thirty missions totaling 125 hours using a Stinson Voyager, Stinson Reliant, and a Fairchild.[68]

While Sones was on active duty in Sarasota, his wife was doing her part for the war effort back in Haines City. As a member of the local civil defense observation team, Eleanor Sones spent many hours on the roof of the Hotel Polk scanning the skies for enemy aircraft.[69]

Pete Sones left the CAP in October 1943 with the rank of major. The average loss per CAP base during the war was one and one-half men. Under Major Sones' command, Base Number 13 had no serious casualties and no fatalities in approximately eleven thousand flight hours. Twenty-four men under Sones' command received air medals for meritorious achievement.[70]

Obviously not everyone applying for enlistment in the CAP was experienced, and a training program was required. The training curriculum for CAP cadets was intense. The nearly one-inch-thick training manual offered sections on enemy aircraft identification, physical fitness, communications, principles of flight, meteorology, ground work, and navigation. Cadets wore regulation army uniforms with special CAP insignia which included shoulder and cap emblems and an oblong pocket patch.[71]

Florida's CAP squadrons performed the mundane tasks along with the exciting and dangerous. While military and civilian personnel searched for scrap iron, the Pensacola squadron located a steel bridge on an abandoned logging road in Florida's panhandle. In the middle of a cold snap in northern Florida in February 1943, twelve CAP airplanes continually flew over eight thousand acres of cultivated farmland to keep the air circulating so that a frost would not form.[72]

68. Peter J. Sones, personal flight log, in the possession of Peter J. Sones Jr., Atlanta, Georgia.
69. Peter J. Sones Jr. to author, August 1996.
70. Colonel Lester E. Hopper, Civil Air Patrol Historical Monograph Number Two, *A Study of Air Medals Awarded to Civil Air Patrol Members,* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 22.
71. *Civil Air Patrol Handbook* (Dallas, 1942).
72. Neprud, *Flying Minute Men,* 32.

The target-towing operation conducted by the CAP was one of the most dangerous duties performed in the war. Several Floridians including Captain Clifton K. Hyatt Jr. of North Miami lost their lives during target towing. An army air forces press release described the operations: "Special reels were installed by the Army in a number of the CAP planes for the unwinding of the cable on which the sleeve targets were towed."[73] The operations were conducted by two aircraft, one CAP, one army air forces. The intrepid CAP pilots towed targets while army pilots honed their gunnery skills by firing .50 calibre machine guns and 40 mm antiaircraft guns at the targets dragged behind the small one-engine CAP airplanes. The CAP ground crews enlivened the practices by painting caricatures of Hitler and Tojo on the targets.[74]

In November 1945, five Floridians received the Exceptional Civilian Service Medal, the highest armed forces award given to civilians for wartime service, for their Civil Air Patrol duty. General Earle L. Johnson, national commander of the CAP, presented the award to Colonel Wright Vermilya, Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd J. Fales of Coconut Grove, Lieutenant Colonel Julius L. Gresham, Major Earnest Dwyer of Hialeah, and Major Peter J. Sones. All five had been commanders of the Civil Air Patrol's coastal patrol units. General Johnson commended each man "[f]or exceptionally meritorious achievement and for repeatedly exhibiting marked courage in the face of danger while performing regular wartime flying missions. By devoting his efforts loyally and patriotically under difficult conditions in time of national need to the leadership, training and supervision of civilian volunteers engaged in the performance of such wartime missions, he rendered a service to the United States deserving high recognition."[75]

73. Civil Air Patrol, Headquarters 32d Army Air Forces Base Unit, Press Release, June 22, 1945, Civil Air Patrol folder 1.
74. Ibid.
75. *Palm Beach Post,* November 18, 1947. During the war, Vermilya was wing commander and had commanded Patrol Number 3 at Lantana, Florida; Fales was commander of Coastal Patrol Base Number 7 at Miami and later performed tow target duty at San Jose, California. Gresham had been commander of Coastal Patrol Base Number 5 at Flagler Beach, Florida, from May 1942 to December 1943, Tow Target Unit Number 5 at Falmouth, Mississippi, from December 1943 to May 1944, and Tow Target Unit Number 22 at Clinton, Maryland, from May 1944 to July 1945. Dwyer had been commander of Coastal Patrol Base Number 14 at Panama City, while Pete Sones served as commander of Coastal Patrol Base Number 13 at Sarasota from July 1942 to October 1943.

Official recognition of the contributions of those in CAP was long delayed. Executive Order Number 9158, dated May 11, 1942, established an Air Medal for use by all branches of the United States military. The Air Medal was awarded for actions in combat or non-combat to individuals "who have distinguished themselves by meritorious achievement while participating in aerial flight."[76] It was not until 1948, five years following their service, that members of the Civil Air Patrol received the Air Medal. Out of eight hundred and twenty-four air medals issued, Florida base members received more than their fair share with two hundred and five medals.[77]

"The Civil Air Patrol was a crazy idea to begin with. It obviously couldn't work. You can't expect men to volunteer to go through fire and brimstone without pay or glory."[78] This opening paragraph in a story that appeared in *Colliers' Magazine* in April 1943 was obviously wrong. American men and women had volunteered in droves, lost their lives, and made little money as a result. The Civil Air Patrol made sense from a purely statistical standpoint. In 1941, the civil aviation force in the United States was "25,000 light aircraft, 128,000 certified pilots, and over 14,000 aircraft mechanics."[79]

The Civil Air Patrol was made an auxiliary unit of the army air forces on April 29, 1943.[80] At the time of changeover of the CAP to the War Department, Robert A. Lovett, assistant secretary of war for air, told the press, "It is our intention to continue to make use of CAP in every field where the expense in men, money, and materials is justified as part of the over all war effort, including in that objective the importance of increasing the flying experience of a large number of civilians and stimulating and developing interest in aviation among all our citizens, particularly the younger men."[81]

In August 1943, the CAP coastal patrol mission was discontinued; there were now twenty-one coastal patrol bases. Henry "Hap" Arnold, general of the army air forces, said the CAP "[s]et up and went into operation almost overnight. It patrolled our shores– performed the anti-submarine work– at a time of almost desperate national crisis. If it had done nothing beyond that, the Civil Air Patrol

76. Hopper, *A Study of Air Medals Awarded to Civil Air Patrol Members,* 1-2.
77. Ibid., 2.
78. *Colliers' Magazine,* April 24, 1943, 8.
79. Civil Air Patrol, pamphlet, "Introduction to Civil Air Patrol," 1976, p. 2, in author's possession.
80. Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World* War *II, Volume I,* 278.
81. *Aviation Magazine,* June 1943, 93.

would have earned an honorable place in the history of American Airpower."[82] General Arnold had not overstated the meaningful contribution. During World War II, the Civil Air Patrol was credited with flying nearly twenty-four million air miles, sinking two German submarines, several probable sinkings in fifty-seven other attacks, and saving innumerable downed airmen.

82. Civil Air Patrol, Headquarters 32nd Army Air Forces Base Unit, "Civil Air Patrol History, Organization, and Purpose," January 21, 1948, 1, Civil Air Patrol folder 1.

Claude Pepper, Strom Thurmond, and the 1948 Presidential Election in Florida

by JULIAN M. PLEASANTS

IN his book, *The Loneliest Campaign,* Irwin Ross called Harry S. Truman's victory in the presidential election of 1948 "the most astonishing political upset in modern times."[1] Truman achieved this victory despite a three-way split in the Democratic Party. Strom Thurmond, governor of South Carolina and presidential candidate for the States' Rights Democratic Party, and Henry Wallace, former secretary of agriculture and vice president, and nominee of the Progressive Party, both denounced Truman and opposed his election,

Truman counted on the votes of the traditionally Democratic South, but with Thurmond in the race, the South became a key battleground. The States' Rights candidate seemed certain to take the Deep South states of Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Alabama, so Florida was pivotal in the plans of both men. Some observers thought that with the Democratic Party in disarray, the Republicans might carry the state. Ultimately, despite the importuning of Republican nominee Thomas E. Dewey and Dixiecrat leader Thurmond, Floridians voted convincingly for Harry Truman.

The presidential election of 1948 dramatically changed state politics. It marked the beginning of the end of one-party rule in Florida and facilitated the ultimate development of a strong conservative Republican Party in the state. In his book on southern politics, political scientist V. O. Key described Florida as a diverse society divided into amorphous factions. State politics, according to Key, was "every man for himself."[2] In 1948 these factions coalesced into liberal and conservative camps over the controversial leadership of President Truman and, most significantly, over the issue of race. Prior to 1948, politics in Florida had been generally nonideological and issue free, based primarily on the candidate's

Julian M. Pleasants is associate professor of history at the University of Florida.

1. Irwin Ross, *The Loneliest Campaign: The Truman Victory of 1948* (New York, 1968), 6.
2. V. O. Key Jr., *Southern Politics in State* and *Nation* (New York, 1949), 82.

personality and geographical affiliation. However, as Governor Millard Caldwell, a reluctant supporter of Truman, noted after the 1948 election, "we saw our own party divided by the political appeal to the minorities."[3] Many Floridians, primarily those in the Panhandle and northern counties, expressed their disapproval of Truman's liberal agenda and civil rights pronouncements by giving 89,530 votes to Strom Thurmond. In a state that had only 51,000 registered Republicans, Dewey garnered 194,780 votes. Thurmond's and Dewey's combined strength (284,227 votes) exceeded Truman's total by 1,899 votes.[4]

Mid-century Florida was unique among southern states. Most Deep South electorates consisted of whites, born and raised in the South, rural and poorly educated, who usually responded to spellbinding oratory and a not very subtle racism. Florida, however, with a climate that attracted northern retirees and military bases, did not fit the traditional southern profile.[5] As of 1940, nearly half of all Floridians had been born elsewhere. The largest number of newcomers came from neighboring states, but many came from Republican areas in the Midwest and East, bringing their politics with them. Thus, Florida's less fixed political traditions and its more diverse, dynamic economic life made it easier for outsiders to hold onto their politics than in other southern states.[6] David Colburn and Richard Scher have argued that the state's large size and geographic, economic, and ethnic diversity nurtured a political localism which led to a statewide factionalism.[7] By 1950, with the exception of north Florida and the Panhandle, 65.5 per cent of Floridians lived in urban areas, which fostered a rural-urban political cleavage and offered Republicans an opportunity for political success.[8]

Florida had voted Republican in the presidential elections of 1876 and 1928, and Thomas Dewey had received 29.7 per cent of

3. Millard Caldwell, speech to the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, St. Petersburg, Florida, November 8, 1948, box 10, Millard Caldwell Papers, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville.
4. R. A. Gray, compiler, *Official Votes-State of Florida, General Election, 1948* (Tallahassee, 1948), 3.
5. Earl Black and Merle Black, *Politics and Society in the South* (Cambridge, 1987), 15-16.
6. Alexander Heard, *A Two-party South?* (Chapel Hill, 1952), 53. Heard found that 48.1 percent of all Floridians had been born outside its borders, more than twice those of any other southern state.
7. David R. Colburn and Richard Scher, *Florida Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Tallahassee, 1980), 23.
8. Lewis M. Killian, *White Southerners* (New York, 1970), 161.

the popular vote in 1944. Nonetheless, the Republicans were scattered about the state and were referred to as "presidential Republicans." This group included those who voted in the Democratic primaries but voted Republican for president and those Democrats who were disgusted with the national Democratic leadership. In Florida the turn-out for Republican primaries was very low since Florida remained a one-party state, and only the Democratic primaries counted. Republicans seldom ran candidates for statewide office. In 1948 the Republicans campaigned hard for Dewey, and he increased his percentage of the vote to 33.6 per cent.[9]

While conservative businessmen and lawyers dominated the state leadership in the 1940s, Florida was represented in the United States Senate by Claude Pepper, the South's most liberal senator. Pepper recognized that the conservatives in Florida tried to defeat him in every election, yet he eagerly clashed with the conservative wing of the Democratic Party during the election of 1948.[10] Pepper initially opposed Truman for the Democratic Party nomination and tried to persuade General Dwight D. Eisenhower to run. When Eisenhower refused, Pepper launched his own quixotic quest for the presidency. After Pepper's abortive attempt failed, he reversed his field and enthusiastically backed Truman.

The South had long been the most cohesive, the largest, and to some degree, the most important region in the country in terms of presidential politics. By 1948, however, that had begun to change. The leaders of the national Democratic Party constructed a platform which favored the interests of important northern constituencies– labor unions, city dwellers, and blacks– over the traditional interests of southern whites. The party assumed it could liberalize its views on civil rights and remain strong in the North without risking its base in the South.[11]

9. In 1948 there were only 22 Republican candidates for 133 seats in the state legislature. Heard, *Two-Party South,* 56, 63, 100, 103, 106, 112, 114, 142-43; *Florida Times-Union,* May 28, 1948.

10. Claude Denson Pepper and Hays Gorey, *Pepper: Eyewitness to History* (New York, 1987), xii-xv.

11. Merle Black and Earl Black, *The Vital South* (Cambridge, 1993), 39, 344. The party's strategy for the 1948 election was shaped largely by Clark Clifford, special counsel to the president, who noted in a famous memorandum that "[t]he South, as always, can be considered safely Democratic." See David McCullough, *Truman* (New York, 1992), 586-87; Cabell Phillips, *The Truman Presidency: The History of a Triumphant Succession* (Baltimore, 1966), 197-99; and Clark Clifford, *Counsel to the President: A Memoir* (New York, 1991), 197-204.

In late 1946, in response to a rash of racial violence in the South and Republican gains in the 1946 elections (due largely to increased support from northern blacks), President Truman made a bold move to promote civil rights. Truman needed black votes in the key industrial states of the North and West to offset the challenge of Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party. To that end, the president appointed a Committee on Civil Rights and condemned discrimination in a speech to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.[12]

In October 1947, the Committee on Civil Rights completed its report, *"To Secure These Rights."* The committee recommended voting rights for minorities, abolition of the poll tax, and, in general, the passage of civil rights laws and an end to segregation. This document unleashed a firestorm of protest, and white southerners inundated the White House with angry letters. A Florida minister warned Truman: "If that report is carried out you won't be elected dogcatcher in 1948."[13]

On February 2, 1948, in an historic civil rights address to Congress, the president called for the creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) and a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, and desegregation of interstate transportation facilities. Special Counsel Clark Clifford admitted that the White House badly underestimated the reaction of the South to Truman's civil rights speech. "[I]t almost cost Truman the 1948 election," Clifford recalled. "The message produced an immediate explosion of anger in the South and set in motion the Dixiecrat revolt."[14]

Southern newspapers and prominent politicians such as Senator Richard Russell of Georgia denounced Truman's message. Russell accused Truman of planning a "gestapo" approach to break down segregation in the South. The potential for revolt in the South at that time, opined Russell, was more serious than any he had seen in his lifetime.[15] A very agitated J. W. Cantrell of Kissim-

12. William C. Berman, *The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration* (Columbus, Ohio, 1970), 41-78.
13. Black and Black, *The Vital South,* 95; U.S. President's Committee on Civil Rights, *"To Secure These Rights": The Report of the U.S. President's Committee on Civil Rights* (Washington, 1947).
14. Clifford, *Counsel to the President,* 197-206.
15. Gilbert Fite, *Richard B. Russell, Jr., Senator from Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1991), 231; Nadine Cohodas, *Strom Thurmond and the Politics of Southern Change* (New York, 1993), 131.

mee wrote to Governor Thurmond to urge him to call a Dixie presidential convention embracing the entire Solid South and to nominate a ticket "which will not sell us out to the NAACP."[16]

At the Southern Governor's Conference in Wakulla Springs, Florida, in early February 1948, several irate governors took advantage of the gathering to expose the imminent dangers of Truman's civil rights program.[17] Fielding Wright, the fiery governor of Mississippi, was already on the warpath; his January inaugural address had urged Mississippi Democrats to withhold their electoral votes from the Democratic Party unless they got some assurances on civil rights. In Wakulla Springs he urged his fellow governors to "mobilize for an all-out fight" and made a motion to call a meeting for March 1 to consider seceding from the Democratic Party. Governor Millard Caldwell of Florida, a former four-term U.S. congressman and a conservative lawyer-businessman who was elected governor in 1944 by attacking his opponent's liberalism, rejected a separatist movement or any action that would lead to the election of a Republican. Caldwell understood that a split in the Democratic Party might enhance the Republicans' chances for victory in November.[18] Despite a marked decline in blatant acts of racial discrimination during the years 1940-45, Florida still had a largely white Democratic primary system and clung to traditional views on segregation.[19] Although not as extreme nor as vocal as Wright, Caldwell adhered to the states' rights doctrine of segregation.

The Wakulla Springs conference rejected Wright's proposal but gave the Truman administration an ultimatum: cease attacks on "white supremacy" or face a full-scale political revolt. The conference then adopted Governor Strom Thurmond's motion to set up a committee to evaluate the impact of the civil rights proposals and to express their strong reservations to Washington. The governors agreed to reconvene in forty days. Before leaving Wakulla Springs, the governors, including Wright, Thurmond, and Cald-

16. J. W. Cantrell to J. Strom Thurmond, February 4, 1948, folder 3191, campaigns series, gubernatorial papers, J. Strom Thurmond Papers, Special Collections, Clemson University Libraries, Clemson, South Carolina.
17. The original purpose of the meeting was to discuss education needs in the South. Ann M. McLaurin, "The Role of the Dixiecrats in the 1948 Election" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1972), 109; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* February 5-6, 1948.
18. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* February 7, 1948; Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 131.
19. Richard Scher, *Politics in the New South: Republicanism, Race and Leadership in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1992), 13-14, 121-22.

well, castigated Truman for his desire to eliminate the poll tax and segregation. Governor Caldwell also demanded the return of the two-thirds rule for nominating the Democratic candidate in the national convention, which historically had given the South a virtual veto of any undesirable candidate.[20]

According to his biographer, Governor Thurmond's proposal "established Thurmond as a new voice for the white South." The South Carolina governor's rhetoric became more vehement with national recognition, and he accused Truman of attacking the traditions of the South in order to get the votes of "small pressure groups." Thurmond believed at this point that the South's 127 electoral votes could give the region enormous bargaining power.[21]

Thurmond's committee met with Senator J. Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, in mid-February and bombarded the senator with questions about the unconstitutionality of the FEPC, anti-lynching laws, and federal infringement on states' rights. McGrath defended the constitutionality of the administration's civil rights program and refused to block any of Truman's proposals or to put a states' rights plank into the Democratic platform. The southerners left the acrimonious meeting in a fighting mood. Vowing to use whatever means necessary to block Truman's program, they assured reporters that the South was no longer "in the bag."[22]

Many Floridians applauded this tough talk. C. H. Pennell assured Thurmond that the governors' belligerent stand appealed to many solid citizens in north Florida.[23] One of the key players in the states' rights campaign, Frank D. Upchurch of St. Augustine, a well-to-do conservative and longtime political foe of Senator Claude Pepper, called for a meeting of the Florida State Democratic Executive Committee to consider joining in the southern revolt against

20. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, February 12 and 13, 1948; Cohodas, *Thurmond*, 132.
21. Cohodas, *Thurmond*, 132-33. Thurmond and the Dixiecrats got this idea from Alabama lawyer and author Charles W. Collins, who called for the South to align with northern and western conservatives. When that did not happen, Collins urged the South to set up its own political party in order to retain its political influence. Charles W. Collins, *Whither Solid South: A Study in Politics and Race Relations* (New Orleans, 1947), 256-63.
22. *New York Times*, February 23 and 24, 1948; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, February 23 and 24, 1948; Cohodas, *Thurmond*, 134-35; McLaurin, "Role of the Dixiecrats," 116-17.
23. C. H. Pennell to J. Strom Thurmond, February 27, 1948, folder 3191, Thurmond Papers.

Truman. Upchurch, who also was treasurer of the conservative Florida Democratic Club, said that no sensible citizen could support Truman's desire to end racial segregation as this would engender hatred and strife, not cooperation.[24]

Senator Pepper, a committed liberal, should have been a strong advocate of Truman's candidacy; however, Pepper withheld his support because he opposed Truman's strong anticommunist foreign policy. He also was wary of Truman's unpopularity with labor and southern Democrats.[25] On February 12 Pepper lead a delegation of Florida officials to see Truman about the upcoming presidential election. Pepper wanted the president's assurance that he would support a liberal party platform and would not kowtow to southern conservatives. Truman told the group that he would wage a fighting campaign and would not back down on his legislative proposals. Convinced of Truman's sincerity, Pepper immediately endorsed him.[26]

Meanwhile the southern governors, representing six states with seventy-two electoral votes, reconvened on March 13 in Washington, D.C., to receive the Thurmond committee's report. The report, with familiar rhetoric, denounced Truman's civil rights program, repudiated the leadership of the Democratic Party, and recommended that southerners fight to the last ditch to stop the nomination of anyone who advocated the violation of state sovereignty. Outraged at the national party's betrayal of rank and file Democrats and the danger to southern customs and institutions, the committee noted that federal interference with the laws of segregation "would do great injury to the very people intended to be benefitted." The committee's report was not unanimously adopted. Governor Preston Lane of Maryland did not vote and took no active part in the meeting. Governor Caldwell did not attend the meeting because he did not want to support a movement that might lead to a split in the Democratic Party. By this time, it was clear that the revolt was rooted primarily in the Deep South states.[27]

24. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* February 24, 1948.
25. Claude Pepper, diary, January 1, 1948, Mildred and Claude Pepper Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee; Pepper and Gorey, *Pepper,* 156.
26. Pepper, diary, February 9, 12, 1948.
27. *Washington Post,* March 14, 1948; McLaurin, "Role of the Dixiecrats," 121-23; Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 137-38.

Before adjourning, the states' rights Democrats called for a preliminary meeting in Jackson, Mississippi, in early May to plan future action. They likewise called for a "pre-convention caucus" of southern delegates to be held two days prior to the Democratic convention on July 12. Should Truman be nominated or the party fail to pass a strong states' rights platform, the group would reconvene in Birmingham to select its own presidential slate.[28]

During April and early May 1948, white Democrats in Mississippi, South Carolina, and Alabama began securing anti-Truman electors and delegates. At the same time, some southerners and national party leaders began to promote the candidacy of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. The anti-Truman sentiment in the South prompted Senator Pepper to second-guess his recent endorsement. T. M. Cook of West Palm Beach wrote the senator that Florida was very much opposed to Truman, and he proposed a ticket of Eisenhower and Pepper.[29] George Brown of Clearwater told Pepper that Truman could not carry Florida against a good Republican.[30] A Kansas Democrat announced that he favored an Eisenhower-Pepper ticket, and Chester Bowles, a liberal Democrat, said Truman had to be "displaced." Tommy Corcoran, an aide to President Franklin Roosevelt and an astute political observer, reported to Pepper that election possibilities for Truman in Florida did not appear favorable.[31] When John Temple Graves, an influential journalist, argued that a southern revolt against Truman now existed, Senator Pepper became convinced that Truman had to go.[32]

Meanwhile, on May 10, fifteen hundred delegates gathered at the Jackson city auditorium for a meeting of states' rights Democrats. The major roads into Jackson were draped with Confederate flags, and signs at the auditorium read: "Welcome States' Rights Democrats." In a keynote address that was an unapologetic call to arms, Strom Thurmond again denounced Truman's "force bills" and repeated his view that the separation of the races was necessary for peace and order. For Thurmond, the die had been cast and "the Rubicon crossed." He asserted that the South would battle to the end to save democracy. Thurmond's speech elicited raucous

28. *Washington Post*, March 14, 1948; McLaurin, "Role of the Dixiecrats," 121-23.
29. T. M. Cook to Pepper, April 17, 1948, Pepper Papers.
30. George L. Brown to Pepper, April 28, 1948, Pepper Papers.
31. Pepper, diary, April 4 and 5, May 6, 1948.
32. *Florida Times-Union*, March 30, 1948.

cheers and wild applause and marked him as the leader of the states' rights Democrats, who by now were known as the Dixiecrats.[33]

After the Jackson meeting, the Dixiecrats, operating under the assumption that Truman would be nominated, began planning a campaign for a candidate of their own choosing. They published an official organ, *The States Righter* but allowed the states to form their own organizations with guidance from a "nerve center" in Little Rock. The Dixiecrat hierarchy encouraged each state to begin the process of selecting delegates and electors pledged to a states' rights candidate.[34]

Governor Millard Caldwell, in agreement with some of the states' righters' views, urged Florida to send a delegation of Democrats to the national convention charged to support a states' rights candidate and a platform that acknowledged the South's ability and right to solve its own problems harmoniously.[35] On April 6, in a radio talk arranged by twenty-one southern senators, Caldwell denounced the "political meddlers" who wanted to establish a Washington gestapo to police the internal affairs of southern states. Caldwell believed that the civil rights legislation was political, not humanitarian, in nature. According to the governor, the Democratic Party selfishly sought the votes of minorities and had unfairly ranted about the supposed discrimination and intolerance in the South. Caldwell indicated that forced federal interference would lead to strife and confusion. The governor concluded by asking Washington "not [to] make our task harder by foisting on us your moralisms and your dogma."[36] Caldwell clearly espoused the views of the Dixiecrats but did not want a public break with the Truman administration.

Caldwell and other conservative political leaders spent large sums of money to elect sympathetic convention delegates. Their efforts paid off: the conservative wing of the party won a majority of

33. Cohodas, *Thurmond*, 143-47; McLaurin, "Role of the Dixiecrats," 128-32.
34. McLaurin, "Role of Dixiecrats," 134-35.
35. Millard Caldwell to Strom Thurmond, March 18, 1948, civil rights folder, Thurmond Papers; Millard Caldwell, typed statement, March 18, 1948, box 10, Caldwell Papers.
36. Millard Caldwell, radio address, April 6, 1948, Miami, Florida, box 10, Caldwell Papers.

Florida's twenty delegates, while Senator Pepper and his more liberal supporters got only six and one-half delegates.[37] Frank Upchurch lead the conservative faction and controlled a clear voting majority originally committed to Governor Fielding Wright.

The state Democratic convention in June revealed a three-way political split. Upchurch and a majority of the Florida delegates, strongly anti-Truman and anti-Pepper, initially pledged to bolt the party should Truman be nominated or a strong civil rights platform adopted. Caldwell opposed Upchurch's desire to leave the party as too drastic. The state convention avoided the issue by eventually agreeing to cooperate with delegates from other states to "rescue the Democratic party from its false leaders."[38]

The newly elected Democratic delegation met prior to the national convention to organize and set an agenda, the first time a Florida delegation had done so. The delegation elected Frank Upchurch chairman without opposition. Upchurch, under pressure from Caldwell and Senator Spessard Holland, now stated that it was unlikely that Florida Democrats would bolt the party: "If we left the party where would we go?" Upchurch pledged to vote Democratic, not Republican, but also vowed to oppose any civil rights plank.[39] Senator Holland later recalled that while sympathizing with the Dixiecrats, he never wanted to bolt the party and tried to keep the Florida Democratic Party intact.[40]

Florida voters also were treated to a crowded and contentious governor's race. The most viable of the nine candidates included Fuller Warren, a handsome, colorful, and dynamic campaigner from rural north Florida; Dan McCarty, a wealthy citrus grower and former Speaker of the House from south Florida; and J. Tom Watson, Florida's attorney general and later an enthusiastic supporter of the Dixiecrats. Warren, with strong financial support and an effective campaign, led the first primary by 22,000 votes over McCarty. Although Warren and Tom Watson were sympathetic to the Dixiecrats, the states' rights issue and race were not significant factors in the election. In the run-off the conservative Warren won the

37. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* May 11, 1948; Pepper, diary, May 14, 1948.
38. *St. Petersburg Times,* June 2 and 3, 1948; *Tampa Tribune,* June 2, 1948.
39. *Tampa Tribune,* June 7 and 8, 1948.
40. Spessard L. Holland, letter to the editor, *Tampa Tribune,* February 15, 1956, box 41-D, Spessard L. Holland Papers, P. K. Yonge Library.

Democratic nomination for governor with 299,641 votes to 276,788 for McCarty.[41]

Meanwhile, the movement to nominate Eisenhower was gaining strength. It became deadly serious when Eleanor Roosevelt announced on March 30, 1948, that she would oppose Truman's nomination and was prepared to back Eisenhower.[42] Ironically the key organization in the dump Truman movement was the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), the leading liberal organization in the country. Just as Truman proposed the most far-reaching civil rights legislation in American history, the ADA, which vigorously opposed his harsh policy against Russia, wanted to replace him with Eisenhower. The Committee to Draft Eisenhower included James and Franklin Roosevelt, sons of the former president, Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, and several other politicians including Claude Pepper.[43]

Several southern conservatives, including Strom Thurmond, joined the Eisenhower pursuit. Governor Thurmond made a private visit to Eisenhower to encourage him to run. Eisenhower politely refused. Liberals and conservatives had joined in this effort because Ike was universally admired and because they thought he could be elected.[44] Southern conservatives and New Dealers both saw the moderate Eisenhower as the answer to the South's political split.

Pepper emerged as the most active liberal Democrat opposed to Truman's nomination. On June 28 he announced that Eisenhower would be the most popular candidate that the Democrats could nominate. The senator did state that if Truman were nominated, he would support him.[45] Pepper, however, felt that it would be suicidal to nominate Truman since his popularity ratings had declined to twenty-six percent. Pepper warned that Governor Thomas Dewey would surely win the election and begin dismantling the New Deal.[46]

41. Colburn and Scher, *Florida Gubernatorial Politics,* 74-75; Charlton Tebeau, *Florida: From Indian Trail to Space Age* (Delray Beach, 1965), 90-91; Millard Caldwell, typed statement, June 8, 1948, box 12, Caldwell Papers.
42. *Florida Times-Union,* March 30, 1948.
43. Clifford, *Counsel to the President,* 196.
44. Ibid., 161; Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 155.
45. *St. Petersburg Times,* June 28, 1948.
46. Pepper, *Eyewitness,* 160.

President Truman, finally realizing the seriousness of the Eisenhower boom, asked the general for a clear "statement of his unavailability." Eisenhower initially refused to respond.[47] His reluctance to withdraw led Mayor Frank Hague of New Jersey to assume Ike would run. Hague then deserted Truman and promised New Jersey's thirty-six votes to Eisenhower. The Georgia and Virginia delegations, also encouraged by Eisenhower's indecision, were instructed for the general. The movement continued to snowball and the votes of Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, and twelve and one-half votes from Florida would almost certainly go to Ike in the Democratic convention.[48]

Eisenhower tried to dash the hopes of his supporters on July 5 when he stated that he would not identify with any political party and would not "accept nomination for any public office."[49] Politicians like Pepper and Jimmy Roosevelt, now out on a limb, would not accept this refusal. They believed that Eisenhower was merely being coy and might not seek partisan political office, but would answer a people's draft. Pepper suggested that the Democratic Party become a "national party" and urged a "nonpartisan draft" of Eisenhower.[50] An intermediary from Pepper to Eisenhower reported that the general had given him "great encouragement" about a possible candidacy.[51] Pepper and Roosevelt's belief that Eisenhower would run if asked was not too far from the truth. According to one of Eisenhower's biographers, the general, despite his dislike of partisan politics and lack of political experience, would have considered a nomination by acclamation as a call to duty and would not have refused to serve.[52]

When Senator Pepper announced that he would put Eisenhower's name before the Democratic convention with or without the general's permission, Eisenhower acted decisively. He sent a telegram to Pepper requesting that Pepper not nominate him as it would be an "acute embarrassment to all concerned." Eisenhower

47. Clifford, *Counsel to the President,* 214.
48. Jules Abels, *Out of the Jaws of Victory* (New York, 1959), 74; Ross, *Loneliest Campaign,* 112-13.
49. *St. Petersburg Times,* July 6, 1948.
50. Pepper, *Eyewitness,* 164; Pepper, diary, July 8, 1948; *New York Times,* July 7, 1948; *St. Petersburg Times,* July 7, 1948; James Roosevelt to Strom Thurmond, July 5, 1948, folder 3221, Thurmond Papers; Abels, *Out of the Jaws,* 75.
51. Pepper, diary, July 9, 1948.
52. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower,* Volume I (New York, 1983), 461-62.

would refuse a nomination "no matter under what terms, conditions, or premises a proposal might be couched." Eisenhower noted that his refusal was "final and complete." This refusal was so definite that Pepper reluctantly gave up his quest.[53]

The *St. Petersburg Times* concluded that Pepper's failure in persuading Eisenhower to run had hurt him politically. If his daring attempt to draft Eisenhower had succeeded, concluded the paper, his prestige would have soared. The conservative element of the Florida delegation to the Democratic convention, led by Frank Upchurch, was as much anti-Pepper as anti-Truman and reveled in Pepper's failure.[54]

At this juncture Senator Pepper unaccountably announced his own candidacy for the presidency, declaring himself the person best able to represent the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Furthermore, he saw himself as a "practical" southern liberal and denounced Truman's civil rights program as a "snare and delusion" that could not succeed in the South. This desperate attempt to soften his image as an extreme liberal failed. Pepper asserted that his candidacy was "no gesture" but a fight he thought he could win. Pepper later claimed that he had the approbation of Jimmy Roosevelt, Jack Kroll, Leon Henderson and other liberal leaders, but in the end, neither the ADA, the CIO PAC, nor Jimmy Roosevelt endorsed Pepper.[55]

Although Pepper announced that he had support from twenty-two states and a total of three to four hundred delegates, his only definite pledges, six and one-half votes, came from loyalists in the Florida delegation. Observers like Irwin Ross called Pepper's three-day campaign for the presidency "a comic turn" while Jules Abels thought Pepper had descended from the sublime to the ridiculous.[56] The *St. Petersburg Times* accused Pepper of possessing "delusions of grandeur" and maintained that he was committing political suicide.[57] Governor Millard Caldwell and Senator Spessard Holland also thought Pepper's candidacy ill-fated since Pepper

53. Dwight D. Eisenhower to Claude Pepper, July 9, 1948, Pepper Papers; Pepper, *Eyewitness,* 162-64; Pepper, diary, July 9, 1948; *New York Times,* July 10, 1948; *St. Petersburg Times,* July 10, 1948.
54. *St. Petersburg Times,* July 10, 1948.
55. *New York Times,* July 10, 11, 1948; Pepper, diary, July 10, 1948; Pepper, *Eyewitness,* 165-66; Ross, *Loneliest Campaign,* 114-15.
56. Ross, *Loneliest Campaign,* 115; Abels, *Out of the Jaws,* 80.
57. *St. Petersburg Times,* July 12, 1948.

could not even get the majority support of his own delegation. Caldwell and Holland, who desired unity in the delegation, knew Pepper's announcement would increase the gap between the conservative bloc led by Frank Upchurch, who despised Pepper, and Pepper's pro-Eisenhower group of six and one-half delegates. The Florida Democratic Club, led by Upchurch and Charles E. Shepperd, a member of the Florida House of Representatives, trashed Pepper as "a promoter of the radical left-wing of the party" and pointed out that he had been remarkably silent on the southern states' rights protests.[58]

Pepper kept up a brave front and combed other delegations for uncommitted votes. His hope that the South might turn to him because he was a southerner was naive and misguided. Finally, a red-faced Pepper quit a race in which he never had any real support. Pepper admitted in the end that he had failed to unite the party, and it was better to quit than make a bad matter worse.[59] Arthur Krock, writing in the *New York Times,* noted that the Pepper faction was limited to a few henchmen from Florida. The so-called "liberal revolution," concluded Krock, not only failed to defeat Truman, but won the president some measure of respect.[60] In his memoirs, Pepper remembered his candidacy as exciting and important even though "it was destined to come to naught." Pepper believed he had more delegates than anyone except Truman, but did not win because Truman had the power of incumbency. Perhaps responding to his critics, Pepper admitted that his brief flirtation with the presidency was "impractical, but not entirely fanciful."[61] Surely Pepper was the only person who saw his ill-fated attempt at the nomination as anything other than fanciful.

Although the Florida delegation had agreed not to bolt, they made it clear that they would not waver in their commitment to states' rights.[62] In fact, Upchurch attended a southern states caucus of anti-civil rights, anti-Truman delegates while Caldwell reiterated

58. Florida Democratic Club, press release, July 1, 1948, folder 3350, Thurmond Papers; George A. Smathers, interviews by Donald A. Ritchie, August 1 to October 24, 1989, Washington, D.C., transcript, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, University of Florida, Gainesville.
59. *St. Petersburg Times,* July 11-14; *New York Times,* July 11 and 12, 1948; Spessard L. Holland to the editor, *Tampa Tribune,* February 15, 1956, box 41-D, Holland Papers.
60. *New York Times,* July 12 and 14, 1948.
61. Pepper, *Eyewitness,* 166-68.
62. *St. Petersburg Times,* July 14, 1948; New *York Times,* July 14, 1948.

his stand for states' rights and joined the floor fight against the civil rights plank.[63] The governor reminded listeners that despite his strong feelings: "I cannot walk out of the convention and I cannot bolt from the party in December."[64] Charles Shepperd, a member of the platform committee, also vigorously opposed the civil rights plan and announced that he would support Fielding Wright for president.[65]

The race issue came to a head when the Democratic convention adopted a civil rights platform that was far stronger than that desired by the Truman administration. A majority of the convention delegates approved the platform after acrimonious debate despite the fact that some southerners had announced that "failure to reaffirm the constitutional rights of the states was essential to Southern confidence in and support of the party." Florida cast all of its twenty votes against the plank.[66]

When the conference reconvened that evening, Handy Ellis, chairman of the Alabama delegation, rose to address the convention, He stated that Alabama's presidential electors had been instructed never to vote for a Republican, Harry Truman, or for any candidate with a civil rights program. Ellis shouted: "We bid you good-bye," and one-half of the Alabama delegation and the entire Mississippi delegation walked out of the convention. The remaining southern delegates did not leave, but were glum and dispirited.[67] Senator Pepper looked on the exodus with sadness. "We are witnessing the complete break-up of the Democratic party, just as I predicted. This might be Charleston, South Carolina in 1860."[68] The remaining southerners caucused and then rallied behind the nomination of Senator Richard Russell of Georgia. Someone raised the rebel flag, a few delegates let loose with rebel yells, and the band struck up a noisy rendition of "Dixie." Governor Thurmond seconded Russell's nomination.[69]

63. *St. Petersburg Times,* July 10, 1948.
64. Ibid., July 14, 1948.
65. Ibid., July 10, 1948.
66. *New York Times,* July 15, 1948; Black and Black, *The* Vital *South,* 97; Clifford, *Counsel to the President,* 217-20.
67. Black and Black, *The Vital South,* 98.
68. *St. Petersburg* Times, July 15, 1948.
69. *New York Times,* July 15, 1948; *St. Petersburg Times,* July 15, 1948; Ross, *Loneliest Campaign,* 127-28; Fite, *Russell,* 238-40.

When the convention completed the roll call for president, Truman had collected 947½ votes and Russell had garnered 263 votes, all of which came from southern delegates. Florida cast nineteen and one-half votes for Russell and one-half vote for Paul V. McNutt (nominated by Byrd Sims of Florida), former federal security administrator. Governor Caldwell voted for Russell, but announced that he was still a Democrat. Spessard Holland, who had cheered the rebels when they left the convention, did not comment on Truman's nomination, but pledged to work for the election of Democratic senators in November. The nineteen and one-half Florida votes were obviously a protest against Truman's renomination, but the vote finally united the delegation as the Pepper group likewise voted for Russell. By backing Russell, Senator Pepper was clearly trying his best to reconcile with the Upchurch group after his abortive fling at the presidential nomination.[70]

The southern rebels, faced with a loss of control over racial issues, now called for a states' rights convention in Birmingham, Alabama, on July 17. Frank Upchurch and six other Florida delegates planned to attend, while Governor Caldwell and Senator Pepper announced they would support President Truman and the Democratic ticket. The *St. Petersburg Times* thought Truman a long shot but endorsed him anyway. Eventually seven members of the conservative group in the Florida delegation, including Upchurch and Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Ramsey of Jacksonville, attended the Birmingham convention.[71]

On July 16 unofficial, self-appointed delegates and interested spectators poured into Birmingham to discuss their plans for protecting southern values and institutions. Florida had a delegation of between fifteen and twenty-five among the 6,000 guests. Senators James O. Eastland and John Stennis of Mississippi were the only national politicians who attended. Conspicuously absent was Senator Richard Russell, who refused to attend or to allow his name to be placed in nomination for president. Russell did not want to weaken the Democratic Party as he thought a split would only help the Republicans and would reduce southern influence in the Senate. Russell preferred to remain in Washington, retain his

70. *St. Petersburg Times,* July 14 and 15, 1948.
71. Ibid., July 15 and 16, 1948; *Miami Herald,* July 15, 1948.

party credentials, and work to change Democratic policies on civil rights.[72]

Governor Thurmond did not plan to attend the conference and returned home to South Carolina after the national convention. On the eve of the conference he received a call from the states' righters asking him to consider running for president. Thurmond expressed reluctance about accepting the nomination because if the Republicans won due to the Democratic split, it might be the end of Thurmond's political career. On the other hand, nomination by a states' rights party would give him a chance to stand up for the principles he believed in and would also give him national exposure. Thurmond thought there was an outside possibility that the Dixiecrats could get enough electoral votes to deny the nomination to the major candidates and force the election into the House of Representatives, where the South could dictate the terms.[73]

On July 17 the boisterous conference adopted a "declaration of principles" and "recommended" Governor Strom Thurmond for president and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi for vice president. Declaring themselves the true Democratic Party, the States' Rights Democrats pledged their support for segregation and racial integrity. Several speakers attacked Truman and his civil rights program as a "threat to make Southerners into a mongrel, inferior race by forced intermingling with Negroes."[74]

Thurmond's acceptance speech was a rabble-rousing diatribe against Truman, who had "stabbed" the South in the back. Thurmond promised to wage a fighting campaign on the issue of states' rights and told the cheering crowd that "there's not enough federal troops in the army to force the southern people to break down segregation and admit the Negro race into our theaters, into our swimming pools, into our homes and into our churches."[75]

The reaction to the States' Rights convention was instantaneous and harsh. The *New York Times* concluded that the "revolt" did not possess much political or moral logic, but that it might elect Dewey.[76] Jonathan Daniels, editor of the News and Observer in

72. *New York Times,* July 16-18, 1948; Fite, *Russell,* 241; Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 174-75.
73. Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 175-76.
74. *New York Times,* July 18, 1948; McLaurin, "Role of the Dixiecrats," 172-85; Heard, *Two Party* South, 20-21.
75. *New York Times,* July 18 and 19, 1948; Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 177.
76. *New York Times,* July 19, 1948.

Raleigh, North Carolina, wrote that the movement would lead to the destruction of the Democratic Party.[77] Senator Holland, along with many other southern politicians, announced that he was "completely out of accord" with the Democratic platform, but considered the Birmingham conference "unwise" and would not support the Dixiecrats.[78]

A fairly significant core of Florida Democrats, however, favored Thurmond. Attorney General J. Tom Watson called on Florida states' rights Democrats to organize support for Thurmond and asked for a statewide convention. Watson, a Tampa lawyer and judge, had been elected attorney general in 1940. He had earlier denounced Truman's civil rights program by declaring that the president "was stirring up political animosity in hopes he might survive the next election." Watson formally withdrew from the Democratic Party on September 12, announced he was an independent, and stated that he planned to work hard for a two-party system in Florida. Watson told the press that he left the Democratic Party because the national convention "abused and insulted southern democracy." When the States' Rights Party died out, Watson switched to the Republican Party and ran for governor as the Republican nominee in 1954.[79]

The *St. Petersburg Times* denounced Watson for beating the bushes for the Dixiecrats. Florida voters were not very enthusiastic about Truman, explained the paper, but responsible leaders had no intention of following "a hare-brained movement out of Birmingham" that appealed to racial bigots and the lunatic far right fringe and that would result in Dewey's election.[80] Thurmond tried to explain to the national press that he was fighting for the principle of states' rights, not white supremacy, but this argument was specious.[81] Thurmond and his followers were fighting to preserve segregation and white supremacy by appealing to the fears of the voters. The constitutional issue of states' rights, while a significant factor, took second place to racism.

77. *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 18, 1948.
78. *St. Petersburg Times*, July 18, 1948.
79. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, September 12, 1948. Colburn and Scher, *Florida's Gubernatorial Politics*, 303; Allen Morris, compiler, *The Florida Handbook, 1959-60* (Tallahassee, 1959), 207.
80. *St. Petersburg Times*, July 20 and 21, 1948.
81. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, July 20, 1948.

The Dixiecrat strategy was to persuade the Democratic Parties in the South to accept their candidates as the official party nominees. Where this was not possible, they would appear on the ballot under the designation of the States' Rights Democratic Party. By late August Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina had chosen presidential electors pledged to Thurmond. In these four states, Thurmond and Wright were listed as the nominees of the Democratic Party. In all states save Alabama, Truman's name eventually was added to the ballot, although not as the nominee of the Democratic Party.[82]

Thurmond and Fielding journeyed to Houston on August 11 to formally accepted the nomination of the four states.[83] The Dixiecrats then launched an effort to get on the ballot in all forty-eight states. This attempt was hampered by the late start, complex election rules, and a lack of funds.[84] The frequently disorganized Dixiecrats did manage to set up an executive committee to coordinate the campaign. Governor Ben Laney of Arkansas served as chair while both Frank Upchurch and Charles Shepperd of Florida were influential committee members.[85]

Thurmond began his campaign for president in late July and concentrated his activity in the South. He preferred the personal style of campaigning and tended to speak to small groups on the courthouse steps in small towns. Lacking the support of a strong organization, Thurmond had to rely on the efforts of local citizens. He stood almost alone in his quest; only Senator James Eastland and a few former governors actually came out and worked for Thurmond publicly.[86]

The governor's speeches rarely changed. He provided a little local color, denounced Truman and civil rights, and reaffirmed his faith in states' rights. In his first speech, Thurmond, with harsh rhetoric, warned of the dangers of segregation and predicted civil strife, chaos, and lawlessness. He called the intermingling of the races "impractical and impossible." He did not discuss taxes or foreign policy or what he would do for agriculture or business. His one-note campaign, described by one paper as a "field filibuster,"

82. Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 181-82.
83. Abels, *Out of the Jaws,* 217; Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 181-82.
84. McLaurin, "Role of the Dixiecrats," 215.
85. Ibid., 213-14.
86. Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 183-87; Abels, *Out of the Jaws,* 219.

never varied. Thurmond, appealing to southerners' emotions and fears, soon realized that he did not have to use inflammatory language or the word "nigger" to convey his message. Everyone knew that Thurmond was the symbol of the white South, so he began to talk about the sympathy that white southerners of good will had toward the Negro. He concluded that the Negro had progressed farther than any race in history.[87]

While Thurmond organized his national campaign, the presidential race in Florida began to heat up. On August 2, Alex D. Littlefield, Volusia County Sheriff and chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, stressed that absolute loyalty to the Democratic Party was essential for victory. Littlefield said that there was only one candidate for president, Harry Truman, and all Democrats "will support Truman and his program."[88] Littlefield's statement incensed conservative Democrats who immediately replied to his call for unity. Frank Upchurch declared that Truman could not carry Florida. If Florida citizens cast their votes for Truman, continued Upchurch, they would surrender their principles to "Northern Communists, radicals, and left-wingers" and would end up submitting to the FEPC and anti-segregation laws. Upchurch warned Floridians that Truman had repudiated the principles of states' rights and had set up a police state in Washington to get the Negro and radical vote.[89]

Littlefield, Senator Pepper, and others tried to ignore Upchurch and journeyed to Washington, D.C., to elicit Senator McGrath's help in planning Truman's campaign in Florida.[90] Upchurch continued his tirade unabated. He announced that the Truman administration was under the control of "sinister men" who planned to seize control of the government and had raised the race issue to "create confusion and hatred." On the other hand, he declared Thurmond and Wright men of character and ability who could save the South's traditions.[91]

As the national campaign got underway the battle lines were clearly drawn in Florida. Upchurch, Shepperd, and other conservative Democrats, outraged that Thurmond was not on the state bal-

87. Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 183-87; Abels, *Out of the Jaws,* 219.
88. Alex D. Littlefield, news release, August 2 and 3, 1948, Pepper Papers; *Florida Times-Union,* August 3, 1948.
89. *Florida Times-Union,* August 6, 1948.
90. Ibid., August 10, 1948.
91. Ibid., August 12, 1948.

lot, protested Florida's election laws. The issue heated up after four Democratic presidential electors announced that they would vote for Strom Thurmond regardless of the outcome of the election.[92]

On September 3, *Miami Herald* newspaper publisher Reuben Clein filed a civil suit to disqualify the four Democratic electors who planned to violate their oath to the Democratic Party and cast their ballots for Thurmond. Clein argued that the four votes for Thurmond would, in effect, cancel Florida's electoral vote. Circuit Court Judge Miles W. Lewis heard the case and ruled that the oath did not bind the electors. In accordance with the constitutional principles establishing presidential electors, Lewis judged that they were free to vote for whomever they pleased.[93]

Recognizing a serious problem, the state named a joint legislative committee to consider changes in the Florida election laws. The special twenty-one member committee met on September 8 in Tallahassee to consider the legal and political ramifications of possible changes. Under 1948 Florida law, the election ballots carried only the names of the electors of the Democratic and Republican Parties and did not carry the names of the presidential candidates themselves. The law required new political parties to persuade five percent of the voters to change affiliation before the new parties would be put on the ballot. Henry Wallace's Progressive Party, which also wanted to get on the ballot, had fewer than three thousand members and did not qualify.[94]

The legislative committee, under severe pressure from the states' righters, gave general approval to a proposal that would list Truman, Dewey, and Thurmond on the ballot, but the committee defeated a motion to include Wallace. Opponents argued that to put Wallace on the ballot would publicize a party which had communistic leanings. Some of those favoring the motion said that it would be discriminatory to accept one third party and not the other. The approved proposal mandated that the presidential candidates be listed without party designation. The committee also agreed that the eight current electors would be divided by preference (four for Truman and four for Thurmond) and four addi-

92. *Gainesville Sun,* September 5, 1948; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* September 8, 1948.
93. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* September 3 and 7, 1948.
94. Ibid., September 8, 1948.

tional electors, chosen by States' Rights and Democratic Party leaders, would fill out each slate of eight.[95]

The *Daily Democrat,* in an editorial, judged that the loud dissatisfaction with the nomination of Truman was the only reason for amending the state's election laws. The anti-Truman forces, argued the paper, wanted to change the laws for the sole purpose of getting Thurmond's electors on the ballot. To be fair, said the *Democrat,* Wallace's name should also be included so as to avoid any charges of discrimination. The paper decried the fact that Democratic electors could vote for Thurmond when Truman was the choice of the Democratic Party and the electors were the choice of the Democratic voters. If too many loyal voters violated their pledge to the party, determined the *Democrat,* then the party would be split in two. Finally, the newspaper concluded that Thurmond could not win the presidency, and if Florida voters cast their ballots for Thurmond as a protest vote against Truman, Dewey would win.[96]

On September 9 Governor Caldwell called for the tenth special session of the Florida legislature in sixty-three years for the sole purpose of "considering the enactment of laws relating to the general election." In effect, the legislature would vote on the recommendations of the special legislative committee.[97] The state legislature approved (with only minor changes) the bill recommended by the special legislative committee by a vote of 33-1 in the Senate and 72-14 in the House. Under great pressure to be fair, the legislature then put Wallace's name on the ballot. The Democratic Party and the State'Rights Party provided the legislature with the names of eight electors for each slate. Frank Upchurch was listed as one of the newly chosen electors for the States'Rights Party.[98] The following day Governor Caldwell signed the bill into law.

Under pressure from Dixiecrat supporters, the legislature had amended the statutes, allowing nominees from any party to file without formality. Several Florida legislators were friendly to Strom Thurmond, and the changes in the election laws were a major concession to a group of insistent conservatives. With all four candidates now listed on the ballot, the vote could not be split, and all

95. Ibid., September 9, 1948.
96. Ibid., September 12, 1948.
97. Ibid., September 10, 1948.
98. Ibid., September 16, 1948.

eight electoral votes would go to whichever candidate carried the state.[99]

Claude Pepper thought that Truman would have a "tough fight" to carry Florida, but he planned to spend August and September in Florida campaigning for the national ticket.[100] Pepper, however, got very little support from state Democratic Party leaders. Initially, Governor Caldwell neither opposed Truman nor worked for Thurmond. He supported the state ticket and on September 21 announced that he would vote for all the Democratic nominees, but would not actively campaign for Truman.[101] Caldwell, however, soon realized that Truman might carry the state, and he did not want to break with the administration. Shortly thereafter, in Louisville, Kentucky, the Florida governor made a radio speech for the national party denouncing the "do-nothing" 1946 Republican Congress. He advocated the election of the Democratic ticket and touted Truman as "a leader whose calm, courageous judgment may be depended on." Caldwell did not mention civil rights or states' rights.[102] Ultimately, although Caldwell favored the states' righters, political considerations led him reluctantly to vote for Truman.

Fuller Warren, Democratic gubernatorial nominee, thought there was no hope for Truman either in Florida or the country. Warren did not want to take any political heat from the Dixiecrat faction and refused to mention Truman's name in his campaign. Warren tried to separate the national and state tickets, surely the wisest political strategy in 1948.[103]

Pepper did not become discouraged by Floridians' lack of enthusiasm for the national ticket. He went to DeFuniak Springs, Appalachicola, and other small communities to round up support for Truman. Encouraged by the support he found, Pepper predicted in August that the president would carry the state.[104] Other Democrats agreed. J. Lindsay Almond, the colorful attorney general of

99. *Gainesville Sun*, September 12-14, 1948; McLaurin, "Role of the Dixiecrats," 245; Daniel A. Mazmanian, *Third Parties in Presidential Elections* (Washington, D.C., 1974), 95; Heard, *Two-Party South*, 140.
100. Pepper, diary, August 11, 15, 1948.
101. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, September 21, 1948.
102. Democratic Party Broadcast, October 2, 1948, Louisville, Kentucky, box 10, Caldwell Papers.
103. Pepper, diary, August 19, 1948.
104. Ibid., August 19, 20, 22, 23, 1948.

Virginia, advised Democrats to "stay in the house of their fathers even though there are bats in the belfry, rats in the pantry, a cockroach waltz in the kitchen, and skunks in the parlor."[105]

Thurmond continued to pound away on the issue of race. He appealed to many parents by telling them that they had the right to send their children to schools with "proper" [white] teachers and "proper" classmates. No government authority, declaimed Thurmond, had the right to tell parents to which schools to send their kids or with whom they should play.[106]

On July 27, 1948, President Truman further angered Thurmond by issuing Executive Order 9981, which integrated the armed forces of the United States. His advisors had urged Truman to wait until after the election as it would hurt his chances for victory. Truman, in a courageous move, refused to do so because he believed segregation in the armed forces undermined American values. Nineteen of the twenty-two southern senators condemned the executive order.[107] Thurmond opposed the integration of the armed forces because the decision would undermine morale and threaten the safety of the country.[108]

The Dixiecrats' denunciations of the Democratic Party appealed to some Floridians. Former member of the State Democratic Executive Committee J. L. Lee rejected blind allegiance to the Democratic Party since it had gone against the South's best interests. Lee expressed delight that, after years of complaining about what they did not like, the South had finally done something.[109] C. D. Smith also pledged his support to Thurmond. "We are fixing to have a rally for you in Madison (Florida) and we are going to do all we can to keep Truman from getting a single vote."[110] The *Gainesville Sun* charged the Democrats with rejecting states' rights for causes such as the FEPC, which invaded the domain of individual states. The South should stick by the States' Righters, counseled the paper, so that it would become the balance

105. Abels, *Out of the Jaws,* 220.
106. J. Strom Thurmond, speech, August 26, 1948, States' Rights file, Thurmond Papers.
107. Clifford, *Counsel to the President,* 208-11.
108. J. Strom Thurmond, speech, September 23, 1948, civil rights file, Thurmond Papers.
109. J. L. Lee to James Peters, September 23, 1948, civil rights file, Thurmond Papers.
110. C. D. Smith to J. Strom Thurmond, September 30, 1948, civil rights file, Thurmond Papers.

States' Rights Democratic Party presidential candidate J. Strom Thurmond, governor of South Carolina, addresses the citizens of Gainesville in October 1948. *Photograph courtesy of J. Strom Thurmond Papers, Special Collections, Clemson University Libraries, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina.*

of power in the nation. At the very least, the *Sun* believed, Thurmond would "shatter the smugness of the Democratic party leaders" that caused them to ignore and trample on the South.[111] Encouraged by the support from Florida, Thurmond attended a Labor Day rally in Wildwood where, in a speech broadcast over fifteen radio stations, he referred to "that asinine Civil Rights Program" as the wedge which would open the door to tyranny.[112]

Many Florida Democrats rallied to President Truman's banner. T. A. Price wrote Senator Pepper that he thought the progressive Democrats in the state had resigned themselves to defeat and had allowed a handful of dissidents like Frank Upchurch and Tom Watson to speak for the party. Price worried that if the progressives remained silent, Dewey would be elected president.[113] Pepper spoke out for Truman in Gainesville and reiterated the point that a vote

111. *Gainesville Sun,* September 26, 1948.
112. C. L. Starnes to J. Strom Thurmond, August 26, 1948, civil rights file, Thurmond Papers; *Gainesville Sun,* September 6, 1948.
113. T. A. Price to Claude Pepper, 1948?, Pepper Papers.

for Thurmond would mean the election of Dewey and would put big business back in power in Washington. He added that Truman's civil rights platform had been distorted. The president's goals were merely to preserve constitutional rights, not integrate society.[114]

Except for a speech in Boston on October 30, Thurmond mined the South for votes. He had high hopes for Florida and returned for a four-day swing in October. A *St. Petersburg Times* poll of 150 Democratic leaders in the state dashed Thurmond's hopes when it showed Truman with seventy-nine percent approval from the party hierarchy while Thurmond had only twenty-one percent.[115] Thurmond ignored the poll and began his tour of the state with a visit to Gainesville where he addressed an enthusiastic crowd of supporters. Thurmond blasted Truman, Dewey, and Wallace for "bartering away peoples' rights to get a few racial bloc votes." The *Gainesville Sun,* in an editorial, praised Thurmond for speaking his convictions and not pulling his punches. The *Sun* liked Thurmond and his platform and concluded that the Dixiecrat candidate was not the self-seeking politician depicted by his enemies.[116]

The next day in Jacksonville, Thurmond greeted an enthusiastic and large crowd in Hemming Park and asked them to choose between tyranny and constitutional freedom.[117] He next stopped at Palm Beach. Speaking before an audience of three thousand, Thurmond called Henry Wallace the "stooge" and Truman the "mouthpiece" of radical groups, while Dewey was the "puppet prince." The governor predicted he would win one hundred electoral votes in the South and would throw the election into the House of Representatives.[118] One listener thought Thurmond made a "splendid impression" in Palm Beach with "his logic and hard-hitting sincerity."[119]

Thurmond moved on to Miami to be feted at a reception attended by five hundred people. He stated that he favored racial

114. *Gainesville Sun,* September 29, 1948.
115. Ibid., October 11, 1948.
116. Ibid., October 17, 1948.
117. E. H. Ramsey to Merritt H. Gibson, October 18, 1948, civil rights file, Thurmond Papers; *Gainesville Sun,* October 17, 1948.
118. *Palm Beach Post,* October 18 and 19, 1948.
119. Margaret C. Wilson to J. Strom Thurmond, October 21, 1948, civil rights file, Thurmond Papers.

Florida governor Millard Caldwell accompanies President Harry S. Truman to the American Legion National Convention held in Miami in October 1948. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

separation, but did not hate Negroes and did not want to force his views on anyone else.[120] At this point Thurmond withdrew from public view as President Truman arrived in Miami to give a "non-political" address to the national American Legion Convention. The city declared a holiday, and a crowd estimated at 250,000 lined the streets to welcome the president. Governor Caldwell greeted Truman, his wife, and daughter, Margaret, and escorted them to the convention attended by seven thousand Legionnaires.[121]

Governor Earl Warren of California, the Republican vice-presidential nominee, also spoke to the convention. Governor Dewey, however, refused to campaign in the South in order to avoid the race issue. In early September Dewey had stated that he intended to make a determined bid for southern support and hoped to establish a true two-party system in the South; Dewey's "determined

120. *Miami Herald,* October 18, 1948.
121. Ibid., October 19, 1948.

bid" for southern support turned out to be mostly rhetorical and did not include a visit to Florida.[122] *Miami Herald* columnist Jay Hayden wrote that Dewey's decision not to campaign in the South upset southern Republicans. Hayden thought that if Dewey came to Florida and gave a speech favoring states' rights, he might carry the state.[123]

Other secondary candidates appeared in Florida. Thurmond's running mate, Governor Fielding Wright, spoke at a rally in Marianna on October 13. Wright warned that the FEPC was "hatched in the brains of Communists" and that the anti-lynching laws, directed solely against the South, ignored race riots in New York in which Negroes had been killed.[124] Glen Taylor of Idaho, vice-presidential nominee of the Progressive Party, had a difficult time while speaking in Jacksonville. Boos and jeers from the crowd interrupted his speech on several occasions, and his listeners bombarded him with eggs. The crowd urged him to go home, and when the loudspeaker company took away its equipment, Taylor finally got the message and retired from the field of battle.[125]

In late October most observers judged Dewey and Truman neck and neck in a race to capture Florida's eight electoral votes. The *New York Times* thought that Thurmond had considerable appeal among the "crackers" in western Florida, who resented Truman's views on civil rights.[126] The *Jacksonville Journal* reported that Dewey had the edge in the campaign, and because of his strong support on the east coast and St. Petersburg, predicted that he would carry the state.[127] The *Gainesville Sun* published a survey which concluded that Thurmond's split of the Democratic Party would throw the election in Florida to the Republicans.[128]

As late as October 24, Thurmond continued to wax eloquent about his party's chances, bragging that he would carry the entire South and would be elected president by the House of Representatives.[129] Despite his confidence, the trend was running against

122. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* September 4, 1948.
123. *Miami Herald,* October 14, 19, 21, 1948; Richard Norton Smith, *Thomas E. Dewey and His Times* (New York, 1982), 524.
124. *New York Times,* October 14, 1948.
125. Ibid., October 21, 1948; *Gainesville Sun,* October 21, 1948.
126. *New York Times,* October 14, 1948.
127. *Jacksonville Journal,* October 14, 1948.
128. *Gainesville Sun,* October 31, 1948.
129. *New York Times,* October 24, 1948.

Thurmond, especially after Senator Richard Russell of Georgia and Ben Laney of Arkansas pledged their support for the national Democratic Party. With these key defections and with other states such as North Carolina and Florida refusing support, Thurmond recognized that he could not carry the South. The last poll of October showed Truman winning Florida and Thurmond lagging behind in most southern states. At this juncture, Thurmond understood his situation and changed the goals for his party. Thurmond now explained that even if the Dixiecrats did not carry the election to the House of Representatives, they had accomplished their purpose by rebuilding the Democratic Party, preventing the passage of civil rights legislation, and by restoring states' rights.[130]

Senator Claude Pepper poured a tremendous amount of energy into Truman's election. He campaigned extensively in Florida and even went on a two-week cross-country speaking tour.[131] In Daytona Beach on October 27, Pepper claimed that Truman had gained strength all over the country and would win in November.[132] Pepper, assisted by Congressman George Smathers, also led two rallies for Truman in Miami and made two radio broadcasts for the president.[133] Pepper had certainly kept his pledge, made after his abortive campaign for president, that he would campaign diligently for Truman.

Some Democratic newspapers shifted their support to Truman. The *Key West Citizen* endorsed Truman partly because he was an honorary citizen of Key West.[134] The *Sebring American* supported the straight Democratic ticket and predicted a Truman victory.[135] Other papers such as John S. Knight's *Miami Herald,* accused Truman of demagoguery and recommended Dewey, who "would win easily."[136] A few papers, including the *Gainesville* Sun, came out for Thurmond and states' rights.[137]

The heated nature of the race issue in the campaign was perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the dormant Ku Klux Klan,

130. *New York Times,* October 29, 31, 1948.
131. Ibid., October 12, 1948; Mary D. van Demark to Terrell H. Yon, October 13, 1948, Pepper Papers.
132. *Palm Beach Post,* October 27, 1948.
133. *Miami Herald,* October 30 and 31, 1948; Ralph Crum to Claude Pepper. November 4, 1948, Pepper Papers.
134. *Key West Citizen,* October 30. 1948.
135. *Sebring American,* October 28, 1948.
136. *Miami Herald,* October 31, November 1, 1948.
137. *Gainesville Sun,* October 28, 1948.

fearing a victory by the liberal Truman, announced an election eve ride through Leesburg, Mt. Dora, Eustis, Tavares, and Plymouth. A Klan member warned that "only trusted newsmen with credentials authorized by the proper authorities (the Klan) would be permitted inside the enclave." The Klan did not allow close-up photographs. Leigh Tucker, a reporter for the *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* said Klan members threatened to beat her if she covered the parade. When she ignored their warnings and drove to the site of the parade, hooded figures forced her car from the road, smashed her camera, and threatened to beat her and burn her car if she did not leave.

The Klan parade on November 1 started in Plymouth and featured a jeep bearing a huge cross emblazoned with red bulbs. Most of the fifty or so cars had their license plates covered and each car contained two to four hooded Klansmen. Spectators lined the roads by the hundreds to watch the parade. The Klan burned their first cross in front of a black school in Eustis and left a trail of fiery crosses warning against Communism and integration in Florida.[138]

As voters across the country came to the polls on November 2, most experts predicted a Dewey victory. President Truman won a huge upset in the closest election since 1916, capturing 303 electoral votes and over 24 million popular votes to Dewey's 189 electoral votes and almost 22 million popular votes. Strom Thurmond, on the ballot in only thirteen states, won 39 electoral votes and over a million popular votes. Thurmond carried Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina and got one additional electoral vote when a Tennessee elector rejected the Democratic Party and cast his vote for Thurmond. Henry A. Wallace and his Progressive Party garnered over one million popular votes but no electoral votes. Thurmond fell far below his prediction of 100 electoral votes.[139] Truman captured seven states in the South (and four border states) with a total of 70 electoral votes. Truman's capture of Florida and other southern states outside of the Deep South was crucial to his election victory and to the continued dominance of the Democratic Party in Washington.[140]

138. *New York Times,* October 28, 1948; *Palm Beach Post,* November 1, 1948; *Miami Herald,* November 2 and 3, 1948.

139. *New York Times,* November 3, 1948; Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 189; Phillips, *Truman Presidency,* 247.

140. McCullough, *Truman,* 711; Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 189.

In Florida Truman led the voting with 281,988 votes; Dewey had 194,780, Thurmond received 89,750 votes, while Wallace got 11,620. Thurmond carried only three counties: Alachua, Flagler and St. Johns.[141] Florida Democrats who supported Truman were jubilant. Claude Pepper called Truman's win the greatest upset, the most gallant fight, and the most deserved victory ever in American politics.[142] Although Pepper had done as much as anyone to keep Truman from getting the nomination, the senator's vigorous campaigning had improved his relationship with the national party, if not with Truman. Among state Democratic leaders, only Pepper, George Smathers, and Alex Littlefield, the state party chairman, had worked energetically for Truman's election.

The Dixiecrats' poor showing distressed some Floridians. Both J. L. Lee and Mrs. F. E. Hobson believed that Thurmond would have carried the state except for a last-minute whispering campaign which warned that a vote for Thurmond was a vote for Dewey and the Republicans, which would bring about another depression.[142] James S. Davis of Sarasota praised Thurmond's valiant fight and compared him to Robert E. Lee as a guiding light in the South.[144] In a letter to W. D. Woody of Jacksonville, Thurmond insisted that although he did not win, the Dixiecrats showed the political leaders in the Democratic Party that the South would be independent and would no longer be the party's doormat.[145]

The Dixiecrat revolt of 1948 disrupted the Solid South. The New Deal Democrats– the party of blacks, unions, the urban masses, and social reform– now became anathema to many in the rural, conservative South.[146] A similar sectional split occurred in Florida. North Florida differed little from south Alabama and south Georgia. Voters there were mainly Protestant, old-stock southerners, and the region's politics reflected a devotion to social

141. R. A. Gray, Secretary of State, *Tabulation of the Official Vote,* 3-5; Tebeau and Carson, *Florida From Indian Trail to Space Age,* 191; *Gainesville Sun,* November 3, 1948.
142. *Palm Beach Post,* November 4, 1948; *Gainesville Sun,* November 4, 1948.
143. Mrs. F. E. Hobson to Thurmond, November 8, 1948; J. L. Lee to Thurmond, November 12, 1948, folder 3350, Thurmond Papers.
144. James S. Davis to Thurmond, November 13, 1948, folder 3350, Thurmond Papers.
145. Strom Thurmond to W. D. Woody, November 13, 1948, folder 3350, Thurmond Papers.
146. Dewey W. Grantham, *The South in Modern America: A Region* at *Odds,* (New York, 1994), 202.

and racial conservatism. These rural, small town citizens of north Florida became estranged from the predominantly urban, socially heterogeneous south Florida in the 1948 presidential contest.[147]

Political scientist Alexander Heard noted that 98.8 per cent of the Dixiecrat vote came from eleven southern states, thus making it a sectional party. Their vote came entirely from whites, but only about twenty-five percent of southerners voted for Thurmond. Heard concluded that the bulk of the Dixiecrat votes came from whites who lived in close proximity to a large population of blacks. In Florida, twenty-six of the thirty-three counties that gave Thurmond over 20% of the vote were in the northern section of the state. The counties in which Thurmond polled more than thirty percent of the vote contained thirty-five percent or more black population. Despite Thurmond's insistence that the states' rights campaign was not about race, Heard clearly demonstrated that Floridians' concerns about racial upheaval were at the heart of the Dixiecrat vote.[148]

The Dixiecrats failed in many ways. They did not reinstate the two-thirds rule in the Democratic convention, failed to prevent Truman's nomination and election, and failed to block the passage of a strong civil rights plank. The Dixiecrats waged a difficult campaign because they did not have time to set up an effective party machine, used inexperienced operatives, lacked sufficient financial support necessary for a national campaign, and faced internal dissension.[149] As E. H. Ramsey of Jacksonville explained to Thurmond: "Our major weakness was the fact that we were trying to do a job in a matter of months that would have required a minimum of four years."[150]

Nevertheless, the election was significant. In Florida and other southern states, the Dixiecrats split the Democratic Party into factions and loosened inhibitions against bolting the party in presidential elections. Floridians voted for Eisenhower in 1952 and

147. Numan V. Bartley and Hugh D. Graham, *Southern Politics and the Second Reconstruction,* (Baltimore, 1975), 60-62.

148. Mississippi, with the largest percentage of blacks, 45.5%, gave Thurmond 87.2% of its votes. South Carolina, next in black population, gave him 72.0% Heard, *Two-Party South,* 251-53, 273-75; Key, *Southern Politics,* 329-44; Black and Black, *The Vital South,* 146.

149. McLaurin, "Role of the Dixiecrats," 261-66.

150. E. H. Ramsey to Thurmond, November 4, 1948, folder 3349, Thurmond Papers.

1956, for Richard Nixon in 1960, 1968, and 1972, for Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984, and for George Bush in 1988. The 1952 contest can also be viewed as a watershed in state politics since the Republicans established themselves as a respectable party for urban and suburban whites in Florida. Eventually conservative southern Democrats and Republicans would team up against liberal civil rights legislation and demands from organized labor. In this context, Republicans appealed to the north Florida voters who had once favored the Dixiecrats.[151]

At the state level, the political shift from the solid Democratic South to the Republican South of the 1990s evolved slowly and gradually. From 1948 on, Florida changed dramatically and the successful candidates in Florida were those who advocated conservative issues– fiscal restraint, limited government, opposition to welfare, and patriotism. The newcomers to the state had little awareness of past politics and few local ties. They were more concerned about taxes, big government, education, and public services. The economy changed with the decline of small farms and with the growth of the service, commercial, tourist, and industrial sectors. Rural areas declined while urban communities mushroomed. All of these changes provided fertile ground for the growth of the Republican Party.[152]

Gregory Lee Baker, in a study of the Florida Republican Party, has demonstrated that after 1948 there were well-disciplined Republican Party organizations in Pinellas, Broward, and Orange Counties. The main reason for Republican growth in these areas was the rapid population increase due to white middle-class migration from the North and Midwest. In 1948 C. C. Spades, the state party chairman, led a major effort for Dewey, who carried Pinellas, Broward, Orange, Palm Beach, and Sarasota Counties– the urban heart of the burgeoning Republican Party. By 1954 Republicans had won six house seats in the Florida legislature and had elected a Republican congressman. By 1974, Republican registration figures equalled thirty per cent of the total registration in Florida.[153]

151. George B. Tindall, *The Disruption of the Solid South* (Athens, 1972), 52, 58; Bartley and Graham, *Southern Politics and the Second Reconstruction,* 86, 126, 133.
152. Neal R. Peirce, *The Deep South States of America* (New York, 1974) 445-48.
153. Gregory Lee Baker, "Intraparty Factionalism: The Florida Republican Party," (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1976), 3, 5, 8-10; Peirce, *The Deep South States of America,* 445-47.

This conservative movement was clearly demonstrated in Florida by George Smathers' 1950 defeat of the liberal Claude Pepper in a contest dominated by the issues of race and communism. After 1948, Frank Upchurch and other states' rights advocates focused their attention on fighting civil rights legislation and on Pepper's defeat in his re-election bid in 1950. Upchurch, a long-time foe of Pepper, had been incensed with Senator Pepper's active campaigning for Truman in 1948 and by the senator's criticism of Truman's hard-line anticommunist foreign policy. The *St. Petersburg Times* had been correct in July 1948 when it deemed Pepper's ill-fated presidential candidacy political suicide.

James C. Clark, in his article on the seeds of Pepper's 1950 defeat, has explained that Pepper had undermined his popularity with his courting of the political Left and his championing of close and cooperative relations with Russia. By 1950, concluded Clark, Pepper's views and his antics in 1948 led to an extensive and well-organized opposition. In fact, in 1950 President Harry Truman called Congressman George H. Smathers to the White House and urged him "to beat that son of a bitch Claude Pepper."[154] In the end, Pepper simply could not overcome six years of negative publicity. Moreover, the movement in Florida toward a more conservative politics helped undermine Pepper's political base.[155] Pepper, in a failed attempt to salvage his political career, lost a senate race in 1958 against the more conservative Spessard Holland. Pepper ultimately revived his career with election to Congress from a liberal district in south Florida.

By 1966 Florida's economically conservative, affluent whites fused with the rural and lower-class whites to elect Republican Edward J. Gurney to the United States Senate. This coalition also helped elect Claude Kirk in 1966 as the first Republican governor since Reconstruction.[156] And finally, in 1964, Strom Thurmond switched to the Republican Party (soon to be followed by other

154. George A. Smathers, interview by James C. Clark, April 30, 1987, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program.

155. James Clark, "Claude Pepper and the Seeds of his 1950 Defeat, 1944-1948," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 74 (Summer 1995), 1-22.

156. Tindall, *The Disruption of the Solid South,* 52, 58; Abels, *Out of the Jaws,* 222-23; Bartley and Graham, *Southern Politics and the Second Reconstruction,* 86, 126, 133; Heard, *Two-Party South,* 21-23.

southern conservatives such as North Carolina's Jesse Helms) and he was elected to the U.S. Senate as a Republican in 1966.[157]

The Dixiecrat revolt of 1948 initially seemed to be a boost to Pepper's career and a humiliating loss for Strom Thurmond. The election, however, produced the opposite long-term result. Pepper was defeated in 1950 and Thurmond still serves in the United States Senate. More importantly, the 1948 presidential election broke the Democratic Party's ironclad political control of Florida and began the development of a true two-party system. Florida had always been somewhat conservative, and now those voters began to change their party allegiance. By 1994 Florida Republicans controlled the state senate and had increased their political power to a level not seen since the days of Reconstruction.

157. Cohodas, *Thurmond,* 383-86.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Indians' New South: Cultural Change in the Colonial Southeast. By James Axtell. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997. xvi, 102 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations, introduction, notes, index. $22.95 cloth, $9.95 paper.)

In this publication of the fifty-eighth Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University, James Axtell explores the encounter between Europeans and Native Americans in the Southeast in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Two of the three chapters focus on Florida.

The desire for easy wealth motivated the initial Spanish entradas. The conquistadors were disappointed because they found little of value except the human beings whom they enslaved, but their presence had a substantial impact on the people they encountered. Europeans introduced to Native people a new material culture and additional genetic, botanical, and zoological diversity. From salvaged gold and silver, which they reworked into ornaments to metal tools, mirrors, and fabrics, Native people incorporated the goods of Europe into their lives. They also joined with the invaders in producing *mestizo* children, and they added European plants and animals, particularly pigs, to their cuisines. The Spaniards altered Native cultures, however, in far less benign ways. Conquistadors demonstrated their military might in the Southeast and left in their wake the burning ruins of villages, collapsed chiefdoms, and thousands of Native casualties. The diseases they brought may have been even more destructive. With no immunity to European pathogens, entire Native communities died, and disease often left survivors culturally and socially maimed.

By the 1560s the Spanish had shifted their attention from conquest to missions, a substantially less expensive way to subjugate Florida. In the provinces of Guale, Timucua, and Apalachee, friars built churches in square rounds and replaced ceremonial dance poles with crosses. In 1576 Guales revolted because the friars refused to accept the established line of chiefly succession, and Spanish soldiers ruthlessly subdued the rebels. As a consequence, many Native Christians separated themselves from pagan members of

their communities, and the friars, who also suffered casualties, became tolerant of matrilineal lines of descent and more respectful of chiefs. While secular authorities showered chiefs with gifts, the friars converted them and turned secular authority in Native villages to the Church's use. By 1650, the number of converts had reached 26,000, but many Native people already had begun to doubt the efficacy of their new religious practices. In 1647 a group of Apalachees rebelled, and in 1656 aggrieved Timucuas simply abandoned the missions when friars tried to compel their chiefs to perform manual labor. Slave raids from Carolina and Governor James Moore's invasions destroyed what was left of the Spanish mission system in Florida in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

The growing power of the British and French in the eighteenth-century Southeast also brought significant change to Native peoples. Although they managed to play off European colonial powers against one another until the end of the century, Indian nations saw their power and independence gradually circumscribed. Early British settlers in the South depended on Native people not only for subsistence but also for deerskins which became the first lucrative export from Carolina. The British also depended on Native allies in their colonial wars, but the French in Louisiana provided keen competition and enjoyed significant advantages over the British. French traders were more likely to meld into Native society, their government understood the importance of gift-giving, and their missionaries imparted a moral tone to Indian-white relations. Economic relations intertwined inextricably with politics. According to Axtell, "the most serious change of all was the natives' increasing dependence on their colonial neighbors for economic viability and, by extension, their loss of political autonomy" (69).

Scholars of the Native Southeast will find nothing new in this slim volume, although it presents an adequate synthesis of recent research. Casual readers may find these essays useful, but they really should avail themselves of Axtell's more original writings, which do not deal with the South. Perhaps the finest essayist of his generation of historians, Axtell's genius is more readily apparent in *The European and the Indian* (1981), *The Invasion Within* (1985), and other works than it is in *The Indians' New South.*

University of Kentucky THEDA PERDUE

"A Rogue's Paradise": Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1861. By James M. Denham. (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1997. xii, 385 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 hardcover.)

Historians have paid increasing attention to matters of criminal justice in recent years, as the problem of crime control has loomed ever larger in the popular consciousness. Such seminal works as Samuel Walker's *Popular Justice* (1980) and Lawrence M. Friedman's *Crime and Punishment in American History* (1993) have been supplemented by more specialized studies of conditions in selected states and localities. Until now, however, no scholar has undertaken a major study of crime in antebellum Florida. *"A Rogue's Paradise"* thus fills an important gap in the historical record. Utilizing an exhaustive array of primary and secondary sources, including intensive research in county court records and grand jury reports, James M. Denham offers readers the most comprehensive account of criminal activity and law enforcement yet available for any state.

Florida's vast frontier, ethic of honor, and commitment to slavery go far to explain the workings of antebellum criminal justice, he argues. While the plantation belt of Middle Florida contained a large and prosperous population, other parts of the state remained sparsely settled and isolated. Wilderness areas provided a refuge for local lawbreakers and encouraged out-of-state gangs to raid outlying settlements. In the absence of a centralized police force, a handful of overworked sheriffs and marshals struggled with limited success to track down fugitive felons in the backwoods. Although lawmen sometimes called on citizen posses for assistance, the effectiveness of such ad hoc auxiliaries varied greatly from locality to locality. Even so, the court system served an indispensable unifying function in the antebellum years, as circuit-riding judges and lawyers brought a measure of law and order to the most remote hamlets.

Court records indicate that, as in other southern states, violent crimes against the person heavily outnumbered property crimes on judicial dockets. Commentators have advanced many theories to explain this propensity to violence: the effects of climate; an overindulgence in alcohol; a Scotch-Irish heritage of clan violence; a paranoid state of mind resulting from the institution of slavery; legal doctrines enlarging the right of self-defense; frontier individu-

alism; and a pervasive ethic of honor. While acknowledging some, merit in each of these arguments, Denham relies primarily upon claims of honor to account for the low rate of convictions in cases of personal violence: "Unless it could be proven that victims had fallen in an unfair fight or that the killer or assaulter had taken some unfair advantage over the abused or slain, juries were reluctant to convict fellow Floridians" (73). Even those who *were* convicted of assault and battery often faced minimum fines of less than a dollar.

Crimes against property, on the other hand, carried severe punishments, which were generally enforced. Those convicted of larceny, burglary, or horse stealing could expect to be publicly whipped, perhaps branded, sentenced to stand for hours in the pillory, and assessed a heavy fine. Arson and slave stealing were capital offenses. Public opinion strongly condemned all forms of theft as violations of the honor code, Denham observes, and the harsh physical punishments were designed to humiliate offenders in the eyes of the community. Yet this explanation glosses over the fact that conviction rates for property crimes were extremely low. If juries considered thievery so reprehensible, why did they acquit so many defendants? The answer may lie in the socioeconomic composition of many juries and in the competence (or incompetence) of local prosecutors– two subjects about which Denham has little to say.

The widespread use of summary punishments to deal with property crimes and morals offenses grew in large part out of the insecure condition of most Florida jails. In one of his most interesting chapters, Denham describes the unsanitary and ramshackle state of local jails, from which escapes were commonplace. Although sheriffs and marshals regularly appealed for stronger buildings and more guards, they made little headway in the face of taxpayer resistance and legislative inertia. Even when the state finally allocated funds for the daily maintenance of each prisoner, jailers found it difficult to secure prompt reimbursement for their expenditures because of bureaucratic red tape. Since few jails could hold prisoners safely prior to trial, judges sometimes ordered dangerous lawbreakers to be transported hundreds of miles to a more secure jail in another district.

Although Denham's conclusions generally confirm the findings of previous scholars, he provides much fresh and fascinating detail on the individuals– criminals, victims, sheriffs, judges– who

found themselves caught up in Florida's criminal justice system. His well-written and engrossing study will appeal to the general reader no less than to specialists in Florida history, southern history, and legal history.

The Catholic University of America MAXWELL BLOOMFIELD

Building Marvelous Miami. By Nicholas N. Patricios. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994. xiv, 325 pp. List of tables and illustrations, preface, photographs, maps, illustrations, tables, epilogue, appendices, bibliography, picture credits. $49.95.)

Nicholas N. Patricios, a professor and administrator in the School of Architecture at the University of Miami, has written an architectural and planning history of Greater Miami (which actually means Dade County) by detailing the development of its various municipalities, its "Mosaic of Communities." The author divides the book into two sections: the first a history of the area's development, the second a description and catalogue of its architectural styles and significant structures. An epilogue discusses the impact of Hurricane Andrew on the area. The volume is illustrated with more than 250 tables, maps, diagrams, and often small and indistinct black and white photographs.

From its beginning in 1836, Dade County (named for the major who led his troops into an Indian ambush and massacre the year before) remained an isolated frontier outpost until 1896 and the arrival of Henry M. Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway. In 1900, the entire county had a population of less than 5,000 inhabitants. Today its population is almost two million. Patricios says that Miami is "marvelous" because it grew from scattered pioneer settlements to a "twentieth-century global city" in such a short time. Yet he also details the many unresolved problems that this rapid growth brought: the threatened supply of fresh water, growing pollution, the "canyonization" of the beach front, the "ghettoization" of various minority groups, the loss of agricultural land, and the seemingly unchecked and continuing crime, violence, vice, and corruption.

The author's discussion of architectural style leaves much to be desired. He is offended by the traditional term "Mediterranean Revival," claiming that "South Florida" architects created the style in the early twentieth century. Although he says the sources of Medi-

terranean style can be found in countries touching that sea from Italy to North Africa, he never mentions what each contributed. Later he calls Miami Beach's style of the era "Mediterranean Eclectic" because it mixed Spanish Colonial, Tuscan, and Venetian elements. He also fails to make a distinction between the high-style Mediterranean buildings of the area's leading architects and the structures of boom-time developers and contractors.

In substituting Mediterranean style for the early period, the author can label today's buildings with red tile roofs, round headed windows, and stucco walls "Mediterranean Revival." He has also coined the term "South Florida Progressive" to classify contemporary architectural styles. This, he adds, "takes the form of a progression beyond modernism" and implies the basic idea "that a city should express its history, and that its buildings should be manifestations of its culture" (102). One architect says he combines the languages of vernacular, Mediterranean, and Art Deco in his work, though Patricios says few examples of this new style exist.

Unfortunately, the book's format does not allow for a coherent development of Dade's urban or architectural history. The author discusses political and planning histories of the various cities and areas of Dade County in one place, in another their historic private buildings, in still another their public buildings, and their modern buildings in still another. Moreover, he limits the historic buildings to those listed by the various governmental units within the county as of historical importance, and the modern buildings to those which have won some type of award or have been reviewed by the *Miami Herald* architectural critic. The result is a disjointed and unsatisfactory account of a fascinating subject.

While it's always unfair to criticize an author for failing to write the book the reviewer wishes to read, *Building Marvelous Miami* only emphasizes the commonality of the three southeastern Florida counties of Broward, Dade, and Palm Beach (Dade County once included all three). In fact, when it suits his purposes, the author uses statistics for the tri-county area. "South Florida" becomes "the second largest Jewish community in absolute numbers after metropolitan New York City" (83). Yet only around 200,000 out of a tri-county population of 650,000 Jews actually live in Dade County,

It's when the author discusses architectural styles and their sources that the problem of attempting to isolate Dade County from the rest of southeast Florida becomes most acute. Although the Palm Beach architects of the 1920s seem to have played no part

in the development of the "Mediterranean-Mediterranean Revival" style, some of Dade's most fashionable clubs and largest houses were designed by Palm Beach architects and many Dade County architects first served as draftsmen or apprentices of Palm Beach firms. Addison Mizner, Maurice Fatio, Howard Major, John Volk, and Marion Sims Wyeth all designed major buildings in Dade County, though only Wyeth's Dutch South African Village in Coral Gables is mentioned, and I suspect because colleagues from the author's architectural college live there.

The reader who wishes a good survey of the county's historical architecture might consult the second edition of *From Wilderness to Metropolis: The History and Architecture of Dade County, Florida 1825-1940,* written and published by the Historic Preservation Division of Metropolitan Dade County (Miami, 1992). For the modern period *Miami: Architecture* of *the Tropics,* edited by Maurice Culot and Jean-Francois Lejeune (Miami/Brussels, 1992), offers some spectacular color photography. The work of Arquitectonica seems rather bland without its vivid reds and blues and yellows, and Charles Harrison Pawley's Haitian Marketplace loses half its interest in black and white.

Florida Atlantic University DONALD W. CURL

John Ellis: Merchant, Microscopist, Naturalist, and King's Agent– A Biologist of His Times. By Julius Groner and Paul F. S. Cornelius. (Pacific Grove: The Boxwood Press, 1996. xiii, 323 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, biographical index, index, selected bibliography. $45.00 plus $3.75 s&h.)

Julius Groner and Paul F. S. Cornelius's *John Ellis* is an excellent, extremely valuable contribution to the literature about John Ellis specifically and eighteenth-century British natural history generally. It is the most complete study and the only monograph yet done on the life of John Ellis. It clearly puts Ellis among the top naturalists of his age even though over two hundred years later he is largely forgotten.

As indicated in the subtitle, this study is particularly strong in providing information about Ellis's roles as merchant, microscopist, naturalist, and King's Agent. Groner, who possesses both a law degree and a doctorate in history, has done a superb job unearthing Ellis's early business connections in London. Using the busi-

ness directories at the British and Guildhall Libraries, the parish rate books in the Guildhall Library, and the account book of the firm of John Ellis and James Fivey in the Bank of England Record Office, Groner establishes that Ellis and his partner had large sums of money to underwrite their purchases in the cloth trade. This was particularly important in the Irish linen trade in which the merchants functioned as bankers/lenders for the producers and processors in a nation with an inadequate banking system.

As a microscopist Ellis was among the best, if not the best, of his generation. Linnaeus called him "lynx-eyed." Ellis used a single lens aquatic microscope of his design with great skill to examine flora and fauna. His careful work produced the first systematic study of the animals that Linnaeus called zoophytes– animals that had the superficial appearance of plants. Ellis also contributed to the beginnings of microbiology with his microscopic study of anumalculers– protozoa.

The discussion of Ellis's role as royal agent for West Florida is excellent. Using the insights of his earlier article on the subject coauthored with Robert Rea, Groner uses the Audit Office and Treasury records at the Public Record Office Kew to describe the role Ellis played in West Florida's affairs from 1763 to 1776. These accounts are particularly useful in detailing Ellis's expenditures.

Groner's discussion of Ellis as a naturalist is also quite good. Part II of the book, however, is a fifty-four-page essay by Dr. Paul F. S. Cornelius, head of the Cnidaria section of the Natural History Museum of London. In this Cornelius describes Ellis's work in his own age and evaluates it by the norms of that age. Cornelius also connects Ellis's contribution to the twentieth century.

This is an excellent work, but as Groner notes on page 51, there are gaps. A few examples must suffice. Groner expresses annoyance with Miles Hadfield's statement that Ellis lived opposite Christopher Gray's nursery in King's Road. Ellis after all paid rates for his business on Lawrence Lane– beyond commutable distance from Fulham in the eighteenth century– for twenty-eight years. Ellis, however, in his *1757 Phil. Trans.* ". . . the Tree that yields the common Varnish . . ." wrote that "this summer [1756] from my situation opposite Mr. Christopher Gray's nursery at Fulham . . . I [examined] . . . the Rhus, or Toxicodendron." Groner also doubts that Sir Joseph Banks funded the publication of *The Natural History of Zoophytes.* On September 1, 1782, Martha Ellis Watt wrote to Banks to thank him for recovering the manuscript, his editorial assistance, and his pa-

tronage. Because John Ellis of Hoxton signed John Ellis the naturalist's apprenticeship indenture in the "father" blank, Groner identified John Ellis of Hoxton as the naturalist's father. His will probated in 1730 does not match John Ellis the naturalist's family.

In connection with Ellis's family, Groner reports Ellis had an unmarried sister Martha, "a married sister Mary Ford, and a nephew Roger Ford; though the two Fords may have been in-laws and related by marriage only." Ellis's letters clearly show he had three sisters: Mary Ellis Ford, Martha Ellis, and Anne Ellis Nevil. Mary had four children: Burgess, John, Roger, and Hetty. Anne Nevel had two daughters, Martha and Meriel. Finally, Groner posits Ellis had nothing to do with the Irish linen trade or board prior to 1750. There is a loose scrap with notes in Ellis's correspondence on which Ellis recorded that he had joined previous Irish agents lobbying parliament in 1738, 1742, 1743, and later years. Enough about the gaps; Groner admits them, and calls for more research.

The book has a twenty-one-page bibliography of original manuscripts, printed sources, and secondary monographs and articles. There is an index, a useful biographical index, and several illustrations. Groner was a lawyer, and his style exhibits the point and counterpoint development of an advocate. In conclusion, this is a very solid work, filled with useful material, and enriches our understanding of Ellis.

Ohio University ROY A. RAUSCHENBERG

"What Nature Suffers to Groe": Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680-1920. By Mart A. Stewart. (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. xix, 370 pp. List of illustrations, list of graphs and tables, acknowledgments, prologue, epilogue, appendix, notes, selected bibliography, index. $45.00 hardcover.)

In this revision of his pathbreaking dissertation (completed at Emory University in 1988), Mart A. Stewart chronicles the shifting relationship between Georgia's lowcountry environment and the society created by the region's white and black residents, One of the very first scholars to focus upon the environmental history of the South, Stewart has long concerned himself with uncovering the material basis for and limits to the culture of Georgia's coastal landscape. *"What Nature Suffers to Groe"* reveals that he has mastered not

only the small mountain of primary and secondary evidence related to his subject matter but also the art of constructing a compelling historical narrative that speaks to the general public as well as to specialists concerned with lowcountry studies.

Stewart divides his book into five chapters. Making ingenious use of sources such as a seventeenth-century Spanish guide for priests administering the sacrament to Native Americans, Stewart first explores how coastal Indians interacted with their natural surroundings and with the Europeans seeking to establish control over the southern landscape. Most of the chapter concentrates on the Georgia Trustees' efforts to impose their idealized designs upon a landscape whose Native population had been decimated by disease and violence. In the second chapter, the author reveals how the Trustees' designs (which had, after all, been conceptualized in the English metropolis) shattered against the demographic and economic realities of life in the colonies. Stewart makes clear how the landscape itself bred the settlers' discontent with the Trustees' Georgia Plan, ultimately resulting in their decision in the mid-eighteenth century to liberalize the land tenure policy and to lift the ban upon slavery. The third chapter explores the subsequent rise of a Georgia plantation complex that entailed a massive reshaping of the environment to permit the cultivation of crops such as rice, long-staple cotton, and sugar. This portion of the book provides the best single description that I have read of how the lowcountry antebellum plantations actually operated– of how masters and slaves engineered a complex hydraulic system to manipulate water levels on their rice fields and how both whites and blacks continually struggled to turn the plantation culture toward their own advantage. Stewart's fourth chapter traces the relationship between masters, slaves, plantation technology, and the local environment during the late antebellum period, when declining soil fertility began to cast a shadow over the region's future. It was during this era, argues Stewart, that rational plantation managers sought to extend their agricultural systems to better control the land and the slaves even as natural disasters and slave resistance demonstrated that the planters' idealized vision of the lowcountry landscape was nothing more than a "masterful illusion." The final chapter chronicles the demise of the plantation system following emancipation and the ensuing genesis of a coastal economy oriented toward timber and tourism, industries that, like the rice plantations, required the manipulation of the environment. Yet Stewart points out that these

postbellum enterprises, unlike the antebellum plantations, did not create a locally rooted economy since they were managed by and oriented toward distant capitalists– a distinction between antebellum and postbellum landscapes that might lead some readers to question the author's previous emphasis upon absentee slaveowners such as Pierce Butler who supposedly established a plantation society that was rooted in local interactions.

In general, however, Stewart makes a very persuasive case for approaching the history of the Georgia lowcountry from the perspective of the local inhabitants' immediate relationship with their surroundings. As such, Stewart's narrative serves as a counterpoise to another superb recent study, Joyce Chaplin's *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South*. Whereas Chaplin emphasizes how a transatlantic intellectual culture influenced the colonial and early national South, Stewart stresses how "activity in the locale" was "decisive in shaping" cosmopolitan ideals into actual social practice.

Specialists in the history of the lowcountry will appreciate the depth of Stewart's interdisciplinary, historiographical, and primary research. Many of his endnotes read like elegant essays that promise to expose historians to previously underused or altogether unknown sources. *"What Nature Suffers to Groe"* also succeeds in speaking to a wider audience still seeking to understand the roots of a uniquely southern identity. Stewart manages to convey what was and is special about the Georgia coast without losing sight of how that landscape has evolved over time. In so doing, this masterful first book establishes Stewart's credentials as a leading authority on the history of the southern lowcountry and a leading practitioner of the craft of environmental history.

Illinois State University JEFFREY R. YOUNG

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Vol. 24, *November 6, 1786-February 29, 1788*. Edited by Paul H. Smith and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1996. xxxii, 721 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, appendix, index. $46.00 hardcover.)

The ratification debate has been a major source for studies of post-Revolutionary American politics. Now in the last letters writ-

ten by delegates to the Continental Congress, scholars can approach the American constitutional founding from a different perspective. The endgame of the Confederation was a time for reflection and analysis.

James Madison's ninety-four letters, though all recently published in the *Madison Papers,* are worth reading in the context of late-Confederation politics. Knowing the concerns of his fellow delegates to Congress, Madison's letters to them, and many of their responses to him, are among the most illuminating material in this collection. Fearful that the suppression of Shays' Rebellion would complicate the already problematic work of constitutional reform, yet at the same time knowing that it might take a severe crisis like Shays' to bring about a new constitution, Madison wrote to George Washington in February *1787:*

> if the measures . . . on foot for *disarming* and *disfranchising* [the Shaysites] are carried into effect, a new crisis may be brought up. . . . I am inclined that [American political leaders] will gradually be concentered in a plan of a thorough reform of the existing system. Those who may lean towards a monarchical government, and who I suspect are swayed by very undigested ideas, will of course abandon an unattainable object whenever a prospect opens of rendering a republican form competent to its purposes. Those who remain attached to the latter form must soon perceive that it cannot be preserved at all under any modification which does redress the ills experienced from our present establishments. Virginia is the only state which has made any provision for the late moderate but essential requisition of Congress, and her provision is a partial one only.

Madison realized that Massachusetts and Virginia were the key states in the politics of constitutional reform; the inter-relationship between a new "crisis," systematic reform, "undigested ideas," and effectual remedies held the key to the future. "Moderate" statesmanship, in this context, required high courage and patience. These themes dominated the thinking of Congressional delegates, most of them, unlike Madison, outside observers of the drama in Philadelphia.

Among the freshest of these voices was Nathan Dane of Massachusetts whose twenty-five letters in this volume are all published

for the first time and drawn from obscure manuscript collections. "I believe the people of the United States in general to be as virtuous and as attached to order and good government as any people whatever," he wrote on March 20, 1787; "but there are in every class some profuse, turbulent, embarrassed, and vile characters who keep our governments in perpetual commotions and dangers." He identified pockets of unrest in the Massachusetts countryside, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and in "the western country." Should a "daring leader" arise these disaffected might "shake the foundations of our present governments." But "under a firm efficient head or federal government," the threat could as readily recede and make the commotions of recent months "monuments to their own unimportance."

Dane's insight is instructive. He almost predicted something like the Whiskey Rebellion, and he anticipated Thomas Slaughter's argument that rebellious regulators of public administration were widespread in rural America. But he also saw yeoman opposition as a symptom of structural flaws in American constitutionalism. The remedy depended on the "abilities, prudence, and characters" of the delegates in the forthcoming Constitutional Convention. This shrewd appraisal suggests that constitutionalism and extra-legal regulator activity were alternative expressions of popular sovereignty in which the latter came into play only if failure of nerve and initiative failed to meet the demands of the moment for constitutional reform.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro ROBERT M. CALHOON

Policing the Southern City: New Orleans, 1805-1889 By Dennis C. Rousey. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997. xiii, 226 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, tables, bibliography, index. $35.00 hardcover.)

Historians interested in the evolution of urban policing have typically focused their attention on its development in northern, and especially northeastern, cities in the nineteenth century. Southern, and indeed western, cities have been sadly neglected, a situation which makes Rousey's book on the New Orleans police a generally welcome addition to the literature on this subject. In a

relatively short space, Professor Rousey ranges through an ambitious array of topics, including the origins, administrative development, and violent behavior of the New Orleans police, while managing to devote considerable attention to the problems of race and ethnic relations within the department.

There is much of value in his narrative, especially because New Orleans' peculiar history (which includes the famous partition of the city into three municipalities in 1836 as well as the presence of the largest free black population in antebellum southern cities) created important challenges to law enforcement which were unique to this nineteenth-century city. Rousey's discussion of ethnic and racial conflict within the department, the turbulent history of the department's relations with the citizens it policed, and the high levels of violence which characterized New Orleans invite valuable comparisons to the evolution of northern policing.

And yet there are also some important missed opportunities in Rousey's analysis. His thesis, that southern cities pioneered the first major reforms in urban policing by creating military style police forces, is not surprising (he acknowledges that other historians have made the same argument, pointing to the need to control urban slaves as the origins of this approach to policing). What is surprising, however, is that he makes no effort to argue that the military model had any lasting effects on the evolution of the police in southern cities, or, for that matter, even in New Orleans. Indeed, it appears that the military model was abandoned in favor of the crime prevention model in New Orleans during the 1830s (by some unexplained process), at about the same time as it developed in northern cities. It is therefore unclear what, if any, significance the South's initial approach to policing had on the subsequent regional and national evolution of police departments.

Furthermore, while the discussion of violence in New Orleans is important and interesting, Rousey does not attempt to relate it to the social geography of the city. Murder and mayhem are thus disembodied acts that have no spatial dimensions. An analysis of the geography of crime might have allowed Rousey to deal more effectively with the reasons for police violence while simultaneously providing his readers with an understanding of the ways the racial, ethnic, and class distribution of the population shaped patterns of violence. That is unfortunate because we have long needed to supplant Herbert Asbury's *The French Quarter* as a source for our understanding of crime patterns in New Orleans.

Finally, and despite his sensitivity to issues of race, Rousey offers some unsupported comments about the role of blacks in New Orleans that need a more extended treatment. He says, for example, that many whites– including employers, policemen, grog shop owners, and professional criminals– had a vested interest in helping blacks "flout the law" (120). Yet he makes no effort to analyze the nature of black criminality and its relationship to the larger white society in order to provide a context for understanding why certain whites would be willing to assist blacks in that endeavor.

In sum, Professor Rousey has written a useful case history which advances our knowledge of the administrative history of southern policing, but much remains to be done on the topics of policing urban criminals, the reasons for the distinctive patterns of police violence, and the effects of black urbanites on law enforcement in southern cities.

University of Texas at San Antonio DAVID R. JOHNSON

Taking Christianity to China: Alabama Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1850-1950. By Wayne Flynt and Gerald W. Berkley. (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1997. xvii, 430 pp. Preface, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth.)

This new work offers a veiled defense of evangelical American Protestantism as the principal factor in Christian missionary efforts in China. Wayne Flynt understands Alabama missionaries as motivated primarily by strong evangelical notions and composes his account through sampling the lives of the forty-seven missionaries who came to China from. Baptist, Methodist, or Presbyterian churches with Alabama connections. Although Gerald W. Berkley is listed as co-author, Berkley only began the research; the finished book is based upon Flynt's research and his interpretations.

The bulk of the book consists of ten thematically organized chapters covering the missionaries' first contact with China, their efforts to understand Chinese culture, and their daily lives in China. Because his examples range over a century in time, at vastly different places and under widely dissimilar working and living conditions, the variations among his sample are enormous. Flynt admits the disjointed character this approach produces (xii), as different aspects of individuals' lives pop up in different chapters, but he evi-

dently believed that somehow a clear, general picture would emerge.

Ultimately, I felt these individuals' common origin in Alabama was not strong enough to give the book coherency. Flynt's arguments about the primacy of evangelism in the missionaries' motives, while entirely plausible, remain incompletely substantiated in the text. Indeed, he emphasizes how missionaries' actual lives in China departed in many aspects from their evangelical roots, but he believes these were adaptations required by the necessities of China.

The problem that Flynt encountered in writing this book lies in his inability to demonstrate exactly how the Christian life in Alabama defined and shaped the Alabama missionaries' efforts in China. In an extended discussion of the life of T. P. and Martha Crawford, two of the most intensely devoted American evangelicals in China, Flynt is able to link the Crawfords' views with the notions of J. R. Graves, a Baptist active in Tennessee and Kentucky, but concludes that T. P. Crawford's views probably were not strongly influenced by Graves' ideas, but "owed more to actual experiences in China than to what was happening in the South" (265). In fact, early in the book, Flynt notes how much missionaries had to adapt when he states "the necessities of China filtered, refined and altered the faith once delivered to the saints" (31). The problem for the historian remains the same as the problem among evangelical missionaries themselves: where to draw the line between the saving of souls through manifestation of the Christian spirit and the attraction of good works– including education, medicine, employment, social betterment– that were said to bring mere "rice Christians" into the fold.

Flynt has come face to face with the interpretative issue that has troubled so many historians of the American missionary movement in China. The strength of the missionary movement came from a variety of sources in American life; consequently most individual missionaries carried with them several contradictory motives and purposes. The challenges of adapting to China overwhelmed a good many of these people, while those who remained often underwent major transformations that brought to the fore certain elements among the mix that had originally brought them to China. I read Flynt to say that insofar as these missionaries were able to embody a strong evangelical element in their work, it is now possible to see, from the flourishing life of Christianity in China in the 1990s the importance of evangelism in the missionary endeavor. In

all truth, it seems impossible, however, to discern who among Chinese Christians, both past and present, developed their commitment to Christianity through the Holy Spirit or the power of good works.

Flynt announces in the introduction that his book will challenge the "two cultures" interpretation of missionary history in which the missionaries are portrayed as bringing their own culture to China where they lived alongside, but never really understood, Chinese culture, just as the Chinese, who maintained their own cultural patterns, failed to comprehend the missionaries. Instead, Flynt writes, "we believe that three cultures emerged. Alabama missionaries tried to impose their culture on China, largely failed . . . and consequently adapted a synergistic third pattern that was neither a carbon copy of evangelical Christianity from Alabama nor a replica of China" (20). Here, again, Flynt fails to provide a full account of his "synergistic third pattern." Yet, I found the two cultures theme much less significant than Flynt's emphasis on evangelical Christianity.

Flynt's account, because of its emphasis on evangelical Christianity's importance, disagrees with much of the literature (both that written by Americans and by Chinese) on American missionary efforts. Flynt offers a challenge to the dominant liberal Christian interpretation of Christian missions that admits the missionaries' link with imperialism, but asserts the missionaries' role as agents of social, educational, and family change in modern China. Flynt provides a more religion-centered interpretation and draws a link between the evangelical fervor of many Alabama Protestants and the strong revival of Christianity in China since the beginning of the Deng Xiaoping reforms in 1978.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee DAVID D. BUCK

The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America. By William J. Novak. (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996. x, 396 pp. Preface, notes, select bibliography, index. $55 hardcover, $19.95 paperback.)

In this commendable volume, William J. Novak takes aim at modern-day perceptions of early America as a land of minimal government, laissez faire, and unfettered personal freedoms. On the contrary, he asserts, statism and government regulation were

present and pervasive since the Founding. Covering the period from 1787 to 1877, Novak's work demonstrates that American civic authorities scarcely hesitated to apply the coercive power of the state in areas of public health and safety, political economy, and morality. Through ordinances, statutes, court rulings, and sundry police measures, public officials played an active role in shaping almost every aspect of nineteenth-century society.

Such positive governance was fundamental to what Novak calls the "well-regulated society," which he considers the dominant legal-political philosophy of America until the late nineteenth century. This vision had its roots squarely in the common law, which Novak rightly emphasizes as the prevailing legal tradition of the antebellum era, more significant than legal positivism; instrumentalism, or even constitutional law. According to the common law worldview, man, society, and government existed interdependently and symbiotically, not separately or in opposition, as modern liberal thought suggests. Likewise, the common law vision, unlike modern liberal constitutionalism, recognized no absolute, vested rights. Rights were social, not individual; they were relative to the rights of others and entailed duties vis-à-vis the commonweal, or people's welfare– the overriding concern of the common law mentality. Votaries of this view conceived of the state as an ordering mechanism invested with broad police power to make private interest yield to public needs. The state could restrain individual liberty, destroy private property, or otherwise qualify freedom for the sake of the public good. In sum, nineteenth-century Americans sought to promote their general welfare through a well-regulated society.

Novak outlines this vision in his introduction and initial chapter. The following five chapters illustrate how civil regulation worked in the realms of public safety, public economy, public ways, public morality, and public health. The concluding chapter chronicles the demise of the well-regulated society and the rise of the modern liberal state after 1877. Novak's treatment of political economy is especially noteworthy, challenging conventional wisdom by arguing that the "capitalist transformation" of nineteenth-century America "owed more to the visible laws of police than the natural laws of economics" or "the invisible hand of the free market" (84). Similarly, he revises long-held notions of law as an instrumentality of capitalist development, a mere tool used to protect private enterprise in a free-market economy. On the contrary, he contends, law served as an active engine of economic transforma-

tion precisely because the common law conception of the well-regulated society defined the market as a "special sphere of social activity" within the purview of "police and statecraft" (86). Unfortunately, Novak fails to distinguish between the intent and outcome of market governance. His reticence here leaves the impression that state attempts to control the economic sphere succeeded without a hitch according to a master plan. He ignores the real revolutionary aspects of the "market revolution," which occasioned sweeping social changes that proponents of the well-regulated society neither anticipated nor desired.

A more serious liability concerns Novak's overreliance on the commentaries and treatises of a small handful of legal thinkers, mainly James Wilson and James Kent. In view of this shallow pool of sources, Novak's generalizations about the well-regulated society as a "dominant" legal-political philosophy lack some credibility. So important a legal theorist as St. George Tucker, in fact, is not mentioned at all. Since Tucker's legal philosophy differed in important respects from the convictions of Novak's small group of authorities, his egregious omission is probably no accident.

Shortcomings notwithstanding, *The People's Welfare* is a splendid book, offering keen insights into the relationship of law, government, and society in nineteenth-century America. Additionally, in positing the well-regulated society and its broader common law universe as a useful framework for understanding the legal-political underpinnings of early America, Novak injects no small measure of sophistication and freshness into an oft-stale historiographical debate that too frequently casts these underpinnings in the simple, dualistic terms of liberalism versus republicanism. *The People's Welfare* should engage, impress, and benefit anyone with a serious scholarly interest in the American Early Republic and Middle Period.

Auburn University ERIC TSCHESCHLOK

The Darkest Days of the War: The Battles of Iuka & Corinth. By Peter Cozzens. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xvi, 390 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

Between May and October 1862 Union and Confederate forces struggled for control of Corinth, Mississippi, a crucial rail

junction. After a glacial advance, Henry W. Halleck captured the city in May; after several months of relative inactivity, Confederate efforts to retake the region with forces commanded by Sterling Price and Earl Van Dorn were thwarted at Iuka (September 19) and Corinth (October 3-4). In each case Ulysses S. Grant tried unsuccessfully to coordinate pursuits; both battles elevated William S. Rosecrans to prominence, although he mishandled his command at key moments in each engagement. Peter Cozzens, author of a fine trilogy on the battles of Stones River, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga, rescues these engagements from their previous obscurity, overshadowed by Shiloh and Vicksburg.

Readers eager for detailed descriptions of battle action, a Cozzens trademark, will find plenty to satisfy them: the chaos of combat is vividly presented. However, away from the battlefield, Cozzens' assessments of generals' performances are sometimes contradictory and inconsistent. A case in point is his discussion of the differences between Grant and Rosecrans after Corinth. Initially Cozzens recalls how in the immediate aftermath of the battle, Grant urged Rosecrans to pursue, and supplied him with fresh troops (276); later, he asserts, "Grant never urged Rosecrans on" (316). Cozzens describes how Rosecrans' pursuit began to collapse due to lack of supplies and forage (301); two pages later, however, he dismisses Grant's reference to those conditions in calling off the pursuit. While Cozzens highlights "the conspiratorial ranting" of Grant's staff and subordinates about Rosecrans' insubordination in claiming credit for both battles, he barely mentions that much of the friction between the two commanders originated with the grousing of Rosecrans' subordinates. Finally, in an omission that is inexplicable precisely because it bears on matters at hand, Cozzens, who earlier harshly criticized Henry W. Halleck for reviving rumors about Grant's drinking in early 1862, fails to mention that Rosecrans' pet newspaper reporter, William D. Bickham, circulated stories claiming that Grant was drunk at Iuka– a story that Old Rosey's brother back in Cincinnati accepted without question.

Indeed, while Cozzens' work over the years has offered readers a sympathetic yet not unblemished portrait of Rosecrans, when it comes to Grant he steps onto foreign soil– and all too often slips. Halleck told Grant to take the field before Charles F. Smith was injured in March 1862 (16); Grant injured his leg in a riding accident before Shiloh, not after (29); Cozzens is apparently unaware of Halleck's efforts to have Robert Allen and not Grant take over for him

in the West when he became general-in-chief. For someone who describes battle actions in minute detail, these stumbles are curious. One appreciates a portrayal of Grant that reveals his flaws as well as his abilities, but occasionally the breezy analysis and characterizations of his actions, in line with Cozzens' treatment of Grant elsewhere, betrays something approaching animus. On the Confederate side, Cozzens may rely too much on the self-serving writings of Dabney Maury, who always managed to put himself at the center of everything; a general whose division lost 2,500 men out of 3,900 engaged at Corinth deserves more searching evaluation.

Despite these reservations, Cozzens' book offers us the most extensive examination of the operations around Corinth during 1862. However, it adds little to prevailing assessments of their importance. At best, it appears that while the Union could claim victory, missed opportunities for the Federals loomed large. Cozzens also missed an opportunity to break away from the traditional battles-and-leaders narrative to examine the impact of Union occupation on southern white civilians and how the Union army handled slaves in the area, especially in light of claims that what happened in this area of northern Mississippi and West Tennessee proved a laboratory for the sort of war Grant and William T. Sherman would later wage. The reader content with blow-by-blow battle accounts replete with bugles, banners, and bayonets may find this to be military history at its best, but those historians exploring new themes and broader definitions of military history may betray a touch of impatience with it.

Arizona State University BROOKS D. SIMPSON

Six Years of Hell: Harpers Ferry During the Civil War. By Chester G. Hearn. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1996. xiii, 319 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations used in notes, appendix, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth.)

Situated at the junction of two rivers and three states, the beautiful town of Harpers Ferry was bound to become the cockpit of the Civil War in the East. Here was located a federal armory that produced 15,468 muskets per year. It was this capacity that drew John Brown to Harpers Ferry in search of weapons to arm the slave re-

bellion which he and his tiny group of followers had a mind to provoke in October 1859. After the outbreak of the Civil War eighteen months later, Harpers Ferry provided an irresistible lure for Confederate forces because no other southern arms factory could match these levels of production. As Chester Hearn makes clear in his vivid and lively account of the town's tribulations, Harpers Ferry was not the site of a great battle, though it was besieged briefly in September 1862 during Lee's invasion of Maryland. Yet (including Brown's Raid) Harpers Ferry changed hands fourteen times and its bridges were blown (and repaired) at least eight times. Furthermore, the defense of this important communications network provided the pretext for the dismissal of two commanders of the Army of the Potomac, George B. McClellan (in November 1862) and Joseph Hooker (in June 1863). Mr. Hearn is thus able to hinge much Civil War history around Harpers Ferry's varying fortunes during these tumultuous years.

At one point the movement of armies around Harpers Ferry might have ended the war in the East within days. In the autumn of 1862 the capture of Lee's order detailing the dispersal of the Army of Northern Virginia to subsist in Maryland offered McClellan an opportunity that rarely falls to a commander in the field. Stonewall Jackson's corps had moved to besiege Harpers Ferry. The rapid advance of William B. Franklin's VI Corps would have completely cut Lee off from Virginia and rolled up the flank of McLaw's division. Yet the Confederates were allowed to complete the siege unmolested, and Hearn does not exaggerate when he stresses the "disastrous Union defeat" that resulted. Harpers Ferry's surrender did a lot to offset Lee's pyrrhic victory at Antietam. Eleven thousand prisoners were paroled, and thirteen thousand stands of arms, seventy-three pieces of artillery and huge quantities of wagons, ordnance and commissary stores were removed to Virginia.

Hearn puts his finger on the problem of Harpers Ferry. It was "easy to attack but almost impossible to defend." Yet geography alone cannot explain repeated Union humiliations. Hearn details the deficiencies not just of the senior commanders (who later included Franz Digel and David Hunter) but also the middle-ranking officers, such as Colonel Dixon Miles, who commanded the garrison in September 1862. Union defeats were mainly due to a lack of elementary knowledge of basic soldiering. The generals neglected rudimentary reconnaissance and were thus continually surprised by Confederate movements. The resulting indecisiveness affected

confidence and commanders like Hunter allowed themselves to be outmaneuvered in their own minds before the troops were engaged. It took a general like Philip H. Sheridan, equipped with ruthless single-mindedness, to stop the pendulum swings of Union and Confederate armies past Harpers Ferry.

The reader occasionally requires more analysis than these subjects get in this treatment. There is little attempt to generalize about the nature of the war. This is especially true of the early chapters where Hearn touches on the incipient anarchy that lay just beneath the surface in 1861 and threatened to overturn the war's "regular" character. Soldiers hastily called to the colors were ill-disciplined, unruly, and prone to plunder and vandalism from the first. This tendency did much to undercut the officially sponsored policy of conciliation in the first year of the war. By 1864 guerrilla action in Jefferson and London Counties revealed the full potential of criminality in partisan action that threatened the social fabric. The Yugoslavian Civil War helps us to place these spirals of increasing violence within the context of social disintegration in a longer perspective, a process which in 1861-65 was only kept in check by the comparative brevity of the Civil War. In August 1861 Harpers Ferry experienced random sniping comparable with that in Sarajevo: "Everything that moved about the streets they shot at vindictively. . . ." Yet though Mr. Hearn does not venture from his chosen narrative path, this is a good book which will receive a warm welcome from the legions of Civil War readers.

King's College, London, England BRIAN HOLDEN REID

The Quality of Mercy: Southern Baptists and Social Christianity, 1890-1920. By Keith Harper, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1996. xi, 168 pp. Preface, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, about the author. $21.95 paper.)

Following the lead of John W. Storey, John Patrick McDowell, and especially Wayne Flynt, Keith Harper, in *The Quality of Mercy,* argues that white southern Baptists constructed a distinct social ethic in the three decades or so following 1890. This ethic, first articulated by a small but well-positioned elite leadership corps at seminaries and agencies such as the Home Mission Board, was forged from both an increasing denominational self-awareness (against

the backdrop of the Lost Cause) and the Populist "movement culture" in the late nineteenth century; but its origins, according to the author, can be traced back to seminal forces wrought during the religious revivals that erupted throughout the South roughly a century earlier. "Hence," Harper writes, "the seeds sown in the Second Great Awakening sprouted, grew and blossomed" in Dixie "for [white southern] Baptists between 1890 and 1920" (14).

"Social Christianity" is the term employed throughout the study to describe the composite plant that grew to fruition at the turn of the century– partly in an attempt to distinguish it from the Social Gospel in the North, a theological dandelion of sorts that was rooted in a fertile critique of unjust societal institutions, partly to connote the Baptist hybridization of evangelical outreach and conscious concern for the dispossessed– and considerable effort is made to reclaim, redeem, and reassess its legacy in the historiography of southern religion (chapters 1, 2, and 7). For, Harper manifestly contends, scholars including Kenneth K. Bailey, John B. Boles, John Lee Eighmy, Samuel S. Hill, Rufus B. Spain, and James J. Thompson Jr. have mistakenly relegated this unique social ethic to the status of church charity.

Not that all of these analysts were totally wrong. White southern Baptists remained individualistic, paternal, and rigidly biblicistic. They held fast to their conversion-centered theological conservatism. They never backed away from the idea that saving sinners was God's will and that it would lead to the regeneration of society as a whole. Nevertheless, "this precluded neither social concern nor social action" (45), the author declares, as missionary activity commonly met regard for society's victims. What is more, because social concern was informed by the development of an "organic society" which, as conceptualized by Joel Williamson, assumed hegemonic status in the post-Reconstruction South, social action was animated by the notion of social "place." As a result, white southern Baptists addressed "societal ills through churches and such social networks as families and communities," and these "differing cultural assumptions . . . may have camouflaged their Social Christianity to later generations" (115).

Of course "Social Christianity" was never wholly incognito between 1890 and 1920. In fact, Harper sees glimpses of it reflected everywhere in the New South mirror: in the rhetoric of southern Baptist leaders (chapter 3), particularly C. S. Gardner and George B. Eager, faculty at the Southern Theological Seminary, B. H. Carroll, founder of the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Isaac T.

Tichenor, Secretary of the Home Mission Board, and Richard H. Edmunds, editor of the *Manufacturer's Record;* in the building of orphanages and in the ideas that animated their construction and operation (chapter 4); in support of schools in Appalachia and the Ozarks (chapter 5), especially after a western North Carolina mountain man, A. E. Brown, became the Home Mission Board's first superintendent of Mountain Mission Schools in 1904; and in the policy of "racial uplift" (chapter 6), whereby white Baptists sought to "educate" accommodationist African American ministers so they might "properly" minister to and convert southern blacks. Importantly, this last reflective glimpse underscores the imperative of race, as well as the extent to which whatever seeds were sown prior to the period under investigation were of a genus akin to the black-eyed Susan. "Southern Baptists were unclear exactly where the African-American 'place' was in the organic society," the author writes, "but one thing was certain: They believed it was a place below whites" (117).

Although *The Quality* of *Mercy* will undoubtedly have some resonance beyond specialists in the field of southern religion, it can be regarded as another salvo in the continuing debate among scholars concerning the existence of a "social gospel" in the South. Thus, the essentials of Harper's argument have already been advanced by others (both Wayne Flynt and John W. Storey are quoted on the back cover of the volume), though the book adds significant detail to the larger narrative. The counter-argument that southern evangelicals never constructed a real social ethic similar to the Social Gospel in the North is still securely positioned in the scholarship, however, and it carries vastly more interpretive weight In addition, it has far greater conceptual economy, subsuming even the factual underpinning of Harper's account without denying the diversity of religious life in the region. To be sure, white evangelicals were increasingly aware of injustice in the early years of the twentieth century, and to a limited extent they instituted benevolent reforms. But theirs was a pietistic, otherworldly theology that mitigated against social criticism and made them anxious defenders of the status quo. A full comprehension of this theoretical base makes it much easier to understand why and how white Baptist leaders developed a special genius for levelling rhetorical "twistifications," to use the language of Thomas Jefferson, just as much as it reminds us that southern evangelical actions– however camouflaged-speak much louder than words in the final analysis.

Emory & Henry College THOMAS J. LITTLE

Sherman's Horsemen: Union Cavalry Operations in the Atlanta Campaign. By David Evans. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996. xxxvi, 645 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $40.00 cloth.)

In recent years Union General William T. Sherman's Atlanta campaign has been the subject of a couple of good books– James Jones and James McDonough, *War So Terrible* (1987) and Albert Castel, *Decision in the West* (1992). However, both of these books focus primarily on infantry operations, giving only perfunctory treatment to the cavalry. David Evan's *Sherman's Horsemen* addresses cavalry operations and closes a gap in Civil War literature. Cavalrymen have a story to tell, and, the author claims, "nowhere did horse soldiers play a more important role than in William Tecumseh Sherman's Atlanta campaign" (xvii). Evans wrote this book so that the cavalry operations during this campaign would not fade into obscurity and be lost forever.

In the spring of 1864 General Sherman underestimated the usefulness of cavalry; in fact, he was "mistrustful of cavalry" (2). The general had good reasons not to trust horsemen, for he had seen firsthand several Union cavalry failures. In addition, most of Sherman's cavalry commanders were Army of the Potomac castoffs who lacked competence and aggression. For these reasons the four cavalry divisions with Sherman, numbering 11,714 officers and men, spent the first two months of the campaign protecting the flanks of the Union army. Once the Federal troops reached the Chattahoochee River the cavalry played a more conspicuous role in the campaign. Six times during July and August 1864 Sherman sent mounted columns to cut railroad lines supplying the besieged city of Atlanta.

In one of the two successful cavalry raids, General Kenner D. Garrard, commanding the 2nd Cavalry Division, tore up the Georgia Railroad at Stone Mountain on July 18. However, just tearing up the rails was not good enough for Sherman– he wanted the track obliterated, and he gave specific orders on how this was to be done. Instead of simply heating and bending the ties, Sherman wanted them heated, twisted, and bent (82). That way the Rebels could not straighten and reuse the track. The other successful cavalry raid was led by General Lovell Rousseau. His command tore up twenty-six miles of the Montgomery & West Point Railroad. These two operations succeeded in severing Atlanta's direct rail connection with the east and west. By July 24 only the Macon &Western Railroad remained operative to supply Atlanta.

All four Union cavalry divisions united in the attempt to cut the Macon & Western Railroad, Sherman's "big raid." The plan was for the troopers to move out on July 27 and rendezvous south of Atlanta the next day. The horsemen would tear up five to ten miles of track plus telegraph wires, then return to protect the flanks of the army. In addition, General George Stoneman proposed that his division continue south after cutting the railroad to liberate the thirty thousand Union prisoners at Andersonville. Sherman approved the plan. In what became one of the most infamous raids of the Civil War, no prisoners were freed while over half of Stoneman's men became prisoners at Andersonville– 1,329 out of 2,144 (376). The railroad was not cut and Sherman's "big raid" was a dismal failure.

By the end of the campaign, the author demonstrates, Sherman still did not trust cavalry. In fact, Sherman blamed the horsemen's lack of energy for the capture of Atlanta taking six weeks instead of one: "I became more than ever convinced that cavalry could not or would not work hard enough to disable a railroad properly. . . ." (468).

David Evans has written a much needed book that fills a big gap in Civil War literature. *Sherman's Horsemen* was thoroughly researched and meticulously written. Evans has provided Civil War historians with a marvelous study that should stand as the definitive treatment of cavalry operations during the Atlanta campaign.

Valdosta State University CHRISTOPHER C. MEYERS

The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 13, *September 1867-March 1868.* Edited By Paul H. Bergeron. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996. xxix, 734 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, editorial method, illustrations, chronology, appendices, index. $49.50 cloth.)

"I often feel like dropping you a line," a fellow Tennessean wrote to Johnson, "but I am aware you receive more letters than you can read, & therefore, it is seldom that I gratify my inclination in this particular." Certainly the president received a tremendous amount of mail from citizens offering advice, pledging support, or begging for jobs. The thirteenth volume of his *Papers*, like its predecessors, consists very largely of this kind of correspondence. It includes few personal letters and few communications from Johnson himself except for official documents.

To the extent that the president read his mail-and heeded it– he was misled into believing that his popular support was greater and his political prospects brighter than was actually the case. True, he was sent a threatening letter signed "Avenger," and he exchanged correspondence with Ulysses S. Grant in which each called the other a liar, but he received absolutely no letters opposing his Reconstruction policies (or if he did receive any such letters, they were not included in the present collection).

But many correspondents denounced the policies of his opponents, the Radical Republicans. One of them, writing from New Orleans, said the consequence was that Louisiana had been delivered "into the hands of the negroes led by a few unprincipled white men, chiefly of Northern birth and education." Another, writing from Virginia, emphasized "threats made by the freedmen, who say they have been promised land and if it is not given to them they will have it by fighting." Such reports seemed to justify Johnson's public statement: "Of all the dangers which our nation has yet encountered, none are equal to those which must result from the success of the effort now making to Africanize the half of our country."

At first, correspondents assured Johnson that the threat of impeachment need not be taken seriously. They and he were encouraged by Democratic gains in the 1867 elections in northern states. Regarding one of the states, he was informed: "Maine pronounced yesterday against negro equality– against black rule in the South– against Congressional usurption, and particularly against the attempted degradation of the President and the Presidential Office." After the Pennsylvania voting the Washington *National Intelligencer* announced: "Impeachment died yesterday."

Impeachment revived, however, when Johnson removed Edwin M. Stanton as Secretary of War. Comparing Johnson to Jesus, a fellow townsman of Greeneville, Tennessee, assured him: "If you are *Impeached* the trial will be like one that took place over *Eighteen hundred years ago."* As the trial approached, some admirers thought the situation so desperate as to justify violence, one of them advising him: "were I in your place, I would have a secret understanding with the Fenians, from whom . . . I believe you could get an army that would scatter the fanatical fools," that is, the congressional Radicals. Other well-wishers assumed he had nothing to fear from a trial and had a good chance of reelection in 1868.

As this sampling suggests, the volume is especially rich as a source of contemporary opinion, at least the opinion of one ele-

ment of the public. The editing, as always, is excellent. The editors have taken pains to identify even the most obscure persons mentioned in the text, resorting to such sources as pension records and the manuscript census. All but a very few names have been identified, and nearly all of them correctly, an exception being the Florida carpetbagger Harrison Reed, who had been a newspaperman in Wisconsin, not Minnesota.

South Natick, Massachusetts RICHARD N. CURRENT

Gulf Coast Soundings: People &Policy in the Mississippi Shrimp Industry. By E. Paul Durrenberger. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996. xviii, 172 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, tables, figures, appendix, references, index. $29.95 cloth, $17.95 paper.)

You do not get the feel of waves slapping against the hull, nor the sounds of winches hauling back nets, dumping out jackknifing, kicking shrimp on deck from E. Paul Durrenberger's *Gulf Coast Soundings;* however, the book does give a valuable look at the demographics and economics of the independent people who struggle to make a living while bringing the delicious crustaceans to our dinner table. Durrenberger leaves the environmental recriminations of bycatch (the millions of pounds of "wasted" fish) and the sea turtles drowned in the nets to others and focuses on the people, their lives, and how increasing regulations, foreign competition, and the ever escalating costs of fuel, repairs and ice affect them.

Durrenberger's writing is sometimes filled with jargon like "Folk Models," but the author's interviews with fishermen give a compassionate view of a beleaguered people who leave the dock trusting to luck, risking their boats and lives in one of the most dangerous professions on earth. Next to coal mining, it has the highest accident rate of any occupation; furthermore, fishermen never know if they will even meet expenses. When the shrimp are running, as one shrimper put it, the Gulf shrinks to the size of a bath tub as everyone drags nets, tangles gear, and runs over each other.

Luck plays a big part in fishing, but so does skill in what the author calls the "skipper effect." A few come in with their hulls full of shrimp; others just strain water, eke out a bare living fighting the elements, or eventually go broke, dry up, and blow away. At times the conflict and the cultural disparity between American and Vietnamese fishermen has nearly led to war, with boat burnings and shootings.

Bless Mr. Durrenberger for taking a hard look at the views of fisheries managers and their often flawed assumptions and computer models that determine when, how, and where people may fish. It does not always follow that limiting harvest and allowing breeding stock to escape into the sea causes a subsequent rise in populations. Depending on when it hits, a hurricane can cause a good shrimp season by bringing nutrients into the estuaries, or a terrible one by flushing juvenile shrimp out to sea. Environmental factors, such as water temperature, rainfall, and food supplies are critical.

With bigger boats, more powerful engines, and better technology that enables the well capitalized to vacuum up the sea floor, the need for control is dire, but the lack of communication between regulators, academics, and fishermen leaves the whole issue of fishery management a hopeless mess. While environmentalists see TEDS (Turtle Excluder Devices) as a solution to the drowning of sea turtles, some shrimpers complain bitterly that it is nothing but a hole in their nets through which shrimp pass.

Shrimpers, often working together in family units, are the dinosaurs of this society. Instead of going off to the office and leaving their kids in day care or hanging around street corners, fathers put their sons to work, and daughters work with their mothers in the fish houses heading and processing shrimp. But the shrimpers are as endangered as the sea turtles. Lacking the clout that farmers have in imposing market protections and tariffs, cheap imported and aquaculture shrimp often floods the market, driving down the price of shrimp.

It is good that E. Paul Durrenberger has written this all down before the industry fades away. His work is comparable to that of the ethnographers who sought to chronicle the last days of the Indians before they vanished from the Plains.

Gulf Specimen Marine Laboratories, Inc. JACK RUDLOE

Dixie Debates: Perspectives on Southern Culture. Edited by Richard H. King and Helen Taylor. (New York University Press, 1996. xii, 242 pp. Acknowledgments, contributors, introduction, afterword, index. $17.95 paper.)

The thirteen stimulating essays that compose *Dixie Debates* originated in a conference on southern culture at the University of

Warwick in 1994. The selections range from music to film, from literature to *Southern Living Magazine,* from yard art to tourism. The essays, divided into three sections titled "Southern Cultures," "Southern Music," and "Southern Images," are well written, engaging, and provocative.

Charles Joyner sets the tone with a compelling argument for recognizing the significant contributions that African Americans gave to southern culture. "The slaves were not merely *receivers* of European culture, they were also donors of African culture, and *creators* of southern culture" (16, emphasis in original). While Joyner concentrates primarily upon music, his essay suggests the complex and entangled influences that created southern culture. Paul Binding argues that southern literature matured in the twentieth century in the struggle between agrarian and industrial forces and tests his argument using Eudora Welty, Ellen Glasgow, the Agrarians, and William Faulkner. Women blues singers, Maria Laurent reminds us in an essay that analyzes both literature and music, were sometimes sassy and sang not only of men's shortcomings but also of lust and fun. Robert Lewis discusses the construction of Cajun culture, its music, flag, customs, and language, and the mixture of influences that have shaped it. *Southern Living,* Diane Roberts implies, epitomizes white southerners' persistent evasion of unpleasant topics and of middle-class insularity. The magazine avoided stories on civil rights, poor folks, and strife and offered its readers an imaginary and unproblemed white South.

Four essays deal specifically with music. Simon Frith's essay, "The Academic Elvis," faults academics both for shunning Elvis Presley and also for constructing an antiseptic canon that prefers uncontaminated traditions. Presley, like many of his rock 'n' roll cohorts, came from a southern working-class culture that was loaded with impurity, contradictions, and talent. Once rock 'n' roll moved beyond its wild originators, Paul Wells argues, southern rock in the 1970s "not merely embodies the 'good ole boy' model but also legitimizes the more romanticized and socialized aspects of masculine behavior by recalling the hierarchical and patriarchal codes of the plantation era" (119). The expansion of black-oriented radio after World War II, Brian Ward and Jenny Walker show, popularized black slang, legitimized black leaders, united communities in various endeavors, and encouraged pride. The role of black radio during the civil rights movement is less clear, but certainly white owners and sponsors balked at civil rights activism. Sorting out the impact of disk jockey

jargon, black-influenced clothing style, and the evolving music of the fifties continues. Connie Zeanah Atkinson explores how New Orleans tourist lords treat visitors to an experience that includes not only jazz and rhythm and blues but also gospel music. The New Orleans tourist industry, like those in many southern cities, would prefer a marketable middle-class musical tradition.

The Birth of a Nation, Richard Dyer argues, was about much more than race and sex. The film utilized novel lighting techniques to emphasize endangered white female purity. Because of flawed southern white men, miscegenation, and overenthusiastic Ku Klux Klansmen, Dyer suggests, the film "betrays a feeling that the South is, after all, not quite white enough to give birth to the new white nation" (175). Jane Gaines re-examines Oscar Micheaux's 1919 film, *Within Our Gates,* and reveals layers of meaning that in some ways contests D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation.* Judith McWillie provides a tour of the South that reveals the persistence of African influences on culture. Burial monuments, yard art, quilts, drawings, and juke joint paint schemes are manifestations of African American artistic memory.

Giving word bites of these essays does them little justice. These are imaginative, thoughtful, and sometimes humorous essays that largely avoid jargon and pretentiousness. They suggest that the study of southern culture flourishes at home and abroad and that it is hospitable to a variety of influences and interpretations.

National Museum of American History PETE DANIEL

What Do We Need a Union For? The TWUA in *the* South, *1945-1955.* By Timothy J. Minchin. (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997. vii, 285 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $16.95 paperback.)

Timothy Minchin's *What Do We Need a Union For?* succeeds in the dubious task of complementing and even challenging an already massive historiography devoted to workers in the South's largest industry. The book's contributions lie not only in extending this topic into the unexplored post-World War II era, but also in challenging established theses that blame cultural and industrial peculiarities for the demise of unionism in the South. Drawing upon over sixty oral history interviews and union, business, and government archives, Minchin argues that southern textile workers rejected unions out of pragmatic assessments of their changing

economic situation– a situation that resembled that of other white American workers during the same period. While Minchin's rejection of cultural explanations leads him at times to a simplistic economism, he provides a convincing alternative to the southern exceptionalism of previous studies.

This study's central finding is that broad economic changes prevented the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) from organizing southern workers after the Second World War. In a booming postwar economy, non-union manufacturers matched wages paid at unionized plants, thus creating a "free-rider problem" that allowed workers to benefit from union drives without joining them. The TWUA first encountered this barrier during Operation Dixie, a multi-union effort to organize the South between 1946 and 1953. As union organizer Joel Leighton explained in one interview, high wages and access to consumer goods decreased workers' sympathy for the organizing drive. "What do we need a union for?" he recalled them asking, "We've never had it so good." Challenging historian Barbara Griffith's assertion that workers' acceptance of racism, anti-communism, and paternalism killed Operation Dixie before it even began, Minchin argues that the TWUA did succeed in creating new locals throughout the campaign. Unable to maintain wages above unorganized plants, however, the union failed to institutionalize these new locals into textile mill communities.

Focusing primarily upon North Carolina, Minchin traces the TWUA from Operation Dixie through a previously ignored 1951 general strike and into its aftermath. Alternating between regional and local studies, he situates textile communities within a broader context of the postwar industrial South. Increased sales after the war allowed textiles, a minimally profitable industry before the war, to increase wages steadily in the late 1940s. Able to attract workers with high wages, companies replaced long-standing paternalistic practices of providing housing, health care, and food to their workers. Although previous authors have blamed paternalism for the death of unions in the South, Minchin shows that owning their own homes and shopping in independent stores did not lead workers to join the TWUA. Workers bought cars and houses outside the mill communities, but in the process accumulated credit debts that greatly dampened their union participation. While postwar economic growth slowed union expansion in already organized northern industries, the TWUA could not establish a presence in the South without providing concrete advantages to new members.

While economic prosperity may have undermined the TWUA, Minchin draws too sharp a distinction between economic growth and other social factors. He himself points out that black and female workers provided disproportionately stronger support for the 1951 strike than white men. Indeed, Minchin pays close attention to the importance of race and gender identity in determining black and female support for the TWLJA. During a 1946 organizing drive at Kannapolis, North Carolina, the union's call for a family wage alienated women who were, according to one organizer, "afraid of losing the feeling of superiority" over women who did not work outside their homes. Black workers in Danville joined the union for protection from racial discrimination and opposed integration of locals out of fear that they would lose their independent voice. Minchin connects race and gender identity to economic choices when discussing women and African Americans, but he portrays white male workers simply as economic actors. Historians Michael Honey and Robert Korstad have clearly demonstrated that race and gender became inextricably linked to class consciousness in the postwar South, as unions sacrificed attention to social reform in exchange for high wages. Minchin could have extended his thesis to white male workers in the same period.

This well-researched and clearly written study rescues southern cotton mill workers from the focus on cultural isolation that has dominated much recent work on the subject. By examining a more recent period and through extensive use of oral history, Minchin demonstrates that southern whites enjoyed the high wages and access to consumer goods that also weakened industrial unions in the North. He has also set the stage for deeper inquiry into the connections between such prosperity and changing race and gender relations in the postwar South.

University of North Carolina WILLIAM P. JONES

From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963-1994. By Dan T. Carter. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996. xv, 134 pp. Preface, notes, index. $22.95 hardcover.)

For more than a decade Dan T. Carter has plumbed the depths of George Wallace's remarkable political career. In 1995, the long-

awaited publication of Carter's magisterial biography, *The Politics of Rage: George, Wallace, The Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics,* finally brought the enigmatic Alabama demagogue out of the shadows and into the light of scholarly examination. This full-scale study of the Wallace phenomenon is a wonderfully entertaining and often brilliant book, but one suspects that not all readers– including many serious students of American politics– have the time nor the inclination to make their way through 450-plus pages of text. Fortunately, the recent publication of a companion volume provides an alternative and accessible forum for Carter's most important insights. Three of the volume's four essays were written in 1991 and originally delivered as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. Carter wrote the concluding essay, which extends the analysis into the post-1991 Clinton and Gingrich years, in early 1996.

In a brief preface, Carter offers a clear rationale for focusing on the connection between Wallace and the ascendant "conservative counterrevolution": he is determined to cure a case of willful political amnesia. "Republicans benefiting from this shift in their political fortunes," Carter insists, "have extravagantly praised Ronald Reagan as patron saint and acknowledged their debts to Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon. They have even suborned Franklin Roosevelt to the cause of Republican conservatism. But George Wallace remains a figure to be ignored in the fervent hope that he will quietly disappear out the back door of our historical memory" (xiv). Carter's complaint is valid, and more than a few GOP stalwarts will wince when they learn that a distinguished historian has bolted the back door and dragged Wallace kicking and screaming onto the front porch of modern Republicanism.

The first essay, "The Politics of Anger," traces the evolution of Wallace's racial politics from the 1958 gubernatorial campaign (after losing to archsegregationist John Patterson, Wallace reportedly vowed that "no other son-of-a-bitch will ever out-nigger me again" [2].) to the national presidential campaigns of 1964 and 1968. During these years Wallace demonstrated that racial demagoguery had a broad appeal outside the South, especially among young white males and working-class "hard hats." Although the Alabama governor was too crude and too identifiably southern to take full advantage of the emerging conservative malaise, he was, as Carter notes, "the first politician to sense and then exploit the changes America

came to know by many names: white backlash, the silent majority, and alienated voters." Unable to transcend "the role of redneck poltergeist," Wallace inadvertently "opened the door for his successors to manipulate and exploit the politics of anger" (23). The first national politician to benefit from the Wallace-inspired backlash was, of course, Richard Nixon. In a lengthy second essay entitled "The Politics of Accommodation," Carter probes the origins and evolution of Nixon's vaunted "Southern Strategy." During the national campaigns of 1968 and 1972, Nixon and his aides skillfully and somewhat cynically co-opted much of Wallace's racially charged message. Most important, the Republican effort to accommodate and legitimize Wallace's politics was accompanied by a successful effort to delegitimize the man himself. Beginning in the fall of 1969, Postmaster General Winton "Red" Blount and Attorney General John Mitchell spearheaded a secret campaign to "neutralize" Wallace; presaging the Watergate affair, the anti-Wallace campaign was "characterized by the same pattern of high-level duplicity, dirty tricks, and back-room deals" (46). Although he missed a golden opportunity to dub this tawdry episode "Wallacegate," Carter's account is eye-opening and persuasive.

The third essay, "The Politics of Symbols," traces the institutionalization of racialist, neo-Wallacite Republicanism in the 1980s. Carter surveys the racial impact of Ronald Reagan's ultraconservative judicial appointments, the Republican Right's misplaced faith in supply-side economics, the growing insensitivity to the plight of the urban poor, the gutting of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, and the deliberate blurring of race, crime, and tax issues. In the second half of the essay, Carter painstakingly describes how George Bush reiterated and manipulated the symbols of racial and class prejudice during the 1988 presidential race. Bush's racial posturing, especially his reliance on the infamous Willie Horton ad, demonstrated that "the issue of race remained the driving wedge of American conservative politics" (80).

The fourth and final essay, "The Politics of Righteousness," brings the saga of race and Republicanism into the mid-1990s. Here Carter recounts the high and low points of the 1992 and 1994 electoral campaigns, relating the familiar stories of Bill Clinton's move to the center, Ross Perot's picaresque third-party challenge, and Newt Gingrich's emergence as a right-wing Republican avenger. Unfortunately, despite an engaging narrative, this is the least satisfying part of the book. The focus on race is intermittent,

and a lack of temporal perspective-the essay was written in the midst of the 1996 campaign– severely hampers Carter's efforts to offer anything more than journalistic commentary. Assessing the character and historical meaning of an ongoing political counter-revolution is a dubious undertaking, even for a historian as talented and clever as Carter. With the fate of affirmative action, court-ordered busing, and welfare reform still in doubt, and with Gingrich and the Republicans still weaving all over the road of racial demagoguery, no one can be certain how long and hard that road will be.

University of South Florida RAYMOND ARSENAULT

Jimmy Carter: American Moralist. By Kenneth E. Morris. (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. xii, 397 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, selected bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.)

In March 1980, the *Boston Globe* distributed 161,000 newspapers containing an editorial entitled "Mush from the Wimp" before it realized its embarrassing mistake. At about the same time a widely circulating story told of President Carter being attacked by a "killer rabbit."

Almost twenty years later the reputation of Jimmy Carter and his presidency is rising, but Kenneth E. Morris, a sociologist at the University of Georgia, is most emphatically not an advocate of the Carter renaissance. Utilizing memoirs, secondary works, and a large number of oral history interviews from the Jimmy Carter Library, along with psychological and sociological analysis, the author has written a highly critical study of Carter.

Morris begins with a discussion of Carter's famous "malaise speech" of July 1979. He uses this event as a point of departure for his psychohistory of the president that emphasizes his moral individualism and universalism. It is this moral individualism (by which Morris means the effort to achieve a morally pure individual life) along with the tangled family relationships that dominates this interpretation of Carter.

After the introductory chapter the biography proceeds with three chapters devoted to the years prior to the future president's entry into politics. In them Morris portrays an unhappy family life

that left Carter estranged from the people of small town Georgia. According to Morris, Carter was always an outsider who never experienced a sense of community and "never developed the kind of unified self that grows naturally from a community that sustains it" (89).

In the treatment of Carter's career in Georgia politics, Morris is equally uncomplimentary. Although offering some praise for his gubernatorial reform efforts, the author is harshly critical of his campaigns, especially that for governor against Carl Sanders in 1970.

Even Carter's justly praised racial egalitarianism comes in for unflattering scrutiny. Morris argues that Carter's relations with blacks were never as good as advertised and that he was perfectly capable of making racist appeals when it suited his purposes as in 1970. On the other hand, Carter's general progressivism on race also alienated him from most of white society.

The last third of the book deals with Carter as a national political figure– the presidential campaign of 1976, the presidency, and the post-presidential career. Here, Morris concentrates on the crisis in public confidence that the president attempted to confront in 1979. Morris believes that Carter was correct in his diagnosis of American malaise but was unable to advance a convincing solution because he never could realize that the malaise he denounced was a product of the success of the moral individualism he espoused.

In concluding Morris summarizes the larger meaning of Jimmy Carter and his public morality, According to Morris, Carter exemplifies the American contradiction that attempts to combine moral individualism with the search for community. The problem is that moral individualism encourages "moral fragmentation and social atomization" and ultimately "makes community unachievable" (320). Morris believes that this contradiction is so serious that it endangers the very future of the nation.

This dilemma is one that has vexed Americans since the days of the Puritans. More recently, social commentators such as Christopher Lasch have written long treatises on it. What is notable is not Carter's inability to promote community in an age of increasingly radical individualism, but that in the last quarter of the twentieth century only Ronald Reagan of all presidents has had any success in this enterprise. In this respect, Jimmy Carter is hardly unique. But if Morris's analytical framework is unoriginal, its application to Carter is not. If the book contains dubious psychological specula-

tion along with superfluous references to popular culture, Morris has offered insights into Jimmy Carter and his times that are well worth the attention of both his supporters and detractors as well as political and social historians.

University of Central Florida EDMUND F. KALLINA JR.

BOOK NOTES

New Titles

Long before the publication of *At The Water's Edge: A Pictorial and Narrative History of Apalachicola and Franklin County,* the silver-nibbed William Lee Popham was penning the praises of the Apalachicola area. Popham, the self-proclaimed "Oyster King" of Apalachicola, likely would have been impressed with the work of the book's authors, William Warren Rogers and Lee Willis III. However, considering Popham's gift for hyperbole (he modestly subtitled one of his own works *The Best Book in the World)* he might have considered the authors' title choice insufficiently grandiose. *At the Water's Edge* introduces readers to the colorful Popham and the region which inspired many of his most creative enterprises. The text's slice-of-life color pictures and numerous historical photographs complement the authors' engaging narrative. *At The Water's Edge: A Pictorial and Narrative History of Apalachicola and Franklin County* is available in hardback from the Donning Company Publishers for $39.99.

Ferdie Pacheco's *Art of Ybor City* is a coffee table book far too lively to be left on a coffee table. In fact, one of the figures in the painting that serves as the book's cover seems to be exhorting potential readers to open the work and explore its contents. Pacheco, who has enjoyed numerous careers as a physician, television commentator, and artist, is perhaps best known as Muhammad Ali's "Fight Doctor." Pacheco became Ali's personal physician in the mid-1960s and his world tours with the noted pugilist reawakened Pacheco's long-held interest in art. The satirical cartoons of his youth would eventually metamorphose into the brightly colored "people's art" which virtually leaps from the pages of his book. The thirty-three paintings featured in the book evoke the Ybor City of the 1930s and '40s replete with cigar factories, backyard picnics, and jostling masses of Spaniards, Cubans, and Sicilians. Each painting is also accompanied by a revealing, and often historically fascinating, artist's description. *Pacheco's Art of Ybor City* is available in cloth from the University Press of Florida for $39.95.

As a child growing up in pre-World War II France, Robert Baudy would occasionally accompany his father to Paris where a trip to the movies gave the boy a chance to see the American Westerns which so piqued his imagination. Little could he have dreamed, however, that his own life would one day be filled with the sort of spectacular episodes which made those films so enchanting. *Baudy: The Animal Man* is the biography of Robert Baudy as told to Sandra Thompson, and the story he tells is nothing short of incredible. *Baudy* chronicles the life of its subject from his perilous days as a member of the Free French Army to his equally perilous career as a world renowned animal trainer. The life of a circus performer is prone to exaggeration and Baudy's tales of his globe-spanning romantic liaisons often seem drawn from the pages of an Ian Fleming novel, but his prowess in the center ring was legendary and his respect for the animals with which he worked eventually inspired him to establish a rare feline preserve in Florida where the septuagenarian continues his mission to protect endangered species. *Baudy: The Animal Man* is available in paperback from Rainbow Books for $29.95.

On March 9, 1969, Caroline Ziemba's "Historiography" column in the Stuart News began this way: "As I research our Martin County history, periodically I find items of much interest– in newspapers that are deteriorating. When this arises, I feel it quite necessary to repeat the article for posterity" (249). Preserving historical records– whether they be faded birth certificates, ink-stained tax rolls, or brittle newspaper fragments– can be a difficult and often time-consuming process, but the rewards of such work are clearly visible in Ziemba's book, *Martin County, Our Heritage. Martin County* is a collection of Ziemba's "Historiography" columns she wrote for the Stuart News from 1966 to 1970. The columns that comprise the book are divided into subject categories such as "Early Settlements of Martin County," "Prominent Personalities," and, of course, "Newspapers." *Martin County, Our Heritage* is available in paperback from Stuart Heritage Inc. for $19.95 plus tax and $3.85 S&H.

Mary Collar Linehan and Marjorie Watts Nelson have authored *Pioneer Days on the Shores of Lake Worth, 1873-1893,* which was published in 1994 by the Southern Heritage Press in St. Petersburg. This 134-page book, lavishly illustrated with rare photographs, is a valuable source for genealogists, historians, and the

general public. Linehan and Nelson have provided an interesting narrative that ties together the history of the Lake Worth area during the first twenty years of settlement. The book can be purchased by writing to the authors at 139 Prospect Road, Lantana, Florida, 33462.

When Lt. Charles Dryden, graduate of the Tuskegee Army Flying School and member of the 99th Pursuit Squadron, received his first combat plane assignment he chose to name his new Curtis P-40 "A-Train"— a title inspired by the Duke Ellington hit "Take the A-Train." The year was 1943 and Dryden's 99th Squadron, which along with three other African American squadrons formed the 322nd Fighter Group, would soon distinguish themselves in battle in the skies over Pantelleria and Sicily. The wartime achievements of the 322nd lent support to the movement which, under President Truman's 1948 executive order, ended segregation in the armed forces. In his book *A-Train: Memoirs of a Tuskegee Airman,* Lt. Col. Dryden USAF (Retired) recounts the events of his twenty-one year military career during which he battled both enemies abroad and racism at home. Describing his work as a "historical drama," it is a tribute to Dryden's literary skills that he has written a book with as much verve and feeling as the song which its title celebrates. *A-Train: Memoirs of a Tuskegee Airman* is available in hardcover from the University of Alabama Press for $29.95.

In the appendix of Kevin Conley Ruffner's meticulously document, *Maryland's Blue and Gray,* there is a roster listing 365 of the state's Union and Confederate junior officers which contains such a wealth of personal information one is startled by its intimacy. Ruffner, a historian for the Central Intelligence Agency, credits a number of sources with helping facilitate his research efforts, but even with their assistance the author likely spent countless hours poring over musty records and reels of microfilm searching for the information which would bring his subjects to life. The end result of Ruffner's diligent detective work is an enlightening book which reveals much about the often arbitrary lines which divided those in blue from their adversaries in gray. In Ruffner's view, "the Civil War fought in Maryland in the years 1861 to 1865 was a microcosm of the war that afflicted the entire nation" (2). *Maryland's Blue and Gray: A Border State's Union and Confederate Junior Officer Corps* is available in hardcover from the Louisiana State University Press for $34.95.

Putting "Loafing Streams" to Work by historian Harvey Jackson III tells the story of how, between 1910 and 1930, the Alabama Power Company enlisted the efforts of thousands of Alabamians, skilled and unskilled, black and white, to construct four major hydroelectric dams that would eventually bring electricity to the remotest areas of the state. Transportation networks were created to move men and materials and when these men were joined by their wives and children the work camps became towns. In the course of his research Jackson had the opportunity to speak with many of the "dam people" and a number of their stories illuminate his book. Life in the camps was not always ideal, with health concerns constantly an issue, but a sense of shared goals strengthened bonds among workers and contributed to a genuine feeling of community. In some respects the camp towns bore a striking resemblance to the cooperative "gov'ment camp" of John Steinbeck's later book, *The Grapes of Wrath*. The coming Great Depression would bring serious hardship to Alabama, but it would not lessen the remarkable accomplishment of the Alabama Power Company and the "dam people." *Putting "Loafing Streams" to Work* is available in paperback from the University of Alabama Press for $24.95.

New in Paperback

Writing in 1942, shortly after the death of southern historian Charles W. Ramsdell, a colleague reflecting on the dedicated professor's modest number of authored works lamented, "Too much of caution, too much of honest care, too high a regard for perfection,– all these things held back his pen to the permanent impoverishment of American History" (xvi). Ramsdell's meticulous style often resulted in a kind of continual Whitmanesque revision of his work. His last book, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy* (1943), was published posthumously because during his lifetime Ramsdell felt the manuscript needed additional scholarly polish. However, despite his concerns the work, which was conceived for 1937's Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University, remains a well-crafted, tenable study. Ramsdell's book argues that the South's defeat in the Civil War was a result of a financial collapse which eroded the base of the Confederacy long before its military surrender. *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy* is available from Louisiana State University Press for $11.95.

In 1880, William Tecumseh Sherman delivered a speech at the Ohio State Fair which featured the memorable line, "There is many a boy here today who looks on war as all glory, but, boys it is all hell." The "war is hell" quote became synonymous with Sherman and his military exploits, but the fearsome general had a life away from the battlefield and Michael Fellman's critically acclaimed biography, *Citizen Sherman*, offers readers an exceptionally vivid portrait of that life. Fellman chronicles Sherman's failed stints as a banker and university president as well as his tumultuous relationship with his wife Ellen which produced far more battles than his military career. By expanding traditional biographical boundaries *Citizen Sherman* engages readers with a story that is both a personal record and a study in nineteenth-century family life. *Citizen Sherman* is available from the University Press of Kansas for $19.95.

Many years before Bertram Wyatt-Brown became a distinguished Professor of History at the University of Florida he labored as an assiduous doctoral student on a dissertation entitled "Partners in Piety: Lewis and Arthur Tappan." That work would eventually form the basis for Wyatt-Brown's first book *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War on Slavery* (1969). Lewis Tappan was a complex figure– a New England abolitionist who, as founder of the Dunn & Bradstreet Company, profited handsomely from the sort of "wage slavery" so often decried by John C. Calhoun and his southern constituents. And yet, Tappan was a dedicated reformer who believed that "slavery was a denial of civilization, while anti-slavery represented the highest aims of Christian life" (x). In their efforts to redeem a nation which they felt "had lost its sense of integrity," Tappan and his abolitionist brethren fused their anti-slavery crusade with a uniquely American mix of capitalism and evangelicalism. *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War on Slavery* is available from the Louisiana State University Press for $16.95.

Reprints and Revised Editions

The cover illustration for *Florida Hurricanes and Tropical Storms* (revised edition) features a menacing radar image of the state awash in an angry sea of red and yellow eddies. The mood of the illustration is appropriate considering that the warlike colors represent the October 1995 approach of Hurricane Opal. The dark legacy of Opal, a category three hurricane, would be fifty-nine dead

and nearly four billion dollars in damages. In *Florida Hurricanes and Tropical Storms* authors John Williams and Iver W. Duedall have compiled a chronological guide of every hurricane and tropical storm to impact the state since 1871. Their book is both an excellent historical work (featuring numerous eyewitness accounts of hurricanes of the past fifty years) and a useful contemporary guide (complete with a hurricane preparedness checklist and information regarding evacuation procedures). *Florida Hurricanes and Trapical Storms* (revised edition) is available in paperback from the University Press of Florida for $12.95.

The title of Ida Tarbell's 1924 book, *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns* (retitled *Abraham Lincoln and His Ancestors* in the Bison Books edition and featuring an Introduction by Kenneth J. Winkle), was not simply a clever literary choice but a semantically accurate one. In the course of her research for the book Tarbell followed a trail– from Massachusetts to Virginia to Kentucky to Illinois– that seven successive generations of Lincolns had traveled. Along the way she "copied inscriptions on gravestones, went over houses in which they had lived," and successfully "put a little flesh on the bones" (v). Perhaps it was the investigative journalist in Tarbell that inspired her interstate trek, but it was her enthusiasm for her subject that made the journey so absorbing. Tarbell, who is best known in American history textbooks for her classic 1904 exposé *The History of the Standard Oil Company,* first published her Lincoln writings as a series of articles which ran in *McClure's* magazine from 1896 to 1900. Although Tarbell's book suffers from a general unwillingness to criticize Lincoln it did break new ground in portraying him as a "typical pioneer child of typical pioneer parents" (ix). *Abraham Lincoln and His Ancestors* is available in paperback from the University of Nebraska Press for $20.00.

In 1862 at the end of his sophomore year at the University of Michigan, James Harvey Kidd left college and enlisted in the Union Army. During the war Kidd served with the Sixth Michigan Cavalry under West Point graduate George Armstrong Custer. Like many of Custer's soldiers, Kidd developed an admiration for the fearless "Boy General" which he would always carry with him. After his military service ended in 1865 Kidd went on to become a successful newspaper editor and his 1908 book, *Personal Recollections of a Cavalryman with Custer's Michigan Brigade in the Civil War* (retitled

Riding With Custer in the new Bison Books edition and featuring an Introduction by Gregory J. W. Urwin), is a testament to his skills as a storyteller and his enduring faithfulness to the memory of his former commander. Kidd himself would also be remembered when, almost a half-century after he left Ann Arbor, the University of Michigan recognized the accomplishments of its wayward undergraduate and awarded him an honorary doctorate. *Riding with Custer: Recollections of a Cavalryman in the Civil War* is available in paperback from the University of Nebraska Press for $19.95.

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.

"Florida Women in their Material World," an interdisciplinary history conference, will be held at the Orange County Historical Museum, Orlando, Florida, October 15-18, 1998. Sponsored by the Museum and the Women's Studies Program at the University of Central Florida, the conference will focus on the experiences of women in Florida from pre-contact to the present. A special invitation is extended to high school teachers to attend the Saturday meeting which will offer sessions relevant to teaching Florida history and social studies. Individual submissions as well as suggestions for complete panels are welcome. Abstracts are due to the Museum by May 1, 1998. Mail materials to: Orange County Historical Museum, 812 E. Rollins St., Orlando, FL, 32803. For further information, contact Ms. Kerry Kennedy at (407) 897-6350.

"Power and Protest," the Seventeenth Annual Gulf South History and Humanities Conference will be held at Southeastern Louisiana University, October 8-10, 1998. Sponsored by the Gulf South History and Humanities Association, the conference will examine dissent and reaction in the Gulf South from 1850 to 1970. All proposals must be postmarked by May 1, 1998. Individual paper proposals must contain a brief resume, paper title, and a fifty word abstract. Those organizing panels (three or four presenters and a chair) must submit a resume, panel title, and an abstract for each

participant. Those proposing roundtables (five or six discussants with a chair) must provide a short resumé and topic for each participant. Also, there will be a $200.00 award given to the best graduate paper. All proposals should be sent to, Dr. Samuel C. Hyde Jr., Center for Regional Studies, Southeastern Louisiana University, SLU 730, Hammond, LA. 70402.

The Society of American Archivists will host its annual meeting at the Walt Disney World Dolphin Resort Hotel, Orlando, August 31-September 6, 1998. The meeting will commence with two days of SAA continuing education workshops (featuring training and assistance in the areas of preservation, electronic description, and basic archival principles). The workshops will be followed by the Society's business meetings and over sixty program sessions. In keeping with the resort setting of the meeting the Program Committee is encouraging session topics relating to the archival implications of travel, entertainment, and popular culture in America. For further information contact Carl Van Ness, 208 Smathers Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL. 32611; or let your keyboard do the walking to: carvann@nervm.nerdc.ufl.edu.

New Publications

Prosperity Publishing announces the publication of "The Drummer's Roll: A Journal of Florida Soldiers During the Civil War." "The Drummer's Roll" is a newsletter devoted to the remembrance of Florida soldiers who took part in the Civil War. Published six times annually, The Drummer's Roll features personalized narratives, battle histories complete with maps, and valuable research tips, as well as trivia questions and reader feedback. For more information, contact Prosperity Publishing, P.O. Box 68, Cape Coral, FL, 33910-0068; or arrange a virtual visit at: www.cyberstreet.com/ppub.

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