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Cover Illustration: This photograph shows Governor Fred Cone with Senator Claude D. Pepper and the Governor of Georgia at a dinner. The photograph can be found in the photographic collections at the *Florida State Archives.*

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A New Deal for Welfare: Governor Fred Cone and the Florida State Welfare Board

by David Nelson

In May 1937, Florida suffered from the crippling effects of the Great Depression. The governor's office received letters daily from out-of-work laborers, single mothers, starving children, and elderly dependants pleading for assistance and state action. Yet, Florida's government rested upon a shallow tax base making the state's ten-year old welfare system almost entirely dependent upon federal aid. Only two years earlier, the federal government had demanded that the state re-vamp its State Board of Public Welfare, requiring an increased state financial commitment, stiffer welfare laws, and higher qualifications for welfare employees before millions of federal dollars would pour into the state through various New Deal programs.

Faced with the flood of welfare requests, newly inaugurated governor Fred Cone asked the state legislature in May 1937 to abolish the State Board of Public Welfare and replace it with a new State Welfare Board. Citing overblown salaries, mishandled funds, and "foreign" influence (northern-born appointees), Cone painted a picture of vast corruption and inexcusable government waste. His plan called for a scaled-down, economically-minded board run in a business-like manner. For many, however, Cone's reorganization plan jeopardized millions in federal grants and threatened the entire New Deal program in Florida.

David Nelson is an archivist at the Florida State Archives. He presented an earlier version of this paper at the 2004 Florida Conference of Historians in Lake City.

Yet the plan was business as usual for Cone, who remembered days when the state government offered only limited welfare to the "deserving poor" and shunned overt federal involvement in state affairs. The new federal welfare programs, with their armies of social workers and seemingly limitless funds threatened the political, racial, and social boundaries that Cone had known in Florida. Rather than reject the New Deal, however, Cone realized the potential benefits that accompanied federal monies. Realizing, as did so many state governors of the 1930s, that New Deal programs offered much in the way of patronage, he saw a chance to increase his gubernatorial power by controlling employees who doled out Florida's federal dollars. Maintaining a laissez-faire, conservative government while strengthening Florida's traditionally weak governor's office became interdependent goals in Cone's vision. Once inaugurated, Cone wasted little time acting upon that vision.

When Fred Cone was elected to office in November 1936, Florida governors were little more than public spokesmen for the state. Their staffs consisted of an assistant executive, a few secretaries, a receptionist, and a switchboard operator.[1] Kept weak by the 1885 state constitution—a reaction to the powerful executive office of the Reconstruction-era 1868 constitution—gubernatorial power faced several restrictions.[2] Principal among them was the seven-member elected cabinet system comprised of the governor, comptroller, attorney general, superintendent of education, treasurer, commissioner of agriculture, and the secretary of state. The executive cabinet decided on a myriad of issues, and in various combinations ruled over countless boards and commissions.[3] While many boards answered to individual cabinet members, others answered to the legislature, bypassing the governor altogether. An organizational chart for the state government of the 1930s was a confusing, de-centralized mesh of competing boards, commissions, departments, and committees.

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1. James Dunn, "The New Deal and Florida Politics," (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1971), 91.
2. See David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher, *Florida Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1980) for a discussion on the 1885 constitution and its effect on governors.
3. In 1937, the executive officers were Comptroller J. M. Lee, Attorney General Cary D. Landis, Superintendent Colin English, Treasurer William Knott, Commissioner Nathan Mayo, and Secretary R. A. Gray.

In addition, Florida's chief executives were limited to one four-year term, while cabinet members could be re-elected without limits.[4] As a result, cabinet members answered to their constituents, not the governor. When in 1948, southern political analyst V. O. Key referred to Florida's politics as "every man for himself" (a reference to the state's divisive political climate) he very well could have also been describing Florida's executive cabinet system.[5]

Aside from a one-in-seven vote in the cabinet, Florida's gubernatorial power rested on three primary tools: veto, persuasion, and patronage.[6] By simply refusing to sign off on legislation, a governor could often irreparably disrupt tenuous and fragile political alliances. A governor was the public face of government, a figure to whom the press and the public listened and paid attention. Opportunities to persuade and shape public opinion were valuable assets. A governor used the bully pulpit to pressure the cabinet as well as the legislature (always eager to remain in their constituents' good graces) to follow his lead. A governor appointed hundreds of directors, commissioners, officers, and low-level bureaucrats each year. Nearly two-thirds of his time in office was spent fielding requests for jobs and choosing state officials. Elected officials knew that constituents were kept happy through jobs and political opportunities, and since the governors had the power of appointment, such men became dependent upon the governor's wishes. By the 1930s, a new set of federal programs offered governors a plethora of new appointees and increased opportunities to wield power.

Programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and the National Youth Administration (NYA) offered relief to the unemployed, while providing states and local communities with much-needed funds and infrastructure. Created and funded by the federal government, most of these relief programs were staffed and administered on the local level. In Florida, Governor Dave Sholtz (1933-1937) implemented the state version of the New Deal. Originally from New York, Sholtz

4. Only one governor, William Bloxham, served more than one term in 1880 and 1896.
5. V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1948), 82.
6. David Colburn and Lance DeHaven-Smith, *Government in the Sunshine State*(Gainesville, Fla., 1999), 90-91.

built his administration upon the appearances of political and personal friendship with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Although the relief programs proved popular, Sholtz's administration ended in a cloud of controversy, as charges of bribery and corruption by his gaming and racing commissions circulated. Still, Sholtz had gained enough power and political favors through his New Deal appointments to stage a U.S. senatorial campaign, albeit an unsuccessful one.

When Cone entered office, the New Deal was in full force. While many citizens had specific complaints about the welfare program in Florida, and many were fed up with former Governor Sholtz and the corruption that arose from his administration, most did not lose faith in the New Deal. As one politician described it, they were simply "disgusted with the way Sholtz ran it."[7]

Rather, many Floridians considered the New Deal and its popular leader, President Roosevelt, godsends. In nearly every oral history conducted with Florida residents of the 1930s, their praise for Roosevelt and the New Deal was unwavering. CCC veteran Paul DiGiralomo of Dade County said of FDR: "He was a great man," and his parents "thought he was God."[8] Another CCC vet, George LeCouris of Tarpon Springs proclaimed the New Deal "the salvation of the country,"[9] Former citrus sharecropper James Keene remembered his mother "just loved that man [Roosevelt]."[10] Fatherless Hillary Cowart who survived on WPA surplus commodities and later by working for the CCC, said of his mother that she "could not think but one thing, that [Roosevelt] was a wonderful person."[11] Interview after interview contain similar sentiments.[12] When Florida citizens voted for Cone, they were voting against Sholtz and corruption, not against the New Deal.

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7. William A. Shands Oral History (OH), interview by Dr. Samuel Proctor, 1 March 1971, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program (SPOHP), University of Florida, 68.
8. Interview with Paul DiGiralomo by Dave Nelson, 11 November 2002, original transcript housed at Reichelt Oral History Program (ROHP), Florida State University, 6.
9. Interview with George LeCouris by Dave Nelson, 11 November 2003, ROHP, 3.
10. Interview with James Keene by Dr. Julian Pleasant, 5 May 1998, SPOHP, 5.
11. Interview with Hillary Cowart by Dr. Julian Pleasant, 10 November 1998, SPOHP, 5.
12. Harry Bush OH, 3, Carrol F. Burnette OH, 2, and Fred White OH, 5, all interviewed by Dr. Julian Pleasants, SPOHP.

Yet, Cone was no friend of the New Deal. At sixty-five, he adhered to an earlier, more conservative view of government. (One former chief executive said of Cone that "he was simply too old to be governor.")[13] Nevertheless, the new governor realized that times had changed and that the public demanded a more involved and activist state government. Cone saw that not only did the expanded federal welfare offer new political opportunities for state leaders, but that failing to gain access to this avenue of political power would mean surrendering any chance to curb the effects and limit the reach of the New Deal.

Born in 1871 in the North Florida community of Benton, Columbia County, an area which columnist Allen Morris called the "hog and hominy" part of Florida, Cone's earliest experiences were shaped by memories of Reconstruction.[14] In fact, one of Cone's earliest public acts occurred when he shot, but did not kill, a Republican. While visiting his uncle, Charles Cone, young Fred heard that a former Union soldier and staunch Republican—C. L. Morrison—was about to be named postmaster of White Springs. Taking matters into his own hands, Cone shot Morrison one night. The resulting wound proved painful but not life threatening. Fred's uncle paid Morrison's medical bills and convinced the Unionist to withhold pressing charges. Ironically, soon thereafter, Charles Cone had Morrison arrested on charges of concealing a felony: Fred Cone's attempt to murder Morrison! At the trial, the young Cone was the primary witness, and Morrison was convicted.[15]

With an antebellum state senator as his father, Cone kept his eye towards politics. After attending Jasper Normal College and the Florida Agricultural College, he passed the bar exam in 1892 without obtaining his law degree.[16] A lifelong Democrat, Cone became mayor of his hometown, Lake City, three times.[17] Then, in 1907, he was elected to the Florida Senate,[18] and served as

13. Spessard Holland quoted in Dunn, "The New Deal and Florida Politics," 262.
14. Allen Morris, 19 December 1940, "Cracker Politics files," Volume one, Florida Collection, Florida State Library. All the Allen Morris *Cracker Politics* column clippings in this file were copied from the *Miami Herald.*
15. For the full story, see Jerrell Shofner, "The White Springs Post Office Caper," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (January 1978): 341-344.
16. Colburn and Scher, *Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century,* 40.
17. *Lake City Reporter,* 30 July 1948.
18. Ibid.

senate president in the 1911 session. During his six-year stint, Cone's biggest achievement was his sponsorship of a bill to provide pensions to Florida's Confederate veterans. Although he moved into banking following his senatorial service, Cone remained active in state politics, serving as a delegate at three national Democratic conventions.[19] In 1928, the *Ocala Banner* editorialized that Cone "made himself famous (or infamous) by refusing to serve on the committee to ratify [Catholic presidential candidate Al] Smith of his nomination."[20]

Although out of the public eye for over twenty years, Cone was asked to run for governor in 1936 by opponents of gubernatorial candidate and fellow Democrat Raleigh Petteway.[21] In a field of fourteen candidates, Cone's low key image, his untainted service in the senate, and his rural roots contrasted with Sholtz's urban manners and New York upbringing.[22] As former state senator William Shands explained, "you go from one extreme to another as a rule politically."[23] This truism proved especially crucial to Petteway's chances: popularly, he was perceived to be privately backed by Sholtz.

In the solid Democratic South, the primary in effect chose state officers. With his slogan "lower the budget to balance taxes instead of raising taxes to balance the budget," Cone won a run-off primary in a close race.[24] The majority of his support came from politically powerful North Florida.[25] In the November election, Cone received over 80% of the vote, becoming Florida's oldest and crassest chief executive. Senator William A. Shands called him an "ultra-conservative."[26] The *Ocala Banner* described him as "cracker from head to toe."[27] Armed with a booming voice and an

19. Jon Evans, "Florida Politics in the Shadow of War: The 1940 Governor's Race," (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 2000), 16; William T. Cash, *A History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1936), 194.
20. *Ocala Banner*, 29 June 1928.
21. Hank Drane, *Hank Drane's Historic Governors: Their Impact on the Sunshine State* (Ocala, Fla., 1994), 111.
22. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, 88; Colburn and Scher, *Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century*, 71.
23. William A. Shands OH, 68, SPOHP.
24. Colburn and Scher, *Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century*, 72.
25. In the November election, Cone received over 80% of the vote. The Republican candidate was E. E. Calloway. Colburn and Scher, *Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century*, 136.
26. William A. Shands OH, 66, SPOHP.
27. *Ocala Banner*, 11 February 1937; clipping found in Box 1, Fred Cone Miscellaneous files, 1936-1948, Florida State Archives (FSA), Tallahassee, Florida.

imposing figure, Cone walked the Capitol barefoot and kept an oft-used spittoon next to his desk.[28] His manners were as coarse as his language was blunt. Once during a heated exchange at a weekly executive cabinet meeting in the Capitol, Cone shoved a cabinet member back into his chair.[29]

Some accused Cone of having no overall plan or agenda during his term. Former Florida governor and U.S. senator Spessard Holland once described Cone as "leaderless. . .[and a man] who didn't know what he was doing."[30] Yet, Cone ran on a plank of small government, no new taxes, and "Florida labor at living wages for all public works"—a none too subtle reference to the New Deal with its high number of non-Florida born administrators.[31] And, as his actions in office proved, Cone indeed had an agenda.

For attentive New Deal supporters, Cone's inauguration speech of January 5, 1937, proved ominous. Although he avoided the demagogic rhetoric common among other southern critics of the New Deal, Cone called for a return to business-minded, smaller government. Although he named only the State Road Department directly, he spoke of smaller budgets and abolishing unneeded agencies and noted the prevalence of out-of-state workers in public works programs—all of which should have clued observers to the future attack on the state's welfare system.[32]

Florida's first welfare law, passed in 1828, allowed judges to help "pauper" children through the use of apprenticeships. At the age of twenty-one, orphans received a blanket, $100, and a horse.[33] That law was altered in 1866 to require orphans to be taught a trade during their apprenticeships. Ten years later, Florida started the Florida Asylum for Indigent Lunatics, and nine years after that, the state-run School for the Deaf and Blind opened in St. Augustine.[34] That same year, 1885, Florida re-wrote its

28. Walter Howard, "Vigilante Justice: Extra Legal Executions in Florida, 1930-1940" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1987), 234.
29. Ibid, 234, fn. 6.
30. Quoted in Dunn, "The New Deal and Florida Politics," 262.
31. *Cracker Politics*, 19 December 1940.
32. For a full transcription of Governor Cone's inauguration address, see fill "Addresses, 1937," Box 2, Governor Fred Cone Papers, FSA.
33. Winson Doyle, et al. *The Government and Administration of Florida* (New York, 1954), 231.
34. Ibid.

Fred Cone's Inauguration, with Secretary of State R. A. Gray, January 1937. *Florida State Archives*

constitution. Its only welfare provision was its requirement that counties provide "inhabitants who by reason of age, infirmity or misfortune may have claims upon the aid and sympathy of society."[35] This was the start of Florida's poor farms. Beyond this, however, the Florida Constitution forbade any direct relief by the state.

In 1927, in response to the economically devastating 1926 hurricane that struck South Florida and ended the 1920s Florida land boom, destroyed much of that year's citrus crop and left thousands homeless, the state legislature created the State Board of Public Welfare to oversee city, county, and private relief agencies.[36] The new board offered no relief on its own. Instead, it inspected all public/private relief agencies, oversaw state parolees, licensed maternity houses and child-boarding homes, requested reports

35. Ibid, R.A. Gray, *The Government of Florida* (Philadelphia, Penn., 1941), 125.
36. The 1926 hurricane would be followed two years later by another equally destructive hurricane. For more on these two hurricanes, see Jay Barnes, *Florida's Hurricane History* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998); Eliot Kleinberg, *Killer 'cane: The Great Florida Hurricane of 1928* (New York, 2003); John Williams, *Florida Hurricanes and Tropical Storms, 1871-2001* (Gainesville, Fla., 2002).

from such agencies, and encouraged county-led welfare.[37] As Florida historian Charlton Teabeau noted, under-funded and under-staffed even in economically flush times, the board was wholly inadequate for handling the needs created by the Great Depression.[38]

Changes came with the dual inaugurations of Governor Dave Sholtz and President Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 and the beginning of the New Deal in Florida. In his first message to the state legislature, Sholtz proclaimed, "President Roosevelt has boldly shown the way to the nation."[39] Soon, programs such as the CCC, Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), Civil Works Administration (CWA), and PWA operated in Florida. Then, in 1935, the federal government accused Florida of offering an inadequate financial commitment to its relief program. Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's chief social worker, always skeptical of Sholtz, ordered all welfare offices to relocate from Tallahassee to Jacksonville, safely out of the governor's sphere of influence. Under the threat of losing millions in federal funds, the state legislature revamped the State Board of Public Welfare, renaming it the State Board of Social Welfare, and giving it more power in handling state relief efforts. While many balked at this increase in power, the Florida Health and Welfare Council—a state-wide organization comprised of state and private social workers—pointed out that "the power . . .given to the Florida Board is found in most of the progressive states of the North. It is impossible to have a State Board that can prove at all effective along welfare lines without granting it a good bit of authority."[40] Twelve districts were created, each with its own welfare board. The state board operated with an annual budget of $100,000 and a mandate to handle both state-sponsored relief and administer the federal work relief programs through a parallel organization called the Florida Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). Serving as the head of these operations was the man that Harry Hopkins personally approved, Commissioner of Welfare Conrad Van Hyning.

37. "State Board of Public Welfare First Annual Report, 1927-1929," State Welfare Board files, p.1, FSA.
38. Tebeau, *The History of Florida* (Miami, Fla., 1971).
39. Merlin Cox, "Dave Sholtz: New Deal Governor of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 43 (October 1964): 148.
40. File "State Board of Social Welfare, 1935-1937," Box 1, Florida Health and Welfare Council Records, 1921-1973, FSA.

Born in Akron, Ohio, in 1900, Van Hyning was schooled in social work at the University of Akron. After graduating with a bachelor's degree in 1922, he moved to New York as a caseworker for the Charity Organization Society. After marrying a fellow social worker, Van Hyning became Assistant Director of the New York State Emergency Relief Administration under then Governor Franklin Roosevelt.[41] Through his New York contacts, Sholtz soon learned of Van Hyning's work and asked him to lead Florida's Emergency Relief Administration and serve as Florida's Welfare Commissioner. Soon after his arrival, however, Van Hyning found himself in charge of a system with no professionally trained social workers. In the meantime, he had to hire out-of –state workers to meet immediate needs.[42]

As one might expect, most of those workers were from Ohio and New York. While qualified and professionally-trained, their presence caused quite a stir throughout Florida's political circles. As Jack Horne—Florida's CCC selection agent, who would lead a one-man letter-writing campaign against Cone's changes to the state's welfare system, explained to federal authorities in June 1937: "Even though Florida spends millions of dollars annually to advertise its attributes and encourage out-of-state people to come here and spend their money, Floridians resent outsiders on public payrolls."[43] Van Hyning and his fellow social workers were "foreigners" in the eyes of many in Florida's government.

In October 1936, Van Hyning and other members of the State Board of Social Welfare created the Merit System.[44] Demanded the previous year by the federal authorities as a precondition to receiving federal funds, the program served as a formalized process of hiring social workers aimed at preventing patronage.

41. Van Hyning's wife , Florella Van Hyning, died 13 January 1937. *The Florida Social Welfare Review* 2 (February 1937): 2.
42. Biographical background on Van Hyning came from Cash, *A History of the Democratic Party in Florida*, 243-4; Personal communication with Conrad's relative Amy Van Hyning, 20 January 2003. Copy of email in author's possession.
43. Jack Horne to Dean Snyder, Administrative Assistant, Office of the Secretary of Labor, file: "Florida, 1937," 17 June 1937, Entry 29, Correspondence with State Selection Officers, RG 35, NARA.
44. 9 October 1936, State Merit Council minutes, Box 1, State Merit Council, FSA.

Over the next two months, the council met and designed a hiring procedure based upon skill and qualifications. Political connections and personal contacts were not taken into account. Each candidate faced a three-part process: a personal interview, a written exam, and an evaluation of relief experience and social welfare training.[45] Points were assigned to each of the three sections, and candidates with the highest points were hired.[46] The council explained that it was meant to be "a scientific, measuring device for determining ability [for] specialized work such as the administration of welfare."[47] Not surprisingly, as Jack Horne explained, "patronage hungry politicians object[ed] to this system."[48]

Cone made replacing the current welfare board with his own handpicked board a top priority. Realizing that if he controlled the State Board of Social Welfare he would also control the State Merit System, and therefore control who was hired and fired, Cone used all three tools at his disposal—veto, public persuasion, and patronage—to take control. When Cone took office, however, most in the social welfare field were unsure how he felt towards relief. Horne wrote that most social workers knew Cone "favored the enactment of old age pension legislation,"[49] a state version of social security required by a constitutional amendment that Floridians passed in November 1936.

In January and February 1937, Van Hyning and the State Board of Social Welfare made numerous unsuccessful attempts to meet with the governor to discuss the state's welfare efforts.[50] For social workers, his delay may have seemed like innocuous carelessness or simply a sign that the governor's preoccupations lay elsewhere. Not until April 1937 did Cone make his intentions clear when he backed a legislative investigation of the State Board of Social Welfare to root out financial corruption. Using the

45. 9 November 1936, State Merit Council minutes, Box 1, State Merit Council, FSA.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Jack Horne to Dean Snyder, Administrative Assistant, Office of the Secretary of Labor, file: "Florida, 1937," 17 June 1937, Entry 29, Correspondence with State Selection Officers, RG 35, NARA.
49. Ibid.
50. Van Hyning to Cone, 5 January 1937; 26 January 1937; 1 February 1937; 11 February 1937; James Donn, Chairman of State Board of Social Welfare to Cone 24 February 1937; 4 March 1937, File "Welfare, Social-Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers, FSA.

amendment requiring old age pensions as his opening wedge, Cone claimed there were insufficient funds to meet pension needs and justified abolishing the board by blaming the high cost of state welfare.

Cone had planned his move for months. First, he appointed his friend William Wainwright to the State Audit Board in January 1937. The governor instructed State Auditor Bryan Willis to "see that he [Wainwright] represents me. . .I want you to let him have as many of the state auditors that Mr. Wainwright desires to assist him."[51] One of Wainwright's first jobs was to begin investigating the State Board of Social Welfare. Within a month, Wainwright had replaced Willis as Florida's state auditor.[52]

Cone then ordered background checks on all welfare employees. In his archived papers is a list of State Board of Social Welfare employees, including information about their places of origin, monthly salaries, where their families lived, what state tags they had on their cars, where they previously worked, and notations on which employees were Jewish.[53] Welfare Commissioner Van Hyning, for example, received the following notation: "he refuses to consider for positions applicants with endorsements from Florida politicians."[54]

With his homework complete, Cone prepared to go public. In late April 1937, the governor sent a message to the state legislature. "The crying need of our state today," he began, "as I see it, is economy and business-like management of our finances."[55] While

51. Cone to State Auditor Bryan Willis, 9 January 1937, File: "Auditor, State 1937," Box 5, Fred Cone Papers, FSA.
52. Cone to Midyett-Moor Insurance Agency, 22 August 1939. In this letter, Cone was re-appointing Wainwright. He mentions that Wainwright was made state auditor on 26 February 1937. See also Representative Charley Johns to Cone, 27 February 1937; Mack H. Padgett to Cone, 12 March 1937 File: "Auditor, State 1939," Box 5, Fred Cone Papers, FSA. Unfortunately no copies of this audit exist. In the files of the State Auditor at the Florida State Archives, there are only five audits from the 1930s: University of Florida, FAMU, St. Augustine School for the Deaf and Blind, Florida State College for Women, and Stae Secretary R.A. Gray in 1938. Box 1, State Auditor files, FSA.
53. See untitled document in file: "Welfare, Social-Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers, FSA. Several employees were paid between $250 and $300 per month. Van Hyning was paid $502.19. This figure was comparable to other state agency heads.
54. Ibid.
55. *Message of Fred P. Cone, Governor of Florida, to the Florida Legislature, Session of 1937* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1937), 3. A copy of the message can be found in Fred Cone's papers, file: "Addresses, 1937," Box 2, S 368, FSA.

maintaining that "all selfish, personal, and political considerations must be cast aside," Cone urged that "all boards and commissions that have been created in the past should be closely analyzed and considered, and those that are not necessary. . .should be abolished."[56] His rationale, of course, was the recently passed old-age pension amendment.[57] However, Cone avoided mentioning the popular State Board of Social Welfare directly; it was too soon. To drive home his point of pending financial crisis, Cone asked the legislature to approve a budget at 1935 levels.[58] As one historian described it, Cone was "cutting the budget to the bone, then scraping the bone."[59] Even so, the governor's message created a political climate more conducive to his plans.

Within days, Cone's ally Senator William H. Mapoles of Crestview asked for and received funding to investigate the State Board of Social Welfare.[60] Aiding him were two recently fired FERA employees, T. J. Fenn and Virgil Riley, and two state auditors.[61] Charged with exploring "rumors" of "excessive expenditures and misadministration of its affairs," the investigation focused on the Board's high salaries and operating expenses, sparking a major public relations battle that played out across the front pages of the state's major newspapers.[62] Mapoles called the Board "one of the dirtiest, nastiest things you've ever seen,"[63] and claimed that Van Hyning was paid $8000 a year. The actual figure was $6000. A fellow Panhandle senator, Pensacola's Phillip Beall, invoked Reconstruction-era Yankee interventionist imagery as he remarked that the government should "prevent social workers from coming into our homes and telling the mothers they don't know how to raise their own children."[64] Upon hearing news of the probe's preliminary findings, Cone declared the Board "a waste of money and an awful expense. I haven't a clue where the money is going."[65]

56. *Message of Fred Cone*, 3-4, 5.
57. Ibid, 5
58. Ibid.; *Tallahassee Democrat*, 5 May 1937; *Tampa Tribune*, 16 May 1937.
59. Drane, *Hank Drane's Historic Governors*, 111
60. *Tallahassee Democrat*, 7 May 1937; *Tampa Tribune*, 12 May 1937.
61. Ibid, 14 and 18 May 1937.
62. Ibid, 7 May 1937.
63. Ibid, 20 May 1937.
64. Ibid, 16 May 1937.
65. Ibid, 20 May 1937.

The accusations flabbergasted social workers. The district welfare board in Tampa asserted that its affairs were performed in an "honest, non-political, and efficient" manner.[66] Sue Mahorn, director of the historical section of the state WPA and one of Cone's few Welfare Board-employed friends, begged the governor to keep Van Hyning.[67] State Board of Social Welfare director James Donn wrote daily letters to the governor and newspapers explaining the Board's case. Van Hyning publicly called the probe "prejudiced and inaccurate."[68]

One of the most politically damaging accusations was that large amounts of funds were spent administering the old-age pension plan. According to the panel, expenditures ran as high as $3.20 for every $11 in pensions.[69] From January to April alone, the board spent well over $100,000. In response, Van Hyning explained that the findings ignored the Board's other services—certifying WPA participants, enrolling CCC and NYA recruits, and providing surplus commodities—by lumping all expenses under "old-age pensions." The actual cost, he argued was $1.08 for every $11 distributed.[70]

Timed to coincide with the senate probe, Representative Bob Sikes of Crestview proposed a bill to abolish the current State Board of Social Welfare and replace it with a new State Welfare Board.[71] All involved recognized the bill as a product of Cone's administration. The bill called for a state board, twelve district boards, and a commissioner, all to be appointed by the governor. Under the State Board of Social Welfare, only the state board was appointed by the governor for staggered five-year terms, and that board, in turn, chose commissioners and members for the twelve district boards. The proposed bill would replace all present members (including Commissioner Van Hyning), implement a five-year residency requirement for all State Welfare Board employees, and place a salary cap on board members at $250 per month and $6000 per year for the commissioner.[72] The bill also provided no money

66. *Tampa Tribune*, 25 May 1937.
67. Mahorn to Cone, 1 April 1937, File: "Welfare, Social-Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers, FSA.
68. *Tallahassee Democrat*, 21 May 1937.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. *Florida Times Union*, 1 May 1937.
72. *Tallahassee Democrat*, 16 May 1937.

Governor Fred Cone in his Capitol office in 1937. *Florida State Archives*

for aid to dependent children or the blind. Perhaps, because of his earlier political success with Civil War pensions while a state senator, Cone banked his gubernatorial success on old-age pensions.

In his first months as governor, Cone had cultivated a reputation for rewarding his supporters and punishing his opponents. He appointed his Lake City law partner, Roy Chapman to the State Supreme Court. His brother Branch, a small-scale lawyer from Maclenny, was his executive secretary.[73] Known as a "joker" who was often found fishing in the Gulf, Branch handled much of Cone's political networking.[74] Indeed, Senator William Shands of Gainsville referred to him as Cone's "patronage man."[75] The Cone brothers regularly checked to see who supported them before making appointments, and the governor once remarked about a candidate for the State Audit Board, "It is my information that Mr. Coleman did not support me, and I want proof that he did before I do anything about it."[76]

There is reason to believe that Representative Sikes of Okaloosa County proposed the State Welfare Board bill in order to obtain help on Santa Rosa Island. A barrier island off the panhandle coast, Santa Rosa Island had been promised by Escumbia County officials to the Florida Park Service in 1935. By 1937, however, the National Park Service was considering buying the sandy isle for use as a national park. Business and real estate leaders knew that a national park was much more profitable than any mere state park, and they fought the state for control of the island. That summer Cone, in a rare pro-federal move, supported the National Park Service efforts.[77] Considering that Sikes was privately critical of the new welfare board within weeks of its inception, it seems likely he proposed the bill to gain the governor's favor.[78] The bottom line was that Cone reciprocated political favors, and there would be plenty of rewards if his bill passed.

As legislative debate over the proposed bill began, two central issues emerged. One, voiced by Senator Spessard Holland of

73. Drane, *Drane's Historic Governors*, 108; *Cracker Politics*, 28 July 1940. On Branch, Allen Morris wrote that he did not possess much in the way of politicking. "If he has such a grasp, Branch has yet to demonstrate it."
74. *Cracker Politics*, 28 July 1940.
75. William A. Shands Oral History, 69.
76. Cone to J. E. Batts, 19 March 1937, File: "Auditor, State 1937," Box 5, Fred Cone Papers, FSA.
77. For an account of the struggles over Santa Rosa Island, see Dave Nelson, "Relief Recreation: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Florida Park Service, 1933-1942" (MA thesis, Florida State University, 2002), 123-125.
78. Sikes to Cone, 27 July 1937, File: "Welfare, Social—Misc., 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers, FSA.

Bartow, centered on the limited amount of aid budgeted in the proposal. He disapproved of any new board, fearing that it would endanger the flow of federal aid into Florida.[79] Holland argued that under the federal demands of 1935, if Florida decreased its financial commitments to relief, the U.S. government might cease its programs in the state. Cone had even threatened to remove the Board's ability to administer federal monies at one point.[80] Holland proposed amendments ridding the bill of residency requirements and ensuring child and blind aid.[81]

The other issue was the removal of Commissioner Van Hyning. It was clear that above all, Cone wanted Van Hyning removed, replaced by a commissioner of his choosing. Many thought that if this was accomplished, Cone would back away from his other threats. Holland and others struck a deal with Cone that if Van Hyning and two board members voluntarily resigned, then the hiring conditions would be removed, other employees would stay, and the full state relief would be restored. The deal was announced on 27 May 1937.[82]

Yet by the end of May, the month-long welfare board probe had already made its impact on public opinion. Cone received many letters from people angry at the apparent waste of relief funds.[83] Van Hyning and the board were branded in the public's eye as both power-and money-hungry. Since the legislative session was coming to an end, and time was short, Cone decided to use his most potent weapon, threatening to veto the welfare bill unless all board members resigned, and salary caps and residency requirements remained.[84] Holland and others accused the governor of reneging on his widely reported deal, but on 31 May the legislature caved in and gave Cone the power to choose his own board.[85] The State Board of Social Welfare would be abolished on 30 June, and

79. *Florida Times Union*, 25 and 28 May 1937; *Tallahassee Democrat*, 25 May 1937.
80. *Tallahassee Democrat*, 24 May 1937.
81. Ibid, 16 and 28 May 1937.
82. Ibid, 27 and 28 May 1937; *Florida Times Union*, 27 May 1937; *Tampa Tribune*, 29 May 1937.
83. These letters included Mrs. M.V. Day to Cone, 21 May 1937; W.S. McIntyre to Cone, 24 May 1937; "Friend" to Cone, 31 May 1937, File: "Welfare, Social-Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers, FSA.
84. *Tallahassee Democrat*, 28 May 1937.
85. *Florida Times Union*, 1 June 1937; *Tampa Tribune*, 1 June 1937; Senator Charley Johns of Starke called the bill "measley." See also *Laws of Florida* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1937), 1437-1452.

the new State Welfare Board would take over on 1 July 1937. One House member remarked upon the bill's passing: "The governor has dictated the bill we have just passed. I warn you we have set up the biggest political football the State of Florida has ever known."[86]

In the end, the new board had essentially the same function and structure as the previous one.[87] There were still twelve districts, each with their own local boards. The state board handled dependent children, blind, and old-age assistance, as well as administering the federal aid programs. The only difference, aside from its name, was that Cone controlled its membership. The board served at his pleasure, and he could replace the members at any time.[88]

Cone wasted little time in choosing his new board. On 15 June, he sent telegrams to seven potential members for the new State Welfare Board officially asking for their service.[89] He then chose a new welfare commissioner—Clayton C. Codrington, editor of the *Lake City Reporter* and Cone's gubernatorial campaign manager.[90] Although he met the five-year residency requirement, Codrington was originally from Cleveland, Ohio, and was educated in New York City; he received $500 a month, only two dollars and 18 cents less than Van Hyning.[91]

Even before Codrington took office, he and Cone corresponded about who needed to be "taken care of."[92] For instance, Cone asked that Rose Printing of Tallahassee, a company that had "contributed to my campaign both in printing and in money," receive "a goodly portion" of the Board's printing jobs.[93] The two

86. *Florida Times Union*, 3 June 1937.
87. Cone to L.P. Williams, 17 June 1937, File: "Welfare, Social-Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers, FSA.
88. *Florida Times Union*, 3 June 1937.
89. Cone to Clyde Taylor, George Shannon, T.T. Boozer, Ivy Futch, J.V. Roberts, W.H. Milton, and W. L. Cathorn, 15 June1937, File: "Welfare, Social—Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers, FSA.
90. Cone to James Farley, 22 June 1937; n.d. clipping from *The Okaloosa* found in File: "Welfare, Social-Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers, FSA.
91. Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Volusia County* (Deland, Fla., 1927), 394; Homer Moyer, ed., *Who's Who and What to See in Florida* (St. Petersburg, Fla., 1935), 71; 1 July 1937, File: "Minutes, 1937," Box 1, State Welfare Board Minutes.
92. Use of the term "taken care of" can be found in Codrington to Cone, 25 June 1937, File: "Welfare, Social-Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers, S 368, FSA.
93. Cone to Codrington, 29 June 1937 File: "Welfare, Social—Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers.

men used a secret code to disguise much of their plans from unwanted readers.[94]

While Codrington immediately lowered qualifications guiding the State Merit System, the State Welfare Board still faced a labor pool lacking even the basic skills to perform the job.[95] As Codrington explained, they were "locked up" in regards to department heads.[96] "We are 'hog-tied' as to the State Welfare personnel," he wrote on his first day on the job, "as to the national requirements, for they call for trained workers."[97] The new chairman of the State Welfare Board, Clyde Taylor, wrote Branch Cone in July that "there are some from this old crowd that I personally would like to see kept on indefinitely because they are very efficient. . .Codrington agrees with me 100%."[98]

As the dust settled, many Floridians realized they had witnessed a political coup and a raw bid for power. Cone's initial shock over the lack of native Floridians among the social workers seemingly dissipated once the new welfare board was created, as his appointment of Ohioan Codrington demonstrated. It was not so much the nativity of employees that concerned Cone as their allegiance to his view of laissez-faire state government and minimal federal involvement. Yet, in his expansion of the control over New Deal monies, Cone overestimated the public's desire to keep the program in Floridians' hand. Indeed, when CCC camps and WPA payments were temporarily stalled in July and August, many of Cone's supporters bolted. Sensing this potential turn in public opinion, departing members of the State Board of Social Welfare added a scathing criticism of Cone and his cronies at their last meeting in June 1937: "Man by nature is cruel—this is the only answer I can find to the debased and unwarranted charges made by Senator Mapoles and others who sought by a series of political trickeries to embarrass the Board and the continuance of

94. Although this code was mentioned in one letter, how it worked was never disclosed in any writing that now survives.
95. For the changes to the State Merit System, see minutes for 21 July 1937, File: "Minutes, 1937," Box 1, State Merit Council, FSA.
96. Codrington to Cone, 29 June 1937, File: "Welfare, Social-Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers, FSA.
97. Codrington to Cone, 1 July 1937, File: "Welfare, Social-Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers.
98. Chairman Clyde Taylor to Cone, 27 July 1937, File: "Welfare, Social—Misc. 1937," Box 101, Fred Cone Papers.

a non-political program. . . political immorality can never be successfully substituted for a sound business administration."[99]

Cone accomplished his immediate goals: he gained control over the welfare board, its commissioner, and the state's merit system. Yet, it is difficult for historians to gauge Cone's rewards in reorganizing the board because so many political deals were handled in code, by telephone, or over a handshake. By the time the minutes were recorded and official letters sent, the deals had long been struck.

Over the years, many historians have gauged governors' successes by their post-gubernatorial careers. In the twentieth century, only three governors—Park Trammel, Spessard Holland, and Bob Graham—were elected to the U.S. Senate, a path most Florida governors attempted to follow. Fred Cone was unsuccessful in this regard. While he may have won the immediate battle over the State Welfare Board, he lost the larger political war. Florida was rapidly transforming into a New South state, fueled in large part by the New Deal. As war preparations began, local tourism revived, and the numbers of new residents rose, the aging Cone represented a simpler, more traditional Florida that was fast becoming obsolete. In 1940, Fred Cone—champion of conservative, business-run government—ran for the U.S. Senate. In a field of six candidates, he came in fourth.

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99. 28 June 1937, File: "Minutes, 1937," Box 1, State Welfare Board Minutes. They also praised Van Hyning's performance, adding that "probably no other man could have in so short a time and under such handicaps have carried the program to the point that it reached under his administration."

Wrongful Defeat: The 1934 Florida Senatorial Democratic Primary between Claude Pepper and Park Trammell

by John M. Brackett

In 1934, the state of Florida faced a midterm election in which one of its two U.S. senators came up for reelection. The campaign began with five candidates, but Claude Pepper and incumbent Park Trammell stood out as the most viable contenders to win the Democratic nomination. As in other southern states, the Democratic Party dominated Florida's elections, and the winner of the party primary won the office. As the campaign between Pepper and Trammell progressed, it became a bitter fight marred by widespread smear tactics. When neither candidate won a majority in the June 5 primary, Pepper and Trammell continued their vigorous statewide campaign until June 26 when election results returned the incumbent to the senate. Soon after the second primary, allegations emerged claiming voter fraud in Hillsborough County. While the claims were legitimate, Claude Pepper refused to challenge the election. Due to the extremely close results of the June 5 primary and the almost even number of supporters for both candidates, corruption in just a handful of precincts in West

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Tampa and Ybor City apparently deprived Pepper of the Democratic nomination.[1]

The 1934 senatorial primary revealed more than how a locally corrupt political machine could steal an election; it also showed a change in how Florida viewed the New Deal. Although the campaign occurred within the Democratic Party, it involved two ideologies. The first embraced southern conservatism that moderately supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The second represented the new liberalism that promoted the New Deal and the expansion of government programs. Before the campaign, Senator Park Trammell offered minimal support for the President and his plans to relieve the Great Depression. By the June 26 runoff, the senator fully endorsed the New Deal and pledged to support Roosevelt, an apparent shift in his political stance in response to the gains made by his opponent, Claude Pepper, whose approval of the New Deal appealed to many Florida voters. Thus, although marked by political turmoil and voter fraud, the Florida electorate voiced its approval of Roosevelt's administration and the new federal programs.[2]

In 1934, the thirty-three year old Claude Pepper had scant political background on which to mount a successful senatorial campaign. The young candidate held a law degree from Harvard University and practiced law in Perry and Tallahassee. He had represented Taylor County for one term in the Florida legislature, but failed to retain his seat in his 1930 re-election bid due to his stance on civil rights. During the 1929 session, Pepper voted against a resolution condemning First Lady Lou Hoover for inviting the wife of a newly-elected black representative to the White House.[3] This issue resurfaced multiple times in the 1934 campaign, but was only one of Pepper's problems. In political terms, he was too young and had too little experience to challenge Trammell.

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1. Historical scholarship provides several works that involve Florida politics during the 1930s. For the most complete account of the state's politics, see James William Dunn's dissertation "The New Deal and Florida Politics" (Florida State University, 1971). For scholarship on Tampa's corrupt election machine, see Nancy A. Hewitt's *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880's-1920's* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001) and Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Gainesville, Fla., 1987; reprint, 1998).
2. Dunn, 225-226.
3. Claude Denson Pepper, *Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century* (New York, 1987), 28-42.

Nevertheless, in this David vs. Goliath match, Pepper's enthusiasm for the New Deal appealed to many Florida voters and made Trammell's conservatism a surprising issue.[4]

Pepper initiated his 1934 campaign with seemingly little chance to succeed, but he had always dreamed of a senate seat and believed Park Trammell's age and perceived lack of activity made him vulnerable.[5] Although young and energetic, Pepper lacked funds and, more importantly, public recognition. To lay the groundwork for his candidacy, he persuaded the Tallahassee Kiwanis Club to help fund his campaign and provide a forum through the various club meetings in North Florida. On February 15, Pepper made his candidacy official. His platform called for firm support of the New Deal and "aggressive and helpful cooperation" with President Franklin D. Roosevelt.[6]

In announcing his candidacy, Pepper challenged the Florida tradition of electing one senator from the northern part of the state and the other from the south. With North Florida's senator, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, not up for re-election, a campaign against Trammel provided an opportunity for the northern region to claim both officeholders. While Pepper was aware of the tradition, it seemingly did not affect his decision to run. He was not a native Floridian, having moved to the state after completing his education. He was not influential in Florida politics, north or south and ending the state's traditional distribution of senatorial offices was not a factor in his candidacy. Pepper's reason for running focused more on the need to break with conservative trends and promote liberal ideas such as the New Deal.[7]

Pepper's entry into the race likely did not worry Park Trammell initially. The junior senator had a long political resume

4. On Claude Pepper's life and career, see Alexander R. Stoesen, "The Senatorial Career of Claude Pepper" (diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1964) and Ric A. Kabat, "From New Deal to Red Scare: The Political Odyssey of Senator Claude D. Pepper" (diss., Florida State University, 1995). There is no complete biography of Claude Pepper, however Pepper wrote an autobiography, *Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century*, that examines his life to 1981.
5. Pepper, 46-47.
6. Press release for candidacy. Series 204D, Box 9, Folder 9, Claude Pepper Collection, Claude Pepper Library, Tallahassee, Fla. (Hereafter cited as Claude Pepper Collection.)
7. Claude Pepper to Fred M. Ivey, Tallahassee, 30 July 1934, Series 204D, Box 63, Folder 8, Claude Pepper Collection; Pepper, 46-47; Kabat, 54-55.

that included serving as mayor of Lakeland, election to the Florida house and senate, and a term as Florida governor. In 1934, he sought his fourth term in the U.S. senate, where he was chair of the Naval Affairs Committee.[8] Despite Trammell's lengthy political career, newspapers did not discount the one-term legislator Pepper as a suitable candidate. When Pepper entered the race, the Tampa *Morning Tribune* observed that his campaign posed a threat to Trammell's career, one that had "never known defeat" but which possessed "little magic charm."[9]

Initially, the two candidates disagreed on many crucial issues, but the New Deal quickly assumed central importance in the campaign. Trammell offered little support to President Roosevelt and opposed expanding the role of the federal government. Florida's voters, on the other hand, had given Roosevelt a seventy-five percent majority in the 1932 election, and the president's popularity increased during his first year in office. In contrast to Trammell's conservatism, Pepper campaigned on a platform that promised unwavering support for the New Deal, a position that provided the challenger with immediate appeal to Florida voters. In response to public opinion (and to strengthen his own position), Trammell endorsed Roosevelt's actions. With both candidates in agreement on this fundamental issue, Pepper and Trammell shifted their campaign rhetoric to personal and professional questions, a change that ensured a highly negative campaign filled with disparaging comments.[10]

Three additional candidates—Charles A. Mitchell, James F. Sikes, and Hortense K. Wells—filled out the field in the Democratic primary. All three candidates had active political backgrounds. Mitchell was an attorney in Vero Beach; James Sikes represented Pinellas County in the state senate; and Hortense Wells, one of the few female politicians of the period, served on the Florida National Democratic Committee. Although these candidates had comparatively little support, and the campaign generally revolved around Pepper and Trammell, two of the candidates, Mitchell and Sikes, played a crucial role by receiving sufficient

8. For an account of Park Trammell's life and career, see Steven Kerber, "Park Trammell of Florida: A Political Biography" (diss., University of Florida, 1979).
9. Pepper, 46-47; Tampa *Morning Tribune*, 16 February 1934.
10. Kabat, 55.

votes in the June 5 primary to force a runoff between Pepper and Trammell. Wells received very few votes and played a less significant part in the election.[11]

During the 1930s, political candidates used whistlestop appearances to advance their campaigns, and President Roosevelt effectively turned the radio into a political tool.[12] Both Pepper and Trammell traveled the state speaking in local city parks, and radio stations broadcast their addresses to additional citizens. Newspapers still played a major role in influencing voters and often provided the only reports of where a candidate went and what he said. In a number of Florida regions, readers read detailed stories on one candidate, while the other received far less attention. The lack of a statewide media created unique pockets of political support that acted independently. Individual cities formed Claude Pepper clubs or Park Trammell clubs, and sometimes both.[13]

The senatorial race received little statewide attention in the first few months and did not gain traction until late spring. Ads purchased by candidates and their supporters first appeared in newspapers in the last weeks of May. In Tallahassee, Pepper's hometown, supporters did not organize a Pepper club until May 10.[14] Senator Trammell's base of support in Miami also paid little attention to the race, perhaps assuming that the incumbent would win easily. At first, the senator did not consider Pepper a serious threat, but as the campaign wore on and public sentiment gathered behind the challenger, Trammell's concern grew.[15]

The senatorial election covered multiple issues that varied from county to county. The most pertinent problems concerning the Great Depression and the New Deal fell by the wayside once both candidates offered unwavering support for President Roosevelt. Floridians still cared about national politics, but now the issues that dominated the race centered more on local affairs. In West Florida citizens expressed concern about the Pensacola Naval Air Station, and in Tampa, voters wanted funds for a deeper harbor.[16]

11. Dunn, 214.
12. William E. Leucthenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, 1963), 8, 44.
13. *Daily Democrat*, 10 May 1934.
14. Ibid.
15. Pepper, 48-49.
16. *Daily Democrat*, 31 May 1934; Miami *Herald*, 2 May 1934.

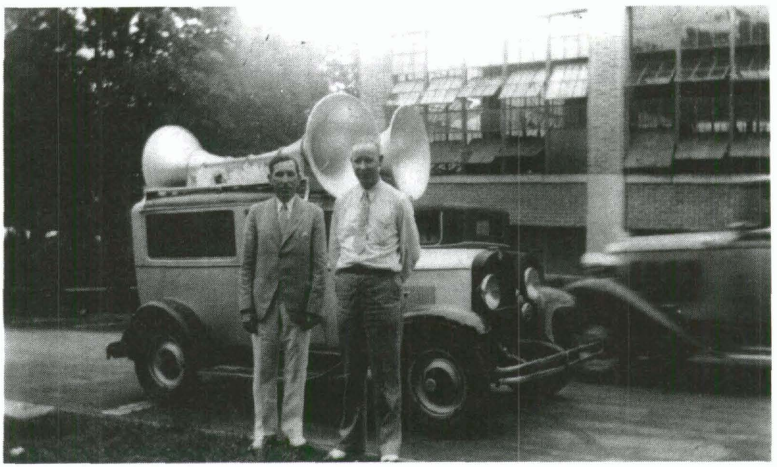
However, the campaign soon focused more on personality than issues. Pepper's speeches often centered on Trammell's lack of activity. On May 13 in a Tallahassee speech, he blasted the incumbent's previous term in office and accused him of laziness, asserting that only four bills proposed by the senator were enacted into law. At the same time, Pepper promoted his views in favor of a nine-month school year for all children. The speech represented a pattern that both candidates followed: an address started with a rebuttal of accusations leveled by the opponent and launched counter attacks before looking at political issues.[17]

Senator Trammell gave a lengthy speech at Tampa on May 22. In his earlier visits, he had focused more on funds for the bay's harbor, but with the primary only two weeks away he attacked Pepper. Trammell stated that his opponent came to the state specifically looking for a political career and had amassed a poor record in the Florida legislature. He further claimed that Pepper served only a single term as a legislator before his electorate ousted him after his support for a tax certificate foreclosure law. The senator then extolled his own hard work, which had brought millions of dollars to Florida, pointing to his fight for an extra two million dollars for Tampa's harbor.[18]

Pepper kept close to Trammell's campaign trail and visited Tampa the day after the senator's speech. He denied supporting a tax certificate law and used the 1903 Florida Statutes to show that Trammell had supported it. In a thorough attack on the senator, Pepper claimed that the incumbent produced very little monetary relief for Florida, adding that he "work[ed] only one year out of the six" in his third term. The young candidate also remarked that Senator Trammell's early overconfidence had turned into worry. Newspaper coverage of the two speeches revealed that both candidates focused heavily on negative campaigning and barely discussed what they could do for Florida.[19]

In the last weeks of May, both candidates received endorsements from other office holders. State Senator W. C. Hodges endorsed Pepper and promoted him on various occasions. In Tallahassee on May 29, Hodges attacked Trammell's record and

17. *Daily Democrat*, 13 May 1934.
18. *Morning Tribune*, 22 May 1934.
19. Ibid.



Claude Pepper with his campaign manager Oscar M. Johnson, June 27, 1934 *Claude Pepper Collection, Tallahassee.*

took pot shots at Wells, when he stated that "the voters should prefer a bob-haired woman to a long-haired senator in office."[20] Trammell did not secure any notable political endorsements within the state, but did receive support from labor. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor(AFL) promoted Trammell and urged Florida workers to "give earnest and sincere support to the senator." In a further assist to the incumbent, the AFL sent Eli Futch to campaign actively for Trammell. Green noted that the senator had "supported all remedial legislation for the benefit of labor" and observed that "Florida is fortunate in having such a representative." The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers also endorsed the incumbent with a paid newspaper ad stating Trammell's record regarding labor legislation. Union support gave Trammell some leverage to counter Pepper's growing popularity.[21]

In the two weeks preceding the primary, Pepper and Trammell continued traveling the state giving speeches, and making

20. *Daily Democrat*, 29 May 1934
21. *Herald*, 4 June 1934; William Green to Wendell Heaton, Washington D.C., 13 April 1934, Park Trammell Papers, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, George A. Smathers Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida; J. Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1971), 183.

new accusations against each other. Senator Trammell accused the young candidate of misleading the voters and of making false statements. On June 2, Pepper gave his final speech in Tampa before the primary in which he stated that Trammell had subjected him to a "campaign of villainy and falsehoods."[22]

Newspapers across the state offered their endorsements as May drew to a close. The Miami *Herald* encouraged citizens to vote for Senator Trammell and reiterated the benefits to Florida. The *Herald* focused heavily on the incumbent's position as chairman of the Senate's Naval Affairs Committee and claimed that he had the ability to boost the state's economy due to its long coastline. It also noted Trammell's seniority and pointed out that a new senator would have little influence. Pepper did not receive endorsements from Florida's largest newspapers, but the Jacksonville *Journal*, Ocala *Banner*, and Pensacola *Herald* supported him. While it did not officially give its endorsement, the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* provided substantial coverage of Pepper's campaign.[23]

In the first days of June, Floridians opened their daily newspapers to find large ads explaining why they should vote for Claude Pepper or Park Trammell.[24] Local support clubs provided the money for the promotions, and the ads varied in each city. In Tallahassee, readers saw an almost full-page ad detailing Claude Pepper's various newspaper endorsements from across the state and a lengthy statement explaining why Senator Trammell should not be reelected. The ads followed the same pattern as the speeches and attacked one candidate while making the other seem saint-

22. *Daily Democrat*, 31 May 1934; *Morning Tribune*, 2 June 1934.
23. *Herald*, 3 June 1934; *Daily Democrat*, 4 June 1934.
24. Ad from Tampa *Morning Tribune*, 3 June 1934, favoring Park Trammell: "Mr. Trammell is experienced in every department of Federal and State government; having held these important offices among others, president of the State Senate, Attorney General, Governor, and 17 years as United States Senator. He is Chairman of one of the 5 most important committees in the Senate, the Naval Affairs Committee." The ad's statements on Claude Pepper: "It is no wonder that Claude Pepper was badly defeated when he ran for re-election from Taylor County . . . Pepper is now known as one of the highest paid lobbyists for the 'special interests' who ever frequented the halls in Tallahassee." Ad from the Florida *Times Union*, 25 June 1934, favoring Claude Pepper: "Has Florida been getting vigorous and aggressive representation to which it is entitled in the seat in the Senate occupied by Trammell the last 18 years? . . . Senator Trammell has introduced 81 bills and only 4 out of the 81 have become law. . . Give Florida vigorous and aggressive representation, a young man, a hard working man, a man who has had the hardships of the ordinary man and is sympathetic to his problems. . . Vote for Claude Pepper."

ly. An ad in the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* characterized Trammell as a "heavy jowled and large bellied" man ignored by other senators. Pepper was assaulted for his stand on civil rights and charged with favoring social equality between the races. Since both candidates supported Roosevelt and the New Deal, voters had a choice between youth and energy and experience and seniority.[25]

Going into the June 5 primary, Trammell felt assured of a victory, and Pepper believed he had enough support to threaten the incumbent. While traveling across South Florida, the young candidate spotted a large "Pepper" banner in Fort Myers and one block further saw a "Trammell" banner of equal size. The sight of the two signs told Pepper the race was getting close. Despite his boastful speeches, Park Trammell also knew the young challenger had a good chance of winning. The senator had altered his usual campaign strategy of waiting in Washington D.C. to one of touring Florida and making speeches.[26]

Claude Pepper concluded his campaign tour in Miami; on the eve of the election he defended himself against Trammell's attacks and restated his platform. There the challenger cast an absentee ballot and awaited the results of the statewide vote. Pepper's supporters hoped to prevent Trammell from receiving a majority on June 5, forcing a runoff election. The senator's supporters wanted a clean victory to secure the Democratic nomination and reelection.[27] A senatorial race that started as a routine reelection had turned into a hard-fought campaign and fierce personal battle. A runoff election would intensify the effort to win the election.

The June 5 primary ended with close results for the two frontrunners. The other candidates, Charles Mitchell, James Sikes, and Hortense Wells, accumulated small totals that succeeded only in preventing an all-out victory by either Pepper or Trammell. However, Mitchell and Sikes gathered enough support in some counties to turn them into battleground areas for the runoff. Mitchell carried Indian River and Walton counties and finished second in the metropolitan areas of Tampa and Fort Lauderdale. While Sikes did not accumulate nearly as many votes, he carried his hometown, St. Petersburg, and the rest of Pinellas County. In the official returns, the senator garnered 81,321 votes to Pepper's

25. *Daily Democrat*, 4 June 1934; *Morning Tribune*, 3 June 1934.
26. *Daily Democrat*, 27 May 1934; Pepper, 48-49.
27. *Herald*, 5 June 1934; *Morning Tribune*, 3 June 1934.

79,396. This gave Trammell a slight lead with a 1,925-vote margin. Out of Florida's sixty-seven counties, Claude Pepper carried forty, giving him a definite majority compared to Trammell's win in twenty-three counties. The senator accumulated most of his support in South Florida, where he carried the densely populated areas of Tampa and Miami, while the challenger carried North Florida and the Panhandle.[28]

Table 1: *Democratic Primary Election Returns by County, June 5, 1934*

Candidates	**Alachua**	**Baker**	**Bay**	**Bradford**	**Brevard**	**Broward**
Park Trammell	1,854	411	699	328	966	1,386
Claude Pepper	1,033	654	1,117	438	757	1,139
Charles Mitchell	223	30	1,057	79	360	1,032
James Sikes	161	114	107	37	108	130
Hortense Wells	130	33	80	21	51	114
	Calhoun	**Charlotte**	**Citrus**	**Clay**	**Collier**	**Columbia**
Trammelll	511	309	395	459	198	890
Pepper	1,133	252	818	503	105	600
Mitchell	134	186	143	77	16	76
Sikes	70	184	144	167	235	105
Wells	53	55	34	42	5	101
	Dade	**DeSoto**	**Dixie**	**Duval**	**Escambia**	**Flagler**
Trammell	9,616	799	276	5,038	2,411	199
Pepper	6,801	485	364	11,103	3,024	147
Mitchell	1,764	62	179	2,055	1,018	91
Sikes	780	93	28	1,638	143	36
Wells	393	157	21	565	75	23
	Franklin	**Gadsden**	**Gilchrist**	**Glades**	**Gulf**	**Hamilton**
Trammell	228	485	185	201	194	360
Pepper	410	991	216	358	306	766
Mitchell	206	106	114	71	94	156
Sikes	392	82	24	121	105	56
Wells	133	24	18	21	33	36
	Hardee	**Hendry**	**Hernando**	**Highlands**	**Hillsborough**	**Holmes**
Trammell	506	332	473	710	**8,784**	626
Pepper	463	407	363	772	**4,631**	1,170

Continued on next page

28. *Morning Tribune*, 13 June 1934; *Florida Times Union*, 6 June 1934; Office of the Secretary of State of Florida, *Primary Election Returns, June 6, 1934*, Florida State Archives, R.A. Gray Building, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter cited as *Primary Election Returns, June 6, 1934*).

Table 1: *Continued*

Candidates	Hardee	Hendry	Hernando	Highlands	Hillsborough	Holmes
Mitchell	264	92	188	414	**6,649**	349
Sikes	67	35	120	96	**2,019**	67
Wells	81	27	62	112	**2,047**	40

	Indian River	Jackson	Jefferson	Lafayette	Lake	Lee
Trammell	386	1,624	761	129	1,049	1,447
Pepper	116	3,774	636	627	1,839	786
Mitchell	931	1,091	228	293	328	169
Sikes	21	136	58	27	227	225
Wells	11	132	51	14	127	91

	Leon	Levy	Liberty	Madison	Manatee	Marion
Trammell	1,091	519	201	362	1,243	1,802
Pepper	1,651	633	331	876	874	926
Mitchell	82	138	137	295	430	111
Sikes	79	116	25	21	246	126
Wells	39	61	17	29	182	85

	Martin	Monroe	Nassau	Okaloosa	Okeechobee	Orange
Trammell	347	425	451	417	344	2,222
Pepper	379	1,206	550	904	349	2,350
Mitchell	160	211	58	335	80	778
Sikes	36	49	148	39	22	162
Wells	13	20	37	27	8	172

	Osceola	Palm Beach	Pasco	Pinellas	Putnam	Polk
Trammell	619	4,137	918	2,062	1,176	4,811
Pepper	712	3,030	572	595	926	1,875
Mitchell	325	1,017	281	310	81	1,083
Sikes	78	303	445	2,737	124	325
Wells	81	389	293	240	73	294

	St. Johns	St. Lucie	Santa Rosa	Sarasota	Seminole	Sumter
Trammell	1,026	730	541	672	1,129	669
Pepper	993	215	1,217	808	535	693
Mitchell	174	351	689	178	82	203
Sikes	215	22	51	101	60	99
Wells	107	18	42	307	45	132

	Suwanee	Taylor	Union	Volusia	Wakulla	Walton	Washington
Trammell	489	460	271	5,194	341	879	518
Pepper	660	1,043	369	2,585	822	574	1,039
Mitchell	248	337	22	454	48	1,086	326
Sikes	103	65	33	386	35	80	69
Wells	60	21	9	243	30	48	2

Source: *Official Returns from the Office of the Secretary of State of Florida, June 6, 1934*

During the last weeks of the run-off campaign, residents of Hillsborough County expressed doubts over the validity of the local results. On June 22, just four days before the runoff election, the League for Honest Elections of Tampa passed a resolution asking for the nullification of the June 5 primary due to voter fraud. These accusations differed slightly from the ones that would be made following the June 26 vote, but they indicated citizen awareness of fraudulent activities. The charges also provided credibility to the accusations made after Senator's Trammell's victory and caused Pepper to schedule his campaign's final speech in Tampa.[29]

The League, which had formed on June 19, 1934, declared its accusations at a meeting attended by 1,100 people. The chairman, Sumter L. Lowry, stated that "there was no real and true primary election." Members of the audience made similar remarks. The reputed fraud occurred in precincts from Ybor City and West Tampa. Witnesses claimed to have seen numerous groups of voters "stuffing bunches of ballots in boxes." League leaders assigned the blame to two groups. They accused the city's newspapers of participating in a conspiracy through their silence about the alleged acts and placed the remaining blame on the Hillsborough County Commission. League members stated that the county had become a monarchy dominated by two of the commissioners. Chairman Lowry called for "independent action" in cleaning up Tampa's elections.[30]

Alleged corruption in Ybor City was not a new phenomenon in 1934. The small community dominated by cigar factories and immigrants had witnessed fraudulent elections since 1916 and possibly earlier. The source of corruption stemmed from the political machine headed by Charlie Wall, who oversaw gambling and houses of prostitution. In 1916, Tampa mayor David B. McKay carried the election largely because of Wall's support and manipulation of the ballots. In order to protect his illegal establishments, Wall bribed deputies and other local officials. The money made through gambling enabled Wall to influence state as well as local politics. With the city's history of corruption, the League for Honest Elections had ample reason for doubting the validity of the primary vote.[31]

29. *Morning Tribune*,23 June 1934; Claude Denson Pepper, "Statement Not for Publication," Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.
30. *Morning Tribune*, 23 June 1934.

The League relied on a report by the Democratic Executive Committee of Hillsborough County to support its accusations. The report described in detail numerous election violations in the Latin precincts and revealed that thousands of "fraudulent names appeared on the registration books." In one affidavit, a witness described the hiring of extra sheriff's deputies to "maintain order" in the Latin precincts. The deputies were told that the sheriff presided over elections, and that they could act under his authority as needed. In actuality, election clerks and inspectors supervised the precincts. Another witness stated that deputies concealed a ballot box from public view and intimidated citizens who wanted to move it into the open.[32]

Although compromising the election, those acts did not compare to other activities. According to witness accounts, sheriff's deputies arrived at some precincts in force "armed with shotguns, pistols, and some carried machine guns" and kept some voters away while allowing repeat voters to stuff the ballot box. Allegedly, people who challenged the deputies were arrested. Under the protection of law enforcement officers, the repeaters voted using the names of those driven away from the polls. The committee also charged that election officials conducted the vote tally improperly by preventing representatives of candidates from observing the count. By publishing the charges, the Democratic Executive Committee hoped to prevent corruption in the June 26 runoff election between Trammell and Pepper.[33]

On June 23, the Hillsborough County Commission conducted a hearing to investigate the charges brought by the League for Honest Elections. The commission called a variety of witnesses and questioned their credibility. The League's chairman and senior members were also questioned about their political backgrounds, and some admitted to supporting the Republican Party in prior elections. When the commission asked Chairman Lowry to present evidence backing his claims, he had nothing to produce. Local attorneys further damaged the League's case when they testified to seeing no repeaters or any criminal acts. Their

31. Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort,* 233-234; Mormino and Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City,* 283, 301-302.
32. Democratic Executive Committee of Hillsborough County, "Report on Vote Fraud," Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.
33. Ibid.

accounts also discredited charges of the placement of fraudulent names on registry lists. After listening to numerous witnesses, the commissioners dismissed the accusations of voter fraud.[34]

The commissioners did not conduct a thorough investigation of the charges. They gathered testimony mostly from members of the League and failed to call anyone from the Democratic Executive Committee. Questions to the League members did not get to the heart of the matter, since the League, according to its own statements, acted on the committee's report. In order to conduct a successful hearing, the commission needed to verify the charges by examining the witnesses who gave affidavits and challenging the committee's credibility. Their neglect of the core evidence only reinforced accusations that the commission played a role in the voter fraud. As a result of the inaction by the commission, the June 26 primary proceeded without reforms to ensure fairness.

If successfully proven, the allegations of voter fraud in the June 5 primary could not have helped Pepper. While the young candidate trailed by only 1,925 votes, the difference from those West Tampa and Ybor City precincts would not have pushed him ahead as the winner by a majority. In Hillsborough County, Pepper placed third, falling behind Charles Mitchell. Along with the senatorial primary, the voters also selected nominees for county office, and repeaters may have cheated for local candidates rather than for the senator. While the evidence supports the accusations of fraud, the outcome would have remained the same, with Pepper and Trammell in a runoff election.[35]

The June 5 primary brought the campaign to a new level. The young candidate from Tallahassee, who started as an almost unknown politician, had barely lost to a three term senator. The possibility of Park Trammell losing his senate seat loomed heavily as both candidates worked to get their campaigns underway again. In the twenty-one days between primaries, Pepper faced several obstacles as the tactics turned more negative.

On June 11, Trammell launched a new wave of attacks during a radio broadcast. In a lengthy talk he accused Pepper and his supporters of spending more than $100,000 before the June 5 primary. Trammell also emphasized his opponent's support for

34. *Morning Tribune*, 24 June 1934.
35. *Primary Election Returns, June 6, 1934*, Hillsborough County Returns.

special interests such as international bankers and shipbuilding industries. The senator further declared that these businesses selected Pepper specifically to be their representative in Washington and stated that if his opponent won the special interests would "bring about the old regime, an enlargement of their power during the Hoover administration." Trammell also lambasted Pepper's legislative record and accused him of wanting to end the New Deal. He concluded by announcing that he had received the endorsements of Charles Mitchell and James Sikes.[36]

Most of Senator Trammell's accusations were false. While the statements concerning Claude Pepper's term in the Florida legislature had some factual basis, the claims that he did not support President Roosevelt were untrue. The charge concerning the amount of money spent on the campaign was also erroneous. Pepper's expenditures amounted to only $7,615, which paled in comparison to the alleged $100,000 campaign budget. The allegations of support from special interests had some basis. Before running for the senate, Pepper worked as a lobbyist in Tallahassee, but Trammell exaggerated the facts when he claimed his opponent had been selected to run by special interests. In fact, these exaggerated and false criticisms damaged Trammell's credibility as an honest candidate.[37]

Pepper resumed his campaign on June 12 with a speech in Pensacola, before heading east across the Panhandle to Milton, Bonifay, and Chipley. This first appearance launched a tour across the state that reached every major city and county. Pepper's speeches remained the same, supporting the New Deal and attacking Trammell for his false statements and poor performance in the senate. Pepper defended his campaign expenditures by pointing to the records kept by the Secretary of State, which showed that friends and private individuals, not special interests, contributed the funds. [38]

Pepper countered Trammell's accusations that he was a dishonest politician willing to buy votes with claims of voter fraud in Hillsborough County. The young challenger cited the history of

36. Park Trammell, "Radio Address," 11 June 1934. Series 204D, Box 9, Folder 9, Claude Pepper Collection; Park Trammell, "To the Florida Democrats," Undated, Park Trammell Papers, P.K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
37. *Morning Tribune*, 2 June 1934.
38. *Daily Democrat*, 13 June 1934.

corrupt practices and used the disproportionate totals in the West Tampa and Ybor City precincts as proof. Unlike Trammel's statements, Pepper backed his with evidence. The race turned into a near fiasco as speeches degenerated from issues of policy to plain mudslinging, with accusations of lying and cheating. Both Democratic candidates had promoted the same platform of support for Roosevelt and the New Deal, but the tight race led to more desperate tactics.[39]

In a five-day whirlwind tour, Pepper's campaign covered the state and concluded in Tampa on June 16. The candidate had traveled almost 2,000 miles and visited almost half of Florida's counties. On the fifth day of his tour, Pepper stopped at Vero Beach, the hometown of Charles Mitchell. He received an enthusiastic introduction from his former opponent, as Mitchell declared Pepper's campaign to be "clean and courageous" and identified Pepper as "my friend and your friend." Such enthusiastic support from Mitchell further eroded Trammell's credibility, especially since the senator had publicly claimed Mitchell's endorsement.[40]

Park Trammell's campaign followed the same strategy as Pepper's with a speaking tour of the state. One June 18, his campaign entered West Florida where he gave speeches in DeFuniak Springs, Chipley, Pensacola, and five other towns. In Escambia County, he reminded the audience of his support for the Naval Air Station. As the senator continued across Florida, he maintained his position that Pepper was a puppet of special interests. On June 21 in Tampa, Trammell boasted of his efforts to improve the harbor and his successful legislative record in the senate. During his address, he condemned several newspapers that had praised Pepper, including the Tampa *Morning Tribune*, and accused them of falsifying his senatorial record.[41]

During the week preceding the June 26 primary runoff, Pepper vigorously traveled around Florida, addressing as many crowds as possible. In one day, the challenger gave eleven speeches and awakened the next morning to deliver another nine. Several of Trammell's attacks focused on Pepper's lack of support

39. Claude Denson Pepper. "Suggested Replies to Sen. Trammell's Attacks." Series 204 D, Box 9, Folder 9, Claude Pepper Collection.
40. *Daily Democrat*, 17 June 1934.
41. *Florida Times Union*, 19 June 1934; *Morning Tribune*, 22 June 1934.

in his home counties of Leon and Taylor. One June 20 while speaking at New Smyrna, Pepper pointed out that he won those counties by large margins. At St. Petersburg the next day, he challenged Trammell to prove the "slush fund" charges and promised to stand down if they were true.[42]

Both candidates fought to gain additional endorsements during the last days of the campaign. Trammell had more success in this effort due to his lengthy term in public office and his status as an incumbent. The senator secured support from the Democratic national chairman, James A. Farley, and continued to enjoy the endorsement of AFL president, William Green. The AFL provided additional support by persuading Florida's other senator, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, who had remained neutral, to endorse Trammell.[43] Unionized labor had backed Fletcher since 1926 and pressured him to announce his decision to vote for the incumbent. But in an attempt to save his neutrality, Fletcher added to his statement the caveat that "each voter should be trusted to make up his own mind." Despite his ambiguity, pro-Trammell campaign ads placed heavy emphasis on Fletcher's support. Pepper sought an explanation from Fletcher who told him that he did not support Trammell and that he succumbed to pressure. Regardless of his true feelings, Fletcher's endorsement increased the incumbent's popularity and showed the strength of the American Federation of Labor.[44]

In the final days preceding the election, Pepper and Trammell gave as many speeches as they possibly could. They stressed their platforms and continued the onslaught of charges against each other, each prophesying victory on June 26. In an effort to persuade every voter, both men introduced new political issues. Pepper declared he would support aid to banks that had closed as a result of the 1929 stock market crash, and Trammell proclaimed his backing of bills that would provide money for World War I veterans. On June 25, the candidates concluded their campaigns for the Democratic nomination. Pepper gave his final speeches in

42. *Daily Democrat*, 20-21 June 1934.
43. For a complete account of Duncan Upshaw Fletcher's life and political career, see J. Wayne Flynt's *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher.*
44. Miami *Herald*, 23 June 1934; Pepper, 49; Flynt, 183; Claude Pepper to Fred M. Ivey, Tallahassee, 30 July 1934, Series 204 A, Box 63, Folder 8, Claude Pepper Collection.

U.S. Senator Claude Pepper campaigning for re-election in Tampa, 1938, *Florida State Archives.*

Tampa and remained there for the election, a reaction to the allegations of voter fraud in the June 5 primary. Park Trammell ended his bid for re-election in Miami.[45]

Campaign ads bombarded newspaper readers as the candidates fought to convince voters of their electability. Promotions for Pepper focused on this platform and professional record and declared Trammell's negative tactics evidence of his desperation. The senator's ads offered eight reasons why voters should reject Pepper. Both candidates claimed to have run a clean campaign, while each declared his opponent's canvass filled with malice. In actuality neither Trammell nor Pepper conducted themselves in as exemplary fashion as they boasted. Both candidates attacked the other at every presented opportunity, and each maintained his accusations to the end. However, Senator Trammell launched the majority of the false charges with his claims of special interests and a campaign "slush fund."[46]

45. *Morning Tribune*, 23, 26 June 1934.
46. *Florida Times Union*, 21, 25 June 1934.

Pepper and Trammell exuded confidence as the June 26 election approached. Pepper estimated that he would win by 50,000 votes, and Trammell more modestly predicted a margin of 25,000 votes. Newspapers commented on the intensity of the mudslinging and negative tactics, with the *Florida Times Union* labeling the hard-fought canvass "Florida's bitterest senatorial campaign in many years." The two candidates had much riding on the primary, and they exhausted all their political resources to win. Park Trammell placed his three-term senatorial career on the line and was dangerously close to losing it, while Claude Pepper had the opportunity to achieve an astonishing victory in unseating an incumbent.[47]

Early precinct returns gave Senator Trammell a 5,000-vote lead and victories in thirty counties. Claude Pepper succeeded in winning thirty-seven counties and carried several metropolitan areas, including Duval, Broward, and Dade counties. Later returns showed Pepper tightening the race, trailing by a mere 4,500 votes. By June 28, when the results became official, Senator Trammell had defeated the young challenger by a margin of 103,026 votes to Pepper's 98,978 votes. Pepper conceded the nomination to his opponent and offered his thanks to his supporters.[48]

In the runoff election, Park Trammell saw large vote increases in Duval and Pinellas counties, however his victory came largely from Hillsborough County where he led with his biggest margin in the state. The senator picked up 16,860 votes to Pepper's 6,410. No other part of the state recorded such a large difference in the returns. Due to the disproportionate totals in Tampa, allegations of voter fraud resurfaced with Claude Pepper himself present to witness the corruption. This time fraud meant more than winning a plurality; it decided the balance in the selection of a U.S. senator.[49]

The challenger spent most of June 26 making his way around the Tampa precincts, with considerable time in Ybor City. Pepper attempted to "neutralize" efforts to stuff the ballot boxes, but soon realized that it was nearly impossible. He spent the remaining part

47. Ibid, 26 June 1934.
48. *Florida Times Union*, 27-28 June 1934; Office of the Secretary *Primary Election Returns June 26, 1934*, Statewide Election Returns, *Daily Democrat*, 29 June 1934.
49. *Primary Election Returns June 26, 1934*, Hillsborough County Returns.

of the day investigating the precincts in an attempt to learn how the corrupt machine functioned. After witnessing several criminal acts in Ybor City and West Tampa, Pepper had no doubt that fraudulent votes cost him the nomination.[50]

Much of what Pepper witnessed was similar to what the Hillsborough County Democratic Executive Committee reported on the June 5 primary, but he also picked up new information and added details to the previous charges. In an unpublished statement, Pepper provided a lengthy account of how repeaters successfully committed voter fraud. He blamed the inspectors, clerks, and sheriff's deputies for allowing the corruption. According to his statement, Pepper observed that the ballot boxes remained hidden from the public, and when people attempted to look inside the precinct, deputies immediately blocked off the view. From five to twenty-five deputies armed with pistols, sawed-off shotguns, and an occasional machine gun guarded each of the Ybor City and West Tampa precincts. Repeaters arrived in groups of twenty, and were generally identifiable as immigrant laborers from the factories. Before they entered the precinct voting area, a foreman or manager checked with the clerks and inspectors to make sure the area was clear of legitimate voters and election officials. The repeaters voted as many times as deemed necessary by the clerks before piling into cars to head to the next precinct.[51]

Pepper also witnessed several false arrests and acts of oppression. In one instance, he spoke to a well-dressed man who was arrested moments later after deputies stated that "a complaint was made against you." The man remained in jail until the polls closed. In another incident, a citizen arrived at a Ybor City precinct, only to be told by the clerks that he had already voted. When the voter protested, deputies placed him under arrest for repeat voting. The deputies also committed numerous acts of violence in the area surrounding the precinct polls. Pepper witnessed a woman taking photographs of the repeaters, and watched as a deputy took the camera and "slapped her down." When a man came to her aid, the deputies beat him severely and hauled him to jail for "breach of the peace." Privately, Pepper stated that he

50. Pepper, "Sentiment Not for Publication," Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.
51. Ibid.

"never dreamed that [he] should see such a situation as actually existed in those eleven precincts."[52]

In addition to Pepper's account, other witnesses signed written affidavits detailing their observations of cheating. One woman, who claimed to support Park Trammell, was injured when she opposed the repeaters. On the morning of June 26, she campaigned in front of one of the controversial precinct polling stations. After witnessing a group of people stuffing a ballot box, she and her friends began recording the license tag numbers of the repeaters' cars. Their careful observations showed that at one precinct, the same group voted six or seven times. As she recorded tag numbers, one of the repeaters' henchmen grabbed her notebook and wrenched her arm, dislocating her collar bone. Deputies bludgeoned an elderly man who tried to help her. The injury to the woman did not prevent her from continuing to challenge voter fraud throughout the remainder of the day.[53]

Several repeaters spoke out on the matter. Their statements were not apologetic, but justified their actions. In a letter to the Orlando *Sentinel*, Jose Fernandez explained how participation in voter fraud provided needed income and blamed election officials in Ybor City rather than Latin Americans for the corruption. The writer freely admitted to voting twenty-five times in the runoff primary. In a letter to Claude Pepper, a self-confessed repeater also described one of his cohorts, explaining that the two of them were under twenty-five years of age and not too far removed from boyhood. The repeater claimed that a "bootlegger" hired him and promised him five dollars and a free dinner to stuff the ballot boxes. The young man claimed to have voted more times on June 26 than the "average man does in an entire lifetime." The writer did not sign the letter because he feared repercussions from the sheriff's office.[54]

Ybor City's history as a transient and immigrant community made it highly susceptible to pressure to commit voter fraud.[55] Almost seventy-five percent of its residents lacked United States citizenship, and those who had it often avoided politics. Cuban

52. Ibid.
53. Affidavit of W. A. Goins, 18 May 1936. Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.
54. Jose Fernandez to Orlando *Sentinel*, 15 July 1934, Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.

immigrants frequently moved to Ybor City to work for several months before returning home, and the city's Italian population generally isolated itself from state and national affairs. By the 1930s, the community's gambling machine routinely manipulated local elections through intimidation and voter fraud, counting on the political indifference of local residents and the opportunity to earn extra money by casting ballots for the machine. Ybor City's disinterest in politics supported machine leaders such as Charlie Wall with opportunities to steal elections.[56]

The testimonies after the June 26 primary revealed almost identical incidents to those presented from the June 5 vote. In both cases, witnesses stated that they spotted repeaters arriving at precinct voting stations in groups of twenty and claimed that election officials hid ballot boxes from public view. The sentiments expressed by the Hillsborough County Democratic Executive Committee and the League of Honest Elections went unheeded as repeaters and corrupt sheriff's deputies controlled the outcomes at eleven precincts. The vote totals seemed to support the charges of corruption. At the eleven controversial precincts, Claude Pepper received only 360 votes, and Park Trammell accumulated over 6,000 ballots. The illegal votes at those few precincts decided the election for the entire state, as Pepper lost by only 4,500 votes.[57]

Pepper had more than enough evidence to challenge the results of the election, but he decided to let the issue drop. In a letter to one of his supporters, he stated that he "didn't want to be a poor loser" or "jeopardize the advantage" gained from the public knowledge that voter fraud cost him the nomination. Pepper felt that he could muster a sympathy vote in a future campaign and was optimistic about his performance and his support in the election. Pepper charged Trammell's campaign manager, Peter O. Knight, with responsibility for the fraudulent votes. The accusation may have had some factual basis, but not enough to lead to any action. Knight served as a partner in a Tampa law firm and had worked with Senator Trammell for most of his career. After

55. For the most complete account of the history of Ybor City, see Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pazzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City* (1987).
56. Ibid, 81,301.
57. Election Results by Precinct in Hillsborough County, Series 204A, Box 4, Folder 5, Claude Pepper Collection.

Table 2: *Democratic Primary Returns by County, June 26, 1934*

Candidates	Alachua	Baker	Bay	Bradford	Brevard	Broward
Park Trammell	2,244	795	1,007	377	1,006	1,269
Claude Pepper	1,179	467	2,004	339	941	1,785

	Calhoun	Charlotte	Citrus	Clay	Collier	Columbia
Trammell	739	321	691	618	273	1,183
Pepper	788	557	886	480	259	705

	Dade	DeSoto	Dixie	Duval	Escambia	Flagler
Trammell	8,646	1,076	375	8,261	2,630	234
Pepper	9,209	755	588	10,910	3,947	235

	Franklin	Gadsden	Gilchrist	Glades	Gulf	Hamilton
Trammell	402	464	214	427	290	510
Pepper	830	863	319	401	544	969

	Hardee	Hendry	Hernando	Highlands	Hillsborough	Holmes
Trammell	690	416	637	897	**16,800**	1,528
Pepper	506	377	625	1,112	**6,410**	1,280

	Indian River	Jackson	Jefferson	Lafayette	Lake	Lee
Trammell	424	2,549	947	213	1,259	1,691
Pepper	523	4,741	757	840	1,657	1,111

	Leon	Levy	Liberty	Madison	Manatee	Marion
Trammell	1,121	651	139	637	1,073	1,770
Pepper	1,569	804	337	1,039	997	1,280

	Martin	Monroe	Nassau	Okaloosa	Okeechobee	Orange
Trammell	188	273	428	515	515	2,489
Pepper	364	1,907	383	1,356	144	2,395

	Osceola	Palm Beach	Pasco	Pinellas	Polk	Putnam
Trammell	796	3,203	1,150	3,378	5,462	1,614
Pepper	830	3,811	1,146	1,671	2,573	852

	St Johns	St. Lucie	Santa Rosa	Sarasota	Seminole	Sumter
Trammell	1,285	666	922	861	1,079	1,088
Pepper	1,298	457	1,804	1,144	691	691

	Suwanee	Taylor	Union	Volusia	Wakulla	Walton	Washington
Trammell	567	851	401	5,309	427	1,158	939
Pepper	59	1,186	357	3,600	902	1,432	1,246

Source: Office of the Secretary of State of Florida: *Primary Election Returns, June 26, 1934*

the election, Knight wrote a letter congratulating Pepper for a well-conducted campaign, but added that he could have told him six months earlier "what this country would do" in the primary. That statement made Pepper highly suspicious, and he felt that Knight had complete control over the Hillsborough County vote.[58]

Peter O. Knight's involvement with Trammell's campaign displayed one of conservatisms' last efforts to end the New Deal's popularity in Florida. Throughout his career, Knight maintained a reputation as a staunch conservative and did not want to see a liberal like Pepper elected to the senate in place of his friend. While his direct involvement in voter fraud cannot be proven, the incident demonstrated the measures that Florida conservatives were willing to take to prevent the election of candidates who wholly supported Roosevelt.[59]

In 1936, both senators Duncan U. Fletcher and Park Trammell died five weeks apart while in office. Soon after, voters elected Claude Pepper to fill Fletcher's seat where he remained until 1950.[60] The 1934 senatorial election began as a formality for Senator Trammell, but quickly turned into a challenging campaign as Pepper's support became evident. As both candidates worked to gain voter support and the race tightened, the campaign turned bitter and personal. The June 5 primary revealed just how close the race really was and highlighted the importance of voter fraud in Hillsborough County. On June 26, repeaters and corrupt election officials decided the nomination. The 1934 senatorial race also saw a shift in perceptions of the New Deal. Pepper's campaign favoring Roosevelt's actions gained instant popularity, which the incumbent had to match. With both candidates promoting the same national issues, the race tightened, and the voter fraud in Ybor City and West Tampa cost Claude Pepper the Democratic nomination and election to the senate. In 1934, illegal voting acted as the final voice of Florida in selecting a United State Senator.

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58. Sollace Mitchell to Claude Pepper, 11 July 1934. Series 204A, Box 39A, Folder 9: Claude Denson Pepper, "Statement on V-E Day," Series 432A, Box 3, Folder 10; Peter O. Knight to Claude Pepper, 29 June 1934. Series 204A, Box 4, Folder, 5. Claude Pepper Collection; Pepper, 49.
59. Claude Pepper to Fred M. Ivey, Tallahssee, 30 July 1934. Series 204A, Box 63, Folder 8. Claude Pepper Collection; Dunn, 223-224.
60. Pepper, 49.

Britain's 1814 Occupation of Pensacola and America's Response: An Episode of the War of 1812 in the Southeastern Borderlands

By Nathaniel Millett

With the appointment of Alexander Cochrane to Commander of the North American Squadron in the summer of 1814, Britain began to formalize a strategy that called for a systematic series of campaigns against the Chesapeake, New England, South Carolina, Georgia, and New Orleans with the ultimate aim of bringing the United States to its knees while protecting Canada.[1] The bulk of the attack on New Orleans was to be carried out in a straight-forward assault by the

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1. Among the newest accounts of the Battle of New Orleans and the events and strategies leading up to it are Robert Remini, *The Battle of New Orleans: Andrew Jackson and America's First Military* (New York, 1999) and C. J. Barlett and Gene Smith, "'Species of Milito-Nautico-Guerilla-Plundering Warfare': Admiral Cochrane's Naval Campaign Against the United States, 1814-1815," in Julie Flavell and Stephen Conway, eds., *Britain and America Go to War: The Impact of War and Warfare in Anglo-America, 1754-1815* (Gainesville, Fla., 2004), 173-204. Older, but still useful, is Robin Reilly, *The British at the Gates: The New Orleans Campaign in the War of 1812* (London, 1974) and Frank Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderland: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans* (Gainesville, Fla., 1981). Studies that address the broader war tend to focus on political and military aspects. Some of the better treatments include Reginald Horsman, *The War of 1812* (New York, 1969); John Mahon, *The War of 1812* (Gainesville, Fla., 1972); J.C.A. Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783-1830* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); and Donald Hickey, *The War of 1812* (Chicago, 1989).

Royal Navy, but forces were to come from a number of directions. In the build-up to the attack, it was envisioned that some of these armies would launch raids across the Deep South at strategically important locations designed to distract American forces. Over the course of 1814 and into 1815, Colonel Edward Nicolls of the Royal Marines, and George Woodbine, a white trader from Jamaica, were put in charge of raising one of these forces from the slave and Indian populations of the Southeastern borderlands. Nicolls and Woodbine erected a fort on the Apalachicola River in West Florida and between August and November of 1814, occupied the capital of Spanish West Florida, Pensacola.[2] This study examines Nicolls's and Woodbine's efforts to raise a multi-racial army from their Pensacola base and considers the extent to which the Southeast's unique conditions shaped their efforts as well as America's response.[3]

While Britain's dealings with the Indians of North America had contributed to the outbreak of the War of 1812, their deci-

2. The exploits of Nicolls and Woodbine have been discussed in Mark Boyd, "Events at Prospect Bluff," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 16 (October 1937): 3-115; William Coker and Thomas Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie and Company and John Forbes and Company, 1783-1847* (Pensacola, Fla., 1986); James Covington, "The Negro Fort," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 5 ((1990): 78-91; Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana, Il., 1999); John Mahon, "British Strategy and the Southern Indians," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 44 (April 1966): 285-305; Frank Owsley, "British and Indian Activities in Spanish West Florida During the War of 1812," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (October 1967): 111-123; Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands*; Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *The Negro on the Frontier* (London, 1971); Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge, U.K., 1999); and John Sugden, "The Southern Indians in the War of 1812: The closing Phase," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 60 (January 1982): 273-312.

3. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," *The American Historical Review* 104 (June 1999): 814-841 provides a theoretical framework for studying the Borderlands as well as a review of the relevant literature. David Gaspar and David Geggus, eds., *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean* (Bloomington, In., 1997); Eugene Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979); and David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (New York, 1975) combine to provide an excellent picture of the intellectual and physical challenges faced by slavery during the Age of Revolution. The most common way that race and the War of 1812 have been addressed is in the studies on Native Americans during the period: Kathryn Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln, Nb., 1993); Gregory Evan Dowd, *A Spirited*

sion to utilize American slaves in the war effort had evolved over the course of 1813 and 1814.[4] In many ways, much of the decision to target American slaves had been left up to military leaders in the field, and the chief architect of the policy was Alexander Cochrane who, as the former Governor of the Leeward Islands and a slave owner himself, had a keen sense of the tensions that defined slave societies. Furthermore, Cochrane had a great deal of respect for the fighting abilities of former slaves, gained when he successfully organized Caribbean slaves against the French a few years earlier. In short, Cochrane was very much aware of the numerous advantages potentially offered by the recruitment of slaves. However, much of the initial impetus for the use of American slaves came from the slaves themselves as they flocked to the British standard across the South. As early as 1813, Captain Robert Barrie of the Royal Navy noted that Chesapeake "slaves continue to come off by every opportunity amongst the slaves are several very intelligent fellows who are

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Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815 (Baltimore, 1992); Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands*; Saunt, *A New Order of Things*; Richard White, *The Middleground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, U.K., 1991); and J. Leitch Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln, Nb., 1986). Frank Owsley and Gene Smith, *Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800-1821* (Tuscaloosa, Al., 1977); Rembert Patrick, *Florida Fiasco* (Athens, Ga., 1954); and James Cusick, *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 2003) discuss various American attempts, especially in the form of the Patriot War, to acquire Spanish Florida. Over the course of the Early Republic, various Americans obsessively attempted to acquire parts or all of Florida through violence, coercion, trickery or manipulation with little regard for law or other formalities. Andrew Burstein, *The Passions of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 2003); Francis Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army in the Frontier, 1783-1846* (London, 1969); and Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson: Volume I The Course of American Empire, 1767-1821* (Baltimore, 1977) all consider Andrew Jackson's attitudes and actions towards Spanish Florida during this period.

4. Frank Cassell, "Slaves in the Chesapeake Bay Area and the War of 1812," *Journal of Negro History* 57 (April 1972): 144-155 is a brief, but definitive treatment of American slaves in the Chesapeake during the War of 1812. Mary Bullard, *Black Emancipation at Cumberland Island in 1815* (Delean Springs, Fla., 1983) is a case study of Britain's effects on the slave population of Cumberland Island. Gerad Altoff, *Amongst my Best Men: African-Americans and the War of 1812* (Put-in-Bay, Oh., 1966) is the largest and most general treatment of African Americans and the War of 1812. Britain's relationship with American slaves during the War of Independence is the subject of Sylvia Frey's *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J., 1991).

willing to act as guides [or] cheerfully take up arms against the Americans.[5]

The flow of slaves seeking protection and freedom among British troops really began in earnest with the spring 1813 arrival in the Chesapeake of a small fleet under Admiral John Borlasse Warren and Colonel Thomas Sydney Beckwith who were charged with distracting American forces from the Canadian frontier. The British employed fleeing slaves in monotonous chores or as guides. Ultimately, many would be transported abroad. However, relatively few former slaves had been overtly encouraged to flee their masters and few were employed as soldiers.

This changed with Britain's most concerted effort to recruit slaves in the form of a widely circulated proclamation issued by Cochrane in April 1814.[6] Cochrane offered to receive as soldiers or "Free Settlers," American slaves in only the most thinly veiled language fooling nobody and provoking President James Madison to respond that "the proclamation of Cochrane addressed to the Blacks they administer of us to be prepared for the worst, the Enemy may be able to effect against us [and] the Southern States, and which must be expected to show itself against every object within reach of [this] vindictive enterprise."[7] Britain had begun an official policy of recruiting American slaves and with the British Navy active along the Atlantic coast, it was not long before the results became tangible. In April, black laborers built a fort on Tangier Island at the mouth of the Potomac River to act as a British base to receive slaves. In May, Cockburn reported from the

5. Robert Barrie to Warren, 17 November 1813, H.M Ship *Dragon*, Admiralty Office (ADM), Public Records Office, London, 1/505, p. 67. Original spelling and punctuation have been retained in quotations throughout this work.

6. ADM 1/508, p. 579. The bulk of the widely circulated Proclamation read "Whereas it has been represented to me, that many Persons now resident in the United States, have expressed a desire to withdraw there from, with a view of entering into His Majesty's Service, or of being received as Free Settlers into some of His Majesty's Colonies . . . [shall be along with their families] received on board of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War, or at the Military Posts that may be established, upon or near the Coast of the United States when they will have their choice of either entering into His Majesty's Sea or Land Forces, or of being sent as FREE [in original] Settlers to the British Possessions in North America or the West Indies, where they will meet with all due encouragement."

7. James Madison to Secretary of War, 20 May 1814, Washington, D.C., *James Madison Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1964), reel 16.

base that he was going to organize a company of black Colonial Marines and soon had over two hundred former slaves organized under Sergeant William Hammond. At the end of May, the black unit, in conjunction with the Royal Marines, laid siege to the American battery at Pungoteague, Virginia, and won great praise.[8] Former American slaves would be involved in the sieges of Baltimore and Washington, D.C., as well.

Britain also recruited former slave soldiers farther south on the Atlantic coast. When the British blockaded the Lowcountry coast between Cape Hattaras and New Providence in April 1814, Captain Hayes of the *Majestic* circulated numerous copies of Cochrane's Proclamation to "facilitate the desertion of the Negroes."[9] Farther south at Cumberland Island, Cockburn began to circulate Cochrane's Proclamation by the end of 1814; the result was a flood of Georgian and East Floridian slaves.[10]

The British effort to recruit and organize American slaves had practical and psychological advantages, but the ultimate realization of their goals fell somewhat short of the vision. The war ended as Britain began to make major inroads with the American slave population, despite the fact that the Upper South and the Lowcountry (those areas in which Britain was most active) were very stable slave societies in which Native Americans and external forces had long since ceased to be major threats, and where there was a minimum of open and uncontrolled frontier. While Britain had undoubtedly gained a great deal from black allies across the South, fear of revulsion at home and the dangerous message that such encouragement would send to their own slaves in the Caribbean restrained British commanders from encouraging the American slave population to rise in open rebellion. Just the threat of recruiting and arming American slaves sent a very frightening and stark message to the southern white populations who were unaware of calls for restraint from London. However, despite the psychological advantages of allying with slaves, Britain's relationship with American and Spanish slaves on the

8. Cassell, "Slaves in the Chesapeake," 150-151.
9. Cochrane to Captain Hayes, 10 April 1814, Bermuda, Cochrane Papers, MS 2,450, p.5,P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History (PKY), University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
10. Mary Bullard's *Black Liberation* is the definitive account of Cockburn's mission to Cumberland Island.

southeastern frontier would prove to be a very different undertaking. Unlike the stability of the Upper South and Lowcountry, the borderlands were unstable, marked by African American and Native American flight.[11] A number of American interests had sought to acquire various parts of Florida in the years prior to the war and had met stiff resistance from a combination of Spaniards, blacks and Indians. The highly destructive Red Stick War was being waged on both sides of the Florida border as well.[12] Britain's goals in the Southeast were the same as those in the Chesapeake: to use American slaves to compliment their own forces and to act as a distraction to the Americans. However, regardless of common aims, Britain's dealings with blacks and Native Americans in the Southeast (while much smaller in scale due to the size of the region's population) would take on a strong regional variation as highlighted by their experience in Pensacola.

Woodbine had set sail for Florida in April of 1814, the same month that Cochrane's Proclamation had been issued and a fair amount of time after the British military had begun to utilize American slaves. He was to gain the allegiance and begin training as many "Indians and *others*, as may be friendly to and willing to fight under the standard of His Majesty."[13] While "*others*" meant primarily American slaves, it requires a bit of clarification. American slaves were not the only blacks that Britain hoped to recruit. Other blacks included individuals living with the Red Sticks and Seminoles and others living independently in maroon communities. Any attempt to recruit slaves and Indians would automatically result in the surfacing of a very complex web of interrelations. The history of flight, freedom and interrelationships gave the process of

11. Landers, *Black Society;* Porter, *Negro on the Frontier*; Paul Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers* (Bloomington, In., 2002); and David Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Ct., 1992).
12. Braund, *Deeerskins and Duffels*; Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*; Martin, *Sacred Revolt*; and Saunt, *A New Order* examine the Red Stick War.
13. Cochrane's Promotion of Woodbine to Captain of the Colonial Marines, 3 June 1814, Bermuda, Cochrane Papers, MS 2326, PKY. Author's emphasis.
14. On the history of flight and sanctuary across Florida, see Landers, *Black Society*; Daniel Littlefield, *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Westport, Ct., 1979); Daniel Littlefield, *Africans and Seminoles* (Westport, Ct., 1977); Kevin Mulroy, *Freedom and the Border* (Lubbock, Tx., 1993); Porter, *Negro on the Frontier*; and Peter Wood, *Black Majority* (New York, 1974). For the

recruitment, and indeed race relations, a very different dynamic than was the case in the Chesapeake and Lowcountry.[14]

Just before embarking for the Apalachicola River, Hugh Pigot, the Captain of the *Orpheus*, was given a number of the earliest copies of Cochrane's Proclamation that were to "be promulgated on that part of the United States that you are about to go to."[15] Woodbine had wasted no time in taking steps to insure the circulation of the Proclamation. Even as he was employed in building the fort he forwarded the Proclamation to "Georgia, Tennessee and New Orleans [presumably meaning Louisiana and probably Mississippi] by trusty Indians who have been appointed at a general meeting of the Chiefs, for such purposes, and I have no doubt of several hundred American slaves joining our standard."[16] Native Americans, with their excellent knowledge of the area's terrain and ability to blend into their surroundings, were the ideal choice for the initial distribution of Cochrane's Proclamation allowing Britain to recruit American slaves from their earliest arrival while putting off, by as long as possible, their detection by the Americans. Few images would have been more apocalyptic to nineteenth-century white southerners than Native Americans, at the instigation of the British, attempting to stir slaves to rebellion. The proclamation was also widely circulated in Fernandina, a settlement at the mouth of the St. Mary's River on the Georgia-Florida border.[17]

Even before Woodbine began to circulate the proclamation, the first large group of blacks was headed towards the fort at Prospect Bluff. In May, Woodbine recorded that "there is also a party of negroes, upwards of 200 men, who have run away from the States, and are on their march for this, in company with Cappachimico's tribe that I look for in very few days."[18] Eventually, these blacks joined the Red Sticks in their struggle against the United States. Red Stick and black relations flourished with Fort

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dynamics of Indian-Black relations, see Jack Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Oxford, U.K., 1988).

15. Cochrane to Pigot, 27 March 1814, Bermuda, Cochrane Papers, MS 2450, p.5, PKY.
16. Woodbine to Chochrane, 25 May 1814, Prospect Bluff, Cochrane Papers, MS 2328, PKY.
17. Bullard, *Black Liberation*, 55.
18. Ibid.

Mims and continued through the Seminole War.[19] West Florida became a sanctuary where Native Americans and former slaves fled and then stood together to protect their freedom. This would continue very conspicuously with British help.

In late May 1814 Woodbine recorded that "negroes are flocking in from the United States and make no doubt that I shall have occasion for a considerable supply more of musquests."[20] Since the proclamation had not yet fully circulated, the majority of arriving blacks were probably either with the Red Sticks, had been enticed to flee by other Native Americans, or had previously lived in maroon communities. Britain's mere presence on a frontier where word spread like wildfire would also have been an inducement to flee from the very beginning. A stream of former slaves made its way towards the British in Florida, an encouraging sign for the British who would not really begin recruiting in earnest until Nicolls's arrival in August.[21]

On August 13, Nicolls led a large detachment of officers and soldiers to supply and train a corps of five hundred (and more if possible) Native Americans and blacks organized as the Third Battalion of Royal Colonial Marines. One of the most important items that Nicolls brought to the Apalachicola River were copies of Cochrane's Proclamation "which you [Nicolls] will distribute among the Black Population; and further assure them that those who emigrate from America shall have Lands given them in the British Colonies on which to settle, and that at any future period when there may be Peace with America they shall not be returned to their former masters."[22] Official correspondences frequently referred to Nicolls's mission as designed to raise "a Regiment of

19. Saunt, *A New Order*, 270. The massacre at Fort Mims in August of 1813 had a profound effect on the psychology of the white population of the Deep South, made the specter of Indian-black cooperation all the more terrifying and convinced many Americans, including Andrew Jackson, that a war of destruction against the Red Sticks and their allies was entirely justified. For the newest assessment of Fort Mims, see Karl Davis, "Remember Fort Mims: Reinterpreting the Origins of the Creek War," *Journal of the Early Republic* 22 (Winter 2002), 611-636.
20. Woodbine to Cochrane, 28 May 1814, Cochrane Papers, MS 2328, PKY.
21. On slave flight, see John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York, 1999) and for the movement of information among slaves during this period, see Julius Scott, "The Common Wind: Currents of Afro-American Communication in the Era of the Haitian Revolution" (diss., Duke University, 1996).
22. Cochrane to Nicolls, 23 July 1814, Bermuda ADM 1/506, p.14.

Colonial Marines from the American Blacks" with no mention of the Indians,[23] a vivid confirmation of Britain's regional designs. Possibly the most important part of Nicolls's final orders regarded the manner by which he was to recruit "such Negroes as may be induced to desert from the territory of the United States, to whom your are to hold out *every* encouragement" [italics added].[24] Nicolls, and indeed Woodbine, would follow this order to the letter and very far beyond, often much to the annoyance of their superiors.

Nicolls cared for Britain's black and Indian allies, a sentiment vividly driven home in his orders to the First Battalion of Royal Colonial Marines:

> In Europe they [swords] are not drawn for Country alone but for all those who lingered in oppressions bonds, in America they will shine forth in the same cause—the People you are about to aid have had robberies and cruel murders committed on them by the Americans, these atrocities will I know excite honor in the breast of a British soldier, they will urge you to avenge them and you will do so with the British Soldiers valor and humanity. Towards the Indians you will show the most exact discipline, you will be an example to those sons of nature, you will have to drill and instruct them, in doing so which you must be patient with and watch their likes and dislikes and be careful to offend them in nothing. Above all things sobriety must be your constant care, one example of drunkenness may ruin this. When the men of colour who are expected to join us arrive you will be strictly careful in your language and manners to them if they do not take your instructions as readily as you wish, or have a right to expect you will make allowances for them., remember they have been oppressed by cruel taskmasters and under slavery man's best faculties are kept dormant, what a glorious prospect for British soldiers to set them free how grateful will they be to you, how ready to mix their Blood with yours in so good a cause, additional luster will beam on

23. This example is taken from Cochrane to ?, Bermuda, 4 July 1814, Colonial Office (CO), Public Records Office, London, 23/61.
24. Cochrane to Nicolls, 23 July 1814, ADM 1/506, p. 4.

that standard and whose waft no slave can combat, your ranks must be crowded with such auspices.[25]

Nicolls's order and their tone were exceptional on a number of levels. The introduction, in which a comparison was made between Britain's struggle to "liberate" or "defend" the continent of Europe against Napoleon and Britain's aid of Native Americans and slaves was entirely without precedent. Using the most colorful and timely language that would not have been lost on any of his contemporaries to state the case of Native Americans and blacks,[26] Nicolls was playing to the triumphalist spirit of Britain as the guarantor of the universal liberties of the citizens of the world. The major difference was that Nicolls called for protection of blacks' and Indians' liberties by using the same rhetoric. He clearly viewed Native Americans in the classic "noble savage" role as the glorious "sons of nature," as he put it, who were making honorable attempts to survive the constant threat of extermination by the United States. He similarly conceptualized blacks as fully human and potentially equal to whites. They had suffered so horribly under slavery as to have much of their most basic humanity compromised or nearly destroyed, but this condition was artificially imposed, was no way inherent, or innate, and through patience and diligent instruction, could be rectified. Nicolls regarded Indians and blacks as more than potential allies or pawns; they were human beings who required aid in the defense of their liberties.[27]

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25. Edward Nicolls "Orders for the First Battalion of Royal Colonial Marines" 1814, Lockey Collection, PKY.

26. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, Ct., 1992) and Gerard Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (New York, 1997) make clear the significance and context of Nicolls's language.

27. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* and Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776-1848* (London, 1988) provide information on the growing abolitionist movement. The fact that Nicolls regarded his black and Indian allies as more than mere pawns is supported by a number of sources. Well after the peace had been concluded Nicolls remained in West Florida earnestly attempting to help the Red Sticks regain their land which had been ceded to the United States in the Treaty of Fort Jackon. See Wright, *Anglo-Spanish*, 182. Even though Nicolls would go as far as to present the Red Stick Chief Hillis Hadjo to the Prince Regent in London during the autumn of 1815, he would be forced to leave his allies behind, but not before he provided them with an immense amount of military and civilian supplies and a very sturdy fort on the Apalachicola. See Malcolm to Nicolls, 5 March 1815, *Royal Oak* off Mobile Bay, Mal/106, p. 169, Putney Malcolm Papers, National

In his proclamation to the First Battalion of Royal Marines Nicolls included a large section addressed to the former slaves whom he hoped to recruit:

> To you Men of Colour, I now address myself, you are truly [heroes?] for you have dared to be free/exert yourselves to the utmost to become disciplined without Zeal and Bravery will avail you little [for?] you will unrivet the Chains of Thousands of your Colour now lingering in Bonds, you may think (it will be but for a little time) that military life is a hard one, remember good follows evil and [?] labour, that your Services will be required but for a short time and that a peace taking place you will have the comforts of enjoying rational liberty, solid property with the rights of a British Man, for lands will be given to you in the British Colonies, the ground you will then cultivate will be yours and your childrens for ever, never again will you have to undergo the heartrending misery of seeing the partner of your love or the children of your effection cruelly dragged from your [?] sold to a foreign oppression and carried beyond your reach for ever. Men of Colour as you have suffered persecutions from them[?] to your Enemies you will teach them and the world to respect you show yourselves to be Christians by your deeds—mercy will cause the British men to love you, it will be a chief motive for their acknowledging you as brothers, writedeep these words on the Tablets of your memory and look at them with serious and charitable resolution, when we in the possessions of your former taskmasters do them no other harm or violence than is necessary to put it out of their

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Maritime Museum. In July of 1816, when Nicolls's black and Indian allies faced imminent destruction by the United States Military at their fort on the Apalachicola River, one of their initial responses was to raise the Union Jack above the fort in a show of solidarity with their British allies. See Campbell, *Historical Sketches*, 202. And finally, as late as the autumn of 1816, Nicolls petitioned the British government to allow him to return and help his black and Indian allies that would assuredly number "1,000 strong [because Nicolls had instructed the Indian to] faithfully protect the black soldiers that were with me and to permit all black men to join them at the Bluff.' Nicolls to Gordon, 24 September 1816, Kent, Lockey Collection, PKY. All of these facts point to the existence of a strong mutual respect and concern shared between Nicolls and his black and Indian allies that would not have existed if he simply viewed them as pawns.

> power to harm us, [?] inflict an unnecessary wound, when they ask you for quarter, freely give it and bring them as prisoners to me, it is only the coward that will take revenge on a fallen enemy, none such will be tolerated in his ranks, but as long as they resist you fight them valiantly rush on with the Bayonet it is the brave mans weapon, aided by the [?] use of it they must fall before you—pay strict attention to those officers I shall appoint to and command you, they have left their homes and their comforts and have traveled far to aid you, but above all-things/ and riveted to your duty to your God, be loyal and true to your King and Country, if you observe these orders you cannot fail of succeeding in, and doing honor to our good cause, that benevolent Providence which has aided the disinterested exertions of our King and Country in Europe will not fail to support us here, and if we arrive at the haven of Peace, may Industry, Plenty and Happiness surround your fireside and amply reward your hardships, your sufferings and your wanderings.[28]

Nicolls called upon the black recruits fighting primarily with the bayonet to demonstrate honorable behavior and mercy on former masters. He had clearly decided that appealing to former slaves' Christian morality (either real or as a metaphorical tool for driving home ideas of honor, mercy, duty, loyalty and other virtues) was the best method for insuring good behavior. Nicolls's promise that black soldiers would be rewarded with "the comforts of enjoying rational liberty, solid property with the rights of a British Man" embodied key Enlightenment ideals (rationality, liberty, individual rights and property rights). Issuing the promise in such a public manner spoke volumes to both white and black southerners. To slaves, it challenged the daily ironies they endured even as slave owners attempted to reconcile the ideals of the American Revolution with the owning of human property.[29] Nicolls boldly situated slaves as heirs to the Revolutionary and

28. Edward Nicolls "Orders for the First Battalion" 1814, Lockey Collection, PKY.
29. Peter Hulme and Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Enlightenment and its Shadows* (London, 1990); Eric Hobsbawn, *The Age of Revolution, Europe 1789-1848* (London, 1962); and Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, U.K., 1981); Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975); Davis, *The Problem of*

Enlightenment inheritance that their masters claimed. To the slave owners and white southerners, this message and the challenge that it posed to slavery would have been as frightening as any development in recent times.[30] The British were presenting a physical challenge to slavery as well as an intellectual one; news of both would have quickly passed through the white and black populations of the Deep South.

While Nicolls appealed to the blacks' sense of Christian virtue, morality and humanity, he also appealed to their economic interests and raw emotions. Specifically he assured slaves who joined him that "lands will be given to you in the British Colonies, the ground you will then cultivate will be yours and your childrens for ever, never again will you have to undergo the heartrending misery of seeing the partner of your love or the children of your effection cruelly dragged from your [side?] sold to a foreign oppression and carried beyond your reach forever." Generally regarded, especially by abolitionists, as a more onerous aspect of slavery, the fear of separating families would have been certain to elicit strong emotions among slaves. Rhetorically, Nicolls pulled no punches. He used timely and poignant language to attack American slavery, encourage American slaves to flee, and assert these same slaves' humanity. Ultimately, there was an overarching sense that Nicolls viewed himself as the leader of a just and moral crusade, that pitted a liberated and empowered black army, with Christian virtue and zeal on its side, against the United States. His combination of morality and black liberation in the form of a crusade made Nicolls's vision of a fundamental challenge to racial order in the slaveholding South speak to white and black Americans on many levels. To slaves this was an example and call to resistance that emphasized their humanity. To white pro-slavery southerners,

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Slavery; Winthrop Jordon, *White OverBlack: American Attitudes Towards the Negro, 1550-1812* (Baltimore, 1969) deal with the legacy of the American Revolution and slavery.

30. While there had been numerous slave revolts across the Hemisphere, from Haiti to Point Coupee, all of which had physical and intellectual implications that were absorbed by whites and blacks across the South, Nicolls was deep in the heart of the southern frontier, recruiting a slave army and boldly proclaiming revolutionary ideas about slavery and race. For contemporary slave resistance in a hemispheric context see Geggus, ed., *A Turbulent Time*; David Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the French Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbus, S.C., 2001); and Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution.*

Nicolls presented not only a physical challenge to slavery but, through his repeated insistence on the humanity and potential Christian virtue of the slaves, a fundamental intellectual challenge to the increasingly racialized defense of slavery that arose from the dehumanization of Africans and their descendants.[31]

Very possibly, Nicolls's most dangerous assault on slavery was his assertion that blacks were, as much as whites, the heirs to the American Revolution in terms of liberty, property rights and individual freedoms. Those who saw themselves as the self-conscious defenders and heirs of the liberal and republican tradition of the American Revolution would have been uneasy at Nicolls's ideas. As historian Francois Furstenburg has recently shown, these people reconciled the existence of slavery in a republican land of liberty through the assertion that freedom was a choice and that the enslaved, through their lack of resistance, acquiesced to their condition.[32] This rationalization would have been greatly threatened at the appearance of a well-ordered Christian slave army led by a British officer. If Britain and America were locked in a battle to claim the title of "standard bearers of human liberation in the Age of Revolution," a battle that in many ways turned on slaves, then Nicolls's bold experiment made quite a statement on Britain's behalf.[33] He encouraged slaves to resist while undermining the southern pro-slavery argument (through the assertion of slaves' humanity, spirituality, and enlightened rights) and liberal northerners' efforts to make slavery palatable (by showing that slaves were far from happy in their current condition) all the while enhancing Britain's credentials as the "Universal Liberator." To many Americans such language reinforced Andrew Jackson's opin-

31. George Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (Middletown, Ct., 1987); Larry Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840* (Athens, Ga., 1987); Davis, *The Problem with Slavery*; Merton, *Slavery Attacked* help to explain why Nicolls's assertion of the slave's humanity and spirituality was so dangerous.

32. Francois Furstenberg, "Beyond Freedom and Slavery: Autonomy, Virtue, and Resistance in Early American Political Discourse," *Journal of American History* 89 (March 2003): 1295-1330.

33. Matthew Mason, "The Battle of the Slaveholding Liberators: Great Britain, the United States, and Slavery in the Early Nineteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly* 59 (July 2002): 665. Mason argues that both nations saw themselves as the true defenders of the spirit of the Age of Revolution.

ion that one of Britain's major aims in West Florida was "exciting the black population to insurrection and massacre."[34]

When Woodbine arrived at the Indian encampment towards the end of July 1814, he found nearly two thousand men, women and children, including Hillis Hadjo (Josiah Francis) and Peter McQueen. Almost three hundred Seminoles joined this village, having marched overland from the Apalachicola River.[35] The Indians faced famine, disease, and mercilessly hounding attacks by Colonel Joseph Carson and William Weatherford, a mestizo Red Stick who had surrendered to Andrew Jackson and turned against his people.[36] Woodbine organized a force of Red Sticks, whites, mulattos, and blacks to ward off a potential attack by Andrew Jackson and to keep white settlers at bay, a tactic he learned as he led a similar[37] version from Prospect Bluff to Pensacola: "I assure you the few of my guard that I brought down here have inspired no little proportion of terror in Mobile and New Orleans."[38]

Nicolls left some supplies and men at Prospect Bluff and headed to Pensacola to join Woodbine, arriving on August 14th. The Governor of Pensacola very much feared an attack by Andrew Jackson and had minimal faith in his own troops. He allowed Nicolls to land his troops and take command of Fort San Miguel and raise both the British and Spanish flags. Orders were sent to Captain Robert Percy to bring the marines left behind at the Apalachicola River.[39]

While the Spanish were far from pleased with a British presence in Pensacola, Woodbine and Nicolls had fallen upon an ideal

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34. Jackson to Governor Holmes, 21 July 1814, Fort Jackson, in Spencer Bassett, ed, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, D.C., 1927), 15. In an interesting example of the manipulation of racial realities, Andrew Jackson issued a proclamation to the slaves and free blacks of New Orleans promising freedom and material rewards if they would help to defend the city against the British on September 21, 1814. Jackson's proclamation was unpopular with the white inhabitants of New Orleans, but ultimately successful and provides an excellent example of the increased leverage enjoyed by traditionally "weak" groups in the borderlands. Arsene Lacarreire Latour, *Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15 with an Atlas* ed., Gene Smith (Gainesville, Fla., repint 1999). I owe a debt to Gene Smith for suggesting this reference.
35. Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 277.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid, 277-278.
38. Woodbine to Cameron, 9 August 1814, Pensacola, Cochrane Papers, MS 2328, p. 38, PKY.
39. Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands*, 105.

situation. British strategy, in relation to New Orleans, favored the occupation of Pensacola and Mobile as bases for an advance on New Orleans. Nicolls and Woodbine were laying the groundwork for larger British landings. Pensacola was now in British hands bloodlessly and with nearly no effort, but Mobile remained under American control. Once both towns were taken, a combined army of regulars, Indians and blacks would launch attacks either directly at New Orleans or farther up the Mississippi River. Diversionary thrusts into the interior of Georgia would distract much of the American armed forces.

Nicolls assumed nearly complete dictatorial control over Pensacola shortly after his arrival. While the Spanish might have been prepared to yield a considerable amount of authority to Nicolls and the British, his governance was heavy-handed and alienated the population. From his headquarters in the middle of the town, Nicolls oversaw the physical abuse and intimidation of many inhabitants, implemented a strict system of passports to control travel and jailed anyone deemed "suspicious." American William Robertson had the misfortune to visit Pensacola during the British occupation, something that he had done frequently in the past. The Spanish Governor labeled him a "suspicious character" and demanded Robertson leave the territory within twenty-four hours. While packing his bags, however, British soldiers seized him and made him prisoner to Woodbine. When asked if he had a warrant from the Spanish governor, Woodbine responded, "damn the governor, my orders are received from Colonel Nicolls, and I must obey them, if I go to hell for it."[40] Robertson was incarcerated and interrogated for four days before finally being released. Soon the Spanish (military, civilians and politicians) began to suffer.[41] Resentment and hatred of the British grew, turning a fair proportion of the town's population into active American spies.[42]

British exploits with blacks and Native Americans also caused Spanish resentment to swell. Nicolls's detachment of slightly over one hundred British soldiers was far from adequate if attacked by the Americans. Nicolls continued the work that Woodbine had

40. William Robertson to Willie Blount, 26 October 1814, Fort Stoddart, United States Territorial Papers (Florida), PKY.
41. "Narrative of the Operations of the British in the Floridas," 1815, Cruzat Papers, p. 3, PKY.
42. Remini, *Andrew Jackson: The Course of Empire*, 237

begun in recruiting blacks and Indians to the British standard, raising over five hundred Indians, most of whom were Red Sticks, and one hundred blacks.[43] The new soldiers were provided with uniforms and arms, organized into military units, and drilled and instructed by British officers. The black recruits wore distinctive red caps.[44] Much to the astonishment of even fairly liberal inhabitants of Pensacola, blacks and Indians patrolled the streets and manned the city's defenses.

The British gave the Spanish much to be unhappy about. To the inhabitants of Pensacola, black and Indian troops appeared to be Nicolls's henchmen. One resident explained how Nicolls took military command of the city "not indeed [by assuming] the immediate command of the Spanish troops [instead] he effected by means of a band of about 800 desperate savages that joined his standard, and whom he kept constantly on the scout in every direction."[45]

Spain's grievances with the black portion of the British force concerned the soldiers' origins. Some arrived with the Red Sticks and Seminoles. Others were from maroons. Still others made their way from the United States, potentially inciting white settlers. Still, Woodbine insisted that he and Nicolls "were to rouse a regiment of Blacks and did not care where they came from."[46]

And the "rousing" extended to Spanish residents' slaves. The British used the same process that they had elsewhere in the South: slaves flocked to the British standard because it was there and offered potential freedom. Woodbine made the prospect sweeter by proclaiming that any slave who joined the British forces would serve for a maximum of six months.[47] Pensacola slaves knew of Cochrane's Proclamation, but Woodbine emphasized the temporariness of military service. Most slaves who escaped from the Spanish did so by sailing to the other side of the bay in stolen boats. One Spanish observer noted that slaves continually escaped because of the "shelter that they find, be it from our [British] assistant or from the Indians."[48] Britain had

43. Owsley, *Struggle*, 107; Saunt, *A New Order*, 278.
44. James Innerarity to the Governor of West Florida, March 1815, Greenslade Papers, PKY.
45. "Narrative of the Operations of the British in the Floridas," p. 2.
46. "File of Witnesses that may be examined by Commissioners in Pensacola in the Suit of Woodbine-Testimony of Peter Gilchrist," 1815, Cruzat Papers, PKY
47. "File of Witnesses. . . Testimony of Pedro Suares," Cruzat Papers, 1815, PKY.
48. Saunt, *A New Order*, 278.

launched an aggressive and calculated campaign to "entice" as many of the Spanish slaves to join them as possible:

> a few American fugitive slaves that from time to time joined them were by no means sufficient to satisfy their eager appetite, their worthy panders aforementioned assiduously visited the negro Cabins in this town, attended their many meetings and by every means that the genius of seduction could invent endeavoured to entice the slaves of the Spanish Citizens to join them—when-ever they succeeded, the evasion of the slave was easy he had but to walk to the fort [San Miguel], at noon day or at night, he was sure of reception—did the Owner complain? He was answered with scurrility—did the weak Government interfere? Its requests, its orders, or its menaces were alike treated with insulting contempt—or if in any instance the least degree of energy was shown , the negro or negroes who were its objects were sent off at night across the bay and thence to the Grand depot at Apalachicola.[49]

If slave owners sought to recover their slaves, they were "frequently treated with the grossest abuse for daring to claim them and dared scarcely utter a murmur from dread of the Indians whom he [Nicolls] held at his back."[50] Uniformed and armed Indians and blacks created a sense that racial order had completely broken down.

Woodbine appeared intimately involved in recruitment. He was frequently seen speaking to individual slaves, offering them liberty and protection.[51] Phillis, a house slave of John Innerarity's, joined Woodbine at Prospect Bluff, but unsure of her decision, she gave up her freedom and voluntarily returned to her master.[52] Woodbine discovered that bribing slaves worked better. Peter Gilchrist observed him paying Charles, a slave belonging to Madame Eslava. Gilchrist advised her to pay extra close attention to Charles, but the slave was gone that night.[53]

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49. "Narrative of the Operations of the British in the Floridas," 1815, Cruzat Papers, p. 5, PKY.
50. John Forbes and Co. to Lord Castlereagh, 20 May 1815, Pensacola, Foreign Office (FO), Public Records Office, London, 72/219.
51. William Laurence to Forbes, February 1816, Cruzat Papers, PKY.
52. "File of witnesses . . . Testimony of John Innerarity," 1815., Cruzat Papers, PKY.
53. "File of witnesses . . . Testimony of Peter Gilchrist," 1815, Cruzat Papers, PKY.

For a bounty of thirty dollars, Woodbine employed four "renegades"—Sergeant Dogherty, Colonel Wallace, Colonel Perdu, and the American Sergeant McGill to "steal" Spanish blacks by encouraging slaves to leave their masters and facilitate their flight.[54] According to one witness, "McGill was employed by Woodbine to take away all Negros, that could be got at."[55] Woodbine paid a Mr. Caldwell to ferry blacks across the bay. With British backing, Caldwell escaped chastisement by the Spanish governor despite frequently being spotted transporting runaways."[56] Armed blacks protected the ferry service, instructed by Woodbine to shoot anybody who attempted to interfere.[57]

Complicit in recruiting slaves were the Indians associated with Woodbine. DeLisle was an Indian chief who first met Woodbine at Prospect Bluff in July 1814 and traveled with him to Pensacola. DeLisle was "to enlist Negroes [and] to look after such Negros as would be suitable for the service" and he was far from the only Indian involved in enlisting blacks to the British cause.[58] Antonio Collins found a group of Indians stealing his brother's slave and eventually tracked them to Fort San Miguel. When he attempted to recover her, twelve to fifteen Indians stopped him.[59] Slaves throughout the Deep South witnessed the close relationship emerging between blacks and Indians, making the decision to join that much easier. At the same time, the Seminoles and the Red Sticks acted as ideal recruiting agents whose active support of the British would have been very frightening to the white population of Pensacola as well.

From his arrival in Pensacola, Woodbine had been seen frequently talking to a slave named Prince who belonged to a Dr.

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54. "Narrative of the Operations of the British in the Floridas," 1815, Cruzat Papers, p. 5, PKY and "File of Witnesses. . . Tetimony of Peter Gilchrist," Cruzat Papers, 1815, PKY. McGill is the only one of the four named men who was definitely American, but it is highly possible that the others were American as well. One account of Nicolls and Woodbine's time in Pensacola records them as "collecting Indians, negros and *American deserters*," William Robertson to Willie Blount, 26 October 1814, Fort Stoddart, United States Territorial Papers (Florida), PKY.
55. William Laurence to Forbes, February 1816, Cruzat papers, PKY.
56. "File of witnesses. . . Testimony of Peter Gilchrist," Cruzat Papers, 1815, PKY.
57. Ibid.
58. William Laurence to Forbes, February 1816, Cruzat Papers, PKY.
59. "File of witnesses. . . Testimony of Francisco Collins," Cruzat Papers, 1815, PKY.

Sierra.[60] According to a number of witnesses, Prince had been promised wages and a Lieutenant's or officer's commission if he were to persuade "all sorts of Negroes whether Freemen or Slaves. . . all the smart young fellows" to join the British corps.[61] There were no better agents to spread the word of freedom with the British than slaves like Prince. The British approached freemen as well. Woodbine enlisted the help of a free black man named Bennet.[62]

The Spanish in Pensacola were not the only inhabitants of the Floridas to watch powerlessly as their slaves joined the British. During the British retreat from the attack on Mobile, they were most aggressive in acquiring slave recruits. Woodbine and Lt. Cassel took a number of slaves belonging to Forbes and Company from Bayou la Lanche on the west side of the Perdido River.[63] On another occasion, Woodbine returned with 'betwixt thirty and forty negroes principally men, with bundles on their backs—they made no secret of having come from East Florida [there was] a Black Corporal belonging to the Garrison of St. Augustine who spoke nothing but Spanish who was amongst them."[64] East Florida suffered so many lost slaves to the British that Governor Sebastian Kindelan ultimately commissioned two men, Fernando Arredando and Juan Huertas, to report the number and attempt to recapture the slaves.[65] Both British and slaves across Florida became so emboldened by the success of operations at Pensacola that even the governor of relatively secure St. Augustine merely watched as a local slaves joined the British.

60. "File of witnesses. . . Testimony of Peter Gilchrist." Prince must have exhibited exceptional leadership qualities that Woodbine quickly recognized. Not only did he play a prominent role in the recruitment of slaves in Pensacola and enjoy a great deal of Woodbine's confidence, but he would also become one of the leaders of the maroon community at Prospect Bluff.
61. "Indictment of William Augustus Vesey for Perjury," 1816, Cruzat Papers, PKY.
62. William Laurence to Forbes, February 1816, Cruzat Papers, PKY.
63. John Forbes and Company to Lord Castlereagh, 20 May 1815, Pensacola, FO 72/219.
64. "Files of witnesses. . . Testimony of Andres Leno," Cruzat Papers, 1815, PKY.
65. Sebastian Kindelan to Woodbine, 31 December 1814, EFP, reel 84, Section 45, PKY.

The decision by West and, especially, East Florida blacks to join the British provides an excellent example of racial politics in the borderlands. For centuries, both slaves and free blacks had recognized the relative benevolence of Spanish rule and fought fiercely against the encroachments of Anglo-America. To varying degrees, whites, blacks and Indians ensured that Florida remained a haven from the harsh and rigid realities of slaveholding Anglo-America to the north. If life with or near the Spanish seemed to provide an alternative to life under Anglo-American rule, however, then life the British appeared even more appealing. The British promised a greater degree of freedom and autonomy as well as the potential of military service. In a borderland setting, many blacks were able to pick and choose between Europeans in resisting Anglo-America.

In the often upside-down world of borderland race relations, the Spanish lost out to the more appealing British, but so too did a number of Indians, particularly Creeks, who were enemies of the British-allied Red Sticks and Seminoles.[66] Mestizo Creek Chief Stedham, who lived in Georgia, had slaves stolen by British forces.[67] The disappearance of Stedham's slaves again emphasized the role that blacks played in recruiting their enslaved brethren. It was reported that "there was one negro March and one of Stedhams runaway and went down, come here stole Hardridges two negro woman and 14 of J. Stedhams negros and went to the British."[68] An American observer described one of Britain's greatest aids in recruiting blacks to have been "their agents and black spies, [who] corrupted the Negroes of their Indian friends and Spanish allies."[69] James Perryman, another wealthy mestizo Creek had his slaves stolen.[70] Interestingly, the Spanish were fairly disgusted by British recruitment of Indians' slaves. Inneratity noted that "it is known that even the Indians have Suffered equal oppres-

66. Kathryn Brand, "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," *Journal of Southern History* 57 (November 1991): 601-636 deals with the changing nature of slavery among the Creek Indians.
67. Hawkins to Jackson, 30 August 1814, Creek Agency in Grant, ed, *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, 694.
68. Jackson to Secretary of War, 30 August 1814, Mobile in George Hoeman, David Hoth and Harold Moser, eds., *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* (Knoxville, Tn., 1994), 33.
69. Edmund Doyle to [?] 1817, Greenslade Papers, PKY.
70. Hawkins to the Speakers of the Upper and Lower Creeks, August 1814, in Grant, ed., *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, 694.

sions from Capt Woodbine and his other agents, who have despoiled them of their slaves."[71]

The former slaves who joined the British were incredibly diverse. They came from both Floridas, the United States, and Indian territories. Their former masters were Iberio-American, Anglo-American, French, and Indian. They had been influenced by all of these cultures, and combinations thereof. Still other slaves had memories of Africa, reflected in elements of an African heritage.[72] Those who joined the British came from nearly every possible working background, from urban and skilled to plantation and rural. Despite their great diversity, former slaves in Britain's Pensacola force shared a desire for freedom and a belief that the British offered the opportunity to gain it.

The recruitment and organization of a black military force frightened Pensacola's white population. The Spanish population, despite its traditional alliances with blacks and Native Americans and relatively liberal attitude towards race, had been rendered completely powerless.[73] Drilled and often uniformed blacks and Indians patrolled the streets and enforced British rule.

Possibly dizzy with his recruiting success, Nicolls decided to assault Mobile in early September 1814. Mobile provided the second piece in the Gulf Coast puzzle and was a location from which

71. James Innerarity to the Governor of West Florida, March 1815, Greenslade Papers, PKY.

72. Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (New York, 1977); Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro American Past: A Caribbean Perspective* (Philadelphia, 1976); Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (London, 1998); Philip Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (London, 1998); and Michael Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998) explain the process by which Africans and their descendants maintained various aspects of their traditional cultures while absorbing aspects of European cultures and becoming "Afro-Americans."

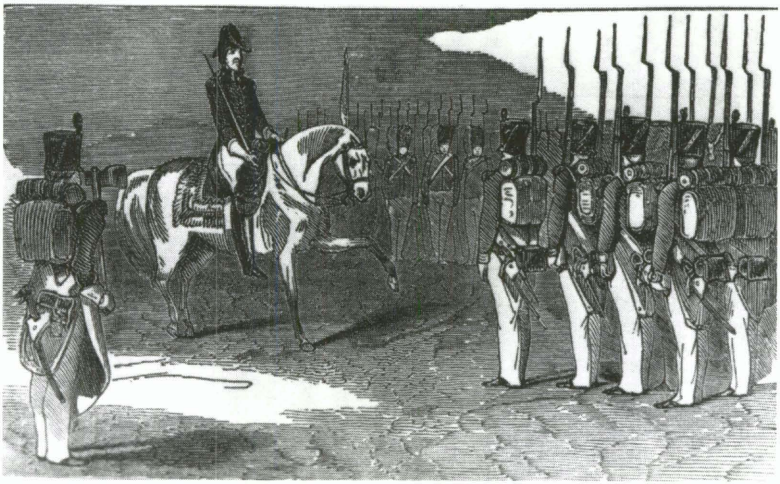
73. Landers, *Black Society*. While Florida's attitudes towards blacks were shaped by harsh geopolitical realities, namely the nearly constant threat of Anglo-America and the shortage of Spanish defenders, the territories had a long history of providing official and unofficial sanctuary for fugitive African Americans, frequently had a substantial presence of black soldiers from elsewhere in the Spanish New World, lived and worked in close proximity to free blacks, and was a place where slavery was less severe than it was to the North. In Ira Berlin's terms, Spanish Florida was a "society with slaves" rather than a "slave society" and attitudes towards race reflected this. See Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*.

the British could recruit among previously untapped Indian tribes. Andrew Jackson, Commander of the Seventh Military District, anticipated a move against Mobile, however, and rushed his troops there, arriving on August 22. His first decision was to repair and reinforce Fort Bowyer which overlooked Mobile Bay. On September 12, four British ships—the *Hermes*, *Carron*, *Sophie*, and *Childers*—arrived in the bay. On board were Nicolls and between one hundred and fifty and two hundred and fifty Indians; a detachment of marines was marching overland to meet them. The invasion ended as a disaster and survivors limped back to Pensacola. Both morale and Britain's strategy in the Gulf Coast had been defeated.[74]

One of the major effects of Jackson's victory at Fort Bowyer was his conviction that Britain's strategy in the South revolved around its conquest of Mobile. For weeks, he passed time at Mobile, sorely neglecting the defenses at New Orleans. On October 10, the Secretary of War, James Monroe informed Jackson about information from the American ministries at Ghent that a British expedition had departed Ireland for New Orleans in September.[75] Obsessed with the British in Florida, Jackson tenaciously stuck by his earlier observation that "Pensacola is more important to the British than any other point on our South or Southwest," and he prepared for an invasion the city deep in the heart of neutral Spanish territory.[76] Jackson thought that Pensacola was the real base of British operations and was eager to teach the British and Spanish a lesson for their collective breach of neutrality. He believed that an attack might result in the acquisition of much of Florida.

There was a deeper and much darker concern that weighed heavily on Jackson's thinking, however. For centuries, Spanish Florida's reliance on blacks and Indians for defense and the enhanced role that both groups played in the region's culture and

74. Britain's disastrous attack on Mobile is addressed in Owsley and Smith, *Filibusters*; Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands*; Reilly, *The British at the Gates*; J. Leitch Wright, *Britain and the American Frontier, 1783-1815* (Athens, Ga., 1975); and William Coker, "The Last Battle of the War of 1812: New Orleans, No Fort Bowyer!," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Spring 1981): 42-63.
75. Remini, *Andrew Jackson*, 239.
76. Jackson to Secretary Armstrong, Fort Jackson, 30 July 1814 in Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, 18.



Territorial Governor Andrew Jackson reviewing troops before the first Seminole War, *Florida State Archives.*

society very much bothered Anglo-America.[77] Part of Anglo-America's continuing desire to acquire Florida was a desire to permanently stomp out what was regarded as a threat to racial order in the South. Jackson was certainly sympathetic to this notion, seeing in the recent arrival of the British and the Red Sticks a real and urgent call for action.

Much of Jackson's correspondence during these days was racially charged. Benjamin Hawkins informed Jackson that "I have from other sources which I credit corroborative information of a plan to free and prepare for war all of the Blacks in this quarter [by the British]."[78] Two weeks earlier, Hawkins had reported to John Armstrong that the British at Prospect Bluff and Pensacola had begun to clothe and train "the Indians and some negros for purposes hostile to us the Indian training is to fire a swivel, sound the

77. Jane Landers, "Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida, 1687-1790," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (January 1984): 296-313 and Patrick Riordan, "Finding Freedom and in Florida: Native Peoples, Africans, and Colonists, 1670-1816," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 75 (July 1996): 24-43 both provide a strong sense of the history of black and Indian flight into Florida and the concerns this caused in Anglo-America.

78. Hawkins to Jackson 30 August 1814, Creek Agency in Grant, ed., *Letters. . . of Benjamin Hawkins,* 694.

war whoop, fire three or four rounds of small arms."[79] Jackson's identification of Pensacola with racial disorder was evidenced in detail in a September 1814 report from the headquarters of the Seventh Military District to the Secretary of War. Jackson desperately argued that the British must be expelled from Pensacola and replaced by a garrison of American troops which would also be placed at Prospect Bluff and then "all resistance in this quarter would cease." Jackson signed off with the line "I beg you to glance at the situation in Pensacola" and continued with an attachment that recounted the events of the previous night when a party of Indians had come within nine miles of Fort Jackson and attacked a house with one white man and three slaves in it. One of the blacks escaped with the Indians who, Jackson stressed, had come from Pensacola.[80] Jackson's view was reinforced by field reports, like the November 1814 letter from Butler, who attempted to convince Jackson to invade Pensacola, accusing the Spanish of having:

> Formed a league with our declared enemy Great Britain who has invited every pirate, and robbers to their standard, and has endeavored to arm our slaves against us: nay more destroy this infernal combination of monsters, who forgetful of the rules of Christian Warfare has assembled a banditti of Pirates, Robbers, and savage murders in support of their cause—to drive them from our shores is the task assigned to you.[81]

The British challenged racial order and had to be stopped before the chaos spread. Jackson even considered the idea of "giv[ing] the Seminoles and refugee Creeks a final blow."[82] After Pensacola had been conquered. In his mind, the war that had begun at Fort Mims with an Indian-and-black-led massacre of white Americans would end in Pensacola.

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79. Hawkins to Armstrong, 16 August 1814, Creek Agency in Grant, ed., *Letters. . .of Benjamin Hawkins*, 693.
80. Jackson to Secretary of War James Monroe, 5 September 1814, Mobile in Bassett, ed., *The Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, 39.
81. Butler to Jackson, 6 November 1814, Head Quarters Seventh Military District, Record Group 98, "Order Books of the Adjunct General—June 1813-February 1821," NARA.
82. Andrew Jackson's invasion of Pensacola is treated in Hicks, *The War of 1812;* Owsley and Smith, *Filibusters;* Owsley, *Struggle for the Borderlands;* and Remini, *The Battle of New Orleans.* Owlsley, *Struggle, 112.*

Jackson left Mobile on October 25th with what eventually grew into a force of more than four thousand whites and Indians. He made no pretense of having government approval for what he was about to do, sending a letter to the Secretary of War that began, "As I act without the orders of the government, I deem it important to state to you my reasons for the measure I am about to adopt."[83]

Jackson had issued what amounted to an ultimatum to Governor Manrique to expel hostile Indians from Spanish territory and to stop allowing the British to use Pensacola as a base. Having not received a satisfactory response on November 6th, Jackson and his force arrived at Pensacola. The town was overrun; the Americans met little resistance from Spanish residents. The British had taken refuge in Fort Barrancas, located at the mouth of the harbor. As the situation became hopeless, they decided to board the British fleet anchored in the bay, blow up Fort Barrancas, and retreat to the fort on the Apalachicola River. In the ensuing chaos British forces, their Indian allies, nearly the entire slave population of Pensacola, and over two hundred Spanish troops (most of whom were black and from Havana) evacuated the town. The black population that Britain had recruited from Pensacola would form the foundation of Prospect's Bluff's maroon community, which ultimately provided one the greatest examples of slave resistance in North American history.[84]

During the War of 1812, Britain utilized blacks and Indians in its war planning. From the Chesapeake to Georgia, British armed forces recruited black allies, a policy based on precedent set during the American Revolution. In both conflicts, the military objective was neither wanton destruction nor racial war. Rather, the British aspired to exploit southern fears, thereby distracting the southern war effort and inspiring local, able-bodied recruits to join the British.

In the southern borderlands where tradition, geopolitical instability, and the increasingly aggressive encroachments by the United States heightened tensions, British activities in Pensacola took on a strong and unique regional flavor. Only in the Southeast could Nicoll's message seem more radical and threatening than

83. Jackson to Secretary of War, 15 November 1814, Head Quarters of the Seventh Military District in Bassett, ed., *The Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* 99

84. Millett, "Slave Resistance."

British overtures to American slaves in the Upper South. While the use of an enemy's slave population was an innately controversial undertaking, even when the primary goal was military expediency, Nicolls's essentially revolutionary message had implications that were absorbed across the southern borderlands. Most importantly, the political consequences were fully grasped by Andrew Jackson who saw in Nicolls and his message a viable threat to racial order on the southern frontier. Jackson wiped out the perceived threat of racial disorder emanating from Pensacola, however, he also strengthened the resolve of Florida's black and Indian refugees, who learned a very clear lesson about American intentions. Events that began at Fort Mims would continue with the growth of Negro Fort and the First and Second Seminole wars.

Clever Men and Cool Brains: Rethinking the Mind of the Old South

By John Mayfield

Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810-1860. By Michael O'Brien. 2 Volumes. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. xvii, 1354 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. $95.00 cloth.)

"The Southerner," wrote Frederick Law Olmsted in 1854, "is greatly wanting in hospitality of mind, closing his doors to all opinions and schemes to which he has been bred a stranger, with a contempt and bigotry which sometimes seems incompatible with his character as a gentleman. He has a large but unexpansive mind." Harsh words, but they stuck. For decades after the Civil War, Northern observers such as Henry Adams and Southern grouches such as Wilbur J. Cash echoed Olmsted to one degree or another. Southerners had "temperament," not "mind," the argument went, and if they thought at all it was to devise painfully devious evasions of basic human rights. This was not the fault of dirt-eaters or crackers. It was a self-conscious posture assumed by a Southern elite that prided itself on insularity and sociability, not cosmopolitanism and self-discipline.

It was never that simple, of course. Both Adams and Cash used the Southern "mind" as a kind of prism with which to refract their own frustrations with modernity. Marginal men, they wrote acerbically about a marginal culture. Others have been more perceptive, or at least more generous. The very traits Adams found so simple were, to Allen Tate and the Fugitive school, the last best ves-

tiges of agrarian virtue—individualism without predatory greed, generosity without hidden agendas. If this was pre-modern, good for them. Those who read Faulkner backwards into all of southern history have been more despairing. The darker truths of the South—racism, domination, violence, and defeat—were more representative of the human condition than modernity's claims of reason and progress, and if southerners tended to be narrow and provincial, they weren't alone. In all of this, the southerner had to *symbolize* something—an issue, an ideology, a failed dream. Nowhere was he allowed simply to sit down, read, and ponder a bit.

Michael O'Brien;s splendid new study of the antebellum southern mind rewrites these rules. *Conjectures of Order* is astonishing: two volumes and 1200 gracefully written pages that introduce a South of broad tastes and restless minds. There are chapters on slavery and race, to be sure, but they are wrapped in witty and compassionate explorations in the southern reflections on philosophy, history, literary criticism, the arts, humor, ethnicity, place, and so on. The reader meets well-known writers such as William Gilmore Simms or John C. Calhoun, but also those who are known only to specialists, such as Charles Gayarre (an all-round man of letters) or Louisa McCord (Poet and socialite) or James Henley Thornwell (Calvinist, more or less). Famous or not, they are an inquisitive, restless lot who defy the stereotypes. "Clever men," unabashed elites, they lived mostly in towns; they published and critiqued; they read history and philosophy and dabbled in theology. They talked—so much so that these volumes, especially the first, are as much social history as anything else. Where else can one find a chapter on conversation?

Here again O'Brien changes the rules. It has been fairly easy to pay attention to northern writers, literary ones especially, simply because they were at the commercial center of the publishing industry early on and had easy access to print. Southerners, by contrast, were more likely to use letters, sermons, lecture notes, or essays, and those have been hard to find. (It is no coincidence that O'Brien helped found the Southern Texts Society, which is directly concerned with retrieving lost or obscure southern writings.) O'Brien does for these southerners what Perry Miller did for 17th century Puritans: he pays attention to the forms of discourse *they* valued and to the movement of their words across time and space. Hence, the first volume has chapters on conversation, libraries, bookshops, travel accounts, school curriculums—the structures of

southern discourse—while the second volume sorts these things into more formal categories of economics, philosophy, religion, politics, and literature.

Putting O'Brien's Southerners alongside Miller's Puritans is tempting. Both Old South and Puritan Boston were societies in the making, trying to establish an identity or a sense of self and place. Both confronted tensions between community and individual and had uneasy relationships with dissenters; both were derivative of and oriented to Europe, yet lived among large and not wholly cooperative native populations. Both wrote in forms not usually accessible to modern readers. Most ironic, perhaps, that Puritans and Southerners found their finest analysts in outsiders: Miller was an atheist writing about people of faith; O'Brien is a fellow at Jesus College in Cambridge writing about people on the edge of the swamp.

Yet the comparison with Miller can go too far. Puritans had the advantage, if one can call it that, of a Calvinist ideology that was focused and prescriptive, and much of Miller involved detailing the erosion of that ideology in a new world. Southerners, however were on a sea of change, not quite adrift but certainly not as anchored as Puritans. They were dilettantes, samplers and spectators who traveled widely and read much. The differences are apparent in their histories. Miller's was relentlessly hermeneutic and thematic; his biography of Jonathan Edwards, for example, contained about three hundred pages on the theologian's intellectual constructs, only a few dozen on Edwards the preacher, husband, and mortal. O'Brien is much broader, more digressive, more sociable, more. . .well, Southern. Here are people.

Surprisingly introspective people, in fact, buffeted by contradictory currents of anxiety, optimism, alienation, a sense of belonging. This is modernity, O'Brien states, "though an idiosyncratic version mostly based on slavery" (17). Equally important, it was modernity played out in a postcolonial stage. Most histories treat them as nationalists, makers of a state-within-a-state, self-contained and isolated, yet at the same time aggressively "imperialist" in their determination to spread their ideas. Although O'Brien gives due space to the nationalist and imperialist dimensions of the Southern mind, it is the postcolonial perspective that sets *Conjectures* apart. Nationalism and imperialism might satisfy drives for mastery, but the status of being on the fringe, of being not quite-central, was more insecure and drove Southerners to their

better efforts. It made them eager to define their "place" and to do so not in relation to the North but to Europe. Add slavery to the mix, and we have "a cultural anxiety of stark proportions. Ambition and disillusionment became incessant companions in the Southern imagination" (7).

It's a radical perspective in this sense: Although Clement Eaton years ago considered Southerners largely indifferent at best, hostile at worst, to Northern intellectual trends, most explorations of Southern ideas use the North as a reference point. There has been a Cavalier/Yankee dichotomy to Southern intellectual history for a long time, perhaps best described by William R. Taylor forty years ago. It's worth speculating that this attitude is a creation, like so many other Southern myths, of the same post-Civil War urge that led Cash to demonize the South or Tate to sing its praises. The South, after all, had lost, so one culture must have been superior to the others. But what would Henry Adams think to realize that Southerners didn't really care that much *what* he or his kind thought? That they were more attuned to London or even Athens than New York or Boston? O'Brien's intellectuals were an antebellum version of what Tom Wolfe (a late Southerner) once called the "mid-Atlantic man," aspiring cosmopolitans existing on the cusp between Europe and the New World, but provincial nonetheless. The light this sheds on Southern culture comes in at a revealing angle, exposing textures and colors in the Southern mind we never anticipated. It also liberates O'Brien from the trap of being too thematic, too eager to prove something. Of all books on the Southern mind, *Conjectures* is the least dogmatic, the least ideological, the least eager to prove something. It is also the best.

The half-century covered by these volumes was one of particularly acute change, and the Southern mind evolved accordingly. "Three moments are discernible," writes O'Brien. "There was a late Enlightenment phase, which inclined to be individualist, skeptical of society, hopeful of human intelligence, and wary of human passion." One thinks here of John Taylor of Caroline, Henry Clay, the young Calhoun, all of whom were interested in "systems" that might move the individual forward or, in the case of Taylor, minimize the damage done by modernization. "The middle phase was Romantic and much more interested in collectivity, in the pleasures of belonging, and hence was more sentimental and historicist, but also jaggedly nervous about the possibility of failure." Poe, Simms, Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, and George Fitzhugh figure

prominently in these years. "The last moment was bleaker; its cadres formed a sort of early realist generation who knew that life compelled choices and that all choices involve loss" (11). Here lay the Calvinist Thornwell and the sad, deeply enrage, Mary Chestnut. One should not make too much of this categorization, however. To describe the Southern mind by "moments" is misleading and inadequate, and to his credit O'Brien really doesn't try. This is a history written more as a series of connections and influences than as a linear progression of ideas.

By far the most important influence was Romanticism. The Enlightenment was self-explaining, utopian, and orderly. Through reason one might hope to arrange things properly. The attitude never wholly disappeared, but the rapid expansions of the antebellum era rendered it stiff and quaint. Romanticism legitimated the often chaotic emotions and despair that drove through the human spirit and to which Southerners were prone, especially when the subject of slavery came up. At the same, the Romantic obsession with power, wit greatness and "genius" and physiognomies and orders and rankings, inclined Southerners to think in categories and types. This "did two thing simultaneously: it told a person that he or she was alone and alienated, but it also claimed that the world was filled with cultural shapes, collectivities that contributed decisively to the sources of the self. Race, sex, ethnicity, class, place: all these freshly became salient categories" (8). Alienation and collectivities may seem like contradictions in terms, but that does not matter. The creative tension they imparted to the Southern mind does.

John C. Calhoun's tortuous journey from nationalist to nullifier makes the point. Calhoun's constitutional theory appears stubbornly reactionary and rampantly individualistic, but these are terms more applicable to John Taylor of Caroline, whose solution to the encroachments of power was to divide it into an infinite number of contesting parties, thus neutralizing it. Calhoun, while not quite "Romantic," acknowledged that power was "the only reality of politics, and that governments needed to rest upon a shared social basis, what was sometimes called 'Community'" (863). For Calhoun the obvious community was the South, a concept he helped create. Thus his theory of concurrent majorities was more complicated than usually interpreted. Certainly the theory of nullification and its offspring, secession, was a peculiarly Southern attempt to insulate slavery from the encroachments of democratic

liberalism. This much has been argued before. What O'Brien adds is the larger, transatlantic and almost transcendent context. The idea of the South was a not-so-peculiar variation of Romanticism's tendency to infuse groups and nations and races with transcendent causes and to rally them against their enemies, all within a uniquely American definition of constitutionalism. Calhoun was too cold to be mistaken for Lord Byron fighting for the Greeks, but he shared some of the latter's fierce and desperate passion. From there it was a short step to Nathaniel Beverly Tucker's notion that politics was at base an affair of the heart, and in that, at least Southerners were far and away ahead of their time.

Or one might construct smaller collectivities. Charles Gayarre lived the life of a Louisiana gentleman but considered French his first language and wrote histories that echoed the prejudice. Simms, William Alexander Caruthers, and other writers constructed fictional worlds where the South was culturally self-contained yet expansive and imperialistic. In like fashion, religious denominations, ethnicities, dialects, professions, and places became safe havens and points of departure all at once. There was community in gender. O'Brien too easily dismisses the insecurities of Southern maleness, but his perceptions on women are nuanced and to the point. Louisa McCord and Sarah Grimke were both of genteel South Carolina stock, yet they took very different paths, with Grimke heading North to ally herself with abolitionists and feminists and McCord staying on to support a patriarchy, be sociable, and write. Grimke, the radical, publicly tore at the concept of women's "separate sphere," but had her doubts nonetheless. McCord was a self-described "conservative" who all the while chafed at the rule of men, whom she privately called "an animal in pantaloons, every way her inferior" (277). Grimke became an activist; McCord buckled down to the care of her invalid father and wrote poetry.

This was Romantic, but a darker version than its European original. Southerners were caught between an urge to shape their destinies and a lurking suspicion that they were prisoners of circumstance. "Sociology" came naturally to the antebellum Southern mind, especially in matters of slavery and race. Here O'Brien makes no radical departures, except to accentuate the fact that Southern thinking on the issues evolved, and not always at the same pace. An initial ambivalence over slavery gave way to a harder, more aggressive proslavery stance that was oddly millenialist, as

if a proper arrangement of social classes could create happiness for all. The more Southerners formalized their racism, the more they sought to humanize it through paternalism. The evolution peaked with George Fitzhugh, who explicitly repudiated any social system that let individualism run amok in favor of a kind of familial socialism. The plantation was a domestic collectivity writ large, with a place for all and all in its place.

At the same time, O'Brien finds Southerners curiously indifferent to class—a proposition that will startle some, leave others aghast at the thought. Eugene Genovese has spent much of his influential work trying to adjust Southerners to capitalist and precapitalist notions of class and power; Richard Hofstadter wrote a famous essay on Calhoun that identified the nullifier as a kind of cryto-Marxist critic of bourgeois exploitation. O'Brien moves lightly around the notion, seeing the South as more modern, less rigid. Is it realistic to think that *any* antebellum American, North or South, had a fully defined sense of class conflict? "This was a culture that worried much about issues of inferiority and superiority, of independence and self-respect," he writes, but the easy wealth and rapid mobility of the antebellum years made European notions of social structure ill-fitting and patchy. Try as they might to recreate the gentleman, their efforts fell perpetually short. "What there was, rather, was not an aristocracy, but rich people with powerful kinship networks, who owned many houses, slaves, and oil paintings. . .Such people lived much apart," but their vision of a we/they social hierarchy was simple and direct" (368). "The power of this vision of upper and lower classes meant that the Old South had an impoverished conception of a middle class or middling classes," O'Brien argues (374). Only Daniel Hundley's marvelously witty and perceptive *Social Relations in Our Southern States* captured any sense of gradation in Southern society, and he based his orders on moral qualities, not dialectical materialism. In sum, the South was "more than its slaveholding areas [and] less than a coherent society" (17).

Any analysis this large and this sweeping has its gaps. *Conjectures* rambles and grazes, going deep in spots and skimming others. (It's a forgivable trait, however, since it is so characteristic with its subject matter.) O'Brien offers, for example, one of the best introductions to the varieties of Southern religious thought available, and his sections on Jews and Catholics are concise and illuminating. But there is nothing here on Baptists or Methodists.

Granted, neither group was terribly intellectual, at least not in a formal sense, but that in itself was part of the Southern equation. Moreover, Baptists and Methodists populated the South with colleges. There is a fine section on Simm's poetry, but little on his extensive fiction and nothing on his histories, although O'Brien devotes many pages to the Southern historical imagination. And it may be that O'Brien carries his postcolonialist perspective too far. While Southerners' connections to Europe are well-established, the one to the North is less so, which seems odd, given that in 1861 Southerners defined themselves as not-Northern, and went to war accordingly.

For that mistake, Southern intellectuals must bear a heavy load. For most of the antebellum period, they acted as if "the choice between power and morality was escapable" (1161). It wasn't. The last chapter, "Cool Brains," suggests a South thrashing about in the eddy of its own ambiguities and looking for direction. Novelist Augusta Jan Evans turned to God; William Henry Prescott opted for "cold power"; Mary Chestnut got simultaneously cynical and nostalgic; James Johnston Pettigrew looked to a larger idea, the South itself. Given the options, Pettigrew's path seemed to offer escape. So they fought and they died, and they went into obscurity. Later generations could not comprehend the enormity of the mistake, so some chose "to minimize slavery, admire manners, praise valor, and stress whiteness" (1202). Others found it "simpler for Southerners and Northerners alike to believe that the Old South had defied the American way out of ignorance, or guilt, or stupidity, or romantic innocence" (1204). Yet it was not so. Southerners were thinking people, and they chose their fate. "They had been intelligent, learned, creative, even self-aware, but they had gambled to sustain their own power which, they had carefully explained to themselves and the world, needed to be exercised at someone else's expense. For playing the game of power and losing, they do not invite pity. . .Still, they do invite understanding" (1199).

Book Reviews

A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontier in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730. By Steven J. Oatis. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. 399 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $65.00 cloth.)

Studies of the borderlands area in the Southeast have long been the poor relations of more mainstream academic interests. Refreshingly, that trend has begun to change as an increasing number of historians are studying South Carolina's relationships with the other inhabitants of the region. Steven J. Oatis assumes a leadership role in this rising historiography with a well-researched, well-written, and relatively comprehensive study of the Yamassee War and its effects on the spread of English influence through 1730. Its major strengths are the scope and subject of the work as it adds fresh insights into a subject long ignored. What few weaknesses it has are byproducts of the Anglo-centric focus of the work that leads it to occasionally generalize issues regarding the Spanish and Indian perspectives. This issue, however, takes nothing away from a work that anyone interested in the history of the colonial southeast should read.

The book is organized in a roughly chronological manner. The first chapters give a brief history of early Carolina and chart the formation of the English-Indian alliances that shifted power away from Spanish Florida. Oatis effectively continues with a thorough examination of the Indian trade and the English use of Indian alliance during the years of Queen Anne's War and immediately afterward. These chapters effectively show the numerous perspectives that existed among the Indians and illustrate the economic, social, and cultural changes in the region that result from

the changing nature of the Indian trade. Finally, Oatis uses the last chapters to chart the outbreak of the war and describe the effects of the conflict on the various peoples involved, Indian and European, through the 1720s. He shows how the English-Cherokee alliance that arose during the war solidified English dominance in the region over the next decades.

Oatis' work is the latest addition to a new trend in the historiography of the colonial Southeast, one that emphasizes a multi-sided nature of the early years of Carolina's history. This subject was long dominated by Verner Crane's *The Southeastern Frontier* (1928) that for many decades was the seminal work in the field. What other works were produced that focused on Carolina, such as Peter Wood's *Black Majority* (1975), tended to be internally focused on the development of the colony and treated external issues such as the Indian trade or Spanish Florida as merely additive. Beginning in the 1990s, a small group of scholars began to look to the frontier once again, following in the footsteps of the growing number of prominent scholars of Florida history, such as Jerald Milanich, John Worth, and others, who focused on, among other things, the European-Indian relationship in the region. These new studies combined excellent research in the available English documents with the fruits of the historians of Spanish Florida. Among the prominent early results of this trend was Alan Gallay's *The Indian Slave Trade* (2002), which represented the first major work in the field in decades. With this book, Steven Oatis takes the next step in what, hopefully, will be a long and productive trend in the Carolinian historiography.

The relatively minor weaknesses that are found in *A Colonial Complex* tend to be a result of one of the major strengths of the work. Oatis has exhaustively researched the available English documents and effectively melds them into a narrative that is easily understood while being thoughtful and complex at the same time. For example, in chapter five, "Crisis and Change," Oatis gives an insightful discussion on the changes in English strategies regarding how best to organize their defenses and take the fight to the Indians. He later takes the analysis even deeper, explaining in detail the alteration of Carolina's relationship with the Crown during this period, setting the stage for an equally interesting discussion of the long-term consequences of the Yamassee war in terms of British imperial policy in the Southeast.

This strength, however, is also the source of a relatively small weakness. The book tends to excel in giving the English side but, at times, generalizes the perspectives of the Indian, Spanish, and eventually French interests. In particular, the majority of the inferences on Spanish actions and attitudes tend to be derivative of other secondary interpretations. This is despite an effort to utilize Spanish primary sources to provide detail. This dichotomy lends itself to simplified and, in some cases, incomplete assertions. For example, in one case Oatis describes Spanish efforts to use the war to reassert their own influence. He points to a royal donation of six thousand pesos and one thousand guns used to bolster the Indian allies of St. Augustine (179). While superficially correct, a fuller examination of those Spanish records show that a large portion of those resources were redirected or failed to have the desire effect on the relationship between the Spanish and the Indians. To a much lesser degree, the same trend affects interpretations of the Indians, though, to his credit, the author makes a great effort to avoid this whenever the English documents that form the backbone of the work allow.

Overall, this is a fine addition to the field, and it will serve as both a model and an impetus toward continued studies of the Southeastern Borderlands. It is a useful book both as a general reference work for other historians as well as being suitable for use in the classroom. The smooth writing and easy to understand language belies the detail and obvious research behind it, and the minor weaknesses do nothing to diminish the accomplishment of the author.

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Negotiating for Georgia: British-Creek Relations in the Trustee Era, 1733-1752. By Julie Anne Sweet. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005. x, 267 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth.)

Scholarly examinations of specific colonial settlements (microhistories) have been a staple of early American history since at least the 1970s. Ethnohistorians have recently begun employing similar techniques in reference to native communities during the period, shifting the focus from seaboard cities such as Philadelphia and

Charleston to native villages such as Shamokin and Okfuskee. In *Negotiating for Georgia,* Julie Sweet utilizes aspects of both approaches in an attempt to create "a new colonial history that documents the ways in which all cultures play a part" (p. 8). Rather than continue down the interpretive path established by her predecessors, however, the author produces a work that harkens back to more traditional paradigms.

Sweet's regional focus is coastal and backcountry Georgia, the sliver of land settled by British colonists between the 1730s and 1750s. Employing a chronological narrative, she surveys settler relations with local Lower Creek Indians primarily through the ideas and activities of two individuals, James Oglethorpe and Tomochichi. Characterized as the principle leaders of their respective populations groups during the early years of the interaction, both serve as pivotal figures in the book and structure its content. Opening chapters retell the events leading up to the founding of the colony, the subsequent journey to England undertaken by Lower Creek diplomats, and the general harmony that followed as a result of accommodation reached between the two leaders. Following sections highlight growing tensions between settlers and Indians over trade, land and Christianization efforts as well as Oglethorpe's attempt to mollify all parties by visiting the native village of Coweta. The book concludes with chapters analyzing the impact of Tomochichi's death on intercultural relations, Lower Creek-settler collaboration against Spanish Florida during the War of Jenkin's Ear, and the transformation of Georgia's leadership structures. By the 1750s, according to Sweet, the early harmony cultivated by Oglethorpe and Tomochichi had degenerated into cross-cultural distrust and animosity, a situation that foreshadowed relationships between the two groups in the early 19th century.

In revisiting Georgia's founding and its impact on intercultural relations, Sweet updates standard interpretations and provides nuanced information lacking in past treatments of the region and era. Her analysis of the first ceremonial meetings between colonists and Lower Creeks is exceptional in that it delves into the varied meanings of words and rituals to both natives and Europeans. Similarly, Sweet's deconstruction of a painting commemorating Tomochichi's visit to England reveals the importance of dress, demeanor, and symbolism to both groups while further

illuminating the importance of non-written materials in understanding colonial encounters. Equally significant, the author reminds us that tensions between promoters of South Carolina and Georgia played an often-overlooked role in exacerbating difficulties between settlers and Indians in the area. She also rightly notes that native participation in Oglethorpe's attacks against Spanish Florida largely have been ignored by past historians and offers an assessment that should promote future investigations of the topic and its extended impact on Indian-settler interaction in the areas surrounding Savannah.

Yet two interrelated problems limit the conclusions reached in this work. The author employs the term "Negotiation" to characterize the nature of intercultural relationships during this period, explaining that it "defines specific, isolated instances of contact between smaller groups that does not result in deep entanglement." Unlike Richard White's "Middle Ground" of the Great Lakes region, no long-term accommodation took place between "sizeable groups" and no "bicultural society" was created (pp. 3-4). But both definitions, as stated in the text, appear arbitrarily bounded by imprecise conceptualizations of space and time. Moreover, the presence of neighboring French and Spanish colonizers is addressed only briefly, implicitly understating the roles of both powers in Anglo-Indian relations and truncating the conditions of any "Negotiation" or "Middle Ground." Further undermining the usefulness of the "Negotiation" construct is the author's emphasis on Oglethorpe and Tomochichi. Repeatedly, harmonious relations between natives and settlers are presented as being direct results of the character, pragmatism, influence, and wisdom of the two men, and when they are no longer in the picture, chaos and enmity reign. This "Great Men" approach diminishes the role of others, both native and European, as well as varied economic, political, and environmental factors.

As a result, *Negotiating for Georgia* functions as an important interpretation of the region's development based on a fusion of old and new theoretical bases. It is both a keen assessment of a locale often ignored by historians of the early southeast and a reminder of why certain traditional models of assessment obscure as much as they reveal.

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Jose de Bustamante and Central American Independence: Colonial Administration in an Age of Imperial Crisis. By Timothy Hawkins. (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 2004. xxvii, 283 pp. Introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. $40.00 cloth.)

Despite the book's title, Timothy Hawkins' monograph, *Jose de Bustamente and Central American Independence,* is not a biography of the Spanish colonial official Jose de Bustamante in the strictest sense of the term. Although Hawkins explores Bustamante's life, this portion of the book only spans the opening chapter. Rather, Hawkins is primarily concerned with investigating Guatemala in the years between 1798 and 1818, with a particular focus on the years between 1811 and 1818 when Bustamante served as Guatemala's lead colonial official. Hawkins argues that Bustamante instituted a "counterinsurgency state" that effectively staved off nascent revolutionary impulses in the kingdom during a crucial period in Spanish and Latin American history. Moreover, he maintains that previous scholars, especially Central American historians who often sought to write a functional national history, have overstated the repressiveness of Bustamante's policies.

In reinterpreting Bustamante's "counterinsurgency state," Hawkins spends a large portion of the book outlining the circumstances surrounding Bustamante's ascendancy into the position of captain general. Hawkins' examination of the historical and worldwide framework, into which he contextualizes Guatemalan events in the years between 1811 and 1818, is one of the strengths of his account. In the years prior to Bustamante's arrival in Guatemala, the possession's oligarchy—comprised of its peninsular (those born in Spain) and creole (those of Spanish heritage born in the New World) populations—became increasingly embroiled in political competition as creoles garnered more political capital. Amidst the growing tensions between the peninsular and creole elite, Napoleon's French Army besieged Spain in 1808 leaving the state of the country's overseas possessions in question. Many of the crown's subjects—including those in Buenos Aires, New Spain, and Chile—rebelled in an effort to gain independence. To complicate matters, Guatemala's immediate neighbors to the north (New Spain) and to the south attempted to revolt. These circumstances, Hawkins skillfully

explains, produced myriad effects on Guatemala's politics. Most importantly for Hawkins' account, the creole population capitalized on the colonial crisis and accelerated their effort to accumulate more political power in the years just prior to Bustamante's arrival.

It is under these inauspicious circumstances that Bustamante relieved his predecessor Antonio Gonzalez. Bustamante inherited an office with considerably expanded powers to deal with widespread fears of insurrection. Although Guatemala was relatively stable upon Bustamante's ascendancy, the colony suffered from a faltering economy and was rife with political tension between peninsular and creole elites. Moreover, revolutionaries in a number of locales, most notably in San Salvador and Nicaragua, instigated rebellions shortly after Bustamante's arrival. Despite possessing the power to deal with these insurrections with force, Hawkins points out that Bustamante's reaction was largely moderate. For instance, Bustamante offered repentant rebels pardons and resisted the urge to use military might to suppress the rebellions. Only when his moderate policies failed to quell unrest in the kingdom did Bustamante resort to more repressive measures. Thus, Hawkins contends that Bustamante's preoccupation with *infidencia* (treason) and his disdain toward the reform-minded Cadiz Constitution needs to be understood in light of Bustamante's failed moderate policies and his potential ability to have used more repressive measures.

Although skillfully probing the political intrigue in Guatemala during the early nineteenth century, there exist a number of limitations to Hawkins' book. For one, his analysis rarely extends beyond the actions of the elites. Even when it does, his examination is perfunctory and largely superficial. Left largely unanswered are questions pertaining to how the country's majority population of indigenous people fared under Bustamante or how the indigenous and lower classes perceived Bustamante's policies. Similarly, accounts of rebellions initiated by non-elites are either given scant attention or are entirely passed over. Finally, the significance of Hawkins' thesis is weakened by his conclusion that many of the uprisings he did examine had little chance of succeeding on their own. In fact, Hawkins points out that by 1812 Bustamonte "could make a convincing argument that his [previous] efforts had preserved the peace in the

Kingdom of Guatemala." Thus, Bustamante's continued use of his "counter insurgency" policies in the face of the liberal Cadiz Constitution was at best misguided and at worst unnecessarily repressive even if not worthy of the moniker "*terror bustamantino.*" Perhaps a wider account of both elite led, as well as non-elite led, insurrections would have better conveyed the atmosphere that existed in Guatemala during Bustamante's years. Such an examination may also have shed light on other reasons that Bustamante is remembered as a tyrant. In its stead, Hawkins leaves the reader wit ha good examination of elite Guatemalan politics, but an evaluation of Bustamante that serves to only conditionally rehabilitate his reputation.

Dennis Halpin *University of South Florida*

Origins of the Southern Middle Class, 1800-1861. By Jonathan Daniel Wells. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. xv, 321 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, tables, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. $59.95 cloth.)

Jonathan Daniel Wells aims to provide a "preliminary framework for the analysis of the middle class and class formation in the slave states" (xii). He defines the southern middle class as whites with professional or commercial occupations and middling incomes, who coalesced around an ideology adapted from the northern middle class and Europe. Because so much of middle-class ideology emanated from beyond Dixie, Wells contends that a southern middle class could and did emerge, establishing itself firmly in the 1850s, before southern society experienced vast economic transformation.

Substantial cultural interchange between the sections occurred in antebellum America, and literate white southerners regularly acquired printed information from outside the region. Wells recounts various ideas or movements (evangelicalism, opposition to dueling, criticism of elite luxuries, questioning of the code of honor, and educational reform) and institutions (lyceums, periodicals, and literary, debating, and historical societies) that he believes were important in the formation of a southern middle class. In essence, the middle class favored progress, economic diversification, and self-improvement, at least mildly critiqued aspects of southern society, and looked to the North for examples

of wholesome development. The Whigs functioned as the middle class's partisan political vehicle.

While noting that the South badly trailed the North, Wells emphasizes economic change and urban growth in the South during the 1850s. Emboldened by signs of advance, the middle class sharpened its commentary on southern backwardness and planter obstinacy, even as it argued that slavery was compatible with or essential to continued southern progress. Middle-class southerners increasingly distinguished themselves from planters, laborers, yeomen, and their northern middle-class counterparts. By doing so, they helped launch the Civil War in two main ways, Wells contends: they fostered "class tensions that increased anxiety within the region," which opened doors for "southern demagogues," and they antagonized a North that had grown fearful of competition from southern industries and southern slave labor (209). Unfortunately, Wells opines, the middle class "largely abandoned partisan politics to the planter class in the 1850s" (224). Despite widespread middle-class opposition to secession, middle-class southerners uttered few nays in public and assimilated into the Confederacy. Contrary to C. Vann Woodward's familiar formulation, a southern middle class was in place by the time of the Civil War, and New South visions of southern progress were more recycled than fashioned anew.

Scholars disposed to see the Old South as entrepreneurial, progressive, capitalistic, and despite slavery, culturally similar to the North in fundamental respects will be receptive to Wells's interpretation and will hail his efforts to promote study of an important and mostly neglected segment of antebellum southern society. There is a lot to like in this ambitious, well-written, and persistently argued book.

There also, though, are confounding conceptualizations and conflated distinctions. After sketching out what middle-class institutions, movements, ideas, or language were, based on a northern model, Wells argues or implies that any southern engagement with this middle-class constellation signified the growth, influence, or consciousness of a southern middle class. It is by this means that Wells transforms men of great wealth and prominence, such as Richard B. Arnold, Herschel V. Johnson, Lovick Pierce, and Christopher Memminger, to take just a few examples, into middle-class spokesmen. It is also how he makes institutions or efforts that incorporated diverse people (including a disproportionate share

of planters, although Wells never analyzes organizational membership) appear emblematic of the emergence of a southern middle class. Using Wells's criteria and fudging a little on wealth, a case could be made for Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Robert E. Lee as middle-class southerners. Lawyer, soldier, and government official are all on Wells's list of professional occupations, and the Virginia trio's angst on slavery and devotion to self-improvement surely suggest middle-class membership.

For that matter, a Kentucky-born Whig lawyer who opposed secession with the same vigor, Abraham Lincoln, was the quintessential middle-class southerner except for his antislavery fixation. Middle-class commonalities across sections are striking, no doubt if one largely sets slavery aside and discounts issues of social, economic, and political power. But if we maintain the distinction between a northern middle-class society hostile to slavery and a southern slave society containing some middle-class whites, we can more easily understand why Lincoln headed the Union, not the Confederacy.

Middle-class ideology was not middle-class property, inside or outside the South, but was subject to wide appropriation for multifarious purposes. The Old South was not a retrograde ideological island, but who among southern historians still thinks that it was? Planter families circulated bourgeois nations, contemplated the powers of education, and pondered the benefits of economic diversification. While proving that many white southerners were informed citizens of the Atlantic World, Wells fails to demonstrate his southern middle class was the primary producer, consumer, or beneficiary of what he labels as middle-class ideas and culture within southern society. He deserves great credit, however, for venturing onto such slippery terrain. May others follow and mind their footing.

Anthony Carey *Auburn University*

Nashville: The Western Confederacy's Final Gamble. By James Lee McDonough. (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2004. xvi, 358 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth.)

Only in the past few years have historians moved beyond interpreting the post-Gettysburg and Vicksburg campaigns as reflecting

an inevitable decline in Confederate prospects for independence. Ulysses S. Grant's "Overland Campaign" and investment of Petersburg in the summer of 1864 and William T. Sherman's capture of Atlanta in the fall of 1864 no doubt damaged Confederate morale and the war effort, but the tendency to view the final year of the war as leading inevitably to defeat obscures the extent to which southerners both in the ranks and on the home front continued to identify with the various armies still in operation. Substituting the lens of contingency for inevitability allows for a more sympathetic portrayal of the decisions and campaigns that came to define the final year of the Confederacy. James Lee McDonough's *Nashville* fits neatly into this new breed of history. The author of studies of the battles of Shiloh, Stones River, Chattanooga, and Franklin has established this retired Auburn history professor as an authority on the Confederacy's western theater.

McDonough situates his study in contrast to a broader historiographical context which assumes that the battle of Franklin (Nov. 30, 1864) rather than the battle of Nashville (Dec. 15-16, 1864) constituted the climax of a campaign that began with Confederate General John Bell Hood's decision to disengage from the Atlanta area following Union occupation and attack Sherman's supply lines from Nashville through Chattanooga to Atlanta. Despite deteriorating morale, compromised logistics, and officer dissension McDonough tracks a Confederate army that by and large remained convinced that it could turn the tide of war.

Much of this book is centered on John Bell Hood. McDonough's Hood was "aggressive," offered "inspiring leadership of men on the brigade and division levels," but was "particularly poor in dealing with logistics" (32). Some readers will question McDonough's contention that Hood was influenced by the opiate laudanum throughout the Nashville campaign and the limited supporting evidence. Despite the author's conviction that Hood was impaired by the drug McDonough provides a rationale for his decision to continue to move his army towards Nashville following the debacle at Franklin. McDonough emphasizes Hood's decision to dispatch Lieutenant General Nathan Bedford Forrest's unit to Murfreesboro to cut off and capture the Federal garrison. The decision resulted in a defeat for Forrest at the "Battle of the Cedars" and deprived Hood of much-needed cavalry units.

McDonough's analysis of the Union high command uncovers petty jealousies and conflicting aspirations, most notably between

Generals George Thomas and John Schofield. In the days leading to the battle of Nashville, Schofield lobbied Grant to dismiss Thomas owing to the latter's unwillingness to attack. McDonough sympathizes with Schofield, but concludes that the feud threatened to divide the army's loyalties as the campaign reached its climax.

As a campaign study, McDonough devotes exhaustive coverage to the battle of Franklin. Never losing sight of the men in the ranks, he utilizes a wide-range of primary materials and secondary studies as he weaves through the action on Peach Orchard Hill and Shy's Hill before the Confederate left flank gave way resulting in a general rout of the Army of Tennessee. To his credit, McDonough devotes significant space to the actions of United States Colored Troops who once again demonstrated their skill and heroism on a Civil War battlefield and challenged a skeptical northern populace, including George Thomas himself. The results of Nashville erased any chances of success in the western Confederacy. The quality and placement of the maps—especially in the section covering the battle of Nashville—constitutes the only major weakness of this book.

James Lee McDonough succeeds admirably in capturing the contingency that defined the Nashville campaign of 1864. The author reminds readers more focused on events around Petersburg that what took place in Tennessee in late 1864 mattered and potentially (given a different outcome) may have altered the months to follow.

Kevin M. Levin *St. Anne's-Belfield School*

Grander in Her Daughters: Florida's Women During the Civil War. By Tracy J. Revels. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2004. 205 pp. Illustrations, preface, appendix, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. $29.95 cloth.)

Real Women of Tampa and Hillsborough County From Prehistory to the Millennium. By Doris Weatherford. (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 2004. 463 pp. Bibliography, notes acknowledgments, chapter notes, index. $29.95 cloth.)

If one were to organize a panel, symposium or even conference to address the areas of Florida history missing from the can-

non of literature, women's history would be front and center. Although United States women's history as a sub-discipline has existed for over fifty years, few if any Florida historians have studied the lives of women in Florida in and of themselves. There have been important biographies of extraordinary women in Florida such as Linda D. Vance's *May Mann Jennings, Florida's Genteel Activist* (1985), yet a survey of women as a group or category of people in Florida has been lacking for some time. The first monograph solely devoted to the lives of Florida women was Nancy A. Hewitt's *Southern Discomfort* (2001) which examines women activists and their organizations in Progressive era Tampa. *Grander in Her Daughters* and *Real Women of Tampa* now follow to fill a regrettable gap in the literature on Florida history. While these books cannot completely fill what is a fifty year absence of our understanding of women in Florida, they take important steps forward in varying degrees.

Tracy J. Revels' *Grander in Her Daughters* is much more accessible to both an academic and popular audience than *Real Women.* In it Revels argues that the lives of Civil War era women in Florida were much more multifaceted than previous historians have imagined. Although she does not make any assumptions or assertions about how applicable this thesis is outside Florida, it is clear to any reader that the complexities of opinions women held and their experiences during war would have been as complicated and complex anywhere else in the United States.

Revels has poured through mountains of personal letters, diaries, memoirs, and newspapers as well as military and government documents to create a balanced and exhaustive study of women throughout the peninsula. She takes great care to include the voices of women from different racial and socioeconomic backgrounds; however, she is limited by the plethora of sources for privileged literate women compared to those considered working class, poor, and enslaved. Civil War historians will be most pleased with her treatment of the home front and her chronicling of the physical, mental, social, and emotional toll the war took on all women in Florida. This book would make a wonderful companion with James M. McPherson's *What They Fought For, 1861-1865* (1994) to give readers a sense of what women on the southern home front thought of the war.

The author should be commended for sticking to a women's history rather than writing a women's history and calling it a his-

tory of gender. Many recent women's histories reflect scholars' desire to label a history of women "gender" history when the idea and social construction of gender is never approached in the work. To her credit, Revels never uses the term gender nor does she claim this as a gender history: lesser historians would be tempted to throw around jargon *du jour* such as gender, transnationalism or whiteness because they believe it is what is trendy and current in the profession without immersing their works in those paradigms.

Although this book makes a genuine contribution to Civil War history, it represents a less telling portrait of women's social history. Early in the book Revels describes it as a social history, however most modern social historians would not recognize it as such. Change emanating from the bottom up is the guiding premise of social history as practiced from E.P. Thompson to its current manifestations; the author here is interested merely in demonstrating how women lived day-to-day in Florida during this period, but does not link them as a force transforming cycles of history. While sympathetic to the plight of all women, Revels writes from a top down perspective. She mostly focuses attention on privileged women who made their opinions and thoughts accessible to future generations, while the lives of black women are more limited, and Seminole women are nonexistent except for a mention in passing (9). Additionally the author uses pejorative terminology and phrases that evoke condescension rather than sympathy. She frequently refers to the less privileged as "lower class" or "common people." The few times Seminoles are addressed they are "hostile natives" who live on the "far edge of civilization" (9, 88).

Curiously, the appendix titled "Paper Magnolias" functions as a historiography chapter tying this work with previous works on women and Civil War history. I found it generally interesting and helpful, however I was puzzled as to why it was not integrated into the introduction. In this appendix, Revels does not distinguish between original monographs that have made a genuine contribution to the literature and those works that were merely synthesis or illustrated histories leaving the reader with the idea that these three very different types of books contain the same analytical depth. Additionally, the author better contextualizes women's history than the works on Florida and the Civil War. Although stylistic concerns are never treated in

academic reviews, much of the book is written in the passive voice, which I personally found distracting and an odd editorial choice.

Real Women by Doris Weatherford would less likely pique the attention of scholars than *Grander*; however, with the lack of scholarly attention on women in Florida, this book is still a brick in a wall that has yet to be built. Potential readers should be warned that this book is meant for a popular audience and not for academic consumption. While attempting to portray the lives of women in the Tampa area, this book is really about specific women who lived extraordinary lives. The women included here are listed in mostly encyclopedic form and content with probably every notable woman within the county mentioned in the text. With over five hundred pages and few footnotes, the content is narrative-driven and offers the reader no analysis or interpretive framework: a compilation of mini biographies with transitional narratives linking each woman.

The inclusion of some women is gratuitous at best. Andrew Jackson's wife Rachel Donelson Jackson is included while acknowledging that she never set foot in what is today Hillsborough County (maybe never set foot outside Pensacola during her short stay in the recently acquired territory). Ruth Bryan Owen, the first congresswoman is another non-Tampa denizen included.

The author also attempts to link the lives of women from the Archaic period to the present in one long narrative. The material on the lives of pre-Columbian Indians and European contact is much more a stretch for the reader than the inclusion of Jackson and her bigamy controversy. The illustrations of Indian women of that period are taken from the works of Jacques Le Moyne, who depicted the lives of Timucuan Indians inhabiting the Fort Caroline region in-between what is today St. Augustine and Jacksonville. Weatherford believes that the lives of women among the Timucuan speaking people, the Tocobaga, the Apalachee, and Calusa were so similar that it represented one experience. She also over generalizes the lives of these Indians, as well as the later Creeks and Seminoles so much so that she renders quaint all the important work historians, archeologists and anthropologists have done in the past one hundred years to carefully distinguish these people's lives, their distinct societies, and their folkways. This chapter perpetuates more confusion and misinformation rather than painting an accurate picture of these

people and their societies. As the book draws closer to more modern periods, its content serves a better function, even as it remains wedded to women who were lauded by the *Tampa Tribune* rather than the women who never made the newspapers at all.

The weaknesses of these books are not so much in the books themselves, but in the dearth of companion works. It is difficult not to admire these authors when one thinks of what little has been done previously to highlight the lives of women in Florida, and how much foundation work they both did to complete these books. In a sense these works are trailblazers in that these authors have now drawn a line in the sand to emphatically denote that Florida women's history begins here. Now it is up to future historians to fill in the missing gaps.

Robert Cassanello *University of Central Florida*

For a Great and Grand Purpose: The Beginnings of the AMEZ Church in Florida, By Canter Brown, Jr. and Larry Eugene Rivers. (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2004. xvi, 252 pp. Illustrations, forward, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, appendices, index. $34.95 cloth.)

Canter Brown, Jr., and Larry Rivers' excellent study of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church in Florida should be read alongside their 2001 study of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. Rival denominations, the AME and AMEZ both parted ways with the predominantly white Methodist Episcopal Church in the early nineteenth century. Centered in the Northeast (the AME in Philadelphia, the AMEZ in New York), both denominations scrambled to organize congregations of black Methodists in the post-emancipation South. In Florida, AMEZ missionaries arrived in 1864, one year earlier than did their AME counterparts. With perennial neglect from denominational headquarters, the AMEZ was soon outnumbered by the AME in Florida. Although this book adds little by way of critical argument, its information-rich account of the AMEZ offers an important portrait of the difficulties of black institution building in the Deep South.

Despite what the title *For a Great and Grand Purpose* might suggest, this study is not a glorified or uncontested denominational

history. The AMEZ faced numerous hardships, scandals, and rivalries in their first four decades in Florida. Violent racism, economic stagnation, hurricanes, flooding, and Yellow Fever outbreaks combined with rivalries between clergy and laity, chronic underfunding, episcopal mismanagement, and competition with the AME and black Baptists. The authors are careful to situate their narrative within the context of Florida's economic and political history. Their story of church building follows the ups and downs of Reconstruction and Redemption politics and Florida's boom-and-bust economy.

The church began and remained strong in Key West, the state's largest city. Shortly thereafter, Zion ministers gained strongholds in the areas around Pensacola and Tampa. Throughout the nineteenth century, the AMEZ remained an urban church when Florida was still very much a rural state. Bolstered by optimism, 348 members and a handful of clergy formed the Florida AMEZ Conference in 1868. With a shortage of trained ministers and a lack of funding, the church was crippled by the 1870-71 collapse of the cedar industry. Zion Methodist laymen who held considerably more wealth than the general black population, gained a number of state and municipal government positions during Congressional Reconstruction, though AMEZ ministers themselves were reluctant to run for public office. After Democrats regained control of the state in 1865, the AMEZ threw support behind the biracial Knights of Labor, and a Republican-Knights of Labor ticket won many municipal victories. The AMEZ became seriously committed to temperance reform. Thomas H. Darley, the Key West minister whose statewide leadership stabilized the church when bishops could not, dedicated himself and his church to temperance because alcohol, he feared, would "undermine racial progress" (75). On the whole, Brown and Rivers argue, the church remained much less politically involved than the AME. And the AMEZ's unofficial rule that clergy should not double as politicians may have given the AME its competitive edge in the state.

Brown and Rivers also contend that a leadership vacuum led to a greater influence and involvement of women. In 1876, the denomination removed the term "male" from its book of discipline, and in 1892, Bishop T.H. Lomax appointed Mary Anderson as conference missionary in charge of the Jacksonville mission.

Six years later, Lomax ordained Anderson, placing Florida's AMEZ Church among the first in the nation—black or white—to ordain women. Lomax's leadership, coupled with economic growth, urbanization, and increased immigration to the peninsula, gave the church the stability to weather the 1893 depression. The waxing white supremacy campaigns that gave Napoleon Bonaparte Broward (who advocated the deportation of all black Floridians to Africa) the governorship in 1904 gave AMEZ leadership a serious challenge. The authors argue that as the church reached maturity in the twentieth century, Zion leaders responded to Jim Crow injustices by "extending their reach in order to bring needed comfort and solace as opposed to political relief" (151).

This work is focused, well-researched history. The authors have painstakingly compiled a complete institutional history from incomplete church records. Such detail will prove too much for some readers, as the book chronicles nearly every change in church personnel and property. Brown and Rivers acknowledge but fail to weigh in on historiographical debates such as the survival of African religious expression, accommodation vs. resistance, or the pursuit of respectability. *For a Great and Grand Purpose* is not an attempt to ask or answer the tough questions of black religious history, and readers will find very little theology, political thought, or the church's sense of mission in this book. Researchers will find an incredibly helpful timeline, chart of ministers and parishes, and bibliography. Moreover, this work provides engaging and intimate portraits of the personalities and leadership of black clergymen. Although it does not challenge prevailing assumptions or suggest new directions in black church history, the book is faithful to its task: to "tell the story of the AMEZ Church's perseverance" and "offer insight into. . .the nature of institution building within the black community" (10).

Denominational history went out of fashion before historians of black religions had done the kind of careful and tedious work that Brown and Rivers have done. Though this kind of history has its limitations, *For a Great and Grand Purpose* and its companion volume, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, begin to fill a serious void in the literature on black churches. Indeed, these books are the only two of their kind. No other state benefits from such closely detailed histories of black Methodism. Moreover, their

careful eye to competition between churches and denominational distinctives caution us to avoid casting varied and contested forms of African-American Protestantism as a monolithic "black Church."

Matt J. Zacharias Harper *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

The Reconstruction of Southern Debtors: Bankruptcy after the Civil War. By Elizabeth Lee Thompson. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004. xvii, Illustrations, tables, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, sources, appendix, index. $39.95 cloth.

In this lucid and fascinating book, Elizabeth Lee Thompson explores an overlooked, but important contributor to the "unfinished revolution" of Reconstruction: the Bankruptcy Act of 1867. Previous historians have regarded this short-lived statute as a failure. Charles Warren, David Skeel, and others have posited that southerners vehemently opposed the 1867 Act, arguing that it threatened to undermine state autonomy. Most have concluded that it was just another piece of Radical Republican legislation designed to benefit northern capitalists and punish former Confederates. As Warren described in *Bankruptcy in United States History* (1935), "the chief pressure for the bill came from Northern creditors of Southern debtors, who saw in it their only chance of getting any pay from these debtors" (106).

Thompson points out that these historians have not only oversimplified southerners' opposition to the Bankruptcy Act of 1867, but have also underestimated its role in the revitalization of the South's post-Civil War economy. Using thousands of lower federal court case files, census records, private papers, and congressional documents, she argues that the 1867 Act was not a failure from the perspective of white male southerners. These men believed that the bankruptcy law would allow them to get out of debt, and for good reason. This law, Thompson boldly asserts, was arguably "the most far-reaching economic assistance that the federal government provided to the postwar South." Because it permitted former Confederates to resuscitate themselves economically, the Bankruptcy Act of 1867 played an important role in the overthrow of Reconstruction.

Thompson first chronicles the congressional debates that led to the passage of the 1867 Act. Congressmen, she argues, believed that bankruptcy legislation was an economic measure "and that punitive political policies did not apply." Maine Senator William Pitt Fessenden, for instance, argued in 1867 that "in legislating upon business affairs, matters merely of every day occurrence, having no connection with the political power of the country, no connection with any question which would tend to create difficulty hereafter, but simply affecting their pecuniary interests, their prosperity as individuals constituting communities, I am shocked at the idea of making a distinction between them and us" (20). The Bankruptcy Act of 1867, however, was fundamentally political. Ironically, Congress, dominated by Republicans who supported the Military Reconstruction Act and civil rights legislation, passed a law that would ultimately help former Confederates regain economic and political power in the 1870s.

The remaining chapters examine the impact that the Bankruptcy Law of 1867 had on the lives of southerners before its repeal in 1878. Although culling evidence from all parts of the South, Thompson relies on thirty-eight hundred bankruptcy cases filed in the federal district courts of eastern Tennessee, Mississippi, and South Carolina. These regions, she adds, may have had different political and geographical conditions, but all three experienced economic decline during Reconstruction. Thompson discovers that white men, many of whom were merchants, professionals, and large planters, benefited most from bankruptcy legislation because they (with the exception of a few women) were the only southerners who owned property. These men viewed bankruptcy legislation from a utilitarian perspective, which allowed them to conveniently ignore their ideological concerns about federal intrusion. Thompson also reveals that most southerners filed voluntary bankruptcy (whereby debtors declared themselves bankrupt), suggesting that they willingly embraced the 1867 Act.

The Reconstruction of Southern Debtors is a welcome addition to Reconstruction historiography. Thompson, examining an economic statute that historians have deemed unimportant, sheds new light on why Radical Republicans failed to fundamentally transform the South's economic, social, and political hierarchy during Reconstruction. She reveals that the roots of redemption

lay somewhat in Republicans' willingness to bolster the economic interests of commercial classes in the North and South. Previous historians have argued that Republicans' main concern in the mid-1860s was securing the rights of African Americans in the South. "Yet in passing the Bankruptcy Act of 1867," Thompson reveals, "lawmakers did not act in the interest of freedpeople, who generally did not owe debts because state laws had restricted slaves from owning property and engaging in commerce" (15). Republican congressmen failed to realize that they could not divorce economic legislation from postwar political concerns. African Americans, in particular, ultimately suffered due to this failure.

Bruce E. Stewart *University of Georgia*

Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War through Civil Right's Era. By Paul Harvey. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. xvi, 338 pp. Introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth.)

That Englishmen and Americans are divided by a common language is both a cliché and explanatory: a similar declension exists between white and African American southerners, who persist in institutional, social, and class division despite a powerful and shared evangelical culture. In five chapters, historian Paul Harvey attempts to explore and define how post-bellum religion has served both as a bridge and a wall between southerners. Harvey posits the interplay of three concepts—"theological racism . . . racial interchange . . . Christian interracialism"—as catalysts for the protean expressions of southern religion from 1865 to the present.

White evangelicals read scripture as prescribing both racial subordination and class inequality, providing a surety that God ordained Jim Crow as he had once ordained slavery. This theological racism, however, was itself deconstructed by the African American faithful, who found divine assurances of their own worthiness before God and certainty that he would one day deliver them from the Egypt of segregation.

Simultaneously, especially in the holiness movements, African-American and white religious expressions melded in new forms of hymnology and liturgy in myriad ways, not just in the shared songs

and texts of segregated worship. This racial interchange was both liberating and restrictive. Whites sometimes heard and admired African American preachers, and many African-American churches adopted Victorian standards of white Christianity as a measure of "uplift."

More challenging is Harvey's concept of "Christian imperialism," which most southern blacks but only a few southern whites used to challenge the morality of the South's apartheid. For African Americans, the teachings of equality of believers delegitimized Jim Crow and the legal and extra-legal measures used to maintain it. For whites, Christian interracialism animated a few to find creative ways to work and worship with blacks in an egalitarian way, but most whites preferred to ignore the social implications of Christian equality or to adopt strategies of rhetorical gradualism in which one could profess hope for amelioration without actually having to take action.

Evangelicalism provided a common text that was repeatedly reinterpreted by white, black, rich, poor, male and female in the years after the Civil War. In the end, a dominant conservatism, dedicated to white supremacy and property, acquired the challenges and alternatives to this dominant order. African Americans formed and maintained their own denominations and readings of scripture. Women used religion to challenge patriarchal expression, including lynching. Radical communitarians like Clarence Jordan and Social Gospelers lived a different religious calling, suggesting alternatives to the Christ of Culture religion. And even those plain folk who might drink deeply from the racism in the dominant religious stream, found alternative charismatic experiences not just to escape economic domination but also to exercise agency in defining the essence of Christian experience.

Harvey's work adds much to a rich literature on the South and religion. Buttressed by and substantially augmenting John Lee Eighmy's and Sam Hill's important works on southern religion of culture, Harvey adds breadth to this experience, suggesting that a welter of southerners defined their religion outside of dominant denominations and hegemonic conservative theology. His perspective, informed by George Marsden and the current debate over the nature (and existence) of global religious fundamentalism suggests that right-wing fundamentalism of contemporary southern evangelicalism differs from earlier strands of

socially-conservative doctrine because demographic trends in the South are threatening the majority status of both black and white evangelicalism in ways that unsettle many people. Indeed, Harvey shows how immigration patterns are beginning to belie Rufus Spain's contention of a dominant culture's being "at ease in Zion," as other values and traditions challenge evangelical dominance in ways more substantial than "come-outer" movements of a century ago. Contemporary debate about divinely-ordered gender and class relations replicate the beleaguered religious sanctioning of segregation in an evolving world, explaining the vitriol and panic of many religiously-motivated southerners.

In addition, Harvey's research methodology, which examines the sensual and aesthetics of ritual, in addition to sacred texts, emphasizes the emotional and experimental side of religion. He links the cadence of sermons and the mesmerizing impact of hymnody to a convincing understanding of the central role of religious belief in the experiences of the faithful. Rather than assume that there is a "true Christianity" against which to measure the beliefs of the people he studies, he elucidates from the perspectives of a welter of southerners how their personal and collective experiences shaped their lives and the society in which they lived them.

Edward R. Crowther *Adams State University*

Stein Mart: An American Story of Roots, Family and Building a Greater Dream. By David J. Ginzl. (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 2004. xi, 172 pp. Illustrations, foreward,introduction, bibliographical essay, notes, acknowledgments, index. $25.00 cloth.)

Stein Mart, a self-described "hybrid provider" of upscale merchandise at discount prices, made its Florida debut in Jacksonville in 1983. The next year, corporate headquarters moved there. Twenty years later, forty-two Stein Marts served thirty Florida cities, out of 260 stores located nationwide. Only Texas approached Florida in the number of stores located in one state.

Stein Mart's success, at a time when department stores struggled through consolidations and closures, was due, according to

historian David J. Ginzl, to the visionary leadership of its third generation chief executive officer, Jay Stein, and to its ability to offer "itself as a distinctive off-price retailer, with a unique strategy for attracting middle- and upper-class customers" offering "quality name-brand and fashion clothing . . . in an upscale ambiance . . . at prices 20 to 60 percent less" than competitors (144). The success was also due in part to the wisdom of locating new stores in prospering Sunbelt cities, especially in Florida and Texas, as well as in the success of the firm's leadership in managing growth, a story which the author tells clearly and well.

The story beings with the Russian immigrant, Sam Stein, arriving in Greenville, Mississippi, in late 1905 or early 1906. Greenville was known as a tolerant town for Jews. Stein found employment as a peddler selling cheap household goods to black and white sharecroppers nearby. Ambushed, shot and robbed on the road, Stein withdrew to Greenville, first selling goods from a suitcase on a street corner, and later renting a storefront downtown. The business prospered, catering particularly to lower income workers and farmers from the region. Following Sam's death in 1933, his son Jake Stein took over and expanded the business, becoming over time one of the city's business and civic leaders.

The author effectively integrates the personal and business lives of the Steins in the regional and national history of the twentieth century. Particularly poignant was Jake Stein's attempts during the civil rights era to chart a moderate course between the demands of outside integrationists and the local White Citizens Council. He refused to join the latter, but also had his store picketed for not hiring African Americans in sufficient numbers to please the national sponsors of Mississippi's "Freedom Summer" in 1964 and 1965.

By this time the third generation of the Stein family had entered the business. In 1967, grandson Jay Stein began working full time for his father. Jay's greatest strength lay in his vision for the future of Stein Mart. His father was satisfied with the success of the Greenville store. Jay wanted to expand to other cities, and he wanted to upgrade the quality of merchandise, particularly with fashionable, name-brand clothing, sold at discount prices. The father reluctantly let Jay experiment with opening a Stein Mart in Memphis. The new concept met with immediate success, and Jay was on his way.

Again the author demonstrates his understanding of business history as he did in his book, *Barnett, the Story of Florida's Bank.* He describes clearly and succinctly the complexities of expanding from one store to a chain of more than two hundred. The expansion to Jacksonville, Florida, in 1983 led to moving the corporate headquarters there. Jay liked the lifestyle and thought Stein Mart could have a greater impact than in a larger city like Nashville, Tennessee.

The concept of a corporation's business impact, however, is not developed by the author. He describes Jay Stein's involvement with Jacksonville's cultural institutions. There is also the popularity of Stein Mart, now located in five sites in the consolidated city, as well as in Orange Park and Fernandina Beach on the First Coast. But there remains the unexplored issue of cultural impact compared with a Burdine's, Rich's, or Neiman-Marcus. Further, while Stein personally donated generously to many civic causes, Ginzl writes little about the corporation's philanthropic impact upon the communities in which Stein Mart prospers.

The focus instead is on a well-written, competent, corporate biography featuring three generations of the Stein family, plus supporting executive players in the recent rapid corporate expansion, concluding with praise for the rapid business expansion and successful bottom line. A later edition might examine Stein Mart's corporate citizenship and what success means for the culture of the communities in which it thrives.

James B. Crooks *University of North Florida*

None Can Have Richer Memories : Polk County, Florida, 1940-2000. By Canter Brown, Jr. (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 2005. 368 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index, acknowledgments. $39.95 cloth.)

Polk County, Florida's third-largest county, located in the middle of the peninsula, has a rich history. Previous authors have chronicled Polk County's early history, most recently in Tallahassee historian Canter Brown's *In the Midst of All That Makes Life Worth Living: Polk County to 1940.* Now Brown has published a second volume covering the period from 1940 to 2000. This was a time of major change for Polk. Here, as in many parts of Florida, the landscape and culture changed from rural to

urban as Florida's population grew from fewer than 2 million to 15 million. There was more, of course. Brown describes Polk's role during World War II as a training base for pilots, its handling of the civil rights era, county officials' grudging attempts to grapple with growth, the county's place as a major battleground in the fight over water in the Green Swamp in northern Polk and phosphate mining in southern Polk, and the county's role in producing a string of powerful state and national political leaders.

But Polk's history was far from a continuous stream of highlights. A sheriff went to jail, grand juries criticized sheriffs and county commissioners, a new courthouse had be evacuated after shoddy workmanship and design turned the nine-story building into a health hazard, criminals and con artists, at times, dominated the daily news reports, political turmoil moved from town to town, and phosphate companies muddied rivers and sucked so much water from beneath the earth a popular local spring stopped flowing forever.

Brown tells the story by piecing together press accounts, interviews with longtime residents, and published accounts from other sources to provide the narrative. He draws from many segments of the community. He follows a trend in Polk historical accounts going back at least as far as Bernice More Barber's 1975 "From Beginnings to Boom," to include the stories from Polk's significant African-American community.

Unfortunately, Brown wasn't as diligent as one would expect from a historian of his reputation. The book is disappointing because of its errors, omissions, and misapprehensions, despite the author's claim to have circulated manuscripts among local amateur and professional historians for comments. Names of prominent people ranging from former Governor Reubin Askew to longtime County Commissioner Jack Simmers, and important geographical features such as Lake Weohyakapka, the county's largest lake , are misspelled. The resignation of former Sheriff Dan Daniels is discussed at length, but the reignations of longtime Tax Collector Hobson Strain and longtime Clerk of the Circuit Court Bud Dixon because of official misconduct are unaccountably missing. He cannot decide whether the historic courthouse dates to 1908 or 1909. He mentions proposed major developments such as Old Florida Plantation near Bartow and Green Valley near Lake Alfred in ways that would give readers the

impression they were later built, when in fact both sites were purchased by government agencies for conservation purposes. Beyond noting Dan Daniels' death in 2004, there seems to be little effort to update events mentioned in the book to provide context or perspective.

In addition, the historical accounts in some parts of the county seem to be underrespresented. For example, Brown's laudable catalog of firsts for African Americans excludes Frank Satchel's election as Mulberry's first black mayor and his subsequent election as president of Florida League of Cities. Such omissions may not be surprising, since longtime present and former local newspapers such as the Mulberry *Press*, Lake Wale's *News*, Auburndale *Star*, and Haines City *Herald* seemed to have been generally overlooked as source material even though they are available on microfilm.

Brown sometime comments about events without interviewing the people involved or studying press accounts more carefully. That led to his making curious connections between unrelated events. One example is the implication that two phosphate spills on the Peace River in 1994 were somehow responsible for the passage of a tax measure that year to purchase environmentally sensitive lands. The fact is that the tax measure was the result of a grassroots effort by the local environmental community to preserve remnants of the Lake Wales Ridge and river basin headwaters to protect endangered plants and animals and the region's water supplies.

Additionally, from reading Brown's account of modern life in Polk County, a reader might think cultural life here consisted of little besides topless bars and country music concerts. The lack of mention of the founding of the Imperial Symphony Orchestra, major local theater groups, such as Theater Winter Haven, and established art festivals, such as Mayfaire, are major oversights in any account of a community's evolution.

These problems are aggravated by Brown's poor writing style. One example from Chapter 12 will suffice. Brown wrote, "Now a confused picture greeted residents, a scene that telegraphed messages strikingly negative and undeniably positive in an endless stream as the pace of life quickened with change."

The unfortunate aspect is that this period of Polk County's history may interest few authors and so there may be no further opportunities to get it right. Meanwhile, Polk County is left with a

flawed account of a county that, like the book, could have turned out better with a little extra effort.

Tom Palmer *Winter Haven*

Shapers of Southern History: Autobiographical Reflections. By John B. Boles, ed. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004. x, 334 pp. Preface, contributors. $54.95 cloth, $22.95 paper.)

Shapers of Southern History is a collection of sixteen autobiographical accounts by some of the leading historians currently researching and writing southern history. The primary purpose of this volume is to highlight the types of experiences typical of academics who not only chose history as a profession but who also chose to focus on the craft of writing southern history. In soliciting essays for this compilation, editor Boles sought accounts that would perhaps reveal experiential commonalities that may help to better understand what most distinctly shaped their professional careers and what led them to the study of southern history. Boles provides a useful and interesting volume, and though many prominent historians' autobiographical sketches are not included, the work nevertheless is fascinating.

The accounts presented offer many interesting and enlightening recollections that are reflective of southern history during the Great Depression, World War II, and Civil Rights eras. Some of the essays likewise provide personal memories of the turbulent 1960s and what it was like to come of age during the post-Baby Boom era. The stories are for the most part rich in detail and truly interesting. John Hope Franklin's "A Life of Learning," for instance, offers his first-hand account of what he experienced growing up under Jim Crow segregation while seeking as much education as possible in an environment and society that all but ignored higher educational opportunities for African Americans. As was no doubt the case with so many of Franklin's contemporaries, southern Blacks faced extraordinary obstacles and generally received education through a combination of good fortune and the support of dedicated mentors. Dan Carter's path to writing southern history came naturally as a result of living southern history and coming to understand the fundamental unfairness that so characterized the Southland of his youth. Charles Joyner recounts growing up in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, during

what he describes as the "saltwater years of my youth" (137) of the 1930s. Drew Gilpin Faust likewise recounts "living history" while growing up in the South and how these experiences indelibly shape her professional life.

These accounts are diverse and yet in so many respects similar. Themes and commonalities shared among this group of historians include a devotion to southern history that evolved from living southern history and experiencing first hand the region's paradoxical nature and its less-than-admirable recent past. The contributors were deeply impacted by the Civil Rights Movement and the struggle for equality in a region where African Americans had been relegated to near non-human status. A sense of "place" likewise shaped the contributors' intellectual lives—an awareness of the South as a unique region with a past worth telling if for no other reason than to prevent its recurrence. Finally, most of the contributors recall how they were influenced by college history professors and how their love for history either originated with or was enriched by their classroom experiences.

Boles's work is not merely a collection of personal memoirs—it is also a fairly decent recounting of southern history that adds significantly to our understanding of the region and its kaleidoscopic past.

Robert Saunders, Jr. *Troy University, Dothan*

History News

Editor's Note:

As you have probably read in the last issue, the *Florida Historical Quarterly* has had a change in editors. I know that I am standing in the shoes of a long line of respected members of the Florida academy—most recently, Dr. Craig Thompson Friend. I want to thank Craig for his work in making the *Florida Historical Quarterly* an academically respected state journal and for his diligence in facilitating a smooth transition. The best way I can honor the work of those who went before me is to continue to publish a journal that presents the history of the state and meets the standards of the discipline.

I am a Southern historian with fields in agriculture and economic history. My Ph.D. is from the University of Tennessee, and I taught at Middle Tennessee State University and Mississippi State University before coming to the University of Central Florida. I have had experience with state history and historical societies, having been employed by the Tennessee Historical Society as associate editor of the *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture* and having served the Mississippi Historical Society as book review editor for the *Journal of Mississippi History*.

I am excited about the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and look forward to the challenge of providing a journal that is academically sound and accessible to a wide audience. Many readers and contributors have already contacted me by letter, phone and email. Thank you for your support; I will count on your expertise in the coming weeks.

In this issue of the *Quarterly*, you will find the work of three young and promising scholars. In addition to the articles and book reviews, please note the call for papers for the upcoming

meeting of the Florida Historical Society and Tom Muir's compilation of contact information for the state's historical societies.

Connie L. Lester
clester@mail.ucf.edu

Call for Papers

The 2006 Florida Historical Society Annual Meeting will be held May 24-27 at the Registry Resort in North Naples, Florida: www.registryresort.com.

One Hundred and Fifty Years of Writing Florida History is the theme of the 2006 Meeting commemorating the Society's 150th anniversary. With this theme in mind, scholars are encouraged to submit proposals for individual papers and presentations, as well as entire sessions (three presenters and session chair), that focus on the many individuals who have written about Florida history. However, proposals on ***all*** themes and topics involving Florida history are also welcomed. Graduate students are encouraged to apply.

All proposals for individual papers and presentations should include the title and synopsis of the paper or presentation, and the presenter's vita and contact information (telephone number, e-mail and snail mail addresses). Suggestions for fellow presenters and session chairs are welcomed. Proposals for entire sessions should include the session title and theme, title and synopsis of each paper or presentation, as well as a vita and contact information for each session participant.

Send inquiries and proposals to: Leonard Lempel, Professor of History, Daytona Beach Community College, P.O. Box 2811, Daytona Beach, FL. 32120-2811. Submissions may be e-mailed to lempell@dbcc.edu. Proposals must be received by January 16, 2006. Applicants will be informed of the committee's decision by March 1.

Florida History Directory
The 2005 Blue Book

Introduction

The organizations that promote the study of Florida history are as diverse as the geographical regions of our state. The 2005 Blue Book, a directory of Florida's historical societies draws from numerous sources. Florida's sixty-six counties were used to arrange the list. Sources included local chamber of commerce websites and Internet yellow pages. Numerous online lists and links produced by historical groups around Florida contributed to the effort. Some organizations responded to an appeal in the Florida Historical Society's newsletter for updated contact information. It is our hope that the printing of this publication will enable the immediate updating of the work and the addition of the many groups we missed. We hope to hear from you. It became obvious during the writing of this 2005 directory that local Florida historians can be located at a great variety of places. Archaeology societies and museums, public libraries, family history centers and genealogical societies, Clerk of the Court archives, University programs, State and National Parks, and others are actively promoting the study of Florida history. We have included a web list with links to many of these places. All corrections and additions for the 2006 Blue Book are welcomed.

Tom Muir
Associate Director
Florida Historical Society

Contact Us:

Florida Historical Society
435 Brevard Avenue
Cocoa Florida, FL. 32933
321.680.1971

www.florida-historical-soc.org

Web List

www.flclerks.com - Links to Florida's county clerk offices.

www.flamuseums.org – Directory of Florida museums by the Florida Association of Museums.

www.dlis.dos.state.fl.us – Directory of Florida Libraries by the Division of Library and Information Services.

www.fsgs.com - The Florida State Genealogical Society.

www.fasweb.org - The Florida Archaeological Society.

www.flheritage.com - Florida Division of Historical Resources, includes a list of Florida Main Street programs.

www.visitflorida.com - A list of Florida museums and attractions by FLAUSA.

www.familysearch.com - Church of Latter Day Saints Family History Centers.

www.cr.nps.gov/nr - The National Register of Historic Places.

www.floridastateparks.org - Directory of State of Florida historic parks and their citizen support organizations.

www.fldcu.org/univ_info/ - Links to Florida's universities and their history programs.

www.floridalighthouses.org - A list of Florida lighthouses and organizations.

www.rootsweb.com - Lists of archives and genealogy groups.

www.palmm.fcla.edu/fh - Access digitized past issues of the Florida Historical Quarterly.

List By Organization

A.L. Lewis Historical Society - Nassau
Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum - Hendry

Alachua County Historical Commission – Alachua
Alachua Historical Society – Alachua
Alachua County Genealogical Society - Alachua
Albin Polasek Museum & Sculpture Garden – Orange
Alger-Sullivan Historical Society - Escambia
Altamonte Springs Historical Society – Orange
Alva Historical Museum – Hendry
Amelia Island Genealogical Society - Nassau
Amelia Island Museum of History - Nassau
Anna Maria Island Historical Society - Manatee
Apoka Historical Society & Museum – Orange
Apalachicola Historical Society – Franklin
Apalachicola Maritime Museum – Franklin
Alachua County Genealogical Society - Alachua
Archer Historical Society – Alachua
Avon Park Historical Society - Highlands
Baker County Historical Society – Baker
Barrineau Park Historical Society - Escambia
Bay of Pigs Museum & Library - Dade
Beaches Area Historical Society – Duval
Black Heritage Association of Martin County – Martin
Black Heritage Museum - Clay
Black Heritage Museum – Volusia
Black History Preservation Society – Palm Beach
Black Historical Society of Broward County - Broward
Boca Grande Historical Society – Lee
Boca Raton Historical Society – Palm Beach
Bonita Springs Historical Society – Lee
Bowling Green Historical Council – Hardee
Boynton Beach Historical Society – Pam Beach
Bradford County Historical Museum - Bradford
Bradlee-McIntyre House – Seminole
Brandon Area Genealogical & Historical Society - Hillsborough
Brevard County Historical Commission - Brevard
Brevard Museum of History and Natural Sciences – Brevard
Broward County Genealogical Society - Broward
Broward County Historical Commission - Broward
Cape Coral Historical Society – Lee
Cape St. George Lighthouse Society – Franklin
Carver-Hill Museum - Okaloosa
Cedar Key Historical Society – Levy

Center for Florida History - Polk
Central Florida Genealogical and Historical Society - Orange
Central Florida Railroad Museum – Orange
Central Florida Society for Historic Preservation – Seminole
Charlotte County Genealogical Society – Charlotte
Charlotte County Historic Preservation Board – Charlotte
Charlotte County Historical Center - Charlotte
Charlotte Harbor Historical Society – Charlotte
Chipola Historical Trust - Jackson
Citrus County Genealogical Society – Citrus
Citrus County Historical Society – Citrus
City of Jacksonville Historic Commission – Duval
City of Palm Coast Historical Society – Flagler
City of Palmetto Historical Commission - Manatee
Clay County Archives - Clay
Clay County Historical & Railroad Museum - Clay
Clearwater Historical Society – Pinellas
Clewiston Historical Society - Hendry
Collier County Historical Society - Collier
Collier County Museum and Archives – Collier
Columbia County Historical Museum - Columbia
Coral Gables Historical Resources Department – Dade
Cortez Village Historical Society – Manatee
Cracker Homestead Museum - Taylor
Dade Heritage Trust – Dade
Davie Historical Society – Davie
Davisville Preservation & Historical Society - Escambia
DeBary Hall – Volusia
Deerfield Beach Historical Society - Broward
Delray Beach Historical Society – Palm Beach
Deltona Arts & Historical Society - Volusia
DeSoto County Historical Society – DeSoto
Dixie County Historical Society - Dixie
Dunedin Historical Society & Museum – Pinellas
Durkeeville Historical Society - Duval
East Hillsborough Historical Society - Hillsborough
Eatonville Community History Association – Orange
Enterprise Preservation Society – Orange
Estero Island Historical Society - Lee
Eustis Historical Museum & Preservation Society – Lake
Flagler Beach Museum - Flagler

Flagler County Historical Society – Flagler
Florida Heritage Collection - Alachua
Flamingo Historical Society – Broward
Florida Agricultural Museum - Flagler
Florida Aviation Historical Society - Pinellas
Florida Baptist Historical Society - Volusia
Florida Council for the Social Studies – Collier
Florida Humanities Council - Pinellas
Florida State Historic Preservation Office – Leon
Florida Studies Center - Hillsborough
Florida Supreme Court Historical Society – Leon
Florida Trust for Historic Preservation - Leon
Fort Christmas Historic Park – Orange
Fort Lauderdale Historical Society – Broward
Fort Mose Historical Society – St. Johns
Friends of the Southeast Regional Black Archives - Leon
Gadsden County Historical Society - Gadsden
Gasparilla Island Maritime Museum - Charlotte
Genealogical Society of Bay County – Bay
Genealogical Society of Broward County – Broward
Genealogical Society of Collier County – Collier
Genealogical Society of Greater Miami – Dade
Genealogical Society of Okaloosa County – Okaloosa
Genealogical Society of Okeechobee – Okeechobee
Genealogical Society of Santa Rosa County – Santa Rosa
Genealogical Society of Sarasota County - Sarasota
Genealogical Society of South Brevard – Brevard
Genealogical Society of North Brevard - Brevard
Geneva Historical & Genealogical Society – Seminole
Gilchrist County Genealogical Society – Gilchrist
Goldenrod Historical Society – Orange
Glades Historical Society - Glades
Glades Historical Society – Palm Beach
Graceville Historical Society - Jackson
Gulf Beaches Historical Museum – Pinellas
Gulf Breeze Historical Society – Santa Rosa
Gulf Coast Heritage Association – Sarasota
Gulf County Genealogical Society - Gulf
Gulfport Historical Society & Museum – Pinellas
Halifax Genealogical Society - Volusia
Halifax Historical Museum – Volusia

Hamilton County Historical Society – Hamilton
Hastings Genealogical Society – St. Johns
Havana Historical Society - Gadsden
Hawthorne Historical Society – Alachua
Hendry County Historical Society - Hendry
Henry Nehrling Society – Orange
Henry B. Plant Museum – Hillborough
Henry Morrison Flagler Museum – Palm Beach
Heritage Museum of N.W. Florida - Okaloosa
Hernando County Genealogical Society – Hernando
Hernando DeSoto Historical Society - Manatee
Hernando Historical Museum Association - Hernando
High Springs Historical Society – Alachua
Highlands County Genealogical Society – Highlands
Highlands County Historical Society - Highlands
Hillsboro Lighthouse Preservation Society – Broward
Hillsborough County Historical Commission – Hillsborough
Historic Bok Sanctuary - Polk
Historic Florida Keys Foundation – Monroe
Historic Homstead Town Hall Museum - Dade
Historic Melrose – Alachua
Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board – St. Johns
Historical Association of Southern Florida – Dade
Historical Museum of North Brevard – Brevard
Historical Preservation Society of the Upper Keys - Monroe
Historical Society of Bay County – Bay
Historical Society of Fort Meade - Polk
Historical Society of Martin County – Martin
Historical Society of Palm Beach County – Palm Beach
Historical Society of Sarasota County – Sarasota
Historical Society of Tavares - Lake
Hollywood Historical Society – Broward
Indian River Citrus Museum – St. Lucie
Indian River County Historical Society – Indian River
Indian River Genealogical Society – Indian River
Indian Rocks Beach Historical Society – Pinellas
Indian Temple Mound Museum – Okaloosa
Interlachen Historical Society - Putnam
Jacksonville Maritime Museum Society – Duval
Jefferson County Genealogical Society -Jefferson
Jefferson County Historical Society – Jefferson

Jewish Museum of Florida – Dade
John G. Riley Center – Leon
Karpeles Manuscript Museum - Duval
Key West Art and Historical Society – Monroe
Keystone Genealogical Society - Jefferson
Kissimmee Historical Society – Osceola
LaBelle Heritage Museum – Hendry
Lady Lake Historical Society & Museum - Lake
Lafayette County Historical Society - Lafayette
Lake County Historical Museum – Lake
Lake County Historical Society – Lake
Lake Mary Historical Commission – Seminole
Lake Placid Historical Society & Museum - Highland
Lake Wales Depot Museum - Polk
Largo Area Historical Society – Pinellas
Lee County Genealogy Society - Lee
Leesburg Heritage Society – Lake
Lemon Bay Historical & Genealogical Society - Sarasota
Leu House Museum & Gardens – Orange
Lightner Museum – St. Johns
Longboat Key Historical Society - Sarasota
Loxahatchee River Historical Society – Palm Beach
Madison County Genealogical Society – Madison
Madison County Historical Society - Madison
Maitland Historical Society & Museum – Orange
Manasota Genealogical Society - Manatee
Manatee County Agricultural Museum - Manatee
Manatee County Historical Commission - Manatee
Manatee County Historical Society - Manatee
Mandarin Museum & Historical Society - Duval
Marco Island Historical Society - Collier
Marion County Historical Society - Marion
Marion County Museum of History – Marion
Martin County Genealogical Society - Martin
Matecumbe Historical Trust - Monroe
Matheson Historical Center & Museum – Alachua
Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Museum - Monroe
Miami Springs Historical Society - Dade
Micanopy Historical Society – Alachua
Middleburg Historical Museum – Clay
Monroe County Genealogical Society - Monroe

Morikami Museum & Japanese Gardens – Palm Beach
Mount Dora Historical Society - Lake
Museum of Arts and Sciences – Volusia
Museum of Science and History – Duval
Museum of Southern History – Duval
Museum of the City of Lake Worth – Palm Beach
Museum of the Islands - Lee
National Vietnam War Museum - Orange
Museum of Seminole County History – Seminole
Myakka City Historical Society – Manatee
New Smyrna Museum & Historical Society - Volusia
North Okaloosa Historical Association – Okaloosa
North Pinellas Historical Museum - Pinellas
Northeast Black History Committee, Mount Dora – Lake
Northeast Polk County Historical Society - Polk
Oakland Park Historical Society - Broward
Ocoee Historical Commission – Orange
Okeechobee County Historical Society - Okeechobee
Old Arlington - Duval
Orange City Historic Preservation Society – Volusia
Orange City Historical Society – Volusia
Orange County Regional History Center – Orange
Ormond Beach Historical Trust - Volusia
Osceola County Historical Society - Osceola
Oveido Historical Society – Seminole
Palm Beach County Genealogical Society – Palm Beach
Palm Harbor Historical Society - Pinellas
Panhandle Pioneer Settlement – Calhoun
Pasco County Genealogy Society – Pasco
Pasco County Historical Society - Pasco
Pembroke Pines Historical Society & Museum - Broward
Pensacola Historical Preservation Society - Escambia
Pensacola Historical Society – Escambia
Pidgeon Key Foundation – Monroe
Pinellas Genealogical Society - Pinellas
Pinellas County Historical Society – Pinellas
Pinellas Park Historical Society - Pinellas
Pioneer Florida Museum - Pasco
Pioneer Settlement for the Creative Arts – Volusia
Plantation Historical Society – Broward
Polk County Genealogical Society - Polk

Polk County Historical Association – Polk
Polk County Historical & Genealogical Library – Polk
Pompano Beach Historical Society – Broward
Port St. Lucie Historical Society – St. Lucie
Preservation Foundation of Palm Beach – Palm Beach
Punta Gorda Historical Society - Charlotte
Putnam County Archives and History Commission – Putnam
Putnam County Genealogical Society – Putnam
Putnam County Historical Society - Putnam
Putnam County Historical Museum – Putnam
Real Rosewood Foundation - Alachua
Riverside-Avondale Preservation Inc. – Duval
Royellou Museum – Lake
St. Augustine Genealogical Society – St. Johns
St. Augustine Historical Society – St. Johns
St. Augustine Lighthouse & Museum – St. Johns
St. Joseph Historical Society - Gulf
St. Lucie County Historical Society – St. Lucie
St. Petersburg Historical Society – Pinellas
Safety Harbor Museum of History – Pinellas
Samuel Proctor Oral History Program - Alachua
Sanford Historical Society – Seminole
Sanford Museum of History – Seminole
Sanibel Historical Village – Lee
Santa Rosa Historical Society – Santa Rosa
Sarasota Alliance for Historic Preservation – Sarasota
Sarasota County Dept. of Historical Resources - Sarasota
Sarasota County History Center – Sarasota
Sebastian Area Historical Society – Indian River
Sebring Historical Society – Highlands
Seminole Tribal Historical Society - Broward
South Bay Genealogical Society - Hillsborough
South Brevard Historical Society - Brevard
Southeast Volusia Historical Society – Volusia
Southwest Florida Holocaust Museum – Collier
Southwest Florida Museum of History - Lee
Spanish Quarter Museum – St. Johns
Springhill Heritage Center – Duval
Stuart Heritage Museum – Martin
Sumter County Historical Society – Sumter
Suwannee Historical Museum - Suwannee

Tallahassee Genealogical Society - Leon
Tallahassee Historical Society – Leon
Tallahassee Museum of History & Natural Sciences – Leon
Tallahassee Trust for Historic Preservation - Leon
Tampa Bay History Center - Hillsborough
Tampa Historical Society – Hillsborough
Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society – Pinellas
Taylor County Historical Society - Taylor
Town of Orange Park Historical Society - Clay
Treasure Coast Genealogical Society – St. Lucie
Venice Area Historical Collection – Sarasota
Venice Historical Society - Sarasota
Vero Heritage Inc. – Indian River
Wakulla County Historical Society - Wakulla
Waldo Historical Society – Alachua
Walton County Heritage Museum - Walton
Washington County Historical Society - Washington
Weeden Island Preserve Cultural Center - Pinellas
West Florida Genealogical Society - Escambia
West Florida Historic Preservation Inc. – Escambia
West Nassau Historical Society – Nassau
West Pasco County Genealogical Society – Pasco
West Pasco Historical Society - Pasco
West Volusia Historical Society – Volusia
Windermere Historical Society - Orange
Winter Garden Heritage Museum - Orange
Winter Park Historical Association & Museum – Orange
Wreckers Museum – Monroe
Ximenez-Fatio House – St. Johns
Ybor City Museum Society – Hillsborough
Zellwood Historical Society Museum - Pasco
Zephyrhills Depot Museum - Hillsborough

Alachua

Alachua County Historical Commission
PO Box 17
Gainesville, FL. 32602
352.374.5249

Alachua Historical Society
12605 N.W. 157th Street

Alachua, FL. 32615
352.462.9171

Alachua County Genealogical Society
PO Box 12078
Gainesville, FL. 32604

Archer Historical Society
411 W. Main Street
Archer, FL. 32618
352.495.1044

Florida Heritage Collection
5830 N.W. 39th Avenue
Gainesville, FL. 32606
352.392.9020
www.palmm.fcla.edu/fh

Hawthorne Historical Society
7225 N.E. 221st Street
Melrose, FL. 32640
352.481.4491

High Springs Historical Society
PO Box 904
High Springs, FL. 32643
386.454.1810

Historic Melrose
PO Box 704
Melrose, FL. 32666
352.475.2951

Matheson Historical Center & Museum
513 E. University Avenue
Gainesville, FL. 32601
352.378.2280
www.mathesonmuseum.org

Micanopy Historical Society
607 N.E. 1st Street
Micanopy, FL. 32667
352.466.3200

The Real Rosewood Foundation
PO Box 252
Archer, FL. 32618
866-399-1923
www.rosewoodflorida.com

Samuel Proctor Oral History Program
PO Box 115215
Gainesville, FL. 32611
352.392. 7168
www.history.ufl.edu

Waldo Historical Society
PO Box 1
Waldo, FL. 32694

Baker

Baker County Historical Society
42 W. McIver Avenue
Macclenny, FL. 32063
904.259.0587

Bay

Genealogical Society of Bay County
PO Box 662
Panama City, FL. 32401

The Historical Society of Bay County
PO Box 1476
Panama City, FL. 32402
850.785.9036
www.bayhistory.org

Bradford

Bradford County Historical Museum
209 W. Call Street
Starke, FL. 32091
904.964.5382

Brevard

Brevard County Historical Commission
801 Dixon Blvd. Suite 1110
Cocoa, FL. 32922
www.brevardcounty.us/history

Brevard Genealogical Society
PO Box 1123
Cocoa, FL. 32923

Brevard Museum of History and Natural Sciences
2201 Michigan Avenue
Cocoa, FL. 32926
321.632.1830

Genealogical Society of South Brevard
PO Box 786
Melbourne, FL. 32902

Genealogical Society of North Brevard
PO Box 897
Titusville, FL. 32781

Historical Museum of North Brevard
310 S. Washington Avenue
Titusville, FL. 32796
321.269.3658
www.nbbd.com

South Brevard Historical Society
PO Box 1064
Melbourne, FL. 32902
321.723.6835

Broward

Black Historical Society of Broward County
2060 N. W. 30th Avenue
Ft. Lauderdale, FL. 33311
954.733.6139

Broward County Genealogical Society
PO Box 485
Ft. Lauderdale, FL. 33302

Broward County Historical Commission
151 S.W. Second Street
Fort Lauderdale, FL. 33301
954.765.4670

Davie Historical Society
6650 SW Griffin Road
Davie, FL. 33314
954.472.7243
www.olddavieschool.org

Deerfield Beach Historical Society
380 E. Hillsboro Blvd.
Deerfield Beach, FL. 33441
954.429.0378
www.geocities.com/dbhsfl

Flamingo Historical Society
3750 Flamingo Road
Davie, FL. 33330
954.473.2955

Fort Lauderdale Historical Society
219 SW Second Avenue
Fort Lauderdale, FL. 33301
954.463.4431
www.oldfortlauderdale.org

Genealogical Society of Broward County
PO Box 485
Fort Lauderdale, FL. 33302

Hillsboro Lighthouse Preservation Society
PO Box 6062
Pompano Beach, FL. 33060
954.942.2102
www.hillsborolighthouse.org

Hollywood Historical Society
1520 Polk Street
Hollywood, FL. 33002
954.923.5590
www.hhs.cc

Oakland Park Historical Society
2650 N.E. 12th Avenue
Oakland Park, FL. 33334
954.561.6250

Pembroke Pines Historical Society & Museum
7600 S.W. 13th Street
Pembroke Pines, FL. 33023
954.986.5049

Plantation Historical Society
511 N. Fig Tree Lane
Plantation, FL. 33317
954.797.2722

Pompano Beach Historical Society
PO Box 154
Pompano Beach, FL. 33061
954.782.3015
www.pompanohistory.com

Seminole Tribal Historical Society
5845 S. State Road 7
Ft. Lauderdale, FL. 33314
954.792.1213
www.seminoletribe.com

Calhoun

Panhandle Pioneer Settlement
17880 N.W. Pioneer Settlement Road
Blountstown, FL.32424
850.674.2777
www.panhandlepioneersettlement.org

Charlotte

Charlotte County Genealogical Society
PO Box 494707
Port Charlotte, FL. 33949

Charlotte County Historic Preservation Board
18500 Murdock Circle
Port Charlotte, FL. 33948
941.743.1230
www.charlottecountyfl.com

Charlotte County Historical Center
22959 Bayshore Drive
Charlotte Harbor, FL. 33980
941.629.7278

Charlotte Harbor Historical Society
PO Box 1441
Punta Gorda, FL. 33951
941.639.1065

Gasparilla Island Maritime Museum
PO Box 100
Boca Grande, FL. 33921
941.964.4466

Punta Gorda Historical Society
118 Sullivan Street
Punta Gorda, FL. 33950
941.639.1887

Citrus

Citrus County Genealogical Society
PO Box 2211
Inverness, FL. 34451

Citrus County Historical Society
One Courthouse Square
Inverness, FL. 34450
352.341.2367
www.cccourthouse.org

Clay

Black Heritage Museum
Longmire Avenue
Middleburg, FL. 32068
904.282.4168

Clay County Archives
910 Ferris Street
Green Cove Springs, FL. 32043
904.278.4780

Clay County Historical & Railroad Museum
915 Walnut Street
Green Cove Springs, FL. 32043
904.284.9684

Middleburg Historical Museum
3912 Section Street
Middleburg, FL. 32068
904.282.8691

Town of Orange Park Historical Society
2042 Park Avenue
Orange Park, FL. 32043
904.264.9565

Collier

Collier County Historical Society
137 - 12th Avenue S.
Naples, FL. 34102
239.261.8164
www.cchistoricalsociety.com

Collier County Museum and Archives
3301 E. Tamiami Trail
East Naples, FL. 34102
239.774.8476
www.colliermuseum.com

Florida Council for the Social Studies
5775 Osceola Trail
Naples, FL. 34109
239.377.0309
www.fcss.org

Genealogical Society of Collier County
PO Box 7933
Naples, FL. 34101

Marco Island Historical Society
595 E. Elkcam Circle
Marco Island, FL. 34145
239.389.6447
www.themihs.org

Southwest Florida Holocaust Museum
4760 Tamiami Trail
Naples, FL. 34103
239.263.9200

Columbia

Columbia County Historical Museum
157 S.E. Hernando Street
Lake City, FL. 32025
386.755.9096

Dade

Bay of Pigs Museum & Library
1821 S.W. 9th Street
Miami, FL. 33135
305.649.4719
www.brigada2506.com

Coral Gables Historical Resources Dept.
2327 Salzedo Street
Coral Gables, FL. 33134
305.460.5361

Dade Heritage Trust
190 S.E. 12 Terrace
Miami, FL. 33131
305.358.9572
www.dadeheritagetrust.org

Genealogical Society of Greater Miami
PO Box 162905
Miami, FL. 33116

Historical Association of Southern Florida
101 West Flagler Street
Miami, FL. 33130
305.375.1492
www.historical-museum.org

Historic Homstead Town Hall Museum
41 N. Krome Avenue
Homestead, FL. 33030
305.224.4449

Jewish Museum of Florida
301 Washington Avenue
Miami Beach, FL. 33139
305.672.5044
www.jewishmuseum.com

Miami Springs Historical Society
135 Royal Poinciana Blvd.
Miami Springs, FL. 33166
305.805.3321

DeSoto

DeSoto County Historical Society
PO Box 1824
Arcadia, FL. 34265
898.244.9638
www.historicdesoto.org

Dixie

Dixie County Historical Society
Hwy 55A
Old Town, FL. 32680
352.542.0047
www.dixiehistory.org

Duval

Beaches Area Historical Society
380 Pablo Avenue
Jacksonville Beach, FL. 32250
904.241.5657
www.beachesareahistoricalsociety.com

City of Jacksonville Historic Commission
128 East Forsyth Street Suite 700
Jacksonville, FL. 32202
904.630.1900
www.itd.jax.ci.fl.us/jhpc/base.htm

Durkeeville Historical Society
3117 N. Liberty Street
Jacksonville, FL. 32202
904.353.1300

Jacksonville Genealogical Society
1224 Knobb Hill Drive
Jacksonville, FL. 32221

Jacksonville Historical Society
317 A. Phillip Randolph Blvd.
Jacksonville, FL. 32202
904.665.0064
www.jaxhistory.com

Jacksonville Maritime Museum Society
1015 Museum Circle # 2
Jacksonville, FL. 32202
904.398.9011
www.jaxmarmus.com

Karpeles Manuscript Museum
101 West 1st Street
Jacksonville, FL. 32206
904.356.2992

Mandarin Museum & Historical Society
12471 Mandarin Road
Jacksonville, FL. 32223
904.260.9983

Museum of Southern History
4304 Herschel Street
Jacksonville, FL. 32210
904.388.3574

Museum of Science and History
1025 Museum Circle
Jacksonville. FL. 32202
904.386.7062
www.mosh.org

Old Arlington
PO Box 13151
Jacksonville, FL. 32216
904.743.3385
www.oldarlington.org

Riverside-Avondale Preservation Inc.
2623 Herschel Street
Jacksonville, FL. 32204
904.389.2449
www.riverside-avondale.com

Springhill Heritage Center
1321 N. Main Street
Jacksonville, FL. 32206
904.353.7727
www.historicspringfield.com

Escambia

Alger-Sullivan Historical Society
PO Box 1002
Century, FL. 32535
850.256.2029
www.algersullivan.org

Barrineau Park Historical Society
6055 Barrineau Park School Road
Molino, FL. 32577
850.587.5389

Davisville Preservation & Historical Society
10200 Hwy 97A
Walnut Hill, FL. 32535
850.327.6189

Pensacola Historical Preservation Society
204 South Alcaniz Street
Pensacola, FL. 32582
850.434.3050

Pensacola Historical Society
110 E. Church Street
Pensacola, FL. 32502
850.433.1559
www.pensacolahistory.org

West Florida Genealogical Society
PO Box 947
Pensacola, FL. 32591

West Florida Historic Preservation Inc.
120 Church Street
Pensacola, FL. 32501
850.595.5985
www.historicpensacola.org

Flagler

City of Palm Coast Historical Society
PO Box 352613
Palm Coast, FL. 32135
386.446.9031

Flagler Beach Museum
PO Box 2136
Flagler Beach, FL. 32135
386.517.2025

Flagler County Historical Society
204 E. Moody Blvd.
Bunnell, FL. 32110
386.437.0600

Florida Agricultural Museum
1850 Princess Place Road
Palm Coast, FL. 32137
386.446.7630

Franklin

Apalachicola Historical Society
PO Box 75
Apalachicola, FL. 32329
850.653.9347

Apalachicola Maritime Museum
71 Market Street
Apalachicola, FL. 32329
904.653.8700
www.baynavigator.com

Cape St. George Lighthouse Society
PO Box 915
Apalachicola, FL. 32329
www.lighthousefriends.com

Gadsden

Gadsden County Historical Society
13 North Madison
Quincy, FL. 32351
850.875.4866

Havana Historical Society
PO Box 2362
Havana, FL. 32333
850.539.6688

Gilchrist

Gilchrist County Genealogical Society
105 N.E. 11th Avenue
Trenton, FL. 32693

Glades

Glades Historical Society
PO Box 10
Moore Haven, FL. 33471
863.946.9100

Gulf

Gulf County Genealogical Society
PO Box 541
Port St. Joe, FL. 32457

St. Joseph Historical Society
1909 Long Avenue
Port St. Joe, FL. 32456

Hamilton

Hamilton County Historical Society
501 N.E. 1st Avenue
Jasper, Florida 35052
386.792.3850

Hardee

Bowling Green Historical Council
PO Box 478
Bowling Green, FL. 33834

Hendry

Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum
833 W. Boundry Road
Clewiston, FL. 33440
863.902.1113
www.seminoletribe.com

Alva Historical Museum
21420 E. Pearl Street
Alva, FL. 33920

Clewiston Historical Society
112 S. Commerce Street
Clewiston, FL. 33440
941.983.2870

Hendry County Historical Society
PO Box 1760
LaBelle, FL. 33935

LaBelle Heritage Museum
PO Box 2846
LaBelle, FL. 33975
863.674.0034

Hernando

Hernando County Genealogical Society
PO Box 1793
Brooksville, FL. 34605

Hernando Historical Museum Association
601 Museum Court
Brooksville, FL. 34601
352.799.0129
www.hernandoheritagemuseum.com

Highlands

Avon Park Historical Society
3N. Museum Avenue
Avon Park, FL. 33825
863.453.3525

Highlands County Genealogical Society
116 E. Main Street
Avon Park, FL. 33825

Highlands County Historical Society
430 S. Commerce Avenue
Sebring, FL. 33870
863.402.6565

Lake Placid Historical Society & Museum
19 West Park Avenue
Lake Placid, FL. 33852
863.465.1771

Sebring Historical Society
321 West Center Avenue
Sebring, FL. 33870
863.471.2522
www.sebringhistoricalsociety.org

Hillsborough

Brandon Area Genealogical & Historical Society
PO Box 2297
Mango, FL. 33550

East Hillsborough Historical Society
2202 W. Reynolds Street
Plant City, FL. 33563
813.707.8540

Florida Studies Center
4202 E. Fowler Avenue
Tampa, FL. 33620
813.974.7622
www.web.lib.usf.edu

Henry B. Plant Museum
401 West Kennedy Blvd.
Tampa, FL. 33606
813.254.1891
www.plantmuseum.com

Hillsborough County Historical Commission
Courthouse Room 250
Tampa, FL. 33602
813.272.5919

South Bay Genealogical Society
PO Box 5202
Sun City Center, FL. 33571

Tampa Historical Society
245 South Hyde Park Avenue
Tampa, FL. 33606-2231
813.259.1111
www.tampahistory.com

Tampa Bay History Center
225 South Franklin Street
Tampa, FL. 33600
813.228.0097
www.tampabayhistorycenter.org

Ybor City Museum Society
1818 9th Avenue E.
Tampa, FL. 33605
813.247.6323
www.ybormuseum.org

Zephyrhills Depot Museum
39110 South Avenue
Zephyrhills, FL. 33540
813.780.0067

Indian River

Indian River Genealogical Society
PO Box 1850
Vero Beach, FL. 32960

Indian River County Historical Society
2336 14th Avenue
Vero Beach, FL. 32960
772.778.3435

Sebastian Area Historical Society
700 Main Street
Sebastian, FL. 32958
772.581.1380

Vero Heritage Inc.
2140 – 14th Avenue
Vero Beach, FL. 32960
772.770.2263

Jackson

Chipola Historical Trust
PO Box 166
Marianna, FL. 32446
850.526.4168

Graceville Historical Society
PO Box 637
Graceville, FL. 32440
850.263.3951

Jefferson

Keystone Genealogical Society
PO Box 50
Monticello, FL. 32344

Jefferson County Genealogical Society
695 East Washington Street
Monticello, FL. 32344

Jefferson County Historical Society
380 N. Jefferson Street
Monticello, FL. 32344

Lafayette

Lafayette County Historical Society
PO Box 92
Mayo, FL. 32066
386.294.3819

Lake

Eustis Historical Museum & Preservation Society
536 North Bay Street
Eustis, FL. 32726
352.483.0046

Historical Society of Tavares
121 Alfred Street
Tavares, FL. 32778
352.343.7252

Lady Lake Historical Society & Museum
107 S. Old Dixie Hwy.
Lady Lake, FL. 34748
352.753.4925

Lake County Historical Museum
317 W. Main Street
Tavares, FL. 32778
352.343.9600

Lake County Historical Society
101 N. Sinclair Avenue
Tavares, FL. 34778

Leesburg Heritage Society
111 S. Sixth Street
Leesburg, FL. 34748
352.435.9424

Mount Dora Historical Society
PO Box 1166
Mount Dora, FL 32757
352.383.8546
www.historicmountdora.com

Northeast Black History Committee
1650 N. Tremain Street
Mount Dora, FL. 32757

Royellou Museum
450 Royellou Lane
Mount Dora, FL. 32757
352.383.0006

Lee

The Boca Grande Historical Society
PO Box 553
Placida, FL. 33946
941.964.1600

Bonita Springs Historical Society
27142 S. Riverside Street
Bonita Springs, FL. 34135
239.992.6997

Cape Coral Historical Society
544 Cultural Park Blvd.
Cape Coral, FL. 33990
239.772.7037
www.capecoralhistoricalmuseum.org

Estero Island Historical Society
161 Bay Road
Fort Myers Beach, FL. 33931
239.463.0435

Southwest Florida Museum of History
2300 Peck Street
Fort Myers, FL. 33901
239.332.5955

Lee County Genealogy Society
PO Box 150153
Cape Coral, FL. 33915

Museum of the Islands
5728 Sesame Drive
Bokeela, FL. 33922
239.283.1525
www.museumoftheislands.com

Sanibel Historical Village
950 Dunlop Road
Sanibel, FL. 33957
239.472.4648

Leon

Florida State Historic Preservation Office
500 S. Bronough Street
Tallahassee, FL. 32399
850.245.6333
www.flheritage.com

Florida Supreme Court Historical Society
500 S. Duval Street
Tallahassee, FL. 32399
850.222.3703

Florida Trust for Historic Preservation
PO Box 11206
Tallahassee, FL. 32302
850.224.8128
www.floridatrust.org

Friends of the Southeast Regional Black Archives
FAMU Carnegie Library
Tallahassee, FL. 32399
850.599.3020

John G. Riley Center
419 E. Jefferson Street
Tallahassee, FL. 32399
850.681.7881
www.rileymuseum.org

Tallahassee Genealogical Society
PO Box 4371
Tallahassee, FL. 32315
www.talgen.org

Tallahassee Historical Society
PO Box 3713
Tallahassee, FL. 32315
850.656.2629

Tallahassee Museum of History & Natural Sciences
3945 Museum Drive
Tallahassee, FL. 32309
850.575.8684
www.talahasseemuseum.org

Tallahassee Trust for Historic Preservation
423 E. Virginia Street
Tallahassee, FL. 32301
850.488.7100

Levy

Cedar Key Historical Society
PO Box 222
Cedar Key, FL. 32625
352.543.5549
www.cedarkeymuseum.org

Liberty

Madison

Madison County Genealogical Society
PO Box 136
Madison, FL. 32340

Madison County Historical Society
205 S. Shelby Street
Madison, FL. 32340
850.973.2153

Manatee

Anna Maria Island Historical Society
405 Pine Avenue
Anna Maria, FL. 34216
941.778.0492

City of Palmetto Historical Commission
PO Box 1192
Palmetto, FL. 34221
941.723.4991

Cortez Village Historical Society
PO Box 7
Cortez, FL. 33522
941.795.7121

Hernando DeSoto Historical Society
910 Third Avenue W.
Bradenton, FL. 34205
941.747.1998

Manasota Genealogical Society
6023 26th Street W.
Bradenton, FL. 34207

Manatee County Agricultural Museum
1015 6th Street W.
Palmetto, FL. 34221
941.721.2034

Manatee County Historical Commission
604 15th Street E.
Braden River, FL. 34208
941.741.4076
www.manateeclerk.com

Manatee County Historical Society
604 15th Street
Bradenton, FL. 34208
941.748.5555

Myakka City Historical Society
10060 Wauchula Road
Myakka, FL. 34251
941.322.1304

Marion

Marion County Historical Society
PO Box 3215
Ocala, FL. 32678

Marion County Museum of History
307 S.E. 26th Terrace
Ocala, FL. 34471
352.629.2773

Martin

Black Heritage Association of Martin County
PO Box 2279
Stuart, FL. 34995

Martin County Genealogical Society
825 N.E. Ocean Drive
Stuart, FL. 34996

Historical Society of Martin County
825 N.E. Ocean Blvd.
Stuart, FL. 34966
772.225.1961
www.elliotmuseumfl.org

Stuart Heritage Museum
715 Colorado Avenue
Stuart, FL. 34994
772.220.4600

Monroe

Historic Florida Keys Foundation
510 Greene Street
Key West, FL. 33040
305.292.6718

Historical Preservation Society of the Upper Keys
PO Box 2200
Key Largo, FL. 33037
305.852.1620
www.keyshistory.org

Key West Art and Historical Society
3501 South Roosevelt Blvd.
Key West, FL. 33040
305.296.6616
www.kwahs.com

Matecumbe Historical Trust
PO Box 1175
Islamorada, FL. 33036
305.664.9504

Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Museum
200 Greene Street
Key West, FL. 33040
305.294.2633
www.melfisher.org

Monroe County Genealogical Society
21 Ventana Lane
Big Coppitt Key, FL. 33040

Pidgeon Key Foundation
PO Box 500130
Marathon, FL. 33050
305.289.0025

Wreckers Museum
322 Duval Street
Key West, FL. 33040
350.294.9502

Nassau

A.L. Lewis Historical Society
PO Box 15563
Amelia, Island, FL. 32035
904.261.3988

Amelia Island Genealogical Society
PO Box 6005
Fernandina Beach, FL. 32035

Amelia Island Museum of History
233 South Third Street
Fernandina Beach, FL. 32034
904.261.7378
www.ameliaislandmuseumofhistory.org

West Nassau Historical Society
45383 Dixie Avenue
Callahan, FL. 32011
904.879.3406

Okaloosa

Carver-Hill Museum
895 McClelland Street
Crestview, FL. 32536
850.682.4003

Genealogical Society of Okaloosa County
PO Box 1175
Ft. Walton Beach, FL. 32549

Heritage Museum of N.W. Florida
115 Westview Avenue
Valpariso, FL. 32580
850.678.2615
www.heritage-museum.org

Indian Temple Mound Museum
139 Miracle Strip Parkway S.E.
Fort Walton Beach, FL. 32549
850.833.9595
www.fwb.com

North Okaloosa Historical Association
1307 Georgia Avenue
Baker, FL. 32531
850.537.5714

Okeechobee

Genealogical Society of Okeechobee
PO Box 371
Okeechobee, FL. 34973

Okeechobee County Historical Society
1850 US 98 N.
Okeechobee, FL. 34972
863.763.4344

Orange

Albin Polasek Museum & Sculpture Garden
PO Box 1691
Winter Park, FL. 32790
407.647.6294

Altamonte Springs Historical Society
380 Lake Seminary Circle
Maitland, FL. 32751
407.339.2337

Apoka Historical Society & Museum
122 E. 5th Street
Apoka, FL. 32703
407.703.1707
www.apokamuseum.org

Central Florida Genealogical and Historical Society
PO Box 536309
Orlando, FL. 32853
www.cfgs.org

Central Florida Railroad Museum
4328A Lake Underhill Road
Orlando, FL. 32803
407.895.4749

Eatonville Community History Association
227 E. Kennedy Blvd.
Eatonville, FL. 32751
407.647.3307

Enterprise Preservation Society
PO Box 4015
Enterprise, FL. 32725
407.328.8556

Fort Christmas Historic Park
1300 Fort Christmas Road N.
Christmas, FL. 32709
407.568.4149

Goldenrod Historical Society
PO Box 423
Goldenrod, FL. 32733
407.671.5845

Henry Nehrling Society
PO Box 2653
Winter Park, FL. 32789
407.646.2421

Leu House Museum & Gardens
1920 North Forest Avenue
Orlando, FL. 32803
407.246.2620

Maitland Historical Society & Museum
840 Lake Lily Drive
Maitland, FL. 32751
407.644.2451
www.maitlandhistory.com

National Vietnam War Museum
3400 N. Tanner Road
Union Park, FL.
407.273.6794
www.grant.space.swri.edu/vvcentl.htm

Ocoee Historical Commission
150 North Lakeshore Drive
Ocoee, FL. 34761
407.656.2051

Orange County Regional History Center
65 E. Central Blvd.
Orlando, FL. 32801
407.836.8500

Windermere Historical Society
219 W. 3rd Avenue
Windermere, FL. 34786
407.876.2372

Winter Garden Heritage Museum
1 North Main Street
Winter Garden, FL. 34777
407.656.5544

Winter Park Historical Association & Museum
200 W. New England Avenue
Winter Park, FL. 32790
407.647.8180

Osceola

Kissimmee Historical Society
117 South Clyde Avenue
Kissimmee, FL. 34741
407.343.8086

Osceola County Historical Society
750 N. Bass Road
Kissimmee, FL. 32746
407.396.8644

Palm Beach

Black History Preservation Society
623 Division Avenue
West Palm Beach, FL. 33401
561.833.5836

Boca Raton Historical Society
71 N. Federal Hwy.
Boca Raton, FL. 33432
561.395.6766
www.bocahistory.org

Boynton Beach Historical Society
PO Box 12
Boynton Beach, FL. 33425
561.965.9860

Delray Beach Historical Society
5 N. 1st Street
Delray Beach. FL. 33444
561.243.2577

Glades Historical Society
PO Box 1089
Belle Glade, FL. 33430
561.996.7099

Henry Morrison Flagler Museum
1 Whitehall Way
Palm Beach. FL. 33480
561.655.2833
www.flaglermuseum.org

Historical Society of Palm Beach County
139 N. County Road
Palm Beach, FL. 33480
561.832.4164
www.historicalsocietypbc.org

Loxahatchee River Historical Society
805 North U.S. Highway One
Jupiter, FL. 33477
561.747.6639
www.lrhs.org

Morikami Museum & Japanese Gardens
4000 Morikami Park Road
Delray Beach, FL. 33446
561.495.0233
www.icsi.com/ics/morikami

Museum of the City of Lake Worth
414 Lake Avenue
Lake Worth, FL. 33460
561.586.1700

Preservation Foundation of Palm Beach
311 Peruvian Avenue
Palm Beach, FL. 33480
561.832.0731

Palm Beach County Genealogical Society
PO Box 1745
West Palm Beach, FL. 33402

Pasco

Pasco County Genealogy Society
PO Box 2072
Dade City, FL. 33526

Pasco County Historical Society
PO Box 33
Dade City, FL. 33525
352.567.7449

Pioneer Florida Museum
14218 Hwy U.S. 98 BYP
Dade City, FL. 33523
352.567.0328

West Pasco Historical Society
6431 Circle Blvd.
New Port Richey, FL. 34652
727.847.0680

West Pasco County Genealogical Society
PO Box 1142
New Port Richey, FL. 34673

Zellwood Historical Society Museum
3160 Union Street
Zellwood, FL. 32798
407.884.6222

Pinellas

Clearwater Historical Society
PO Box 175
Clearwater, FL. 33755
727.446.6983

Dunedin Historical Society & Museum
349 Main Street
Dunedin, FL. 34698
727.736.1176
www.ci.dunedin.fl.us

Florida Aviation Historical Society
99 E. Orange Street
Tarpon Springs, FL. 34689
727.937.3854

Florida Humanities Council
599 2nd Street
St. Petersburg, FL. 33701
772.553.3800
www.flahum.org

Gulf Beaches Historical Museum
115 – 10th Avenue
St. Petersburg, FL. 33706
727.552.1610

Gulfport Historical Society & Museum
5301 – 28th Street S.
St. Petersburg, FL. 33707
727.327.0505

Indian Rocks Beach Historical Society
304 15th Avenue S.W.
Clearwater, FL. 33755
727.593.3861

Largo Area Historical Society
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Largo, FL. 33770
727.584.2480

North Pinellas Historical Museum
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727.724.3056

Palm Harbor Historical Society
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Palm Harbor, FL. 34683
727.724.3054

Pinellas County Historical Society
11909 – 125th Street N.
Largo, FL. 33774
727-582-2123
www.pinellascounty.org/heritage

Pinellas Genealogy Society
120 Central Park Drive
Largo, FL. 33771

Pinellas Park Historical Society
5851 Park Blvd.
Pinellas Park, FL. 33781
727.546.7060

St. Petersburg Historical Society
335 – 2nd Avenue, NE
St. Petersburg, FL. 33701
727.894.1052
www.stpetemuseumofhistory.org

Safety Harbor Museum of History
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Safety Harbor, FL. 33755
727.726.1668

Tarpon Springs Historical Society
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Tarpon Springs, FL 34689
727.943.4624

Weeden Island Preserve Cultural Center
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St. Petersburg, FL. 33702
727.453.6500

Polk

Center for Florida History
111 Lake Hollingsworth Drive
Lakeland, FL. 33801
863.680.4312
www.flsouthern.edu/history

Historic Bok Sanctuary
1151 Tower Blvd.
Lake Wales, FL. 33853
863.676.1408

Historical Society of Fort Meade
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Fort Meade, FL. 33841
863.285.7474

Lake Wales Depot Museum
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Lake Wales, FL. 33853
863.678.4209

Northeast Polk County Historical Society
PO Box 1507
Haines City, FL. 38545

Polk County Genealogical Society
PO Box 9000
Bartow, FL. 33830

Polk County Historical Association
PO Box 2749
Bartow, FL. 33830
www.polkha.org

Polk County Historical & Genealogical Library
100 E. Main Street
Bartow, FL. 33830

Putnam

Interlachen Historical Society
PO Box 1493
Interlachen, FL. 32148

Putnam County Archives and History Commission
518 St. Johns Avenue
Palatka, FL. 32077
904.329.0330

Putnam County Genealogical Society
PO Box 418
Palatka, FL. 32078

Putnam County Historical Society
PO Box 35
Palatka, FL. 32178

Putnam County Historical Museum
100 Madison Street
Palatka, FL. 32177
904.329.0140

St. Johns

Fort Mose Historical Society
PO Box 4230
St. Augustine, FL. 32085
www.fortmose.com

Hastings Genealogical Society
150 South Main Street
Hastings, FL. 32145

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board
48 King Street
St. Augustine, FL. 32084
904.825.5033

The Lightner Museum
P.O. Box 334
St. Augustine, FL. 32084
904.824.2874
www.lightnermuseum.org

St. Augustine Genealogical Society
6670 U.S. 1 South
St. Augustine, FL. 32086

St. Augustine Historical Society
31 St. Francis Street
St. Augustine, FL. 32084
904.824.2872
www.staugustinehistoricalsociety.org

St. Augustine Lighthouse & Museum
81 Lighthouse Avenue
St. Augustine, FL. 32080
904.829.0745
www.staugustinelighthouse.com

Spanish Quarter Museum
PO Box 21
St. Augustine, FL. 32084
904.825.6830
www.historicstaugustine.com

Ximenez-Fatio House
28 Cadiz Street
St. Augustine, FL. 32084
904.829.3575
www.ximenezfatiohouse.org

St. Lucie

Indian River Citrus Museum
2140 14th Avenue
Vero Beach, FL. 32960
561.770.2263

Port St. Lucie Historical Society
121 S.W. Port St. Lucie Blvd.
Port St. Lucie, FL. 34984

St. Lucie County Historical Society
414 Seaway Drive
St. Lucie, FL. 34949
772.462.1795

Treasure Coast Genealogical Society
PO 12582
Ft. Pierce, FL. 34979

Santa Rosa

Bagdad Village Historical Society
PO Box 565
Bagdad, FL. 32530
www.bagdadvillage.org

Genealogical Society of Santa Rosa County
5541 Alabama Street
Milton, FL. 32570

Gulf Breeze Historical Society
PO Box 814
Gulf Breeze, FL.

Santa Rosa Historical Society
6866 Caroline Street
Milton, FL. 32590
850.626.9830

Sarasota

Genealogical Society of Sarasota County
PO Box 1917
Sarasota, FL. 34230

Gulf Coast Heritage Association
337 S. Tamiami Trail
Osprey, FL. 34229
941.966.5214
www.historicspanishpoint.org

The Historical Society of Sarasota County
PO Box 1632
Sarasota, FL. 34230
941.377.9945
www.hsosc.com

Lemon Bay Historical & Genealogical Society
PO Box 1245
Englewood, FL. 34223
941.474.5837

Longboat Key Historical Society
PO Box 44
Longboat Key, FL. 34228
941.383.4066

Sarasota Alliance for Historic Preservation
2709 Temple Street
Sarasota, FL. 34239
941-953.2916

Sarasota County Dept. of Historical Resources
701 Plaza de Santa Domingo
Sarasota, FL. 34236
941.316.1180

Sarasota County History Center
701 N. Tamiami Trail
Sarasota, FL. 34236
941.861.1187

Venice Area Historical Collection
351 Nassau Street S.
Venice, FL. 34285
941.486.2487

Venice Historical Society
PO Box 995
Venice, FL. 34284
941.486.2487

Seminole

Bradlee-McIntyre House
130 W. Warren Avenue
Longwood, FL. 32750
407.332.0225

Central Florida Society for Historic Preservation
PO Box 520500
Longwood, FL. 32752
407.322.6920

Geneva Historical & Genealogical Society
PO Box 91
Geneva, FL. 32732
407.349.5697

Lake Mary Historical Commission
123 W. Lake Mary Avenue
Lake Mary, FL. 32746
407.321.3094

Sanford Historical Society
PO Box 168
Sanford, FL. 32772
407.323.8952

Sanford Museum of History
520 East First Street
Sanford, FL. 32771
407.302.1000

Museum of Seminole County History
300 Bush Blvd.
Sanford, FL. 32773
407.321.2489
www.seminolecountyfl.gov

Oveido Historical Society
PO Box 620841
Oveido, FL. 32762
407.365.4380

Sumter

Sumter County Historical Society
PO Box 1621
Webster, FL. 33597
352.568.7488

Suwannee

Suwannee Historical Museum
208 Ohio Avenue N.
Live Oak, FL. 34064
386.362.1776

Taylor

Cracker Homestead Museum
204 Forest Park Drive
Perry, FL. 32348
850.584.3227

Taylor County Historical Society
118 E. Main Street
Perry, FL. 32347
850.584.4478

Union

Volusia

Black Heritage Museum
314 N. Duss Street
New Smyrna Beach, FL. 32168
386.478.1934

DeBary Hall
PO Box 911
DeBary, FL. 32713
407.668.3841

Deltona Arts & Historical Society
682 Deltona Blvd.
Deltona, FL. 32725
386.575.2601

Florida Baptist Historical Society
PO Box 8353
Deland, FL. 32720

Halifax Genealogical Society
30 South Beach Street
Ormond Beach, FL. 32174

Halifax Historical Museum
252 South Beach Street
Daytona, FL. 32114
386.255.6976
www.halifaxhistorical.org

Museum of Arts and Sciences
1040 Museum Blvd.
Daytona Beach, FL. 32114
386.255.0285
www.moas.org

New Smyrna Museum & Historical Society
120 Sans Street
New Smyrna Beach, FL. 32168
386.424.2162

Orange City Historic Preservation Society
236 South Rose Avenue
Orange City, FL. 32763
386.774.8849

Orange City Historical Society
315 W. University Avenue
Orange City, FL. 32763
386.775.2942

Ormond Beach Historical Trust
42 N. Beach Street
Ormond Beach, FL. 32174
386.677.7005

Pioneer Settlement for the Creative Arts
PO Box 6
Barberville, FL. 32105
386.749.2959

Southeast Volusia Historical Society
PO Box 968
New Smyrna Beach, FL. 32170
386.478. 0052

West Volusia Historical Society
137 West Michigan Avenue
Deland, FL. 32720
386.740.6815
www.delandhouse.com

Wakulla

Wakulla County Histoical Society
PO Box 151
Crawfordville, FL. 32326
850.926.7405

Walton

Walton County Heritage Museum
1140 Circle Drive
DeFuniak Springs, FL. 32435
850.951.2127
www.waltonmuseum.com

Washington

Washington County Historical Society
1031 Sunday Road
Chipley, FL. 32428
850.638.0358

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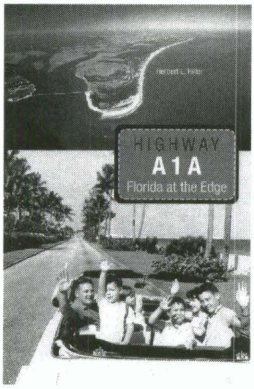

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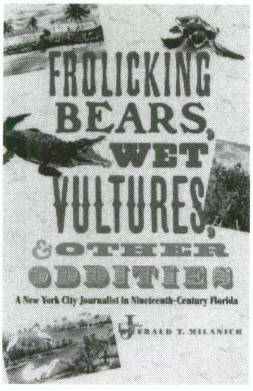

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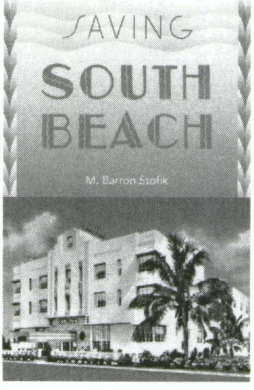

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The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905

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The Society's official headquarters and the Field Library of Florida History are located in Cocoa's historic United States Post Office, built in 1939. The Society's research library houses over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of Floridiana, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy. Further information about the Florida Historical Society may be found on the internet at ⟨http://www.florida-historical-soc.org⟩.