Cultural Constructions and Natural Destruction in the Ocklawaha River Valley

Introduction
Sherry Johnson 1

Steamboats, Cypress, and Tourism: An Ecological History of the Ocklawaha Valley in the Late Nineteenth Century
Steven Noll 6

Economic Boom or Political Boondoggle? Florida’s Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal in the 1930s
Michael David Tegeder 24

“Get the facts—and then act”: How Majorie H. Carr and the Florida Defenders of the Environment Fought to Save the Ocklawaha River
Frederick R. Davis 46

Book Reviews 70

Book Notes 115

History News 118

Cover Illustration: In the late nineteenth century, steamboat trips up the Ocklawaha to Silver Springs highlighted the nighttime illumination of Florida’s primordial environment. Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Tallahassee.

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Book Reviews

Weitzel, *Journeys with Florida’ Indians*, by Michelle Ruth Davis .......................... 70

Hudson, *Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa*, by Greg O’Brien .......................... 71

Delfino and Gillespie, eds., *Neither Lady Nor Slave: Working Women of the Old South*, by Merline Pitre .......................... 74


Krick, *Staff Officers in Gray: A Biographical Register of the Staff Officers in the Army of Northern Virginia*, by Alexander Mendoza .......................... 82


Hubbs, *Voices from Company D: Diaries by the Greensboro Guards, Fifth Alabama Infantry Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia*, by Chad Morgan .......................... 84

Kolchin, *A Sphinx on the American Land: The Nineteenth-Century South in Comparative Perspective*, by Randall M. Miller .......................... 86

Tetzlaff, *Cultivating a New South: Abbie Holmes Christensen and the Politics of Race and Gender, 1852-1938*, by J. Michael Butler .......................... 88

McPherson, *Reconstructing Dixie: Race, Gender, and Nostalgia in the Imagined South*, by Matt J. Harper .......................... 90
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cox</td>
<td>Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture, by Anne Marshall</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>A Short History of Florida's Railroads, by James M. Denham</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogle</td>
<td>Key West: History of an Island of Dreams, by Consuelo Stebbins</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fogelson</td>
<td>Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950, by Raymond A Mohl</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter</td>
<td>From Calusas to Condominiums: A Pictorial History of Longboat Key from the Beginning to 2000, by Cathy Slusser</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullard</td>
<td>Cumberland Island: A History</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraser</td>
<td>Savannah in the Old South, by Gene A. Smith</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>Southern History Across the Color Line, by Fon Gordon</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riley</td>
<td>Florida's Farmworkers in the Twenty-First Century, by Robert Ingalls</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black and Black</td>
<td>The Rise of Southern Republicans, by Jonathan Knuckey</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

by Sherry Johnson

Originally presented at the Third Biennial Allen Morris Conference in February 2004, the articles in this special issue of the Florida Historical Quarterly examine the history of three related riverine environments in north central Florida—the St. Johns River, the Ocklawaha River, and the Withlacoochee River basins—from the mid-nineteenth century through the 1990s. The conference panel was designed to demonstrate how exploiting the rivers furthered modern ideas, promoted progress, and created economic prosperity. All three studies also sought to show how modernization had the potential to wreak havoc on a unique, fragile, and irreplaceable ecosystem. Collectively, these essays examine how the river systems became commercialized, first as a tourist destination, then as a source of cypress lumber, then as a possible alternate water route across the Florida peninsula that would bring thousands of jobs to a depressed region. Each author also situated his work within one or more sub-disciplines. Steven Noll looks at the social and economic impacts of tourism and logging from the 1850s through the 1920s. M. David Tegeder’s article is, first and foremost, a political analysis of the forces that sought to promote the Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal in the 1930s.

Sherry Johnson is assistant professor of history at Florida International University and author of The Social Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Cuba (Gainesville, Fla., 2001).

Frederick T. Davis offers a social and environmental history through a biography of Marjorie Harris Carr, whose grassroots environmental activism in the 1980s forced the federal government to abandon plans for another trans-Florida waterway, the Cross-Florida Barge Canal.
Chronologically the series begins with Noll’s examination of human encroachment on the Ocklawaha River valley that he argues was one of the last frontiers of the nineteenth century. He provides the reader with a virtual tour of the Ocklawaha’s primitive, haunting charm through an exhaustive reading of contemporary travel accounts. Although tourism on the river is fairly well-studied, this article makes a fresh contribution by demonstrating the economic and ecological consequences of such tourism and resource extraction. Noll introduces readers to Hubbard Hart, the pioneer entrepreneur of the valley, who, even before the Civil War, envisioned development through steamboating, commercial agriculture from orange groves, and logging the river’s old-growth cypress trees. Notables such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Ulysses S. Grant, and Sidney Lanier visited the Ocklawaha and Silver Springs on Hart’s fleet of riverboats, and they left their impressions—positive and negative—for future generations. Stories of alligator hunters, freed slaves, and lumbermen provide a sense of the irreparable damage wrought upon the ecosystem. Noll’s article takes the narrative into the twentieth century when the expansion of railroads and roads brought yet another series of changes to the Ocklawaha basin.

Moving forward chronologically, David Tegeder sorts out the machiavellian machinations of Florida’s depression-era politicians on the local, state, and federal levels in promoting a project to build a waterway that linked the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico: the Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal. Borne of the Works Project Administration and old-fashioned pork barrel politics, the essentially local project became a cause célèbre that had ramifications within Franklin D. Roosevelt’s administration and repercussions that stretched from Florida to Washington, D.C., and as far away as Michigan. The Ship Canal became a divisive issue, and the potential bonanza that would accompany federal spending pitted boosters in northern Florida against the state’s other powerful economic interests such as citrus growers in central Florida, tourism promoters in the southern end of the state, and railroad entrepreneurs who saw their lucrative freight business being threatened by the canal’s completion. The battle also involved powerful national interests, especially the Army Corps of Engineers, who had a vested interest in seeing the project completed. Still, opponents argued that the canal threatened one of Florida’s most basic necessities of life: the water supply. Although fundamentally a political
history, Tegeder’s article presents the social impact the canal had on the Ocala region as the population swelled by nine thousand persons. In addition to the hundreds of men housed in Camp Roosevelt, the town was invaded by itinerant peddlers, vagrants, prostitutes, and labor organizers.

Frederick Davis’s article deals with efforts to stop a resurrected trans-Florida canal, the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, through a biography of Marjorie Harris Carr, wife of a prominent University of Florida professor, a competent scientist in her own right, and the reason why the canal was ultimately abandoned. This David-and-Goliath story is one of indefatigable grassroots activism that successfully challenged the authoritarian, invisible hand of the federal government. Davis conveys well the duplicity and arrogance of state and federal officials when challenged by Carr and her colleagues in the Alachua Audubon Society. Such cavalier treatment inspired them to take the fight to Tallahassee, then to involve Florida environmentalists as a whole (linking the campaign for the Ocklawaha to environmental concerns for Lake Okeechobee), and finally mobilizing like-minded conservationists on a national level. In 1971, they won a moratorium on construction on forty-five miles of the most endangered section of the Ocklawaha River. In doing so, the Florida success became a nationwide model for other environmentalist campaigns.

In concentrating analysis on the years after 1850, all three articles are stimulating and thought provoking. But there was a history that preceded the stories told herein—the 350 years before Florida became part of the United States, when the St. Johns-Ocklawaha-Withlacoochee watershed was crucial to the history of the peninsula. As early as the 1560s, the founder of St. Augustine, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, searched for a waterway to link the Atlantic Ocean with the Gulf of Mexico. During the seventeenth century, the economic center of gravity was the Alachua savannah from whence hides, provisions, and other products were shipped to Havana. While under British rule (1763-1784), the Spanish captain general in Havana promoted ties with Florida’s Indians from Tampa and other regions the Gulf Coast. After 1784, when Florida returned to Spanish sovereignty, Cuban officials hoped to develop the Gulf Coast with (unfulfilled) plans to create settlements in the vicinity of Tampa Bay. East Florida’s rural economy in the Second Spanish period centered upon agricultural exploitation of the St. Johns-Ocklawaha watershed, and during the Patriot War of 1812-
1814, both river systems provided access to the interior of the province for insurgents and defenders alike. Moving into the territorial period, in 1821, Florida's first official Jewish settler, Moses Levy, sought to create a utopian community for Jewish immigrants near present-day Micanopy. Finally, the Withlacoochee and Ocklawaha river systems were crucial to the campaigns carried out during the Seminole Wars. In particular, during the Second Seminole War (1835-42), most of the fighting took place in the heart of the three river basins.

The history of the St. Johns-Ocklawaha-Withlacoochee river basins can be seen as a microcosm of Florida history as a whole. Over the period addressed by these articles, the same or similar processes that were played out in north central Florida were repeated throughout the state. Questions of post-Civil war tourism and economic development through modernization were as salient to the railroad robber barons as they were to logging interests along the river. Receiving the spoils of Depression-era public works projects was vital to all interests, not simply to boosters in Jacksonville, Palatka, and Ocala. Finally, the growth of nationwide (and worldwide) environmental movements had lasting effects on the politics and political choices that still are relevant to this generation of voters. Yet, the paradoxes raised in these essays remain unresolved. Is Florida's natural beauty an obstacle to development, a commodity that can be packaged and sold to tourists and potential new residents, or a natural treasure that should be protected at all costs? The lessons that can be learned from these articles will continue to resonate with Floridians in the near and distant futures.
The river, as it is termed, is quite an indefinite body of water. It is more properly a series of lagoons, overflowed swamps, long narrow lakes, and great springs—all connected and interlinked—the water basin of the western portion of the St. Johns's River Valley. It is an extensive region of dense jungle, lying low and flat, undrainable, and impossible to improve for human use; and will always remain wild and unmolested, a paradise for all the strange reptiles, insects, birds, and fish that seek its innermost recesses. To the pleasure-seeing tourist and the sportsman it affords an inexhaustible field of interest, but to the invalid, health seeker, or practical settler it offers no attractions. As the steamer follows the vaguely defined course of the channel, there are frequent landings, localities where points of the mainland extend like a peninsula

Steven Noll is adjunct assistant professor of history at the University of Florida. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the Georgia Association of Historians Annual Meeting, Jekyll Island, April 2002, and at the Allen Morris Conference on the History of Florida and the Atlantic World, Tallahassee, February 2004. The author would like to thank Dave Tegeder, Sherry Johnson, and Joseph Siry for comments and suggestions in the revisions of this paper. Special thanks for research support go to Jena Brooks and the staff of the State of Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Office of Greenways and Trails, Tallahassee.
into this watery jungle, affording access and outlets to the more profitable and healthy regions lying inland all along the route.¹

In 1882, George Barbour thusly described Florida’s Ocklawaha River in his guidebook to the state. This river, whose name is variously spelled in the promotional literature, tourist pamphlets, and magazine articles of the late nineteenth century, enticed northern visitors and entrepreneurs alike in the years following the Civil War. Its exotic sub-tropical landscape, heavily forested and swampy banks, bizarre and atavistic wildlife, and otherworldly springs made it seem like something out of Africa rather than the United States. That a trip up the river by steamboat led to the remarkable fishbowl of Silver Springs only added to its appeal. From the end of the Civil War through the second decade of the twentieth century, the Ocklawaha River wove a mystical spell on its visitors. An 1898 article in the children’s magazine *St. Nicholas* summarized this impression: “Every strange fowl and every hideous reptile, every singular paint and every tangled jungle, will tell the American boy how far he is to the south.”²

Yet, simultaneous to its discovery as a tourist attraction, the Ocklawaha was appealing as a resource to be exploited. The very environment that enchanted visitors also held the prospect of financial gain through the harvesting of cypress lumber. By the 1910s, the Ocklawaha’s heyday as a tourist attraction had ended: the railroad displaced the steamboat as the major method for accessing Florida locations, and the beach and grand resort hotel replaced the exotic river as a prime vacation destination. Yet, large-scale exploitation continued on the Ocklawaha. Lumbering persisted until the 1940s, as cypress logs from the swamps and bottomlands of the river fed the mills in nearby Palatka. When the Cross-Florida Barge Canal controversy raged in the 1960s, environmental activists such as Marjorie Carr used the literature of nineteenth-century sojourners to build a case for protecting this

². P.H. Spearman, “Queer American Rivers,” *St. Nicholas: An Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks* 25 (February 1898): 298. The river was spelled Ocklawaha, Ocklewaha, Ocalwaha, Okelewa, Okelawaha and Okalawaha in various descriptive narratives. Harriet Beecher Stowe even managed to spell it three different ways in the pages of her 1873 book *Palmetto Leaves* (1873; facsimile, Gainesville, Fla., 1999).
“forest land, set with springs and lakes, and though which flows a
beautiful wild river—the Oklawaha.” Nineteenth-century tourists,
however, were not the proto-environmentalists envisioned by the
Florida Defenders of the Environment and other Barge Canal
opponents. Like all humankind, their relationship to and incursion
into this land shaped and reshaped the Ocklawaha Basin.

The Ocklawaha River is one of Florida’s major streams. Starting
in a chain of lakes in Lake Country, the river flows north and then
east approximately seventy-five miles through east central Florida,
eventually emptying into the St. Johns River across from the former
steamboat landing town of Welaka. Draining a watershed area of
about 2800 square miles, the Ocklawaha is a narrow and relatively
shallow river, with turns so “contorted and looped that distance dou-
bles and redoubles itself for any navigator who takes a boat on it.”
Approximately halfway down its course, the Ocklawaha is joined by
its major tributary, the Silver River. From its source at Silver Springs,
the Silver empties over five hundred million gallons a day into the
Ocklawaha; and “[u]nlike the Ocklawaha, . . . [the] waters of the
Silver Run are perpetually clear.” One of the oldest
riven in Florida, the Ocklawaha considerably predates the St. Johns into
which it flows. At one time, the river marked the coastline of pre-
historic Florida, originating as the “runoff of the depression that
remained behind after the recession of the sea level,” according to
environmental historian Joseph Siry. Although Native Americans
had used the river’s resources for thousands of years, its lack of lofty
banks, dense swamplands, and inclination to flood, as well as con-

(August 1965): 1-3; quote on page 3. For more on the relationship of middle-
class women like Carr to the environmental movement of the 1960s, see
Adam Rome, “‘Give Earth a Chance’: The Environmental Movement and the
Sixties,” Journal of American History 90 (September 2003): 534-541. For an
analysis of Carr’s environmental ethic, see Lee Irby, “A Passion for Wild
Things: Marjorie Harris Carr and the Fight to Free a River,” in Making Waves:
Female Activism in Twentieth-Century Florida, ed. Jack Davis and Kari
Frederickson (Gainesville, Fla., 2003), 177-98.
River Steamboats and of the Hart Line (Providence, R.I., 1983). Mitchell’s work
5. Richard Martin, Eternal Spring: Man’s 10,000 Years of History in Florida’s Silver
Springs (St. Petersburg, Fla., 1966), 169.
6. Joseph Siry, “What was the Ocklawaha Once Like?” <http://fox.rollins.edu/
~jsiry/rivers.html>.
tinued intrusions by Seminole Indians, made the valley rather inaccessible to white settlement until after the Civil War.⁷

Antebellum Florida, as both territory and state was "frontier" country, more so than even the western territories that we usually associate with that term. Historian Gregory Nobles defined frontier as "not just a place, or even . . . a frequently repeated, one-dimensional process of contact, settlement, and development. It involves, rather, a much more complex process of mutual exchange in which neither culture, Native American or Euro-American, could remain unchanged."⁸ Noble’s definition, however, minimizes land as a major component of the idea of frontier. In addition to a cultural boundary, the frontier marked an ecological one. Far from dividing civilization from wilderness, or settled areas from virgin land, the boundary marker of the frontier separated European conceptions of land use from Native American ones.⁹ Certainly, the Ocklawaha Valley could be categorized as a frontier region. As Seminole control of the region ended in the mid-1850s with the destruction of the central Florida bands, white conceptions of the natural world took precedence, especially regarding the jewel of the valley’s ecosystem—Silver Springs.

In 1855, Lady Amelia Murray, a minor member of British royalty, traveled by stage from Palatka to the springs. “If I had known that we should not arrive there ‘till after midnight, with one man driving four horses through a pine barren which harbours wolves, bears, and panthers,” she complained, “my courage would have failed me.”¹⁰ That

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9. My conception of frontier and of environmental factors as determiners of historical modifications was heavily influenced by William Cronin, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (New York, 1983). See also Ted Steinberg, Down to Earth: Nature’s Role in American History (New York, 2002), 1-88 for an example of historical writing using the natural world as a category of analysis. For a study examining the role of nature in shaping Florida’s history (albeit centered on South Florida), see David McCally, The Everglades: An Environmental History (Gainesville, Fla., 1999).

same year, Boston Brahmin and avocational historian George Bancroft also visited the springs. Bancroft seemed less concerned about the vileness of the place and more fascinated with the beauty of the springs themselves. “The whole pool and every fountain and the large river that flows aft are thus transparently clear, the most perfectly pellucid that you can imagine,” he wrote to his wife; “The river is from the fish gushing up, at the fountain head so broad and deep that steamboats may come up to a landing on the bank at the head of the fountain.”

Murray’s and Bancroft’s reactions to their experiences at Silver Springs exemplified variances in Euro-American responses to the natural world—particularly, fear and wonder. It would take Hubbard Hart, a transplanted Yankee from Vermont, to add another dimension to that response. Hart’s viewing of the Ocklawaha as a commodity to be exploited, albeit as a tourist attraction, would have implications on the region’s growth and ecology for decades to come.

In 1855, the twenty-eight-year-old Hart moved to Florida to establish a stage mail line between Palatka and Tampa. The route passed through the tiny hamlet that had grown up at the Silver Springs boil, and Hart immediately recognized potential for tourism at the springs. Since stage travel was, at best, difficult and time-consuming, Hart thought river access to the springs would provide the best method to transport tourists. By 1860, he had acquired a steamboat, the James Burt, and soon booked tourists on two-day trips from Palatka to Silver Springs. His boat ran up the St. Johns to Welaka, then up the Ocklawaha to the Silver, culminating at the springhead itself. Hart soon purchased another boat to accommodate the increasing trade. Yet, he was not simply a transporter of tourists. As an enterprising young entrepreneur, he also realized the broader economic potential of the Ocklawaha Valley. By 1861, Hart developed a series of orange groves along the river, established a lumber trade on the Ocklawaha, and contracted with state authorities to clear the river of snags and other navigational hazards. He was in the process of adding a third boat to his fleet of steamships when the Civil War intervened.

The Civil War in central Florida was generally a riverine conflict, with Union gunboats sailing up and down the St. Johns.


12. Information on Hart’s early activities in the Ocklawaha Valley is from Martin, Eternal Spring, 106-10; Mitchell, Paddle-Wheel Inboard, 2-5.
While the turns and obstacles of the Ocklawaha provided tourists with dramatic adventure, they also impeded travel, as when a huge water oak fell across the river, requiring hands to clear the obstruction. *Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Tallahassee.*

shelling Confederate batteries and attempting to prevent Confederate ships from running the blockade to supply Southern soldiers and export cotton. While helping the Confederate war effort, Floridian blockade runners also took opportunities to quickly enrich themselves. As one of these wartime entrepreneurs, Hart utilized the Ocklawaha as a shipment point for Confederate supplies. His boats could not be pursued up the Ocklawaha by Union ships because its shallow waters and twisting narrows prevented deeper draft vessels from navigating the river. Hart managed not only to be a cog in the Confederate supply line and a transporter of goods for export, but also to make money doing it. In December 1864, he contracted his steamboat *Silver Spring* to the Confederate government at a rate of $200 per day to carry supplies down the Ocklawaha to the Fort Brooke landing, from whence they could be transported by wagon to the train depot in Waldo on the Fernandina-Cedar Keys railroad. By war’s end, this business had netted Hart over $11,000. Since few boats traveled the river during the war years, however, its passage became more and more clogged with snags and obstructions. Recognizing the river’s importance as a supply line, the Confederate government awarded Hart a $4500
contract in February 1865 to “remove the obstructions cut into the Ocklawaha River from Fort Brook to the St. Johns River.”

Two months later, the war was over, and Hart, after being cleared of charges of wartime smuggling (of which he was obviously guilty), quickly shifted allegiances back to the federal side. By 1867, he was again clearing river obstructions, this time using black freedmen as his labor force, in anticipation of restarting his river tourist trade. Contracting with Florida’s Reconstruction government, Hart was authorized to “remove the obstructions to the navigation of the Ocklawaha River (in return for) donations of state owned land to enable him to do so. . . . Hart shall receive the amount thereof in lands at the present prices, provided that said expenditures do not exceed $20,000.

That same year, fellow New Englander James Marshall, acting as agent for the New England Emigrant Aid Company, came to Florida to scout out potential property for northern settlers. “I hear conflicting statements about the land bordering upon the Ocklawaha river,” he wrote in a January 27, 1867 letter to company vice-president Edward Everett Hale; “Much of it is swampy, but there are undoubtedly many tracts of rich land in the Country which it traverses. The stream is tortuous and rapid, and by removing the obstructions, and straightening the Channel by Cutting through some of the narrow peninsulas, there is no doubt but much valuable land that is now swamp could be reclaimed.” Hart’s steamboat service had recommenced by then, as Marshall announced that “a small stern wheel steam boat goes up from Palatka once a week as far a Silver Spring.”

Hart also endeavored to continue his timbering operations started before the war. He applied to the state for “permission to cut cypress upon the Ocklawaha River and swamp for ten cents for each tree . . . promising to give bond for a faithful return of all tree cut and prompt payment therefor.” The state denied Hart’s request, but he continued to exploit the river’s timber resources even as he returned to the tourist trade. Perhaps to honor his Civil War service, the entrepreneur took to calling himself “Colonel Hart,” and the name stuck.

With northerners looking to central Florida and his tourist trade returning to profitability, Colonel Hart was ready to inaugurate the golden era of steamboats on the Ocklawaha, a time when boosterism turned the river itself in "the sweetest water-lane in the world."\(^{17}\)

Hart's dream of using the river to transport tourists to Silver Springs depended upon reliable water transportation. Keeping the river clear of obstructions helped make that possible, but Hart also had to develop a new type of steamboat, one designed specifically to navigate the Ocklawaha's "very narrow and wonderfully crooked waters." By the early 1870s, he placed into service the first of these boats, each an "aquatic curiosity."\(^{18}\) Built with a unique recessed stern paddlewheel, these steamboats were much smaller than those which plied most American rivers, even the St. Johns. Their unique appearance, resembling "nothing in the world so much as a Pensacola Gopher with a preposterously exaggerated back," did not necessarily provide tourists with a feeling of safety and security, much less the luxury to which Gilded Age travelers were accustomed. In 1873, Mandarin resident Harriet Beecher Stowe refused to journey down the river. "The aspect of this same boat on a hot night was not inspiring," she wrote in *Palmetto Leaves*, her book on life as a northern homesteader (or carpetbagger) in Florida; "We looked at this thing as it lay like a gigantic coffin in the twilight, and thought even the Silver Springs would not pay for being immure there, and turned away."\(^{19}\)

In spite of the famous novelist's rather stinging appraisal of the Hart Line's travel arrangements, Stowe overcame her fears and in 1873 traveled in a Hart boat up the river through a landscape she deemed a "fairy land." She published her positive impressions of the journey in the *Christian Union*, a small religious journal. Echoing her misgivings expressed in *Palmetto Leaves*, Stowe announced that

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she “shuddered at the idea of going on a bush-wacking tour through the native swamps of the alligator in such a suspicious looking craft as that.” She quickly became enamored of the river cruise, however, proclaiming that “it was a spectacle, weird, wondrous, magical—to be remembered as on of the things of a lifetime.” She concluded rapturously that “we seemed floating through an immense cathedral, whose white marble columns met in vast arches overhead and were reflected in the glassy depths below.”

In 1873, New York newspaper editor and publisher William Cullen Bryant reiterated Stowe’s earlier acidic comments about adventure on the Ocklawaha. While traveling through Florida and writing a series of letters to be published in his New York Evening Post, Bryant described how “our streamer was a little thing of its kind, rudely constructed, with slight attention to comfort or convenience. . . . In the night a lady of our party had her finger stung by a scorpion.”

Though Stowe and Bryan were influential arbiters of American taste, their widely read comments on the inadequacies of Ocklawaha travel were lost in a sea of positive promotional literature that permeated American popular writings from the 1870s onward. Tourists who “had seen Europe and Italy, Naples and the Blue Grotto, but never, never had they in their lives seen aught so entrancing as this” were enticed by testimonials about a “journey up the Ocklawaha as fashionable as a promenade on the Rhine, and really more interesting and amusing.”

The interplay between this literature and Hart’s merchandising of the Ocklawaha experience as a glimpse of the natural world in a time of industrialization was crucial to development of the river and its environs.

To those traveling up the Ocklawaha, nights on the river rivaled Silver Springs itself for a transcendent natural experience “[W]e entered what appears to be an endless colonnade of beautifully-proportioned shafts,” reported the anonymous author of an 1870 article,

Colonel Hart’s steamboats provided opportunity to discover the beauty of the Ocklawaha River, at a cost, of course. *Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Tallahassee.*

“...suggesting the highest possible effects of Gothic architecture...”

So absorbing were there wonderful effects of a brilliant light upon...these Florida swamps, that we had forgotten to look for the cause of the artificial glare, but, when we did, we found a faithful negro had suspended from cranes two iron cages, one on each side of the boat, into which we constantly placed unctuous pine-knots, that blazed and crackled.” Harriet Beecher Stowe similarly enjoyed the evening show when “the soft vivid feathers of the cypress had a magical brilliancy as our light passed through the wooded aisles. The reflected fire-light gave the most peculiar effect.”

While Hart’s tourist boats increasingly traversed the Ocklawaha on the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the river trade to Silver Springs similarly prospered. Hart’s fleet of boats increased in number, and periodic competition from various other entrepreneurs insured that Hart would not grow complacent in his business ven-

tures. While tourists provided the bulk of Hart's income, his boats also carried freight and supplies to and from the growing population of the Ocklawaha Valley. Headed downstream to the St. Johns and the entrep?ts of Palatka and Jacksonville, much of the region’s agricultural output was produced and harvested in operations owned and operated by Hart. While Stowe disparaged Hart’s steamboat line, she had nothing but the highest praise for his orange groves, complementing them as “the finest in Florida.”24 By 1881, Hart had four vessels plying the river, while Dr. S.J. Bouknight’s line provided two more. The steamboats were based in Palatka, a burgeoning St. Johns riverport, where their schedules often meshed with those of larger boats plying the St. Johns and the coastal trade from Savannah and Charleston. “Four or five steamers from different quarters are often stopping at its wharf at a time,” recalled Stowe, “. . . all these make Pilatka [sic] a busy, lively and important place.”25

While northern tourists extolled the virtues of the Ocklawaha in popular monthlies of the time such as Harper's and Scribner's, a native southerner provided the first major link between overt promotion and the river’s wonders. Sidney Lanier, Georgia poet and Confederate veteran, arrived in Florida in 1875. His book was published in 1876 as Florida: Its Scenery Climate, and History with an Account of Charleston, Savannah, August, and Aiken and a Chapter for Consumptives; Being a Complete Handbook and Guide. Lanier conceptualized his task as a means to turn a quick profit. The guidebook was, in the words of literary critic Lena Jackson, “essentially hack-work, quickly done.” Yet, his metaphorical writing style shown through regardless, and Jackson concluded that Lanier “put into it much poetry and much of himself,” evidenced in his chapter on Ocklawaha.26 “The stream,” he wrote,” which in its broader stretches reflected the sky so perfectly that it seemed a riband [sic] of heaven bound in lovely doubling along the breast of the land, now began to narrow.” He ended his Ocklawaha chapter on an ode to Silver Springs:

The fundamental hues of the pool when at the rest were distributed into innumerable kaleidoscopic flashes and brilliancies, the multitudes of fish became multitudes of

25. Stowe, Palmetto Leaves, 266.
animated gems, and the prismatic light seemed actually to waver and play through their translucent bodies, until the whole spring, in a great blaze of sunlight, shone like an enormous fluid jewel that without decreasing forever lapsed away upward in successive exhalations of dissolving sheens and glittering colors.27

Ninety years later, the Florida Defenders of the Environment utilized Lanier’s overly poetic prose in their legal briefs and public statements opposing construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, which would have destroyed the Ocklawaha and its environs. In her 1965 article “The Ocklawaha River Wilderness,” FDE activist Marjorie Carr opened with Lanier’s words describing the river as a “lane which runs for more than hundreds of miles of pure delight . . . a lane which is as if a tropical woodstroll had taken shape and as if God had turned into water and trees the recollection of some meditative ramble through the lonely seclusion of His own soul.”28 Though Lanier was no doubt sincere in his description of the river and springs, his motivation was much different from that of the environmentalists of the FDE. Lanier saw the river and its beauty as a commodity and expressed a little problem reconciling signs of “progress” and commerce on the river with its vision of wilderness and beauty.

Lanier traveled the river on the small and rather primitive steamship, Marion, a boat owned and operated by one of Hart’s competitors, Captain Henry Gray. (Five years later, Hart purchased the boat for the low price of $2,000 and added Gray to his staff as an salaried boat captain.)29 Lanier opened discussion of the Ocklawaha with a description of lumbermen bringing their logs up the river. He did not mention if this “long raft of pine-logs which had been brought in separate sections down the Ocklawaha” was part of Hubbard Hart’s limbering operations. Although Hart controlled most of the lumbering along the river, the Marion was a competitor’s boat, and it stopped to take “off the lumbermen, to carry them back for another descent while this raft was being towed by a tug to Jacksonville.” From this passage, we

27. Lanier, Florida, 21, 38.
can surmise that this operation probably was not a part of Hart’s business interests.\textsuperscript{30}

Still, the \textit{Marion}, like other Ocklawaha boats whether owned by Hart or his competitors, was as much freight boat as tourist carrier. Lanier commented on the trade along the river, framing the trading parties as picturesque characters rather than participants in an emerging market system. The traders appeared part of the Ocklawaha’s charm, not an intrusive force bent on ecological destruction. Their primary interest was in vanilla, gathered from “the low grounds of the Ocklawaha” which was not used as a food additive but rather to “adulterate cheap chewing-tobacco, and the natives along the Ocklawaha drive a considerable trade in gathering it.” Lanier viewed the trade as “primitive,” as the “captain of the steamer takes the bags to Pilatka [sic], barter the vanilla for the articles specified and distributes these on the natural phenomenon of Silver Springs.” Importantly, Lanier drew no negatives from business intruding upon the sylvan scene. At the springhead itself, the \textit{Marion} “came to wharf. Here there were warehouses, a turpentine distillery, men running about with boxes of freight and crates of Florida cucumbers or the Northern Market . . . and a little further up the shore, a tavern.”\textsuperscript{31} Lanier then described the spring itself, with little concern for the commercial activity taking place on its shores.

That commercial activity was central to Hart’s continued financial success; so too were his personal and professional skills necessary to navigate the shifting political currents of both Florida and the nation. He managed the transition from federal mail carrier in the 1850s to Confederate supplier during the Civil War to Reconstruction supporter during the “Carpetbag” era to Redemption backer following the national election of 1876. Hart generally steered clear of contentious political disputes and especially any arguments about the place of the freedmen within post-emancipation Florida. The importance of northern tourists to his business security ensured that he would favor a policy of national reconciliation. Lanier also played a role in that reconciliation; as a former Confederate soldier in the employ of a northern railway company, he was writing to attract northern visitors to a southern spot of natural beauty.

\textsuperscript{30} Lanier, \textit{Florida}, 18.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 32-34, 36. For another description of commerce co-existing with tourism at Silver Springs, see “The Great South—Pictures from Florida,” 26.
Many northern writers and public figures followed Lanier's lead in extolling the virtues of the Ocklawaha and Silver Springs. None was more important than ex-president Ulysses S. Grant, who visited the Ocklawaha in January 1880. Riding up the river from Palatka to Silver Springs on Hart's Osceola, built in 1874, Grant exemplified the movement away from the sectional strife of the 1860s. Addressed as "the most distinguished living American" by the mayor of Harrison's Landing (a wharf and dock on the Silver Spring Run about a mile from the springhead), Grant refused to give a speech, instead simply enjoying the crowd (of both races) that rushed to see him. Reporting on Grant's trip, Harper's Weekly emphasized the natural beauty of the Ocklawaha environment. "The steamboat carried the delighted tourist along a water lane bordered by overhanging cypress and palmetto trees. . . . Thousands of water-fowl of brilliant plumage sped away from the approaching boat, and that monster of the Floridian lowlands, the alligator, was frequently seen."32 Grant's tour marked a high point for northern visitors to the Ocklawaha region.

While the river and springs enchanted visitors with their beauty and wildness, their were perceived through nineteenth-century notions of appropriate environmental conduct. Photos and drawings of late nineteenth-century river steamers often showed armed men sitting on the decks, ready to take in birds, alligators, and occasionally large shore mammals such as deer, bears, and panthers. An 1870 article in the national magazine Appleton's Journal reported how "a successful hunter, after much experience, seldom lets one of the reptiles [alligators] escape. If any philanthropist has ever objected to the slaughter, the circumstance is not remembered in the swamps and everglades of Florida." Three years later, Harriet Beecher Stowe traveled the river with a boatload of "a dozen or two of mighty hunter . . . who know how to hit what they fired at, but about an equal number of inexperience hands foaming at the mouth with excitement, and quite as likely to hit any one of us as the alligators." In 1874, river tourist Martha Holmes recorded similar impressions of a trip up the Ocklawaha. "The gunners," she wrote, "are a loathsome set of fellows . . . crackwhacking [sic] at the animals

not often to their damage, but making the alligators skoot [sic] before we can see them.”33

Whether evidenced through Hart’s capitalistic ventures, Lanier’s literary prose, or the mingling of alligator hunting with genteel tourism, the Ocklawaha had become much more than a tourist destination. Cypress logging became a primary economic activity in the region. With increased demand for rot-resistant cypress shingles in the years following the Civil War, local woodsmen developed small-scale “shingle-yards” along the river, marking the beginnings of an industry that would re-shape the riverine environment. Northern tourists saw these workers as just another part of a strange and alien landscape. “We were, however, rewarded for our enterprise by suddenly coming upon two ‘Florida crackers,’” an 1870 article reported. The woodsmen had “established a camp in a grove of the finest cypress-trees we ever saw, and were appropriating the valuable timber to the manufacture of shingles. . . . [T]heir hut was a very model of the picturesque, and the smouldering [sic] fire, over which their dinner pot was cooking, sent up a wreath of blue smoke against the dark openings of the deep forest that gave a quiet charm.”34

By the 1880s, such minor operations gave way to larger ones that included the recovery of cypress logs embedded in the mud or bottom of the Ocklawaha, as well as the felling of large quantities of trees along its banks. “Here and there we encounter great rafts of cypress logs which almost block the channel,” reported a guidebook to the river in 1904. “The timber is owned in tracts of thousands of acres, and is cut for Northern markets. The trees are girdled some weeks before they are felled, for the wood is very heavy and when full of sap sinks in water like lead.”35 By 1891, Hart’s lumbering projects were superseded by the Wilson brothers, Michigan lumbermen who visited the Ocklawaha as tourists, bought out Palatka’s cypress mill, and began operating as the Wilson Cypress Company. The company logged the river until 1944, when economic considerations and a lack of suitable cypress lumber forced an end to operations.

34. “Picturesque America,” 583.
During the heyday of the timber industry, the river became the focal point of lumbering operations; the swampy terrain made entry by rail all but impossible. Logging crews lived in racially segregated houseboats on the river, and giant rafts of cypress logs, up to twenty-five feet wide and thirty-two feet long, became common sights on the Ocklawaha in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Once these log rafts reached the St. Johns, up to six of them were lashed together to form a larger raft, which was then towed to the Palatka mill. Often workers cut canals through the swamps in the Ocklawaha bottomlands to gain access to large stands of swamp cypress. By 1920, the Wilsons employed over three hundred workers in their Ocklawaha operations, and the company produced over four hundred million board feet of lumber. With its mill located in Palatka, the Wilson Cypress Lumber Company became the largest employer in that city, with close to six hundred mill workers.36

In December 1895, while attending a business meeting, Hubbard Hart died after being struck by a trolley in Atlanta. After his death, the Hart Line, reorganized under the management of his brother-in-law R.H. Thompson, continued its lucrative tourist business up the Ocklawaha to Silver Springs. Other aspects of the business changed considerable, however. The establishment of rail lines throughout the Ocklawaha valley made the steamboat less important as a carrier of freight and supplies. Hart’s lucrative orange groves were decimated by the “Big Freeze” of 1895. Competition from the rival steamboat line of Edward Lucas, established in 1890, cut into even tourist profits. Thompson’s boats, now outfitted more luxuriously and commodiously than ever, continued trips up the river from Palatka to Silver Springs.

And the dangers of the voyage, with tight turns and overhanging branches remained an important part of its charms. “On account of the narrowness of the stream, and the dense foliage on the banks,” an 1884 tourist guidebook remarked, “its navigation is somewhat difficult.”37 In 1903, the steamer Metamora, pride of the rival Lucas Line

37. Bloomfield’s Illustrated Historical Guide to Florida (St. Augustine, Fla., 1884), 87.
and by all accounts the handsomest and most luxurious boat plying the river, sunk in the middle of the night while traveling on the Ocklawaha “on its regular trip down from Silver Springs.” Two deckhands, both identified as “colored,” drowned in the accident. Newspapers reported all baggage was lost but all passengers, “many in their nightclothing,” were rescued due to the “noble work of the captain and the crew.” The Florida Times Union of Jacksonville described how, “in all the years of travel on the famous Ocklawaha, this is the first serious accident.” More significantly, however, the Palatka News and Advertiser concluded that “the loss is almost a crushing one to Captain Lucas.” Lucas boats never again made the passage to Silver Springs. Seeing an opportunity to regain the lion’s share of the tourist trade, the Hart Line launched its last boat, the Hiawatha, a year after the Metamora disaster. It remained in service as the line’s flagship until the firm went bankrupt in 1919.

The Hart Line’s fortunes were increasingly tied to market forces beyond its control. Starting with Lanier’s railroad brief in 1875, steamboats on the Ocklawaha were part of the packaging of nature. In a way that presages Walt Disney World more than the Defenders of the Environment, the Ocklawaha steamboat industry used the river’s natural beauty as a sales pitch. By 1904, the Raymond and Whitcomb Company offered package tours of Florida and the “romantic Ocklawaha River” to northern visitors. For $300, one could take the train from New York, Boston, or Philadelphia to Palatka (via St. Augustine) where a Hart steamer awaited to transport the tourist to Silver Springs. The company’s promotional brochure promised that “if the day is warm and bright, alligators will be seen now and then,” but bemoaned the fact that while “fifteen year ago 2,000 or 3,000 might have been observed, fifty or seventy-five make now a very good record.”

The day of the steamer was coming to an end, however. By 1912, the Silver Springs Company launched its own boat, the City of Ocala. Designed for fast travel, it made the trip to Palatka in a day, eliminating the night trip that had so enthralled travelers. The company also raised landing fees at the springs for Hart Line boats, essentially prohibiting them from continuing their trade. But the Silver Springs Company was turning its back on the Ocklawaha. Formerly an inte-

38. Florida Times-Union, 20 March 1903, 1; Palatka News and Advertiser, 20 March 1903, 1.
39. Raymond & Whitcomb’s Tour Brochure, 9, 33-35.
The last and most luxurious of the Ocklawaha steamboats, the Hiawatha was launched in 1904 and plied the river until 1919. Fires burned to provide night vision. Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Tallahassee.

gral part of the entire springs experience, the river now became an obstacle. Increasingly, people arrived at the attraction by train and automobile. Silver Springs, for fifty years an appendage of Palatka, was becoming part of Ocala, “only six mile by auto.”

The springs were now sui generis, a natural phenomenon divorced from nature. Cypress logging too became separated from the river itself. By 1920, loggers moved into more virgin stands of cypress deeper in the Ocklawaha Valley, where river transport was no longer feasible. Shipped by the Ocklawaha River Valley Railroad, the logs were taken to the St. Johns, where they were floated down to Palatka. Used as a resource and turned into a commodity, the Ocklawaha River itself was now bypassed as irrelevant by both timber barons and tourist mavens. It would take the Cross-Florida Barge canal controversies of the twentieth century to place this “narrow, turning, twisting Ocklawaha river, with its lining of ash and oak, cypress and palmetto” back into regional and national consciousness.

Economic Boom or Political Boondoggle? Florida’s Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal in the 1930s

by Michael David Tegeder

In the 1930s, the federal government began construction on one of the grandest public works projects in Florida. More than twice the length of the Suez and four times larger than the Panama Canal, the Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal was “perhaps the most opulent single symbol of the New Deal.” Yet, despite the labor and massive expenditures on the part of state and federal officials, the project ended within a year of its groundbreaking. Plagued by political controversy from start to finish, the Ship Canal can be seen as a dress-rehearsal for the decades-long debate over the Cross-Florida Barge Canal that followed the Depression-era project. Canal boosters asserted that, because the canal would be part of a regional trade network, the project would expand economic growth and guarantee prosperity for the nation as well as the state. Amid the Depression, that promise seemed at least partially fulfilled with the Ocala construction boom that accompanied the dig. The canal prompted a wave of criticism, however, as opponents tried to block future funding for the project. Nationally, anti-canal forces saw the project as one of many examples of New Deal profligacy and government waste. Locally, the canal pitted region against region and interest against interest over the conservation of one of the state’s most precious natural

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resources—Florida’s freshwater aquifer. The result was a contentious debate that, while ending the Ship Canal, entrenched interests and produced a bureaucratic inertia that continually pushed for a canal for much of the rest of the twentieth century.

For almost a hundred years, the Army Corps of Engineers conducted nearly a dozen surveys to determine the efficacy of a canal across Florida. Stemming from an effort to improve the nation’s rivers and waterways as an alternative to an increasingly dominant railway industry, the Federal Rivers and Harbor Act of 1927 initiated the movement that finally resulted in the groundbreaking of that century-old dream.²

With this latest round of legislation came greater public interest and the call for another survey; one that would finally determine the canal’s route. Completed by the early 1930s, the Corps’s comprehensive assessment considered twenty-eight possible canal routes from one across southern Georgia to another traversing the Florida peninsula at Lake Okeechobee and all points in between. After determining that only seven were economically feasible, the Corps asserted that among the choices, “Route 13-B” was most desirable, practical, and economical. That path proposed to follow the St. Johns from its mouth to Palatka, and then along the Ocklawaha River to a point near Silver Springs, and cut westward across land below Ocala to Dunnellon and finally along the course of the Withlacoochee River until it entered the Gulf of Mexico near Yankeetown.³ The Corps recommended that a lock canal be constructed along the route to avoid “seriously disturb[ing] the natural ground-water table.” Although engineers reached a consensus regarding the important issue of the canal’s location, they were not entirely convinced of the project’s practicality, concluding that “the construction of neither a barge nor ship canal is economically justified at this time.”⁴

Boosters remained in a quandary: they now had the route but lacked the wherewithal to pursue their dream. New lobbying efforts centered on securing federal funds for the canal’s construction. In 1932, proponents organized the National Gulf-

Atlantic Ship Canal Association, a regional effort to press their case in Washington. Well organized and well funded, this group proved crucial to convincing the government to build the canal. Heading the lobbying effort was the Association’s president, native-Floridian General Charles P. Summerall, recently retired Army Chief-of-Staff. The organization succeeded where others had failed because it sought allies beyond Florida’s boundaries, presenting a strong, unified regional push to complete the canal. Support from such other shipping concerns as the Mississippi Valley Association, the Alabama State Docks Commission, and the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association negated claims that the canal was simply a local boondoggle.\(^5\)

Amid all this national activity, the state of Florida, driven by canal proponents’ persistent demands, began to secure land for the project and made plans to operate and maintain the canal once it was completed. In 1931, the legislature established the Florida State Canal Commission, a strictly voluntary non-profit organization empowered to acquire lands for a canal. Most of the Commission’s support stemmed from city and county governments interested in the waterway.\(^6\) Two years later, the Commission was superseded by the Ship Canal Authority, authorized by the legislature to “acquire, own, construct, operate, and maintain a ship canal across Florida.”\(^7\) Later the state formed a special tax district—comprised of the six counties through which the canal would pass—to issue bonds and impose taxes to purchase rights-of-way. All of these measures created a local infrastructure to build a canal; they also inspired long-term vested interests, at once public and private, to perpetually lobby for the project’s completion.\(^8\)

With an established route and a variety of governmental and private associations in place, local advocates concentrated on getting the canal built. Across the peninsula, from Yankeetown to Jacksonville, both public and private civic leaders accelerated the drumbeat for construction. On the west coast, longtime Yankeetown mayor A.F. Knotts tirelessly crusaded for the venture,

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7. Ibid., 135.
giving speeches, and writing large numbers of newspaper articles and letters favoring the canal. In Ocala, *Evening Star* editor R.N. "Bert" Dosh contributed more pro-canal articles and editorials to his paper than any other Florida newspaper. Indeed, Dosh’s support for the enterprise was so unwavering that other boosters memorialized his efforts by naming the proposed Ocala lock on the later Cross-Florida Barge Canal after him. Jacksonville’s promoters included retired Corps of Engineer officer Gilbert A. Youngberg, who wrote numerous technical reports on the structural and economic viability of the project. Youngberg traversed the state addressing local chambers of commerce and service clubs on the importance of the canal to Florida’s future. Yet, despite their best efforts, these advocates and their allies made little progress. In the end, national economic considerations, rather than the merits of the canal itself, determined the project’s development.9

Ironically, the economic hardship of the Great Depression became the major impetus for canal construction. With the stock market crash of 1929, the United States entered the longest and most severe period of economic dislocation in its history. With hundreds of thousands of Americans unemployed by 1932, calls for government assistance reached a fevered pitch. President Herbert Hoover responded by establishing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a federal agency designed to combat unemployment. In August, General Summerall approached the RFC with a request for $160 million in loans to build the canal and provide jobs for Florida’s unemployed, but the tight-fisted Hoover administration rejected the application. Months later, canal advocates put their hopes in a new president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose willingness to support public works was unprecedented. Two months after Roosevelt’s inauguration, Florida’s legislature sent a message to Roosevelt “requesting the assistance and cooperation of every available federal agency in order to make possible, at an early date, commencement of construction work on a ship canal across the peninsula . . . as an effective measure in relieving unemployment and stimulating industry.”10

Bureaucratic wrangling and other political considerations within the federal government prevented the president from authorizing the project immediately. Caught between the technicalities of legislative funding and the transfer of works projects from the RFC to the Public Works Administration, the project's loan application, now sponsored by Florida's Ship Canal Authority, languished under the review of several federal agencies until an opportune moment could guarantee its success. Hopes for a canal diminished, however, as PWA engineers issued reports in early 1934 that were increasingly at odds with the Corps's cost estimates. To make matters worse, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, who also administered the purse strings of the PWA, had little enthusiasm for the project, primarily because of the expense and potential environmental damage. Frustrated by the lack of administrative support, nine senators from Gulf Coast states appealed directly to Roosevelt in March 1934. Pointing to discrepancies between the engineers' reports, they called for the creation of a special review board to resolve the fate of the Florida canal.

By June 1934, Roosevelt's newly appointed board of Army and civilian engineers issued a report that, though supportive of the project, arrived at a new set of conclusions concerning not only the cost but the entire conceptualization of the canal. The board took exception to earlier plans that focused almost entirely on the development of a lock canal. Instead, it called for a sea-level ship canal, which offered far more advantages, especially with regard to its initial costs and ease of construction. In addition to cheaper operating and maintenance expenses, a sea-level canal also offered greater ease and capacity for shipping. The only possible disadvantage would be negligible damage to local water wells along the right-of-way. Such a trade-off seemed worthwhile, however, when the price of the project came in at a


Florida's canal boosters applauded the recommendation, only to be frustrated once again as Roosevelt delegated the final decision to Ickes, who strictly adhered to the legislative provision that any project receiving PWA funds must be self-liquidating. In other words, the canal's anticipated toll revenues would have to offset the overall costs of construction, maintenance, and operation. After years of delay, Ickes finally rejected the Ship Canal Authority's loan application on January 29, 1935.14

Undaunted, canal advocates worked the halls of Congress, seeking legislation that might secure funding from other federal sources. As luck would have it, on April 8, 1935, Roosevelt signed the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, which allocated federal funds to combat unemployment directly under executive authority. Within the newly established Works Progress Administration, Roosevelt now had the wide latitude to grant money to the Florida Ship Canal Authority without Congressional approval. Moreover, under the auspices of Harry Hopkins, who seemed like a spendthrift in comparison to Harold Ickes, the WPA was much more willing to embrace such large-scale public works projects. By June 1935, everything seemed to be falling into place for the construction of a cross-peninsula canal.15

For the most part, Roosevelt was receptive to the project. The Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal was much in keeping with the New Deal's effort to revolutionize the nation's infrastructure. Yet, a primary motivation for such projects was the pressing need for low-cost labor relief. As early as January 1935, the president suggested that he would allocate only as much money that could be spent in a year, with the condition that 50 percent of the funds must go to labor costs on a scale "somewhat below the local scale for common, semi-skilled and skilled labor but above [the] home relief scale." The WPA also had to employ people already on relief rolls.16 Canal lobbyists like Florida Senators Duncan Fletcher and Park Trammell, and Representatives Lex Green and Claude Pepper emphasized the project's potential to ease unemployment.


Fletcher, in requesting an initial allotment of $25 million, persistently reminded Roosevelt that construction plans called for 25,000 workers for six years. The president was working with a more modest budget, however. With the unified support of Florida’s Congressional delegation, and presumably most of the citizenry of the Sunshine State, Roosevelt finally allocated $5 million on August 30 to begin the construction of the canal. Always the consummate politician, he took advantage of a natural disaster off the coast of Florida to rally support for his decision. Following the grounding of the cruise ship Dixie in a hurricane on September 2, 1935, he announced that the canal “would forever make it unnecessary for sea goers to risk their lives in the circumnavigation of Florida’s long, hurricane-blistered thumb.”

After a hundred years of countless surveys and bureaucratic foot-dragging, work began immediately on a project of extraordinary scale. When completed, the 195-mile passageway would dwarf its closest rivals, the Panama and Suez Canals. Far from merely cutting a 90-mile path directly through the Central Florida Ridge, the project also included significant alterations to the St. Johns, Ocklawaha, and Withlacoochee Rivers. While initial designs recognized the need to preserve “the beauty of Silver Springs” as well as the absorption of the heads of the Ocklawaha, Withlacoochee, and Blue Springs, the project called for “much straighter cuts and the elimination of the sinuositities in the present channel” of the St. Johns River. Construction would similarly involve dredging a channel—five hundred feet wide at the shore line and one thousand feet wide at its mouth—nearly twenty miles into the Gulf of Mexico to make a navigable entrance for the cross-peninsula passage. Ancillary structures included four spillway dams and between ten to twelve highway and railroad bridges with horizon-

17. Duncan Fletcher to Marvin H. McIntyre, Secretary to the President, 14 January 1935; Memorandum for the President, 25 August 1935, both in Box 635, folder “Florida Ship Canal-1935,” Roosevelt Papers.
tal clearances of 300 to 500 feet and a minimum vertical clearance of 135 feet.²⁰ The undetermined number of bridges is notable; plans were flexible and even included an additional canal cut across the south Jacksonville peninsula.²¹

Restricted by financial considerations and a five-year completion schedule, engineers redesigned the canal at sea-level rather than using locks as had been planned. This meant cutting a 30-foot deep, 250-foot wide swath across Florida and its freshwater aquifer. The project also entailed doubling the depths of more than 105 miles of existent waterways. Along the St. Johns, for example, the channel’s bottom width would reach as far as 400 feet. Such a massive undertaking demanded the removal of nearly 571 million cubic yards of rock and earth, three-quarters of which would involve underwater dredging. The effort would be worth it, however, as planners anticipated the Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal to accommodate 94 percent of ocean-going commercial vessels from both sides of the peninsula. With a transit time of roughly twenty-five hours, ships would pass at least once an hour. Even in its narrowest sections, the canal’s width would enable two cargo ships to pass with relative ease. When compared to the carrying capacity of its predecessors, the proposed Ship Canal allowed for twice the traffic and nearly twice the tonnage as the Suez and Panama canals.²²

Though boosters applauded the rapidity and decisiveness of Roosevelt’s support, they soon rued the relative lack of planning and forethought in making the project a sea-level venture. Cost-cutting measures may have guaranteed success among Washington’s decision-makers, but in the long run such decisions led to the project’s downfall. Ironically, a more modest lock-barge canal would have been more expensive but also would have been less intrusive and less controversial.²³ For despite its proposed economic benefits, the audacious vision of the Ship Canal quickly gal-

1935 Army Corps of Engineers plan for the Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal illustrating the economic expectations for the completed canal. Courtesy of Department of Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla.
vanized a backlash opposed to the potential salt-water intrusion into the state's water supply, threatening both the life and livelihood of all Floridians.

While critics began thinking through the implications of Roosevelt's decision, the Army Corps of Engineers—even before the official groundbreaking—was hard at work to complete the project. Appointed as head of the project, Lieutenant Colonel Brehon B. Somervell proved to be an eager taskmaster. An ambitious officer whose later career included building the Pentagon and playing a key role in the Manhattan Project, Somervell arrived in Ocala on September 6 and announced that he would employ four shifts to work day and night.24 Acutely aware that a fait accompli was perhaps the best argument to secure more governmental funding, Somervell proclaimed, "we are going to push the canal right along as long as the money holds out. It's up to the other fellows to provide us with additional funds."25

Somervell and the Corps had to act fast, for the Ship Canal was far more than a single public works project; it was an opportunity to fulfill a larger institutional imperative that saw the canal as only part, though a crucial one, of a vast waterways project involving numerous rivers and large expenditures of money. Rivers were not distinct entities but potential networks for a wide-ranging inland waterway system connecting the Mississippi River to the entire east coast. When completed, the Florida Ship Canal would be part of what the Corps consistently called "The Missing Link," the final connection between the Midwest and the Atlantic coastline.26 Fueled by the Corps's historic mission to facilitate internal improvements and helped by a federal government committed to public works projects to relieve unemployment, such large-scale water projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Grand Coulee and Hoover Dams, and the Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal were situated for success in the 1930s.27 Indeed, given those conditions, it is striking that the Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal was not completed, which underscores the importance of both local and national politics to the project's fate.

In the shadow of an impending debate about the efficacy of the canal, construction started at 6:00 am on September 6, 1935 as thirty men began building a camp to house engineers and workers. Located about two miles south of Ocala on Highway 441, Camp Roosevelt consisted of "quarters for officers and barracks for enlisted men and laborers, complete with canteens, mess-halls, and all the other appurtenances of an army post, including guard-house." Initial plans called for an elaborate complex that included a school, hospital, baseball diamond and other recreational facilities, as well as community gardens. Such amenities remained on the back burner, however, as the Corps scrambled to establish a base of operations. Within three weeks, the Corps had employed more than three thousand men to build the main camp and portable bunkhouse sections that were later established as six clearing camps along the canal right-of-way. Within ten weeks much of the infrastructure was in place, and the Corps turned its attention to the rest of the project.

In addition to commencing construction of Camp Roosevelt, workers immediately began clearing underbrush along the canal right-of-way seven miles south of the city. The official ground-breaking was held on September 19, as Franklin Roosevelt, through a telegraph link at his Hyde Park estate, set off fifty pounds of dynamite to inaugurate the project. With stores and schools officially closed by noon, several thousand enthusiastic supporters gathered at the sight of the blast to hear prominent Floridians extol the virtues of the project. Among them was Ocala newspaperman "Bert" Dosh, who saw the moment as the fulfillment of a dream to make his inland town a bustling port city from which "a vast part of the water commerce of the world will move. . . Ocala will be at the connecting crossway of the inland water courses of America." Senator Duncan Fletcher, credited with securing the funds for the project, gave the principal address, claiming the enterprise would "make the Gulf of Mexico the Mediterranean of the western world. It will be an improvement for

28. Frank Parker Stockbridge and John Holliday Perry, So This is Florida (Jacksonville, Fla., 1938), 191.
all the country. It will bring prosperity to Florida." While the ceremony proved to be an auspicious start for the canal, those persons suspicious of omens had good reason to feel ill at ease. Unable to keep an eye on the clock, the long-winded Fletcher found his speech interrupted by a deafening blast as Roosevelt precisely triggered an explosion at 1:00 pm. The disruption halted the ceremony as thousands began to scream and blow their car horns, rushing to the site of the new ten-foot crater. In spite of the blunder, boosters were confident that they were on their way to building "one of the wonders of the world."

Following the groundbreaking, work began in both clearing the land and excavating the canal. Crews of 80 to 120 men removed timber and underbrush by hand for eventual excavation. While project managers established portable camps from Palatka to Dunnellon, much of the work centered on nearly five thousand acres of land between the Ocklawaha and the Withlacochee. Other workers followed land clearers, excavating the canal. Earth removal, again, concentrated on the central section crossing the Central Florida Ridge. Given the work-relief requirements of a WPA project, the Corps's excavation procedures mixed modern technology and old-fashioned muscle: "Working alongside the modern, powerful excavating machines were men loading trucks with shovels and mule teams dragging old-fashioned scrapers. Huge tractor-scrapers, draglines, belt conveyers, tractor-hauled wagons, and trucks all played a major role in the excavation process, but always there were scores of men chopping and digging with shovels and trimming the slopes of the canal by hand." The use of relief workers came at a cost, however, as significant turnover resulted from "many of the relief laborers...lacking in physical stamina." Despite the preference for men over machines, the Corps made considerable progress by mid-1936, excavating nearly ten miles of land across the Central Florida Ridge with no cuts into the underlying limestone.

32. Ibid; *Ocala Star Banner*, 5 May 1996, 12.
35. Ibid., 171; *Engineering News-Record*, 2 April 1936, 479.
Canal construction, of course, brought a sudden burst of prosperity to Ocala as “money [was] easier to get and business generally [was] better.” Recruited from Florida’s relief roles, more than six thousand men—far fewer than the twenty thousand the Corps had envisioned for completion of the project—had been put to work by mid-1936. By Depression standards, pay was good, with workers making thirty cents an hour. Laboring only six days a week in six-hour shifts, the men cleared $10.80 weekly. With deductions for camp meals at fifty cents a day, workers brought home $7.80, enough to live on and spend freely in Ocala’s burgeoning entertainment district. New restaurants, hotels, and theaters opened as business increased between 25 to 50 percent. Native Ocalans recognized the economic importance of the project and conveniently looked the other way as bars and slot machines proliferated in their community. In one county meeting, ten applications for liquor licenses appeared on the agenda. While Ocala boomed, however, officials of other Florida cities publicly complained that the ship canal drained labor from their municipalities. Within the county itself, farmers and employers complained about hired labor, especially African Americans, being siphoned off by the project’s lure of higher wages and shorter hours. One crate mill, for example, had to close operations because of the sudden labor shortage. Despite this and other problems, Ocala gladly accepted the workers and the economic boost they provided.

With the advent of construction, the Ocala area soon filled with more than nine thousand new residents, including “itinerant peddlers, preachers, medicine men, sooth-sayers, beggars, acrobats, and musicians” who crowded into “large and small side shows and tent meetings” in efforts to cash in on the project. In spite of the carnival atmosphere of Ocala and Camp Roosevelt, few major disturbances occurred. Vagrancy became a considerable

42. Ibid., 1, 4.
problem as transients, arriving with little or no money, put pressure on local relief rolls. Anticipating only seventy-five cases per month, the Salvation Army reported it actually provided lodging for an average of 416 cases per month. Fighting, public drunkenness, and petty larceny were commonplace enough that the Marion County sheriff's office tripled its workload since canal construction started.

Local city and county law enforcement officials expanded forces, and the Army Corps of Engineers hired four officers, deputized by the county, to maintain order in the camp. In addition to guarding against illegal gambling, which proved difficult to prevent, camp patrols kept an eye out for confidence men on the prowl for easy marks among the workers. With so many laborers, prostitution became a perennial problem. "Questionable women" routinely drove to temporary camps looking for "prospects for their trade." African American prostitutes often lingered in nearby woods without fear of arrest "so long as they do not bring any liquor with them." While not legally sanctioned, prostitution was tacitly approved as community officials encouraged a local doctor to combat venereal disease at an established "disorderly house."43

While local officials and camp administrators overlooked minor legal transgressions, they could not ignore signs of what they considered a far greater source of disorder: union organization. Officials thought that since workers were well compensated for their labor, especially in the Depression-era South, labor advocates were troublesome intruders. Union organizers raised the specter of strikes and other labor unrest that jeopardized timely completion of the project. In March 1936, thirty-year-old St. Augustine bricklayer George Timmerman was found "nailed to a cross, in a heavily wooded section near [Camp Roosevelt]. . . his lips were sewn shut and a heavy hunting coat was tied over his head to muffle his groans. . . . Officers said he had been engaged in labor difficulties on the cross-state canal."44 Instead of investigating the incident, local law enforcement officials blamed Timmerman himself, claiming that he had staged the fake crucifixion to gain publicity for an ostensible sideshow career.45 Ocala Police Chief J.H. Spencer further accused Timmerman of "allow-

43. Ibid., 5, 12.
45. The Ocala Banner, 20 March 1936, 1.
ing himself to be nailed to the cross for communistic reasons."\textsuperscript{46} After taking the man to the hospital for medical attention, officers forced him to immediately leave the area. Workers were now warned: labor organization would not be tolerated along the canal.

The threat of unionization represented only a minor irritant, however, as increasing statewide and national opposition provided a much more significant impediment to the canal’s future. Locally, a loose coalition of railroad executives, citrus growers, central and south Florida shipping interests, and numerous municipalities raised a chorus of concern over the canal’s long-term impact. Their efforts resembled a nascent environmental movement. While some of the anti-canal forces, particularly the railroads, clearly pursued self-interest, the opposition’s objections to some degree presaged questions later raised with the construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal in the 1960s. During the Depression, conflict over the canal was less a struggle of preserving Florida’s environment than conserving a precious natural resource: fresh water. Without it, the Sunshine State’s preeminent industries—agriculture and tourism—would eventually come to ruin.

Criticism of the Ship Canal began long before its groundbreaking as a group of railway executives, in a Jacksonville hearing before the Army’s special board of engineers in February 1933, leveled charges that a proposed canal would destroy the Florida aquifer.\textsuperscript{47} Canal excavation, they asserted, “may have a very decided effect on the underground flow in the Ocala limestone, and on the wells and water supply remote from the canal, and on the Silver Springs Run, as well as many of the streams that come to the surface” in central Florida.\textsuperscript{48} This assertion gained further credence with the release of a U.S. Geological Survey report in late August 1935. According to Harry Slattery, Personal Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, the deep cut of the Ship Canal, “unless it could be effectively sealed throughout many miles of its course, a procedure presenting difficulties that appear to be practically insurmountable,” would “inevitably drain enormous quantities of

\textsuperscript{46} New York Times, 19 March 1936, 3.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 74.
water from the limestone" and thus significantly lower the area's water table. More important, the sudden loss of fresh water would allow salt water to rise and seep into the limestone, eventually contaminating the remaining deposits of fresh water, consequently corrupting underground water supplies along the immediate route and across "a wide zone extending outward from the canal."49

By the end of summer 1935, as boosters from such north Florida cities as Jacksonville, Palatka, and Ocala seemed to be securing Roosevelt's support for the canal, opposition from the central and southern parts of the state began an organized campaign to halt proposed construction.50 Battle lines hardened as the issue pitted Floridians against each other. The Hillsborough Board of County Commissioners best summarized the opposition's argument: "Incited by selfish interests and from a purely mercenary motive, an effort is now being made, through the construction of a cross-state canal, to mar and at least in part to destroy" the region's "beauty, fertility, and health."51 Growers saw the project as a direct threat to their livelihood. The editor of the Florida Grower declared in June 1935, "in its pollution of our fresh waters, it would be a greater calamity than any freeze or hurricane which has come to this State." Indeed, the opposition portrayed the Ship Canal as evil incarnate. For if Mephistopheles himself "wanted to make Florida a part of the kingdom of the devil and to visit some cruel and lasting punishment upon its people," he would build a "big ditch" and poison the waters to leave rotting "oranges and carcases on the parched sands of an empire once abundant in plant and animal life."52 Fearing lost water supplies as well as tourism and trade, Tampa, St. Petersburg, and Miami joined the protest.53

The Army Corps of Engineers soon countered critics with the appointment of a special board of geologists and engineers to

50. Blake, Land into Water—Water into Land, 155-57.
51. Resolution by the Board of County Commissioners, Hillsborough County, 24 June 1935, in Buckman, ed., Documentary History, 149.
53. New York Times, 20 October 1935, 10(e); Blake, Land into Water—Water into Land, 156; Barber, "History of the Florida Cross-State Canal," 162-64.
further study the issue of Florida’s water supply. In December 1935, geologists issued a preliminary report arguing the project’s potential damage was negligible. Of the 195 miles of canal, only 27 miles of the cut—roughly 14 percent of the project—would have any “appreciable effect on the level of the ground-water table” and this would affect only the local area. While shallow wells had to be deepened along the right-of-way between Ocala and Dunellon, the report claimed local agriculture and area vegetation would not be injured. With regard to the concerns of local officials in Tampa, St. Petersburg, Orlando, Sanford, Palm Beach, and Miami, the canal would have no impact on their water supplies whatsoever. Finally, while salt-water encroachment would take place at both ends of the peninsula, it would not pose a direct threat to the underground reservoir of the Florida aquifer.\textsuperscript{54}

The assurances and authoritative tone of the report did little, however, to assuage growing concerns of canal critics. With construction well underway by late 1935, the opposition became so strident that many citizens increasingly feared that the Ship Canal’s completion would cut the peninsula in half and reduce southern Florida “to the status of an island.”\textsuperscript{55} Taking issue with the Corps’s report, one geologist complained to Harold Ickes that, in addition to the prohibitive costs, the federal government should not experiment with the state’s water table. Drawing a comparison with another New Deal program, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, he remarked that “if killing pigs or plowing up every third row of cotton proves detrimental, the mistake can be corrected the next year.” Damage caused by the Ship Canal, though, would be “irrevocable and there is no way in which atonement can be made.”\textsuperscript{56}

One observer remarked how the tension between canal supporters in the north and critics from the more populous south was “splitting the people of the state wide open.” Likening the project to “pure dynamite from a dozen angles,” it became “the hottest brick

anyone ever picked up and if we don’t have a civil war in Florida with secession of the Florida peninsula there’ll be a trick in it.”

Sensing growing resistance from across the state, as well as in the halls of Congress, Roosevelt cautiously backed away from the project by year’s end. As initial funding rapidly dwindled within months of the groundbreaking, Duncan Fletcher pressed the president for an additional outlay of $20 million to expedite construction. While Roosevelt had assured more funding would soon be available, by mid-December he stipulated that further support for such a major public works project—unlike the original grant that came directly from the executive branch’s general relief fund—would have to come from “some kind of Congressional sanction.”

According to Ickes, who staunchly opposed the project, Roosevelt’s decision was less a matter of deference than serious doubts “about the practicability of the canal.” Unwilling to waste political capital over an increasingly controversial issue, the president withdrew his leadership on the project and opted to “let Congress handle the whole thing.” The administration did request more funding for the next fiscal year in the War Department’s appropriations for rivers and harbors projects. However, canal boosters had to secure future support from an increasingly skeptical legislature.

As Floridians remained profoundly divided over the supposed threat to the Sunshine State’s water supply, opposition on the national level centered on the canal as a stunning example of pork-barrel politics. Led by Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, canal critics viewed the project as “utterly without economic justification” and, perhaps more irritating, “built solely by Executive Decree.” The latter point was hardly rhetorical, for Vandenberg saw the canal as a constitutional issue concerning the “very process of orderly government.” To him, Roosevelt’s initial support under the Emergency Relief

Appropriation Act was a dangerous precedent, not only bypassing Congressional authority, but in so doing committing the “treasury to vast long-time public works” that would transfer “the control of the purse from the Capitol to the White House.” Moreover, what began as a $5 million appropriation was only the first installment of what would become a massive drain on the federal coffers. While the canal’s estimated cost was roughly $146 million, Vandenberg claimed it could increase to well over $200 million before completion.

The canal debate shifted toward Washington when, in early January 1936, Vandenberg introduced a resolution calling for a full investigation of the project. The result was more than a partisan attack on what seemed to be another example of government waste and New Deal profligacy. Through a series of subcommittee hearings, Vandenberg raised doubts about the canal, questioning the legitimacy of the project’s authorization as well as the safety of the state’s water supply. Moreover, he asserted the savings in time and travel costs were marginal at best, providing letters from leading shippers who claimed they would not even use the waterway for “risk of collision and grounding that would be taken in navigating the canal.” Signs of declining support manifested on the other side of the Capitol as a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations reviewed the issue as well. While not abandoning it entirely, House officials suspended canal appropriations, along with funding for four other New Deal water projects, until they had run the routine course of procedure for rivers and harbors projects.

For months the fate of the canal was buffeted about as both houses of Congress debated a series of appropriations bills in the spring and summer of 1936. Canal boosters placed their faith

63. Arthur Vandenberg to Frank B. Shutts, 17 March 1936, Box 2, Vandenberg Papers.
64. Arthur Vandenberg to Sidney Story, 26 February 1936, Box 2, Vandenberg Papers.
65. Senate Resolution 210, 74th Cong., 2nd sess., Authorizing the Committee on Commerce to Investigate Certain Matters Relative to the Florida Ship Canal and the Establishment of Other Waterways, 6 January 1936, in Buckman, ed., Documentary History, 163.
behind Duncan Fletcher in what soon became a legislative showdown over a $20 million appropriations bill, $12 million of which would go to the Ship Canal. On the floor of the Senate, Vandenberg traced the long lineage of the canal and its problems and warned that the issue was “not just a little innocent amendment involving $20,000,000 . . . that is just the admission fee” for what would eventually cost taxpayers as much as $200 million.68 Pleading for support, Fletcher countered Vandenberg’s charges with oratory, asking if the Senate would dare oppose “a mighty stride of progress, the greatest undertaking in this generation on the part of this Government. Is it possible that Senators will block the way of the greatest accomplishment achieved by the Government in this century?”69

In March 1936, the answer was clearly “yes” as the Senate voted down Fletcher’s amendment in a narrow vote of thirty-six to thirty-five. The issue did not die, however, as Fletcher and other canal supporters relied upon a variety of parliamentary procedures to attach additional funding to a series of other legislative measures.70 Vandenberg fought back, working closely with anti-canal forces in Florida to gather petitions and resolutions against the project. The Senator suggested that telegrams and letters of protest from “every Chamber of Commerce and every Luncheon Club and every available political organization and every Woman’s Club” would make for some fine ammunition in the struggle.71 Regardless, pro-canal forces remained so persistent that, in the words of Frank Kay Anderson, President of the Central and South Florida Water Conservation Committee, the patience of agricultural interests “is wearing thin” after months of “trying to block the attempt to crowd the canal upon Florida regardless of the consequences.” Anderson threatened that unless the issue was quickly resolved, he would call a demonstration of “approximately 60,000 men, women, and children” at the canal’s construction site within


71. Arthur Vandenberg to Edwin P. Thomas, 16 May 1936, Box 2, Vandenberg Papers.
forty-eight hours of “due notice from metropolitan newspapers, news agencies, and newsreels. There would be no arms and no violence, only friendliness and jocularity; but digging operations can be forced into suspension until troops are called out.”72

As the debate dragged on, Roosevelt sat on the sidelines. Facing an upcoming reelection, he sought to minimize his risks and avoid alienating more voters by letting the controversy run its course. At a news conference on April 15, he announced that he would not forward any relief funds until Congress resolved the issue. At the same time, Roosevelt offered canal supporters a thin reed of hope by vaguely suggesting that he would consider modified plans to further finance construction.73 In the June session, however, the House rejected another Senate appropriation, ironically on the same day Duncan Fletcher died of a heart attack74

Without further funding, canal work halted in June of 1936. As workers went home, Ocala’s boom ended. Only 3 percent of the project was complete, with only one-third of the estimated land clearing finished. For all the money and time expended in canal construction, the only visible reminders were four thousand acres of land cleared along the right-of-way, almost thirteen million cubic yards of excavated soil, and four concrete stanchions marking an incomplete highway bridge over a phantom waterway. As for the 97 buildings on the 215 acres of Camp Roosevelt, they became a school for another WPA program, the National Youth Administration.75

The defeat of 1936 did not halt the call for a canal, for the project’s boosters continued to advocate their case throughout the federal bureaucracy for years to come. Indeed, just as opponents thought they were finally burying the canal, the Army Corps of Engineers, through the establishment of another special advisory board, initiated one of many other reevaluations of the project. Much like the nineteenth century, when one canal route survey continually followed another, the review of economic projections and construction costs—as well as further consideration of the

groundwater issue—went through several iterations between the interests of the Corps and the influence of Florida politicians involved in Congressional Rivers and Harbors subcommittees. While the costs, and even the depths, of the canal seemed to shift with each report, engineers concluded as early as 1937 that, though they supported the project, the supposed benefits of the Ship Canal would eventually decrease as the size and speed of ships continued to expand. Moreover, few imagined commerce would sufficiently increase to justify the expense of further construction.\footnote{Barber, “History of the Florida Cross-State Canal,” 199-205.}

Such hedging, even with the dire conclusions regarding the efficacy of the project, did not deter pro-canal forces at either the state or national levels. Under the sheer weight of bureaucratic inertia, the Corps’s own Chief of Engineers, for example, rejected the board’s 1937 report and automatically called for further construction in the name of work relief and navigation improvement.\footnote{Ibid., 205.} While the effort achieved no immediate signs of success, it kept the idea of the project alive. And by reopening the canal question, the Corps once again gave hope to boosters, which in turn guaranteed further discord that increasingly stiffened the determination of both sides of the canal issue. Over time such intransigence established a pattern of debate that would continue for nearly three generations as the initial groundbreaking of the Atlantic Gulf Ship Canal took on a life of its own to become the even more controversial Cross-Florida Barge Canal.
Get the facts—an then act”: How Marjorie H. Carr and Florida Defenders of the Environment Fought to Save the Ocklawaha River

by Frederick R. Davis

But that is the key to success in any conservation effort. Get the facts—and then act. Get all possible information pertaining to all the different facets of the problem, making sure to differentiate between facts and someone’s opinion or interpretation of those facts. Once you have surveyed the assembled information—dependable information—your most effective course of action is usually quite obvious. If you get the facts, the press will tell your story, government agencies will take action, legal suits can be documented—and Presidents may even intervene on your behalf. —Marjorie H. Carr

Self described as a “Micanopy housewife,” Marjorie Harris Carr seemed an unlikely candidate to develop and lead a successful grassroots campaign to save the Ocklawaha River and the

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wilderness surrounding it against the Army Corps of Engineers' federally mandated Cross-Florida Barge Canal. In spearheading the "Fight to Save the Ocklawaha," Carr revealed an innate sense of how to present environmental science to the public, the media, and legislators in a way that swayed opinion.

Carr's persuasiveness rested on three fundamental and related values. First, she cherished wilderness and believed that Florida's wildlands and wildlife deserved protection from the onslaught of economic development. Second, she was committed to the idea that organized groups could influence policy. Third, and most important, Carr believed that science (and, by extension, scientists) could change environmental legislation. These three values (conservation, political activism, and faith in the transformative value of science) inspired Carr's efforts to stop the Cross-Florida Barge Canal and save the Ocklawaha River. Moreover, as indicated in the opening quotation, Carr argued that any campaign would do well to incorporate similar values. Originally deeply held personal convictions, those values became key components of Carr's successful environmental campaign.2

Born in Massachusetts on March 26, 1915, Marjorie Harris's love of Florida's natural history began in 1920, when her family moved permanently to Bonita Springs in Lee County. She recalled riding to school on horseback surrounded by the flora and fauna of south Florida. Even at a young age, Harris became aware of the absence of herons and egrets that had been decimated by the plume trade. Her interest in nature continued in college as a student at the Florida State College for Women, now Florida State University. Carr had initially planned to study zoology, but her interests soon broadened to include botany: "I wanted to work with whole, live animals, preferably birds, in their natural surroundings. Fortunately, I came under the direction of an outstanding teacher, Dr. Edza Mae Deviney, who guided and advised me during my undergraduate years. The zoology department offered only a few field courses, such as ornithology and marine

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invertebrates, but the botany department under the direction of Dr. Herman Kurz provided a stimulating, even exciting, experience."³ Through Kurz’s courses, Harris learned about forest types and their evolution, as well as the importance of fire to renewing ecosystems. She described her studies as “enormously satisfying”: “What a pleasure it was to go into the woods and fields and, by recognizing a set of characteristic key plants, be able to put a name to a particular association of plants. It was thrilling to look at a landscape and think perhaps you knew its past history and its future. The ability to ‘read’ a landscape provides the kind of pleasure that comes from a knowledge of Bach or Shakespeare or Van Gogh."⁴

The New Deal South offered opportunities to people knowledgeable about Florida’s flora and fauna.⁵ During the summers of 1934 and 1935, Harris designed and taught a field course for Lee County children with support from the New Deal’s National Youth Administration. Upon receiving her B.S. degree in 1936, she hired as a wildlife technician at a Welaka fish hatchery as part of the Resettlement Administration, also under the New Deal. Harris was the first woman hired by the federal government in this capacity.

During a trip to the University of Florida, Marjorie met Archie Carr, who would later join the university faculty and become one of the world’s authorities on herpetology.⁶ The two young naturalists fell in love and married in 1937. Marjorie Harris Carr went on to complete a master’s degree in zoology at the university with a thesis on the breeding biology of bass.⁷ She later published her findings in the Proceedings of the New England Zoological Club. During nearly five years in Honduras (where her husband taught at the Escuela Agricola Panamerica), she completed much of her research for a planned doctoral dissertation on the birds of Honduras, but she also had four children with which to contend (and a fifth child arrived after the Carrs returned to Gainesville).

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⁴. Ibid., xiii.
For much of 1940s and the 1950s, she concentrated her efforts on family while remaining active in the Gainesville Garden Club and co-founding the Alachua Audubon Society (the Gainesville chapter of the Florida Audubon Society and the National Audubon Society). Carr's interest in science and conservation continued to grow and develop, and she participated in several conservation-oriented campaigns.

In the late 1950s, Carr served as roadside development chairman of the Gainesville Garden Club. The Florida Department of Transportation had initiated a program of setting aside road sides as preserves. With the help of other garden club members, Carr had the roadside along S.R. 441 through Paynes Prairie preserved. Ironically, since Paynes Prairie was privately owned, the preserve designation applied only to areas immediately adjacent to the highway. Once a sign indicated the preserve, however, Carr knew that the psychological effect could result in the entire prairie becoming a preserve. In 1970, the Florida Department of the Environment bought the rest of Paynes Prairie and established it as a state park.

Along with H.K. Wallace (one of Archie Carr's colleagues in the Department of Zoology), and Enid and John Mahon, Marjorie Carr founded the Alachua Audubon Society in 1960. At about the same time, the University of Florida decided to drain Lake Alice (formerly Jonah's Pond), a large pond located a mile or so from the center of campus. Joined by zoology faculty members, Carr and the Alachua Audubon Society interceded in the proposal to drain Lake Alice. Archie Carr later opposed another initiative that would have damaged the lake.

During the fall of 1962, the Alachua Audubon Society sponsored a series of evening programs on Florida's environmental problems. On November 8, 1962, the program was titled "The Effects of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal on Wildlife and Wilderness," featuring Dr. John Wakefield of the Florida State University.

10. Ibid.
Board of Conservation and Dr. Robert F. Klant of the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission. Marjorie Carr recalled, "The talks they made seemed to be straight-forward accounts of the construction plans for the canal, and of the economic benefits to be expected from this massive federal project. They reassured us of the concern the Corps of Engineers held for the sanctity of the Floridan aquifer, and of their admiration for the beauty and integrity of the Ocklawaha River." While the presentations were polished and included slides and charts, the audience remained skeptical. Carr remembered that science was at the core of questions posed by the audience: "However, Gainesville is a university town, and many of our Audubon members are professors who have a habit of questioning and testing statements. A blizzard of questions followed the presentation—questions about the economics of the project, about the effects of construction on the geology, hydrology and ecology of the canal project area. These were questions for which the government speakers had no satisfactory answers. The audience that had come to the meeting with a completely neutral attitude toward the canal project went away that evening disturbed, uneasy, and determined to find out more about the probable effects of the CFBC on the Florida Environment." At the time, Carr could not have predicted that the Cross-Florida Barge Canal would ultimately place her at the center of a major grassroots environmental campaign.

The idea of a canal across Florida stretches back to the arrival of Europeans in Florida. Spanish and English explorers and colonists had sought a water route across the peninsula. When Florida joined the United States in 1821, hopes for a canal were renewed, but a federal survey conducted in 1829 declared the effort impracticable, a conclusion reinforced by five additional surveys. By 1900, many believed that the cost of a canal would signif-

12. Ibid., 2-3.
13. Unlike Archie Carr, who has attracted little historical analysis, Marjorie Carr's efforts on behalf of the Ocklawaha River have been the focus of several studies. See Lee Irby, "A Passion for Wild Things: Marjorie Harris Carr and the Fight to Free a River," in Davis and Frederickson, eds., Making Waves, 177-96; idem, "'The Big Ditch:' The Rise and Fall of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal," in Davis and Arsenault, eds., Paradise Lost?: Sallie R. Middleton, "Cutting through Paradise: A Political History of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal" (Ph.D. diss., Florida International University, 2001).
icantly outweigh the benefits. The dream remained, however, because in theory such a canal would save hundreds of miles of travel around the peninsula in order to reach the Gulf of Mexico. Moreover, it would enable ships to avoid treacherous coral reefs near the Florida Keys.

Consequently, the United States Congress considered construction of a ship canal during the late 1930s when the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors reported on H.R. 6150, a bill for the Completion of the Construction of the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal across Florida. The committee’s report cited economic and strategic justifications for construction: “This project is designed primarily to facilitate, safeguard and cheapen the commerce between the Mississippi Valley and Gulf States on the one hand and the States of the Atlantic seaboard on the other, and to serve as an important element in the national defense by safeguarding the transportation or water-borne troops, munitions, and supplies in time of war, and to serve as a connecting link between the intracoastal waterway system of the Atlantic seaboard and that of the Gulf of Mexico.”14 Yet, historian Lee Irby has emphasized the distinction between the originally conceived “ship” canal requiring a depth of thirty-five feet and the later proposed “barge” canal, which at a depth of twelve feet was too shallow for most freighters and military boats. Thus, a barge canal would have limited strategic utility.15

In September 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt authorized $5 million towards an estimated $146 million to build the canal. However, opposition from Congress stopped construction in the following June. Three years later, Roosevelt lobbied Congress on behalf of the canal: “It has long been my belief that a Florida Ship Canal will be built one of these days and that the building of it is justified today by commercial and military needs.”16 But there were practical concerns about canal construction. The American Fruit Growers and other companies with economic interests opposed the proposed canal route, citing a report by the Army Corps of Engineers: “A sea-level canal might open underground

channels in the Ocala limestone of such size and extent as would drain a wide area, with consequent extensive damage to groundwater supplies." Even the Corps of Engineers acknowledged possibly significant economic repercussions: "Responsibility for the indirect damage which might result from an impairment of the water supplies is beyond the financial resources of any organized taxing district." On May 10, 1939, the *Miami Herald* ran a political cartoon under the title "The only pleased customers." It depicted an alligator toasting a sea turtle, "Here's to Senator Pepper," and the turtle responding "—And the pretty canal he's building for us," implying that animals were more likely to benefit from the canal than humans. "Senator Pepper" referred to Claude Denison Pepper, United States Senator representing Florida from 1936 to 1950, who actively supported the canal. During World War II, he and other canal supporters in Congress added a provision for the construction of a barge canal across Florida to an otherwise innocuous rivers and harbors bill. Passed in 1942, the law provided for the development of a canal without appropriating funds for its construction.

Development of the Florida barge canal progressed slowly. President Harry S. Truman called for Defense Department evaluation of the strategic potential of the canal, but the Joint Chiefs of Staff dismissed the canal’s potential defensive usefulness. In 1954, the Army Corps of Engineers undertook yet another cost-benefit analysis, which for the first time revealed a positive ratio of 1.05 to 1. Critics expressed skepticism of the economic benefits with such a narrow margin, however. Canal boosters rallied renewed support around two new concerns: Fidel Castro's rise to power in Cuba, and rapid population growth in Florida (by 1960, the twelfth largest state). John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign embraced the idea of the canal, and Kennedy pressed Congress to appropriate funds for its construction. In February 1964, Kennedy's successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, presided over a ceremonial dynamite blasting that inaugurated the barge canal.

17. American Fruit Growers et al. to Claude Pepper, 3 April 1939, Series 201, Box 53, Folder 15, Claude Pepper Library.
18. Ibid.
21. Ibid., 184-85.
To relate the importance of the project, President Lyndon B. Johnson participated in the groundbreaking of the barge canal in February 1964. *Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Tallahassee.*

After the initial Alachua Audubon Society meeting in the fall of 1962, Marjorie Carr and other board members began gathering facts regarding the proposed canal. When they heard that proponents of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal sought the endorsement of sports, recreation, and conservation groups, board members lobbied for support from other conservation groups. For example, Alachua Audubon President F.W. Hodge wrote to the President of Florida Audubon Society calling for further action: "It is therefore proposed that the President of the Florida Audubon Society appoint a committee to investigate and report all factual data available on the proposed Cross-Florida Barge Canal which would be of interest to the member chapters, either with or without a recommended course of action." Even though the Florida Audubon Society discussed and approved the proposal at its October 1963 meeting, the President failed to appoint a committee of qualified people with time to devote to the investigation. Instead, he

22. F.W. Hodge to Kenneth Morrison, President, Florida Audubon Society, 8 October 1963, Florida Defenders of the Environment Papers.
requested that Alachua Audubon continue to report to Florida Audubon Society. Simultaneously, another organization formed specifically to investigate and report information on the waste of the natural and economic resources of Florida. Incorporated in 1964, this new group called itself Citizens for the Conservation of Florida’s Natural and Economic Resources, Inc. Some of the Alachua Audubon members who had been researching the canal joined the new organization.23

Despite the efforts of Alachua Audubon and Citizens for the Conservation, Florida Audubon tabled a recommendation to go on record against the construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. Renowned nature writer and photographer Allan D. Cruickshank described his disappointment: “Their main arguments were: (1) It was impossible to defeat any project advocated by the Corps of Army Engineers. (2) the Florida Audubon Society would get ‘in the bad graces’ of the politicians in Tallahassee. Of course, both of these are truly ridiculous, because the Army Engineers have often been forced to drop some of their pet projects... and if the F.A.S. will do only what please the State politicians, then they have sounded the death knell to a sound conservation program.”24 Frustrated by Florida Audubon’s lack of action, Marjorie Carr wrote board members, reviewing the efforts of Alachua Audubon and Citizens for the Conservation. She castigated the board reminding them that “[t]here appears to be a lack of understanding of the basic responsibility and obligation of the Society. From the charter of the Society and from the really fine statements by Kenneth Morrison one would assume that the Society regards itself as a steward of Florida wilderness and would consider the defense of wilderness its major reason for existence. I believe the public would expect the Society to officially deplore and protect the destruction of any part of the Florida landscape regardless of the reasons for its destruction.”25

On June 15, 1965, Marjorie Carr initiated an extended correspondence with Claude Pepper, who had been elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1963 (a position he would hold until

The Cross-Florida Barge Canal included the Inglis lock and the highway 19 bridge. Canal boosters rarely missed an opportunity to promote the project and possibly profit from it. Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Tallahassee.

1983). In her hand-written letter on Alachua Audubon Society stationery, Carr enumerated the unique natural characteristics of the Ocklawaha River, the destruction that the proposed Cross-Florida Barge Canal would cause without a change in course, the high value placed by conservation organizations on the river, and the reason the river was “threatened with obliteration.” She signed the letter, “Mrs. Archie Carr, Co-Chairman for Conservation.”

the envelope was a brief paper she had written titled "Notes on the natural history of the Ocklawaha River Wilderness Area," which included a detailed description of the river and its wildlife. In a passage that reflects her literary gift, Marjorie wrote: "From earliest times the Oklawaha has served man as a pathway through the jungle fastness of its great tree swamp. The Indians of the time of William Bartram, Florida’s first visiting naturalist, called the river Ockli-Waha—Great River—and it was for them an important highway and hunting ground. A hundred years ago, when most of Florida was wild, naturalists and hunters alike regarded a trip up the Oklawaha as an exciting and rewarding venture into wilderness. Today, when so many of the diverse original Florida landscapes are threatened with obliteration, the Oklawaha, in its lower reaches, remains as it was, a dark beautiful stream, clear and free-flowing, and now as in past times, noted for its fine fishing."27

Pepper responded with clear affirmation of his support for the canal. "As you may know," he began, "I have had a long-standing interest in developing the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, which I consider vital to our state’s economic progress and to our national security, with the minimum damage to our natural heritage, which I consider also to be vitally important to the future of Florida as a wonderful place to live and work."28 Through what must have been an inadvertent misreading of Carr’s script, Pepper (or a member of his staff) addressed the letter to “Mrs. Ardill Carr.” From that point on, Carr had her official correspondence typed.

Despite her efforts and those of other conservationists, the United States Senate appropriated ten million dollars for continued construction on the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, bringing the total apportionment to fifteen million dollars by August 1965. The Army Corps of Engineers had already turned its attention to constructing the Rodman and Eureka dams in the Ocklawaha River Valley. Given that the Corps planned to fill these contracts by January 1966, the environmentalists intensified their campaign.

By the fall of 1965, the Federated Conservation Council—a coalition of sixteen different non-profit organizations including Garden Clubs, Women’s Clubs, Audubon Society chapters, envi-

Images of clear-cut deforestation, like this photograph of the clearing of land for the Rodman Reservoir, galvanized environmental opponents of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal in the 1960s. Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Tallahassee.

Environmental education groups, and even river and fishing clubs—had joined the campaign to protect the Ocklawaha River. Marjorie Carr and the Alachua Audubon Society continued to spearhead the fight. Their arguments revolved around several key points. First, Alachua Audubon argued that the Army Corps could re-route the canal to minimize its impact on the Ocklawaha River Valley. As planned, the canal would “obliterate 45 miles of the river and destroy, by flooding, over 27,000 acres of the biologically important, wet hardwood forest of the river valley.” Second, plans for the reactivated project had not received a public hearing or review by any state or federal agency concerned with natural resources. In light of these objections, Alachua Audubon called on the Army Corps of Engineers and the Canal Authority to hold a public hearing prior to December 1, 1965 in Ocala or Gainesville.

The Corps' "crusher crawler," a three-hundred-ton specially designed machine, cleared land for the Rodman Reservoir and canal right-of-way. It captured the public imagination as to the speed and scale of the project. Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Tallahassee.

... (the major towns nearest to the Ocklawaha) in order to hear statements regarding the realignment of that part of the canal that stretched between Silver Springs and the St. Johns River. The new route became known as "Mrs. Carr's Route." With an innate sense of politics, Carr and Alachua Audubon avoided negative press by asking only for an alternate route rather than calling for the canal to be stopped altogether. In August, the Florida Audubon Society published a lengthy review of the beauty of the Ocklawaha River in The Florida Naturalist. Carr contributed a lyrical description of the ecology of the river, and the issue included several testimonials. The editors also provided a poem by Sidney Lanier, who once called the Ocklawaha "the sweetest water lane in the world."30

Despite repeated calls for a public hearing, state officials refused to acknowledge the environmentalists until December 1965 when U.S. Senator George Smathers suggested that the annual water resources meeting in Tallahassee would be an appropriate venue for a discussion of the construction of the Cross-Florida...
Barge Canal. The hearing was scheduled for January 25, 1966. Carr canvassed for support by publicizing the event through various Florida conservation groups and garden clubs. In addition, the Audubon Society rented a post office box in Gainesville and solicited letters in support of the preservation of the Ocklawaha River by mail. In less than three weeks, more than one thousand letters arrived expressing support.\(^{31}\) Meanwhile, the Canal Authority conscripted supporters from city commissions, chambers of commerce, and pilot and propeller clubs. Most of those who filled the well of the hall in the old capitol were canal supporters while the environmentalists filled the perimeter and the gallery.

Roughly 350 environmentalists made the trip to Tallahassee at their own expense. According to Carr, only one government official, Tom Adams (Secretary of State and Vice President of the Water Resources Congress), showed up for the hearing. Although conservation groups were scheduled to give presentations in the afternoon, canal supporters held the floor until the early evening. Once they relinquished the floor, the conservation groups spoke until 9:30, presenting evidence for the alternate route and arguing eloquently for preservation of the Ocklawaha River and the wilderness that surrounded it. Examples from both canal supporters and opponents appeared in a documentary called “Pork Barrel and Pheasant Feathers.” Canal supporters argued the alleged economic benefits of the canal and their faith in the wisdom of the Army Corps of Engineers to determine the best possible route. After one environmentalist spoke, Adams dismissively noted, “We have a responsibility that goes beyond emotion.”\(^ {32}\)

Conservationists left Tallahassee confident that they had made a strong case for the alternate route before the Water Resources Committee. To the considerable chagrin of Carr and others, however, they heard a report that the committee had met at eleven in the morning, which is to say, *prior* to the public hearing, and voted to continue the barge canal along the original route. The committee had dismissed the testimony of conservation groups before

\(^{31}\) Marion S. Hodge to Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, 1 June 1966, Series 301, Box 36, Folder 3, Claude Pepper Library.

Although the decision was a serious blow to the confidence of the Florida environmentalists, the hearing served as a watershed in the history of Florida's environmental movement. Environmentalists from all over the state had coordinated and descended upon the state capitol to protect Florida's wilderness.

On March 10, 1966, the Army Corps awarded construction contracts for Rodman Dam on the Ocklawaha River. The press release claimed that the contract had been delayed until the results of the public hearing could be reviewed. It also explained that Governor Haydon Burns and his cabinet had "found no evidence to justify a reversal of past actions by the State in supporting construction of the canal along its presently authorized route. The Board of Conservation took unanimous action in stating that moving the canal away from the Ocklawaha River would substantially reduce public recreational values and cause a large loss of water conservation storage. It noted, further, that every Florida legislature for the past 65 years has supported the Canal and that no objections to its routing had been raised in previous hearings." While the Alachua Audubon and other groups had had an opportunity to voice their concerns, the Army Corps had no intention of acting on them.

Marjorie Carr heard of the press release through Claude Pepper who, while remaining a staunch proponent of the canal, qualified that support and complimented Carr's efforts: "I would not want anything to occur to impede or delay the construction of the Canal. But I certainly want to preserve the natural beauty of the area in every way possible and will personally support any reasonable adjustment in the route of the Canal and any reasonable additional expenses to preserve the natural beauty of the territory affected. . . . I certainly commend you upon the valiant fight you are making to preserve the beauty of the Ocklawaha." In response, Carr forwarded a letter that she had written Senator Pat McNamara, Chairman of the Senate Committee of Public Works,

34. Department of the Army, "Contract awarded for Rodman Dam, Cross-Florida Barge Canal" press release, 10 March 1966, 2, Series 301, Box 4, Folder 749, Claude Pepper Library.
in which she carefully dissected the Army Corps’ December 1965 promise of a “detailed study of an alternate route.” According to Carr, the Corps had produced a rough cost estimate rather than a detailed study, which required scientific field surveys and detailed cost estimates.36

Given the general indifference of various elected officials, Carr decided to take her case for the Ocklawaha preservation case to a higher level. In March 1966, she and the Alachua Audubon conservation board wrote two letters to Lyndon B. Johnson. When the President did not respond, Marion S. Hodge sent a letter on behalf of Alachua Audubon to Lady Bird Johnson, including excerpts from over one thousand letters of support for Ocklawaha preservation. Given her extensive work on the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, the First Lady was a potentially influential contact.37

But in mid-1966, she was more concerned with her husband’s health. Without intervention, the Army Corps of Engineers resumed its construction, exploding red, white, and blue smoke bombs to celebrate the event. From 1966 to 1968, construction continued. As the conservationists predicted, completion and subsequent flooding of the Rodman Dam in November 1968 destroyed five thousand acres of forest.

Despite considerable damage to the Ocklawaha, Marjorie Carr continued collecting documents and developing strategies for a renewed effort. In 1968, fully cognizant that it was an election year, she and the Alachua Audubon Conservation Committee launched a new campaign explicitly political in nature. On January 26, Carr wrote Randolph Hodges, Director of the Florida Board of Conservation, opposing congressional authorization for the Intracoastal Waterway from St. Marks to Tampa Bay (the so-called “missing link”). Carr related the missing link to the Ocklawaha, underscoring the importance of scientific study. “The lessons learned by Florida conservationists during the long and frustrating endeavor to save the OKLAWAHA RIVER from the needless destruction caused by the construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal through the river valley have not been forgot-

ten," she warned; "Florida has lost the Oklawaha because appropriate studies in the broad field of biology were not made prior to the selection of the route of the Canal." It was an example of positive transference, whereby Carr took a negative experience and transferred its lesson to affect a positive outcome. But her statement was a mere warning shot of a new fight for saving the Ocklawaha, in which Carr would marshal scientific evidence and force politicians to engage environmental debates by publicizing their views.

On October 27, 1968, the *Miami Herald* reported the results of a questionnaire circulated among Florida politicians by the Federated Conservation Council. The survey included twenty conservation issues, addressing everything from limestone mining to stronger protection for alligators. In their responses, both candidates for the U.S. Senate expressed support for the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. Yet, the results of the questionnaire were less significant than the clear intention of conservationists to politicize environmental issues and publicize the results. If politicians ignored the fight to save the Ocklawaha River, they did so at their peril. Moreover, Carr and other conservationists planned to make the environmental positions of state and local politicians a matter of public record.

Early in 1969, an article appeared in *Sports Illustrated* about Victor J. Yannacone Jr., legal counsel for the Environmental Defense Fund, and the suit brought against the state of New York over the use of the pesticide DDT. Carr recalled that someone in the Department of Zoology had shown the magazine to Archie. She contacted another Alachua Audubon member who, in turn, called the lawyers at EDF. Upon meeting with committee members in Gainesville, EDF agreed to argue the legal case if the Audubon Society would build the scientific foundation.

Later, EDF recommended that Carr and the members of the conservation board of Alachua Audubon form a separate organization around the fight to save the Ocklawaha. In July, the Florida Defenders of the Environment was established. The name pleased the founders since its acronym (FDE) was the opposite of EDF.

William Partington took leave from his position as Assistant Executive Director of the Florida Audubon Society to become FDE’s first chairman, and Carr agreed to serve as the vice-chairperson. A well-known Florida radio personality, Arthur Godfrey, became honorary chairman for publicity purposes.

As its first task, FDE prepared “The Environmental Impact of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal on the Ocklawaha River Regional Ecosystem.” The report studied the project from the viewpoints of geology, hydrology, ecology, economics, land-use planning, anthropology, and environmental quality. Most of the chapters were written by University of Florida professors, including Archie Carr who co-authored the chapter on vegetation of the Ocklawaha Regional Ecosystem. The authors’ credentials and their attention to making the report accessible to lay readers ensured that the FDE report would serve as a model for later environmental impact statements. E.O. Wilson, Harvard biologist and a friend of the Carrs, wrote to Marjorie and commended her. “This is a superb report,” he applauded, “one which sets new standards in conservation efforts. It shows how to match and exceed the expertise of the engineers but with the full view of environmental impact added to the cost-benefit analysis. It cannot be ignored.” Wilson had captured the essence of Carr’s campaign to counter engineering expertise with scientific expertise in light of environmental impact and cost-benefit analysis. He offered to sign his name to further petitions on behalf of FDE.

While FDE scientists worked on the environmental impact statement, EDF filed a U.S. District Court suit on September 16, on behalf of the people of the United States to restrain the Secretary of the Army and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers from further construction on the barge canal until all evidence had been heard. EDF’s suit raised numerous issues that would be developed in FDE’s impact statement, such as invasive and exotic aquatic vegetation, geological problems, and value of the wilderness area. In addition to EDF’s suit, Silver Springs, a major tourist destination, raised more than forty questions in circuit court regarding the CFBC’s impact on fish, wildlife habitats, water purity, and land.

Another facet of the renewed campaign to save the Ocklawaha involved public outreach through the media. While the original campaign focused on politicians, it had neglected the critical component of popular support. Several articles addressed the impact of the CFBC on the Ocklawaha. The most widely distributed of these appeared in Reader’s Digest under the title, “Rape on the Ocklawaha.” Despite its prurient title, the article concisely described the river, the development of the CFBC, and several courses of action including “Save the Ocklawaha,” “Curb the Engineers,” “Change the System,” and “Conservationists, Unite.”

Less widely distributed but more detailed was an article by Ben Funk and Frank Murray for the Associated Press. Funk and Murray carefully reviewed the progress of the canal and its economic justification as well as conservationists’ criticisms like Carr’s devastating critique of the claims of Army Corps Engineers that the river would be left intact “except for the part between Sharps Ferry and Rodman Dam.” “It was like saying that one is just going to cut off the rooster’s tail—right behind the head,” Carr explained; “That 45-mile stretch is the heart of the river.”

Besides articles written by journalists, FDE officers published their own accounts of the renewed fight to save the Ocklawaha. In the autumn of 1969, William Partington, newly appointed general chairman of FDE, reviewed the status and future of the battle in The Living Wilderness, the magazine of the Wilderness Society. “Ocklawaha—the fight is on again!” reviewed the history of plans for the construction of the canal and local initiatives to save the river, as well as EDF’s suit against the Army Corps. Moreover, Partington extended the aims of the fight to save the Ocklawaha: “We hope that our actions will encourage changes in the decision-making processes in the Corps of Engineers and other agencies concerned with imposing ‘improvements’ on natural lands and water.”

On May 14, 1970, Stewart M. Brandborg, Executive Director of the Wilderness Society, appeared before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Public Works in opposition to any appropria-

44. Partington, “Ocklawaha—The Fight is on Again!,” 23.
tion for the CFBC. After summarizing many of the scientific and economic arguments against the canal that FDE had put forth in its environmental impact statement, Brandborg called for investigation of the canal under Section 102 of the National Environmental Protection Act of 1969. Friends of the Earth, another national environmental organization, also supported the continuing efforts of EDF and FDE. On July 15, the Washington Director of FOE sent a letter to Senator Edmund Muskie’s Legislative Assistant outlining recent opposition to the canal. For example, the Secretary of the Interior had requested the Corps of Engineers to halt construction for fifteen months for an ecological task force study; the Governor of Florida had withdrawn support of the CFBC pending further ecological studies; the Florida Department of Air and Water Pollution Control called the barge canal “the most devastating project ever undertaken in the State of Florida”; and the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission called for a thorough reevaluation of the entire project.45

One of the notable failures of the original campaign to save the Ocklawaha was an inability to politicize the CFBC. While environmentalists viewed the destruction of the Ocklawaha as a clear negative, politicians stood by the Army Corps’ claims of economic and strategic benefit. Coupled with support from national environmental groups, FDE had committed to developing the CFBC as a political issue with political consequences.

On August 19, 1970, William Partington wrote every statewide and congressional candidate in Florida to determine their official positions regarding Florida’s problems of environmental quality, with particular emphasis on the CFBC controversy. The “Candidate’s Questionnaire” requested only three responses:

1. Please briefly describe what you have done to promote environmental quality and conservation in Florida.
2. Please briefly summarize your plans to promote environmental quality and conservation in Florida if Elected.

3. Which of the following most accurately reflects your position with regard to the Florida Cross State Barge Canal Project?
   1. Proceed with CFBC in the Ocklawaha River Valley
   2. Proceed with CFBC using alternate route
   3. Moratorium on CFBC pending complete re-evaluation
   4. Abandon all plans for CFBC across central Florida.

Of 390 questionnaires, 123 were returned over the next fifteen days. Forty-two percent chose a moratorium for the CFBC pending further studies, and 39 percent opted for complete abandonment of the project. Fewer than 10 percent of respondents favored continuation of the canal. Florida Defenders of the Environment disseminated these statistics in a September 4th press release. With 80 percent of the political candidates supporting a moratorium or complete abandonment, Partington called upon President Richard M. Nixon to suspend the project. “In view of this unprecedented expression of opposition to continuing the Cross-Florida Barge Canal by candidates for public office in Florida,” Partington explained, “we respectfully call on you to implement a moratorium on construction of the project pending needed additional studies. . . . We cannot equate the continuation of this project with your administration’s avowed concern for fiscal responsibility and for conservation.”

Unlike the earlier campaign, by 1970, FDE and other environmental groups represented a growing coalition that could demand politicians take a stand. What had changed between 1966, when politicians blithely ignored the statements made at a public hearing regarding the CFBC, and 1970? Certainly, the organization of FDE as a conservation group dedicated to saving the Ocklawaha made a difference as did its growing political savvy.

Moreover, there were changes in the federal government. President Nixon had undertaken several environmental initiatives in 1970. On New Year’s Day, he signed into law the National Environmental Protection Act. While he had played no role in the passage of NEPA, Nixon astutely appreciated the bill’s popularity and somewhat disingenuously took credit for it as an expression of

48. Ibid.
his personal concern for environmental quality.\textsuperscript{49} The environment provided a cornerstone of Nixon's State of the Union Address, in which the President argued for an America with a cleaner environment. He suggested that economic growth was only desirable if it improved quality of life, marking the first time that a president emphasized environmental quality in a State of the Union Address.\textsuperscript{50} Just prior to his address, Nixon's administration had arbitrated a compromise between the Dade County Port Authority, the Federal Aviation Administration, the Army Corps of Engineers, the Departments of Transportation and the Interior, and environmental activists over a proposed Miami jet-port.\textsuperscript{51}

Despite the Nixon administration's claim that the Miami jet-port resolution was its first environmental victory, historian J. Brooks Flippen identified the Cross-Florida Barge Canal as a more critical environmental controversy demanding the attention of the White House.\textsuperscript{52} FDE responded to Nixon's State of the Union Address with a January 27th letter, signed by 162 environmental scientists: "Your recent address on the State of the Union has emphasized your concern over the alarming degradation of natural environment in America. We are writing to ask your assistance in preventing further degenerative manipulation of one of the most valuable natural ecosystems of Florida, the Ocklawaha River Valley, and in averting probable attendant changes in the quality of the subsurface water supply of Central Florida."\textsuperscript{53} Like the Candidate's Questionnaire, the scientists' letter allowed FDE to successfully transform the CFBC and the campaign to save the Ocklawaha River into a political bellwether on both the state and federal levels.

In short order, both the legal and the political fights concluded in favor of the environmentalists. On January 15, 1971, Judge Barrington D. Parker of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia temporarily enjoined further work on the CFBC in its

\textsuperscript{49} For a detailed analysis of Nixon and NEPA, see J. Brooks Flippen, \textit{Nixon and the Environment} (Albuquerque, N.M., 2000), 50-51.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 53-54.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 56.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 57-58.
\textsuperscript{53} Florida Defenders of the Environment and 162 Environmental Scientists to President Richard M. Nixon, 27 January 1970, Series 301, Box 791, Folder 19, Claude Pepper Library.
summit reach and in the undisturbed part of the Ocklawaha valley. In his decision, the judge noted that an environmental impact statement had not been filed for the project as required by NEPA. Just four days later, on January 19th, the President accepted the advice of his Council on Environmental Quality and halted construction on the barge canal. “The step I have taken today will prevent a past mistake from causing permanent damage,” Nixon proclaimed; “But more important, we must assure that in the future we take not only full but also timely account of the environmental impact of such projects—so that instead of merely halting the damage, we prevent it.”

Marjorie Carr and FDE had fully exploited the political system by bringing about clear responses in all three branches of government: legislative, judicial, and executive. In an FDE membership letter, Carr exulted both the court decision and the executive order halting construction on the canal, referring to them as “conservation milestones.” But Carr noted that there was “a great deal yet to be done before the problems related to the barge canal project are finally solved.” FDE recommended to the President that the Department of the Interior undertake an extended, eighteen-month study of the western end of the project area, that the water in Rodman Dam be lowered to the natural river level, and that the Ocklawaha River be returned to conditions that would qualify it for Scenic River status. The last recommendation proved the greatest challenge. Marjorie Carr and FDE fought for restoration of the Ocklawaha for the next quarter century, until she passed away in October of 1997.

Two monuments stand as symbols of the defunct Cross-Florida Barge Canal. The first is ongoing efforts by the Florida Defenders of the Environment to restore the Ocklawaha. The other, standing like a mausoleum to a once-beautiful river, is the Rodman Dam. Despite FDE and other activist groups, the wheels of state bureaucracy continue to grind slowly along. Not until January 22, 1991, did the Governor and his cabinet sign a resolution agreeing to the terms of the federal de-authorization bill, thereby officially canceling the Cross-Florida Barge Canal project. This action ulti-

In October 1970, Governor Claude Kirk recognized Florida Defenders of the Environment founder Marjorie Harris Carr’s efforts to preserve Florida’s environment, while her husband Dr. Archie Carr looked on. Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Tallahassee.

Ultimately led to the Cross Florida Greenway State Recreation and Conservation Area, officially renamed the “Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway” in honor of the “Micanopy housewife” who led the fight to stop the Cross-Florida Barge Canal project. Marjorie Carr’s successful fight to save the Ocklawaha River emanated from her love of the Florida wilderness, her belief that ordinary citizens could affect political change, and her view that science could influence legislation. These values, which she shared with other Florida environmentalists, provided a sound basis of support for one of the first successful grassroots environmental campaigns in the United States.
Book Reviews


A children's chronological history of Florida's native peoples, Journeys with Florida's Indians explores the past through both factual and fictional chapters. This work introduces young readers to the Paleo-Indians' migration across the Bering Land Bridge and eventually into Florida, explores the varied indigenous groups, and culminates with the destruction and changes wrought by Europeans. Authored by Kelly G. Weitzel, who has penned The Timucua Indians—A Native American Detective Story (Gainesville, 2000), this book has been skillfully written with its captivating story lines that will appeal to grade-school students, bringing Florida's Indians alive to its readers.

This book begins with a brief chronology of important events affecting Florida's native peoples and is quickly followed by an introduction to the reader explaining the format of the book. Throughout the text, the author explored the differences and similarities of indigenous groups: their tools, foods, homes, religions, governments, languages, stories, games, wars, gender roles, and hunting techniques, among others. Readers learn about various European peoples and their reasons for coming to Florida, and the impact they had on the Florida Indians. Black-and-white supplemental maps, primary source drawings, and the author's artwork help readers vividly visualize this historical information. New or unfamiliar vocabulary is signified by bold face type for which readers may find the definitions in the glossary included at the back of the book. Engaging fictional chapters follow the factual
ones to reinforce content. Readers follow the story of Tenerife, a respected Timucua who teaches the old ways and stories to the youngsters of his village. Young readers can relate to the eleven-year-old main character as he struggles to prove himself a young man and is shot and captured as a slave by the Spanish. Readers will learn how Tenerife teaches his language and culture to another Spanish slave, a young African boy who saved his life. As the boys escape from the Spanish, they wind up as slaves for the fierce Calusa. The author weaves the customs and rituals into exciting scenes as the escapees avoid their captors and travel through both friendly and enemy territories back to the land of the Timucua, arriving as young men. The story closes as the French arrive and Tenerife’s village must adapt to many changes that will come.

This reviewer has only two criticisms of the book. The chronology at the beginning of the book will be very difficult for young readers to comprehend. A timeline may have been the better choice for visually presenting dates of important events concerning the Florida Indians. Also, only a mere three pages of the entire book have been devoted to the Seminole and Miccosukee tribes of Florida, both of which played a very important role in the state’s history. Readers may be confused as to whether this book is truly about all of Florida’s Indians, or merely some of Florida’s first Indians.

Nonetheless, Journeys with Florida’s Indians certainly fills a void in Florida historical literature for young readers. The book’s factual content is certain to educate, and the fictional story will entertain. Readers’ interest should undoubtedly be piqued to learn more about Florida’s Indians. For those with a penchant for additional information, the author provided “Native American Places to Visit and References” at the back of the book. This text will be an excellent resource for students in grades 4 through 8, as well as any young reader interested in learning about Florida’s indigenous peoples.

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Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa. By Charles M. Hudson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. xx, 222 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, note on the spelling of Creek words, illustration credits, index. $34.95 cloth, $17.95 paper.)
Historians and anthropologists are prone to daydream about going back in history to see firsthand how the people they study actually lived. To meet the subjects of their research and communicate with them would fulfill many a scholarly fantasy. Alas, time travel is impossible, and we still need to rely on incomplete records and data in order to suggest how deceased peoples lived. Yet, as we seek to turn our historical subjects into flesh and blood the temptation is always there to fill in the blanks of our research with dialogue and hypothetical situations. Historical and anthropological scholarly conventions normally reject such flights of fancy, but literature welcomes them. Historical fiction produced by a learned mind that sticks close to the known sources, while not history or anthropology per se, can enlighten us about a topic far more intimately than traditional scholarship. Charles Hudson, professor emeritus of anthropology at the University of Georgia and the dean of southeastern Indian studies, prefers the label "fictionalized ethnography" for his latest work. Part history, part anthropology, and part fiction, Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa is the most intimate exploration of southeastern Indian cosmology to date.

Hudson recreates the intricate belief system of the sixteenth-century Coosa chiefdom located in northwest Georgia and the Tennessee Valley. His point of reference is a detachment of Spanish soldiers and a priest, Domingo de la Anunciación, who visited the Coosa villages for a month in 1560 as part of Tristán de Luna’s colonizing expedition along the Gulf Coast near present-day Pensacola. With the priest was a Coosa woman (real name unknown but Hudson names her Teresa) who had been seized by the Hernando de Soto expedition twenty years earlier and taken back to Mexico. Teresa translated between the Spanish priest, soldiers, and Coosa villagers, enabling the priest to write several letters about the Coosa that serve as virtually the only firsthand accounts we have of these Indians until the eighteenth century after they had melded into the Creek Confederacy. Anunciación said little about Coosa religious belief; however, the real encounter between this priest and the Coosa provides an accessible jumping off point for Hudson to explore the Coosa worldview. As the title suggests, Hudson portrays a series of conversations, with Teresa serving as translator, between Anunciación and the principal Coosa spiritual
leader. Anunciación convinces the Coosa priest to share his people’s stories about their past and their place in the world, and he witnesses their annual four-day posketa, or green corn, ceremony. The result is a fascinating peek at southeastern Indian beliefs during the archeologically-named Mississippian era (ca. A.D. 1100–1700).

Since no such conversations between Anunciación and a Coosa religious figure are known to have been recorded and we have very little information specific to Coosa worldview, Hudson draws upon a wide range of sources and his own substantial knowledge of southeastern Indian culture for this intellectual exercise. Although officially a work of fiction, Hudson includes a detailed discussion of sources for each of his fourteen chapters. Most of the works that southeastern Indian specialists would expect to see as sources are there: books by John Swanton, James Mooney, George Lankford, Patricia Galloway, Hudson, and others. Hudson also tells the reader how much of a particular passage is verified by a particular source and what percentage he has invented. Such careful exposition of sources inspires confidence in Hudson’s interpretations and adds to the book’s value as a reference work.

The significant fault that I see is one also common to Hudson’s seminal textbook The Southeastern Indians (1976): he relies perhaps too heavily on Cherokee sources to describe a Muskogean people. The Cherokees are Iroquoian peoples who share some cultural characteristics with their southeastern Muskogean neighbors (such as the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws), but who nonetheless maintain numerous cultural beliefs distinct from Muskogians. One example of Hudson’s over-eagerness to depend upon Cherokee examples is his statement that there is “no Muskogean equivalent of the Cherokee story of Lucky Hunter or Corn Woman” (xvii), so he uses the Cherokee version of these culture heroes. That statement is not accurate, if John Swanton’s studies of Muskogean peoples and contemporary Muskogean stories are to be believed.

This quibble aside, Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa is an important, in some ways groundbreaking, work about southeastern Indian cosmology. It also a good read that will be equally welcomed in undergraduate and graduate classes.

Greg O’Brien

University of Southern Mississippi
Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie have edited an invaluable collection of thirteen highly original and well-written essays on “Southern women’s critical role in developing a market economy [in the Old South], as well as the multiple social and cultural changes produced by their participation” (5). While attempting to reconstruct female participation in the South’s transformation to a capitalist economy, the authors of these essays maintain that female “presence in the workforce was taken for granted and in many cases deemed unworthy of description or quantification” (9). “Sandwiched between the tangled worlds of mistresses and slaves lived hundreds of thousands of women of the Old South” who left little or no historical records, but who became wage earners (3). These are the women who provide subjects for the essays in this volume. These essays challenge the reader to rethink the conventional and limiting definition of paid laborers by presenting a wide variety of women’s work: paid versus unpaid, and officially visible versus visible. While focusing on different methods and approaches, the authors illuminated the thesis of this study: “Women’s experiences in the Old South were profoundly circumscribed by labor—reproductive and productive, paid and unpaid—across age, class, race, place and time” (3).

In trying to capture a comprehensive female work experience in the Old South, the editors structured this book into four parts. Part One introduces readers to ways in which the coming of the market economy affected rural women. Stephanie Curry’s article demonstrates that not only did white women in “yeoman households performed the kind of field labor associated with slaves but [they also] were considered subservient to their fathers and husbands” (6). On the other hand, two other essays talk about how critical Native American women were to the market economy of the Southeast and how they took advantage of the market opportunities. Expanding on market opportunities, Part Two uses case studies to examine wage-earning women in the urban South. For example, Timothy Lockley’s article argues that informal exchange of goods and services allowed ways for ordinary women (whether white or black, free or
slave) in Savannah to secure personal and financial independence from their husbands, fathers, or masters. E. Susan Barber and Diane Butts Morrow uncovered a variety of wage work performed by women that ranged from the work of urban nuns to that of prostitutes. These examples "represent two extremes in women's work realities. The former being socially and officially acceptable, the latter publicly known, but deemed unworthy to official recognition" (7). In the opinion of these authors, they were still considered work experiences that must be acknowledged.

Parts Three and Four contrast and compare female work with regards to race, class, and region. The third section of the book explores constraints placed on southern middle-class women and how they fought against them. Examining the vestige of social expectations surrounding women's roles in education, Emily Bingham and Penny Richards show how such women carved out "a modicum independence for themselves despite social expectation about their sex and class" (7). The final section of this study explores the comparison between women in the free labor force in the antebellum South with those of the industrial North. The essays in Part Four point to parallels that can be drawn between southern women's business and industrial participation and similar experiences of northern women. Bess Beatty maintains that women textile workers were not merely destitute women; some were subsistent wage earners. On the other hand, Michele Gillespie argues that southern white women were defeminized when hired by the fledgling textile industry in Georgia and put to work alongside slave women. Although the subject matter and approaches differ in these essays, Neither Lady Nor Slave is the starting point for examining wage-earning female workers in the Old South.

In sum, this work gives voices to previously obscured women and provides glimpses into personalities, achievements, and even fables of working women in the South. This publication is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on southern workingwomen. It also challenges some of the stereotypical ideas about them and gives us a better understanding of the roles these women played in shaping the antebellum South. As a whole, Neither Lady nor Slave is an exciting and important study that enriches the historiography of women. Beautifully illustrated and impressively researched, it will appeal to the general public and academic specialist alike.

Merline Pitre

Texas Southern University

Following up on the success of Many Thousands Gone, which told the story of slavery in North America from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century, Ira Berlin has returned, Ambrose-like, to synthesize the literature on slavery in the area of North America that would become the United States. Readers familiar with his earlier work might puzzle over the need, only five years later, to return to the subject, but Berlin justifies this by noting the "vast outpouring of new research" into the field (15). Indeed, this new effort runs from the early sixteenth century through the American Civil War, looks at slavery in the northern United States, incorporates the ever-growing field of Atlantic World history, and to some degree integrates the Dutch, Spanish, and French into the story.

The question raised by this book is "do we really need another synthesis?" Berlin himself answers this in the affirmative, noting the few years since his previous work have seen the publication of several hundreds of books and articles. Berlin, however, attempts to broaden Americanists' understandings of how slavery evolved over different generations from what Berlin sees as mainly "tobacco and rice growers into cultivators of cotton and sugar" (15). To do this, he pursues two themes: the struggle for equality on the parts of free people of color, and the inexorable march toward plantation slavery and a slave society in what would become the United States.

However, the idea that plantation slavery is an especially relevant way of looking at the various types of slavery that existed in North America from the sixteenth century onwards is debatable, as the secondary literature cited in this book shows. Nonetheless, Berlin makes a significant contribution to our understanding of slavery in two areas: by pulling the North back into the story, and by journeying to great and admirable lengths to include the Dutch, French and Spanish Louisiana, and Spanish Florida into his evolution of American slavery. Readers tending toward an Americanocentric view of North American slavery will profit from this last facet of the book. But Berlin also
sees those areas as non-plantation societies with slaves, rather than slave societies, and so they end up as relatively minor players in the arc of the story.

Structurally, as the title implies, Berlin traces the development of slavery through different generations, beginning with the "Charter Generation" in chapter one. Here he examines the first African immigrants to the New World, moving geographically and somewhat chronologically from Africa to the Atlantic and across. This early period of North American slavery is rich with potential, but it is not the heart of Berlin's work, as he quickly moves to discuss the "Plantation Generation" (roughly the period up to the Age of Revolutions) in the next chapter. Indeed, Berlin remains focused on the underlying theme of his study: how do parts of North American go from being societies with slaves to being slave societies (and sometimes back again). For example, he sees the absence of a dominant staple crop and the growth of the free colored population—itself the result of liberal manumission and self-purchase laws—as having prevented the continued growth of a slave society in Spanish Louisiana and the Floridas during the "Plantation Generation."

During Chapter Three's "Revolutionary Generation," despite persistent attempts to expand their rights through military service, it was "the collapse of free people's struggle for equality cleared the way for the expansion of slavery" (157). In Chapter Four, readers find the "Migration Generations" undergoing an expansion of the slave regime, the ultimate marginalization of free black society, and the final evolution of American society from one with slaves into a true slave society. Along the way, Berlin manages to maintain the dynamic between the northern and southern parts of the United States, arguing convincingly that northern residents' first-hand memories of, and experiences with, slavery assured the institution's currency in the free states. The book finishes with a brief look at the "Freedom Generations" during the Civil War and Reconstruction.

This is a good book. Though it may have difficulty finding an academic audience, Generations should secure a ready home on the bookshelves of more casual readers. In truth, it should also replace, not really supplement, Many Thousands Gone, as a good, readable, synthetic survey of slavery in North America.

Andrew McMichael

Western Kentucky University
Few, if any, whites in antebellum Virginia expressed a positive opinion of interracial sex. In Notorious in the Neighborhood, Joshua D. Rothman's detailed study of interracial sex in a slave state, the whites who weighed in on the subject have uniformly disparaging things to say about people (especially African Americans) who engaged in such activities, condemning their licentiousness, shamefulness, and moral dissipation. Yet, when Rothman compares Virginians' language and laws to their actual practices, he finds that in spite of a legal and social framework that allowed them to punish interracial sex severely, antebellum Virginians exhibited "an astonishing degree of flexibility and fluidity" in dealing with sex across the color line (6-7). Only in the final decade before the Civil War, Rothman argues, did Virginians attempt to exercise the stringent control over interracial sex that marked the post-Civil War era.

Rothman is not alone in making this argument. Other historians, including Victoria Bynum and Martha Hodes, have described similar flexibility regarding interracial sex in the antebellum South. Rothman distinguishes himself from earlier scholars by narrowing his focus to one state and by examining his subject from nearly every possible vantage point, making his study all but definitive. He opens his book with two case studies: the first, Virginia's most famous interracial couple, Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings; the second, an interracial family from Charlottesville. He then examines how the law interacted with individual and community action in cases of public sexuality, sexual violence, interracial adultery, and the continuing presence of "mixed bloods"—people who fell outside the legal definitions of both white and black. In each of these cases Rothman finds that white Virginians, while disapproving generally of interracial sex for much of the antebellum period, "lacked either the motivation or the power" to end the practice (58).

Rothman has done marvelous work in the archives, and he uses information from a wide variety of sources—including let-
ters, newspapers, and voluminous court records—to describe the experiences of dozens of Virginians with sex across the color line. Readers might feel bogged down by the sheer number of names Rothman tosses their way; but the cumulative effect of hearing from so many people in so many walks of life is to convey just how unexceptional a phenomenon interracial sex was in the antebellum South. One could not leave Notorious in the Neighborhood unconvinced of Rothman’s claim that “interracial sex was ubiquitous in urban, town, and plantation communities throughout the state” (4). Moreover, his contention that Virginians wished to stamp down on interracial activities as they felt the weight of sectional tensions in the 1850s is plausible and well argued.

Notorious in the Neighborhood, however, leaves unanswered the question of the wider historical significance of interracial sex in the antebellum South. Rothman will find few opponents when he argues that sex across the color line had far-ranging political ramifications in a slave state. Certainly masters’ use of sex with slave women to increase their property and exert their dominance impacted social, economic, and political power. But Rothman contends that interracial sex could have threatened Virginia’s racial and political order, and he suggests that only by remaining flexible about interracial sex could white Virginians maintain social stability: “bending to the winds of social and legal contradiction helped keep early national and antebellum Virginia from breaking” (242-42). What, then, happened when Virginians moved toward stricter enforcement of their state’s laws on interracial sex in the 1850s? Does Rothman mean to imply that changing attitudes regarding interracial sex hastened the approach of the Civil War? If so, he does not say it outright, nor does he even discuss the possibility. A recent classic like Kathleen M. Brown’s Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs succeeded so well in part because it showed how ideas about race, gender, and sexuality could effect real political change; Notorious in the Neighborhood merely suggests that this happened. Rothman offers a fascinating and well-supported portrayal of Virginians’ attitudes toward interracial sex in the antebellum period. But he fails to explore the more expansive implications of his work.

Patrick W. O’Neil

University of North Carolina
Although the title of Kathryn Carlisle Schwartz's book, *Baptist Faith in Action*, accurately reflects its thesis that Taylor's "Baptist faith was paramount, for it controlled and resonated in everything she did and thought," this book has more to recommend it to a wider range of scholars and general readers (xvi). Historians of Southern culture and general readers alike will appreciate this account of a woman who was born into the well-to-do planter class of Sumter, South Carolina, later moved into that of Beaufort District, South Carolina, and eventually carried the cultural assumptions of that class first into Marion County and then into Gainesville, Florida. While specialists in South Carolina history will especially appreciate the first two parts of the book (seventy-five pages) dealing with Taylor's childhood and young adult years in South Carolina from 1813 to 1853, Florida historians will delight in the last two parts (250 pages) treating Taylor's Florida years, 1853 to 1895, as she witnessed both the exciting and mundane events of a long life. Significantly, the sober, evangelical lifestyle documented here contrasts with the stereotypical conception of the pampered living of the southern planter class. Likewise, this book provides an unusual account of a family whose wealth and sophistication contrasts with the usual picture of nineteenth-century Baptists as uneducated and poor.

Each of the book's four main parts focuses on roughly a twenty-year span of Taylor's life and on her residence during each of those spans. Within each part, thematic chapters, such as "Maria and Slavery," prevent a strict chronological order of the material, yet they provide coherence around what Schwartz sees as the main concerns of each period of Taylor's life. Narrative introductions and conclusions with authorial commentary and small excerpts, along with quotations from material not included within the chapters, further enhance readability. This volume reproduces only about one-tenth of the total body of Taylor's extant writings, but Schwartz has skillfully selected, organized, edited, and commented upon the writings to provide unified short narratives within the
Independent thinking appears when she questions the current Evangelical criticism of public dancing. While some of Taylor’s later writings reveal a mind confined within the boundaries of the nineteenth-century Southern Baptist mindset that saw slavery as divinely ordained and a blessing to Africans, her Reconstruction-era diaries show her adjust mentally and practically to the new relationship with former slaves.

Taylor’s writings have unquestionable value as primary material for scholars documenting the lives of obscure southern women. Her detailed accounts of plantation management during the Civil War and Reconstructions eras, of her disciplined home education of her children and grandchildren, and of her long friendship with Anne Wickliffe Yulee are particularly intriguing. Her literary efforts—including elegiac, devotional, and didactic poetry (largely conventional but of respectable quality), her essays that appeared in Baptist publications, and her letters and diaries—should give Taylor a small place in Florida and Southern literary history. When submitting a piece to her uncle James Clement Furman for the Baptist Courier, Taylor offered a just assessment of her own writing: “I like strength, perspicuity, and simplicity of style. . . . I do not aspire to beauty of style, though I do admire it, but I would like to write something to do good, something to correct the errors of
the day and lead the heart and mind to virtue, God, and happiness" (274).

What impression will the reader have of the book’s primary subject, Maria Baker Taylor? The answer will vary, but this reader admired her as a practical woman with a strong mind and personality, a stoic ability to bear difficulty, and some literary skill. Taylor served her family and community with impressive perseverance, energy, and practical wisdom. As the letters and diaries reveal, she was a learned and contemplative woman who read widely in literature, theology, journalism, and the Bible and who sought to apply her knowledge to make sense of and impose order upon her world.

Well-researched and clearly written, Schwartz’s book is a rich account of an important segment of South Carolina and Florida history, a compelling biography, and a pleasurable reading experience.

Keith L. Huneycutt

Florida Southern College


Robert E. L. Krick’s *Staff Officers in Gray* is a valuable reference work that examines the approximately 2,300 staff officers who served in Robert E. Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia. Based on more than a decade’s worth of archival research, the study offers biographical profiles of the adjutants and aides who provided administrative and logistical support to the Confederacy’s foremost army.

The author’s useful introduction offers a brief history of the Confederate staff system as a separate entity in the army and examines the different positions serving in that branch. Krick maintains that the authorities in Richmond struggled to create a staff system that could oversee the Confederacy’s rapidly growing armies, haggling over matters of organization and promotion until the end of the war. In addition to dealing with the external conflict amongst the Confederate lawmakers, the staff branch also faced the con-
tempt of line officers and the rank and file who not only resented the authority of the staff officers but also mistakenly believed the men in the staff branches purposely avoided the danger of combat by inundating themselves with the minutiae of paperwork. The author, however, points out those skeptical views notwithstanding, the staff men of the Virginia army often risked their lives in combat as they accompanied their superiors on the field of battle. Krick also analyzes various officers within the staff branch, from adjutant generals to quartermasters and other administrative personnel, who helped keep the Army of Northern Virginia in the field for four years. He offers a cogent account of each officer’s particular job and the problems inherent in learning their individual duties, mostly through trial and error, as they struggled to manage the army through the logistical challenges posed by the war.

While Krick efficiently explores the formative influences of the staff branch, the bulk of *Staff Officers in Gray* is devoted to the roster of officers who “fed the army, clothed it, conducted its marches, disciplined its soldiers, and wrestled with the paperwork that kept the mass of volunteers in line as a potent fighting force” (35). Arranged in alphabetical order, each biographical profile provides the position and rank of a particular officer, his dates of birth and death, and his prewar and postwar occupations. Although a few entries may be incomplete due to the paucity of source material, in many cases, the author refers the reader to an officer’s place of burial and any pertinent archival manuscripts or published sources on the individual. In several more elaborate biographical entries, Krick includes brief quotations from contemporary observers that offer a concise description of a particular officer’s physical appearance or personality.

Two valuable appendices conclude the study and provide researchers and historians with a list of the thousands of staff officers in other Confederate armies and a general-by-general roster of the Army of Northern Virginia’s staff officers. The latter, in particular, is of exceptional value for historians striving to develop a comprehensive study of a specific general, brigade, division, or corps. Specialists and students of the Army of Northern Virginia will find Krick’s meticulous work on a previously neglected topic an essential tool for general reference as well as a valuable aid for further study.

Alex Mendoza

*University of Texas at Tyler*


It has been some fifteen years since Maris Vinovskis asked, at the time with considerable justification, "Have social historians lost the Civil War?" (Journal of American History 76 [June 1989]: 534-80). Vinovskis’s question overlooked notable exceptions like William Barney’s The Secessionist Impulse, but his point was well taken: In their rush to describe the intricacies of community life, the “new” social historians of the 1970s and 1980s failed by and large to take into account the central event in American history. Much has changed since then. Important works by William Blair, George Rable, Joan Cashin, David Williams, and others have gone far to rescue the Civil War for social historians. The two books reviewed here continue this trend. What is ingenious about G. Ward Hubbs’s studies and really distinguishes them is that he places the main concern of the once new social history—community—at the heart of his Civil-War saga, answering Vinovskis’s question once and for all in the negative.

Guarding Greensboro tells the story of how one Alabama company helped to solidify community in their Black Belt hometown. The story begins on the “anomic” (one of Hubbs’s favorite words) Alabama frontier of the 1820s and 1830s, a place where traditional ties of kinship and neighborhood neither united nor restrained. While sturdy but spiritually lost individuals looked to amass their fortunes in cotton and slaves, the town of Greensboro mostly remained a way station on the road west, a place where the majority of these unfortunates stayed days, months, or even years before ultimately moving on. Through it all, the bare contours of a community began to take shape in the form of voluntary organizations that promoted the welfare of the city (or at least its white inhabitants) as a whole. One of these organizations was the Greensboro
Guards, a local militia group. The Guards saw action in a war against the Creeks in 1836, but their more important function, in Hubbs’s estimation, was that by “assum[ing] responsibility for the safety of their fellow citizens,” they “gradually and unknowingly mov[ed] Greensborians beyond self-interest” (xii).

Nevertheless, Greensboro was something less than a fully realized community at the onset of the Civil War. The war changed all that. After the firing on Fort Sumter, the Greensboro Guards marched off to serve in the Army of Northern Virginia. They fought desperately together at virtually all the major battles in the eastern theater, suffered wholesale capture twice, and witnessed appalling levels of death, dismemberment, and disease. Examining the treasure trove of firsthand accounts left by the Guards, Ward skillfully charts how the experience of war tied the men closer to each other and the town they fought for. Their ordeal over, they came home transformed. Communal spirit and reciprocity replaced pre-war relationships based on individual self-interest, and Greensborians now identified their interests as those of their town. “The town had never been unified or more Southern,” Hubbs concluded (xii). In this regard, Guarding Greensboro supports Robert Penn Warren’s famous claim that “The South was created at Appomattox.”

If the book has a fault, it is its idealization of community. Hubbs suggests at the outset that many will be upset by his refusal to pass moral judgment on the men who built a post-bellum community that pointedly and violently refused membership to African Americans. Hubbs probably would have little cause for worry except that he obviously admires the community his protagonists built, and some readers may just have a problem with that. As Hubbs’s own research reminds us, community building is as much a process of exclusion as of inclusion, and this was particularly true in the postwar South. Greensboro and the South’s history during this period was both more complex and much less salutary than a progression from Hobbesian wasteland to Hubbsian semi-paradise. It is worth asking, therefore, whether community is the only somewhat qualified good that Hubbs makes it out to be.

While one may have wished for a more critical and detached tone, one cannot fault Hubbs’s history. His basic argument is sound and original, his narrative absorbing, and his research simply exhaustive. Readers who understandably cannot get enough of the Guards’ story will want to check out Voices from Company D.
Judiciously edited and very well annotated, this chronological sampling of entries from the diaries of eight Guards is only slightly less captivating than its companion volume. It ably captures the oft-related but unfailingly absorbing human drama of the Civil War: pitched battles at places like Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Spotsylvania; the crush and tedium of trench warfare at Petersburg; and the horrifying rates of attrition. Reading these accounts, it becomes painfully evident why the soldiers sought solace and meaning in community life. Still, no matter how well edited, the entries themselves can be gnomic, even terse, and one misses Hubbs's narrative flair.

Chad Morgan

University of North Carolina


Peter Kolchin invites historians to consider a larger compass of inquiry and interest in thinking about “the South” by approaching their work with comparative strategies. In this book, which originated as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University, Kolchin admits he uses the concept of comparative history “loosely” in order to suggest different ways to set a historical problem in a broader context. He is interested less in establishing a definitive vocabulary or methodology for comparative history than in reorienting historians to see “the South” anew from varying perspectives. To do so, Kolchin chooses the nineteenth-century South as the timeframe and slavery, emancipation, and the Civil War as the focal points because those subjects are readily cast in comparative terms and are central to southern history. In three chapters, Kolchin compares the South to the North (or the “un-South”), different southerners within the region, and the South to non-American societies.

The first chapter tracks the ways southern “distinctiveness” evolved and persisted, even today, noting especially that, from northern travelers through modern-day historians, the tendency has been to describe what distinguished the South from the North rather than to explain how such traits made the South southern.
After all, many supposedly unique southern characteristics were hardly peculiar to the region so that seeing "the South" only as against "the North" actually distorts even as it illumines. Only slavery and the Confederacy marked off the South, and the memory and uses of each reinforced regional distinctiveness. He also argues that after the Civil War, white southerners became both more southern (regional) and more American (national) in their loyalties at the same time, doing so, for example, by denying the hated "Yankees" any claim as the true heirs of the Founding Fathers. That a powerful local identity might be necessary for a powerful national one is an idea worth following.

The second chapter looks at the "many Souths" that arose due to particular geographic, social, economic, and demographic elements within different localities. By examining localities within the context of the larger region, it becomes possible to see dissimilarities that point to what common traits made "the South." Also important, Kolchin insists, is an appreciation for change over time. What people at any time regarded as "southern" varied enormously (at one time Delaware and Maryland were "southern" and later some parts of those states remained so, a problem of definition anyone studying Florida can appreciate), and the post-emancipation South went through various permutations depending on one's place (freedperson versus former slaveholder, for example). In all this analysis, it is also crucial to distinguish which southerners one is using to define "the South." By including black southerners in the southern fold, for example, the character of "the South" changes in experience and meaning. Kolchin rightly queries whether black and white southerners who opposed the Confederacy were any less southern than those who were willing to die for Dixie. He might extend the varieties to include non-evangelical Protestant southerners, immigrants, and northern migrants in the region. If southern only has meaning in relation to an un-South, which un-South counts as the foil? The issue in the end, Kolchin contends, was (and is) who gets to speak for "the South" and control the dominant historical narrative.

The third chapter takes the more traditional understanding of comparative history by setting the South in relation to regions outside the United States. In fact, much good work has been done in this framework, especially comparing racial attitudes (as, for example, those of South Africa or Latin America with those in the South). In this chapter, Kolchin tills more familiar ground by drawing on his own previous analysis of the emancipation of the
Russian serfs and southern slaves to suggest ways to understand "freedom" and post-emancipation societies. Especially valuable in this chapter is Kolchin's comparison of the Civil War with other wars of national liberation and national unification as to the human and social costs, and his suggestions on the processes whereby the Confederacy and other new "states" attempted to create national identities. He concludes that what distinguished the South was not common language, religion, or ethnicity but a shared ideology. But it was an ideology that could have no staying power, even if the South had won the war. That suggestion should keep the counterfactual historians busy for some time.

Kolchin's book addresses historians particularly, and it echoes recent work by Thomas Bender, Don H. Doyle, and many German and Italian scholars who have been making similar arguments, and even demonstrations, of comparative history over the past several years. Like Bender et al., Kolchin cheats his argument by ignoring the comparative work of students of religion, anthropology, and sociology, which would help reframe some of the comparative scaffolding. But such criticism is a quibble. As Kolchin remarks in his afterword, this book does not represent "a fundamentally new approach" so much as it encourages more "precision and clarity—by adding context" (117) and using explicit articulated comparative frameworks to make sense of the past. By showing us how to imagine and see "the South" in new ways, Kolchin bids fare to unlock the mysteries of the sphinx of southern history.

Randall M. Miller
Saint Joseph's University


Much scholarship concerning the post-Civil War "New South creed" focuses on the actions of its male proponents, both northern and southern. Yet Monica M. Tetzlaff concentrates on another segment of the post-bellum population that advocated reform—northern-born women who spent the majority of their lives in the
South. In *Cultivating a New South*, Tetzlaff examines the life of Abbie Holmes Christensen, a northerner best known for penning a collection of African American folktales in 1892. Tetzlaff expands the biography to demonstrate that Christensen dedicated her life to improving the economic and social conditions of blacks in the South Carolina Sea Islands from the 1870s through the 1930s. Christensen’s life, Tetzlaff argues, “illuminates the possibilities of interracial cooperation and the tragic limitations of segregation facing a white woman reformer” of her era (xv). In short, Tetzlaff’s study successfully demonstrates that scholars must reconsider the “boundaries of region, race, and time” in the New South (xxi).

In 1852, Abbie Holmes Christensen was born to abolitionist parents in Massachusetts. At age 12, her family moved to South Carolina to take part in the Port Royal Experiment. The relocation and subsequent experiences ignited a lifelong commitment to black uplift within her. It was also during her Sea Island childhood that she first heard black stories of Br’er Rabbit and Br’er Fox. She attended college in her native state but returned to South Carolina with a desire to become involved in public life. She taught black children but soon took up a new passion. While at college, Christensen had become fascinated with the African American folktales she heard as a child and published her first story recollection in a northern newspaper. She withdrew from public life between 1875 and 1888 to start a family, but continued to collect and record black tales. In 1892, she published *Afro-American Folk Lore*. Tetzlaff’s analysis of the book is the study’s most intriguing aspect.

The author persuasively argues that paternalism most characterized Christensen’s book. Paternalism is a theme that connects Christensen’s life as an author and social activist, and Tetzlaff does a commendable job of illuminating the theme throughout the book. She asserts the folktales proposed a “romantic racialist” view of southern blacks that portrayed them as curious “others” in need of white uplift (118). Christensen perpetuated African American stereotypes by declaring them less rational and more musical and religious than whites. She believed it the duty of white northerners to provide the industrial education blacks so desperately needed. Tetzlaff also compares Christensen’s depiction of blacks to her famous predecessor, Joel Chandler Harris.

Tetzlaff maintains that although paternalism characterized each of the folklorists’ books, Christensen’s “abolitionist roots set her work in a different historical context than Harris’s” (124).
While Harris romanticized slavery and plantation life, Christensen viewed slavery as a sin that retarded black cultural progress. For instance, she maintained that blacks stole and lied because of the relationship that formerly existed between slaves and masters. Although both authors portrayed blacks in a less than dignified manner, Tetzlaff reveals that subtle differences distinguished the paternalism of southern apologists and northern reformers.

The book’s final chapters concerns Christensen’s role in opening a Sea Island school for blacks, her participation in local civic clubs, and her acceptance of socialism. Paternalistic motivations tie each of the chapters together well. Despite the book’s numerous strengths, though, some flaws exist. Tetzlaff delves into speculation or romanticism too often throughout her study. In chapter one, for instance, she says Reuben Holmes, Abbie’s father, “may have assisted escaped slaves through the Underground Railroad” (6). Later in the book, Tetzlaff maintains, “On a subconscious level, perhaps, knowing the magical beliefs of African Americans on the Sea Island prepared her to explore these mysteries on her own” (215). She offers no evidence or explanations to support these or other assumptions she makes throughout her study. Other questions remain unanswered. How did regional reconciliation, particularly during the Spanish-American War, influence Christensen’s activities? Is the Sea Island experience a regional aberration? How common was Christensen’s status as mother, activist, and relocated northerner in the region at the time? Despite these relatively minor qualms, Monica Tetzlaff successfully demonstrates that Christensen “cultivated a New South that held more educational opportunities, a greater number of social services, and closer contact between the races than it might have had without her” (228).

J. Michael Butler

South Georgia College


In her first monograph Reconstructing Dixie, Tara McPherson grapples with the schizophrenia of twentieth-century representations of the oppression of African Americans and the romanticizing of the
Old South plantation, owner, and mistress who did the oppressing. By analyzing novels, films, television series, and internet websites, McPherson explains how popular narratives and images shaped race, place, and femininity to the exclusion of black femininity and Southern progressivism. "Not a history" (32), Reconstructing Dixie pines for new narratives and images, “unwilling to abandon the South to the stasis and fixity of conservative forces” (8).

The first chapter focuses on the obsession and glorification of the Southern lady as a symbol of the Old South, somehow divorced from the ugly reality of slavery. Tourism brochures present the plantation as the site of Southern femininity, emphasizing the authenticity of the mistress’s clothing and dinnerware without mentioning that it was also the site of chattel slavery. Central to perpetuating the mythologies of the Old South, Margaret Mitchell’s Gone with the Wind receives lengthy treatment in Reconstructing Dixie. The film attempts to mitigate the overt racism of the novel, but in so doing is less honest about the fact that blackness defined whiteness and vice versa. The 1991 sequel Scarlett escapes the problems of race by erasing blackness altogether and moving the plantation and heroine to Ireland. McPherson blames late-twentieth-century avoidance of blackness in images of the Southern lady on “the inability of the United States to come to terms with the legacies of slavery” (73). Academic histories do not escape her indictment; McPherson provides a scathing critique of Southern women’s historian Catherine Clinton for never adequately acknowledging “white women’s complicity in the degradation of their male and female slaves” (79).

The other protagonist in mythologies of the Old South, the Confederate soldier, garners McPherson’s attention in the second chapter. Civil War tourism, antique gun shows, popular films, and novels valorize the Southern soldier while ignoring race and racism almost entirely. McPherson reveals her own bewilderment at the power of Confederate nostalgia to “reroute narratives of race and gender in the service of masculine tales of conflict and resolution” (100).

Fast forwarding to the Sun Belt woman, McPherson offers detailed and provocative readings of the film Steel Magnolias, Rosemary Daniel’s memoir Fatal Flowers, and the TV series Designing Women. Representations of New South femininity reveal the power of relationships among white women, even progressive women, but still provide no room for black femininity. The failure
of popular narratives to expand Southern femininity to include successful black women, the drag queens of Atlanta, or the lesbians of Camp Sister Spirit of Ovett, Mississippi leaves McPherson in search of new ways to tell the story.

McPherson finds her new canon in the artwork of Kara Walker, Octavia Butler’s 1979 novel *Kindred*, Randall Kenan’s short stories, and the TV series *Any Day Now*, to name a few. Unafraid of the messiness of race and willing to confront guilt and oppression, these works trace “what forms southern conversations about race might take.” However laudable, McPherson’s optimism outstrips reality. The disparity in readership between *Gone with the Wind* and *Kindred* or in the viewership of *Designing Women* and *Any Day Now* suggests that confronting race honestly will take more than new film or fiction.

Historians may be troubled by the critical film and literary theory interlaced throughout the book or by dense phrases such as “lenticular logic of racial visibility” (7). But McPherson is not a historian, and she is not writing a history. She often forgets chronology, provides no justification for selecting the texts she does, and offers little explanation for why representations of race and gender change when they do. In doing so, she illuminates something historians often miss: the power of images and tropes that have weathered, if not defied, change over time. Most importantly, *Reconstructing Dixie* reveals the need for more dialogue between disciplines. Southern historians would learn from listening more to American studies scholars as much as American studies scholars, McPherson included, could learn from listening more to Southern historians.

Matt J. Harper

*University of North Carolina*


Karen Cox’s *Dixie’s Daughters* presents the first comprehensive examination of one of the South’s most prominent political and social organizations, the United Daughters of the Confederacy. While historians have frequently profiled this organization in
broader works about the post-Civil War South and the Lost Cause, Cox charts new territory by positioning the UDC and its members at the center of the post-war southern narrative. She argues convincingly that it was women rather than men who commanded the South's celebration of the Lost Cause, and furthermore, that they sought not only to memorialize the dead Confederacy and those who fought for it but to "transform military defeat into a political and cultural victory where states' rights remained intact" (1). To this end, the women of the UDC erected monuments, monitored historical interpretation (combating that which was biased against the South) and sought to instill younger generations with the "truth" about the Confederate past. They did this by creating "Confederate Culture": ideas, symbols, and rituals imbued with racial and class hierarchies that reflected the upper-class values of UDC women.

Cox's findings not only shed light on the gendered nature of Lost Cause work but raise important class and generational considerations. Given the upper-class, conservative nature of the organization's make-up, Cox appropriately emphasizes the apparent irony inherent in the fact that the UDC expanded women's roles in the public sphere while promoting a conservative agenda. She also shows that women's new civic work to shape southern society was, more often than not, shrouded in traditional female roles. Particularly interesting is Cox's exploration of what she terms "Confederate motherhood," the UDC's maternalistic approach to instilling reverence for the Confederacy in a younger generation of southerners. To this end, they created organizations like the Children of the Confederacy, launched educational campaigns in which they championed textbooks with a southern bias, and encouraged school teachers and official to commemorate Confederate heroes.

Cox also makes an important generational argument. As the Lost Cause activity of Civil War veterans naturally waned with their increasing age, many Confederate women felt that the younger generation of southern men failed to sufficiently carry the mantle, a fact supported by the small membership rolls and lethargy of groups like the Sons of Confederate Veterans. As they were busy vindicating the war generation, women simultaneously chastened and prodded the "New Men" of the South to become more active in memorial activity. In the end, Cox argues, it was the women of the UDC who had the longest impact and whose efforts to transmit
"Confederate Culture" outlasted those of their male counterparts into the twentieth century.

Perhaps the most interesting of Cox's chapters looks at the UDC's little-known "Confederate Progressivism" which included efforts to fund scholarships for white women and universities both inside and outside of the South, and to engage the organization in reform issues. Ultimately, Cox suggests these efforts were limited by the women's narrowly defined class interests and failed to create any sort of broad progressive agenda. One is left wondering, though, why monuments, homes for the Confederate elderly, and college scholarships proved so much more appealing than causes such as industrial education. Was it simply a matter of class prerogative as Cox suggests, or perhaps the fact that textile mills were an unwelcome intrusion on the "old South" landscape the organization so vigorously invoked in their monumental and historical endeavors?

This question aside, Cox's book is a valuable addition to post-war southern studies. While sophisticated and nuanced analysis of gender and the Lost Cause has frequently appeared in both broader works and shorter essays and articles in the past few years, Dixie's Daughters stands as a comprehensive and important survey of an organization that has had great bearing on the way people have remembered the Confederate experience in the twentieth century, and certainly stands as the authoritative work on the subject.

Anne Marshall

University of Georgia


No single nineteenth-century technological innovation had a more important impact on the industrial growth of America than the railroad. Iron rails linked disparate sections of the country together. They were the technological and engineering marvels of the time, transporting freight from farms, forests, and mines to factories, foundries, and processing centers. Railroads also opened up new areas for settlement, whisking passengers from east to west and north to south. Though they helped thrust back the frontier,
railroads also profoundly altered the American political and economic landscape. Building railroads required huge amounts of capital; federal, state, and local governments showered railroad companies with free land, cash, and tax exemptions. This largess led to political corruption and scandals, triggering public outcry that led to state and federal regulation by the late nineteenth century. Because Florida's railroads have been so crucial to the economic development of the state, it is surprising that so few scholars have written about the subject.

Railroads in Florida are usually associated with the two Henrys (Plant and Flagler) and Ed Ball. While most work on Florida railroads has focused on the exploits of these figures, little work other than that of Dorothy Dodd, Dudley Johnson, and Canter Brown have focused on the nineteenth century. Also only one overview of the entire subject, a work by George Pettengill, recently reprinted has appeared in 1952.

Gregg Turner sets out to remedy this void in an engagingly written brief history of Florida railroads, a work that ably narrates from the panhandle's early horse-drawn roads to the Florida legislature's passage of the High Speed Rail Act in 2001. Turner's first chapters offer vivid portraits of Richard Keith Call, principle founder of the Tallahassee Railroad linking the capital with the cotton port of St. Marks. Also in these pages are Dr. Abel Seymour and John P. Sanderson who spearhead Jacksonville's first railroad project. David L. Yulee, Florida politico-railroadman whose Fernandina-Cedar Key line began operation just before the Civil War, also dominates the discussion. That conflict brought chaos and confusion to the state's unfinished and rickety lines. On the eve of the war, Jacksonville was linked with Pensacola but invading Yankees destroyed property and pushed state authorities to dismantle and reinstall track in varying configurations, as wartime needs arose.

Reconstruction brought Carpetbagger chicanery, hard economic times, and legal roadblocks, preventing both rebuilding and rails from pushing south into the peninsula. That all changed by the 1880s when Florida's trackage swelled from about 500 to nearly 2,500 miles, largely due to liberal land giveaways and spectacular speculation schemes. The stalemate was broken in 1881 when Gov. William Bloxham sold Philadelphia tool and die manufacturer Hamilton Disston a million acres of land in South Florida. This transaction erased the Vose injunction, a court order pre-
venting Florida’s Internal Improvement Fund from issuing further land grants until David Yulee’s pre-Civil War supplier of railroad iron had been paid. This act triggered an avalanche of railroad projects and ushered in the era of Plant and Flagler. Their stories are told well here.

The last third of the book is consumed with the rivalry of the Atlantic Coast Line and Seaboard Air Railway Line, a rivalry that dominated Florida railroading in the first seven decades of the twentieth century. Included in these pages are the exploits of Henry Walters, S. Davies Warfield, and Ed Ball.

Part of the Arcadia Publishing Company’s *Making of America Series*, this book is lavishly illustrated and possesses a lively narrative that will be well received as an excellent introduction to the general reading public. In the past, many railroad histories have fallen into one of two categories: the “robber baron” or the “heroic captain of industry” school. This book falls clearly in the latter tradition. Perhaps at some future date Turner might consider an expanded work that would include material on the social issues surrounding the builders, operators, and passengers, taking into consideration such issues as working conditions, labor disputes, and race relations (especially desegregation issues), with full documentation of sources. Such a work would fill a gap and would be well received. There is much interesting and important information here that could be followed up by students and scholars of the iron horse. But for now this is the best brief history of Florida railroads available.

James M. Denham

*Florida Southern College*


Maureen Ogle has written the first book on Key West that captures the spirit of the Conch Republic from the time John Whitehead first visited the island in 1819 until the late 1980s. Prior to her book, authors such as Jefferson B. Brown and Walter C. Maloney described nineteenth-century Key West, while others like Joan and Wright Langley have primarily focused on the latter part
of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Ogle, however, offers a more comprehensive survey, presenting her readers with the most important historical events that shaped the unique character and charm of the island in addition to delightful glimpses of the island's most legendary characters and their scandalous reputations. She has successfully managed to entertain and educate her readers by giving them a whimsical account of how visionaries shaped the history of Key West by capitalizing on the resourcefulness and fierce independence of the islanders. From the early days of shipwrecking to the present-day invasion of tourists, the island's commerce has changed with the times, but at a pace that is characteristically old Key West. What sets Ogle's book apart from other historical accounts is her magical ability to weave the eccentricities of popular characters such as Ernest Hemingway and Tennessee Williams into the factual history of Key West.

Ogle begins her history of nineteenth-century Key West with a tale of double-dealing. She recounts how Juan Pablo Salas, a postmaster in St. Augustine during the Spanish occupation, sold Key West to two buyers—John W. Simonton and John B. Strong—who in turn sold it to John Gedds. Ogle describes how the island's economy was transformed from its early days of shipwrecking in the 1840s to a thriving cigar industry by the 1890s. Americans, Bahamians, and Cubans lived and worked side by side, and together they overcame disasters such as hurricanes, smallpox epidemics, the great fire of 1886, and finally the depression in the early mid-1890s. The native population reacted to each disaster in their characteristic fashion, by rebuilding their dreams.

The author segues her readers into twentieth-century Key West by describing the impact that visionaries like Henry Flagler had on the economy. Flagler's railroad connected the island to the mainland, bringing much-needed revenue to the island. Ogle notes that by the 1920s, tourists began arriving on the island to enjoy the hotels, golf course, and above all, alcohol that was brought in from Cuba by the local rumrunners. Throughout the next twenty years, writers and poets like Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Tennessee Williams, Robert Frost, and John Dewy contributed to Key West's growing reputation as a haven for artists and intellectuals. However, the bohemian lifestyle would not last long for the realities of war in the 1940s dramatically changed the character of the island. Ogle describes how the military, especially the
Navy, transformed the island by upgrading its water supply and by its ambitious building projects. When the Navy left the island in the 1970s, the real estate boon, which had started in the early 1950s, revived the island’s economy for the invasion of tourists that continue to arrive in search of Old Key West.

The story of Key West throughout the past two centuries is illustrated by a number of prints from the Florida State Archives and the Monroe County Library. The author does not attempt an in-depth historical overview of the history of Key West, but her fast-paced, entertaining work cites the important events that took place during the past two centuries. The more serious historian can take note of the extensive list of primary and secondary resources for each chapter.

Ogle ends her history by citing a quote that characterizes the charm that she has captured of Key West. She writes that it will always be possible to find one of the “old Key West evenings, when you start out after dark with no idea of where you are going, or where you will go from there, but confident that it is going to be all right anyway” (241). This attitude characterizes the confidence that the islanders have had in their dreams.

Consuelo Stebbins

University of Central Florida


In this significant book, Robert M. Fogelson has taken on a huge and fascinating subject—the emergence of the modern American city. Although the book’s title suggests a focus on “downtown”—the traditional central business and shopping district—the author by necessity deals with the changing interrelationships among different sections of the city and between city and suburb. The story begins in the late nineteenth century, when new technologies in urban transportation and building construction permitted the city to break out of its spatial limitations. The electrification of urban transit in the 1890s facilitated and speeded the decentralization of city population into urban and suburban fringe areas, patterns that intensified with the coming of the automobile after 1900. New building technologies emerged around the same
time, especially the use of steel-frame construction, which permitted central district office buildings to rise to forty or more stories by 1910. Parallel inventions, such as the elevator and the telephone, cemented the role of the skyscraper in the urban economy. Mass production of consumer products and the simultaneous rise of advertising underlay a new culture of shopping and consumption, reflected in the massive department stores that shared central city space with rising skyscrapers. These varied changes were part of an emerging new urban geography involving the spatial separation of residence and business and the increasing specialization of land uses in the city.

These aspects of American urban history are well known. However, Fogelson's research has added a wealth of important new detail to the existing city narrative, essentially shifting the focus and altering our interpretive framework. His examination of dozens of contemporary municipal and trade journals in real estate, architecture, building, engineering, and transit, as well as newspapers and municipal government reports, revealed a fractious urban politics that few scholars have discussed or digested. According to Fogelson, many nineteenth-century urbanites subscribed to the theory of "spatial harmony," which posited that city and periphery, business and residence, were all complimentary parts of the same urban system. This may have been the theory, but the reality was quite different, especially as the cities moved into the twentieth century. Outer-district business groups squared off against central-city business interests. Residents who lived in outlying city districts or in suburbs disagreed with downtown business and real estate interests. Even downtown business groups were divided among themselves on many issues. Fogelson explores the way these divisions shaped political and policy disputes over rapid transit (elevateds and subways), skyscraper height, zoning, automobile parking, elevated highways, urban renewal, and the response to decentralization. On each subject, he brings a new level of detail and analytical precision to the discussion.

The chapter on rapid transit provides a good example of Fogelson's urban-history revisionism. The surging population growth of industrial-era cities and the concentrated economic functions of the central district combined to produce massive street-level congestion in downtown areas. Electric streetcars replaced horse cars during the 1890s but did not eliminate crowded or impassible streets. Two forms of rapid transit provided
potential alternatives—elevated railroads and subways. Each new technology had its advocates, but bitter political disputes prevented widespread adoption of either rapid transit method. Riders liked the “els,” but they were noisy, dirty, and dangerous. Property owners along the routes fought against their construction, and streetcar companies provided a powerful opposition. Nor did electrification make them more acceptable. Consequently, only New York, Brooklyn, and Chicago built elevated systems. Subway alternatives to street congestion also faced divisiveness, and construction costs seemed prohibitive to most cities as well. Only Boston, Philadelphia, and New York built subway systems. Thus, Fogelson’s point is that the campaign for rapid transit failed almost everywhere due to excessive cost, competition, and spatial politics. The consequences for downtown were severe: more businesses moved to the periphery to escape congestion, and city and suburban residents came to prefer the flexibility of the automobile over aging and slow-moving public transit. Each of these points is documented by Fogelson with withering detail, suggesting how going to the sources can illuminate old subjects in new ways.

Fogelson applies the same sort of conceptualization to his other major subjects: skyscrapers and zoning, automobiles and freeways, urban blight and redevelopment. As the twentieth century progressed, widening spatial distances between the central business district and the residential periphery confronted downtown business and real estate interests. The urban economy was decentralizing, and downtown department stores began following their customers to the suburbs. “Saving” the central business district became the goal of urban policy shapers. Thus, mayors and businessmen advocated building elevated expressways into the central city as a means of facilitating auto travel for work, shopping, and entertainment. Slum clearance and urban redevelopment became a method of recapturing inner-city land and revitalizing the downtowns. These same programs, however, often had the opposite effect, speeding decentralization rather than retarding it. The spatial harmony of the nineteenth century, if it ever existed, had certainly disappeared by mid-twentieth century, where Fogelson ends his story.

_Downtown_ will take its place as an essential text in the canon of U.S. urban history, and deservedly so. One caveat, however. Fogelson has relied entirely on the published sources mentioned above. He has mined these materials effectively and imaginatively.
By casting his net widely among business and trade journals, official municipal reports, and conference proceedings, he has exposed the internal debates over urban problems and policy alternatives. Missing from the notes are the manuscript sources of American city history: the papers of mayors and city politicians, the records of city agencies and private interest groups, the manuscript correspondence of reformers, businessmen engineers, and other urban movers and shakers. For the period after the early 1930s, federal agency records contain extensive and essential material on freeways, housing, slum clearance, urban renewal, and related subjects, but none have been utilized here. It is a curious omission, leaving this reviewer with the uneasy sense that there is still a lot more to tell about America’s downtowns.

Raymond A. Mohl

University of Alabama at Birmingham

From Calusas to Condominiums: A Pictorial History of Longboat Key from the Beginning to 2000. By Ralph B. Hunter. (Longboat Key, Fla.: Royal Palm Publishing Co., 2002. 254 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, scrapbook, appendix, bibliography, index. $22.95 paper.)

Ralph Hunter has seen many changes to the island of Longboat Key in the twenty-five years that he has lived there. As editor of The Longboat Observer for twenty years, he interviewed early residents and documented the island’s history. Hunter was also privy to the workings of local government that helped to shape the Town of Longboat Key. After he sold the newspaper in 1995 and with the end of the twentieth century fast approaching, Hunter decided that he needed to record all that he had learned. The result is From Calusas to Condominiums, which was published by Royal Palm Publishing Company in 2002.

Longboat Key is an island off the Gulf Coast of Florida about halfway down the peninsula. It is split between Manatee and Sarasota Counties. The island is bordered by the Gulf of Mexico to the west and Sarasota Bay to the east. Its shape has changed over the years, a result of both Mother Nature (in the form of tides and hurricanes) and man-made development using dredges and bulldozers. Money magazine recently included the island on its list of the wealthiest zip codes in the United States. From Calusas to
Condominiums tells the story of the island from the first prehistoric cultures thousands of years ago to the arrival of early settlers in the mid-nineteenth century to more modern residents who live in the towering high rises that now line the shore.

Hunter begins the book by stating that it is "not a true history," rather a collection of stories about the island and its past. This is an accurate portrayal of the book making it an easy but captivating read. This is a book a reader can begin at any point in the text and learn something about the island. Because the book is divided into sections such as "Post Offices," "Publications," and "Churches," the reader can pick and choose the parts of interest. The nature of the book as a collection of stories also resulted in the absence of footnotes. While this is a disappointment to the scholar who would like to do additional research on the island's history, Hunter is careful to credit sources within the text when possible.

Most of the photographs in this pictorial history came from the private collections of long-time residents and were not available to the general public until the Longboat Key Historical Society began preserving them. Particularly enjoyable are photographs of island residents at play. Children race prams with local businesses named on the sides of their boats. Others dive off the community dock in the 1950s. Volunteers proudly display the town’s first fire truck, and long closed island restaurants are forever memorialized within the pages of Hunter’s book.

While the book concentrates on local history, its flaw is in the general history of Florida and Manatee County. Misspellings of the names of towns such as Pine Level and Fort Brooke show that the author’s study focused primarily on the island’s history. He glosses over important moments in the history of the region such as the arrival of the railroad and the impact of Bertha Palmer. More emphasis on such events as the influx of new residents after World War II or the invention of air conditioning would have helped put the forces that shaped Longboat Key into better perspective.

Hunter chose to concentrate almost exclusively on the local history of the island of Longboat Key, and in this goal, he is successful. The people who resided there over a period of 150 years come to life in great detail. The stories that he tells make the reader laugh and cry. The formation of the Town of Longboat Key in 1955 included a fistfight between two of the leading citizens. A chapter entitled, “The Bridge Scam,” tells how in 1940, con artists
bilked local residents when they proposed to build a bridge from Longboat Key to Anna Maria Island. That he devotes several pages to the murders that have occurred on the island shows that this sort of crime is not something that happens regularly in the community. If every murder can be recounted so quickly, a quote that Hunter includes stating "Longboat Key is one of the safest communities in the state of Florida" must be true (2).

Many of the stories in From Calusas to Condominiums are from the recent past and detail the fine line that a small town walks when faced with the struggle to maintain its heritage and remain in the modern era. Key municipal decisions including the fund raising and lobbying that preceded important votes regarding zoning, and the establishment of community parks are outlined. One of the most important features of the book is the many charts and graphs showing population and residence statistics and how they have changed over time. Hunter also lists the names of all elected and appointed offices such as mayor and police and fire chiefs. This information will be of invaluable assistance to future students of island history.

At the beginning of the book, Hunter writes that he hopes "it will be as much fun to read as it was to write" (1). Hunter's wish comes true for the book is a fascinating account of the history of Longboat Key, Florida and should find a place in the library of everyone who enjoys a good story.

Cathy Slusser  
Manatee County Historical Resources Department


The titles of these two books give the appearance that neither focuses on Florida. Yet titles are often misleading and frequently do not reveal books' true subject matter. Cumberland Island and Savannah in the Old South do not focus on Florida, but they both
provide insights to understanding the early history of the state and its relationship with neighboring Georgia.

Mary R. Bullard’s *Cumberland Island: A History* describes the southernmost of the Sea Islands along the southeast Georgia coast. Located just north of the St. Marys River dividing Florida and Georgia, Cumberland Island is one of the largest of the Atlantic Sea Islands (17.5 miles long by 3 miles wide), but its remote location kept it from becoming a center for either Native American or European colonial development. From the mid-eighteenth until the mid-nineteenth century, the sparsely settled island produced cattle and horses, indigo, corn, cotton, some rice, and live oak for shipbuilding, which represented the most important industry on the island. Despite its inviting climate and productivity, few people have ever called the island home; the island’s population peaked in 1850 at 520 people.

Initially early Indian inhabitants occupied Cumberland Island sporadically, making seasonal winter visits for shellfish, turtles, deer, and other wildlife. In an attempt to win the loyalty and support of the native inhabitants, Franciscan friars from Spanish Florida established San Pedro de Mocamo mission and built a triangular fort on the southern end of the island; they continued their missionary work on the island until 1689. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the English alliance with the Creek Indians undermined Spanish influence over the island. After the English settled Savannah in 1733, they slowly took control over the trade of southern Georgia, Florida, and the Caribbean.

The mid-eighteenth century imperial wars redefined Cumberland Island and the Georgia-Florida borderlands. Bullard reminds us that fluid boundaries during the eighteenth century permitted people to establish land holdings on both sides of the international boundaries. Moreover, those plantations and villages could disappear almost as quickly as they emerged, leaving behind little but place names, many of which still remain today.

Even though Cumberland Island fell under American control after the War for Independence, it remained a lawless area of contention until Spain ceded Florida to the United States in 1821. Thereafter the island’s economy became intricately interwoven into the South’s plantation cotton economy, and correspondingly suffered, as did the rest of the south, during the Civil War. The post-war period saw the decline of agriculture and the emergence
of sea island tourism, in which Cumberland Island provided a refuge for the wealthy Carnegie family seeking to escape the congestion and climate of the North; Andrew's brother Tom purchased a great portion of the island in 1882 and the family maintained control until 1972 when Congress created the Cumberland Island National Seashore Reserve under the United States Parks Service and opened it to the public.

Bullard's detailed and informative study describes five centuries of change to the landscape of the island. Beginning with the island's Native American inhabitants, she chronicles the influence of the Spanish, French, African, British, and American inhabitants, including General Nathanael Greene and her own Carnegie family's control of the island until 1972. The Cumberland Island within these pages illustrates how human development as well as wildlife, water, wind, and the cycles of nature have shaped and continue to influence the island's history.

Walter J. Fraser Jr.'s *Savannah in the Old South* provides a bold narrative sweep through Savannah's history from the city's founding in 1733 until the conclusion of the American Civil War in 1865. In doing so, he describes the economic and social hardships and uncertainties that faced the settlement as it grew from an isolated English outpost until its emergence as the sixth largest city of the Old South.

During the first two decades of the settlement's existence, Savannah experienced constant foreign threats from Spanish Florida, as well as internal threats from aggressive, expansionist-minded Carolinians who sought Georgia's land and trade with the Indians. Throughout, Georgia's founder General James Oglethorpe worked to keep the English malcontents marginalized, the Creek Indians allied to England, and the Spanish from invading; he succeeded in all three. Oglethorpe convinced the colony's trustees that the malcontents' petitions for slaves would undermine Georgia's effort to recruit indentured labor; he reaffirmed English friendship with Creeks in September 1739; and he led an English attack against St. Augustine in 1740, which although unsuccessful ignited a border war that soon expanded into the larger King George's War. Spanish forces never captured Savannah.

The end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 brought a degree of stability to the borderlands, as Spain transferred Florida to Britain and Savannah gained peace of mind. Settlers pushed south of the
Altamaha River, and the colony claimed the St. Marys River as its southern boundary. Yet the postwar optimism soon evaporated as the British government reversed its policy of “salutary neglect” and implemented a new policy designed to make the colonies raise revenue, defray expenses, and fulfill their role within the British imperial system. Yet within two years, Savannahians had joined with other colonials in protest of the crown’s Stamp Act.

Events of the revolutionary period from 1765-1782 stretched the fragile social fabric of Georgia. Slaves escaped, formed maroon settlements in nearby swamps, and began raiding local farms. Poor white laborers also joined with the Sons of Liberty, while merchants boycotted British goods. The British invasion in December 1778 and occupation of the city until April 1782 resulted in considerable social and economic chaos. In fact, post-war prosperity did not appear until some years later when Eli Whitney invented a cotton gin that radically altered the economic system of the southern states.

Savannah experienced the same boom-bust economic cycles that impacted other southern cities during the antebellum period. But the city also had the advantages of access via railroad and river, which stimulated economic expansion, encouraged immigration, and brought wealth that permitted city-sponsored public services. The cosmopolitan city fostered a desegregated social system; blacks and poor whites lived, worked, and played together, which, according to Fraser, “most likely rounded the rough edges of racism” (343). Yet the Civil War and the subsequent dislocations and depredations brought about the demise of “Old South Savannah.” Slaves fled in surprising numbers to Union ranks, while poor whites unexpectedly deserted Confederate lines rather than die for the city’s wealthy elite.

Fraser’s Savannah in the Old South vividly demonstrates, with engaging prose and solid research, how European, African and Native American men and women influenced the city’s development during the first one hundred thirty years. Filling a historiographic void, Fraser has judiciously blended political, economic, and social history to show how the Civil War, combined with free market forces, social circumstances, and other factors have left their marks on the city, reshaping Savannah and its society for the unforeseen future.

And while neither of these books deals exclusively with Florida, readers would be well served to add them to their collec-
tion. Both illustrate the important links between Georgia and Florida, especially during the uncertain early years of European imperial competition, and they provide a foundation for understanding the complex relationship that has developed along the Georgia-Florida border.

Gene A. Smith  
*Texas Christian University*


In this concisely written, clear volume, Randy Sanders examines a moment of change in the tenor of southern politics. Using four gubernatorial campaigns, he shows how the successful politicians distanced themselves from the older segregationist stance. Invoking a kind of "new populism" to retain conservative voters along class lines, these candidates projected an air of racial progressivism without making any actual policy promises. The "subtle evasion of racially charged issues" practiced by the governors-to-be contrasted sharply with the bigoted grandstanding of their opponents, many of them incumbents elected for their anti-integration postures (ix). While this is a political history in the strictest sense, Sanders also casts his eye toward broad social and cultural analysis, claiming that these elections illustrate not only the "growing moderation of the region" but also "reveal the character of the southern people by capturing a moment in their time of transition" (3, ix).

Sanders chooses four states—Arkansas, South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia—as representative of these general trends. The choice of these particular elections, explained in the first chapter, seems somewhat arbitrary, although common themes do emerge. One cannot help but think that the author lost an interesting comparative opportunity by limiting his discussion of George Wallace's 1970 victory. Making a compelling case for focusing on campaigns rather than terms, the author asserts that his main interest lies in shifting public opinion not actual policy. Chapter Two, "The Other," charts the growth of the "New South" and its entrance into the American mainstream through contribu-
tions to popular culture and the shared national struggles of school desegregation.

The book proceeds chapter by chapter through the state elections, using candidates’ papers, newspaper coverage, and oral interviews to piece together the political details. In Chapter Three, Sanders sees Arkansas voters as tired of the politics of race and ready for moderate leadership. He extends this interpretation to the other states, postulating that although most citizens wanted an end to social disturbance, large sections of the electorate did not necessarily desire tangible change in the racial status quo. As for Florida, the intricate account of several contests and at least five different actors makes this section confusing for all but the most intent students of recent politics. Despite this, Sanders does a nice job of outlining Rubin Askew’s finessed treatment of the busing issue.

By the final chapters on South Carolina and Georgia, the story centers on politicians’ negotiations with the public acceptance of integration. The desegregation controversies in every election, but in particular in South Carolina, reveal just how far racial moderation could be pushed before it became political suicide. A thoughtful chapter on Jimmy Carter details the constraints on racially liberal politicians to even make it into office. We cringe when Carter tells an African American leader, “You won’t like my campaign, but you will like my administration”; however, we believe that to be the reality of the time (162). This anecdote begs the question of how far the majority southern electorate had in fact moved, if at all, on issues of race.

Sanders grapples with this in the conclusion: “After examining the successful campaigns of 1970, one might applaud the transformation of southern politics or one might come away saddened by the missed opportunity to end racial politics” (174). Indeed, we are left wondering, although the rhetoric of rabid segregationists had become taboo, did the “avoidance of race” in political discourse create an atmosphere so very different from what had come before (178)? Sanders shows a moderate progressivism embodied in these New South gubernatorial candidates; even so, he cannot reconcile inauguration day promises with on-going battles and continuing racial separation.

Rather than a conclusive analysis of change, ultimately Sanders renders detailed examples of the South wrestling with the two-party system. An explicit engagement with the wider histori-
ography would have broadened the applicability of this book to regional trends more generally. Students of southern politics will find this volume valuable for its close reading of individual elections. Sanders illuminates the difficulty of tracking the mechanisms of political and cultural evolution, inviting further research into our recent and often uncomfortable past.

S. Willoughby Anderson  
*University of North Carolina*

*Southern History Across the Color Line.* By Nell Irvin Painter.  
Introduction, notes, acknowledgments, index. $27.50 cloth,  
$17.95 paper.)

Professor Nell Painter’s recent publication is a collection of six essays that span her distinguished academic and professional career. The title of the collection refers to color caste in Southern and American society, including the academy, and how these essays, written by a black woman scholar, transgress traditional conventions of race and historiography. Her methodology in studying Southern history includes race, class, and gender; material conditions of “wealth and income, work, the distribution of power in the political economy, and white supremacy”; the beaten enslaved body; cultural symbolism; and Freudian analysis to interrogate the Southern preoccupation with sexuality (2).

The first essay, “Soul Murder and Slavery: Toward a Fully Loaded Cost Accounting,” reprints an important essay from the early 1990s in which Painter examined the legacy of violence inherent in slavery. For those unfamiliar with this article or who have had difficulty in finding it, this collection fortunately offers it. In it, Painter suggests that greater attention to the archival record of pain and violence is needed to reckon a more comprehensive narrative of slavery. The term “soul murder”, derived from trauma studies, refers to psychic destruction as a consequence of violent and/or sexual abuse. She questions the legitimacy of historiography that does not include the implications of a violent culture for all Southerners. One of the seminal suggestions of this essay is its complication of the relationship between enslaved and slave-holding women. Painter posits that sources must be more critically examined in order to reveal their implications.
The second essay corroborates Painter’s assertion that the violent abuse of slavery affected all Southerners, including those considered most privileged. The forty-one-year journal that Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas maintained illustrates the devices borne of a violent culture that compromised elite white females. The third essay continues Professor Painter’s examination of race, class, and gender among Southern women focusing on Gertrude Thomas and her journal, Sue Petigru King’s novel and character, Lily (1855), and Harriet Jacobs’s autobiographical Linda Brent in Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl Written By Herself (1861). Her critique questions the usefulness of a single “The South.” In the fourth essay, “‘Social Equality’ and ‘Rape’ in the Fin-de-Siècle South,” Painter examines the cultural symbolism of race equality; and of pornographic power. The essay offers a compelling thesis of inquiry.

The last two essays examine politics and patriarchy in the biography of black Communist, Hosea Hudson (1898-1988); and race and sexuality in Wilbur J. Cash’s interpretation of Southern history in The Mind of the South (1941). Hudson’s life reveals the material conditions of working-class status based on race and how those conditions stimulated sustained radical activism. In the last essay, Painter provides a much-needed re-reading of a Southern classic.

Painter’s thoughtful collection is the result of a career spent in close examination of Southern history. She demonstrates how that text can still reveal much but only if we sharpen and enlarge our intellectual armamentarium. She challenges us to re-read the sources.

Fon Gordon  University of Central Florida

Florida’s Farmworkers in the Twenty-First Century. By Nano Riley.

Florida farmworkers have long been ignored by outsiders. Despite low pay, dangerous working conditions, and substandard housing, they rarely appear in the news, and their lives have generally escaped the attention of scholars. Perhaps the best insights into the plight of Florida’s most exploited workers have come in television documentaries like Edward R. Murrow’s famous exposé, “Harvest of Shame,” that appeared on Thanksgiving eve in 1960.
Thirty years later, a PBS documentary, “New Harvest, Old Shame,” updated the story, but few scholarly studies have appeared.

*Florida’s Farmworkers in the Twenty-First Century* seeks to fill some of this huge void. With a text by Nano Riley, a freelance journalist, and eighty-one photographs by Davida Johns, this book portrays the conditions these workers face today and highlights various efforts to bring about change. Organized topically around subjects such as wages, housing, education, family life and health and safety, this study draws on the limited written sources, notably government reports, and twenty-six interviews that Riley conducted with farmworkers, farmers, and advocates for farmworkers. A prologue provides some historical background, and each chapter illustrates one of the specific topics, using both photographs and lengthy quotes from interviewees to illustrate the various problems and current attempts to deal with them.

In both its text and images, the book clearly makes several points. First and foremost, the conditions faced by farmworkers have changed little since “Harvest of Shame.” The work is still largely stoop labor performed by hand. The only machines shown in the book’s photographs are the tractors, trucks, and busses that are used to transport produce and workers. Pay remains abysmally low, especially on an annual basis, due to short workweeks and seasonal unemployment. Despite legal restrictions, child labor persists since extra hands mean extra money for the family. The housing pictured in the book looks exactly like that in Murrow’s 1960 documentary. The faces of the workers themselves have changed over the last forty years as African Americans have been displaced by immigrants, primarily Mexicans, from Latin America and the Caribbean. Some farmworkers have also forsaken the old migratory pattern of life and taken up permanent residence in South Florida, where they can find employment much of the year. Still, migrants dominate the farm labor force. Indeed, continuity rather than change marks most aspects of farmworkers’ lives.

Less an overview than a series of impressionistic snapshots, *Florida’s Farmworkers* highlights people that sometimes contribute to a distorted image. For example, the only crew boss profiled and quoted at length is a Mexican-American woman who contracts with farmers to supply workers, many of whom are reportedly family members. She and her husband are described as “popular bosses who work alongside their crew” (26). Surely, this example misrepresents the nature of Florida crew bosses, 40 percent of whom are currently barred from doing business because of various legal vio-
lations related to wages, transportation and housing. Similarly, the only farmers profiled and quoted in the book are two partners “who want to do something positive for farmworkers” (82) and who have a plan to “offer good, affordable housing” (83). Given other descriptions and photographs of deplorable housing in the rest of the book, focusing on two strawberry farmers who want to “do the right thing” (85) provides not balance but distortion. In addition, focusing on the story of two individual employers neglects the role played by large corporations that dominate Florida agribusiness.

To its credit, Florida’s Farmworkers does cover the efforts of numerous activists seeking to improve conditions. Ranging from lawyers and teachers to clergy and union organizers, these men and women deserve recognition, especially since their commitment offers real hope for change in light of the inaction, or worse, of most government officials. Indeed, the fact that many farmworkers are undocumented migrants means that they themselves often avoid any contact with public authorities, making them virtually powerless at the hands of abusive crew bosses and farmers. The book also points out that unions have made few inroads in Florida agriculture, but the author does little to explain the reasons, except to mention that many workers are undocumented and Florida is a right-to-work state, which means “unions wield little power to increase employee’s wages” (13). However, heavily unionized groups like teachers do exercise considerable leverage in Florida, so there must be other reasons why unions for farmworkers remain weak in Florida and in most other states, as well.

Given the general invisibility of farmworkers, any book devoted to them helps fill a vacuum. Florida’s Farmworkers in the Twenty-first Century brings attention both to this exploited group and the need for more comprehensive and in-depth studies.

Robert P. Ingalls
University of South Florida


The Rise of Southern Republicans is the third book on southern politics by Earl Black and Merle Black, following their Politics and Society in the South (1987) and The Vital South (1992). Black and
Black are undoubtedly the foremost scholars on southern politics, and their latest book is marked by the same careful and thorough scholarship that characterized their previous two books. As with their previous books, *The Rise of Southern Republicans* will be required reading of any student of southern politics for some time to come.

In the 1990s, the South continued its transformation from a region once dominated by the Democratic Party to one where two-party competition flourishes and where the Republican Party, arguably, now has an advantage. Specifically, southern Republican candidates for Congress finally began to match the performance of their Republican presidential candidates. The evolution of southern Republicanism at the congressional level is the primary focus of this book. In 1950, Republicans held just two southern U.S. House seats and no U.S. Senate seats. Today, Republicans hold a majority of House and Senate seats, and indeed the national Republican majority is dependent upon the party's southern seats. Of course, this represents a remarkable turnaround, as once it was the South that provided the Democratic Party with an enormous advantage in controlling Congress. The national implications of southern political developments are made often by Black and Black, making this an interesting read for those who are not concerned solely with southern politics.

The most important point stressed by Black and Black is that the rise of southern Republicans occurred gradually, primarily as the result of southern congressional Democrats adapting to political developments to insulate themselves from the gains made by the Republican party at the presidential level, beginning with the Eisenhower campaign in 1952. Black and Black use case studies to demonstrate how southern Democrats first stressed their racial conservative credentials and ran far to the right of both the national Democratic and Republican parties. However, after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, southern Democrats built biracial coalitions, meaning that Republicans had to secure huge landslides among white voters to win elections.

The chapter on the effects of the presidency of Ronald Reagan is perhaps the most interesting of the book, especially as the "Reagan realignment" of the partisanship of southern whites is presented by Black and Black as setting the stage for the later GOP gains in the 1990s. One cannot help thinking, though, that had it not been negative retrospective evaluations by southern whites of
the presidency of Bill Clinton, southern Republicans would not have made the advances they did in the 1990s. While Clinton is not ignored completely, this is one aspect of the partisan changes of the 1990s that might have been explored further by the authors.

Any discussion of southern politics inevitably must address the role of race and the on-going debate over its effect on party competition. Black and Black do a good job of not dismissing racial attitudes as a factor in increasing Republican voting, but at the same time, emphasizing that there are multiple cleavages in contemporary southern politics, including religion, social class and gender. This is a refreshing perspective, as it seems all too frequently that some scholars stress racial attitudes to the exclusion of everything else, while others seem to want to ignore the fact that southern Republicans have used, and continue to use race in subtle ways.

The concluding chapters of the book stress that the rise of southern Republicans has resulted in a truly competitive national party system, and that close and competitive elections for the presidency and control of Congress are likely to prevail for some time. Again, the message here is that understanding southern political developments is crucial in making sense of national politics.

Overall, *The Rise of Southern Republicans* makes for a compelling, and fairly easy read. Black and Black rarely engage in data analysis that goes beyond frequency distributions or cross-tabulations, and this makes the book accessible to a wider audience. Perhaps one criticism—indeed a more general criticism of the study of southern politics—is that while the electoral trends and patterns are discussed in meticulous detail, there is rarely any consideration of the policy consequences of this partisan realignment on either the region or the nation. This caveat aside, Black and Black have once again affirmed their position as the leading authorities on the contemporary American South.

Jonathan Knuckey

*University of Central Florida*
Book Notes

by Charles E. Crosby


Several events and trends transpired in the 1990s that necessitated an updated edition of *Florida Weather.* In this second edition, Morton D. Winsberg uses the technological improvements of the past decade to hone the observations of one decade ago. The El Niño Southern Oscillation produced such severe climate changes that the author added sections on torrential rains and on Hurricane Andrew and expanded the discussion on drought. In addition, the state’s growth and urbanization introduced a new discussion on urban heat islands, and concerns about global climatic change inspired Winsberg explore that topic as well. The text is organized seasonally, and generous maps and photographs bring the discussions to life. *Florida Weather* is a useful and informative tool for any Florida resident.


This compact volume combines a historical overview of the architecture of Coral Gables with maps for self-guided tours to view its rich “boom time” heritage. Coral Gables emerged as a product
of the early 1920s Florida land boom. The city grew rapidly from poet and city planner George E. Merrick’s conceptualization of an elegant suburb of Miami to independent incorporation in fewer than five years. Seeking to preserve the integrity of Merrick’s idyllic vision, Aristides Millas and Ellen Uguccioni supplement the historical narrative with contemporary photos, renderings, and sketches that exemplify the various phases of development. Afterward, the authors offer six tours, broken down by sectors and themes of the city, which offer interested parties a first-hand look at its past and development.


In the 2003 preface to the reprinted volumes of _A Social History of the Disciples of Christ_, Professor David Edwin Harrell Jr. attempts to place his works in their historiographical context. In the early nineteenth century, the “amorphous collection of churches” known as the Disciples of Christ lacked a centrally defined orthodoxy. Much of the early scholarship reflected the fragmentary nature of the subject, failing to articulate a cohesive, unifying theme. But under closer examination, Harrell identified the Civil War as a significant period of transition for the Disciples of Christ, during which loose denominational organization gave way to three distinctly identifiable circles of fellowship. These classifications essentially provided a unifying thread, thereby opening the door for future explorations with an organized framework.

Harrell’s contribution is undeniable, as evidenced by the University of Alabama Press’s decision to reprint these seminal works. _Quest for a Christian America, 1800-1865_ (a revised version of
his dissertation) and Sources of Division in the Disciples of Christ, 1865-1900 dissect the ways that sectional tensions inspired church leaders to unify the different church segments while simultaneously examining the difficulties inherent in such an undertaking. Harrell’s insight into the social nuances of the Disciples of Christ offers readers a window to the social and religious evolution of nineteenth-century America.


Dale L. Hutchinson’s *Bioarchaeology of the Florida Gulf Coast* explores the adaptations made by several of Florida’s indigenous populations. Focusing on the Gulf Coast of central Florida, particularly on the Palmer Site at Historic Spanish Point, Hutchinson evaluates the Palmer population with regard to health, lifestyle, and demographic trends. The remnants of this post-Archaic settlement indicate an existence based on hunting, gathering, and fishing, rather than on agriculture. Noting this divergence from the general transition to agriculture witnessed in Mississippian cultures, Hutchinson develops the notion that population growth in the Gulf Coast area depended upon greater political and social complexity in addition to nutritional diversity. Included are several appendices that, along with tables, graphs, and charts throughout the text, help to translate the scientific jargon for readers with passing familiarity. In all, he offers a straightforward and comprehensive overview of bioarchaeological interpretations regarding environment, culture, and demography for post-archaic Gulf Coast central Florida.
History News

Call for Papers

The 2005 Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held on May 18-21 at the Colony Hotel in Palm Beach. The meeting theme is “From Gators to Glitz: Community Builders in Florida,” and papers and panels that focus on the community builders from Henry Flagler, Addison Mizner, and Carl Fisher to Cyrus Weed Teed and the Walt Disney Corporation are welcomed. Presenters are encouraged to suggest session chairs. Please send a full vitae (including email address) and a paper proposal to Dr. Nick Wynne, Florida Historical Society, 2005 Annual Meeting, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL

Deadline for submissions is 1 February 2005. Scholars who are accepted for the program will be notified by e-mail by 15 March 2005. A full-length copy of the paper will be due to the Society offices by 15 April 2005.

Conferences

The editors of H-Florida and the Florida Historical Quarterly are pleased to announce the 2004 Florida History Online Symposium. The symposium theme is “Florida as Global History.” The symposium will take place in person and online. In September 2004, H-Florida will post the online symposium to its subscribers. The Southern Historical Association will feature a round table of the symposium participants at its annual meeting in Memphis, 3-6
November 2004. In a future issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the individual essays and other commentary will be reproduced as a special issue. In order to subscribe to H-Florida, visit http://www.h-net.org/~florida/. For further questions, please contact Daniel S. Murphree at dmurp@mail.h-net.msu.edu or Robert Cassanello at cassanel@mail.h-net.msu.edu.

**Websites**

Issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* through 1996 are available online. Visit the Florida Heritage Collection at http://susdl.fcla.edu/fh/ and do a title search for "Florida Historical Quarterly." While users may freely search and read these electronic versions of the *Quarterly*, permission to distribute them either in print or electronically must be received from the Society's office. Directions are available at the website.

**Important Notice**

As of 1 June 2004, the headquarters of the *Florida Historical Society* moved to 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922, in the Alma Clyde Field Library of Florida History. The new telephone numbers is (321) 690-1971 and the new fax number is (321) 690-4388. The changes are necessitated by the Society’s continued development of and renovations to the Rossetter House Museum and Gardens. The anticipated grand opening of this facility is expected on 1 September 2004. For further information, contact the Society offices.
Echoes from a Distant Frontier
The Brown Sisters' Correspondence from Antebellum Florida
Edited by James M. Denham and Keith L. Huneycutt
The correspondence of Corinna and Ellen Brown, two single women in their twenties, who left a comfortable New England home in 1835 for the Florida frontier
cloth, $39.95, 1-57003-536-9

New in Paperback
Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives
The Florida Reminiscences of George Gillett Keen and Sarah Pamela Williams
Edited by James M. Denham and Caner Brown, Jr.
The tale of two pioneers who came of age in antebellum Florida’s Columbia County and the nearby Suwannee River Valley
paper, $16.95, 1-57003-512-1

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The Florida Historical Society

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The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905

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Dating its origins to St. Augustine in 1856, the Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in Florida and serves as the only statewide historical society. The Society is dedicated to the preservation of Florida's past through the collection, archival maintenance, and publication of historical documents and photographs; to scholarly research and publication through the Florida Historical Quarterly, and a variety of awards for the researching and publishing of Florida history; and to public history, historic preservation, and youth education through Journeys for the Junior Historian, the Society's annual meeting, awards recognizing the teaching of Florida history, and the Printe Shoppe—a book and gift store offering over five hundred texts in Florida history.

The Society's official headquarters and the Field Library of Florida History are located in Cocoa's historic United States Post Office, built in 1936. The Society's research collections house 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 at (http://www.florida-historical-soc.org).