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Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350; (407) 823-6421; fax: (407) 823-3184; email: <flhisqtr@pegasus.cc.ucf.edu>. Manuscripts should be submitted in duplicate. Additional guidelines for preparing manuscripts will be supplied on request. The Florida Historical Society and the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* disclaim responsibility for statements whether of fact or opinion made by contributors.

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Cover Illustration: Postcard view of the central business district along Call Street in Starke, Florida, 1941. *Courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

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A Muddy Water Warrior's Manual: Toward a Riverine Warfare Tactical Doctrine in the Second Seminole War

by R. Blake Dunnavent

After days of tedious excursions in the miserable humidity of Florida's Everglades, Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin decided to return his disabled and sick to their island base. The sailors, now several years into the Second Seminole War, had become physically overwhelmed by the wet conditions, biting insects, and swamplife around them. Moving through terrain typified by "continuous portage over stumps and cypress knees with occasional glimpses of open water," the healthier of McLaughlin's men continued their assignment, paddling their small canoes to search out signs of enemy activity. Excitement arose as three canoes were discovered concealed in the undergrowth, but the force did not locate any Indians. When given orders to proceed to the coast, the men found a renewed strength as they maneuvered their own boats away from the anxiety of riverine warfare.[1]

Lieutenant McLaughlin's experience in the final months of the Second Seminole War provides an example of the development of a naval tactical doctrine for the operations in Florida's riverine environment. Drawing upon aspects of riverine operations originated in the American Revolution (including harassing fire,

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R. Blake Dunnavent is assistant professor of history at Lubbock Christian University.

1. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 23 December 1841, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Commissioned Officers Below the Rank of Commander and from Warrant Officers, 1802-1884 (hereafter cited as Officers' Letters), Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 141, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

fire support, and riverine amphibious landings) and the War of 1812 (such as the daytime ambush), the naval forces in Florida from 1835 to 1842 found the challenges of Indian warfare and a semi-tropical environment reason to improve on the precedents and implement new tactics that would establish patterns for future riverine warfare. In contrast to the two former conflicts that predominantly implemented riverine warfare with blue water tactics (naval concepts and combat maneuvers associated with the oceans and seas), the navy's involvement in Florida initiated brown water tactics and the creation of forces to contend with the enemy in his native environment. From 1835 to 1842, naval officers introduced several mobile riverine force tactical concepts and also the first printed tactical document issued to all men in the riverine force.[2]

The need for naval forces on the coastal and inland waters of Florida became apparent early in the Second Seminole War. In 1836, the U.S. Army decided that a coastal blockade of the peninsula would prevent arms shipments from nearby Spanish Cuba from reaching the Seminoles. Additionally, army leaders realized that the navy could supplement the blockade by providing logistical support for military operations ashore; in order to counter the Seminoles' guerrilla operations, the navy, initially acting jointly

2. The best one volume compilation on the U.S. Navy in the Second Seminole War is George E. Buker, *Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1975). Buker, however, provides only an operational history. Although he accurately contends that the United States Vietnam Navy's Mobile Riverine Force originated in the nineteenth century, he neither focuses on the tactics that emerged nor analyzes their later influence on twentieth-century U.S. Navy riverine warfare tactical doctrine. Critical to understanding this form of combat is familiarization with several key terms. Tactical doctrine is the tentative set of guidelines under which a sailor operates when in combat. A riverine environment is an inland area with extensive water surface and/or inland waterways—rivers, canals, swamps, marshes, streams, bayous, and lakes—that provides routes for surface transportation and communications. A mobile riverine force refers to a "force composed of naval, ground, and air forces organized to conduct riverine operations from afloat and/or land bases of operations"; U.S. Marine Corps, FMFM 7-5A Draft, *MAGTF Riverine Operations*, Riverine Warfare Center of Excellence, Camp LeJeune, N.C., 1-3. Typically, the mobile riverine force conducted river assault operations defined as "[t]hose strike operations conducted in a riverine environment, characterized by the employment of ground combat units closely supported by riverine naval forces"; Department of the Navy, NWP 21(A), *Doctrine for Riverine Operations* (Washington, D.C.,1968), Glossary-2, MEF File, Marine Corps Archives, Quantico, Va.

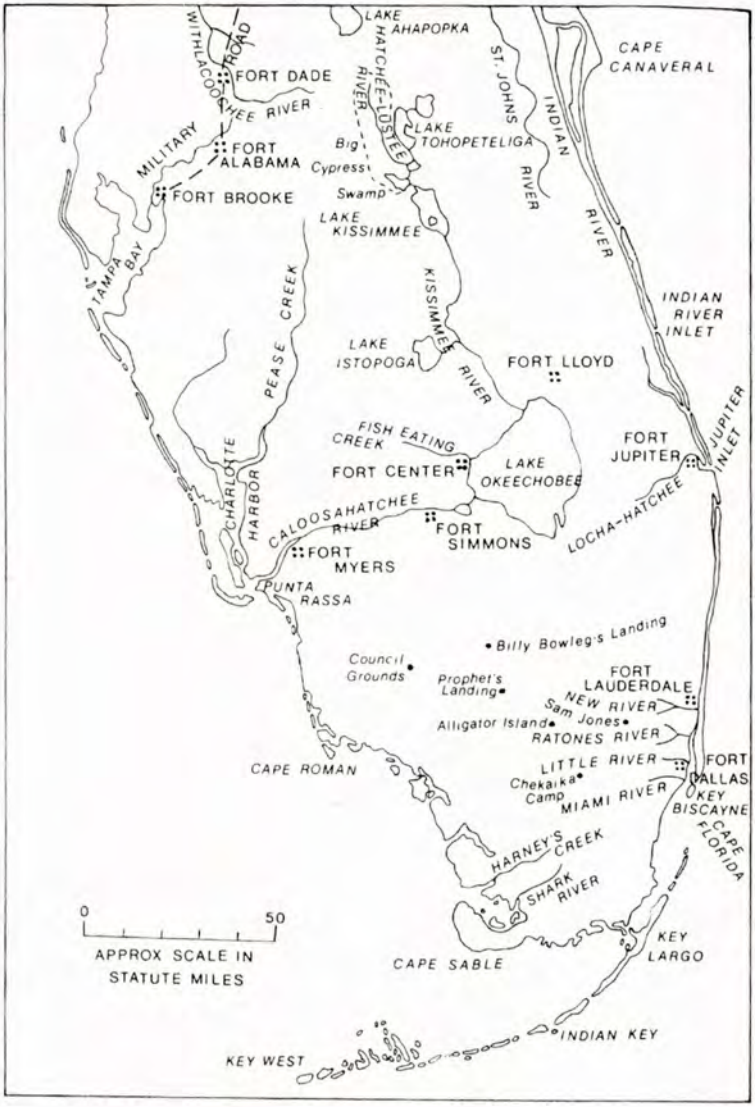
with the army and later independently, began river assault operations along the inland waterways of Florida.[3]

In early 1836, small naval vessels patrolled the coastline and keys, hoping to engage Seminole warriors encamped on the shore or near river mouths. In March, however, Lieutenant Levin M. Powell, commander of two cutters from the *U.S. Vandalia*, received orders to "proceed to the examination of the river Manatee, the Mullet Keys and to cruise along the main coast North of Anclote Keys with a view to intercept the hostile Indians in their retreat coastwise" from the army's advancing infantry. Although Powell's force did not encounter any Indians, this brief expedition established a precedent for subsequent operations.[4]

On April 12, Colonel Persifor F. Smith ordered Powell again to assist the army on a small operation up the Myacca River, charging him "with the superintendence of the operations afloat." After the combined force "advanced as far as the depth of water would permit," sailors and soldiers disembarked and marched along both banks of the river. When the supplies and the men were exhausted, General Smith ordered the force back to their base.[5]

Powell, using the experience he had gained in the Spring expeditions, launched an extended riverine operation against the Seminoles in October. Initially, Powell's force operated along the coastline and only went inland to investigate suspicious activity, such as campfire smoke or fleeing Indians. But using coastal patrols to flesh out the Seminoles proved futile and, on October 29, Powell commenced a two-pronged maneuver in the New River area. In the

3. Virginia Bergman Peters, *The Florida Wars* (Hamden, N.J.,1979), 162-163; Buker, *Swamp Sailors*; Mark Freitas and Braddock W. Treadway, "Stygian Myth: U.S. Riverine Operations Against the Guerrilla" (M.A. thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 1994), 24, 26; The Secretary of the Navy to William B. Shubrick, 14 June 1839, Records Relating to the Service of the Navy and Marine Corps on the Coast of Florida, 1835-1842 (hereafter cited as Records), Record Group 45, Entry 186, National Archives.
4. Levin M. Powell to Thomas T. Webb, 28 March 1836, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Captains' Letters, 1805-61 and 1866-85 (hereafter cited as Captains' Letters), Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 125, Reel 120, National Archives; Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 221. Unlike future sustained riverine operations, such as those during the Vietnam Conflict, those of the Second Seminole War consisted of individual riverine expeditions conducted for weeks and months instead of years. In addition, naval officers serving in Florida rarely named these expeditions or operations.
5. Levin M. Powell to Thomas T. Webb, 27 April 1836, Records, Record Group 45, Entry 186.



The Lower Peninsula during the Second Seminole War. In Virginia Bergman Peters, *The Florida Wars* (Hamden, Conn., 1979), 222.

first mobile riverine force tactic of the war, Powell divided his forces and ordered the ground element to "ascend the Ratones to its head waters, and with the marines of the expedition march up on the

New river, while Lieut. Smith would enter the river from the sea." The ground force rowed to its assigned landing site, disembarked, and marched toward the New River. The waterborne component ascended the New River to block—and thereby contend with and cut off—the escape of any Indians forced by the ground unit toward New River. While the foray failed to discover any Indians residing in the area, Powell had employed a blocking movement in the first mobile riverine tactic of the Second Seminole War.[6]

On November 1, Powell decided to move upstream into the Everglades to search out enemy sanctuaries and record the topography of the region. This expedition penetrated about twenty miles into the Everglades and undertook similar operations along surrounding rivers throughout November.[7]

Although unsuccessful in rooting out Seminoles, Powell was inspired by this operation, and on September 24, 1837, Powell wrote to Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett, volunteering his services for another expedition into the Everglades. A combined force of sailors and army infantry was organized under Powell's command, as was a small fleet of fourteen pirogues or canoes, twelve newly built shallow draft boats, and two additional boats. Powell's naval force was to be the third unit in a search-and-destroy campaign conducted by Major General Thomas S. Jesup, the army commander in Florida. One ground force would operate between the Pease Creek and Caesium River while another would proceed inland from the headwaters of the Caloosahatchee River. The naval force would operate on the east coast in an attempt to locate enemy sanctuaries and "endeavor to capture the women & children, to fall upon the war parties—and to harass & terrify the nation, by this unexpected" maneuver.[8]

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6. Levin M. Powell to Thomas Crabb, 8 December 1836, in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 13 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1835-1842), 4: 298-99; Alexander J. Dallas to Secretary of the Navy, 23 December 1836, Records, Record Group 45, Entry 186.
7. Powell to Crabb, 8 December 1836, 298-99; Alexander J. Dallas to Secretary of the Navy, 23 December 1836.
8. George E. Buker, "Lieutenant Levin M. Powell, U.S.N., Pioneer of Riverine Warfare," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47 (January 1969), 267-69; idem, *Swamp Sailors*, 57-61; John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville, 1967), 219-20; Secretary of the Navy to Alexander J. Dallas, 1 November 1837, Records, Record Group 45, Entry 186; Levin M. Powell to Secretary of the Navy, 2 May 1838, enclosed in Alexander J. Dallas to Secretary of the Navy, 16 July 1838, Captains' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 125, Reel 241; Levin M. Powell's memorandum, 10 October 1837, quoted in Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 56.

Beginning on December 26, then, Powell's force traveled the Indian and St. Sebastian Rivers in search of the elusive foe, discovering only three fleeing Indians in the process. His expedition was part of the first large-scale joint operation of the war in which riverine naval forces operated in concert with non-riverine forces to achieve strategic goals. From December 1836 to January 1837, Powell's naval arm was amalgamated into General Jesup's overall search-and-destroy campaign against the Indians. While the main body of ground troops pressed southward, Powell's group, part of a three-pronged blocking element, conducted river assault operations on the Indian, St. Sebastian, St. Lucie, and Jupiter Rivers. On January 15, Powell discovered a trail, and his men "secured the boats from observation in a creek" and marched along the trail. Shortly thereafter Powell's force engaged the enemy: in the opening moments the Americans repulsed their attackers, but the Seminoles, well-entrenched, concealed, and able to maintain a sustained volume of fire, eventually forced Powell's detachment to retreat to the boats. Strategically, Powell's force accomplished its mission, and although Powell lost the battle, this engagement demonstrated the tactical freedom of movement and safety provided by the rivercraft.[9]

Several months following, Powell received orders to assist Army Lieutenant Colonel James Bankhead in a joint operation into the Everglades. On March 23, they attempted to entrap a band of Seminoles on an island within the Everglades. Bankhead ordered one ground unit to disembark and proceed in a straight line toward the suspected enemy position. The colonel directed another ground element to attack the left flank and rear of the position while Powell's men moved in the boats to the right flank of the island because of the depth of the water. Although the Indians chose not to battle, this operation exemplified the tactical flexibility of mobile riverine forces and the use of naval elements as transports and maneuvering units.[10]

From April 1838 until late 1840, the navy was not actively involved in riverine warfare. While its forces occasionally transited

9. Levin M. Powell to Alexander J. Dallas, 17 January 1838, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 115; Powell to Secretary of the Navy, 2 May 1838.

10. Levin M. Powell to Alexander J. Dallas, 2 May 1838, Captains' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 125, Reel 241; Report from an unknown officer in Colonel Bankhead's command, in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 6: 268-69.

short distances on rivers or marginally penetrated the glades, these incidents were infrequent and consisted principally of naval mapping expeditions and rescue attempts for shipwrecked victims.[11]

But Powell's excursions into the Everglades did establish a pattern of riverine operations that Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin would continue in the 1840s. A veteran of military and riverine operations in Florida from 1836 to 1839, McLaughlin conferred with the Secretaries of the Navy and War about riverine tactics in the winter of 1839. On December 2, Secretary of the Navy James K. Paulding concurred with McLaughlin that his "suggestion as to the practicability of penetrating the Everglades and capturing the Indian Women and Children undoubtedly concealed there, is practicable." Paulding ordered McLaughlin to acquire flat-bottomed boats and plantation canoes so as "to penetrate the Everglades further than has yet been done by white men, Surprise and capture the Indian Women and Children, and thus end a War which has cost so many millions." McLaughlin selected a west coast site, near Lostman's Key, from which to enter the glades on this mission. His recommendation to inject a naval presence into the Everglades hinted not only of his conceptualization of riverine forces but also his desire to pursue total war.[12]

Throughout the early summer of 1840, McLaughlin explored, mapped, and occasionally entered the Everglades from the western coast. McLaughlin realized, however, that the eastern reaches of the Everglades, which consisted of meandering streams that bisected the glades and proceeded in every direction, required more thorough exploration and mapping to make operations plausible. Therefore, in July, McLaughlin led a force twenty-two miles into the Everglades via the Miami River. This group met no enemy opposition and confirmed the feasibility of coast-to-coast operations.[13]

McLaughlin's preparations manifested about five months later in the first large-scale joint operation of the war, combining his forces, which consisted of 150 sailors and marines, with U.S. Army Colonel William S. Harney's 100 ground troops to "surprise and attack" the

11. Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 69-96.
12. Secretary of the Navy to John T. McLaughlin, 2 December 1839, 1 May 1840, Records, Record Group 45, Entry 186; Secretary of the Navy to John T. McLaughlin, 2 December 1839, in Clarence Dewin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 27 vols. *The Territory of Florida, 1839-1845* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 26: 4.
13. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 4 August 1840, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 129; Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 105-106.

Seminoles "on the borders of the Cypress swamp at the N.E. corner of the Everglades and to pursue and chase the Indians to the last point to which we can follow them." Furthermore, McLaughlin planned for the naval force to proceed further into the Everglades after the joint venture and emerge on the west coast where transport ships would ferry them around Capes Romano and Sable to their base.[14]

On December 31, the combined force departed Fort Dallas and entered the Everglades. Several days into the campaign, near some islands between the New and Little Rivers, a boat with two Indians aboard appeared in front of the advancing forces and quickly maneuvered away. A number of the riverine column's canoes were dispatched to apprehend the fleeing Indians, but an hour of searching resulted in nothing.[15]

More significantly, however, McLaughlin implemented a tactic first introduced in the War of 1812—the daytime waterborne ambush. This tactic first emerged when Commodore Isaac Chauncey conceived and carried out a plan for hitting the British with a surprise attack on the St. Lawrence River. He ordered one of his subordinates to "take three gigs with only their crew . . . in each boat, and proceed down the St. Lawrence, secret himself on some of the islands and wait a favorable opportunity to surprise a brigade of loaded boats." The officer immediately set out down the river and prepared an ambush for any unsuspecting British forces. During the Second Seminole War, as McLaughlin's men slowly paddled their canoes toward an island, they spotted four enemy canoes heading in their direction. McLaughlin ordered his men to disperse in their canoes and to conceal themselves in the surrounding sawgrass to ambush the approaching Indians. When the Indians were within range, the sailors opened fire and inflicted a number of casualties. Those Seminoles who escaped injury or death jumped into the water and eventually fled into the surrounding sawgrass.[16]

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14. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 31 December 1840, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 132. McLaughlin noted that although the military and naval forces worked together, both maintained separate commands, marginally paralleling the Mobile Riverine Force command structure in the Vietnam Conflict.
15. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 24 January 1841, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 133; Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 112.
16. Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 112; Isaac Chauncey to Secretary of the Navy, 20 June 1814, in John Brannan, ed., *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States During the War with Great Britain in the Years 1812-1815* (Washington, D.C., 1823), 341.

On January 12, 1841, Harney ordered his men back to Fort Dallas, but McLaughlin continued deeper into the glades as he had planned. For six days McLaughlin's men examined Alligator and Council Islands, among others, finally entering Harney's River which emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. On January 19, McLaughlin and his men emerged from the Everglades and were picked up by his transports. The use of transports were indicative of another tactic introduced during the War of 1812—the employment of larger vessels from mobile bases which provided logistical support for riverine operations. Both McLaughlin and Powell sailed to designated points, unloaded the smaller boats and proceeded into the interior. McLaughlin, however, slightly altered this procedure when he began coast-to-coast operations that entailed offloading the men on one coast then sailing to the opposite coastline and awaiting the arrival of the riverine force.[17]

The twenty-one day operation convinced McLaughlin that more extensive transits into the Everglades were necessary. It took him eight months to replace the men lost during his previous operations, and his determination to create a force solely of marines and sailors slowed the process more.

As he waited for McLaughlin, Lieutenant John Rodgers, one of McLaughlin's subordinates, led four minor operations through the Everglades. On one of these excursions, "Our course . . . was circuitous and led through creeks which the Indians had cleared with thin hatchets." Rodgers and his men disembarked from the boats and "commenced a march toward an Indian town," but they did not intercept any Indians.[18]

Meanwhile, McLaughlin gathered enough men and supplies for his planned operation into the interior. On October 10, he and his two hundred men proceeded along Shark River and into the Everglades to join forces with an army unit at Chakika's Island. Nine days into the journey, on their way to Cape Romano, the force spotted two Seminoles in a canoe; McLaughlin ordered a small de-

17. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 24 January 1841; Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 112.

18. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 14 March 1841, Records, Record Group 45, Entry 186; Report of an Expedition, 11 June 1841; John Rodgers to Extract, 22 June 1841, John Worth to Thomas Childs, 12 July 1841; Rodgers to Jones, 17 August 1841; Worth to Rodgers, 20 September 1841, all in Box #5, Folder for January 1841-June 1841, Papers of the Rodgers Family, Naval Historical Foundation Collection, Library of Congress.

tachment to pursue the Indians. Two days later, the entire force destroyed packs, cooking utensils, three canoes, and fifty-six acres of beans, peas, and pumpkins discovered on a nearby island. After this somewhat successful outing, McLaughlin's outfit exited the glades near Cape Romano where transports again awaited them.

It was this October 1841 expedition that produced one of the first written records of tactical doctrine in American riverine warfare history. McLaughlin's General Orders, issued on 5 October 1841, detailed tactics for riverine columns, landing procedures, and command and control aspects. Concerning command he stated that of the five detachments assigned to his force each detachment commander "is alone responsible for its efficiency; and, under him, each officer, non commissioned officer & coxswain in charge of a boat will be held directly responsible for the order and efficiency of his boat." According to McLaughlin, the boats in the column were to proceed in single file with ten spaces between each boat. While underway, silence was to be observed and no one was permitted to stand up in his boat. The landing instructions stated that "each boat will come to in the order of sailing to the right or left of its advance as shall be directed, each preserving its interval whenever [it] is practicable." When the force prepared to bivouac for the night "each detachment will come to on the right or left of its advance and four canoes being distant for it." Moreover, "Each detachment will encamp in front of its boats and no officer or man will be permitted to be absent from his camp after the guard shall be set without permission."[19]

Following the distribution of this document and throughout the remainder of the war, naval personnel operated under these orders. McLaughlin attempted, by issuing his orders, to provide his subordinates with a standardized form of tactics upon which they could act. Yet as the corresponding documentation suggests, McLaughlin did not want these to restrict the independent initiative critical to combat situations.

Upon arrival at Punta Rassa on October 26, McLaughlin devised a subsequent mission to "ascend the Caloosahatchee River into the Everglades & crossing at the Southern extremity of Lake

19. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 25 October 1841, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 139; General Orders to the Florida Expedition, 5 October 1841, enclosed in John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 17 January 1842, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 142.

Okeechobee seek the source of the Locha Hatchie River & descend to Fort Jupiter." On November 3, McLaughlin departed up the Caloosahatchee with 150 naval and 60 military personnel. After five days of hard rowing, the force exited the Caloosahatchee into Lake Thompson and then into the Everglades. Within five days the force recovered three boats stolen from an earlier army expedition. For seventeen days, McLaughlin and his men scoured the Everglades from Lake Okeechobee to Key Biscayne, where they emerged from the interior on 25 November.[20]

McLaughlin immediately launched another joint operation. Only two days after completing the previous expedition, a force again entered the Everglades, reaching camp at Prophet's Landing on December 1. From this location Lieutenant Rodgers led scouting parties into the Big Cypress Swamp, eventually to join forces with an army unit supposedly advancing toward Rodgers' position. When Rodgers returned on December 6, having traveled some twenty-five miles in waist-deep mud, he had neither discovered any Indians nor found the army unit. A dispatch then arrived from Colonel William J. Worth advising McLaughlin to proceed to Fort Pierce. On December 12, his force reached Council Island and a day later moved through the cypress swamp near the Locha Hatchie. Again, McLaughlin's men laboriously searched for Seminoles in the fatiguing terrain. They returned to Key Biscayne on December 23 without engaging any.[21]

Following this month-long operation, McLaughlin devised an offensive against the Indians that "will be disposed of in two commands and enter the Everglades from opposite sides of the territory." One group would "drive through the cypress Locha Hatchie & Halpatioke Swamp on the East side-and through the Mangroves . . . at the Headwaters of the Caloosahatchee on the West side into the Okeechobee" in order to surprise enemy forces in a pincer movement.[22]

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20. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 30 October 1841, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 139; John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 25 November 1841, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 140.
21. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 23 December 1841, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 141.
22. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 17 January 1842; John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 17 January 1842, Records, Record Group 45, Entry 186.

Lieutenant John B. Marchand, commander of the western element, departed from Fort Dallas on February 11, 1842, and entered the Everglades via Harney's River. After establishing a camp eight miles south of Coconut Island, Marchand ordered Acting Lieutenant C.R.P. Rodgers to scout the region west of Fort Dallas and south of the Everglades for Indians. Simultaneously one of Marchand's units under Acting Lieutenant James S. Biddle's command ascended the Miami River, hoping to join up with Marchand before he arrived at Fort Dallas. Biddle's force, however, unknowingly passed Marchand en route to the Everglades. Biddle pressed farther into the interior north of Fort Henry, and about eighteen to twenty miles from the fort, his unit located and pursued a small band of Indians who led the Americans to a Seminole village. The soldiers destroyed the Indians' homes and foodstuffs and before returning to Fort Dallas where they rejoined Marchand and reentered the Everglades. By late March, Marchand's command completed its mission and arrived at Key Biscayne.[23]

In the meantime, Lieutenant John Rodgers, commander of the eastern detachment, departed for the glades along the Locha Hatchie River. His group operated in the oppressive conditions for sixty days, examining the region around the Caesium River, Lake Tohopekaliga, and Lake Okeechobee. Rodgers established bases throughout the region from which his troops carried out exhaustive searches for the enemy. Once again, the Americans never engaged any Indians although they did destroy numerous dwellings and crops. Frustrated, Rodgers ordered his force to Key Biscayne.[24]

In April 1842, in their final attempts of the war to locate enemy forces, McLaughlin sent Lieutenant James S. Biddle to the mangroves near Cape Sable to drive the Seminoles, if there, "back upon the pines while with another detachment he will keep a look out upon the neighborhood of Coconut Island and Long Key to prevent an escape from that quarter into the Big Cypress." Addition-

23. On this particular mission, McLaughlin remained at Indian Key while Marchand and Rodgers carried out the pincer movement. The lack of approximate dates for Marchand's actions results from McLaughlin's neglect of chronology in his correspondence to the Secretary of the Navy; John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 18 March 1842, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 143; Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 129-32.

24. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 29 April 1842, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 143; Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 127-29.

ally, McLaughlin ordered Marine Corps Lieutenant Thomas T. Sloan to investigate the area between the New and Miami Rivers. About five miles from Fort Dallas, Sloan located several Indian settlements and immediately destroyed them. In the meantime, McLaughlin and his units moved up Hillsborough River and discovered an island with abundant crops ready for harvest. A small detachment remained behind to ambush the Indians, but because the enemy did not return, this group soon departed and joined up with McLaughlin farther down the east coast. Two months later, the U.S. government terminated the war, and the officers and men of the navy's riverine force returned to the blue water fleet.[25]

McLaughlin's tactical doctrine combined with the implementation of new tactics improved the effectiveness of riverine combat operations and expeditions in the Second Seminole War. As George E. Buker explains, military and naval leaders knew "that these continual treks into the Everglades were placing an almost intolerable burden upon the Seminoles." More specifically, the riverine raids forced the Seminoles to implement restrictive measures to insure their continued survival and fighting capabilities. These included the limitation of movement within the Everglades and reliance "on ambush, fire, and flight to resist the Americans." Moreover, because of the scarcity of powder the Seminoles were "forbidden to discharge a gun except in combat." In the end, such limitations on the Seminoles proved that, although federal forces seldom engaged Seminoles in direct combat, the navy's riverine warfare tactics were effective against the Indians.[26]

Significantly, the U.S. Navy's role in the Second Seminole War provided critical brown water experience for a blue water navy. Officers and enlisted men who served in Florida later used their experience on the rivers of America during the Civil War. Yet, personal knowledge only partially contributed to the foundation of riverine warfare tactics. Correspondence and the General Orders furnished an additional starting point for future naval leaders who, by the 1960s, had to formalize tactical doctrine in an equally difficult environment in South Vietnam.

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25. John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 27 March 1842, Officers' Letters, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 143; John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 29 April 1842; John T. McLaughlin to Secretary of the Navy, 26 May 1842, Record Group 45, Microfilm Collection 148, Reel 144.
26. Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 134.

Bert Fish: From Volusia County Courthouse to American Embassy

by Sidney Johnston

In 1940, Cairo's *Al-Ahram* observed that Volusia County lawyer and American diplomat Bert Fish had "gained the love of Egyptians for his frankness and ability to become the friends of Egyptians, and because of his great love for Egypt he is proud to call himself 'half-Egyptian'"—strange praise for a man of humble origins who began in the courtrooms of central Florida, rose to prominence in the state supreme court and the national Democratic Party, and eventually became a significant member of America's diplomatic corps. Indeed, few early twentieth century Volusia County residents achieved the level of distinction enjoyed by DeLand attorney and judge Bert Fish.[1]

Oddly, then, Fish has been understudied by historians. Rising out of the ranks of Florida's Democratic Party in the 1930s, Fish took advantage of the federal patronage system to enter the foreign service and become one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's most trusted and valued diplomats. Although two of Fish's associates served in prominent public offices—Cary D. Landis as Florida's attorney general between 1931 and 1938, and Francis P. Whitehair as undersecretary of the U.S. Navy in the 1950s—neither proved as successful as Fish in accessing the upper echelons of national or international politics. One of Fish's political opponents, David

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Sidney Johnston operates a historic preservation and historical consulting business in DeLand, Fla. The author thanks William R. Adams, John J. Guthrie Jr., and Samuel Proctor for commenting on earlier drafts of this article.

1. *(Cairo) Al-Ahram*, 1 June 1940.

Stetson University graduates of the class of 1895 assemble in front of the president's home. Bert Fish stands in his cadet uniform. *Courtesy of Stetson University Archives, DeLand.*

Sholtz, a Daytona Beach attorney who served as governor of Florida between 1933 and 1937, never developed the wide circle of contacts enjoyed by the diplomat from DeLand. Although some scholars have examined the careers of Sholtz and Whitehair, none has explored Fish's ascent from Volusia County politics to international diplomacy.[2]

Born in Indiana on October 8, 1875, Fish moved at age five with his family to Spring Garden, Florida, a small settlement in western Volusia County. His father, George W. Fish, escaped the harsh winters of the Midwest to plant citrus in central Florida. In 1892, following the untimely death of George, the family moved to DeLand. Fish attended Stetson University and graduated from its academy in 1895 and, seven years later, from its newly organized law

2. For sketches of the political careers of Sholtz and Whitehair, see Merlin Cox, "David Sholtz: New Deal Governor of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 43 (October 1964): 142-152; Jerrell Shofner, "Roosevelt's 'Tree Army': The Civilian Conservation Corps in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (April 1987): 433-456; and Melvin Hughes, "William J. Howey and His Florida Dreams," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (January 1988): 243-264.

school. During those years, he clerked in a DeLand store, taught in the local public school, and, perhaps most importantly, developed political connections that helped him secure the post of reading clerk for the Florida senate in the 1897 and 1899 legislative sessions. Politically ambitious, Fish ran successfully for the office of superintendent of Volusia County's public school system in 1901, opened a law practice in 1902, and, in 1908, was elected prosecuting attorney. Two years later, Governor Albert W. Gilchrist appointed him judge of the criminal court to fill the unexpired term of Judge James W. Perkins, who had recently been elected to the Florida Senate. Volusia County voters then elected Fish to the post in 1912. During his terms as prosecuting attorney and judge, Fish became known for his courtroom oratory, penetrating questions, and ability to remember names, associate faces, and develop lasting friendships.[3]

Early in his political career, Fish formed a law partnership with his former Stetson University professor and mentor, Cary Landis. Also a native of Indiana, Landis had earned a law degree from the University of Michigan in 1899 and helped organize Stetson's law school in 1900. After leaving his teaching position, Landis concentrated on building the law firm and served two years as state's attorney. Working primarily in civil law, Landis & Fish proved a profitable partnership with a case load derived largely from real estate, municipal bonding, and corporate law. Setting high goals, the partners carefully cultivated a clientele of wealthy banks, large municipal governments, emerging public utilities, and regional railroads. Periodically they hired graduates of Stetson's law school as junior partners. While the legal work of Landis & Fish centered in Volusia County, their practice extended throughout central Florida, representing clients at courts in Bartow, Green Cove Springs, Kissimmee, Orlando, Tavares, and Titusville. In 1912, Minor S. Jones, prominent Titusville judge of Florida's Seventh Judicial Circuit, said of Landis that "no lawyer in the circuit could bring to the

3. Criminal Court of Record, Book 3, 468-481 and Book 6, 1-219, both in Volusia County Courthouse, DeLand, Fla.; Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Volusia County, Florida* (Daytona Beach, 1927), 391; Gilbert Lycan, *Stetson University: The First 100 Years* (DeLand, Fla., 1983), 89; *DeLand News*, 2 December 1910; *DeLand Sun News*, 16 January 1926.

service of the people brighter promise." Fish became known for his aggressiveness in closing big deals. Landis, also a wheeler-dealer, earned a reputation as a suave sophisticated gentleman.[4]

As early as 1906, Landis & Fish argued cases before the Florida Supreme Court. Within a decade, the firm defended twenty-seven clients in Tallahassee and, in 1919 alone, handled ten supreme court cases. Their most infamous Volusia County case pitted Stetson University president Lincoln Hulley (1904-1933) against Helen Hunt, a former student whom the president had suspended. Hunt alleged that Hulley's actions and unkind words constituted slander and libel. In 1907, Landis & Fish accepted Hunt's case but, in 1912, lost on appeal at the state level, along with fifteen thousand dollars awarded by the lower court. Notwithstanding the Hunt setback, the partnership won most of its supreme court cases and, by 1915, was both well-connected politically and enjoying a statewide reputation.[5]

Through his legal activities, Fish realized the lucrative nature of real estate investments. In 1903, Landis and Fish purchased and then incorporated the Volusia County Abstract Company, which prepared abstracts of land conveyances, mortgages, and other legal instruments. Two years later, they constructed a building near the county courthouse from which they operated the law firm and abstracting business. Fish gained an extensive knowledge of real estate values and foreclosures, and acquired six commercial buildings, two hotels, and several citrus groves in DeLand. His landholdings eventually totaled several thousand acres, many of which were planted in citrus and extended into Flagler, Pinellas, Seminole, and St. Johns counties. During the Florida land boom, he converted some of his acquisitions into speculative housing developments, such as Daytona Gardens and Harbor Point subdivisions.

4. *DeLand Sun News,* 16 January 1926, 12 November 1937; Gold, *Volusia County,* 388, 391-392; Civil Bar Docket, Book 2, 1-101, Volusia County Courthouse; *New York Times,* 11 May 1938; *Titusville East Coast Advocate,* 26 April 1912; W.T. Cash, *The Story of Florida,* 4 vols. (New York, 1938), 4: 633.
5. *Moore v. Rush,* 42 So. 238 (1906); *Florida East Coast Ry. Co. v. Smith,* 55 So. 871 (1911); *Hulley v. Hunt,* 57 So. 607 (1912); *Aultman v. Atlantic Coast Line R. Co.,* 71 So. 283 (1916); *Marsh v. Atlantic Coast Line R. Co.,* 80 So. 307 (1918); *Isleworth Grove Co. v. Orange County,* 84 So. 83 (1920); Lycan, *Stetson University,* 153-154; *DeLand Sun News,* 16 January 1926, 12 November 1937.

In 1923, Bert Fish, Incorporated, was formed—a $500,000 real estate company through which he managed his extensive holdings.[6]

Fish also initiated his political fortune from the legal practice. He and Landis helped organize a powerful bloc of Democrats in DeLand, which the *DeLand News* labeled Volusia County's "courthouse ring." Although some animosities ran deep and long between so-called "ring" and "anti-ring" partisans, the lines that separated the blocs were amorphous, flexible, and changed over time. Factions existed throughout the county, rather than dividing along strictly geographical lines of east versus west. Temporary coalitions emerged to oppose interests within, and sometimes outside, Volusia County, or to rally behind a popular politician in a statewide election.[7]

Landis and Fish, then, exerted considerable influence over local and, to some extent, statewide politics. For instance, they helped to select candidates for Volusia County's positions of sheriff, clerk of courts, supervisor of elections, solicitor, and judge, and endorsed candidates for seats on the county council. Their support enabled Judge James W. Perkins and businessman Jacob B. Conrad to win seats in the state senate in 1911, 1913, and 1915.[8]

Notwithstanding this new-found personal wealth and political clout, Fish discovered the limits of his influence and the degree to which he was disliked in some political circles, even in his hometown. In 1916, after six years as a criminal court judge, Fish decided not to seek another term and instead ran for the state senate. Volusia County's senate seat had become vacant following the death of Jacob Conrad, a lumber magnate whom Fish had backed in previous campaigns. Fish mistakenly believed that Conrad's supporters would also back his bid for the senate. A political campaign filled with invective and recriminations ensued with charges of corruption leveled at Fish by his opponent, attorney James E. Alexander, and one of Alexander's supporters, Judge Isaac Stewart both of DeLand. The two men characterized Fish as a political boss who as judge exercised "monstrous power . . . with all the money he wanted," personally doling out patronage in Volusia County. This

6. *DeLand Daily News*, 20 February 1925; *Florida Agriculturist*, 17 January 1906; Bert Fish Real Estate and Land Record, Fish Trust Archives, DeLand, Fla.; Record of Incorporations, Book 1, 200-205, and Book 3, 549-553, Volusia County Courthouse; Henry Chapin, *Florida: Past, Present and Future*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1914), 2: 159.
7. *DeLand News*, 3 May, 10 May, 31 May, 7 June 1916.
8. *DeLand News*, 3 May, 10 May, 31 May, 7 June 1916; Gold, *Volusia County*, 143.

was not the first time that Alexander and Stewart publicly criticized Fish's ethics; earlier, in 1914, they had leveled charges of misconduct and corruption against Fish to Governor Park Trammell, asking for the Judge's removal from office. Although dismissed, charges of corruption resurfaced during the 1916 campaign when Stewart publicly claimed "I have saved you [the county's taxpayers] thousands of dollars against the ring, single handed. I have caused thousands of dollars to be returned to the county treasury, which had been misappropriated and have stopped the leaks in many other ways." Fish countered the insinuations and encouraged the "voters of Volusia County to bear in mind that their unwarranted, unjust, unfair, and malicious attacks have been going on for nearly two years. I have answered to the Governor of Florida each and every charge that has been submitted to him by these two men." Identifying himself as the "Red Fox of Volusia County," Fish challenged Alexander to "Meet me on the stump. On that public platform I will ask no quarter of you." Alexander, who had served two previous terms in the Florida Legislature and practiced law in DeLand since 1883, declined the challenge. Still, Fish lost the election.[9]

The loss temporarily derailed Fish's political career. Lacking a judicial or political post, Fish returned full-time to his law practice and abstract company. Indeed, some of Fish's most productive years in law, especially at the state supreme court level, came following his 1916 defeat. But, he remained politically active and advanced the political careers of friends. The support of Landis & Fish, in part, helped Stetson University president Lincoln Hulley win two terms in the state senate. In 1920, however, their assistance was not enough to keep Hulley from losing the gubernatorial race to Cary Hardee.[10]

In 1917, Landis & Fish achieved an important victory for politicians in western Volusia County, when the bloc successfully thwarted a move by eastern Volusia politicians to subdivide the county. The heavily populated eastern region, including Daytona Beach, contributed a larger percentage to the county tax coffers than property owners who lived in western Volusia and in DeLand, which had served as the seat of county government since 1888. In 1915, DeLand's population stood at 3,490, compared to the 4,526

9. *DeLand News,* 3 May, 10 May, 31 May, 7 June 1916; *DeLand Sun News,* 22 April 1932; Gold, *Volusia County,* 142.
10. *DeLand Sun News,* 22 April 1932; Gold, *Volusia County,* 142-143.

in the Daytona Beach vicinity. Five years later, the disparity had widened with Daytona Beach's 7,691 residents nearly double that of DeLand's 3,496. A coalition of western Volusia's ring and anti-ring members resolved to hold onto the tax base while continuing to operate out of the smaller county seat. Landis and Fish helped lead the western forces against eastern interests organized in part by David Sholtz, a Daytona Beach attorney and Stetson law school graduate. In 1917, after only two years of legal practice, Sholtz was elected to the Florida House of Representatives. He successfully guided through that chamber a bill creating Turnbull County from east Volusia, only to see it defeated in the Florida Senate. Concurrent legislation for the creation of Flagler and Okeechobee Counties, and recent successes in establishing Broward and Seminole Counties, had buoyed Sholtz's hopes. But, in a twist of political fate, lobbying by Senator James Alexander, Fish's former adversary in the 1916 election, helped defeat the bill. A decades-long political rivalry between Sholtz and Fish emerged over the issue, for Fish had supported Sholtz in his 1916 campaign with a commitment to "county unity" from the Daytona attorney. Fish caught Sholtz in what he considered a double-cross.[11]

Not until 1928 did Volusia County's political factions close ranks to help elect Tampa attorney Doyle Carlton as governor of Florida. A close friend of Stetson president Hulley and a graduate of the university's law school, Carlton would not neglect his Volusia County supporters. In 1931, he rewarded Cary Landis by appointing him Florida's attorney general to complete the unexpired term of Fred Davis. Landis, the first politician from Volusia County to serve in the governor's cabinet, was elected in 1932 as attorney general and then reelected in 1936.[12]

During the Depression, the influence of the western Volusia political bloc weakened measurably after Landis and Fish turned to new pursuits in state, national, and international politics. Their waning influence first became evident during the 1932 Florida gubernatorial

11. *DeLand News*, 21 March, 25 April, 2 May, 9 May, 16 May 1917; *New Smyrna News*, 1 September 1916; *Daytona Beach Observer*, 29 February 1936; Cox, "David Sholtz," 142, 145, 147-48; Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920*, Vol. I: Population 1920 (Washington, D.C., 1921), 375.

12. *New York Times*, 11 May 1938; John Phelps, comp., *The People of Lawmaking in Florida, 1822-1991* (Tallahassee, 1991), 25; Junius Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary* (New York, 1952), 3: 33; *DeLand Sun News*, 1 November, 2 November, 3 November 1928, 3 March 1931.

campaign when David Sholtz, labeled a dark horse and opposed by some western Volusia politicians, won primaries against former Florida governors Cary Hardee and John Martin, and then defeated in the general election Republican candidate and visionary developer William Howey. Sholtz successfully side-stepped the influence of his Volusia County opponents by courting statewide support from Florida's business community. A developer, popular city judge, and gregarious promoter of Daytona Beach, Sholtz built a broad base of support in the business community, serving as president of the East Coast Chamber of Commerce (1925-1927) and in the top post of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce (1927-1929). A political irony emerged out of the 1932 race which elected Sholtz as governor and Cary Landis as attorney general. As a result, two of Volusia County's ranking politicians and bitter local opponents found themselves working together in the highest levels of state government.[13]

The 1932 election held unpleasant results for other members of the Landis and Fish political bloc. During the campaign, a coalition of western Volusia Democrats defected from the party ticket to support and win seats for Republican candidates on the Volusia County Council. Factionalism splintered the former Landis and Fish ring. Three years later, in the wake of the 1935 election, the bloc was even weaker. T.E. Fitzgerald, publisher of the *Daytona Beach Observer,* commented that the county commission and two seats in the Florida legislature had slipped away from the Landis-Fish-Whitehair group. After the 1936 election, the *Volusia County Democrat* reported that there was "no trace of the ring left by the new county council." Nearly one hundred supporters with government jobs lost their county posts in what another local newspaper characterized as a "New Deal and a Square Deal" for residents of Volusia County. In the 1940 gubernatorial race, Spessard Holland's victory over Francis Whitehair, a Landis & Fish partner since the 1920s, signaled the diminished influence of western Volusia County.[14]

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13. V.O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1949), 96-97; David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher, *Florida's Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Tallahassee, 1980), 48-49, 276, 282; Cash, *The Story of Florida,* 3: 8; *DeLand Sun News,* 2 June, 17 July, 8, 10 November 1932; Gold, *Volusia County,* 142-144, 297, 388; Cox, "David Sholtz," 142, 145, 147-48; Hughes, "William J. Howey," 252-258.
14. *DeLand News,* 21 March, 25 April, 2 May, 9 May, 16 May 1917; *DeLand Sun News,* 2 June, 17 July, 8 November, 10 November 1932; Gold, *Volusia County,* 142-144, 297, 388; Cox, "David Sholtz," 142, 145, 147-48; *Daytona Beach Observer,* 2 March, 25 April, 1935; *Volusia County Democrat,* 8 January 1937.

Throughout the period, Bert Fish remained on the periphery of most of this local political posturing. In January 1927, he retired from active practice and sold his stake in the law firm to his junior partners. He then traveled throughout the Mediterranean, developing an interest in foreign affairs. Periodically, he returned to DeLand to evaluate and expand his real estate investments, each time re-establishing connections to the Democratic Party. A loyal party man, Fish sought to end Republican rule at the national level and also wanted to ensure that Florida would not again help elect a Republican presidential candidate as it had in 1928.[15]

Fish contacted Jacksonville civil engineer George B. Hills, who, in late 1931, had been selected by presidential hopeful Franklin D. Roosevelt to personally organize his Florida campaign. A close friend of Roosevelt since the early 1920s, Hills played a pivotal role in the campaign, establishing Roosevelt's Florida organization headquarters in Jacksonville and working closely with publisher Bryan Mack, who distributed literature from a second campaign office in Daytona Beach. The team effectively garnered support for Roosevelt, including a $5,000 donation from Fish that brought the former judge into the inner circle of Roosevelt's closest friends, among whom were James A. Farley, Roosevelt's national campaign manager, and Louis Howe, Roosevelt's aide and personal secretary.[16]

Following the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in June 1932, Farley named Fish as finance director of Florida's Democratic National Campaign, charging him with raising fifteen thousand dollars. Persuaded of Fish's talents, the Roosevelt organization by-passed conventional channels of consultation with the Florida Democratic Executive Committee (FDEC) to elevate Fish into a national fund raising position. James B. Hodges, a Lake City attorney and chairman of the FDEC, accepted the breach of protocol because of Hills's close relationship with Roosevelt. Hodges eventually developed a close friendship with Hills as well, exchanging books with the civil engineer and accompanying him by train to Washington to see Roosevelt. Duncan Fletcher, Florida's senior U.S. Senator, also assented to Fish's high-level position in the Democratic Party, sending Judge Fish one hundred dollars for the Democratic National Committee (DNC) campaign and fifty

15. *DeLand Sun News*, 21 January 1927.
16. James Dunn, "The New Deal and Florida Politics" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1971), 59-60, 64; *DeLand Sun News*, 6 September 1932.

dollars to Hodges for the FDEC. Indeed, Fish and Hills's close work in the national fund raising campaign collected thousands of dollars to help elect Roosevelt in November 1932.[17]

Following the election, Hills continued to circumvent the traditional Florida Democratic Party leadership by recommending patronage posts directly to Roosevelt. Fish sought to capitalize on his political gains, applying for a foreign service position with Hills's support. United States Senator Park Trammell became especially irritated by the departure from convention, and charged Hills and Farley with running a "political boss machine in Florida." In his friends' defense, Hodges confidentially shared with a member of the Dade County Democratic Executive Committee that "Senator Trammell has not been brought in as close contact with the state and county organizations as Senator Fletcher, and the Senator probably does not yet realize the value of our organization." Charles Hunter of the *Florida State News* also questioned Hills's motivations, especially in recommending Fish. Hills assured the Tallahassee newspaperman that Fish was deserving because of his "outstanding service of time and money rendered the Party during the campaign." Hills intimated that following the election he advised Roosevelt of only "two people in Florida who I hoped would be recognized by acceptable appointments" for federal patronage: Fish and Linton Collins, secretary of the FDEC.[18]

Fish's first choice in foreign posts was as Governor of Puerto Rico, followed by ambassador to Cuba, minister to Turkey, and finally minister to Egypt. Endorsements came from Senator Fletcher, Florida publishing tycoon Robert H. Gore, and State Democratic Party Chairman James B. Hodges. Fletcher and Hodges represented a relatively conservative faction of Florida's Democratic Party, and their support of Fish demonstrated the ability of the DeLand attorney to bridge the gap between Florida's party structure and the Roosevelt organization. Although Fletcher, Trammell, and even Hodges, to some extent, disagreed with Hills's use of his influ-

17. Duncan U. Fletcher to James B. Hodges, 22 September 1932, James B. Hodges Sr. Papers, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville (hereafter cited as Hodges Papers); *DeLand Sun News*, 6 September 1932, 7 September 1933; Key, *Southern Politics*, 319-320; Dunn, "New Deal Florida Politics," 59-60, 64; David Ginzl, "Politics of Patronage: Florida Republicans During the Hoover Administration," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (July 1982): 17-18.

18. J.B. Hodges to John T. Bush, 19 July 1933, George B. Hills to Charles W. Hunter, 16 August 1933, both in Hodges Papers; Dunn, "New Deal Florida Politics," 155.

ence with the White House to dominate state patronage, they agreed that Fish should be rewarded for his service. Roosevelt made his patronage appointments of Florida supporters in late 1933: Robert Gore of Fort Lauderdale received the post of Governor of Puerto Rico, Ruth Bryan Owen of Miami became minister to Denmark, and Fish was offered the diplomatic post in Egypt.[19]

Fish initially hesitated to accept the post that he had placed at the end of his wish list. Unknown to Fish, his Volusia County political foes, after hearing of Fish's possible diplomatic appointment, began to complain. James Howe of Daytona Beach forwarded to Roosevelt's secretary, Louis Howe, the laconic telegram "Federal appointment Bert Fish unthinkable." Edgar Dunn, a prominent Daytona Beach merchant, also wrote to Howe requesting that Fish not be appointed. Nevertheless, the offer was made, and Fish agreed to a one-year term, aware that most non-career service diplomats then served between three and five years. A small-town attorney who reluctantly agreed to serve his country in what he perceived as a minor post, Fish eventually held overseas chief-of-mission posts for eleven years, one of the longest tenures for a non-career appointee in America's foreign service history.[20]

Despite the efforts of his Daytona Beach opponents, Bert Fish became the first Volusia County politician to serve as a chief of mission in the United States Diplomatic Corps. Earlier chiefs of mission with Florida political backgrounds included John Eaton, a political figure in President Andrew Jackson's administration and Florida's territorial governor between 1834 and 1836 (minister to Spain, 1836-1840); James A. Peden, a Jacksonville politician (minister to Argentina, 1854-1858); John G. Long, a St. Augustine attorney and politician (consul general to Egypt, 1899-1903); and Gilchrist Stockton, a Jacksonville real estate developer (minister to Austria, 1930-1933). Ruth Bryan Owen, daughter of William Jennings Bryan and Florida's first woman to serve in the U.S. House of

19. Judge Bert Fish, Application For Governor of Porto Rico, Louis Howe Files, "Federal Jobs- Appl. War Dept.-Porto Rico-Bert Fish File," 24 January 1933, Bert Fish Folder, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York (hereafter cited as FDR Library); Dunn, "Florida Politics," 154-156; *New York Times*, 8 September 1933; *DeLand Sun News*, 7 September 1933; *Al-Ahram*, 1 June 1940.

20. James M. Howe to Louis McH. Howe, 14 July 1933; Edgar Dunn to L.M. Howe, 20 July 1933, Official File Box No. 710, Bert Fish Folder, FDR Library.

Representatives, became America's first female diplomat with her appointment as minister to Denmark (1933-1936).[21]

In broad terms, Fish's assignment included improving relations among Egypt, England, and the United States. The first Arabic-speaking Muslim country to encounter close contact with modern Europe, Egypt had experienced a breakdown of its political, economic, and cultural structure during the nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1840s, the African nation suffered from European imperialism; in the 1870s, a dual control arrangement between England and France supervised Egyptian financial affairs. With English occupation in 1882, the Egyptians had little control over their fiscal policies and faced the abuse of authority by British administrators. Events associated with a rebellion in 1919, the formation of Egypt's Liberal Constitutional Party in the early 1920s, and the rise of Benito Mussolini in Italy prompted the British government to reevaluate its policies toward the Egyptian government. Italy's occupation of Ethiopia in 1936 spurred Great Britain to sign a new treaty with Egypt, loosening the administrative and taxation system onerously known as Egypt's Capitulations Regime.[22]

Fish arrived in Cairo in mid-November 1933 and, following protocol, established relations with the government of King Faud through a formal ceremony in early December. The American Embassy was located in downtown Cairo. From there, embassy staff transported Fish in a fashionable carriage to the king's palace or to the Mena House Hotel, a four-story mansion fifteen miles outside

21. Sally Vickers, "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswoman and Lifetime Activist," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 77 (Spring 1999): 445-474; *Florida Times-Union*, 14 June 1895; *New York Times*, 10 January 1930, 8 September 1933; *DeLand Sun News*, 7 September 1933; *Al-Ahram*, 1 June 1940; John W. Leonard, ed., *Who's Who in America* (Chicago, 1901), 695-696; U.S. Department of State, *Principal Officers of the Department of State and United States Chiefs of Mission, 1778-1990* (Washington, D.C., 1991), 47-167; Allen Thomas (minister to Venezuela, 1895-1897) has been incorrectly identified in the aforementioned document as a Floridian. His biographical sketch in *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York, 1924), 8: 350- 351 indicates he served as an attorney and scholar in Louisiana before his diplomatic appointment.

22. J.C.B. Richmond, *Egypt, 1798-1952* (New York, 1977), xi-xii, 70-72, 118-119, 176, 191-195; Afaf Al-Sayyid-Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment, 1922-1936* (Berkeley, Calif., 1977), 43-44, 170; *New York Times*, 10 May 1937.

Bert Fish discusses political affairs with His Royal Highness Prince Ali Pasha, English Ambassador to Egypt Sir Miles Lampson, and his wife Lady Lampson at an afternoon tea in the Royal Gardens in Cairo in 1936. *Courtesy of Stetson Universtiy Archives, DeLand.*

Cairo where the American legation resided. The second American diplomat to receive formal recognition by Egypt, Fish quickly assured King Faud, Prince Muhammad Ali, and British ambassador Sir Miles Lampson (who reached Egypt in the summer of 1934) that he appreciated their concerns. He periodically wrote the State Department about England's loosening of control over Egypt, the Egyptian legal system, municipal reforms in Alexandria, religious liberties, and a host of other issues. In addition to his diplomatic duties, Fish delighted in touring the pyramids and other antiqui-

ties in a chauffeured Packard Super 8 automobile supplied by the United States government.[23]

Fish's first important success as a diplomat came in 1937 when he helped negotiate the abolition of the Capitulations Regime. Britain and France, according to Fish, had organized the Regime in the sixteenth century "for reasons which have entirely disappeared." The Capitulatory Powers, as they were known, stripped Egypt, Iran, Turkey, and several other Near East countries of their sovereignty to legislate the affairs of foreigners visiting or residing in their respective countries. Although Great Britain claimed merely protectorate status over Egypt in 1914 and then, in the 1920s, relinquished its authority to legislate the affairs of foreigners in Iran and Turkey, the mandates remained in force. In spring 1937, Secretary of State Cordell Hull instructed Fish to adopt "a sympathetic and liberal attitude toward the aspirations of the Egyptian Government," noting that the "capitulatory regime in Egypt is an institution no longer in accordance with the spirit of the times nor essential for the effective protection of legitimate American interests."[24]

On April 12, 1937, an international conference convened in Montreux, Switzerland, at which Fish asserted Egypt's right and ability to govern itself, demanding a shorter period of British rule. The statement took most foreign diplomats by surprise. Defending American demands for abolition of the Capitulations, he declared that the "Capitulations were a shameful blot upon an honorable nation like the Egyptians who are able to rule themselves and carry out justice between foreigners and Egyptians." Newspapers reported that British diplomat Lampson, following Fish's presentation, took off his glasses, wiped them clean, put them back on, and asked, "Is that the American delegate speaking or the Egyptian delegate?" Fish's brief statement helped initiate a new treaty. After its signing on May 8, Fish sent a terse note to Secretary of State Hull, "Treaty signed." The agreement permitted the Egyptian govern-

23. *New York Times*, 3 December 1933, 6 October 1935; Al-Sayyid-Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment*, 174; "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the USA, Cairo," Bert Fish Photograph Album, Fish Trust Archives, DeLand, Fla.; *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1934*, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1951), 2: 751-752; *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1935*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1955), 1: 565-593; *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1936*, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1955), 3: 8-33.

24. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Relations, 1937*, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1954), 2: 615, 634.

Minister Bert Fish at his desk in Cairo in 1934. *Courtesy of Stetson University Archives, DeLand.*

ment to administer its own laws and powers of taxation without interference by England. *Time* Magazine and the *New York Times* attributed the swiftness of the negotiations to the skills of Bert Fish, "one of northeastern Florida's wealthiest men."[25]

By 1940, Fish had endeared himself to the Egyptian people. Cairo newspapers regarded him as a folk hero who helped deliver them from British domination. They fondly called him the "Orange King," a reference to his extensive citrus holdings in Florida which the Egyptians and later the Saudi Arabians considered one of the greater of the United States. In January 1940, the *Egyptian Mail* published a caricature of "Sheikh Bert Fish," proclaiming him an "Egyptian in Egypt." Correspondents expressed surprise at Fish's modest office in the embassy; one remarked that it is "quite unadorned, resembling that of a junior officer of the sixth class in one of the Egyptian government departments," to which Fish replied, "It is a democratic room which fits a democratic country."[26]

25. *Al-Ahram,* 1 June 1940; (*Jedda*) *Al-Mokattam,* 27 February 1940; *New York Times,* 9 May, 10 May 1937, 8 February 1941; *Time,* 26 April 1937; *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937,* 2: 615-678.

26. *Al-Ahram,* 1 March 1940; *Al-Mokattam,* 31 January 1940.

While Fish took seriously his diplomatic responsibilities, he did not forget Florida. He made annual trips to the United States for vacations, visits with friends in DeLand, and consultations with Roosevelt and state department officials. In 1935, Stetson University honored him with a special convocation, heralding him as an "illustrious graduate," and awarding him an honorary Doctor of Laws. He delivered addresses to civic and social organizations, including the Jacksonville Civitan Club and Orlando Rotary. The international post helped him cast off his reputation at home as a provincial political leader. In 1938, the *Daytona Beach Observer* commented that "Bert Fish's auburn hair has turned grey. Condemned as the political arch fiend of all Volusia, he now stands above most statesmen in Florida. He never punished an enemy, never took a dollar of graft."[27]

World War II curtailed his vacations and presented new challenges. On a return trip to Egypt in April 1940, he traveled on the *Conte di Savoia*. Near Gibraltar, the ocean liner was detained by a British man-of-war while detectives from Scotland Yard searched the vessel for Dr. Haljamar Schacht, a Nazi financier. After reaching Lisbon, Fish made a circuitous journey to Cairo, including a train to Madrid, airplane to Barcelona, automobile to Port Bou on the Franco-Spanish frontier, and a bus to Geneva where he boarded the Orient Express to Istanbul. He also made stopovers in Aleppo, Tripoli, and Haifa prior to arriving in Cairo.[28]

The fate of Egypt, the Suez Canal, and oil reserves in the Near East assumed increased importance as tensions intensified throughout Europe and Africa in the late 1930s. In July 1939, Roosevelt appointed Fish as the first United States diplomat to serve in Saudi Arabia and the first to hold two appointments—an experience, according to the *New York Times*, "without precedent in American diplomatic history." Earlier in the decade, King Ibd Saud had consolidated his rule over disparate tribes in the vast inhospitable environment. Saud solved part of his financial problems in 1933 when he granted Standard Oil of California (SOCAL) a historic concession to develop the country's oil resources in return for

27. *Daytona Beach Observer*, 13 August 1938; *Florida Times-Union*, 27 November 1937; *Orlando Star*, 1 December 1937; M.H. McIntyre to Bert Fish, 1 October 1934, and M.H. McIntyre to Bert Fish, 28 December 1937, both in Box 710, Bert Fish Folder, FDR Library.

28. *Florida Times-Union*, 9 April 1940; *Egyptian Mail*, 10 August 1940; M.H. McIntyre to Bert Fish, 1 October 1934; M.H. McIntyre to Bert Fish, 28 December 1937, both in Box 710, Bert Fish Folder, FDR Library.

annual rents and royalties. In 1938 alone, SOCAL paid the Saudi government $3.2 million in revenues, but the rise of Adolf Hitler and Mussolini threatened the interests of the American oil company. The Roosevelt administration charged Fish with establishing formal consular relations with Saudi Arabia before either the Japanese or German governments, both of which had sent emissaries to Saudi Arabia. To the Americans' advantage, the Axis powers had previously failed to gain an audience with the king.[29]

The urgency of Fish's mission increased after Germany attacked Poland in September 1939. Six months later, after some nine months of cultivating relations with Saudi officials, Fish gained an audience with King Saud in Jedda. First, he presented the potentate with an autographed silver-framed portrait of President Roosevelt. They exchanged light conversation, Fish speaking of his experiences in Egypt and the king expressing his pleasure with the SOCAL arrangement and the 325 Americans who then lived in his country. Saud intimated that he trusted the American company and had faith in the United States. In February 1940, elated with his success but succinct as usual, Fish wrote Cordell Hull from Jedda: "Presented credentials to King here yesterday and had informal audience today." Fish's persistence marked the beginning of formal diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States. His achievements caught the attention of Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, columnists for the *Washington Post* who predicted Fish would receive promotion in the diplomatic corps. More importantly, Fish's diplomatic achievement solidified America's relations with one of the most important oil- producing states of the Near East. Over the following turbulent months, Fish maintained his headquarters in Cairo, but frequently traveled to Jedda.[30]

In mid-1940, Fish contacted U.S. Senator Claude Pepper, then a member of the Committee of Foreign Relations, about reassignment to a diplomatic post in Turkey. Pepper forwarded Fish's wish to Roosevelt who responded that "Bert Fish has done an admirable job in Egypt where he has been one of the most effective and popular

29. *New York Times*, 11 February, 29 March 1940; Nadav Safran, *Saudi Arabia: The Ceaseless Quest For Security* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 59-62; *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1939*, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1955), 4: 824-831; Note of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, 30 June 1939, Box 710, Bert Fish Folder, FDR Library.

30. *Orlando Star*, 28 April 1940; *New York Times*, 11 February, 29 March 1940; *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers: 1939*, 4: 824-831.

ministers we have ever had. I doubt, however, whether in these critical times it would be in the interest of this Government to send a new man, no matter how well qualified, to Ankara." When Pepper inquired on Fish's behalf for a state department job, Roosevelt again demurred, believing Fish's foreign service skills too valuable for use in Washington. Nevertheless, Roosevelt remained sensitive to Fish's desire for a new assignment and, in February 1941, appointed him minister to Portugal. Serving in Egypt for seven years, Fish had witnessed nine different cabinets and developed a lasting friendship with numerous high ranking officials, including King Faud and Prince Ali. So it is not surprising that numerous Egyptian newspapers expressed sorrow at his departure and wished him well at his new assignment. Fish assured the Egyptians that his replacement, Alexander Kirk, would be as sensitive to their needs as he had been.[31]

Fish's transfer to Portugal underscores the increasing confidence that the Roosevelt administration placed in him as a diplomat. Some foreign observers ranked Great Britain, Portugal, and Romania as the top three European diplomatic posts with crucial war importance. By early 1941, few European countries other than Portugal and Switzerland maintained a neutral posture in war-torn Europe. Portugal, then characterized as one of America's "most important European stations and the open doorway to the Continent," possessed strategic materials and military bases. Mindful of the significance of Portugal in world politics, Fish called it "the last free gateway of the European Continent of vital interest to the United States." The *New York Times* noted that Fish's reputation for commercial acumen in negotiating leases and recognition between the United States and foreign countries would be crucial in this post of "great responsibility."[32]

Relations between the two nations cooled in 1941 after Roosevelt, commenting about Portugal's neutral stance, hinted of the United States' possible seizure of the Azores Islands. Portugal President Oscar Carmona and prime minister Antonio Salazar took exception to Roosevelt's comments. Great pressure fell upon Fish to soothe Portuguese concerns and egos, persuade them to support the Allies, and obtain new concessions. The administration's concern over the fate of Gibraltar and Portugal's island pos-

31. *New York Times*, 7 February, 1 March 1941; Cairo *Al-Balagh*, 18 February 1941; Claude Pepper to President Roosevelt, 13 May 1940; Franklin D. Roosevelt to Claude Pepper, 15 May 1940, both in Box 710, Bert Fish Folder, FDR Library.

32. *New York Times*, 7 February, 8 February, 27 March 1941.

sessions kept the Portuguese government anxious about American intentions, especially with regard to the Azores. Additionally, several Allied diplomats objected to Fish's appointment, believing that an American ambassador in Portugal might increase internal tensions and afford the German propaganda machine an opportunity to create mischievous speculation about American designs. All of this made Fish a cautious diplomat. In March 1941, Fish presented his credentials to President Carmona, limiting his remarks to expressions of good will between the two countries and avoiding discussion of the war, gestures returned by the Portuguese leader.[33]

After the United States entered the war, old issues gained urgency. Cordell Hull pushed Fish to concentrate on obtaining increased shipments of wolfram—an important source of tungsten—from Portugal, landing rights on the Azores, and the return of grounded Allied planes and pilots. On the first issue, Fish worked closely with Sir Ronald Campbell, British ambassador to Portugal, to arrange exports of wolfram to Great Britain and the United States. Early in 1943, Cordel Hull pressed for a treaty securing 75 percent of Portugal's wolfram production, or at least reductions in Germany's ability to buy the scarce mineral from Portugal. Fish gained little ground with an intransigent Salazar, however. Then, in May, the Germans signed a new wolfram agreement with Portugal; Hull interpreted it as "an action which is difficult to construe as anything but a clear disregard of our interests." Fish acknowledged that he, too, had been caught off guard, but reminded Hull that the United States currently received substantially greater than one-half of Portugal's wolfram production, and that Salazar's general neutrality policy of equal treatment for both belligerents was "difficult to find fault with."[34]

Similarly, Fish also experienced limited success negotiating landing rights and use of the Azores. He worked with Pan American Airways to apply for commercial landing rights, which he hoped might open the door to military use under the guise of commercial operations. George F. Kennan, career diplomat, architect of the Cold War doctrine of containment and later renowned diplomatic

33. *New York Times,* 7 February, 27 March 1941; *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Relations, 1941,* 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1959), 2: 841-843; Kay Hugh, *Salazar and Modern Portugal* (New York, 1970), xix, 32, 38, 170. In the end, Portugal worked closely with the British to develop limited military installations on the Azores under the cover of commercial operations.

34. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Relations, 1941,* 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1964), 2: 497-585.

historian at Princeton University, served as counselor under Fish and indicated to him in May 1943 that the British and Portuguese were working on a general secret agreement under which aviation fuel, submarine nets, ammunition, and other supplies might be delivered to the islands. Fish advised Hull to seek "clarification of this matter with London" and to urge British diplomats to support Pan American once Portugal granted the company a commercial concession.[35]

An equally vexing problem was the internment of United States military planes forced to land in Portugal. In November 1942, after seven American pilots landed their fighter aircrafts in Lisbon, Fish began negotiating for their release. By January 1943, eleven additional fighter planes had found shelter in Portugal. Although Fish managed to negotiate the release of five pilots, he doubted that the planes could be recovered and urged Hull to keep the American press and radio away from the subject. In due time, "we shall . . . get the remaining pilots including the 11 new arrivals out as well," Fish promised. In April, he bargained for the sale of a P-38 and sixteen P-39 aircraft to the Portuguese government for twenty thousand dollars each, a sale that he believed would "greatly facilitate early release of the 18 American pilots now interned in Portugal." In June, Fish again turned to Senator Pepper for assistance, this time to elevate the Lisbon ministry post to embassy status and his own rank to ambassador. Yet, Roosevelt decided that the sensitive nature of Portugal's neutrality and on-going negotiations warranted deferring Fish's request.[36]

Following a brief illness, Fish died of a heart attack in Lisbon on July 21, 1943. His work in restricting tungsten exports to Germany and obtaining Azores landing rights were carried on and achieved, in part, through the efforts of his successor, R. Henry Norweb, former ambassador to Peru and senior American career service diplomat. Fish received a Portuguese state funeral with full military honors: the funeral procession—comprised of Salazar, Papal Nunciot Archbishop Ciriaci, a Portuguese cavalry troop, and American and foreign diplomats—moved through Lisbon's streets to the English cemetery, where a seventeen-gun salute honored the temporary burial. Later that year, the remains were disinterred and

35. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Relations, 1943*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1964), 2: 531-532.

36. Ibid., 2: 581-585; State Department Memorandum, 5 July 1943, Box 710, Bert Fish Folder, FDR Library.

shipped to Florida for reburial with United States military honors in DeLand's Oakdale Cemetery. Upon hearing of Fish's death, Cordell Hull eulogized: "Bert Fish has been an outstanding lawyer in the State of Florida and a leader in public life and civic affairs. He has devoted the last years of his life to a career of distinction in the diplomatic service of his country. We are sensible to the loss of a charitable and loyal friend and of a strong and public-spirited citizen of rare qualities whose place in the very important diplomatic post of Lisbon we shall find it hard to fill."[37]

A multi-millionaire bachelor, Fish distributed his financial resources in two important ways after his death. Generous to the end, he bequeathed $25,000 to his alma mater, Stetson University. More importantly, he established a trust fund to build and operate hospitals and indigent care facilities in Seminole and Volusia Counties. The hospitals derived their operating funds and revenues, in part, from his estate's rental income and citrus harvests. To supervise his trust, Fish named several family members, former partners, and associates as trustees. In 1952, Fish Memorial Hospital at DeLand was constructed at a cost of $898,000. Two years later, Fish Memorial at New Smyrna Beach opened, and a third facility was completed in Sanford.

Over the course of a distinguished career, Fish had grown from a typical conservative southern attorney into a gifted statesman. He matured from provincial courthouse politics to play important roles in Florida politics and international diplomacy in the 1930s and during World War II. The same characteristics and values that made him an imposing Volusia County attorney—good judge of character, superior oratorical skills, sharp memory and wit, and personal magnetism—served Fish well in state, national, and international politics. A thoughtful manipulator of foreign diplomatic policies toward a position favorable to the United States, Fish claimed one of the longest terms of a non-career foreign service diplomat in American history. A seasoned diplomat, he endeared himself to the Egyptians, allayed the fears of the Saudis, and prepared the stage for constructive United States-Portugal relations. An untimely death left unfulfilled the dreams and ambitions of a small-town Florida attorney and American statesman to achieve still greater posts and objectives in international affairs.

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37. *New York Times*, 22 July, 23 July, 25 July, 13 October, 10 November, 11 November, 16 November 1943; *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1944*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1966), 4: 82-84, 131-132.

Highways to Heaven or Roads to Ruin? The Interstate Highway System and the Fate of Starke, Florida

by Evan P. Bennett

In December 1949, Ray Strong of Windsor, Canada, came to Starke, Florida, by chance. He had traveled to the Sunshine State to find property to build a motor court, but he missed his appointment in Lake City and, to "kill time," drove to Jacksonville. On his way back to Lake City Strong decided to take a long route through Starke. He "liked the looks of the town," and, two months later, Strong's El Rancho Motel—"modern in every respect"—opened for business on US Highway 301, one mile south of Starke.[1] The El Rancho was not the only motel built near Starke that year; in fact, Highway 301, one of the busiest roads in Florida, promoted economic opportunities that few entrepreneurs could ignore. Many in Starke hoped to take advantage of Florida's massive boom in the years following World War II, and business leaders in the small town sought to push Starke from backwater to big city.

Yet, by 1970, because it was not along an interstate highway, Starke found itself left in the wake of southern and coastal towns that excelled in the search for industrial growth and tourist money. Interstate highways changed the pace of travel in Florida, sending travelers and trade to the cities of southern Florida; and the small towns that the interstates by-passed suffered from the diversion of tourists and businesses. Starke was no exception to this pattern.

Evan Bennett is a Ph.D. student at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Va.

1. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 24 February 1950.

From 1950 to 1970 the town's boosters felt both the exhilaration of the postwar boom and the dejection of being passed by.

Since the Civil War, changes in infrastructure and transportation have greatly impacted the South as a region. Some historians, including Edward Ayers, emphasize the influence of railroads on the southern landscape.[2] Other historians depict highways as symbols of the best aspirations and worst vices of southern Progressivism.[3] Still, while most historians acknowledge the importance of highways to the United States as a whole following World War II, Southern historians have been slow to evaluate the impact of roads on the small towns they connected, unlike their colleagues who study the North and West.[4] Even less attention has been given to highway growth and the increased tourism that roads brought to southern small towns, especially in Florida.[5]

Starke lies southwest of Jacksonville in Florida's northeastern corner. Founded in the 1850s and named for Governor Madison Starke Perry, the town is the seat of government for Bradford County, but it is most noted for its proximity to the Florida State Prison, home of Florida's electric chair—a negative association most residents would prefer to lose.[6]

Starke's fortunes, it seems, have always been tied to changes in transportation and commerce. In 1858, the Fernandina to Cedar Key railroad reached the town and set its growth in motion. The Civil War slowed railroad traffic and commerce and ended such stirrings, but prosperity returned in the 1880s, and Starke's population

2. Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York, 1992), 75.
3. See, for example, Howard Lawrence Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935* (Knoxville, 1991), esp. part 1; Alex Lichtenstein, "Good Roads and Chain Gangs in the Progressive South: 'The Negro Convict is a Slave,'" *Journal of Southern History* 109 (February 1993): 85-110.
4. John A. Jakle, *The American Small Town: Twentieth-Century Place Images* (Hamden, Conn., 1982), esp. chapters 6 and 7; John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln, Neb., 1985); Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie*, ch. 6.
5. See Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, 1985), esp. 14; Raymond A. Mohl, "Making the Second Ghetto in Metropolitan Miami, 1940-1960," *Journal of Urban History* 21 (March 1995): 395-427; idem., "Race and Space in the Modern City: Interstate-95 and the Black Community in Miami," in Arnold Hirsch and Raymond Mohl, eds., *Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1993), 100-158.
6. "The Story of Starke," unpublished manuscript, vertical file: "Florida—Starke," 1 July 1974, Special Collections, Tampa-Hillsborough Public Library, Tampa; *The Tampa Tribune*, 4 June 1984.

boomed with new migrants hoping to cash in on the region's growing citrus industry. Freezes in the 1890s destroyed orange crops and the hopes of many in Starke. Switching their economic emphasis to strawberries and cotton, Starke's citizens recovered, and growth continued into the early twentieth century. The land boom of the 1920s brought Starke its first hard-paved highway, State Road 13, placing it on the route between Jacksonville and Tampa.[7] As in many other small southern towns, the new road further opened Starke to the outside world and set in motion changes in both the town's economic conditions and its cultural life.[8]

The Great Depression of the 1930s hit Starke hard, and the town's population decreased over the decade. Its economic and demographic decline ended with the coming of World War II, when the United States Army constructed Camp Blanding east of town. Starke experienced growth that left it "bursting at the seams." So many people moved into the town that they were hard pressed to find accommodations, filling "every vacant room, garage, and attic."[9] During the war the influx of people was so great that state officials proclaimed Starke the state's fourth largest city.[10] The claim was certainly hyperbolic, but by 1950 the town's population ballooned to 2,944, a 98.9 percent increase since 1940.[11]

Starke's growth was part of a statewide economic boom. Between 1940 and 1950 the state's population increased by 46.1 percent to 2,771,305 people.[12] Long a destination for tourists, Florida joined other southern and western states in attracting industry, not only helping to form what has been termed the "Sun Belt" but leading the South in economic development following World War II. As historian James C. Cobb described it, Florida was the "cornerstone of

7. "The Story of Starke," 5.
8. For an excellent discussion of the impact of early interstate roads on Southern town life, see Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie*, esp. ch. 6; and Jakle, *The American Small Town*, esp. ch. 7.
9. "The Story of Starke," 5. During World War II, Camp Blanding was one of the nine largest military training camps in the nation, with a capacity for over fifty thousand military personnel; Morton Sosna, "Introduction," in *Remaking Dixie: The Impact of World War II on the American South*, ed. Neil R. McMillen (Jackson, Miss., 1997), xvi.
10. John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1995), 207.
11. United States Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population: 1950, Volume II: Characteristics of the Population*, Part 10: Florida (Washington D.C., 1952), 29.
12. Ibid.

the Sunbelt South."[13] Industries from all sectors, drawn by low taxes, weak unions, and favorable living conditions, moved operations to Florida in search of expanding markets and higher profit margins.

Despite the influx of new businesses, neither smokestack nor defense industries proved the greatest factors in Florida's postwar growth. Instead, tourism, once again created the greatest economic opportunities. Since the late nineteenth century, Florida attracted tourists and their money, but beginning in 1955, Governor LeRoy Collins's Florida Development Commission touted everything from sunshine-drenched beaches to camping and fishing to spring training baseball in hopes of attracting vacationers. Two outdated Greyhound buses were outfitted as "Traveling Showcases" and toured as far afield as Cannes, France, to publicize the Sunshine State.[14] The state's future looked so promising that by 1950, a University of Florida professor claimed that even "trends in weather conditions seem to be favorable to th[e] state" and that predictions of colder winters in California would divert more tourists toward Florida.[15]

In the 1950s and 1960s, most of Florida's growth clustered in the state's southern and coastal counties. The rural northern counties wanted a share of the prosperity. Lacking the glamour of such cities as Miami or St. Petersburg, these communities hoped to exploit their locations along Florida's primary traffic arteries. For example, in 1956, the Union County Board of Commissioners allocated money for road signs in Georgia to encourage travelers to use US Highway 23, which passed though Lake Butler, as a "short cut" to southwest Florida.[16] In the early 1960s, Lake City boosters promoted their town, located near the intersection of US Highway 441, Interstate 10, and Interstate 75 as "ideal for distribution warehousing and manufacturing."[17]

Like these towns, Starke hung its hopes for the future on its location along one of the South's busiest highways. Its major thoroughfare, State Road 200, comprised part of US Highway 301.

13. James C. Cobb, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1990*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 180.
14. John E. Evans, *Time for Florida: Report on the Administration of Farris Bryant, Governor 1961-1965* (Tallahassee, 1965), 28.
15. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 13 January 1950.
16. Ibid., 13 January 1956.
17. *Lake City: Florida's New Gateway and Southern Highway Hub of the Industrial Southeast* (Lake City, Fla., n.d.), 2.

Known variously as the "Highway of Southern Hospitality," the "Tobacco Trail," and the "Tourist Highway," Highway 301 ran from Baltimore to Sarasota, passing through numerous small towns along the route.[18] Between 1946 and 1951, the average daily traffic volume on Highway 301 at Waldo, a town south of Starke, increased 87.5 percent from 1,859 to 3,485 cars per day. By 1959, summer traffic rates topped out at 6,832 cars per day.[19] That same year, even the *New York Times* noted the increase and reported from Ocala that "Florida's mid-state routes are becoming more popular with people driving down here from the north."[20]

Throughout the 1950s, rising affluence and greater leisure time combined to create a boom in tourism, and across America the automobile became the preferred mode of travel. A 1953 survey showed that 83 percent of long-distance trips were taken by automobile.[21] Florida hurried to meet the increased demand by building more highways and improving existing roads. Between 1946 and 1963, road contracts in Florida totaled over $251 million, over four times the $57 million spent between 1923 and 1942.[22]

Politicians and leaders in Bradford County worked to secure their share of the road monies. As early as 1951, officials began seeking the right-of-way for expanding State Road 200.[23] In February 1953, Bradford County state senator Charley Johns approached the State Road Board and asked that "something in the budget" be allocated for work on the highway, which he claimed was "in very poor condition."[24] The town also worked to beautify the road, sponsoring drives to clean up the medians and intersections. In 1955, the Bradford County Highway Beautification Committee spent one thousand dollars for trees and shrubs to be planted along Highway 301; that same year, the *Bradford County Telegraph* ran a scathing editorial criticizing property owners who failed to remove "eye sores" from the sides of the road.[25]

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18. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 3 March 1957.
19. Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Hill, and MacDonald Engineering Firm, *Report of a Study for the State Department of Roads of Florida* (New York, 1952), 20; *Bradford County Telegraph*, 1 October 1959.
20. *New York Times*, 12 April 1959.
21. Jakle, *The Tourist*, 186.
22. Baynard Kendrick, *Florida Trails to Turnpikes, 1914-1964* (Gainesville, 1964), 254-5.
23. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 17 August 1951.
24. Minutes of the State Road Department, 25 February 1953, Series 336, Box 4, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.
25. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 11 March 1955, 18 November 1955.

In the 1950s, highway construction originally boosted the fortunes of businesses like the Sleepy Hollow Motel, but by the late 1960s, the new interstate highway system diverted potential customers around Starke's businesses. Postcard for the Sleepy Hollow Motel, circa 1960s. *Courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

Highway 301 fueled Starke's growth. As the largest town between Jacksonville and Ocala, the town fostered a burgeoning motel industry. In 1952, developers built at least four motels, and, by 1954, motels had "become one of Starke's leading industries" and "a big factor in the attraction of new residents." Widening of the highway in 1959 and 1960 increased the value of motor courts. In 1960, the Dixie Motor Court and Bradford Motor Court sold for $131,400, and $115,000, respectively. Four years later, Holiday Inn moved into Starke and constructed a one-hundred-unit motel, employing approximately sixty people. Boosters predicted the arrival of the national chain would "vastly step up the number of tourists," making Starke "their stopover mecca."[26]

In addition to traveler-service industries, leaders of Starke and Bradford County worked to attract other major industries. Nicknamed Florida's "Four Season County," Bradford County prided it-

26. Ibid., 22 August 1952, 20 August 1954, 18 February 1960, 27 August 1964.

self on its strawberries and corn (the latter supplying a more illicit local industry: moonshining). But, by 1950, agriculture provided livelihoods for few of Starke's residents; of the 2,135 people in Starke's labor market, only 25 claimed an occupation in agriculture.[27] Starke took on "urban" status quickly, and town boosters realized an industrial base would be necessary to complement agriculture and tourism.[28] By 1951, a debt-free Starke levied no ad valorem taxes, but still provided the services associated with modern urban life, allowing the local chamber of commerce to advertise Starke as the "Tax Free Town." Starke's boosters touted the "ideal climatic conditions, adequate labor supply, and strategic location" and encouraged "others seeking to capitalize on Florida's obvious assets of more work-time per year and better health conditions."[29] A decade later, Starke's growth continued to drive local boosters. In 1963, Jaycees went so far as to bring Miss Universe contestants to town. Later that year, the Bradford County Development Authority and Starke Chamber of Commerce announced plans for a thirteen-and-a-half-minute color film "to use as a tool in the community's campaign for industrial development."[30]

The 1951 opening of the Big Dad Manufacturing Company best exemplified boosters' dreams. The *Bradford County Telegraph* devoted nearly an entire issue to the new textile mill. Ads from various local merchants welcomed the new company, while the *Telegraph* advised potential investors that Starke had ample room for more factory sites. The paper promoted Starke's location "at the hub of fine highways into Florida—Ideally located to provide excellent transportation facilities for manufacturers" and pleaded that "Starke needs more industries like Big Dad, Inc." The issue also included a map of Florida with Starke at the center, larger than Jacksonville, Tampa, or Miami. Starke's citizens reacted with similar excitement, and job seekers "swamped" the company's employ-

27. These employment figures represent Starke only. Bradford County's population was 74.3 percent rural in 1950. On the whole, the county reported 3,665 people in the labor pool, with 1,158 (31.6 percent) in agricultural or forest-related industries; *United States Census of Population: 1950*, 9, 78, 97.

28. Ibid. In 1940 the urban population of Bradford County was nonexistent. By 1950, 25.7 percent of Bradford County was considered urban, all of which made up Starke's population.

29. Starke Chamber of Commerce publicity brochure, ca. 1952, vertical file: "Florida—Starke."

30. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 4 July 1963, 17 October 1963.

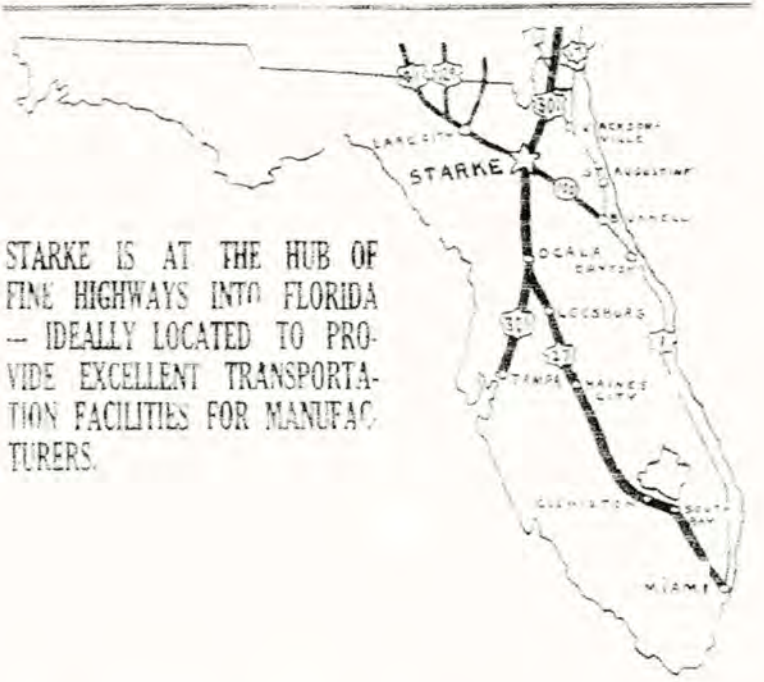
ment office.[31] By 1967, Big Dad employed roughly 220 people, making it by far the town's largest employer.[32]

While Starke's efforts brought in a few factories, new industries did not come in the numbers that boosters had hoped for, and few companies as large as Big Dad moved operations to the town. Between 1956 and 1969, sixteen companies opened or expanded operations, but only duPont's mining operation, the Cadillac Overall Supply, and Starke Industries employed as many workers as Big Dad Manufacturing.[33] In fact, Starke Industries, a manufacturer of boys' clothing, opened in 1968 only after Big Dad closed under pressure from foreign imports.[34] Like other small textile mill towns, Starke found it increasingly difficult to compete in the expanding global economy.

While Starke did not experience rapid growth in new factories, many existing factories expanded operations in the fifties and early sixties. The duPont Ilmenite mines expanded in 1959, taking on an additional three hundred workers. In November 1962, Florida Hydrocarbons expanded operations in nearby Brooker, bringing new residents to the Starke area.[35]

Accompanying industrial development were the perks of economic growth: property values increased, wages rose, and construction expanded. Between 1950 and 1960, the median income increased from $1,373 to $3,351 per year.[36] For African Americans, the growth in wages was even more pronounced. In 1950, the median income for African Americans was $771.[37] By 1960, that figure increased 176 percent to $2,133, outstripping overall wage increases in the county as a whole, but still below that paid to white workers.[38] Between 1950 and 1963, newcomers and rising incomes created a housing boom in Bradford County. Contractors built

31. Ibid., 5 October 1951, 29 June 1951.
32. Jacksonville Area Chamber of Commerce, *A Profile of Bradford County* (Jacksonville, 1967), 8.
33. Florida Development Commission, *Florida's New Industrial Plants: 1956-1969* (Tallahassee, 1956-1969).
34. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 19 September 1968.
35. *Florida's New Industrial Plants: 1959*; *Bradford County Telegraph*, 29 November 1962.
36. *United States Census of Population: 1950*, 110; United States Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of the Population: 1960, Volume I: Characteristics of the Population*, Part 11: Florida (Washington, D.C., 1961), 250.
37. *United States Census of Population: 1950*, 110, 112.
38. *United States Census of Population: 1960*, 262.



Editorial map published in the *Bradford County Telegraph*, 19 June 1951.

1,328 houses, valued at approximately $16,998,000. These residences constituted one-third of all dwellings in the county. So rapid was Starke's expansion that in 1962 the *Bradford County Telegraph* happily "complained" about "growing pains."[39]

Although conditions for African Americans improved through the 1950s, poverty continued to create serious public health problems within Bradford County's black community. The infant mortality rate among the county's black population was 11.6 per 1,000

39. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 28 February 1963, 20 December 1962.

births, more than double the 4.6 per 1,000 for whites. By way of comparison, the statewide infant mortality rate for African Americans was 2.6 per 1,000 births. Combined with the persistent problems of meningitis, diabetes, cirrhosis of the liver, and homicides, Bradford County's African Americans were dying in greater numbers than its whites.[40]

Despite the difficulty of life, African Americans did not leave in large numbers. Between 1950 and 1970, the proportion of Florida's African American population declined dramatically from 21.8 percent to 15.9 percent. But in Bradford County, blacks constituted 23.5 percent of the population—only slightly down from the 1950 census, which counted them at 24.4 percent.[41] The disparity arose because, in the 1950s and 1960s, Bradford County did not receive as large an influx of white migrants as the rest of the state. Still, Starke grew: in 1950, the town's population stood at 2,944; by 1960, 4,806 people called the town home.[42]

The dreams of town boosters seemed to be coming true. Road traffic fueled growth, and Starke's leaders believed size to be the key to success. Civic boosters inherited a tradition that equated town size with well-being, a long-held belief that had been especially forceful in the 1920s when southern leaders raised boosterism to new heights.[43] In 1950, the *Bradford County Telegraph* had bemoaned the results of that year's census since it showed the town's population to be less than 3,000; the 1960 count produced no such complaint. The newspaper concerned itself instead with reports that Highway 301 handled more traffic than any other road in north Florida. By 1961, Shell Oil built a second gas station, the town's first 7-11 convenience store opened, a Stuckey's Pecan Shoppe went up three miles north of town, and developers com-

40. John Van Dyke Saunders, "Preliminary Report of the Bradford County Survey," 1953, typescript, George Smathers Library, University of Florida, 16.

41. Florida Department of Commerce, *Population of Florida: 1973* (Tallahassee, 1973), 20. *United States Census of Population: 1950*, 81; John Van Dyke Saunders, "Preliminary Report of the Bradford County Survey," 5.

42. Florida Development Commission, *Population of Florida: 1962* (Tallahassee, 1962), 14.

43. Blaine A. Brownell, *The Urban Ethos in the South, 1920-1930* (Baton Rouge, 1975), esp. ch. 5; Lawrence H. Larsen, *The Urban South: A History* (Lexington, Ky., 1990), 116-17. For examples of the booster ethos in Florida, see Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Norfolk, Va., 1988), esp. ch. 5 and 6; and William W. Rogers, "Fortune and Misfortune: The Paradoxical Twenties," in *The New History of Florida*, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville, 1996), 287-303.

pleted the last of an eighty-two-unit housing development.[44] While not the factories that boosters had envisioned, these businesses helped Starke's economy and situated it well in the battle for tourist dollars.

The foundation for Starke's success remained Highway 301. In 1951, boosters appealed to State Senator Charley Johns asking that he petition the State Road Board to widen Highway 301 through Starke.[45] Johns, Senate President pro tem, used his legislative power to push the initiative. In fact, so great was Johns's involvement that in 1954 the State Road Department added signs reading "A Promise Fulfilled—Charley E. Johns" on all construction projects in Bradford County.[46]

Nothing, then, frightened Starke's business community more than the specter of turnpikes connecting Florida's major metropolitan areas. The first salvo in this battle came in 1952, when gubernatorial candidate Dan McCarty placed a full-page ad in the *Bradford County Telegraph* attacking opponent Brailey Odham's proposal to construct four-lane expressways throughout Florida, bypassing Starke and Bradford County. The ad showed two maps: one of the current highway system; the other of the proposed highways with a large question mark in the general location of Starke.[47]

McCarty's ploy contributed to his election in 1952, but plans for building controlled-access roadways throughout the state did not fade. In many ways, the debate over the expressways paralleled the growing rift between Florida's rural "pork chop" counties and its growing metropolitan areas. In 1954, the *Bradford County Telegraph* voiced opposition to a proposed Jacksonville-to-Miami toll road, calling it "a funnel to speed the tourist gravy into the marts of Dade and Broward Counties." Adding to the regionalist rhetoric, the paper continued the attack in February 1955, declaring that "[to] argue in favor of a toll road through Florida, terminating in

44. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 30 June 1950, 25 February 1960, 6 April 1961, 14 September 14, 12 October 1961.

45. Ibid., 4 May 1951.

46. Ibid., 2 July 1954. Charley Johns served an important voice in Florida politics during the 1950s and early 1960s. In 1953, he served as Interim Governor upon the death of Governor Dan McCarty. He lost the 1954 gubernatorial to LeRoy Collins. Johns wielded power inordinate to Bradford County's size due to both his seniority and an apportionment system that favored Florida's smaller northern counties; see Mayors' Conference of Reapportionment, "Reapportionment Proposal" (Tallahassee, 1963), 5-6.

47. Ibid., 23 May 1952

Miami, is to state, in effect, that Miami and Florida are one and the same; that the average tourist is interested in Miami only, and that the faster he can speed through the rest of the state and get there, the better he will be pleased." Claiming that the "little people" of the state "do not want a toll road anywhere," the *Telegraph* advocated widening and repairing existing highways instead of constructing toll roads.[48] While the state legislature eventually approved the turnpike construction, Starke's leaders did not give up; instead, they refocused their energies on refurbishing Highway 301 to complement the new expressway.

While Starke's leadership spent much energy in opposing state-sanctioned turnpikes that would divert tourists and travelers away from the town, the passage of the Federal Highway Act of 1956 received no press coverage in Bradford County. The new law called for the development of a free system of high-speed, limited-access highways that would serve as defense roads, allowing quick access to and from military installations around the country.[49] Federal engineers in conjunction with the State Road Department initially planned five major highways in Florida totaling 1,110 miles: Interstate 10, running west from Jacksonville to the state line and on to Los Angeles; Interstate 95, entering the state north of Jacksonville and terminating in Miami; Interstate 75, running from the state line north of Lake City and southward to Tampa, with a spur line on to St. Petersburg; and Interstate 4 connecting Tampa and Daytona Beach (technically an *intrastate* highway, but given the same designation as the others).[50] The proposed routes completely by-passed Starke, but few residents seemed to comprehend the effect these roads would have on tourism and development, both in Florida and nationwide.

Interstate highways changed the face of the United States and transformed the way Americans traveled. Offering high-speed access between cities by detouring by small towns and under-passing cross roads, the new highway system allowed drivers to cut hours, if not days, off travel time. Where the previous system of national roads, like US Highway 301, offered travelers a scenic route, the new in–

48. Ibid., 5 March 1954, 11 February 1955, 25 February 1955.
49. Florida State Road Department, *The Interstate System in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1957), 1.
50. Idem, *Estimate of the Cost of Completing the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways in the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1957), 2.

terstates almost magically passed people through the surrounding countryside.[51] For Florida, this change was especially pronounced. As historians Raymond A. Mohl and Gary R. Mormino have commented, "the interstate highway system [in conjunction with the Sunshine State Parkway] in the 1960s and after dramatically enhanced mobility in Florida"; it "launched tourism to lofty new levels and opened up areas of the state to business and residential development."[52] While unforeseen in 1957, the new interstates forever changed Highway 301, Starke and many other small Florida towns that relied on the old highways' traffic.

Starke's leaders did not oppose the new interstates openly because they thought travelers would still opt for the old highway system. The State Road Board claimed that, since Florida did not plan to adapt any of its existing highway routes into the new interstate system as some other states envisioned, the new roads would complement the existing highway network, not replace it.[53] In 1957, board member Earl Powers spoke before the Starke Chamber of Commerce and explained that "the New Federal system will be designed primarily as military highways," with "no gasoline stations, no restaurants, and no tourist attractions along their way." Based on the nature of the roads, he concluded that "the majority of tourists will prefer to continue using our present highways."[54] Indeed, the relative prosperity of the late 1950s gave Starke nothing but high hopes for the future. The firebell of the new roads rumbled in the not-so-distant future, and Starke's boosters refused to hear it.

Workers constructed Florida's interstate highways with amazing speed. Legislated in 1956 and begun around 1960, the last of the originally planned roads was completed by the end of the decade. Travelers quickly learned the benefits of using the new interstates in their treks to Florida's vacation spots. Despite the *Bradford County Telegraph*'s 1954 assertion that Florida "is a vacation state from the north boundary to the southern coral-lined extremity," most tourists, inspired by travel posters and magazine advertisements, headed to Florida's beaches. Consequently, Starke's "multi-million dollar

51. For a discussion of the environment of the new interstates, see Jakle, *The Tourist*, 189-191.

52. Raymond A. Mohl and Gary R. Mormino, "The Big Change in the Sunshine State: A Social History of Modern Florida," in Gannon, ed., *The New History of Florida*, 431.

53. Florida State Road Department, *The Interstate System in Florida*, 4.

54. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 29 November 1957.

motel, restaurant, and service station" industry did not grow from tourists vacationing in Florida's "stopover mecca." Rather, it developed with Starke's role as a rest stop for tired travelers.[55]

Lacking a solid tourism base, Starke stood in a precarious position that eroded as the 1960s wore on. As early as 1964, town leaders realized the need to revamp Starke's image. Shortly after losing a manufacturing plant to neighboring Green Cove Springs, the Chamber of Commerce began taking bids from public relations firms to "sell" Starke and Bradford County. Citing public apathy as the town's greatest liability, the consultants urged greater involvement by all members of the community. By 1966, slight annoyance with those deemed "apathetic" grew into contempt and even backbiting. In February, the *Bradford County Telegraph* ran an editorial cartoon entitled "As Others See Us!" The drawing depicted two tourists driving by Starke's Chamber of Commerce building. As the driver says, "The sign said Starke," the passenger questions, "You sure it didn't say Dogpatch?"—referring to the fictional backwater of Al Capp's Lil'Abner cartoon. While land development continued and a few new industries such as Owen Joist's steel joist manufacturing plant, relocated to Starke, a noticeable change in outlook took place in the 1960s. Boosters still attempted to sell the city and even traveled to New York City to hunt for further textile opportunities. By 1969, though, even the editor of the *Bradford County Telegraph* threw up his hands in despair, asking Starke's citizens, "Do we want to go after industry or not?"[56]

Starke's leaders may have dreamed of huge factories alongside Bradford County's famous strawberry fields, but such opportunities had faded by the mid-1960s. Boosters, then, had reason for celebration in 1968 when the new Cadillac Overall Supply and Starke Industries hired a total of four hundred people, many of whom had been employed by Big Dad before it closed. However, these gains were unique, as the only other company to open after 1967 employed only twenty people constructing prefabricated houses.[57] In addition, Starke faced increasing vacancies in its once vibrant business district. In 1967, construction fell short of predictions: in

55. Ibid., 5 March 1954; 29 November 1957.
56. Ibid., 23 January 1964, 12 March 1964, 17 February 1966, 23 May 1968, 4 September 1969.
57. Compiled from Florida Department of Commerce, *Florida's New Industrial Plants: 1967-1969.*

Editorial cartoon published in the *Bradford County Telegraph*, 17 February 1966.

January estimates ran as high as $3.7 million, but year-end tallies showed less than $2 million. And by Christmas 1967, Starke, once proclaimed the "Tax Free Town," desperately needed "lots of new taxpayers, material to fix the pot holes in our streets, and a balanced budget."[58]

58. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 22 September 1966, 28 December 1967, 21 December 1967.

While the loss in traffic on Highway 301 had the greatest impact on Starke, other factors no doubt contributed. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Florida underwent a massive shift in population and political power in favor of the state's southern and more metropolitan counties. Long a Democratic stronghold, Bradford County remained faithful to the party as the rest of the state began to vote Republican.[59] In the late 1960s, as larger counties such as Dade and Broward gained representation in Tallahassee, reapportionment reduced the county's representation in the legislature.[60]

Still, Starke's economic decline had more to do with expressways than elections, and the town was not alone in losing ground to the new interstates. As early as 1963, the American Automobile Association predicted that interstates would bring "drastic changes" to the nature of American tourism and that the shift of travelers to the interstates would result in "a serious loss of business" for establishments far from the new roads.[61] Within just a few years, AAA's prediction proved true. In 1965, *Florida Trend Magazine* reported that the new highway system "diverts traffic away from former arteries of travel, drains the life's blood from established firms which are situated on the old highways and leaves them to die."[62] By 1967, the Motel Industry of Florida called on by-passed motels to join forces in attracting patrons back to areas left behind by the new roads.[63] The following year, the *Florida Motel Journal* reported that while small towns fought hard for tourist dollars, Interstate 75 alone had reduced sales at gas stations along Florida's older north-south highways by nearly 40 percent.[64] While some other towns found ways of wooing tourists, Starke's fortunes faltered, and the town could not renew the promise of earlier years.

Interstates diverted traffic from old roads, placing them low on the state's list of priorities and eviscerating Starke and its residents' dreams. In 1970, traffic along Highway 301 declined to 2,945 cars per day; Florida's Department of Transportation considered the

59. Annie Mary Hartsfield and Elston E. Roady, *Florida Votes: 1920-1962* (Tallahassee, 1963): 25.
60. See Mayors' Conference of Reapportionment, "Reapportionment Proposal," 5-6.
61. "AAA Men Say Future Good for Good Motels," *Florida Motel Journal* 13 (July 1963): 9.
62. "Florida's Hosting Industry: Poised on the Threshold of Change," *Florida Trend Magazine* 8 (June 1965): 20.
63. Motel Industry of Florida advertisement, *Florida Motel Journal* 17 (July 1967): 4.
64. "By-Passed Merchants Strike Paydirt in $30 Billion Interstate Market," *Florida Motel Journal* 18 (July 1968): 3.

number too low to justify further four-laning. Preliminary results of the 1970 census showed a net increase of three in Starke's population since the 1960 census, a finding the *Bradford County Telegraph* called "disappointing."[65] While the final count listed forty-three more than originally enumerated, it certainly did not meet the hopes and expectations of Starke's boosters.[66]

Today, Starke is not a ghost town, but neither has it become a booming metropolis. US Highway 301 carries more traffic than ever, but few travelers stay overnight in the small town. Instead, the highway connects traffic between Interstates 75 and 95. Most who drive through Starke see a depressing village of strip malls and decaying motels—backwater Florida come to life. Few realize the town did not always seem so backward or that Starke's residents once harbored dreams of their home being an important player in Florida's future. Certainly they never thought they could compete with Miami or Tampa, but they did hope to make Starke more than a small dot on the map. Many factors led to Starke's decline, but chief among these was the demise of the "Highway of Southern Hospitality." Interstates reshaped the southern landscape. The saga of Starke illustrates that few areas felt the impact harder than small-town Florida.

65. *Bradford County Telegraph*, 30 April 1970, 23 July 1970.
66. Florida Department of Commerce, *Population of Florida: 1973* (Tallahassee, 1973), 8.

Book Reviews

Flowing Through Time: A History of the Lower Chattahoochee River. By Lynn Willoughby. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999. xii, 234 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.)

It is said that water, like nutrients, *cycles* but a river, like energy, *flows*. The distinction between cycling and flowing is important because, whereas nitrogen, phosphorus, and carbon can be used again and again, energy can be transformed but not reused. Water, the earth's most precious molecule, cycles from the atmosphere to the earth and back again (the *hydrologic* cycle). But put water under gravity's influence and a river flows. For the past five centuries the Lower Chattahoochee River has flowed down a valley through cultural time from which there is no turning back.

In this well-written account of one of the South's great rivers, author Lynn Willoughby presents a concise, insightful chronology of centuries of accelerating change in the river, the land it drains, and the human cultures it has supported. Early chapters provide background on successive groups inhabiting (and disappearing from) the lower Chattahoochee basin: the post-ice age nomadic hunters, the Woodland hunters and gatherers, the Mississippian culture and its agrarianism, and the Creek Confederation. Later chapters chronicle more recent eras on the river, where the river became an increasingly stronger focus of economic development: the cotton economy, the Civil War years, steamboating, and dams and power production. The final chapters depict the increasing concerns about water quality as a result of pollution, both local and upriver. Transition between chapters is smooth, much as cultural transitions also seemed to flow with a sort of large-scale inevitability, driven by forces of human expansion and intrusion, and despite

considerable local and regional chaos along the way. It is difficult to read the chapters on the Creek removal and the near-immediate European land grabbing and partitioning and not sense the distinction between events cycling and flowing.

Through it all, what becomes clear is the dominance of major outside forces on the Lower Chattahoochee. Just as one must consider the whole river, not just the upper or lower part, to understand its ecological functioning, one must also see the entire river basin and beyond to understand why historical events happened as they did. For the most part the author succeeded in providing perspective for the ongoing change. Yet, a lack of adequate preparation for the reader on the looming importance of Atlanta to the Chattahoochee is perhaps one of the weaknesses of the book. The few references to Atlanta early in the book do not prepare the reader for its later importance. Unlike most large cities, Atlanta is situated high in its river basin and what happens there strongly affects the lower basin. Atlanta is seldom mentioned until the final chapters, although the river's future is strongly influenced by what happens there.

The mingling of text, photographs, and occasional maps in *Flowing Through Time* provide adequate orientation for the general reader as well as the specialist. A mixture of primary and secondary sources is provided for readers whose interest in the river and region are piqued by this worthwhile book, which makes for enjoyable leisure reading as well.

Rivers and the resources they provide are a highly relevant and scenic backdrop for viewing cultural heritage and change. Books such as *Flowing Through Time* provide a meaningful focal point for interpreting the history and culture of a region.

University of Idaho DENNIS L. SCARNECCHIA

Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America. By Ira Berlin. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1998. xii, 497 pp. Maps, tables, abbreviations, notes, acknowledgments, index. $29.95 cloth.)

A general study of this magnitude concerning North American slavery's early years is long overdue. On one hand, the period stretching from the Revolutionary Era to the early 1800s certainly

has not been ignored by scholars. On the other hand, we have awaited a study that focuses on the institution's early development, one that compares its evolution and many changing faces from region to region over two hundred years of experience. In filling this need, Professor Ira Berlin of the University of Maryland certainly has done a yeoman's job analyzing and interpreting the complexities of slavery and race over such a long period of time.

Berlin describes his subject as "a history of African-American slavery in mainland North America during the first two centuries of European and African settlement" (1). Generally, he analyzes societies with slaves (the Charter Generation) and slave societies (the Plantation Generation) from the early seventeenth century to the end of the Revolutionary period. Specifically, he probes topics such as the character of slavery in the early societies of the North, the Chesapeake, the Low Country, and the lower Mississippi River valley regions. Berlin skillfully examines its subsequent transformation into a more rigid institution based solely on race with the introduction of tobacco in the Chesapeake and rice in the Low Country regions during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

From the perspective of the 1990s, Berlin aptly describes how the life and culture of enslaved blacks evolved over time. To his credit, he does full justice to the complexity and variability of the various worlds created by bondservants, citing numerous examples that suggest they kept remaking their communities over time and from place to place against insurmountable odds. Berlin thus deals with the continued existence of a viable black culture in the four regions under study, certainly influenced by whites, but still uniquely African American in many ways.

This study offers a great deal to students of Florida history. Berlin clearly ties Florida (especially East Florida) to the development of slavery in the Carolina Low Country. But the plantation culture of Florida did not fully develop until after the mid-eighteenth century when transplanted Loyalist slaveholders from the Carolinas established rice plantations in the area. The author notes, "By the eve of the American Revolution, the rice coast stretched from Cape Fear in North Carolina to the St. John[s] River in East Florida" (143). Experiences of the lower Mississippi Valley areas of Louisiana and West Florida also came within Berlin's examination The plantation system developed much more slowly in the former and hardly at all in the latter during this general period. Of course, sla-

very did grow by leaps and bounds in East and Middle Florida after Spain relinquished it to the United States in the early nineteenth century.

One might ask: "do we need another study that chronicles human bondage or man's inhumanity to man during the first two centuries of North America's growth and development?" The answer is a resounding "yes." Professor Berlin adds to our understanding of the constantly changing faces of slavery over a two-hundred-year period, while also contributing to our awareness of the peculiar institution's metamorphosis at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Because the writing is lucid, engaging, and extremely well documented, this book will stand with Philip D. Morgan's *Slave Counterpoint* as the two best histories of slavery written during the 1990s. This study will be of great interest to students of Colonial, Southern, American, and African American history.

Florida A&M University LARRY E. RIVERS

Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835. By Theda Perdue. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. xi, 252 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, introduction, notes, index. $45.00 cloth.)

Historians of women and gender have argued that bringing women into history would do more than inform the majority about its past. It would deepen understanding of human history since women and men together affect change over time. Theda Perdue's lucidly written *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* accomplishes both objectives. She gives her reader a clear understanding of the changing role of women among the Cherokees from the eve of contact with Europeans through the period of removal and resettlement in Indian Territory. At the same time, she delineates the way in which those changes affected the Cherokees as a whole and laid the basis for divisions within the life of the Cherokee nation.

By the nineteenth century a wealthy Cherokee elite had adopted the acquisitive outlook of commercially-oriented planters and many of the values of the Euro-American patriarchal family, including its insistence on female submissiveness. Simultaneously, however, the traditional and more communally-oriented values of

the Cherokee people persisted especially among the full-bloods and played a continuing role in lawmaking and court decisions within the emerging polity.

These cleavages persisted into the twentieth century, a fact well documented by the late Angie Debo in *And Still the Waters Run* (1940). Although often painful and a source of tension, they also served as a source of cultural strength since they played a vital role in the Cherokees' ability to maintain their identity as a separate people. Indeed, Perdue's study indicates that much of this cultural persistence is rooted in the ongoing commitment of many Cherokee women to their traditional values.

As Perdue explains, the Cherokee gender system was based on a belief that the world was ruled by complementary forces that each sex had to keep in balance. That meant that men and women lived side by side but almost autonomously in their realms. Moreover, like many Native peoples of North America, the Cherokees were matrilineal and matrilocal. Tracing their descent through clan mothers, they expected husbands to reside in the villages of their wives. Women owned the households and their own tools and enjoyed arenas within villages where they influenced communal decisions, especially those involving retribution following the murder or loss of family members. Female corn production provided most of the village nourishment, while the meat that men supplied was welcomed but not as highly valued.

Trade with Carolina colonists, which sent Cherokee men abroad on hunting trips and embroiled them in heightened warfare, eroded these sources of female power. After the American Revolution, the Cherokees (having supported the British) were a devastated people. To replenish their numbers they adopted captives, and some Cherokee women married Anglo-European traders. Since descent was traced through mothers, the children of these unions were Cherokee. Increasingly, as marked forces penetrated Cherokee life, these mixed-blood children assumed leadership roles. When Cherokee men married Euro-American women, matrilineal ties were weakened further. Increasingly divided, the Cherokees became a nation, largely to pass laws and create courts that protected the value and interests of the emerging elite. Cherokee women lost even more power as their people gave up vast expanses of land and felt the full impact of federal policies which were administered through Cherokee men. Missionaries, determined to spread Christianity and "civilization" left female autonomy even weaker.

Despite these pressures many Cherokee women maintained their more ancient traditions, thereby keeping them alive among their people. Perdue argues persuasively that today's service-oriented Cherokee leaders, Wilma Manchild and Joyce Dugan for example, are the descendants of the communally-oriented Cherokee clan mothers of the past.

This is one of the most important works on American Indian history in the last decade and a splendid contribution to women's history and gender history. Moreover, it is accessible to general readers and, even more important, an engaging story and an enjoyable read. It is also an important work on Southern history and, overall, a stunning achievement.

University of Central Florida SHIRLEY A. LECKIE

Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700-1835. By Cynthia A. Kierner. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998. xii, 295 pp. Illustrations, preface, notes, index. $55.00 cloth, $18.95 paper.)

Cynthia A. Kierner's revisionist study of Southern women's roles in the public sphere is a rich and insightful account of the feminine experience in those transitional decades that separated the Colonial and Antebellum periods. Her focus is primarily on Virginia and the Carolinas, whose greater ethnic, religious, and economic homogeneity allowed her to identify clear patterns of change and to present defensible generalizations. As is to be expected, upper class women receive the most attention, but lower and middling classes of whites, African slaves, and their male counterparts also figure in the analysis.

Beyond the Household opens with a useful introduction that delineates the scope of the work, presents Kierner's working definition of "public sphere," addresses the distinctiveness of Southern women, and outlines the material, argument, and conclusions, chapter by chapter. My college-age daughter remarked after skimming the introduction, "She gives you the whole book!" This is not quite true, for the value of the study lies in the impressive amount of information that fleshes out this skeleton.

In her definition of "public sphere," Kierner rejects the masculine construct of voting, formal political debates, and office hold-

ing as too narrow and static, adopting a more inclusive one of exchanges on any extra-domestic ideas or issues. Here the public and private intersected, allowing women to cross the permeable boundaries and exercise considerable influence in the wider world. The changing nature of this public participation was shaped by the various roles and characteristics that society ascribed to women and the households that defined them. In each of these permutations, the quasi-political activities of women consistently complemented rather than challenged the existing order of social classes and patriarchal beliefs and practices.

Julia Spruill, in her classic and recently reissued *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*, called attention to the change in women's political participation by contrasting their actions at the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kierner zeroes in on the incremental changes that occurred within this period, dipping into the seventeenth century and fast forwarding to the mid-nineteenth century to place this evolution in clear relief.

Mirroring the maturation and Europeanization of the colonies, women's economic roles narrowed, public activities declined, and domestic labor expanded. Religious revitalization awarded woman superiority in piety, virtue, and benevolence; prosperity assigned her the responsibility of civilizing her household and society by offering genteel hospitality in a salon-like setting and oversight of the private social rituals and public pageants that reinforced the social hierarchy; a new marriage ideal appreciated female sensibility, and educational opportunities widened to prepare her to be a more suitable companion to her husband. A similar pattern can be discerned in the North, although few studies of that region delineate it with such clarity. Although Kierner does not explore the intellectual underpinnings of this new emphasis on the status and influence of women, Enlightenment social thought also reflected this ideal. Scottish philosophers charted the stages of human civilization and defined them by the value and respect that each society accorded to its women.

All this changed with the Revolution that repudiated an aristocratic gentility that smacked of decadence and celebrated the plain style of Republican virtue. Even as it closed the earlier door of female influence, it pushed women through another and onto an overtly political stage. The ensuing debate over women's political role was ultimately resolved against the backdrop of the radicalism of the French Revolution by confining them to the household, de-

fining public activity as a solely political venture which was assigned to males of all classes. Women's public activities simply mutated and took yet another form by engaging in religious and benevolent activities that evangelical religion both sanctioned and encouraged.

Kierner ends her account with the appearance of the Southern lady as a cultural ideal, but as she charts the evolution of the Colonial woman to an Antebellum lady, she does not fall into the trap of suggesting that the end product of either the culture or its linchpin, the Southern lady, was inevitable. Her blend of secondary and primary sources in a flowing synthesis should engage the general reader as well as the specialist.

Mississippi State University ELIZABETH NYBAKKEN

Methodism and the Southern Mind. By Cynthia Lynn Lyerly. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. viii, 251 pp. Preface, introduction, epilogue, appendix, notes, selected bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth.)

One of the most enduring forces in the lives of southerners is religion. While the Baptists have wielded significant influence in Southern society, they were not alone in altering the landscape and culture of the South in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Methodists also had a powerful hand in this transformation.

Cynthia Lyerly traces the evolution of Methodism in the South from a religious sect of the outcast to one of the South's dominant religious sects, arguing that the Methodists provided a critique of Southern culture: its notion of honor, greed, and slavery. She also claims that Methodism posed a threat to the South from 1770 to 1810 by promoting a world view foreign to that of Southern leadership. They opposed gentry custom, standard gender views, and sometimes slavery. Not until after 1810 did the hatred towards Methodists decline.

Lyerly's introduction begins with a 1788 statement by southerner Thomas Hinde to his wife: "I will stop you from going to hear these Methodists: They are turning the world upside down and setting people crazy." Many of the people presently living in the South would be surprised about the radicalism of early Methodists whose activities altered the religious and world view of southerners like Hinde. Methodism encouraged his wife and daughters to become

the spiritual caretakers of the family, disrupting his way of comprehending the world. The Hinde women were unrelenting in their quest for a closer walk with God.

Lyerly uses the inner urge of the Hinde women to connect the reader to the inner urge of John Wesley's early itinerant ministers. These men fanned out across the country, willing to preach to any and all. They held services in private homes, under trees, and wherever they could find an audience. On the Southern frontier, young ministers might receive small wages; however, they sometimes received nothing at all. Because many early Methodist ministers were circuit riders, lay leaders assumed a great deal of responsibility for religious life. Lyerly argues that lay leaders reveled in being outcast.

The author asserts that Methodism gave outcasts an opportunity at leadership. She clearly illustrates that Methodist ministers accepted poor whites, free black men, free black women, white women, and enslaved people. Their relationship with God was very personal. These outcasts developed a sisterhood and brotherhood among themselves that they could not forge with family members and friends. Their focus in life was completely to God; some members even found the Revolutionary War to be a distraction.

The chapter entitled "Slaves and Free Blacks in the Church" is a poignant reminder of the proactive abilities of Black Methodists. The anti-slavery struggles of Daniel Coker, Richard Allen, and lesser known black and white allies is used as a skillful reminder that race and slavery could not be forgotten, particularly by those in bondage. Lyerly's assertions fit well with recent studies on African American religion such as *Come Shouting to Zion* by Sylvia Frey and Betty Wood.

Like Donald Mathews in *Religion in the Old South*, Lyerly raises important issues about gender, class, and race in the Methodist church of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the issue of gender, she is careful to make sure that issues of women are woven into various aspects of class, values, race, and slavery. Throughout her book, class issues remain a constant discussion as Methodism rises to a point of acceptance in the South.

In short, the statements of Lyerly are well-proven with papers, letters, sermons, conference proceedings, and other primary sources. The book is written well with a clear argument and a topical organization that flows from conflicts surrounding Methodism to the doctrines and values of Methodism to the themes of race, class, slavery, and gender. The epilogue's discussion of the schism in the church is

excellent; however, the role of the African Methodist in the "Vesey Conspiracy" deserved greater attention. Nevertheless, Lyerly's work certainly deserves space next to *Come Shouting to Zion, Religion in the Old South*, Merton Dillon's *Slavery Attacked*, and Rhys Isaac's *The Transformation of Virginia*. Her work would serve students and historians of the South well. She provides an excellent research tool for people interested in the impact of Methodism on the mind of the South.

Eastern Connecticut State University STACEY K. CLOSE

Primitive Baptists of the Wiregrass South: 1815 to the Present. By John G. Crowley. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xiii, 245 pp. List of illustrations, preface, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95 cloth.)

In 1987, John B. Boles noted that to write a comprehensive history of Southern religion would require considerable work on the numerous sects beyond mainstream denominations. This book, by erstwhile Primitive Baptist minister John G. Crowley, perhaps exemplifies the kind of monographs that Boles had in mind. Based on the church's rich oral tradition and its voluminous and carefully preserved records, Crowley's text details the origins and expansion of Old Baptists into the border area of Florida and Georgia from the early nineteenth century to the present. Along the way, he highlights the issues that have caused centrifugal trends in the religion for nearly two centuries.

The most serious point of discord among Baptists concerned the extent of atonement. By the Antebellum period, the missionary impulse that gained momentum during the Great Revival sundered the Baptists of the wiregrass South into two main factions—the Primitives and the Missionaries. Unlike Primitives, Missionary Baptists embraced a doctrine of general atonement. For this, their "strongly predestinarian" counterparts chastised the Missionary wing for lacking a definite Biblical mandate, overrating secular learning, and overemphasizing money. As Crowley put it, the Missionaries' stress "on money generated hostility among frontier Baptists, primarily because they had so little of it" (73).

In the 1850s, the Primitive Baptists realized considerable growth. The Ochlocknee Association had grown to include thirty-five churches ranging from Irwin County, Georgia, to Wakulla

County, Florida, which served 778 members. At that point sectional tension had become more heated. Although some Primitives engaged in the secession debate, many remained tepid toward disunion. When the war came, most of the wiregrass country escaped direct harm. Indeed, not until Reconstruction would the area experience considerable cultural and economic upheaval. Despite these changes, Primitives accomplished some positive organizational advances after the Civil War. For example, the Ochlocknee Association combined its western churches into a new association that consisted of nine churches and 237 members. Yet even while consolidating new church bodies, doctrinal strife "racked the Primitive Baptists during the 1860s and 1870s like ideological tornadoes, leaving slots of destruction behind them" (112).

By the 1890s, the internal turmoil had subsided. During this brief, calm interlude, the Missionaries experienced greater growth than did the Primitives. South Georgia preachers then began criticizing absolute predestination, declaring that the canon "made God the author of sin and stifled godly living" (136). For the next three decades, a new breed of Missionary Baptist appeared that absorbed much of the reform spirit that characterized the era. The so-called "Progressives," for instance, played prominent roles in the prohibition crusade. To them, sobriety proved inseparable from godliness. In contrast, Primitives viewed peccadilloes relative to alcohol as fairly venial sins.

The washing of feet after communion represented another traditional ceremony that Missionaries downplayed. Again, in contrast, because Primitives strictly interpreted the Bible, they highly valued the practice. During the Great Depression, footwashing generated a new chasm, the results of which lingered for many years. In 1938, a Primitive association adopted a resolution admonishing its followers to practice footwashing "one hundred percent." If any Primitives anywhere for any reason failed to perform the ritual, the association threatened "not to affiliate" with them.

Similar internecine squabbling afflicted the Primitives during the postwar era. However, to detail all the schisms, Crowley asserts, would be tedious and nearly impossible. Suffice to say, virtually all these ecclesiastical disputes "grew entirely out of personality conflicts, family feuds, and minor disciplinary questions" (182). Still, Crowley expects Primitives to heal gradually many of their old divisions. "They presently enjoy a greater degree of unity and mutual toleration," he concludes, "than at any time in their recent past" (190).

Crowley has done a commendable job painting a sensitive portrait of Old Baptists in the Deep South. But he missed an excellent opportunity to connect his study with important, relevant works. In short, he fails to cite James M. Denham's account of Florida crackers, Wayne Flynt's work on Baptists, or Samuel S. Hill's scholarship on Southern religion anywhere in his text. Had Crowley referred to this body of literature, *Primitive Baptists of the Wiregrass South* could have provided a broader and deeper understanding of the people whose history he has investigated.

Daytona Beach Community College JOHN J. GUTHRIE JR.

Designs Against Charleston: The Trial Record of the Denmark Vesey Slave Conspiracy of 1822. Edited by Edward A. Pearson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xiii, 424 pp. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95 cloth.)

The melancholy proceedings that transfixed Charleston, South Carolina, in the summer of 1822, culminating in the public execution of thirty-five men and the conviction and banishment of forty others, have since occupied a central place in the history of American slavery. With "Gabriel's Conspiracy" (organized in and around Richmond, Virginia, in 1800) and Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion (which took place in the southern Virginia countryside in 1839), the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy has been cited since the days of the Antebellum abolitionist movement as evidence that African Americans did not meekly submit to their servitude. Now, for the first time, thanks to the efforts of Edward Pearson, the verbatim trial record of the Denmark Vesey conspiracy trials are available in print, accompanied by a substantial analytical introductory essay and a host of supporting documents. Taken together, these materials offer us an opportunity to reconsider what we can know about, and how we have chosen to understand, the lives and expectations of those people who, in the words of one of their executioners, passed from "time to eternity" upon the gallows outside of Charleston 178 years ago.

From the day that the conspiracy was revealed, the question that has most preoccupied students of the subject is whether the plot was genuine and, if so, whether it might have succeeded. Of course, the justices and freeholders who put Vesey and his associ-

ates to death had obvious reasons to regard the plot with deadly earnest. Not only were their lives at risk, but they also had to justify enormous public commotion and expense that the trials and executions entailed. In his introduction, Pearson accepts their view and argues for "intellectual sophistication" and "tactical practicality" of the plan. But in its basic outline, the 1822 plot differs little from that of Gabriel's or other urban conspiracies—including one investigated in Charleston in 1749. Like these others, the Vesey conspirators planned to attack at night, seize the arsenal, set fire to the city, and then kill the white inhabitants as they emerged from their homes.

However, to ask whether Vesey's plan might have succeeded if it were not betrayed is to wander beyond historical inquiry into the realm of conjecture. After the passage of so many years, perhaps the time has come to read the record of the Vesey conspiracy trials from a different perspective. Rather than focus upon the unique events of 1822, might one use the documents produced in this extraordinary proceeding as a window through which to perceive the everyday world of black Charleston in the first quarter of the nineteenth century? As Pearson himself notes, "the transcript of the Vesey trial uncovers the ways in which slaves fashioned their own lives as well as the ways in which they tested the authority of their owners." Viewing the trial record through this lens can reveal fascinating details regarding slaves' patterns of sociability, their hopes, their fears, and how they saw their world. In the last generation, many scholars have amply demonstrated how slaves constantly engaged in "everyday resistance" against slavery. We do not need the Denmark Vesey conspiracy to convince us of this fact. The trial record can offer us, however, a rare whisper of slaves speaking in their own words of "their own lives."

Florida slave masters undoubtedly read of the unfolding events in Charleston with horror, just as their slaves perhaps heard of them with hope. But there was possibly a more direct Florida connection to the Vesey Conspiracy. A key figure in the plot was an Angola-born conjure-man named "Gullah Jack" who claimed to be able to produce charms that would make the rebels impervious to bullets. Jack was reportedly brought to America in the early nineteenth century by Zephaniah Kingsley and labored on Kingsley's St. Johns River plantation before being sold to a Charleston master in 1810. At Jack's trial, one prosecution witness regarded him with particular enmity. "Your Altars and your Gods have sunk together

in the dust," the indignant judge pronounced, "the airy spectres, conjured by you, have been chased away buy the superior light of Truth, and you stand exposed, the miserable and deluded victim of offended justice." Gullah Jack was hanged on July 12, 1822.

University of Texas at Austin ROBERT OLWELL

Winfield Scott: The Quest for Military Glory. By Timothy D. Johnson. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. xi, 315 pp. Acknowledgments, list of maps and illustrations, appendix, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth.)

Timothy Johnson lays more stress on Winfield Scott's elitism than other current biographers; Scott's aristocratic bent is the dominant theme of the book. Scott thought himself superior and unable to relate to common men. As a result, he became the only military hero who was defeated in a run to be president. A driving ambition grew from his determination to demonstrate his superiority. He pressed for higher rank until he reached the top and, at all levels, demanded higher pay than he received. He sought high social status, for which a large income was essential, but most of all he wanted fame.

Scott learned from his military experience. The excessive bloodiness of the Battle of Lundy's Lane in 1814 taught him to adopt tactics that would reduce carnage. From his unfortunate campaign in the Second Seminole War, he learned to find ways to counter guerrilla warfare. So except for Molino del Ray, his generalship in Mexico became a model studied by students of warfare. The masters he followed were European. For example, emulating Napoleon he pinned the foe in front, sending a turning column around the flank. His assignment from 1818 to 1821 was to prepare regulations for the United States Army from European examples. The published result was the Army's first set of by-laws. Scott thought of himself as America's finest general, and author Timothy Johnson presents him as fine a field commander as the United States has ever produced. History, the author says, has not done him justice.

Winfield Scott wooed a Richmond belle, Maria Mayo, for years before she married him in March 1817. They had two boys and five girls, but only three of the brood, all girls, survived into middle years. Scott showed no interest in other women, except that he rel-

ished their admiration. Maria was not much help to him in his career; she was in Europe years on end, dying in Rome in 1862.

Biographer Johnson places Andrew Jackson as the antithesis of Winfield Scott. Jackson once challenged Scott to duel, but as a duel violated army regulations, Scott declined. Scott's elitism could not accommodate Jackson's celebration of the common man, and in Scott's view, the Jacksonians were moving the nation toward ruin.

Scott made enemies easily. When Alexander Macomb became commanding general in 1828, Scott refused to take orders from him for some time. This estranged President John Quincy Adams who had appointed Macomb. Scott and Major General Edmund Pendleton Gaines exchanged vituperation for fifty years. When Scott finally became commanding general in 1841 his arrogance became legendary. He and Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War (1853-1857), clashed so continuously that the General finally moved the headquarters of the army out of Washington.

In writing about Scott's military campaigns, Johnson repeats an already well-told bit of history in very similar fashion. Charles Winslow Elliot, in *Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man* (1937), devoted 27 percent of 763 pages to the War of 1812; John S.D. Eisenhower, in *Agent of Destiny: The Life and Times of Winfield Scott* (1997) used 24 percent of 402 pages. Johnson allots 18 percent of his 242 pages. He says Scott started the army toward being able to cope with future wars. From his earliest years in the service, Scott developed a mistrust of citizen soldiery. For him the security of the nation depended on a truly professional force. All three biographers, Elliott, Eisenhower, and Johnson devote approximately 23 percent of their texts to the War with Mexico. For Elliott, this adds up to 180 pages; for Johnson, 55. Here as elsewhere, however, there is greater detail in Elliott.

Johnson devotes only 14 percent of his text to Scott's life after the War with Mexico. Most of that portion deals with the Civil War, including General George B. McClellan's about-face on the commanding general. Early in July 1861, McClellan wrote to Scott that all he knew about handling troops he had learned from Scott, but before the month was over he was writing to others that Scott was either a dotard or a traitor.

Johnson's book rests on thorough use of primary sources. It is a sound, readable, brief biography. It can be enriched by reading Elliott's more detailed narrative along with it.

Gainesville, Fla. JOHN K. MAHON

Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley. By David Williams. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. xiv, 288 pp. Acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 hardcover.)

While a new millennium dawns, historians of the Civil War remain absorbed with a question almost 150 years old: Why did the Confederacy lose the war? For decades, historians largely echoed the explanation first given by Robert E. Lee at Appomattox. Lee maintained that the Army of Northern Virginia, and ultimately the nation it served, yielded in the end to overwhelming numbers. Scholars agreed that the Confederacy failed on the battlefield, where an army drawn from a larger northern population and supplied by a superior industrial base sealed the South's doom. Such a military interpretation invariably led to great interest in battles and leaders, an orientation that consumes many to this day. However, a revisionist explanation for Confederate defeat, originating with scholars such as E. Merton Coulter and Kenneth Stampp but reaching a crescendo only in the last twenty years, has increasingly countered the traditional analysis. Its adherents maintain that the Confederacy collapsed from within. Due to various socioeconomic reasons, including cancerous class conflict, a lack of commitment to independence, and policies of the Jefferson Davis administration that worsened the plight of the Southern yeomanry, the Confederate States of America imploded. Most recently, scholars such as Gary Gallagher have rejected the revisionist argument and to an extent revived the traditional explanation. The debate as a result shows no sign of ending soon.

David Williams places himself squarely on the side of those who see Confederate failure as the product of internal divisions. Importantly, unlike other proponents of the "internal collapse" argument who tend to study the Confederacy's fringes, Williams boldly challenges the old orthodoxy from the heart of the Old South, the Lower Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia. In many ways, his remains a by-now familiar scenario nonetheless. Williams depicts a South rent by class conflict and racial divisions long before Fort Sumter. Aristocratic cotton planters and business elites controlled most of the wealth in the region, leaving half of the valley's white population to toil in poverty and virtually all of the black population to labor as unwilling slaves. Afraid of losing their wealth and power, most planters campaigned for secession in

1861. After initial enthusiasm, the mass of whites expressed second thoughts. While they fought Yankees in the field and struggled with deprivation at home, the elite persisted in their extravagant lifestyles. Acting as government officials, the wealthy also placed an increasing burden on the backs of the poor, while simultaneously protecting their own interests at every opportunity. Inevitably, the plain folk fought back through desertion, draft evasion, banditry, and in some cases outright Unionism. African Americans too resisted planter hegemony in a myriad of ways, from physical resistance to donning Union blue. In the end, the Confederacy fell, doomed from the beginning. According to Williams, it really had been a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight" along the Chattahoochee.

Strongly researched and written with clarity and verve, *Rich Man's War* succeeds splendidly in most ways. The incredible wealth of detail which Williams provides on the region is unrivaled. From the industries of Columbus to the rural lives of the poor, from common digestive illnesses born of a wartime diet to the manufacture of homespun, Williams knows the region, the period, and the place. His attention to the slave community, a subject too often slighted in similar works, is particularly admirable. Regrettably, Williams tends to use too broad a brush to paint what should be a subtle study in shades of gray. Indeed in many ways, the author's tone often harkens back to Progressive interpretations of the Civil War current during the 1930s but now considered passé. The men who brought about the Civil War wanted nothing more than economic power, Williams believes. Just as planter and business elites forced Southern secession, he insists, northern elites pushed a compliant Lincoln to save the Union largely to feather their own nests. The conflict was "a rich man's war" in the North as well as in the South. Such an interpretation leads the author to depict routinely nearly all of the planter-aristocrats in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley as nothing more than selfish and contemptible scoundrels. Motivated by greed and power, that aristocracy abused and betrayed the common folk until that proletariat could take no more. Today, Williams tellingly adds, little has changed in the region or in the nation for that matter in regard to the power of elites. The end result is a detailed and eminently useful study of a southern region that nonetheless seems too often cramped by the ideology of the class struggle.

State University of West Georgia KENNETH W. NOE

Patriotic Toil: Northern Women and the American Civil War. By Jeanie Attie. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998. xiii, 294 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, prologue, bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth.)

Patriotic Toil is a study of economic, political, and ideological conflicts that surrounded northern women's support of the Union army during the Civil War. It specifically explores the relationship between northern women and the United States Sanitary Commission, a privately supported volunteer auxiliary to the Army Medical Corps that fitted out and supplied hospital units, cared for the wounded on the front and looked after the comforts of the soldiers.

According to the author, the Sanitary Commission embodied the larger political and personal goals of its founders—Henry Whitney Bellows, Frederick Law Olmsted, and George Templeton Strong. These urban elites saw in the organization a means through which they could achieve a platform for their class and national interests, that is, "a social welfare scheme that would mimic the functions of a strong federal government" (5).

As all American wars have, the Civil War released women from confining roles and gave them broader opportunities to express their beliefs and energies. Confident that the war would be short and enthusiastic about northern victory, women eagerly joined volunteer organizations to support their husbands and sons at war. By the opening weeks of war, when it became apparent that the Medical Department of the Union army was totally unprepared for war, thousands of aid societies worked to supply the necessities of soldiers, but in their eagerness, much food was left to rot, roads were blocked by civilian vehicles, and worse still the army was inundated by a flood of public bounty—handmade socks, scarves, mittens, shirts, and home-canned foods that were wasted where they were not needed.

Realizing the need to coordinate this spontaneous grass-roots activity, Elizabeth Blackwell and "Ninety-Two Respected Ladies" formed the Women's Central Relief Association "to direct social welfare and voluntary charity—a right expressed in the antebellum compromise on gender" (83). Still, stories about the disorganized nature of female benevolence and the confusion it produced at the warfront provided the impetus for the creation of the United States Sanitary Commission which trained nurses, coordinated the care of soldiers, staffed and supplied hospitals, set up and maintained

hospital ships and relief camps, and provided transportation for wounded soldiers. To finance its operations, thousands of local "Sanitary Fairs" were held which raised staggering amounts of money. For example, Mary Livermore and Jane Hoge organized the great Sanitary Fair in Chicago which raised over $100,000.

In addition to being financial successes, the fairs afforded northerners a sense of social cohesiveness during the war. Since every city, town, and village had its fairs, these events highlighted and represented the decentralized, local, and female sources of charity work.

The Sanitary Commission gave thousands of women their first chance to exercise their executive abilities outside their homes. Many went on to careers as reformers at the end of the war. Organizing local aid societies, inspecting army hospitals, and staging sanitary fairs gave northern women the self-confidence and administrative experience which they later utilized with former slaves, urban charities, and the women's suffrage movement. Dorothea Dix, who was appointed Superintendent of Nurses, organized and trained the more than three thousand women who were army nurses during the war.

While the United States Sanitary Commission experienced much success in mobilizing northern resources and female labor in support of the Union, by 1863, the homefront was rife with rumors of corrupt operations and leaders who held selfish motives. In the midst of this controversy, a rival agency, the United States Christian Commission was established.

The Civil War finally came to a halt on April 9, 1865. Throughout the war, many of the nation's women had proven loyal supporters of the military efforts in both North and South. They hoped their gargantuan efforts would be recognized with extended rights, especially the right to vote. Their hopes were dashed when Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment in 1866; its provisions extended political privileges to white and black men but not to women.

While Jeanie Attie made extensive use of manuscript collections and letters written by hundreds of women, the book is not very successful in analyzing the central theme that the United States Sanitary Commission's founders held class and national interests which favored a strong federal government. The reader is left wanting a bit more insight which might have been accomplished had the author given greater attention to the interests of the male founders. A glaring omission as well, beyond one sen-

tence, is discussion of the contributions made by African American women in the North. They, too, supplied sanitary goods, spoke against slavery, and served on the warfront and homefront. Still, the strength of the book is the forthright discussion of the complex, collective, and various roles northern women assumed during the Civil War.

Southern University at New Orleans BARBARA A. WORTHY

Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta. By Thomas G. Dyer. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. xiii, 383 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, notes, index. $29.95 hardcover.)

Secret Yankees is the story of a contingent of Unionists in Confederate Atlanta. In the midst of seemingly unified Confederate sentiment in Atlanta, there were approximately one hundred families that could be classified as Unionists. In varying degrees, these people maintained their loyalty to the United States government, a loyalty motivated by the sanctity of the idea of Union, by religion, by self-interest, and by personal characteristics and temperament. Those who acted out their loyalty were, without a doubt, disloyal to the Confederacy, thereby exposing themselves to grave dangers.

Professor Thomas Dyer undertook this study after reading a diary that covered the first seven months of 1864, written anonymously by a Unionist woman living in Atlanta during the Civil War. The author referred to herself as "Miss Abby." Painstaking historical detective work revealed the diarist to be Cyrena Baily Stone. A native of Vermont, Cyrena had moved to Atlanta with her businessman-lawyer husband, Amherst, in 1854. On the eve of the Civil War, the Stones were among the socially and economically established in Atlanta, though they remained Yankees in the eyes of native Atlantans.

After the outbreak of war, life for the Stones and other Unionists became increasingly uncomfortable and even dangerous. Atlanta newspapers constantly fed fears of strangers and spies that bordered on paranoia. Ad hoc vigilance committees took it upon themselves to seek out the disloyal, using methods ranging from simple harassment to violence. In mid-1862, local authorities determined to attack the Unionist problem. The result was what Am-

herst Stone referred to as a "perfect reign of terror." For Atlanta Unionists, life was filled with constant threats of imprisonment, disaster, and death.

In April 1863, Amherst escaped to the North (ostensibly on business) where, ironically, he was arrested as a Confederate spy. Indeed, the number of Unionist men in Atlanta steadily declined until, by early 1864, only a fraction of the most active were still in the city. Most of the women, however, remained behind and continued to engage in anti-Confederate work. At the forefront of these efforts was Cyrena Stone. She and her group—white and black, male and female—provided aid to Union prisoners, slaves, and freedmen, and helped deliver military intelligence outside the city. They also engaged in secret periodic patriotic exercises which included the soft singing of patriotic songs and gazing upon the tiny American flag that Cyrena kept hidden in her sugar bowl. Cyrena endured arrest on suspicion of spying and the destruction of her home during the fall of Atlanta. In the autumn of 1864, Cyrena left Atlanta, never to return. She died in Vermont in December 1868.

A particularly interesting and illuminating aspect of *Secret Yankees* concerns the subject of conflicting loyalties during wartime. Dyer writes that the Atlanta Unionists "could not avoid encounters with conflicting loyalties, each with limits, each demanding something, and each requiring either a choice or a reconciliation" (74). Thus, "loyalty was frequently imperfect, rarely unconditional, and often influenced by circumstances" (267). Dyer includes accounts of numerous Atlanta Unionists that attest to the dilemmas that this group faced. He concludes that the loyalty of Cyrena Stone was about as unconditional as was possible in her circumstances.

Secret Yankees is the product of superb historical detective work. In Appendix A, Dyer included a fascinating account of his methodology in identifying Cyrena Stone as Miss Abby. Appendix B is the diary itself, beginning on January 1, 1864, and stopping in mid-sentence in the entry for July 22 of the same year.

In the "Preface and Acknowledgments," Dyer writes that his primary purpose was to "write a good story that is enjoyable for the general reader as well as for scholars." In this, he has succeeded brilliantly. For both the general reader and the scholar, *Secret Yankees* is both exceedingly informative and enjoyable.

Georgia Southwestern State University FRANK M. LOWREY

For Courageous Fighting and Confident Dying: Union Chaplains in the Civil War. By Warren B. Armstrong. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. xii, 171 pp. $24.95 cloth.)

During the Civil War, regiments in the Union army included on their roster a chaplain. Who were these people, and what were they expected to do? How did they relate to the other officers and men? How did they deal with the realities of war? These topics are carefully addressed in this study by Warren B. Armstrong.

Before 1861, chaplains taught school at regular army posts in the West. Hastily drawn wartime regulation provided for chaplains in Union volunteer regiments, but did nothing to prescribe their duties. They found themselves vaguely responsible for the moral and religious conditions of their men. The officers of each regiment elected the chaplain. At first, only Christian clergy could serve, but in time a few Jewish rabbis were elected. By mid-1863, African American pastors served some of the black units. No central office coordinated the work of the chaplains, so on his own, each one had to work out his duties and relationships to his regiment.

In addition to conducting worship services, chaplains performed a variety of religious and secular tasks, ranging from comforting the sick, wounded, and dying to teaching the illiterate, to writing letters to the families of dead soldiers, to managing runaway slaves, to foraging for food. In brief, the chaplain became a "clerical jack-of-all-trades." The men and officers perceived their chaplains in different ways. Some saw them as Victorian moral scolds, as nuisances. (Indeed, chaplains' monthly reports told of their constant efforts to stop profanity, gambling, boozing, and similar soldierly recreations.) Some saw them as anti-military and a "fifth wheel." (It has always been awkward to merge "love your enemy" with ideas of a "just war.") But according to the author, most chaplains had the general respect of their colleagues because they were good men, energetically helpful in many ways and genuinely devoted to the well-being of the soldiers.

Whenever the Union army occupied southern territory, slaves left their masters and fled to Federal lines. Chaplains frequently assumed the duty of caring for the "contrabands." The work of Chaplain John Eaton is well known—General U. S. Grant made him the supervisor of freedmen's affairs in the Mississippi Valley. Other chaplains educated the former slaves, evangelized them, organized churches for them, and generally helped them adjust to freedom.

The author presents the chaplains as sympathetic, open-minded men who opposed slavery and believed in racial equality. Most held that slavery was the root cause of secession and war.

This slender volume uses research into the service records and official reports of many chaplains, but it relies most heavily on the post-war memoirs of the chaplains themselves. The author, who enthusiastically admires the chaplains, tends to take them at their own self-evaluations. The book is well documented with notes and extensive bibliography. This clearly is a study of army chaplains: it is not about the pre- or post-war lives of the men who filled that role, and it is not about the state of American religion. Given its narrow focus, this book provides a useful starting place for understanding the unheralded but ubiquitous and often heroic army chaplains.

State University of New York, Purchase College EDWIN S. REDKEY

Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920. By Elizabeth York Enstam. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998. xx, 284 pp. List of illustrations, list of tables, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth.)

In Women and the Creation of Urban Life, Elizabeth Enstam unravels fascinating stories about women's roles in creating and preserving the historical landscape of Dallas, Texas. Using Dallas as a case study, Enstam's thesis is that women were not accessories to the development of urban life but rathter were central and integral to the social, economic and political process that changed Dallas from an agricultural village to a modern city. The author supports this thesis by looking at five aspects of women's work. The first has to do with women's participation in the urban economy via paid employment and work in the home. Second, women played a decisive role in the establishment of schools, churches, and clubs, drawing relatives, friends and newcomers into patterns of association most often found in urban areas. The assumption of leadership roles in organizations that characterized modern urban life was the third area of investigation that Enstam probed. The fourth was women's activities in club movements which spearheaded the establishment of libraries and museums. Last but not least, women of Dallas became actively involved in politics. Rather

than shying away from politics because they did not have the right to vote, they learned the strategies and tactics of political action. In Enstam's own words, "they employed the social prescription of gender to get what they wanted from public sources" (xviii-xix).

Enstam is probably strongest in her conclusion when she asserts that "cities and not the frontier emancipated American women" (180), that urban life drew women out of the private domestic sphere and into the public area. A combination of jobs for relatively good wages, excellent material prospects, and better opportunities for family advancement drew women to Dallas. As these women moved from the private to the public sphere, from the frontier to the city, they selected, rejected, manipulated, and reshaped cultural forms and etiquette to meet their own needs within the context of the economic, social, and political environment in which they lived.

The thesis is as significant in the investigation of women's history as it is substantiated by solid scholarship. There is much to admire in the equanimity and thoroughness of Enstam's research. She draws on a broad range of primary and secondary sources, including letters, diaries, government documents, church and club records, periodicals, books, and pamphlets. In fact, the bibliography shines as an essential starting point for other studies to test Enstam's conclusion.

Enstam writes in a clear, crisp, and analytical prose and places her subject matter in the larger context of gender within the United States and Texas. She does particularly well in explaining the cultural role played by women in helping to shape the contours of twentieth-century American urban landscape. Now and then, small sections of the book may seem repetitious and occasionally cryptic, but all told, this is a well written and well researched book that offers valuable new information and insight into an important area of urban, Southern, and Texas history.

Texas Southern University MERLINE PITRE

To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism. By Cecilia Elizabeth O'Leary. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999. xiii, 365 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.)

To Die For "explores the origins, development, and consolidation of patriotic cultures in the United States between the Civil War

and World War I" (4). Cecilia O'Leary, assistant professor of history at California State University at Monterey Bay, argues that Union victory in 1865 was merely "the *beginning* [original emphasis] of a long and contentious struggle over who and what would represent the nation" (6). Her book, adapted from her doctoral dissertation, is the story of that struggle.

Unabashedly liberal in perspective, *To Die For* focuses on familiar analytical categories: race, class, gender, and region. Despite O'Leary's commitment to an "interdisciplinary approach" and her study of non-documentary sources while working at the Smithsonian Institution, her book is primarily about the organizations that contended for the right to define American patriotism.

The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) emerges as the most influential of those organizations. Building upon earlier studies, O'Leary shows how the GAR created "an expressive patriotic culture" founded on national unity, religion and militaristic ritual. She also traces the process by which the GAR excluded women and segregated African Americans within its own ranks.

In contrast to the GAR's "militaristic" patriotism stood women and African Americans whose definition of patriotism was "emancipatory." O'Leary devotes two chapters to the first national women's patriotic organization, the Women's Relief Corps (WRC), its internal politics, and its ambivalent relationship with the GAR. The WRC experienced the same pressures as the GAR including demands to racially segregate chapters in the South (which was done after 1900) and debates over the organization's mission. Ultimately, the WRC leadership declined to be a mere auxiliary serving the needs of aging veterans and became, in O'Leary's estimation, an active force in expanding the meaning of patriotism, even engaging in the suffragist and peace movements.

The several chapters on race and region are of most vital interest to students of Southern history. Concurring with other recent historians, O'Leary believes that white northerners reconciled with white southerners at the expense of African Americans who continued to celebrate Union victory as a victory for emancipation and equal rights. Organizations such as the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) insisted on a national history and a patriotic culture that honored the Confederate soldier and respected the Confederate cause. Despite continued complaints by UDC activists, O'Leary argues that history texts and the national consciousness "made significant conces-

sions" to the Confederate viewpoint (133). While Confederate veterans struggled against perceived anti-Southern histories, and GAR diehards balked at honoring the valor of the men who tried to destroy the Union, the former enemies found common cause in support of segregation and the war against Spain. "It would not be an overstatement to conclude that the white South won in the cultural arena what it had lost on the battlefield," O'Leary concludes (203).

While O'Leary offers important insights into the mindset of former Confederates and their reintegration into the national fold, her treatment of Southern patriotism is sometimes wanting. Her research on this subject is more superficial than on other topics (relying more on derivative than archival sources) and consistent errors in names and titles (calling the Confederate battle flag the "stars and bars" and Abram Ryan's famous poem "The Captured Banner") betray her relative unfamiliarity with Southern subjects. She neglects several landmark sources (notably Rev. Randolph McKim's 1904 Flag Day address) that offer insight into the "dual loyalty" of former Confederates. She also oversimplifies the relationship between racism and imperialism in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, neglecting the tendency of Southern racist politicians to oppose imperialism and militarism.

By World War I, American patriotism had not only become formalized (replete with flag codes and rituals for school children) but also jingoistic and intolerant of immigrants and dissidents. This "militarist, racist, and exclusive brand of patriotism" never enjoyed complete hegemony, O'Leary concludes (244). In the 1920s, the realities of a nation divided by race, class, and gender generated "insubordination" against the new orthodoxy and defied enforced unity. O'Leary finds solace in the conclusion that even after the conscious creation of an orthodox American patriotism, the meaning of "true patriotism" remained open and fluid.

The Museum of the Confederacy JOHN M. COSKI

Ralph McGill: A Biography. By Barbara Barksdale Clowse. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998. 315 pp. Introduction, notes, sources, index. $29.95 cloth.)

As historians continue to examine and pen the influence of Southern journalism on social and political developments during this century, perhaps no journalist will be more remembered than

Ralph Emerson McGill, and rightly so. McGill, who rose to fame at the *Atlanta Constitution* during the 1940s, exerted so much moral influence on Southern social movements and politics that he has been called "The Conscience of the South."

McGill, born in Tennessee in 1898, studied at Vanderbilt University and served in the Marines between 1917 and 1922. As a student, he joined the staff of the *Banner* newspaper in Nashville part-time and worked there full-time for a half-dozen years there after leaving Vanderbilt. McGill moved to Atlanta and the *Constitution* in 1929, where he spent the next decade as its sports editor as he searched for the opportunity to move into news, his passion. McGill got his chance in 1938, when he was named executive editor of the paper, a post he held from 1942 to 1960.

During those years, McGill earned a reputation as an outspoken critic of bigotry and segregation. During the 1960s, he was the publisher of the *Constitution* and, in many ways, personified the paper. McGill won the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing (1959), the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1964), and honorary degrees from Harvard, Morehouse, Notre Dame, Brown, and more than a dozen other colleges. He was a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His books include *The South and the Southerner* and *No Place to Hide: The South and Human Rights.*

Since McGill died just days shy of his 71st birthday in 1969, only one book was available until recently about his life: a sympathetic 1973 biography written by *Constitution* colleague Harold Martin. Although the book lacks serious critical assessment of McGill's life and career, it is a useful and well written introduction to his life and work.

Barbara Barksdale Clowse's new biography of Ralph McGill is much more academic in content and style, reflecting vigilant examination of McGill's thousands of writings (he wrote more than twenty thousand columns), voluminous papers, and detailed interviews with those still alive who knew and worked with McGill.

Clowse carefully traces the development of McGill's career and eventual role as both leader and leading recorder of the South's "Second Reconstruction." His influence extended far outside the South—his syndicated columns demanded the attention of five presidents and millions of readers. McGill was hated as much as he was loved, and he seemed to cherish the thousands of readers who cared enough to hate him. Clowse also relates interesting influences and struggles in McGill's personal life, delving into his dis-

tant relationship with his son, his obsession with travel, and the idiosyncrasies that made McGill more human, less mythic.

Clowse's biography, however, is not written in the compelling, colorful, and evocative style that marked her subject's writing; her text seems to lack flow and continuity, and demands a vigilant reading. She does not allow the voice of McGill to resonate, presenting his writing in bits and pieces too small to provide the reader with any true understanding of McGill's famous editorial style. Clowse also fails to provide us with a thorough analysis of McGill's legacy. A post-biographical insight on McGill's indelible influence on Southern culture, politics, and journalism would have been a valued addition to the book, as would a more thorough analysis of the criticisms of McGill as an editor. For instance, Clowse alludes to McGill as a poor newsroom manager despite his reputation as a great writer, but the reader is left wanting for explanation.

Nevertheless, Clowse's work provides an adequate narrative of McGill's "gradualist" mentality regarding race and segregation, and a thorough account of the career of a Southern journalist who evolved into a major literary force in the country's great moral crusade for racial equality. This book provides a valuable addition to understanding McGill, Southern journalism, and the twentieth-century South.

Florida Southern College MARIE HARDIN

Pistol Packin' Mama: Aunt Molly Jackson and the Politics of Folksong. By Shelly Romalis. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999. xi, 245 pp. Acknowledgments, a note on available recordings, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth, $18.95 paper.)

A folk music heroine whose story is largely unknown to the general public, Aunt Molly Jackson wrote songs reflecting her experiences as the wife and daughter of Appalachian coal miners. For her and her contemporaries in the 1930s, music provided a means of resistance to harsh conditions as well as a way to illuminate their struggles to outsiders. In Aunt Molly's life anthropologist Shelly Romalis finds a fascinating story about the interaction of region, class, gender, and the politics of representing "authentic" others. Romalis uses Aunt Molly as a means to "magnify our understandings of how ordinary people's lives, women's experience, history, and ideology merge" (17).

Romalis first sets the stage for Aunt Molly's "discovery" in the early 1930s. A group of left-wing activists led by author Theodore Dreiser traveled to Harlan County, Kentucky, in November 1931 in order to gather the testimonies of striking coal miners and their families. The speaker who truly captivated them was Aunt Molly, a rural midwife in her fifties who sang her own composition, "Ragged Hungry Blues." Sensing the enormous symbolic potential of this living embodiment of Appalachian hardship, Dreiser and his committee encouraged her to move to New York City. For a time she and her half-siblings, Jim Garland and Sarah Ogan Gunning, were the darlings of the New York leftist elite, for whom they and their music represented the tragedy of exploited labor.

Although Romalis discusses Sarah in some detail as well, it is Aunt Molly's story that intrigues her. For example, Aunt Molly had a habit of declaring herself the author of folksongs that others also claimed to have written, and she freely interpreted the facts of her life depending upon her audience. Romalis is less concerned with the absolute truth of Aunt Molly's life and more interested in the ways in which she interpreted herself to the world—as a firebrand radical, an authentic voice of the downtrodden whose experiences entitled her to speak for the working classes.

Much of the book is devoted to demonstrating how Aunt Molly's and Sarah's lives illuminate issues surrounding music, gender, and class in contrasting ways. Separated in age by thirty years, they represented opposites in many respects: Molly, the outspoken activist who craved the spotlight; and Sarah, the traditional wife and mother whose greatest popularity came in the 1960s. Romalis brings those contrasts to bear on her discussions of the politics and gender dimensions of folksong (the two strongest chapters in the book). She offers an intriguing examination of the work of ballad collectors and the question of what exactly is "traditional" and what is "authentic." To Aunt Molly, her own work was "authentic" because it reflected her experience, and it was "traditional" because she used Appalachian musical forms. She angrily dismissed outsiders' attempts to represent her songs or write other versions, accusing them of "mommicking up" her work. Sarah, who remained uninterested in associating herself or her songs with a political cause, was less defensive about such issues. Both women, however, used their distinctly gender-based observations of life in Appalachia in creating their music. They wrote haunting recollections of hungry and dying children, and husbands and fathers who were

killed in the mines. They were articulating protest, but a distinctly female protest, stemming from their experiences as the daughters and wives of coal miners. Aunt Molly, however, actively participated in the strikes of 1931 and drew from a greater sense of radical politics in writing her music.

There are some problems with the book. Long block quotes of entire letters seem unnecessary, although the song lyrics are very helpful. Romalis repeats information on several occasions in a manner that disrupts the flow of her narrative. The imagined conversation with Aunt Molly strikes an odd chord. The book might also have benefited from a stronger editorial hand. Even so, by bringing Aunt Molly Jackson and Sarah Ogan Gunning to the attention of modern readers and by placing them in the context of the folk music "revivals" of the 1930s and the 1960s, Romalis has rescued these women from near obscurity and has offered scholars additional insight into the politics of gender and culture.

Texas A&M University, Corpus Christi DEBORAH L. BLACKWELL

Restructured Resistance: The Sibley Commission and the Politics of Desegregation in Georgia. By Jeff Roche. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. xvii, 253 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, selected bibliography, index. $40.00 hardcover.)

Georgia historians have been telling us for a long time that Georgia is different from the rest of the deep South; this book is an exegesis on that theme for the period of massive resistance. Jeff Roche claims that the Klan and the Citizen's Councils, which inspired fear and social unrest throughout the South in the wake of *Brown v. Board,* were not the most effective promoters of massive resistance in Georgia. That job was expropriated by politicians who discouraged alternative white supremacist leadership groups. Georgia's "courthouse-boardroom" coalition, sustained by the county unit system, had secured Talmadge Democrats and their friends in power at least since the mid-1940s. Georgia attracted businessmen who liked both the fiscal conservatism of Georgia Democrats and the steady supply of passive, non-union labor the state's political system assured. From Eugene Talmadge's death in 1947 through the administration of Ernest Vandiver in the early sixties, race baiting political campaigns and massive resistance law-

making went hand-in-hand with very real economic development. Resistance to racial change helped to preserve the comfortable status quo; as long as the business climate stayed healthy, the compact held.

The school desegregation crisis gradually brought down this house of cards—not for the businessmen, but for the politicians. When massive resistance became messy, embarrassing, or interfered with business as usual, it began to lose support. Because massive resistance had been a political strategy in Georgia, rather than a social movement, it lacked the broad underlying consensus and structure created by organizations like the Citizen's Councils in Alabama and Mississippi. It was vulnerable. So massive resistance in Georgia (or at least its legal basis) was defeated in 1961 by a combination of federal court orders and the reasoned arguments of the educated establishment. In 1962, as Atlanta accomplished token but peaceful school desegregation, the national media lauded "the city too busy to hate."

As the title of this book suggests, this transformation of Georgia politics was in no small measure the work of a commission headed by Atlanta lawyer and banker John A. Sibley; and what Sibley sought was not integration but a new, more tolerable and law abiding kind of resistance. Roche labels this change "Restructured Resistance," and the journey toward this end is the heart of his book. Georgia had passed a private school law right after *Brown*; by the end of the decade, with a challenge about to be decided in Atlanta's federal district court, the governor had to choose whether to obey the expected order or to abide state law (i.e., defy the courts and close the schools). In 1960, Ernest Vandiver asked a group of prominent Georgians to discern the will of the people and make recommendations to the legislature.

All of the men chosen were segregationists; John Sibley remained dignified, patriarchal, and paternalistic throughout the process. The question Sibley put to witnesses in hearings held in each congressional district were: assuming a decision against the state, should Georgia close all of its schools as required by the private school law? Or should Georgia rescind its massive resistance laws and give control of the desegregation process to each school district? The later option recognized devices for stopping integration at the local level: pupil placement programs, "freedom of choice" measures that allowed parents to get personal tuition grants if their school integrated, and "local option" plans giving

school districts the right to close schools. Sibley, the Atlanta elite, the NAACP, and many urban academic, parent, civic, and church groups who simply did not want Georgia's public schools closed supported the second option, but in the end the split between the two options was very close. The rich story of the individual hearings around the state shows the regional and demographic diversity among Georgia's many counties. But Sibley's report asked for an end to massive resistance laws and the institution of the local option plan, and this became the core of a new district-by-district approach to integration in Georgia.

Those of us who teach Southern history and the Civil Rights movement will want to own and use this book, and students and lay audiences will appreciate it as well. It sheds new light on Southern "moderates" and elites like Sibley and his friends, and delivers a fine analysis of Southern politics, Georgia style, from the mid-forties through the mid-sixties. It is highly recommended.

Florida Atlantic University SARAH HART BROWN

The Rural South Since World War II. Edited by R. Douglas Hurt. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. ix, 202 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, suggested readings, contributors, index. $35.00 cloth.)

The seven essays that make up this compact work of less than two hundred pages examine the astonishing changes that have transformed rural Southern life in the last half century. In so many important aspects of society—agriculture, racial arrangements, the role of women, religion, and politics—the rural South of the 1940s far more closely resembled life in the 1890s than in what it would become by the 1990s. The four essays on agriculture, race, women, and religion are especially effective in describing and analyzing these changes.

Donald L. Winter explores the revolution in agriculture as diversity replaced dependence on cotton with the emergence of soybeans, poultry, livestock, and even catfish production. Commercial farm operations now prevail where sharecroppers formerly toiled.

Orville Vernon Burton tracks the profound shift from segregation, disfranchisement, and forced subservience that marked the lives of black Southerners to a more inclusive system of racial accommodation that exists largely because of the 1964 Civil Rights

Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. While many journalists and historians have focused on civil rights developments in Little Rock, Montgomery, Greensboro, and Birmingham, Burton properly credits the role that poor, rural black people like Amzie Moore and Fannie Lou Hamer in Mississippi's Delta and parents in impoverished Clarendon County, South Carolina, have had in challenging entrenched and ugly racist leadership.

In a superb account of the lives of rural black and white women, Sally McMillan notes the decline in agricultural labor, the advent of labor-saving devices, and the efforts by truly poor women to overcome poverty, disease, and ignorance. Though many women have managed to obtain jobs in manufacturing and service industries that represent an improvement over what their grandmothers endured, they often still lead difficult and uncomfortable lives.

Religious institutions and beliefs are more important to rural Southerners than to their urban counterparts. The church has and continues to make their lives meaningful. Still, as Ted Ownby explains, serious contradictions have evolved among rural churches. Many of these institutions, especially the Southern Baptist congregations, have grown spectacularly as suburbs have expanded. This has prompted the construction of imposing new churches and the growth of spiritual, educational, and social activities. But their very size promotes impersonal relationships that threaten genuine beliefs and commitment. Simultaneously, many rural churches have experienced drastic declines in membership that have forced them to close or to consolidate. Ownby also provides a fascinating glimpse into possibly the most significant recent religious development—the growth of the biracial Pentecostal movement through the Church of God in Christ. With its emphasis on a personal and emotional relationship with God and its creative services punctuated with music, it has attracted thousands of rural Southerners.

The three essays on music, politics, and Southern distinctiveness are useful but somewhat less satisfactory than the aforementioned four essays. Bill Malone dwells mostly on the emergence of country music—from Eddy Arnold and Hank Williams to Elvis Presley. There is virtually nothing on black musicians or rhythm and blues. The essay on politics by Wayne Parent and Peter A. Petrakis considers the decline of the solidly Democratic South but bogs down in an extended excursion into the historiography of Populism in an effort to find the roots and appeal of the modern Republican Party among less prosperous white voters. The essay and sixteen ta-

bles accompanying it on the cultural distinctiveness of the South by Jeanne S. Hurlburt and William B. Bankston yield worthwhile information through a comparison of data compiled from surveys administered in 1972, 1984, and 1994 on guns, violence, race, political conservatism, morality, religion, and family life. But it seems to identify Southerners almost exclusively as white people. Moreover, it is not devoted solely to rural residents. And that is a problem with this essay and with the book as a whole. The distinction between the rural South and the rest of the South is not always precise.

There are several features of rural Southern life that were not included in this volume. If music merited inclusion, why not athletics and sports? An essay on education would have been welcome. What about an attempt to measure the impact of technological changes such as air conditioning, television, cable and satellite communications? There is not much attention devoted to migration into the South in the past quarter century.

Readers of this journal may be startled to learn that *The Rural South Since World War II* does not include Florida. The Sunshine State was left out intentionally because so many Caribbean and Northern migrants have made Florida home and thereby less a Southern environment. But Florida's experience may very well provide the example for the remainder of the South in the twenty-first century.

South Carolina State University WILLIAM C. HINE

Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction. By J. Morgan Kousser. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. x, 590 pp. Introduction, figures and tables, notes, bibliography, index. $65.00 cloth, $29.95 paper.)

J. Morgan Kousser demonstrates a masterful command of two modern modes of historical analysis—social science history and "law office" history. He uses both in an uneasy combination in *Colorblind Injustice.*

Kousser's expertise in social science methods is well suited to his specialty of electoral history. *Colorblind Injustice* sweeps from the first Reconstruction to the present, concentrating on changes in voting rights law since the 1960s. In case studies involving the electoral base of political power in Los Angeles and Memphis, gubernatorial elections in Georgia, and congressional districting in North Carolina and Texas (there is no discussion of Florida), Kousser guides readers

through complex disputes involving the motives behind electoral policies and the consequences of institutional arrangements, such as at-large voting districts and runoff provisions. Kousser's model is objective social science, framing falsifiable hypotheses in pursuit of truth; he has no use for postmodernist relativism.

Kousser's other specialty is expert testimony in voting rights lawsuits. Since the 1970s he has been an expert witness for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the American Civil Liberties Union, and their Civil Rights coalition allies in litigation over racial and ethnic discrimination in voting and electoral policies. In such a role, historians function like plaintiff lawyers who begin with the answers and provide evidence favorable to their clients. The five case studies in *Colorblind Injustice* are based on Kousser's expert witness research. In this role, Kousser applauds the shift in federal voting rights policy since 1965 from guaranteeing minority access to the ballot box to maximizing the electoral success of black and Hispanic candidates, and he deplores the shift in Supreme Court rulings since *Shaw v. Reno* in 1993 against racial gerrymandering in electoral districts.

This is an angry book. Kousser has watched a Supreme Court majority in the 1990s whittle away at liberal legislative and court victories of the 1970s and 1980s that he helped win. He sharply attacks critics of race-conscious districting, such as political scientist Abigail Thernstrom and Supreme Court justices Clarence Thomas and Sandra Day O'Connor. In the name of high-minded color-blindness, Kousser believes, conservative Republicans (he calls them radicals) are cynically bent on "undoing" the civil rights gains of the Second Reconstruction, much as the conservative Redeemers of the 1870s and 1880s reversed the gains of the first Reconstruction.

Kousser is often persuasive in showing racial motives behind electoral structures, such as at-large districts, that seemed race-neutral on their face. In voting rights litigation, this was important to demonstrate discriminatory intent. He guides readers through the chess game of modern electoral districting, where legislators use sophisticated software to shape districts designed to achieve often contradictory goals—protect incumbents, disadvantage the out-party, elect black or Hispanic candidates, respect traditional political boundaries, meet equal-population requirements, create compact districts.

Colorblind Injustice chronicles an era of successful voting rights reform in which the civil rights coalition and the voting rights bar became fixated on the prime goal of maximizing the election of

black and Hispanic candidates. The virtues of this goal included measurable benchmarks of achievement and unity among coalition elites. On the downside, however, the goal was reductionist. By conflating minority representation in government with minority office-holding, it privileged one theory of minority representation and excluded an alternative theory, supported by a substantial body of research, that majority-minority voting districts dilute minority influence in surrounding areas and decrease overall support for minority-sponsored legislation. Thus the single-minded pursuit of majority-minority districts may have produced a painful tradeoff, swelling the ranks of the black and Hispanic legislative caucuses while decreasing overall support for the substantive goals of minority constituents.

Republican strategists were quick to exploit this opportunity. During the Reagan and Bush administrations, Republican Justice Departments aggressively enforced redistricting following the 1980 and 1990 censuses, packing minorities into urban Democratic districts, reaping a harvest of Republican suburban districts, and winning control of Congress in 1994. Kousser and his colleagues in the voting rights coalition were thus painfully complicit in the sea of change of the 1990s they deplore.

Vanderbilt University HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM

Soon We Will Not Cry: The Liberation of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson. By Cynthia Griggs Fleming. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998. xiii, 225 pp. Acknowledgments, a note on names, chapter notes, about the author. $24.95 cloth.)

In *Soon We Will Not Cry*, Cynthia Fleming paints an intricate portrait of female leadership in the modern Civil Rights movement. This biography of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, former Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), provides an illuminating explanation of the intersection of race, gender, and sex in a major civil rights organization. While much of the author's discussion concerning the Civil Rights movement is not new, Fleming uses a number of oral interviews from Robinson's family and movement stalwarts that help to clarify and to provide context for a process that is sometimes difficult to understand. Arguing that the participation and leadership of women, especially Ruby Doris, in SNCC was central to the group's success

and eventual demise, Fleming begins with Ruby's childhood and early movement days in Atlanta. The remainder of the biography is divided into four sections: Robinson's entrance into SNCC, the sexual politics that wreaked havoc on the organization in Mississippi during the Freedom Summer of 1964, Robinson's tenure as Executive Secretary, and finally her painful and losing battle with cancer is 1967. Each section combines insightful analysis with anecdotal evidence to support her assertions.

While this biography does not deal specifically with Florida, it nevertheless will be of some interest to readers of this journal. Because Fleming covers a wide variety of SNCC activities throughout the South, readers seeking to compare and contrast Florida movement history with other states will have plenty with which to work. Fleming's descriptions of boycotts and protests that occur in Atlanta, Jackson (Mississippi), and Rock Hill (South Carolina), are strikingly similar to activities that took place in Tallahassee, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine. Furthermore, one will find that the life and times of Harry T. Moore, the former Florida NAACP coordinator who was murdered for decrying lynchings, segregation, and voting rights violations, was not much different from those of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson. Indeed, it is unfortunate that few scholars have succeeded in drawing parallels between Sunbelt Florida and the rest of the Deep South.

Scholars, however, have begun to pay increasing attention to the role of women in the Civil Rights movement. Fleming's work fits well into this recent development since she places women at the center of SNCC's decision making. She correctly asserts that in addition to the cooking, cleaning, and clerical tasks that women performed, they also helped to define organization policy and provided the bodies for protests, boycotts, and jailings, essential elements of movement success. Indeed, many SNCC members, while affectionately referring to her as the boss, revered Robinson and respected her for her toughness and for being "one of those people responsible for rallying the troops" (58). Having taken a stand on the gender issue, Ruby Doris organized a women's strike to protest sexist attitudes and actions in SNCC. While this ploy did not eradicate discrimination within the group, it succeeded in legitimizing gender issues, and as a result, women came to occupy higher, more important positions. James Forman's *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, Robert Terrell's *The River of No Return*, and Clayborne Carson's *In Struggle*, while excellent histories of SNCC,

offer little evidence of the extent of women's roles, especially Robinson's, in the evolution of the group.

Fleming's most important contribution lies in her discussion of gender and sex issues. She concludes that many of the black women in SNCC grew jealous of the favorable positions white women held within the group. Tension also arose when whites, especially women, received attention for their field work while the work of the black female workers went unnoticed and, according to some, unappreciated. Finally, the most intraorganizational strain occurred when, according to Fleming, black women grew resentful of the sexual relationships that often occurred between white women and black men. This last problem eventually contributed to the decision to oust whites from the group. Not long after this, SNCC disintegrated.

Although this biography is long overdue, it suffers from a few flaws. For example, in describing interracial gender and sexual relations, Fleming relies much too heavily on the words of blacks. She provides scant evidence of the views of whites, either male or female. While she claims that other people's explanations of Robinson's behavior and beliefs are too simplistic and that they "underestimate the complex historical and cultural factors" that shape the lives of black women, she offers no alternative explanation to the problem. Perhaps she might benefit from a comparison of the actions and attitudes of Robinson with those of Fannie Lou Hamer and Ella Baker.

Despite these minor problems, the book is well written and easy to follow. Anyone interested in the administrative history of the movement will enjoy this biography. This book also makes a valuable contribution to gender studies and to the literature of the Civil Rights movement.

University of Central Florida CURTIS AUSTIN

Ol' Strom: An Unauthorized Biography of Strom Thurmond. By Jack Bass and Marilyn W. Thompson. (Marietta, Ga.: Longstreet Press, 1998. 359pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, index. $24.00 cloth.)

Strom Thurmond has had a varied career—teacher, superintendent of education, lawyer, state senator, circuit court judge, soldier, progressive governor, presidential candidate, U.S. Senator—and is credited with bringing the two-party system to the South (and South Carolina) and formulating the "Southern Strategy" that

propelled Richard Nixon to the presidency in 1968. In South Carolina he is renowned for his constituent service and for raising "personal politics" to an art form. Jack Bass and Marilyn Thompson covered Senator Thurmond for thirty years—Bass with the *Charlotte Observer*, Thompson with the *Columbia Record* and the *Washington Post*. The two have collaborated on a lively yet even-handed popular biography of the Senator based on numerous past interviews which, while it travels along familiar paths, paints a vivid portrait of the strengths and foibles of the longest-serving senator in U.S. history.

One of the strengths of *Ol' Strom* is the authors' deep knowledge of South Carolina culture, history, and politics, which helps put Thurmond's life and political maneuvering in proper context. Their well-honed journalistic instincts for the colorful story and the pithy quote makes the narrative come alive and engages the interest of the reader. Another is that they take Thurmond's story to late 1998, allowing them to discuss his second wife Nancy's battle with alcoholism and prescription drugs, the death of his daughter Nancy in 1993 at the hands of a drunken driver, and his 1996 reelection campaign.

While acknowledging Thurmond's strengths, such as his commitment to constituent service and his willingness to stand up for his principles no matter what the political cost, they are also willing to portray his less savory side—his vanity, his reputation for lechery, and his sometimes ruthless political ambition. They are less willing than other recent biographers to see his adaptation to the rising importance of African Americans in state and national politics as a deep-seated change in his beliefs as opposed to cold-blooded political calculation. They also devote a chapter to Thurmond's alleged African American daughter, an episode that other biographies of the Senator have treated gingerly and briefly, if at all. They are careful, however, to describe some of their journalistic confrontations with Thurmond that might affect their attitude towards him.

Ol' Strom is not without its flaws, not the least of which is that it says very little that is new. Nadine Cohodas's *Strom Thurmond and the Politics of Southern Change* (1993) heavily influences the authors' assessment of Thurmond's changing attitudes towards African Americans and civil rights. In addition, their evaluation of Thurmond's political legacy largely reflects the conventional view, which gives him primacy in creating the two-party system in South Carolina and the South as a whole. They fail to include historians who challenge that viewpoint, such as Russell Merritt who argues that Will-

iam D. Workman deserves the honor of bringing the two-party system to the state ("The Senatorial Election of 1962 and the Rise of Two-Party Politics in South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 98 [1997], 281-301).

In common with other biographies of Thurmond, there is little examination and evaluation of his legislative career outside of his opposition to civil rights. His role in areas such as anti-communism or defense policy is mentioned perfunctorily and lacks a broader context. It also means that there are fewer details of his career after 1972, aside from descriptions of his constituent service and his role as "Santa Claus" for South Carolina. Finally, it appears that the authors made little use of archival material that became available for research after 1993, such as Thurmond's personal correspondence and the records of the South Carolina States' Rights Democratic Party found in the Strom Thurmond Collection at Clemson University.

All in all, *Ol' Strom* compares favorably to the two other recent biographies of Thurmond—Cohodas's book and Joseph C. Ellers's popular biography, *Strom Thurmond: The Public Man* (1993)—and serves as a mild corrective to both because of its different view of the subject. It is successful in giving a sense of the "character" that many South Carolinians have grown to revere. While not as complete a biography as one would like, *Ol' Strom* deserves a place on the bookshelf of anyone interested in the man and Southern politics.

Clemson University Libraries JAMES EDWARD CROSS

Taking Off the White Gloves: Southern Women and Women Historians. Edited by Michele Gillespie and Catherine Clinton. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998. xii, 187 pp. Introduction, about the contributors, index. $27.50 cloth.)

White gloves appear to have gone the way of the pillbox hat and the panty girdle among women's apparel choices these days, but, as a new century beings, the image evoked by their mention is still strong. Though white gloves once signified breeding and "ladyhood," and though they could give a superficial elegance on Sunday mornings or at the prom, they were essentially nonfunctional. Who could do serious work wearing white gloves? The editors of this volume of essays tell their readers that taking them off means they are "getting down to the unfinished business of southern women's history" (1).

Since its inception at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in 1970, the Southern Association for Women Historians (originally *of* Women Historians) has worked to advance the study of women's history, especially Southern women's history, and the status of women in the profession. With a current membership of around eight hundred, the organization has taken great strides in pursuit of its dual goals. From modest beginnings with a few dozen pioneer founders, the group now swells to fill the space allotted to it at each annual meeting of the SHA. For the past fifteen years, it has been the practice for the SAWH president to invite a scholar of her choice to present an address at that session. These occasions are traditionally packed with eager attendees, who come expecting to hear the best practitioners of Southern women's history, and who are not disappointed. This lively volume showcases the talks of ten speakers who have addressed the assembled members of the Southern Association for Women Historians between 1986 and 1997; it takes its place as the fourth in the series of books developed from the Southern Conference on Women's History, sponsored by the SAWH.

Given carte blanche as a topic, the speakers responded in one of three ways. Their topics can be summed up broadly in three questions: "How did we get here?" "What have I been doing?" and "Where should we go from here?" The senior among them chose to address the first question, reminding audiences of the women historians who had come before them, and of the callous and condescending treatment they received at the hands of male administrations and colleagues in an earlier day. Contributors Virginia Van Der Heer Hamilton, Anne Firor Scott, and Carol Bleser write movingly and informatively of outrageous assumptions and stinging injustices meted out to women historians, alas, on the basis of their sex. A comment from Scott about her subjects (historians Virginia Gearhart, Julia Cherry Spruill, Guion Griffis Johnson, Margery Mendenhall, and Eleanor Boatwright) serves to encompass the reality of all women historians of the not-too-distant past: "Not only was their excellent scholarship almost entirely ignored, but not one was able to find an academic post worthy of her talents" (118).

Five contributors opted to deliver talks based on their current research interests, offering an impressive exhibit of the variety of scholarly foci among SAWH members. Mary Frederickson addressed women workers in the twentieth-century South; Suzanne

Lebsock, woman suffrage and white supremacy in Virginia; Catherine Clinton, the sexualization of rhetoric in the Antebellum period; Theda Perdue, differing ideas of sex and sexuality among European conquerors and Native American populations; and Jean B. Lee, what has been forgotten or misinterpreted about the experience of the American Revolution.

Addressing the third question were Glenda Gilmore and Darlene Clark Hine. In a particularly witty and sometimes barbed talk, Gilmore decried the tendency of some who write Southern political history to proceed "as if our work [the scholarship of members of the SAWH] is a heap to be skirted before entering the inner sanctum of southern historiography, the room from which white men called all the shots. There, women and African Americans exist only as objects, never as actors" (125). Her essay is a stirring call for a future in which "no one should be able to write about southern white men without writing about gender and race" (126). Hine too urges changes in the methodology and approaches of historians. Her particular concerns are that more scholarly attention be paid to black women's autobiography, that black women's history be accorded legitimacy as a subfield, and that historians work to reach a broader, non-academic audience. Because she offers illustrations from her *Gender and Jim Crow* to indicate exactly how meaning can change when historians consider women and/or African Americans as political actors and because she makes a persuasive and concrete case for re-envisioning postbellum Southern political history, Gilmore's is the better essay. Hine, though making an argument for change among historians, deals largely in generalities while Gilmore skillfully employs details to persuade readers of the wisdom of her proposals.

The style throughout is crisp and insightful, yet, at the same time, warm and personal. One registers immediately that these respected scholars were not merely addressing esteemed colleagues but also sharing thoughts with fondly regarded friends and associates. Frequently provocative (and sometimes outrageous, as in Clinton's "penarchy" and "Mammarchy"), these ten essays challenge and delight. Collectively, they serve as an instrument that takes the measure of the Southern Association for Women Historians and reveals it to be robust, vigorous—and still only twenty something.

North Carolina State University PAMELA TYLER

Book Notes

To Die in Chicago: Confederate Prisoners at Camp Douglas 1862-1865. By George Levy. (Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing Company, 1999. 369 pp. $29.95 cloth.)

George Levy has added new research material to his book, which was first published in 1994. Newly-discovered records show that Camp Douglas induced the death of Union soldiers as well as Confederate prisoners. Unlike Andersonville, the Southern prison camp to which it is compared, Camp Douglas had advanced sanitation systems and medical resources. Yet, these advantages did not prevent thousands of deaths at the prison. Levy provides a balanced and well-illustrated portrait of conditions in the camp and assesses the causes of the high mortality rate. Despite his gruesome subject, Levy manages to lighten the tone and make this book absorbing to read.

Lighthouses of the Florida Keys. By Love Dean. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 1998. 268 pp. $18.95 paper.)

Love Dean has produced a new edition of her 1982 work, *Reef Lights—Seaswept Lighthouses of the Florida Keys.* Many changes have occurred since this book was first published, not least of which is current popular interest in preserving lighthouses. People have always been fascinated by lighthouses although they seem more attracted to the gleaming white edifices silhouetted by blue sky and surrounded by palm trees than the reality of iron towers off barren windswept coastlines. Still, Dean does justice to both by dedicating a chapter to each of the twelve lighthouses that once graced the Keys. She gives facts about the construction of each lighthouse as well as tales of shipwrecks and brief biographies of keepers' lives. Interesting to those who live by the sea and those who have never seen it, this attractive book will find admirers everywhere.

Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865. By William Blair. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. 152 pp. $32.50 cloth.)

Historians dispute whether to view the Confederate population as uniformly united in a "Lost Cause" or divided by internal dissent. William Blair frames his argument within this debate, maintaining that Virginians had a complicated relationship with their nation that defies such a simple explanation. He does not claim that Virginia was representative of the Confederacy as a whole. It differed from its neighbors because it contained the national capital, and it was a border state that suffered many Union incursions. Nevertheless, he sees Virginia's "Home Front" as vital to the Confederate war effort. As a scholar, Blair notes some limitations to his work, but they will go unnoticed by all except experts in the field. This book is not typical of Civil War literature, but those interested in social history or the broader ramifications of the Civil War will find this scholarly work a surprisingly easy read.

'Ware Sherman: A Journal of Three Months' Personal Experience in the Last Days of the Confederacy. By Joseph LeConte, with a new introduction by William Blair. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 144 pp. $12.95 paper.)

A founding professor of the University of California, Joseph LeConte came from Georgia where, in his youth, he was tutored by Alexander Stephens. LeConte's journal, then, provides an elite view of life at the demise of the Confederacy. During the Civil War, LeConte worked for the Confederate government producing medicines and nitre. His journal narrates his efforts to retrieve his daughter from behind Union lines and to remove his scientific work from the invaders. Although he achieved the former and failed in the latter, LeConte is clearly the hero, and he related his adventures in a swashbuckling style. Blair finds the journal important because it shows the effect of military strategy on a civilian population. As civilians did not know the position of enemy soldiers, any action seemed chaotic and dependent only on soldiers' whims. Scholars will, therefore, find this a useful primary source, but lay persons will also enjoy this slim volume. William Blair, author of *Virginia's Private War,* wrote a useful introduction to this edition of LeConte's journal.

An Anthology of Music in Early Florida. Compiled and edited by Wiley L. Housewright. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. 312 pp. $19.95 paper).

Wiley L. Housewright has collected 120 songs that Floridians would have heard, sung, and danced to between 1565 and 1865. He includes examples from many influences on Florida's culture—such as Native American, Spanish, African American, and religious—, but British music predominates. "Leather Breeches," "Roll, Jordan, Roll," and "President Jackson's Grand March" are just some of the tunes included. The result is an eclectic mixture that allows everyone to find something to enjoy. Housewright provides introductory background to each section. But the sheet music rightly governs this work and will fascinate historians as well as musicians.

Navy Gray: Engineering the Confederate Navy on the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola Rivers. By Maxine Turner. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1999. 264 pp. $22.00 paper.)

The paperback edition of this informative work is now available. Maxine Turner closely studies Florida, Georgia, and Alabama to conclude that the Union blockade succeeded as much because of Confederate bureaucracy as Union perseverance. Civil War enthusiasts will be pleased to learn more about the Confederate navy, whose story has been told less frequently than that of the army. Even so, many of the same themes dominate this account. Confederate hopes and persistence continued undeterred by shortage of resources and certain defeat. Although intended for a wide readership, this book will appeal primarily to devotees.

Along the St. Johns and Ocklawaha Rivers. By Edward Mueller. ***World War II in Fort Pierce.*** By Robert A. Taylor. ***Wings over Florida.*** By Lynn M. Homan and Thomas Reilly. All in the Images of America Series. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 1999. 128 pp. each. $18.99 paper each.)

Arcadia Publishing continues its popular Images of America series with three new titles. *Along the St. Johns and Ocklawaha Rivers* illustrates the remarkable vessels that plied the rivers when travel and trade were dictated by the rivers' flow. Maritime Historian, Edward A. Mueller has compiled a fascinating visual account of an era that

seems quite antiquated when compared to the fast pace of modern travel. Whereas Mueller's work concentrates on ships, Robert A. Taylor focuses on men in *World War II in Fort Pierce.* Despite the title, Fort Pierce takes second place in this tribute to those who trained to become Scouts, Raiders, Rangers, and Frogmen. While some of the photographs were posed, most are action shots showing the extensive preparation men received for war. In *Wings over Florida,* Lynn M. Homan and Thomas Reilly combine both perspectives. They present a pictorial journey through time showing us the strange machines and brave people who contributed to Florida's aviation history. While Charles Lindbergh and Amelia Earhart flew from the sunshine state, Homan and Reilly concentrate on less known individuals. The machines these early aviators flew look as though they would never have made it off the ground. From airships to space ships, it seems that Floridians have always wanted to fly.

Sunshine States: Wild Times and Extraordinary Lives in the Land of Gators, Guns, and Grapefruit. By Patrick Carr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. 237 pp. $14.95 paper.)

Newly offered in paperback, this 1990 collection of essays portrays Florida through the eyes of an English journalist who now lives in the Sunshine State. In the 1980s, Patrick Carr interviewed several Florida residents to compile this collection, and he uses these stories to highlight his love of and concerns for his adopted land. His diverse choice of interviewees includes an Aquamaid, a Seminole chief, and a narcotics cop. A bright cover and lighthearted tone hide the serious messages in these tales. These are parables that transplants and native Floridians alike will enjoy.

Bernice Kelly Harris: A Good Life was Writing. By Valerie Raleigh Yow. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 288 pp. $39.95 cloth.)

Valerie Raleigh Yow has produced a wonderful biography that involves her reader in Bernice Kelly Harris's life. Harris was born on a North Carolina farm. She became a teacher and married well. Her husband's family did not accept outsiders or encourage children, much to Harris's disappointment. Writing became her passion and allowed her to create an imaginary world into which she could escape the problems of daily life. In this biography, Yow not

only tells Harris's life story but also analyzes her work. Harris's novels examine women's relationships with each other, their men, and their community. Her stories received critical acclaim when they were published in the 1940s and were produced for television in the 1950s. Yet, despite this success, Harris was poor and virtually unknown when she died in 1973. Her life, paradoxically, was a tragedy and a success. This biography will encourage everyone to read some of Harris's works.

The Wall Between. By Anne Braden. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999. 349 pp. $19.95 paper.)

Republished and now available for a new generation to read, Anne Braden's work remains as important as it was thirty years ago. She has added an epilogue that traces the lives of the participants after the world-shattering events described and expands on her thoughts about continued racism. Anne and Carl Braden became famous when, in 1954, they bought a house in a white neighborhood on behalf of a black couple, Andrew and Charlotte Wade. A mob attacked the Wades in their new home and bombed the building. Fortunately, the couple survived. No one was charged with these attacks, but Carl Braden was imprisoned for sedition. Anne Braden's account of these terrible events is impossible to put down. Her riveting story concerns racism, desegregation, McCarthyism, and all of us.

Flight Into Oblivion. By A. J. Hanna, with a new introduction by William C. Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 306 pp. $17.95 paper.)

At first sight this book appears to be a work of fiction, but it is, in fact, a classic work of history that has been republished. Civil War histories end at Appomattox, and Reconstruction histories begin a new era for the South. This framework ignores the fate of the Confederate leaders, as A. J. Hanna claims, and he fills that historical gap by explaining what happened to Confederate cabinet members after Appomattox. Only two managed to escape: John C. Breckinridge and Judah P. Benjamin fled separately through Florida to Cuba. Disguised as farmers, fishermen, and pirates, these men outwitted the Federal authorities. Others were not so lucky: well-known is Jefferson Davis's capture as he attempted to escape

dressed as a woman, but Hanna explains it from Davis's perspective. Still, Hanna does not neglect Federal opinion and devotes much space to details of public demands for Confederate leaders' executions. A new introduction by William C. Davis enhances this edition, and the original drawings and maps add even more flavor to this thrilling drama.

History News

Conferences

Southern Association for Women Historians. The fifth Southern Conference on Women's History will be held June 15-17, 2000 at the University of Richmond and the Library of Virginia in Richmond, Virginia. The conference provides a stimulating and congenial forum for the discussion of all aspects of women's history. Its program seeks to reflect the diversity of women's experiences in the United States and elsewhere and to feature the history of women from a wide range of racial, class, and ethnic backgrounds. Please consult the organization's website at <http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~sawh/> for announcements and conference updates.

Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture. The sixth annual institute conference will be held June 9-11, 2000, at the University of Toronto. For more information, check the institute's webpage at <http://www.wm.edu/oieahc/>.

Society for Historians of the Early American Republic. The twenty-second annual meeting of the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic will take place in Buffalo, New York, July 20-23, 2000. The featured theme of the meeting will be "Cultivating the Republic." For more information, refer to the society's website at <http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~shear/>.

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. The twenty-sixth annual conference will be held at Ryerson Polytechnic University, Toronto, June 22-25, 2000. This year's conference will have two highlight sessions, one on the Korean War (commemorat-

ing the 50th anniversary of the start of the war), and a second on Canadian-American relations. Visit the conference website at <http://www.ryerson.ca/shafr2000>.

Association of Black Anthropologists/American Anthropological Association. The organizations have issued a call for papers on history, culture, and society in the African Diaspora. The conference, part of an International Cultural Encounter, will convene July 23-30, 2000, in the Cuban cities of Havana, Matanzas, and Santiago de Cuba. For more information, contact Janis F Hutchinson, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Houston, Houston, TX 77204-5882; (713) 743-3785; e-mail: <Jhutchinson@uh.edu>.

"Future of the Queer Past—A Transnational History Conference." The Lesbian and Gay Studies Project of the Center for Gender Studies and the Department of History of the University of Chicago sponsors this international meeting of historians and other scholars studying historical processes from diverse disciplinary perspectives. The conference will be held at the University of Chicago on Thursday-Sunday, September 14-17, 2000. Visit the conference website at <http://humanities.uchicago.edu/cgs/lgsp.html>.

"The Gulf South in the 1930s." The nineteenth Gulf South History and Humanities Conference will be held October 12-14, 2000, at the Hampton Inn at Pensacola Beach. Beyond its theme, the conference will also include panels on other topics related to Gulf South history. For more information, contact Ginny Malston at (850) 484-1425.

"At the Crossroads: Transforming Community Locally and Globally." The annual meeting of the Oral History Association will be held October 11-15, 2000, at the Marriott Hotel, Durham, North Carolina. For more information, check the association's webpage at <http://omega.dickinson.edu/organizations/oha/>.

"Old Worlds, New Worlds: The Millennial West." The fortieth annual conference of the Western History Association will be held October 11-14, 2000, at Adam's Mark's San Antonio Riverwalk Hotel. The meeting in San Antonio will highlight three themes: concepts of borderlands and West-ness; the millennial West in 1000, 2000, and 3000 AD; and public perceptions of the American West.

Southern Historical Association. The sixty-seventh annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will be held November 8-11 at the Galt House in Louisville, Kentucky. For more information, refer to the association webpage at <http://www.uga.edu/~sha/>.

"The Veteran and American Society." The Center for the Study of War and Society announces a conference to be held in Knoxville on November 12-13, 2000. The Center promotes the study of the history of the American veteran from the Revolutionary War to the Persian Gulf from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. For more information contact: G. Kurt Piehler, Center for the Study of War and Society, 220 Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-0411; <gpiehler@utk.edu>.

Calls for Papers

"Africanisms in America: Places of Cultural Memory." As the core event of the larger conference, "Africanisms in America: The Shared Heritage of Two Continents," that will be held in New Orleans, Louisiana, September 26-30, 2000, "Africanisms in America: Places of Cultural Memory" will explore the myriad of ways people of African descent have helped shape the Americas, including African influences on aspects of material culture and social history and the impact of African traditions on the arts and humanities. Visit the conference website at <http://www.africanismsinamerica.com>.

Southern Historical Association. The sixty-eighth annual meeting, to be held November 16- 19, 2001, in New Orleans, has issued its call for papers. The Program Committee invites proposals for single papers and entire sessions. Please send two copies of proposals, including a brief summary of the proposed paper(s) and a curriculum vitae of each presenter to: Peter Coclanis, Program Chair, Department of History, CB# 3195 Hamilton Hall, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3195. The deadline for proposals is October 1, 2000.

Events

On January 8, 2000, the Florida Historical Society dedicated the Tebeau-Field Library of Florida History. Located in Cocoa, the library recently underwent a major renovation to improve its research and administrative facilities. The Tebeau-Field Library houses the Society's research collections—over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of Floridiana, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy–and is now open to researchers.

Awards

Preparations are made annually for numerous awards of the Florida Historical Society including the C. M. Brevard prize for the best undergraduate essay in Florida history, the Governor LeRoy Collins prize for the best graduate essay in Florida history, and the Samuel Proctor Oral History prize. For further information about the Society's awards and process, visit the website at <http://www.florida-historical-soc.org> or call the Society's offices at (407) 254- 9855.

Contributions

The Tebeau-Field Library of Florida History, the research library of the Florida Historical Society, is seeking contributions of Florida documents, books, photographs, and manuscripts. If you have such materials and want to place them in a professionally maintained facility, please contact Debra Wynne at (321) 690-0099 by telephone or by mail at the Tebeau-Field Library, 435 Brevard Avenue, Cocoa, FL 32922.

Editor's Note

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* now has a new website with information about forthcoming issues, manuscript submission guidelines, the book reviewing process, and more. Visit us at <http://pegasus.cc.ucf.edu/~flhisqtr/quarterly.html>.

Minutes of the Florida Historical Society Board of Directors Meeting

The Board of the Florida Historical Society met at the Tebeau-Field Library building on Saturday, January 8, 2000. In attendance were board members from the Florida Historical Society and the Florida Historical Library Foundation.

Patti Bartlett, FHS
Nancy Buckalew Chatos, FHS
Bill Coker, FHS
Peter A. Cowdrey Jr., FHS
Ernie Dibble, FHS
Jose B. Fernandez, FHS
Clyde Field, FHS/FHLF
George Franchere, FHS
Don Gaby, FHS
Louise Gopher, FHS
Tom Graham, FHS
George L. "Speedy" Harrell, FHLF
David Jackson, FHS/FHLF
Ed Lanni, FHLF
Shirley Lanni, FHLF
Marinus Latour, FHS
Ada Parrish, FHLF
Julian M. Pleasants, FHS
Robert E. Snyder, FHS
Robert Taylor, FHS
Ted Van Itallie, FHS
Ada Williams, FHS
Lindsey Williams, FHS

ex-officio:
Craig Friend, editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*
Milton Jones, attorney, Florida Historical Society
Debbie Morton, secretary, Florida Historical Society
Nick Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society

President Bill Coker called the meeting to order at 9:10 a.m.

New Business

Rossetter Endowment: Attorney Milton Jones gave a brief update on the contract with Miss Carrie Rossetter. In 1992, Miss Rossetter created an endowment with the FHS. The Society agreed to move its headquarters to Brevard County and, upon the death of Miss Rossetter, it would receive $1 million, the income from which would supplement the income/support we gave up when we left USF. In addition, the trust would grant $1.75 million to the Rossetter House Foundation Inc. and convey the Rossetter home to the RHF, which was founded by the FHS. Miss Carrie Rossetter died quite recently, on October 26, 1999.

In accordance with the agreement, the Society will receive $1 million. Board members were also informed that, unknown to the Society and after the original agreement was drawn up, Miss Rosset-

ter changed the terms of the trust to leave the residue of her trust to the Rossetter House Foundation.

The intent of the FHS trust was that the principal of the endowment would be preserved, but the Society will need to invade that principal in order to pay current obligations (such as Nick Wynne's deferred salary and any outstanding loans).

Although a total of the funding coming to the RHF is still to be finalized, the bulk of Miss Carrie Rossetter's trust was in real estate. Milton Jones said the estimated value of the real estate is about $5 million. There is about $2 million in cash and stocks. There are a few bequests that need to be honored, such as the bequest providing $10,000/year to Archie Phillips, the yard maintenance person, but the Society can purchase an annuity to cover that obligation. In accordance with the agreement, only the income from the estate is to be used to maintain the Rossetter house and other purposes as determined by the RHF board. The RHF board will not have a free hand to spend the principal of the trust.

Mr. Jones suggested that the Board recognize Nick Wynne's contribution to acquiring this funding, and the Board roundly applauded Mr. Wynne.

Milton Jones also stated that the funding must be safely invested, and that 4 percent is about the interest rate we can depend upon as income for the Society and the RHF. The income from the FHS fund will replace the approximately $40,000 per year we received from USF in terms of donated office space, secretarial services, utilities, etc.; and it will put the Society on a firm financial footing when combined with membership dues and other funding sources.

A final distribution of funds may occur in a year, perhaps earlier, depending on the completion of the necessary paperwork. The possibility exists that litigation may take place, although Mr. Jones is confident that the court will uphold the terms of the agreement. The real estate must be sold. The contents of the Rossetter homestead are being inventoried and evaluated by an appraiser. The Rossetter House is in need of some repair and a grant has been filed with the Bureau of Historic Preservation (in conjunction with the Rossetter Trust) for a total of $120,000. The agreement with the Rossetter sisters calls for the house to be delivered to the RHF in pristine condition.

Usage of the Rossetter boathouse has been awarded in the Rossetter Trust to the Florida Institute of Technology, but the Institute must maintain the building. Mr. Jones felt it was likely that FIT

would decline the gift. Nick Wynne said he would like to see the boathouse retained. If the trustees decide not to sell the boathouse, he could write grants for its maintenance. It is about one hundred years old and is a historic property.

Discussion ensued about how to best handle the trust. Milton Jones said the best arrangement would probably be to hire a professional money management firm such as Merrill Lynch. This concluded his report. The board applauded Mr. Jones's efforts for the society.

Collections Policy: Nick Wynne reviewed the Society's collections policy, explaining that we are limited to material relevant to Florida History. In our collection there are duplicate books, books unrelated to Florida history, and documents unrelated to Florida history. In order to facilitate the deaccessioning of these items, he asked the Board to approve the deaccessioning decisions to be made by library staff. The income from that deaccessioning could be used for operating expenses, collection processing, and acquiring new items. Society secretary Patti Bartlett clarified that items belonging to one non-profit organization, the FHS, could be sold and the income used by and for another non-profit agency, The Florida Historical Library Foundation. A motion that the library staff be so empowered was made by Don Gaby and seconded by Lindsey Williams. Pete Cowdrey asked about state assistance in conservation efforts on our collection. Nick Wynne replied that the current policy was that the state needed title to an object before it could conserve it.

Committee Appointments: Dr. Wynne reviewed the tentative committee assignments made by the president of the society and explained that geographical diversity/proximity was part of the reason for the assignments. He asked that the Board approve the assignments; David Jackson moved, and Bob Taylor seconded that the committee assignments be approved as suggested. Ted Van Itallie asked if input from all board members, regardless of specific committee assignment, was sought and was told that any input from board members was welcomed. Motion carried; no opposition.

Committee Assignments for the Executive Committee were approved as suggested, with Clyde Field making the motion and David Jackson the second. Motion approved unanimously.

Appointments to the Rossetter House Foundation were approved as suggested, with one change—the FHS president is not a mandated position. David Jackson made the motion to approve the RHF appointments, and Peter Cowdrey made the second. Milton

Jones carried. Bill Coker, since he lives so far from Cocoa, will resign from the committee and also suggest his successor.

Reception Information: Nick Wynne told the Board that the reception to announce the re- opening of the Tebeau-Field Library Building would be held Saturday evening, January 8 from 4 to 7 p.m., and asked all board members to attend, if possible.

***Quarterly* Report:** Dr. Craig Friend gave the *Quarterly* report. He has scheduled at least part of each issue for the next six issues. The *Quarterly* is running a little behind schedule due to printing delays. The *Quarterly* now accepts printed ads. Rates were determined from querying twelve other journals and averaging those rates. A full-page ad, one time, is $180; for six issues, $600. Half-page ads are $95 for one insertion, $300 for four issues.

The peer reviewers used for article evaluation are asked to return the article and their review within one month; Dr. Friend would like to increase the number of peer reviewers. He receives about two articles each week for consideration.

Discussion ensued about the number of book reviews. Dr. Friend said the *Quarterly* now devotes a considerable amount of space to book reviews; the current issue reviews fourteen titles. A survey will ask readers what they would like to see in the *Quarterly*. Julian Pleasants pointed out that book reviews are one way that academics rank a journal and that he felt the reviews were a very important part of the *Quarterly*.

Discussion followed about the current printer, E.O. Painter. Relations with them have been strained for a number of years. Dr. Friend feels they do a very professional job, including proofreading the journal. Part of the difficulty has been meeting their payment schedule requirements, which has placed a real strain on Society finances. Although Dr. Wynne would like to work with another printer, he left the choice of printer and any necessary negotiations with Dr. Friend and the publications committee.

The question of digitizing the *Quarterly* was discussed. The journal will be digitized, although Dr. Friend does not have a ready date. The entire run since 1908 will be digitized and available on the Internet. The question of an end date—the most recent issues to appear on the Internet—has not yet been determined. Dr. Friend pointed out that if current issues are digitized and available at no charge on the Internet, there would be little incentive for the purchase of memberships. Patti Bartlett suggested that only issues five years or older be digitized and on the net. The issue of copy-

right for the individual articles must also be resolved before the *Quarterly* is available on-line.

Director's Report: Nick Wynne added a few general comments to his written report. The Annual Appeal did not net enough to eliminate the $18,000 deficit in the annual budget, even with Nick's deferred salary (he has deferred half his salary since 1991).

Clyde Field moved and Don Gaby seconded that, when the funding comes through from the Rossetter endowment, Nick be given his deferred salary and retirement. Motion carried. Ted Van Itallie asked if the historical society fund could be reimbursed from the income of the HRF. Milton Jones commented the HRF board could determine allocation of the HRF funds.

Don Gaby suggested that Nick's salary be adjusted for inflation, or that Debra Wynne be placed on the payroll. Nick commented that he has an aversion to placing his spouse on the payroll. Details for Dr. Wynne's reimbursement will be taken care of by the finance committee.

Dr. Jose Fernandez moved, with Clyde Field seconding, that the preliminary budget and financial report be accepted. Motion carried.

Old Business

Julian Pleasants asked how membership had been affected by the increase in dues. Dr. Wynne said that two members had objected, but the dues of one of them had been underwritten, so our loss was just one member. He said the 680 members of the Library Foundation are slowly joining the FHS as well. He added that we are essentially up to date on purging non-paying former members.

Dr. Pleasants suggested that the FHS consider joining the annual meetings of other like organizations, such as the Florida Conference of Historians and the Florida Association of Archivists. We could share a facility and visit each other's sessions. Dr. Irv Solomon of the FCH had said he was interested in joint sessions and that he would take the suggestion to the board of the Conference. Peter Cowdrey said he could provide a link with the Florida Council of Social Studies and was certain that they would discuss favorably sharing a meeting site and facility. The possibility of offering CEUs for our sessions was mentioned. Dr. Coker asked Dr. Pleasants and Peter Cowdrey to serve as liaisons for those organizations.

Dr. Taylor passed around copies of a letter inviting the Society to meet at Florida Institute of Technology for the 2004 Annual Meeting. Clyde Field moved and David Jackson seconded that we

accept the invitation. Motion carried. Bob Taylor abstained from voting on this issue due to potential conflict of interest.

After a lunch break, Board members met and were divided into committee assignments for a brief meeting. Representatives from the committees gave brief reports on each committee's recommendations.

The Committee on Reorganization decided that each member of the committee would call six local historical societies and see what the FHS could offer them. We could have a semi-annual smaller meeting that would focus on local historical issues. We also wanted to discuss a plenary session with a national speaker (Peter Mattisien was suggested) with corporate sponsorship.

George Franchere of the Finance Committee said that his committee could make little progress beyond the recommendations made by the Board regarding the financial statement and budget. He did ask about the increase in dues income; Dr. Wynne said the increased amount was solely due to the increased dues fees and not from a dramatic increase in the number of members.

Lindsey Williams of the Nomination Committee said that his committee was unable to make any progress, due to the lack of a district map and a board cycling schedule.

The Publication Committee reported that the *Quarterly* may combine issues to catch up on the publication schedule. The Committee is very concerned about the relationship between the editor of the *Quarterly* and the proposed publication director for the society. The committee suggested that the topics for *Journeys* be coordinated with the topics in the *Quarterly*.

Robert Snyder of the Library Collection and Acquisitions Committee suggested that the Society acquire the services of a professional librarian for the cataloging; that an inventory of the collection be made when cataloging is complete; that funds be set aside for the acquisition of new items; that perhaps the funds for acquisitions could be raised from an auction, using items donated from local people; that Antiques Roadshow be invited to Cocoa; that moveable display cases be acquired to show off some of our acquisitions; that no paper documents or books be loaned/removed from the library building unless it was microfilmed and then only the microfilm be loaned; that grant possibilities be explored.

There was no report from the Rossetter House Foundation.

There being no further business to come before the Board, the meeting was adjourned at 2:30 p.m.

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The Florida Historical Society

The Historical Society of Florida, 1856
The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905

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Debbie Morton, *Administrative Assistant*
Debra T. Wynne, *Archivist*
Pamela J. Hall, *Director,* The Florida Historical Confederation

Founded in 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 are located in Historic Roesch House, an 1890s frame vernacular house at 1320 Highland Ave., Melbourne, FL 32935; (407) 254-9855. The Society's research collections—housing over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of Floridiana, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy—are located in the Tebeau-Field Library of Florida History, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922. Further information about the Florida Historical Society may be found on the internet at <http://www.florida-historical-soc.org>.

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