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THE

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Fall 2000

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The Short Life of the *Richard A. Bingham*: A Pensacola Lumber Schooner

by Jan Richard Heier

Just after midnight on December 18, 1903, a schooner left the Belize City harbor bound for Pensacola. On board was a shipment of mahogany logs and a crew that no doubt was looking forward to a quiet voyage home. The journey to Belize, which had begun in early August, had been anything but quiet. A storm wracked the schooner for days after its departure from Pensacola, reportedly causing it to take on water at an alarming rate. The inexperienced captain finally brought the vessel safely into port only to discover that he and the crew diverged seven hundred miles off course: they were in Mexico, not Belize. To make matters worse, hostile creditors and corrupt customs officials detained the ship. Luck just was not with the *Richard A. Bingham*. In fact, throughout its short life of just 350 days, the schooner faced more than its share of problems. After extricating the ship from financial problems, the owner—Frasier Franklin Bingham—and crew finally sailed it safely to Belize to conduct business and began their return trip to Pensacola. Convinced that all was finally in order with his ship, Bingham left it in Belize and embarked for the United States aboard an ocean-steamer. A few days later, as the schooner passed the outer ranges of the harbor and headed into the open sea, a violent storm churned off the Caribbean and “whirled the ship steadily onto the coral reef.”¹ Ship and cargo were lost; captain and

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1. *Pensacola Daily News*, 29 December 1903.

crew made it to shore safely. Sometime after the event, Bingham penned a final succinct entry in the ship's account book: "Sailed Dec. 17 from Belize to Pensacola and that night went on a coral reef outside of Belize harbor and became a total loss. Crew saved."² So ended the short career of the schooner *Richard A. Bingham*.

At the turn of the twentieth century, by all definitions Pensacola was a boom town. The city fathers, however, did not like this characterization of their fair city. They claimed that "her growth was simply the result of legitimate business enterprise."³ Regardless of the reason, Pensacola was a bustling center of trade. According to the United States Treasury Department, the city's total exports for the first four years of the twentieth century approached the \$50-million range.⁴ Cotton, transshipped from Alabama and Georgia plantations to the textile mills of New England and Great Britain, provided the leading export in per dollar value. Forest products, mostly pine lumber and naval stores from the surrounding areas of West Florida and South Alabama, were a close second. Lumber, in particular, was a leading local money maker, and the dozen or so saw mills in operation in the late nineteenth century became some of West Florida's largest employers. Pensacola had staked its future on forest products.⁵

By the early years of the twentieth century, the wealth generated by lumber and cotton industries transformed Pensacola into a thriving port city. With its ideal location on the north end of Pensacola Bay, the city became a major shipping hub for the American Gulf Coast. Between 1900 and 1904, the port exported more than two billion board feet of lumber worth more than \$15 million; nearly 50 percent of all wood products shipped out of ports along the Gulf of Mexico went through Pensacola.⁶ Two-thirds of the locally-produced lumber was exported to Great Britain and Europe

2. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 1896-1903, 103-104, box 1, J.J. Bingham Collection, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, Ala.

3. Pensacola Home & Savings Association, *An Industrial History of Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1972), 1.

4. United States Treasury Department, *The Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, Volume 1, House Document 14, Part 1, Serial 4662 (Washington, D.C., 1903), 498-499.

5. James R. McGovern, *The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola 1900-1945* (Pensacola, 1976), 22.

6. United States Treasury Department, *The Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, 498-499.

aboard ocean-steamers.⁷ *The Southern Manufacturer*, a New Orleans-based monthly magazine, devoted its entire June 1901 issue to Pensacola's history, sites, people, thriving port, and the many related businesses that sprang up to support the lumber and cotton businesses.⁸ Against this historical backdrop, the *Richard A. Bingham* sailed and traded cargos of southern pine.

The fame of the *Richard A. Bingham* pales in comparison to that of other sailing ships of the past, but the vessel did have a history, character, and mystique that affected the people around it. The story of the *Richard A. Bingham* might have fallen into obscurity, like the tales of so many other sailing ships of that era, were it not for one rare circumstance: the details of its construction and voyages were preserved in accounting records and a published edition of the owner's journal. These documents offer fascinating insights into the lucrative lumber industry of early twentieth-century West Florida through the adventures of small schooners like the *Richard A. Bingham*.

Named for the infant son of Frasier Franklin Bingham, owner and operator, the *Richard A. Bingham* was chartered (or fitted out) on October 21, 1902, and formally launched on January 10, 1903. On the vessel license, issued by the United States Customs Service, the *Bingham* was described as a wooden-hulled, single-decked schooner with three masts. About ninety-feet in length, the ship had a beam (width) of twenty-six feet and displaced ninety gross tons.⁹ By January 1903, as workers at the small Robert H. Langford shipyard, located underneath the Baylen Street Wharf in Pensacola's busy harbor, completed the basic construction of the *Bingham*, its owners, the A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company, recorded the ship's final cost as \$7,355. The bulk of costs, amounting to \$3,829, included materials, freight, and hauling. Another \$2,299 covered the sailing gear, rigging, masts, spars, sails, labor, and ironwork. Finally, on-board equipment including anchors, chains, chronometers, barometers, boat house and galley furnishings, winch, and windlass totaled \$1,227.¹⁰

7. Ibid.

8. *The Southern Manufacturer: Devoted to the General Development of the Southern States* 5 (June 1901): 11.

9. *The Board of Navigation for the District of Pensacola, Florida through the Application or Owners or Master Vessel for Official Numbers a Signal Letters*, Richard A. Bingham Official Records, Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, Record Group 41, National Archives, Washington D.C.

10. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 85-89.

The owner, Frasier Franklin (F. F.) Bingham was a self-made man. Born in Yankee Springs, Michigan, in 1872, Bingham attended schools in his native state before moving to St. Louis, Missouri, where he graduated from a local business school.¹¹ Bingham must have seen opportunity in the booming lumber trade of West Florida when, in 1890, he moved to Pensacola and secured a position as clerk and stenographer at the Southern States Land and Timber Company. Advancement apparently came quickly for Bingham at Southern States. He proved to be "a man of ability, foresight and conscientiousness, with excellent organizing skills and executive ability. He was able to take the initiative in the business."¹² Eventually, in 1900, he became a director and helped to manage the company's 400,000 acres of timber land. By 1903, the year of the *Richard A. Bingham's* ill-fated voyages, they had promoted him to the company's assistant manager.¹³ F. F. Bingham would stay with Southern States Lumber Company until it closed its doors in 1930.¹⁴

Late in the 1890s, through contacts with the lumber industry and shipping business, Bingham and his father, Amos Reed Bingham, started the A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company. During its first years, the company apparently ran consignment goods aboard trading schooners such as the *Hestor*, *Mescota*, *Prince Frederick*, and the *Frances B. Hiller*. However, the consignment business was both fickle and risky. For example, consignments could result in a \$136 loss, as suffered on a coffee shipment aboard the *Mescota*, or in a \$327.74 profit which they gained from a shipment of sugar, nutmeg, and pineapples aboard the Schooner *Hestor*.¹⁵ A shipment for Pensacola supplier J. A. McHugh netted the Bingham \$629, the largest profit they made from consignment shipping.¹⁶

Although the Bingham earned handsome profits in the consignment shipping business, they decided to enter the lumber trade and, in 1899, purchased their first ship, the schooner *Davy Crockett* for \$4,500.¹⁷ Owner-operated schooners like the *Davy Crockett* car-

11. George M. Chapin, *Florida: Past, Present, and Future, 1513-1913: Four Hundred Years of War, Peace, and Industrial Development* (Chicago, 1915) 93-94; Brian Rucker and Nathan F. Woolsey, eds., *Log of the Peep-o-Day: Summer Cruises in the West Florida Waters, 1912-1915* (Bagdad, Fla., 1991), i-xxvii.

12. Chapin, *Florida: Past, Present, and Future*, 93.

13. *Wiggins Pensacola City Directory, 1903* (Richmond, Va., 1903), 86.

14. Rucker and Woolsey, eds., *The Log of the Peep-o-Day*, xv.

15. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 37, 41.

16. *Ibid.*, 231.

17. *Ibid.*, 37, 41.



F. F. BINGHAM

F. F. Bingham, circa 1920s. *Courtesy of Special Collections, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.*

ried soft pines from the southeastern United States to Central America where agents bartered for hardwoods such as mahogany.

In 1902, the Bingham family supplemented their fleet with a second ship, the newly constructed *Richard A. Bingham*. Though officially operated through A.R. Bingham Shipping Company, the *Richard A. Bingham* was solely owned by Frasier Franklin Bingham. By custom, the Bingham family shared the profits of each voyage with the ship's captain, the first of whom was F. F. Bingham's longtime friend, Raymond Leslie Merritt. Company accounts show that the father and son did the bulk of their business on the outbound trip, shipping products from Southern States Lumber.¹⁸ On the return trip, other prominent local companies such as Parodi and Sons and Mengle and Company contracted to buy the inbound cargo of mahogany.¹⁹

Frasier Franklin Bingham's entrepreneurial successes paralleled his personal life. In 1896, he married Fannie Augusta Oertling, a Pensacola native. Eventually, the family had seven children; Richard was the second child born in 1902. As workers laid the keel for the new schooner that would eventually bear the infant's name, there must have been an air of excitement for the young father. Bingham had become a successful businessman in this small southern city. He participated in many civic organizations ranging from the local Masonic Lodge to the Young Men's Christian Association. As a member of the Pensacola Chamber of Commerce, he "kept in touch with the general trend of business advancement of his day and actively supported many progressive business projects. His work in the city was both constructive and farsighted with a focus on public growth and municipal development. These business and community activities allowed him to develop many social contacts and gained for him the esteem and confidence of all with whom he came in contact."²⁰ Ironically, his social and entrepreneurial successes all were gained while he was a member of the Republican Party in a staunchly Democratic state.

As a relative newcomer to Pensacola society, F. F. Bingham demonstrated that he had the money to build a ship and the vision to enter the seafaring trade; his beloved *Richard*, as he called it, would be the culmination of his aspirations. The family anticipated moving from their middle-class Cervantes Street home in Pensacola's East Hill District to the more fashionable North Hill Dis-

18. *Ibid.*, 212.

19. *Pensacola Daily News*, 29 December 1903; A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 97.

20. Chapin, *Florida: Past, Present, and Future*, 93-94.

trict.²¹ Little did Bingham know that, over the next twelve months, his dreams would manifest as some of his worst nightmares.

Formally launched on January 3, 1903, the *Bingham* was towed to the Perdido Wharf in Pensacola Harbor where shipbuilders completed construction details under the direction of Captain Merritt.²² He was the likely choice to pilot this new schooner; he had captained the *Davy Crockett* from its purchase in 1899 through the 1902 sailing season. Who better to entrust with the new ship? On January 14, 1903, the *Bingham* was moved to the Palafox Street Wharf where it was rigged and the sails installed. Afterwards, at the Perdido Wharf, stevedores loaded the ship's first cargo, a shipment of finished pine lumber. While the ship was being loaded, Bingham and Merritt selected the crew for the maiden voyage to Belize, a group consisting of the captain, a first mate, and three crew members.²³

The average ocean-going seaman of this era received about \$36 per month, with captains drawing about \$125 per month.²⁴ The crew of the *Richard A. Bingham* appears to have earned about half that amount, making about a one month's wages for a two-month voyage. Pay may have been lower because the vessel was not a steamship, the crews of which usually received top dollar, but rather a small and undistinguished schooner plying the lumber trade across the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea.

At 2:30 p.m. on February 4, 1903, the *Richard A. Bingham* set sail on its first voyage to Belize, carrying 122,000 board feet of lumber

21. Nathan Woolsey to Jan R. Heier, 22 August 1997. Woolsey claims that "Pensacola's most fashionable area was then North Hill, whereas East Cervantes, where the Bingham's lived was in East Hill, Pensacola's vibrant up-and-coming middle class district in 1903. F. F. Bingham, who'd arrived in 1890, was still a relative 'newcomer,' though I am sure Fannie [Oreting] aspired to a North Hill address all the same."

22. The launching of a new ship must have been a common and rather uneventful occurrence in turn-of-the-century Pensacola. The *Pensacola Daily News*, which published a daily maritime section, did not mention the launching of the *Richard A. Bingham*.

23. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 94-95. Besides Captain Merritt, who was paid \$130 for the entire trip, other crew members for the first trip included the first mate Bill, who received \$45 for the trip; seamen Cub and Mike, both of whom received \$30; and Lieberstein and a cook, who were paid \$22.50 and \$18 respectively. Neither of the last two men was listed for the return trip to Pensacola; Jose, who crewed from Belize to Pensacola, probably replaced one of these original crew members. The last names of most of the crew were usually omitted from company records.

24. Gilson Willets, *Worker's of the Nation: An Industrial Encyclopedia of the Occupations of the American People* (New York, 1903), 590-604.



**Bingham, in the Tropics, doing his "Trick"
at the Wheel.**

F. F. Bingham at the helm of one of his ships. *Courtesy of Special Collections, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.*

and 5,000 shingles—\$1,800 worth of goods—from the Southern States Lumber Company.²⁵ Some eighteen days later, the ship arrived safely at Belize. Though only limited details of this first trip are cited in the log book, apparently the ship faced rough seas throughout the round-trip voyage.²⁶ The *Bingham* proved a sea-worthy craft, surviving a two-month, one-thousand mile, open-ocean voyage.

Once it arrived in Belize, dockworkers took about twelve days to unload the cargo of pine products. Then on March 9, they began the ten days of reloading the ship with mahogany logs for its return trip.²⁷ By April 4, the *Richard A. Bingham* was back in Pensacola, where the mahogany logs were unloaded for C.C. Mengle & Company, a local woodworking company.²⁸ In all, the first trip of the

25. *Pensacola Daily News*, 4 February 1903. The Maritime Section of *The Pensacola Daily News* reported, on a daily basis, the names of the ships that had arrived in the harbor the previous day and those in the harbor loading cargo. In addition, the column also reported on ships that had cleared customs and had either sailed or were waiting to sail. Finally, there were occasional references to local ships in foreign harbors and short feature articles of local interest.

26. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 94.

27. *Pensacola Daily News*, 16 March 1903.

28. *Ibid.*, 4 April 1903.

Richard A. Bingham lasted seventy-one days, from February 1 to April 11.²⁹

The schooner's building, outfitting, and sailing proved an economic success for the Bingham. After expenditures of \$978 and Captain Merritt's share, the Bingham earned \$764 from the trip. According to company records, Bingham may have also shipped freight on consignment for Simpson and Company, a large yellow-pine mill located outside of Bagdad, Florida, which resulted in \$330 additional profits.³⁰ All looked promising for the *Bingham* and its owners after the first trip. The Caribbean shipping business appeared to be a lucrative proposition.

Accounting records of the *Richard A. Bingham's* maiden voyage verify F. F. Bingham's attention to the business developments of this day. The records of the ship show separate accounts for the out-bound trip to Belize and the in-bound trip to Pensacola. There was also a cash account for expenses related to the ship. Bingham accounted for the out-bound and in-bound legs separately, as if each were a singular business transaction, the standard method of bookkeeping for early twentieth-century ship operations as prescribed by contemporary accounting manuals.³¹ Accounting records, such as those in the log of the *Bingham*, chronicled the expenses incurred during the voyage such as groceries, miscellaneous supplies, water, and wages. The costs of operating a lumber schooner also included stevedore help on the piers and a host of taxes and fees for docking at a wharf, including customs duties, port entry and clearance, and harbor pilotage.³²

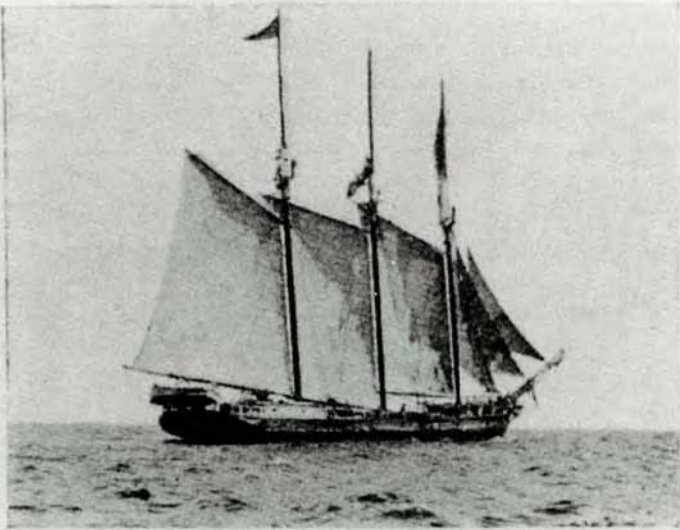
Some of the entries, however, also reveal more personal stories. For example, expenses for the first leg of the journey to Belize included \$2.60 for "hospital" and \$5 for "man hurt." This may explain what happened to Lieberstein, listed as a crew member on the out-bound trip but not on the return leg. Payments to Cub's wife for one dollar and to Captain Merritt's wife for twenty-five dollars suggest that Bingham considered the families of crew members to be integral parts of the operations. Interestingly, there is no indication that the salary advances were deducted from future pay.

29. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 95.

30. *Ibid.*

31. George Soulé, *Soulé's New Science and Practice of Accounts* (New Orleans, 1903), 340-342.

32. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 95-105.



**Am. Schr. "City of Baltimore", on
Pensacola Bar, outward bound**

The *City of Baltimore*, sister ship of the *Richard A. Bingham*. Courtesy of Special Collections, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Finally, Bingham also noted the businesses and stores he patronized while outfitting and provisioning his ships. Companies like James McHugh and W.A. Dunham, chandlery (ship's supply) companies that provided food and other provisions, were prominent in the records.³³

On April 11, the *Bingham* was moved to Parodi's Mill where workers, for the next seven days, loaded it with 109,496 board feet of lumber and 2,200 wooden pickets. During this time, the schooner was provisioned and a crew hired, including Captain Merritt (again paid \$130), Hendrix ("Bill" from the first trip who received \$55), and Sherman (\$47.50). In addition, there were Scott, McDonald, and Harvey, each of whom made about \$20 for the trip. Besides the captain, the only holdover from the first trip was Hendrix.³⁴

33. *Ibid.*, 94, 95, 99-100.

34. *Ibid.*, 97.

The *Bingham* reached Pensacola anchorage on April 20 and cleared the bay the following day at around 3:00 p.m.³⁵ This shipment of lumber products was bound for Cardenas, Cuba, a port on the north side of the island about fifty miles east of Havana. During the two week trip to Cuba, the crew encountered a variety of weather conditions. On the leg out of Pensacola, the ship experienced clear sailing for several days—good news for a vessel that had a rough voyage to and from Belize the previous month. Sometime before the ship reached the Florida Straits, between Cuba and the United States, the *Bingham* enjoyed a few days of very calm seas. Though not usually dangerous, the becalming of a sailing ship, nevertheless, can be very frustrating. The final part of the voyage took the *Bingham* through the Florida Straits and past the Dry Tortugas Islands. At this point, storms again rocked the small craft, keeping the ship out of the Cuban port for an additional three days. Finally, on May 3, the *Richard A. Bingham* docked in Cardenas.³⁶

After a week of unloading, the ship set sail from Cuba for Florida, apparently with an empty cargo hold. The new destination was Charlotte Harbor near present-day Fort Myers, where the *Bingham* docked on May 22.³⁷ Over the next two days, dock crews loaded ten to fifteen tons of phosphates from the nearby Punta Gorda mines. The *Bingham* sailed for home three days later, and on June 3, it arrived in Pensacola.³⁸ By the evening of June 6, all cargos were unloaded, and the ship was taken across the bay and docked.³⁹

Again, the second trip of the *Bingham* netted a profit for the Bingham: \$261 after the standard 12 percent share to Captain Merritt. The shipment of lumber to Cuba proved to be quite profitable, repaying a return of \$279.49. The return trip was not as profitable. Records showed \$262.40 in phosphate revenues and \$282.41 in expenses, leaving the Bingham with a loss of \$20.⁴⁰ Still, except for the small financial setback from the phosphate deal, the first two trips of the *Richard A. Bingham* were profitable for its owners and relatively uneventful. The future looked bright. In their ordinariness, however, these early voyages of the *Richard A. Bingham* masked the storm that was brewing.

35. *Pensacola Daily News*, 22 April 1903.

36. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 97.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Pensacola Daily News*, 3 June 1903.

39. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 98.

40. *Ibid.*, 97-98.

On June 11, workers put the ship in queue for loading at the Perdido Wharf. The *Bingham* must have stayed in anchorage for nearly a week because it did not go alongside the wharf for loading until the afternoon of June 18. Five days later, the ship sailed for Belize with a cargo of lumber and freight worth \$1,067, and a supplemental cargo that included three cases of hats, five cases of boots and shoes, a case of stockings, one case of hardware, and one barrel of oil.⁴¹ The value of all the goods was reported to customs as \$2,657.26.⁴² Discrepancies between the reported customs value and the ship's log were probably due to the type of shipping contract used. If the lumber were purchased for resale and the other goods shipped for a fee, then the value of the shipment could be listed as higher than the revenues recorded by the shipping company. Raymond Leslie Merritt again captained the ship with a crew of five, including the experienced Bill and Sherman and newcomers Gomez, Montero, and an African American named Drew.⁴³

The trip started out quiet enough, but sometime between June 30 and July 12, problems arose aboard the *Bingham*. An entry in the company account book reads, "Mutiny or insane captain on the voyage, two men set adrift off Cozumel, boat lost."⁴⁴ F. F. Bingham probably made the entry well after the fact, but from the uncertainty of the statement, it appears that he did not understand the actual circumstances surrounding the "mutiny." Did Captain Merritt go insane and set two men adrift in an act of caprice, or were the two men set adrift after conducting a mutiny? What exactly happened aboard the *Bingham*? The remainder of the log and the accounting records are silent on the issue.

But an August 5 front-page story in the *Pensacola Daily News* related how Captain Merritt, after he went "insane" in the opinion of First Mate W. T. Hendricks (presumably Bill in the records), set him and the black seaman Drew adrift in a yawl (a small open sail boat) in which they survived for two weeks before making landfall.⁴⁵ Hendricks kept a daily log of the two men's ordeal. Rough seas nearly swamped the yawl several times. Frustratingly, the two men sighted other ships on no less than four occasions, but the crews of

41. *Ibid.*, 106; *Pensacola Daily News*, 23 June 1903.

42. *Pensacola Daily News*, 23 June 1903.

43. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 100.

44. *Ibid.*

45. "Terrible Story of the Sea," *Pensacola Daily News*, 5 August 1903.

these ships did not see them. Once, a shark followed the small boat for more than four hours. Even with fish to supplement the men's diet, they rapidly ran out of provisions, and by July 19, their food and freshwater were gone. Sometime on the night of July 20, they sighted the lighthouse at Cozumel. They tried to land the next day, but crashed the boat on the rocks.⁴⁶ Eventually, Hendricks and Drew returned home to Pensacola where they told their side of the story—one of anger, courage, violence, and apparently a misunderstanding that was compounded by alcohol abuse.⁴⁷

As the story was relayed to a *New York World* reporter, soon after the departure from Pensacola, Captain Merritt called all hands aft on the *Bingham* and ordered that the first mate, Hendricks, be lashed to the mizzenmast. The *Pensacola Daily News* described how,

His [Merritt's] deprivation of rum, it is claimed, afterwards affected the captain's mind and his state was increased when a knife accidentally dropped from a loft. Gaining the idea that Hendricks was plotting against him, he ordered the mate tied. The next day he was said to have developed delirium and ordered Drew's hands tied. Several other crazy orders were given.⁴⁸

The men told how Merritt paraded with pistols and a Winchester rifle the next day, threatening first to kill Hendricks and then to cut the tongue out of Drew. Hendricks claimed that he tried to "humor" Merritt: "All I asked of captain is to put me on the deck unlashd and shoot me like a man. I don't want to die triced up like a herring." Merritt apparently responded: "I'll do nothing of the kind. I'll do worse than that. I'll give you a ship to command and a crew to serve under you. I'll give you a chance to navigate, damn your eyes, I'll turn you adrift." The two men were sent to their berths where they waited for the captain to calm down, hopefully as he sobered up. In the middle of the night, Merritt came to Hendricks yet again, confronting the first mate: "Moeatez [probably Montero in the crew list] has just telegraphed you to kill me, but I got ahead of you. I'll knock out your headlights before you can make a move." The next morning, on July 8, Hendricks and Drew

46. *Ibid.* According to the account book, the cost to replace the yawl was \$30; A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 102.

47. *Pensacola Daily News*, 5 August 1903.

48. *Ibid.*

were put in the yawl with minimal provisions and began their nearly two-week ordeal.⁴⁹

After arriving in Cozumel, the pair traveled to Belize where Hendricks reported their situation to the American Consul, but the diplomat did not complete an official investigation into the matter because he felt it was not within his jurisdiction. Rather, the consul "simply took Hendricks' acknowledgments to the certificate that [he] left the vessel of his own accord and in accordance with the wishes of all the men concerned."⁵⁰ In time, both Hendricks and Drew received pay for their services, a circumstance that seemed odd in light of their reported mutiny.

Possibly, with suspicions of Hendrick's story, the consul unofficially expressed his opinion that Merritt acted appropriately if the ship was indeed in danger. "Captain Merritt is held in high esteem here," continued the consul, "and being considered a hard-working, sober, straightforward man and as he has been trading here for several years, of course, is well known." Merritt had his allies and friends in Belize. A British colonial official credited Merritt with forbearance, claiming that he would have simply killed the mate.⁵¹

In the meantime, Merritt reported his problems to American officials and probably cabled Bingham about the situation. He promptly left Belize aboard the first available steamship, the *Anselm*, with the intent "to catch Hendricks and the negro Drew." F. F. Bingham sailed to Belize to recover his schooner, which crews were loading with a return cargo of mahogany for the Mendall Company of Louisville.⁵² When he arrived, Bingham appointed Albert DeBroux as the ship's new captain. With Bingham aboard, the *Richard A. Bingham* sailed on July 31 and safely arrived at Pensacola with her cargo on August 10.

The following day, the *Daily News* ran a story entitled "Bingham at Quarantine." The story told how upon arrival in Pensacola, the ship was put in detention, or quarantine, for about three days before being sent to the Railroad Wharf for unloading.⁵³ Detention of a ship at the Deer Point Quarantine Station was a formality, allowing inspection of the cargo by customs service officers, for fumigation

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Pensacola Daily News*, 6 August 1903.

53. The Railroad Wharf was probably the new facility owned by the Louisville and Nashville Railroad.

of the ship, and examination of the crew for disease.⁵⁴ Naturally, the article centered on Captain Merritt, who had come to the news office to "correct an erroneous impression." Although he never said what had happened on board the *Bingham*, Merritt was in Pensacola to defend the vessel and himself. He suggested in the interview that he could face possible prosecution for the events aboard the *Bingham* and remained reluctant to tell his side of the story.⁵⁵

Merritt, Hendricks, and Drew made it back to Pensacola well before Bingham arrived to quell the bad publicity. When he did return on the evening of August 10, Bingham found, much to his chagrin, that the fireworks had already begun. No doubt his detractors delighted in the problems besieging this transplanted northerner. Yet, Bingham weathered the crisis and readied his ship for its fourth voyage.

One might assume that the third voyage of the *Richard A. Bingham* would have soured the long-term relationship between Captain Merritt and F. F. Bingham. Yet, *Daily News* reported, "There seems to be no ill feelings between the former master [Merritt] and Mr. Bingham."⁵⁶ The paper later indicated that "Captain Merritt was currently in charge of the Bingham's other schooner, the *David Crockett*."⁵⁷ Still, the records of the company suggest another reason for Bingham's continued approval of Merritt. The owners of J.A. Merritt and Company, ship brokers and consignment specialists and relatives of Captain Merritt, figured prominently among Bingham's business relations. For example, Bingham paid commissions to J.A. Merritt and Company for the phosphate shipment that lost money. Business rather than friendship may have gone a long way in the reconciliation of the two men. Even with the problems surrounding the *Bingham*'s latest voyage, the enterprise proved profitable for F. F. Bingham who cleared \$546.⁵⁸

The fallout from the calamitous third voyage had not settled when loading began for the fourth and what turned out to be the final trip of the *Richard A. Bingham*. The schooner's departure date of August 18 is interesting for two reasons. First, late summer was the hurricane season both in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. The

54. Virginia Parks, *Pensacola: Spaniards to Space Age* (Pensacola, 1986), 78.

55. *Pensacola Daily News*, 11 August 1903.

56. *Ibid.*, 18 August 1903.

57. *Ibid.*, 29 December 1903.

58. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 102.

threat of bad weather apparently was not a concern for Bingham, however, because he had dispatched the *Davy Crockett* to Belize some weeks earlier.⁵⁹ Second, sometime in June the ship had twice spent time in dry dock for which \$28.50 and \$5 were paid respectively.⁶⁰ F. F. Bingham did not list the type of repairs in his ledger, but the question arises as to the seaworthiness of *Bingham* when it left Pensacola. Loaded with 125,385 feet of lumber along with doors, sashes, and blinds, all valued at \$1,063, the schooner set sail on August 18.⁶¹

For over a month, no additional log entries were made. On or about September 22, Bingham noted receiving a cable that the schooner had reached Frontera, Mexico, its hold full of water.⁶² For nearly a month, the ship sat in the Mexican port. Something must have been dreadfully wrong because the cash journal noted a charge of \$1,450 "for Frontera" with an additional \$227 listed only as a "trip to Frontera."⁶³ The *Richard A. Bingham* finally departed Mexico on or about November 7 and arrived at Belize on November 26.⁶⁴ Both the company's log and the *Daily News* for November 1903 were silent on the problems that the ship faced.

F. F. Bingham had left Pensacola for Frontera on October 6 to investigate the problems facing his crew and ship.⁶⁵ Two weeks and

59. *Pensacola Daily News*, 18 July 1903.

60. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 100-101.

61. *Ibid.*, 103.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*, 105.

64. *Ibid.*, 104.

65. In the spring of 1914, F. F. Bingham published his experiences with the *Richard A. Bingham* in a series of articles in the *Pensacola Journal*. These articles were drawn from the journal he kept while traveling from Pensacola to Frontera. Bingham's journal provides a unique look at the culture of Mexico at the turn of the twentieth century and on the eve of civil war, and his descriptions of the land and its people make an enlightening travelogue. The journal also furnishes an interesting perspective into the American community in Mexico, its business dealings, lifestyles, and politics. Bingham discussed many of the sights and events he experienced on his two-week train and boat trip. For example, in Mexico City he attended a bullfight and toured Chapultepec Castle, the center of fighting between troops in the Mexican-American War. On the trip from Mexico City to the Gulf Coast port of Vera Cruz, Bingham traveled by train along a route that took him through some of the highest mountains in North America. His adventures included an encounter with thieves, a scare from yellow-fever-carrying mosquitoes in Vera Cruz, and a hair-raising boat trip from Vera Cruz to Frontera where Bingham wrote that a man may have been lost overboard during a storm at sea. The journal was published as F. F. Bingham, *From Pensacola to Belize: An American's Odyssey Through Mexico in 1903*, ed. Brian Rucker (Bagdad, Fla., 1997).

many adventures later, he arrived in Frontera. The most frustrating part of the trip, though, was to come—the “ransoming” of his beloved schooner. Upon seeing his ship, Bingham commented how “she looked, even at a distance, woefully neglected, but there was not a line or spar missing. AND I WAS GLAD TO SEE HER.”⁶⁶

As he pieced the story together, F. F. Bingham discovered that his ship’s problems started about five days out of Pensacola when it ran into what Captain DeBroux claimed was a hurricane. The tale seemed incredulous to Bingham: “I do not believe it. Storms do not last two weeks, and vessels that encounter gulfs (even new staunch vessels like the *Richard*) if they live through it, show the scars in the shape of torn sails, broken spars, twisted rails, and smashed boats.” With both pride and anger, he continued: “The most I will admit is she encountered three or four heavy southeast gales (shown by our weather service), which she was built to weather, and which she did weather.”⁶⁷

As the story unfolded, Bingham discovered that poor decision making by the new and inexperienced captain led to a series of navigational errors that took the ship to a port that the captain believed was Belize City. Actually the *Bingham* had arrived on Mexico’s Gulf Coast some seven hundred miles from Belize. That Belize City’s harbor is silhouetted by mountains, much like the harbors along the east coast of Mexico, only compounded DeBroux’s confusion over his location.⁶⁸

DeBroux still had a chance to redeem himself by bringing the ship into either of Mexico’s two major deep-water ports at Vera Cruz or Coatzacoalcos. Instead, he made the worst possible choice and picked Frontera. This small Mexican port is not even on the coast but rather a few miles up the Tabasco River. The sand bar at the mouth of the river had a clearance of only eight feet and the *Bingham* drafted ten feet. If it had any hope of getting over the sand bar and entering the port, the ship had to be lightened. Ironically, the *Bingham* was closer to the deep water port of Coatzacoalcos, about fifty miles to the north, than to Frontera, but Captain DeBroux’s decision had been made.⁶⁹

66. Bingham, *From Pensacola to Belize*, 58.

67. *Ibid.* Hurricane warnings for the western Gulf of Mexico were noted in the *Pensacola Daily News*, 10 October 1903.

68. Bingham, *From Pensacola to Belize*, 58.

69. *Ibid.*, 59.

To enter the harbor at Frontera, DeBroux engaged the help of the local American consular agent, Arthur Gehm, who in turn obtained the services of a Mexican tug boat and lighter. Unfortunately for DeBroux, Gehm and a Mexican official apparently conspired to charge inflated rates and split the profits. Relieved of approximately one-third of its lumber cargo—a service that cost approximately \$1,800—, the *Bingham* maneuvered across the sand bar. DeBroux did not have the money to pay the bill and quickly used up all of his cash reserves furnishing additional food and shelter for his crew, although he had provisions aboard ship.⁷⁰ On September 22, DeBroux cabled F. F. Bingham for help.⁷¹ But by the time Bingham reached Frontera in early October, the costs of the DeBroux's errors had compounded from \$1,800 to about \$4,500 in Mexican dollars.⁷² Bingham had not anticipated so much expense, carrying only \$750 and several letters of credit sewn into his pockets.

To make matters worse, Bingham's newest major creditor and nemesis became Don Pepe Poch, a Frontera businessman whom Bingham described as an "American-hating Spaniard" who

is the rich man of this place. He owns a little iron steamer that carries cattle from Frontera to Progresso and MONEY from Progresso to Frontera. Also he owns a steam tug and two American built schooners. From the way he stands on his wharf and gazes at the *Richard I* imagine he thinks he will own her.⁷³

With Gehm firmly allied with Don Pepe Poch, Bingham was in trouble. He knew he could not raise sufficient money in Frontera, and every day he stayed there, he ran up an even larger bill with other local businessmen for food and lodging.

To help his cause, Bingham arranged a meeting with a Mr. Richards, a self described enemy of the consul. Richards offered to "buy" the ship from Bingham with a fictitious bill of sale, apparently a ruse concocted by Bingham in an attempt to bring the consul and Poch to the bargaining table. "The Consul looks worried," commented Bingham, "which I take to mean that I am on the right

70. Ibid.

71. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 103.

72. Bingham, *From Pensacola to Belize*, 60.

73. Ibid., 60.

track."⁷⁴ Soon afterward, a warehouse adjacent to the wharf where the *Richard A. Bingham* was berthed collapsed as Bingham and the consul were exiting it. Bingham did not put any sinister motive to the incident owing to the decrepit nature of the wharf.

At this point, Bingham's only option was to play Poch against the smaller businessmen. On October 26, Bingham went to visit the local banker, Don Felipe Palenque, to arrange credit through his Pensacola bank for payment on his debts. At first Palenque rejected the request, after consulting an out-of-date banking directory that indicated that there was no such institution in Pensacola. The banker insisted that he would have to collect on the letter before he could release any money to Bingham's creditors. This would take about two months. Just when everything seemed hopeless, Bingham noticed a picture of Custer's last stand on Palenque's wall. Custer was a hero of Palenque, and when Bingham explained that his father had served under Custer in the Civil War, the banker relaxed his guard and became friendly with the American. Eventually he accepted Bingham's letter of credit.⁷⁵

On November 2, two weeks after Bingham's arrival, Gehm and Poch accepted a payment of \$650 and the letter of credit to settle Bingham's debts in Frontera. Besides lost time, the whole affair cost \$1,450 at Frontera and another \$227 for Bingham's trip.⁷⁶ The *Richard A. Bingham* was again set to sail. Before departure, the ship took on another crew member, an American adventurer named Jack Graham with whom Bingham quickly became a fast friend. The schooner drifted through the harbor with about two-thirds of its lumber cargo; lighters brought the remaining cargo out to the *Bingham* after it safely crossed the sand bar; and the crew finally got the ship underway on November 2 after waiting for contrary winds to change direction so the ship could sail north. About two months after coming to Frontera, the *Richard A. Bingham* finally resumed its journey. The troubles were now behind F. F. Bingham; as he recalled "There, that completes the ransoming of the *Richard A. Bingham*."⁷⁷ The adventure, though, was not quite over.

Over the next three weeks, the ship fought its way to Belize through alternating calms and very rough seas. Off Cape Caduca,

74. *Ibid.*, 70.

75. *Ibid.*, 57.

76. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 105.

77. Bingham, *From Pensacola to Belize*, 76.

the northernmost tip of the Yucatan Peninsula, the *Bingham* ran into a violent gale that almost grounded it. What was normally a month-long voyage to Belize was now nearing three months. The *Richard A. Bingham* finally arrived at its original destination, Belize, on November 26—Thanksgiving Day. Soon afterwards, the crew “discharged lumber and commenced loading Mahogany, [on] Dec. 10.”⁷⁸ Bingham stayed in Belize a few days to finish business and took what he described as a “fruit boat” back to New Orleans.⁷⁹ Interestingly, he left the ship with the captain and crew who had put it into so much trouble. But his mind was elsewhere; he had unfinished business in Frontera:

When I reached home I hired a new captain for the *Richard* and reported the ransoming of the *Richard A. Bingham* to Consul W.W. Canada at Vera Cruz Mexico, putting the larger part of the blame where it belonged, on the U.S. Consular agent in Frontera. A few weeks later I was informed that a vacancy was about to occur in consular service in Frontera, Mexico and was asked to nominate a successor. Very good, whom do I suppose I nominated? Why none other than my good friend Don Felipe Palenque.⁸⁰

Nearly two weeks passed as dockhands unloaded the pine lumber and packed the mahogany logs into the hull of the ship; then the *Bingham* sailed for Pensacola and home. The captain and the crew were obviously tired and frustrated from their long ordeal and no doubt were looking forward to home. But there was to be one more adventure for them: one day after departure, the *Bingham* struck a reef outside Belize harbor and broke up. In less than a year after its inaugural voyage, Bingham’s beloved *Richard A. Bingham* was gone.

On December 29, 1903, the *Daily News* published the story of the disaster.⁸¹ According to seaman Graham, the schooner left Belize with several thousands of dollars worth of mahogany logs, and “When out a piece, she was caught in the storm and was backed up

78. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 103.

79. Bingham, *From Pensacola to Belize*, 79.

80. *Ibid.*

81. “A Pensacola Schooner Lost: The *Richard A. Bingham*, Owned And Operated by Local People Ran Ashore and Went to Pieces,” *Pensacola Daily News*, 29 December 1903.

on a reef, going down and completely wrecking herself. The crew managed to save themselves with difficulty and remained in the water nearly all night, finally making their way to Belize." Eventually, the crew returned to Pensacola on board the Norwegian steamer, *Hydra*.

As a result of the final trip of his beloved *Richard*, Bingham collected a draft on the Harley Company for \$525, probably for the sales of pine products in Belize. But he paid \$1,450 for the Frontera fiasco. In addition, on December 29, wages were paid to the crew—Lieberstein (\$10.50), James Graham (\$37.95), Leon DeBroux (\$36.95), and Henry Pace (\$6).⁸² The ship went out on each of its first three trips with a crew of six or seven including the captain, but the *Bingham's* final records imply that the ship may have had as few as four crew members for this trip, leaving the ship short-handed by possibly two or three crew members when it came time to battle a Caribbean gale.

The loss of the *Richard A. Bingham* was a staggering financial blow to F. F. Bingham, estimated at about \$7,000, a monumental sum during its day.⁸³ Bingham's personal resources and liabilities statements confirm a significant loss by showing a decrease in net worth from \$8,330 on August 20 to \$1,440 on December 31—a reduction of more than 80 percent of his business assets.⁸⁴

The wreck of the *Richard A. Bingham* may never go down in history with the sinkings of great ships like the *Titanic* or the *Edmund Fitzgerald*, but it no less profoundly influenced the people involved. As the *Pensacola Daily News* concluded, "The Loss will be keenly felt."⁸⁵ For Bingham, however, his experience as a turn-of-the-century entrepreneur allowed him to distance himself from the loss: "And the missus, she said it made her mad, such a fine ship to be wrecked and going to ruin because of the captain's carelessness. I

82. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 105. Why Graham got paid so much compared with longtime crew member Lieberstein is not known. The records are silent on whether this James Graham was the same as Jack Graham who boarded at Frontera, so it would be idle speculation to suggest that the money was a small reward for helping Bingham out of the jam. Other persons listed as paid in August included Sawyer who received \$11, and Pedro who was paid \$2. It is not clear if these were out-bound crew members or people hired to work in Pensacola.

83. The modern value of the \$7,000 would well be within the \$1,000,000 range including the ship and its fixtures, the trading cargo, and consignment goods.

84. A.R. Bingham and Son Shipping Company Account Book, 209.

85. *Pensacola Daily News*, 29 December 1903.

told her there was no use in getting mad about it."⁸⁶ Despite the loss of his beloved *Richard* and the accompanying financial and emotional tolls, Bingham continued to love the sea and remained enthusiastic for sailing ships. His stories about weekend cruises on his yacht, the *Peep-o-Day*, became very popular with Pensacola readers. Over the three decades after the *Richard A. Bingham* was lost, he continued to trade lumber in the Caribbean, adding the *Carrie A. Buckman* and the *City of Baltimore* to his fleet. By 1913, F. F. Bingham was even able to start a company that built ships and other craft for both the American and French navies during World War I. He dabbled in real estate and became a director of the Pensacola Finance Company. Still, he remained in the lumber business until Southern States Lumber closed its doors in 1930. After a full life, he died in 1953.⁸⁷

The early twentieth century was an era of political, social and technological transition for the United States. It was against this historical backdrop that F. F. Bingham experienced some of his greatest challenges and triumphs, as recorded in his journals and accounting ledgers. But the records of the *Richard A. Bingham* also provide a biography of a ship that evidenced the rise of West Florida lumber and shipping industries, the maritime trade patterns of the Gulf of Mexico, and the unpredictability that surrounded entrepreneurship as the American Century opened.

86. Rucker, *The Log of the Peep-o-Day*, 96.

87. James Albert Servies and Lana D. Servies, eds., *A Bibliography of Florida* (Pensacola, 1993), 235.

A “Super-Powered” Goodwill Ambassador: Establishing WRUF at the University of Florida, 1925-1940

by E. L. “Ted” Burrows

In the 1920s, radio in the United States was in its infancy. Only two decades earlier, in December 1901, Guglielmo Marconi had successfully transmitted and received wireless signals across the Atlantic Ocean. Since then, equipment and techniques had been improved—mainly for military or maritime safety uses such as communication with ships at sea. Most early efforts involved wireless telegraphy, transmitting Morse Code by radio signals. Some experimenters, however, worked on wireless telephony and the transmission of the human voice.

At first there was little understanding of the new medium’s potential for public service or commerce. By the early 1920s, however, several pioneering stations (notably WHA in Madison, Wisconsin, WWJ in Detroit, KDKA in Pittsburgh, and WEAJ in New York City) had begun what was called “broadcasting”—transmitting regularly scheduled programs of speech or music, which the public could hear at home on simple receivers. Radio broadcasting stations sprang up rapidly as sales of receivers increased. Stations varied greatly in signal strength and program quality. Station owners included manufacturers or sellers of radios and other electrical equipment, newspapers or other businesses, state or local governments, and educational institutions. By the end of 1922, federal authorities listed 570 stations operating in the United States and its

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overseas territories, and another 67 that had briefly operated but were discontinued.¹

Coincident with this rapid growth in the broadcasting industry and Florida's economic and land-sales boom of the 1920s, WRUF was established at the University of Florida. The station's promoters intended it to be Florida's "super-powered" goodwill ambassador.² Many business leaders believed that Florida should advertise its advantages to the rest of the nation in order to attract new residents and stimulate commerce. A January 1, 1925, Associated Press dispatch from Tallahassee explained why Agriculture Commissioner Nathan Mayo supported the advertising idea:

Too little is being done by the state of Florida—that is the state government itself—to spread before the people of the country the message telling of the advantages this state offers. . . . While the Legislature now provides a total of \$8,500 yearly which . . . may be considered for advertising purposes by the Department of Agriculture, many of the cities . . . are devoting larger sums . . . to encourage persons to settle, or at least sojourn within their borders during the winter. Commissioner of Agriculture Nathan Mayo expresses the opinion that the state should adopt a more progressive attitude. . . . He feels that a fund of not less than \$100,000 should be provided, to be administered by and used entirely for the state-at-large.³

Yet, Mayo did not mention the possible use of radio. Not until March 26, when the feasibility of a state publicity campaign was discussed during a business conference in West Palm Beach, did Governor John W. Martin offer high-level support for the concept.⁴ Soon afterwards, friend and supporters of the University of Florida approached the state legislature

1. "Who Will Ultimately Do The Broadcasting?," *Radio Broadcast*, April 1923, quoted in Lawrence W. Lichty and Malachi C. Topping, *American Broadcasting: A Source Book on the History of Radio and Television* (New York, 1975), 125.
2. Gainesville *Daily Sun*, 11 October 1927. This was one of many published references to the station as "super-powered." Although WRUF's transmitting power never exceeded five thousand watts, that was considered a strong station by standards of the time.
3. *Ibid.*, 2 January 1925.
4. *Ibid.*, 26 March 1925.

for an appropriation sufficient to install an up-to-date radio broadcasting station at the University of Florida. . . . There has been expressed an undercurrent of fear whereby Gainesville might receive some publicity from the broadcasting station at the expense of the taxpayers of the state. Of course the view is taken only by the most narrow-minded and should not be considered with any degree of seriousness as a barrier to the station at the university.⁵

By late May, a bill proposing a university radio station moved through the legislature and was signed by Governor Martin on June 8. Appropriating \$50,000 for the work of "establishing . . . a super-power radio broadcasting station . . . [which] shall be of five kilowatt power maximum," the new law specified building the station on the campus at Gainesville, with links to the state Capitol and the Florida State College for Women (now Florida State University) in Tallahassee. Additionally, the enterprise would promote the interests of the state agriculture commissioner by broadcasting information on weather and crop market conditions. Subject to federal approval, the new station's call letters were WFLA, an acronym for "Watch Florida Lead All."⁶

Within two years, however, state officials realized that the original \$50,000 was not enough to establish WFLA, so the legislature appropriated an additional \$50,000 to the project.⁷ In the meantime, some Gainesville businessmen feared that if the state applied in normal fashion to the Federal Radio Commission (forerunner to the Federal Communications Commission) for a transmitting frequency, WFLA might be placed at the end of a list already more than five hundred names long. Hoping to avoid a long wait, the citizens' committee acquired a frequency by buying the transmitter of an established St. Petersburg radio station, WHBN, owned by the First Avenue Methodist Church. The Board of Control (predecessor to the Board of Regents), designated as overseer of the planned station, accepted these new call letters, and enthusiasm for the project grew. On October 11, 1927, the Gainesville *Daily Sun* reported the official

5. *Ibid.*, 28 April 1925.

6. *Laws of Florida: General Laws* (1927) 1: 456-457, quoted in Donald W. Poucher, "The Voice of Florida," 1964, unpublished manuscript.

7. *Laws of Florida: General Laws* (1927) 1: 1065-1066, quoted in "Radio Station WRUF, Part 1," circa 1950, unpublished manuscript, WRUF station files, Gainesville, Fla.

formation of the Florida State Radio Citizens' Committee, which moved WHBN's transmitter to Gainesville, urged state officials to get the station on the air quickly and initiated a new set of call letters—KVOF, meaning "Voice of Florida."⁸ It is uncertain who proposed KVOF or what caused the change from WFLA, but references to KVOF persisted in news reports for the next year.

Other parts of Florida were paying attention. "This [radio station] is a very desirable adjunct to the other public efforts that are being made to put Florida favorably before the people of the whole country," the *Leesburg Commercial* editorialized, "and we hope there will be nothing in the way of the state Board of Control acting favorably and quickly upon it."⁹ While some supported the project, however, other Floridians saw opportunity to boost their own city's fortunes. Businessmen in Sarasota also recognized radio's promotional potential, bought the transmitting equipment of station WJBB, and moved it from its original site in Tampa. Coupled with the state's lethargy in getting the university station ready, this hint of sectional competition elicited comment from the *Clearwater Sun*:

No doubt this will bring a cry of anguish and further pleadings from Gainesville, Tallahassee and Jacksonville who are still trying to evolve some means of . . . installing KVOF. . . . It is safe to say that there are others in the state just as interested in seeing the station erected . . . but someone or something seems to have slipped.¹⁰

More than two years elapsed between enactment of the radio station legislation and a Board of Control meeting on October 17, 1927, when optimistic supporters of the planned radio station believed that the board would vote to begin broadcasting by the following January. On the day of the board's meeting, the *Daily Sun* enthusiastically proclaimed that "all Florida will have a great and powerful voice . . . to tell its story and to broadcast its joy. Is it any wonder that the action of the Board of Control is breathlessly awaited?"¹¹

But again that action was postponed. The board directed the attorney general to determine whether the law actually required

8. *Daily Sun*, 13 September 1927.

9. *Leesburg Commercial*, quoted in the *Daily Sun*, 12 October 1927.

10. *Clearwater Sun*, quoted in the *Daily Sun*, 13 October 1927.

11. *Daily Sun*, 17 October 1927.

the board to establish a station or merely permitted it to do so if it saw fit. Governor Martin apparently had little tolerance for such stonewalling. In late October, he personally arranged to make construction funds available and challenged "the Board of Control to establish it."¹² To make the record clear, the attorney general issued an opinion that the legislature's appropriation measure was binding upon the Board of Control. On November 14, the board voted to proceed immediately with construction.¹³

University officials petitioned the Federal Radio Commission for assignment of an operating frequency, transmitting power (the station would be granted the hoped-for five thousand watts), and call letters. Yet, the commission refused the three most frequently discussed call letter possibilities—WFLA, KVOF, and WHBN. Meanwhile, construction proceeded on the radio station building and its two two-hundred-foot steel transmitting towers, all on the university campus. On-the-air transmitter tests began August 8, 1928, and soon thereafter "the station, which has had many names since its inception . . . has finally been given a permanent name by the Federal Radio Commission. In future the station will be known as WRUF."¹⁴ By common understanding, the letters meant "Radio at the University of Florida."

The new radio station was dedicated on Saturday, October 13. At 8:30 p.m., organist Claude Murphree sounded the first notes of "The Orange and Blue" on the pipes of the Anderson Memorial Organ in University Auditorium, linked by microphone and cable to the WRUF studio. An account of the dedication from the WRUF files noted:

The important guests on the inaugural broadcast included university President John J. Tigert; U.S. Sen. Duncan U. Fletcher; Doyle E. Carlton, Democratic nominee for governor of Florida; Fred Davis, attorney general of Florida; Congressman Lex Green; and P. K. Yonge, chairman of the Board of Control. The program also featured the University String Quartet, under the direction of R. DeWitt Brown. Selections included "Til the Sands of the Desert

12. *Ibid.*, 26 October 1927.

13. *Tampa Tribune*, quoted in the *Daily Sun*, 17 November 1927.

14. *Daily Sun*, 9 August 1928.

Grow Cold," "Home, Sweet Home," and "We Are The Boys of Old Florida."¹⁵

At the time of WRUF's dedication, many of its advocates believed that the station would serve the entire state. "Few events have been more significant . . . than the formal opening of WRUF. . . . The authorities had in mind . . . that they will impress the people of this state, and make folks realize that here is the state owned station for the benefit of all Florida, and not just any one particular section," explained the *Daily Sun*; "WRUF can do much to eliminate sectionalism in this state and to knit it into a composite whole."¹⁶

Administration of WRUF became the responsibility of the university's General Extension Division, headed by Major Bert C. Riley. Operating the station under Riley's supervision was Bobby Griffin, referred to in various documents as the program director or chief announcer. Perhaps because the General Extension Division was oriented more toward correspondence courses and programs for schoolteachers than entertainment, WRUF's first year on the air was devoted mainly to educational and cultural programs, including lectures and discussions. "This was found to be very impractical as only a limited number of people listened to these broadcasts," one station memo explained; "The listening audience of the station was thus a 'class' audience and the broadcasts were unsatisfactory to the public generally, and to the university officials, particularly."¹⁷ There were some entertainment programs, usually featuring local talent. Organist Claude Murphree and pianist Ruth Dobbins appeared frequently, listed on the payroll as staff musicians. But most of the station's airtime remained dedicated to educational programs with small audiences.

A shortage of operating money, however, hindered program development. Though the legislature had appropriated funds to build WRUF, it had not provided for continuing operations. This seemed to contradict the station's intended purpose—to promote Florida to the rest of the nation. To fulfill that mission required steady financial support that so far was lacking. In December 1928, the *Daily Sun* noted how "those in charge have been hard put to book features which could attract and hold the attention of listen-

15. "Account of WRUF Dedication Ceremony," WRUF station files.

16. *Daily Sun*, 13 October 1928.

17. "Radio Station WRUF, Part I."

ers in this commonwealth and throughout the nation. . . . The artists who have so generously given of their talents are to be commended; were it not for the 'faithful few' Florida's broadcast station would find itself without any programs."¹⁸

The "faithful few" were not always live performers. Ralph Nimmons, who joined the WRUF staff in mid-1929, recalled that "Every day, somebody would make a trip to the Gainesville Furniture Company, which was then run by Gus Cox. . . . We'd go down and get a stack of records, and of course we'd give him credit for [lending] them. If in the course of the day we'd run out of records, we'd just turn the stack over and play them again."¹⁹ Because the furniture company's generosity was acknowledged on the air in return for the loan of the recordings, the arrangement marked a significant step by WRUF—its first transaction approximating commercial advertising.²⁰ In September 1928, before the station's dedication, Florida Attorney General Fred H. Davis had stated that the new station, in keeping with the "usual customs and practices incident to the operation of radio stations generally," would be allowed to carry commercial advertising and use the revenues to defray operating expenses.²¹ Now the station discovered it needed advertising just to survive.

Producing programs on a shoestring budget, WRUF slowly built up its roster of local performers. Among them was a comedian named E. Z. Jones who billed himself as "Dixie's Disciple of Fun and Frolic" and made regular appearances during the station's first three years. Another artist was violinist and WRUF receptionist Pauline Mizell, whose radio concert was interrupted one night when her violin strings suddenly came unfastened, and she was unable to continue until a quick repair was made.²²

Agricultural programs were prominent on WRUF in its early years. By November 1928, reports of station programming indicated that "practical farm and home talks by specialists of the College of Agriculture [are being given] Monday, Wednesday and Friday."²³ The agricultural report became an increasingly impor-

18. *Daily Sun*, 19 December 1928.

19. Ralph Nimmons, interview with author, Jacksonville, Fla., 9 August 1974.

20. Kenneth F. Small, "Summary History of WRUF (and WRUF-FM)," 1970, WRUF station files. Small was station manager in the early 1970s.

21. *Daily Sun*, 12 September 1928.

22. Nimmons interview.

23. *Daily Sun*, 23 November 1928.



J. Francis Cooper, agriculture professor and longtime host of WRUF's "Florida Farm Hour" program. *Courtesy of the University of Florida College of Journalism and Communications, Gainesville.*

tant part of WRUF fare during the next three decades, especially after the start of the "Florida Farm Hour" broadcasts each weekday at noon. Featuring agricultural extension editor J. Francis Cooper, the program began during the station's first year on the air.

Sports programs, for which WRUF would become well known, began early as well. One week after the station's dedication, WRUF presented its first play-by-play account of a sports event. In 1928's "homecoming" football game, the University of Florida played Mercer College on Fleming Field, just north of the present Ben Hill Griffin Stadium at Florida Field. The Gators won 73-0 in the first game ever broadcast on WRUF.²⁴

Though the radio station had a new building, its furnishings and equipment remained primitive. The studios and five-thousand-watt transmitter were located in a brick structure (now the university police station) about fifteen hundred feet south of the University Auditorium and other main campus buildings. The station site was mostly pasture used by animals of the university's agricultural experiment station. A sandy trail (now Museum Road) led west from South 13th Street through the pasture to the station.

Inside, three rooms on the ground floor served as studios, though it is unlikely that all were used regularly for that purpose. The largest of the three measured twenty-by-thirty feet, sufficient to accommodate musical groups for live shows. From a small room with a record turntable, WRUF's tiny collection of recorded music was played. Interior windows provided views from one studio into another. Also on the ground floor were an office and a reception area.²⁵

Putting programs on the air using the equipment of that era required production techniques that seem unusual by modern standards. Ralph Nimmons recalled some of the studio conditions during WRUF's first year:

The microphone was one of the old type carbon microphones . . . and . . . we had one of those laboratory pedestals that had a little shelf that was adjustable with a set screw. We put the microphone on that thing. What you'd do before you turned them on—you'd turn the things upside down and beat them to distribute the carbon [gran-

24. Jim Camp, untitled manuscript, 29 September 1968, WRUF station files. Camp was a "continuity" writer, someone who prepared scripts for programs and commercial announcements. This apparently was a rough draft of a presentation marking WRUF's fortieth anniversary.

25. "Description of Technical Equipment," WRUF station files. The original typed entries had been revised by hand and dated May 10, 1935, apparently by one of the station's engineering staff.



Interior of WRUF's largest studio room, suitable for broadcasting live musical programs. *Courtesy of the University of Florida College of Journalism and Communications, Gainesville.*

ules] in the microphone, otherwise they would sound like a pan of fish frying. Many a time, Banks Duncan [a transmitter operator] would . . . make signals so we'd cut the mike off and I'd turn the thing upside down and beat the hell out of it and then turn the thing on and it'd be okay. . . . We didn't even have carpet on the floors, and we had wicker chairs that used to just squeak like everything whenever anyone would sit in them.²⁶

The Federal Radio Commission at first assigned WRUF a transmitting frequency of 1480 kilocycles, sharing broadcast time with a distant station; when one was on the air, the other had to sign off.²⁷ Thus, the station operated sporadically during its first year—on the air for an hour, then off for an hour or two, then back on for several hours. But after one month, the commission changed WRUF's frequency to 1470 kc and allowed it to broadcast for an unlimited

26. Nimmons interview.

27. Bobby Griffin, memorandum to J. H. Fessenden, 27 September 1928, WRUF station files.

time each day, though the station did not immediately do so, probably because operating funds were low.²⁸

Program schedules were equally irregular. Regarding the "Florida Farm Hour," Ralph Nimmons recalled, "The clock didn't mean anything in those days, really. If it was five minutes before twelve and Mr. [J. Francis] Cooper came in and a record stopped—why, we'd start Mr. Cooper. He'd run until he ran out of material, then we'd go back to records."²⁹

Evening entertainment also was unpredictable. "Every now and then on a Sunday night, the Canova family [a musical group], would come in from Starke [a nearby town], which included Judy Canova and her brother Zeke—who later became quite famous—and they would go for two or three hours, as long as they could last, and we'd keep them on as long as they could last. There was no publicity or anything because we never knew when they were coming," Nimmons remembered. The Canovas later became prominent performers on the "Grand Ol' Opry" in Nashville.³⁰

Before the end of its first year on the air, WRUF found itself without experienced leadership. Chief Announcer/Program Director Bobby Griffin resigned, apparently for health reasons, and university employee Bill Mitchell temporarily took control. University President John J. Tigert wanted a permanent supervisor for WRUF and contacted a friend in Washington, D.C.—Major Garland W. Powell, "a man of approximately nine years of radio experience." Tigert offered Powell the position of chief announcer "in order to study and survey the whole situation," and Powell took his position on September 12, 1929.³¹

Powell, who would guide WRUF for more than twenty-seven years and through many crucial stages of its development, was born in 1892. He was a graduate of the University of Maryland and had studied at Johns Hopkins University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.³² It was at M.I.T. that he received his introduction to radio broadcasting, or "wireless" as it then was known. By the time the United States entered World War I in 1917, Powell had begun a career in law, but he left his practice, took aviation train-

28. "Radio Station WRUF, Part I."

29. Nimmons interview

30. *Ibid.*

31. "Radio Station WRUF, Part I."

32. "Garland Powell, Mr. WRUF, Dies Following Illness," *Gainesville Sun*, 30 August 1959.

ing, and commanded the 22nd U.S. Aerial Squadron in France. In 1921 and 1922, he served in the Maryland Legislature and became active in programs assisting military veterans. In the mid-1920s, Powell spent four years in Washington, D.C., organizing radio programs for the American Legion. While there, he met Tigert who then was U.S. Commissioner of Education. As Powell's widow, Consuela Dolbeare, later recalled, the two men "became friends, very close friends all through their lives."³³

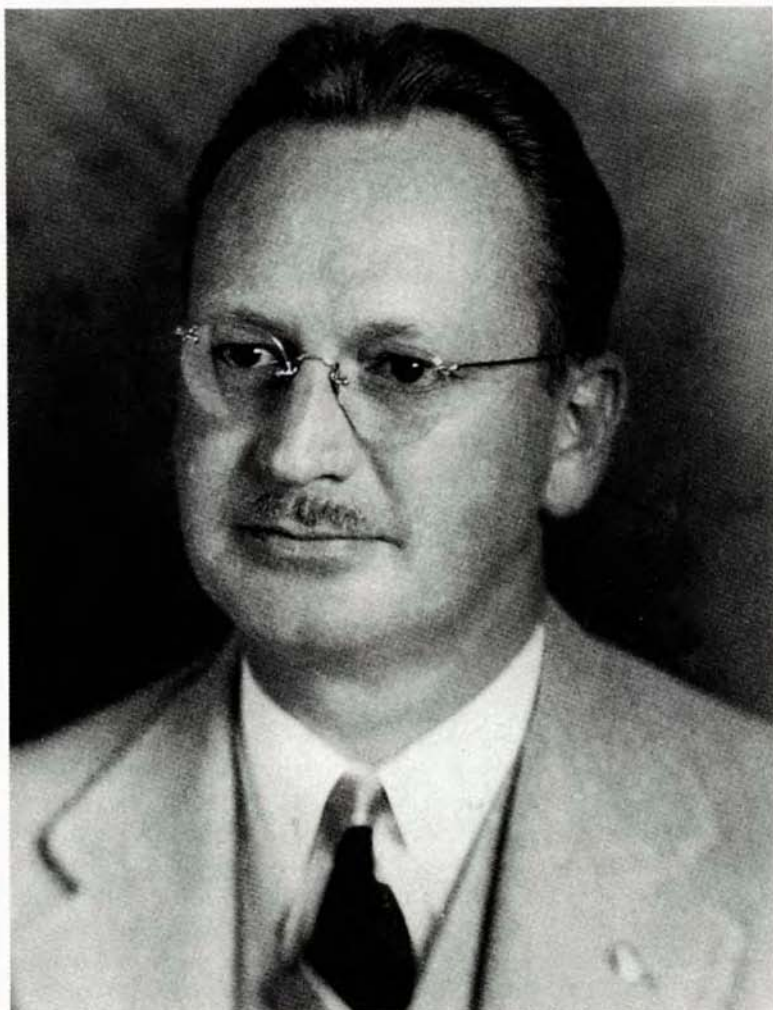
In February 1930, Powell became director of WRUF, a title previously unused.³⁴ At the same time, Ralph Nimmons became chief announcer (Bobby Griffin's old job), thereby transferring out of the General Extension Division and joining the full-time WRUF staff at a salary of \$150 per month. But just as the station appeared more organized and situated for growth, the long-held dream of national prominence for WRUF began to fade. WRUF had changed its transmitting frequency from 1480 to 1470 kilocycles, and complaints were beginning to arise. Bell Telephone Laboratories engineer J. D. Herber came to Gainesville as a consultant, signing an affidavit stating that the WRUF transmitter was functioning properly. The university's student newspaper, *The Florida Alligator*, claimed that Herber's statement gave "additional support . . . in the station's plea for a new wave channel." The paper further reported that "Professor Bennett, electrical engineer of the station, considers the result of these tests as concrete proof that the difficulties of transmission are due to the inferior wave length assigned to it, rather than to any fault of the apparatus in operation."³⁵ Glowing expectations of a "super-powered" national publicity voice had been expressed mainly by influential Florida business people and political figures who had little practical knowledge of radio. Eventually, technical limitations put the grand publicity dream to rest and forced the station to concentrate on serving a more localized audience than originally intended.

In response, early in November 1929, the Federal Radio Commission authorized a change in WRUF's transmitting frequency from 1470 kc to 830 kc. Hoping to protect 830 kc-frequency station KOA in Denver, Colorado, from interference, the commission placed further time restrictions on WRUF's broadcast day. Such in-

33. Consuela Dolbeare, interview with author, Gainesville, Fla., 25 July 1974.

34. "Radio Station WRUF, Part I."

35. Gainesville *Florida Alligator*, 6 October 1929.



Major Garland Powell, director of WRUF from 1929 to 1956. *Courtesy of the University of Florida College of Journalism and Communications, Gainesville.*

terference was more likely to occur at night because radio signals often travel much farther at night, so WRUF was required to sign off each day at a time corresponding to sunset in Denver. Accounting for time zone differences, the ruling meant that WRUF could remain on the air at least through early evening in Florida. In summers, Denver's sunset would have been late enough to allow

WRUF's listeners a longer evening of programs from WRUF; but in the late autumn and throughout winter, Denver's sunset occurred about 8 p.m. on Gainesville's clock.

The frequency shift was hailed as an improvement to WRUF's operations. "The favorable part of this exchange is that it allows WRUF to reach the entire state of Florida," noted the *Alligator*; "Under former circumstances only the local cities and those of the north could be broadcasted to."³⁶ That was because, with a given amount of transmission power, a radio signal generally will travel farther on a lower frequency than on a higher one. That seems to have been the main reason for optimism following the radio commission's decision.

The reference to broadcasting to "the local cities and those of the north," with the apparent exclusion of cities in between, deserves some explanation. E. A. "Ed" Slimak, who was WRUF's chief engineer during the 1970s, explained that even on higher frequencies in the AM spectrum, signals sometimes would be received at distant points, even thousands of miles away, though not with dependable regularity. Signals reaching the atmospheric layer known as the ionosphere sometimes are reflected back to earth, resulting in a "skip" that can carry a station's signal even across oceans.³⁷ Thus, even before the station's change to 830 kc, it was possible for WRUF to be heard not only in the Gainesville area but also in parts of northern and midwestern states, even though it failed to reach many parts of Florida.

Another technical factor hindered WRUF, though it was not fully understood when the station was built. Broadcasting engineers learned in the early 1930s that the ability of the ground to absorb radio signals affected a station's range. The Federal Communications Commission (successor to the Federal Radio Commission in 1934) measured soil conductivity levels across the United States, grading them on a scale of one to thirty. The lower the number, the more the soil absorbs a signal as it radiates away from the station. Slimak understood that soil conductivity conditions in the sandy portions of northern and central Florida ranked between two and four on the scale, placing these areas among the least favorable in the country for radio signals.³⁸

36. *Ibid.*, 10 November 1929.

37. E.A. "Ed" Slimak, interview with author, Gainesville, Fla., 21 October 1974.

38. *Ibid.*

The change to the lower frequency of 830 kc did enable WRUF to send a stronger signal to northern and central Florida with its allotted five thousand watts of power.³⁹ However, the restriction in broadcasting hours plus the poor soil conductivity did away with the station's ability to broadcast dependably to northern and mid-western states. And so the dream of a powerful publicity "Voice of Florida" faded away.

Possibly realizing the limitations on the "Voice of Florida," Powell implemented programs to enhance the station's relationship with the university. In 1930, he began to employ University of Florida students as part-time salaried staff. Although station records are not precise on this point, there is general agreement that the first paid student announcer was Walter L. "Red" Barber, who later became nationally renowned as a sports announcer. Barber joined the WRUF payroll on March 4, 1930.⁴⁰ Chief announcer Ralph Nimmons also remembered a young man named James Leonard Butsch, who used the name "James Leonard" on the air and was used both as an announcer and a singer: "I think Red came before Jimmy, and they both came about the same time."⁴¹

The idea of using student helpers at WRUF was not really new in 1930. One early justification for placing WRUF on the university campus was that electrical engineering students could gain practical training there. Still, if such training was ever given, there is no indication that any engineering students were on the payroll. There is no mention of students employed as on-air program talent prior to 1930.

Also beginning in 1930, Powell tried a variety of new programs. In January, WRUF offered "The Adventures of Bud and Easy," a variety show featuring comedian E. Z. Jones and Claude Lee, who managed the Florida Theater in downtown Gainesville. "Hour with the Masters" in the afternoons and "Variety Musical Parade" in the mornings used music played on 78-rpm discs. A small orchestra known as the Suwannee Serenaders provided live music, and an-

39. In 1937, WRUF would change its frequency again. A treaty between the United States and Cuba required both WRUF and Denver's KOA to change their frequencies, apparently to avoid interference with Cuban stations on the same wavelength. WRUF changed its frequency to an 850 kc station, where it remains today.

40. Walter L. "Red" Barber and Robert Creamer, *Rhubarb in the Catbird Seat* (Garden City, N.Y., 1968), 145.

41. Nimmons interview.

other popular group was the Orange Grove String Band. "The Florida Farm Hour" remained a fixture on the WRUF daily schedule, with talks by extension service editor J. Francis Cooper, his assistant Ralph Fulghum, and other members of the agriculture faculty. When the authors of faculty papers could not visit the WRUF studio to read their own work, Cooper or Fulghum did it or found an extra voice to add variety to the program. It was just such an effort to find an extra voice that led to the recruitment of Red Barber.

Barber returned early from the 1929 Christmas holidays to finish a research paper. A student of modest means, he worked as a janitor at the University Club, a rooming house occupied mainly by male faculty members, among whom was Ralph Fulghum. One day near the end of December, Fulghum asked Barber to substitute for a radio lecturer who had gone out of town.

Barber later wrote that Fulghum had three ten-minute lectures scheduled for that day's farm broadcast and pleaded, "Red, please. Come on. It would be a big help to me, having a change of voice. If I sit there and read all three papers, one after another, it'll be terrible." Reluctantly, Barber agreed to read one lecture. In return, Fulghum promised to treat Barber to dinner. And so, Barber's first stint on WRUF was a reading of "a heavily documented, detailed treatise on 'Certain Aspects of Bovine Obstetrics.'"⁴²

After Barber's reading, which he broadcast without rehearsal, Powell offered him a part-time position. The student, who was balancing several other jobs, politely declined. It took Powell more than two months, using Fulghum as an intermediary, to overcome Barber's reluctance. On March 4, 1930, after Powell offered him \$50 per month, Barber gave up his other local jobs as waiter and janitor and joined WRUF's announcing staff.

Although Barber was hired for a salary, not all student announcers were so fortunate. As Nimmons remembered, "Of course, we'd audition anyone that came along, that wanted any sort of a job. We used a lot of students on a part-time basis . . . and a lot of them were unpaid because we didn't have the money. They were just doing it to see whether they liked it. It was a laboratory . . . for radio technique, announcing, singers and what-have-you."⁴³

In WRUF's early years, not much emphasis was placed on news coverage so an arrangement was made with the *Daily Sun* to allow

42. Barber and Creamer, *Rhubarb in the Catbird Seat*, 143.

43. Nimmons interview.

the station to use the newspaper's material. At least during the 1930s, WRUF personnel were not news reporters. Instead, news items reported on the air were read verbatim from the *Daily Sun* and other sources. Both Red Barber and Albert Hendrix, who joined WRUF in 1933, acknowledged that a favorite source of on-the-air news was the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*.⁴⁴

Even after WRUF installed its own national and world news teletype machine sometime in the late 1930s, newspapers still supplied material. Twice each day, Albert Hendrix, the station's custodian and messenger, made a trip downtown to the *Daily Sun*'s offices for the latest bulletins. "I rode a bicycle down there and I never will forget . . . [once] I came back on the bicycle just as fast as I could ride it and the bicycle came apart — just broke. I just left the bicycle," he recalled; "The announcer was standing in the door waiting . . . and I just left the bicycle and went running with the news . . . and met him at the door and he took it and went upstairs with it." A newscast was scheduled around noon each weekday, and nothing was to interfere with Hendrix's regular pickup of reports from the *Sun*. "I had to do that through the rain and cold and wind and everything—you name it," he remembered. When another newscast eventually was added in the late afternoon, Hendrix continued his trips. J. Sam Fouts, who also worked at WRUF in the 1930s, remembered Hendrix and his daily news runs: "Then he would roar back on his bicycle and come up the lane, and we'd see him coming up there about ten minutes 'til five, and we had a big news program at five o'clock to five-fifteen. [Hendrix] would have in his basket all the latest goodies and we'd lean . . . out the window and spur him on so he'd get up there in time for the hot news."⁴⁵

WRUF also expanded its sports programs. The play-by-play account of the Florida-Mercer football game in 1928, only a week after the station's dedication, was just the first of many. Other university sporting broadcast events were basketball and baseball games, track meets, and boxing matches. The state high school basketball tournament, held on the University of Florida campus, became an annual program. As Red Barber later wrote:

They played basketball all day long and into the night for three consecutive days. Because the tournament was state-

44. Albert Hendrix, interview with author, Gainesville, Fla., 21 October 1974.

45. *Ibid.*: J. Sam Fouts, notes, September 1974, in possession of author.

wide and because the radio station was supported by state funds, the regular broadcasting schedule was thrown out and every last one of those high school basketball games was broadcast in full. . . . Games were played consecutively; as soon as one was finished the next one would start. . . . One announcer handled the microphone all the way through. Jack Thompson did it the first year I was there, but I did it all myself in 1931, 1932 and 1933. It was the most grueling broadcast job I ever had. . . . You had no assistant, nobody to spell you, nobody to give the listeners a change of pace. . . . It gave me a complete distaste for basketball; I have never liked the game since.⁴⁶

Those marathon basketball broadcasts continued on WRUF at least through 1939.

Over the years, football became the most prominent of WRUF's sports broadcasts. When the 1930 season began, several announcers including Jack Thompson, Ralph Nimmons, Red Barber, and James Leonard Butsch alternated doing the play-by-play accounts while Powell tried to decide who did the best job. Eventually it became clear that Barber was the most proficient, mainly because he spent hours preparing with the Florida Gators coaching staff.

Broadcasting the games was a daunting challenge. Seating at Fleming Field was on bare wooden bleachers and, as Nimmons remembered, the announcer and his assistant set up their equipment "anyplace we could find—they didn't have press boxes—out in the sun."⁴⁷ Even when a crude press box was erected at Fleming Field, conditions remained difficult.⁴⁸

By mid-season in 1930, Florida Field was dedicated and became the regular venue for football. The new stadium had a somewhat better press box, although the crowd's roar continued to aggravate announcers and muffle broadcasts. To compensate for crowd noise, as Barber recalled, "the announcer would be closer to the microphone. The engineer would be listening with his earphones and would motion me to move closer. And then if you had

46. Barber and Creamer, *Rhubarb in the Catbird Seat*, 150.

47. Nimmons interview.

48. Walter L. "Red" Barber, interview with author, Tallahassee, Fla., 17 October 1974.



Walter L. "Red" Barber in the WRUF studio in 1934. After graduation that year, Barber took a broadcasting job with the Cincinnati Reds. He later earned nationwide fame announcing for the Brooklyn Dodgers and New York Yankees. *Courtesy of the University of Florida College of Journalism and Communications, Gainesville.*

a big roar from the crowd—you learned early—you'd just have to stop talking.⁴⁹ Barber carried his own materials to help him during games, including charts of his own design that enabled him to identify players at a glance.

Another sports announcer was Otis Boggs, who joined the staff in 1939 and for many years did play-by-play announcing for WRUF and its statewide football and basketball networks. The expansion of sports programming strained the station's budget, and new ways

49. *Ibid.*

were found to broadcast sporting events. "Sometimes in those days another thing that they did a lot," recalled Boggs, "they used Western Union 're-creations.' Rather than send a crew out . . . they'd get Western Union to supply an operator [to telegraph play-by-play information] . . . and they'd re-create the game with sound [effects created in the studio]. You'd never know if the guy was sending you the right information—he'd leave out things and you'd have to fill in ad-lib, so it was a wild deal doing those."⁵⁰ After an especially good broadcast of an exciting game, as many as 150 letters and telegrams might come in from listeners.

WRUF's service as the only regular radio source of University of Florida football games drew attention from state officials in Tallahassee, many of whom were university alumni. In the mid-1930s the legislature made further appropriations of state money contingent on WRUF's continued broadcasts of Gators football.⁵¹

But the economic difficulties of the Depression era left a chronic shortage of funds, making progress difficult at WRUF. "The financial plight of the station was desperate," Red Barber remembered; there was an employee pay cut

while I was there—in fact in 1931. The reason I can date it is because Ralph Nimmons left early in 1931 and I got his job [as chief announcer] and I was supposed to get \$150 per month. I'd planned to get married on that, on the 28th of March. And before I could get my first check and get married, there was a 10 percent cut, which meant that I got \$135 . . . and that was not restored during the time that I was there, and I left in March of 1934. At one time during that period, the state was unable to pay on schedule its salaries at the university and they used scrip for a short time.⁵²

Albert Hendrix also remembered the financial crunch, particularly those times when "the state just couldn't pay off because they didn't have the money and it lasted a good long time before we got paid. And we didn't get paid all at once anyway. . . . During the time when we didn't get paid, they [the university's agricultural experiment station] gave us milk, . . . they gave us bunches of greens, they

50. Otis Boggs, interview with author, Gainesville, Fla., 8 October 1974.

51. Small, "Summary History of WRUF (and WRUF-FM)."

52. Barber interview.

gave us sweet potatoes. They just helped; you could go down there and pick it up."⁵³

By 1933, some state officials proposed selling WRUF to private interests, since the benefits derived from the station did not seem to outweigh the costs of operation. Even many newspapers that earlier had supported WRUF turned their backs on it. In March, the Associated Dailies of Florida unanimously opposed "any sale or leasing of the state-owned radio station WRUF to any commercial interests," recommending instead "the abolition of said station inasmuch as it does not have the power to advertise Florida nationally and is not needed by the agricultural department of the University of Florida, whose needs can be served gratis by other radio stations in the state."⁵⁴ The association gave no reason as to why it would rather have the station simply shut down when a sale or lease to private operators could have generated revenue for the state.

Still, not everyone turned against WRUF. The Florida Engineering Society favored keeping the station on the air and, in April, urged "the extension of time on the air for radio station WRUF and . . . that radio research by the engineering experiment station be further encouraged."⁵⁵

Early in May, the legislature pondered what to do. A senate committee declared that "failure to continue this station as a state activity . . . would be equivalent to junking equipment valued at a total of \$109,521.70."⁵⁶ The two houses eventually agreed on a bill to appropriate \$25,000 to WRUF, again on the condition that it broadcast all University of Florida football games. Yet, the measure also left open the possibility of leasing the station to private interests.

The decision prodded Garland Powell to seek out advertisers whose support could make WRUF self-sufficient, thereby avoiding being leased out. Powell arranged for the CBS Radio Network to feed an hour of programming in the late afternoons, agreeing that in return WRUF would broadcast the Chesterfield Cigarette Company's popular 15-minute program.

By 1937, with state revenues low, the legislature again debated whether to continue funding WRUF. State Senator Spessard Hol-

53. Hendrix interview.

54. *Daily Sun*, 26 March 1933.

55. *Ibid.*, 16 April 1933.

56. *Ibid.*, 12 May 1933.

land (a University of Florida alumnus and future U.S. senator) vigorously opposed allocating more money. He "demanded that the university radio station become self-supporting and that no money be appropriated to operate it. After considerable debate the Legislature appropriated funds, with the provision that the station earn more through advertising to help sustain itself." But Powell found it difficult to attract advertisers. The station's mostly rural service resulted in a relatively small listening audience. Consequently, CBS dropped its programs from WRUF. Though the legislature narrowly approved an appropriation, Governor Fred P. Cone vetoed it, and the Board of Control held several meetings to discuss WRUF's future. Powell and the station's attorney in Washington, D.C., eventually convinced the board that the Federal Communications Commission would be unlikely to approve a lease arrangement in which the state retained ownership of WRUF while allowing private interests to run it. Having few options, the Board of Control decided to promote commercial competition on the public station and "instructed the director to go all out and accept all manner of advertising except whiskey, beer and wines."⁵⁷ Additionally, in order to attract more listeners and advertisers, the station scheduled more entertainment programming, though it continued to carry news and other informative programs.

Having begun the decade as a public-supported station, by 1940, WRUF was a fully commercial enterprise. It evolved in other important ways as well—abandoning its original state publicity mission, hiring students as paid announcers, and shifting from mostly educational programs to a mainly entertainment format. These changes set the precedent for WRUF's operations in later years. Today, it remains a commercial operation, providing entertainment and news to listeners in Gainesville and the surrounding area. WRUF now is operated by the University of Florida College of Journalism and Communications, with studios in Weimer Hall. It still employs and trains students pursuing telecommunication careers. But it was during WRUF's early years, in particular the decade of the 1930s, that WRUF's essential style and character were determined.

57. "Radio Station WRUF, Part I."

Taking Out the Trailer Trash: The Battle Over Mobile Homes in St. Petersburg, Florida

by Lee Irby

In 1953, Fred Wilder, a World War II veteran from Ohio, arrived in St. Petersburg and took possession of four acres of land on Sixth Street South. Wilder intended to open a trailer park and live on site with his family, taking advantage of the second-generation mobile homes that offered modern amenities, especially for retirees. He began clearing the land so that, by 1954, he could take in his first residents. Renting lots of thirty-three by fifty-two feet, Wilder charged twenty dollars per month, which included water, sewer, and garbage collection. By May 1957, Wilder's Trailer Park reached full occupancy. Of the first park residents, nine out of ten were senior citizens. The genesis of Wilder's Park embodies the dramatic demographic shifts that changed Florida's political, economic, and social landscapes in the postwar era. In droves, older Americans migrated to Florida to retire, often living on fixed incomes in the most affordable housing: mobile homes. In St. Petersburg, this choice of lifestyle precipitated a full-scale political war that revealed biases against trailerites, often older widows living alone. How the trailerites fought back in turn demonstrated the emerging political clout of retirees in Florida.¹

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1. Fred Wilder, interview with author, St. Petersburg, Fla., 17 October 1997. Wilder claimed that the tourist camps were hard on retirees because such camps had one common bathroom, making it difficult for older men who used the bathroom several times per night. When newer mobile homes started coming with their own toilets, retirees no longer had to walk across the camp in the middle of the night. Numerous sources confirm Wilder's account of technological improvements during the early 1950s, especially the widening of units to ten feet; see in particular David A. Thornburg, *Galloping Bungalows: The Rise and Demise of the American House Trailer* (Hamden, Conn., 1991).

The trailer park is a distinctive feature of the Sunbelt South. The eleven states of the ex-Confederacy contain a majority of the nation's mobile homes, and Florida leads the nation in relying on this distinctive form of housing to shelter many of its residents. But such proliferation comes with a cultural bias, as a contemporary pejorative term commonly used to describe lower-class white Southerners is "trailer trash." Southerners have long used the term "trash" to depict an unsavory subset of lower-class people, as evidenced by the put-down "poor white trash," first recorded in the early 1830s. While conveying both meanness and laziness, "poor white trash" most persistently relates eighteenth-century associations of poverty to moral deficiency and defective character to which Southerners supposedly cling. "Trailer trash" itself dates from at least 1952 and implies that people who live in trailers are proto-Snopeses, dissolute and shiftless, perhaps even barn-burners. When political adviser James Carville of Louisiana called presidential accuser Paula Jones of Arkansas "trailer trash," he demonstrated both the enduring power of the term "trash" and its linkage to a relatively new form of housing. Because trailer parks form such an important part of the modern Florida landscape, the Sunshine State provides fertile ground in the study of "trailer trash."²

Several studies have addressed the stigmatization of trailer parks, but most have taken a broad approach. James Duncan, an environmental psychologist, supplied a framework to describe how all "strangers" pose a threat to existing order. Such "strangers" have no group identity, evidenced by the scorn heaped upon nomads, gypsies, and hoboes. Dwellers in fixed domiciles have long feared and discriminated against such peripatetic peoples. Trailer parks fit into the pattern of stigmatization described by Duncan, but he did not elucidate how nomads (or trailerites) have responded to the stigma foisted upon them. An early study of "trailer trash"

2. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Mobile Homes," *Bureau of the Census: Statistical Brief SB/94-10*, May 1994, 1. According to this study, the South contains 52 percent of the nation's mobile homes.

For use of the term "trash," see Mitford M. Mathews, ed., *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1951), 2: 1283. For "trailer trash," see Harold H. Martin, "Don't Call Them Trailer Trash," *Saturday Evening Post* 36 (2 August 1952): 24. For "Snopes trash," see William Faulkner, *The Hamlet* (New York, 1940). When Flem Snopes first arrives in Frenchmen's Bend, Jody Varner is reluctant to rent him land due to Flem's questionable reputation as a barn-burner. For a description of Carville's slur as it related to trailer parks in the South, see Chiori Santiago, "House Trailers," *Smithsonian* 29 (June 1998): 78-79.

found that such stereotypes could have some basis in fact, concluding that trailer parks did not offer young couples a way to get a leg up in the world but "may instead be attracting young, uneducated in-migrants from Appalachia and the South who cluster in 'Hill-billy Havens' at the periphery of the city." The U.S. Census Bureau confirmed these suspicions, determining that between 1979 and 1989, mobile home residents had lower-than-average incomes. Adding retirees into the mix, however, the stigma of "trailer trash" assumes another level of complexity.³

St. Petersburg struggled to accept nomads even before the proliferation of mobile homes after World War II. Rampant real estate speculation and sophisticated advertising campaigns in part helped to fuel the storied Florida boom of the 1920s, yet not all migrants to the Sunshine State elected to purchase a lot or existing house. Some preferred to sleep under the stars, to experience the rustic charms of autocamping. According to anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, people become rich in two ways: acquiring more or wanting less. While American society depended on the former to sustain "growth," autocampers drove down to paradise and subsisted on supplies of tin-canned goods, earning the moniker "tin-can tourists." They reduced their cost of living to enjoy the same amenities—sunshine, beach, parks—that Florida's boosters endlessly bragged about.⁴

Due to certain economic realities of the boom, tin-canners had little choice but to pitch tents beside their Model Ts. Paradise came with hidden costs. Tourists in the 1920s often encountered "rent hogging," the venerable Florida practice of inflating prices during peak tourist season. Even though the St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce condemned such overt "profiteering," opportunistic landlords refused to cooperate. To save money, thousands of tourists opted for the rustic charm of autocamping, setting up enclaves all over the state, especially in Pinellas, Hillsborough, and Manatee Counties. So many autocampers settled in St. Petersburg that, in November 1919, Mayor Al Lang prohibited camping on "vacant lots within the city limits." The mayor cited "sanitary reasons" for

3. James S. Duncan, ed., *Housing and Identity: Cross-cultural Perspectives* (New York, 1982), 12; Robert Mills French and Jeffrey K. Hadden, "Mobile Homes: Instant Suburbia or Transportable Slums?" *Social Problems* 16 (fall 1968): 225; Bureau of the Census, "Mobile Homes," 1.

4. Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago, 1972), 1-2.

his edict and warned that the law banning use of toilets not connected to the sewer system would be strictly enforced.⁵

Less than a year later, however, the city began to regard the tin-canners as possible consumers, even future homeowners and full-time residents. Led by new Mayor Noel Mitchell, St. Petersburg established a free tourist camp, "Tent City," in August 1920. The goodwill was short-lived. As Tent City quickly filled up, criticisms began to mount. The tin-canners degraded the city's vibrant image, some charged; others accused them of being cheap. In January 1921, the *St. Petersburg Times* ran two stories detailing the "health mess" at Tent City, where seventeen hundred people had access to only twenty toilets. "Immediate Steps Necessary to Avoid Epidemic," the headline read. Residents of Tent City promised to chip in fifty cents per person to improve conditions, thus belying their tarnished image as no-good spendthrifts. Nonetheless, in May 1921, the St. Petersburg City Commission voted to close Tent City by June 1. Larger forces were at work here: St. Petersburg was experiencing an unprecedented boom, and real estate moguls-to-be stalked the streets, hunting down buyers. Those intent on sleeping beneath the stars had no place in this world.⁶

Although the city pulled out of the autocamp business, private entrepreneurs moved to fill the void. In October 1921, Leora Lewis, a "local realty woman," established Lewis Tent City on seven acres of land off Fourth Street South, beyond the city limits near Lake Maggiore. During her first season, Lewis took in between 2,000 and 2,500 registered guests, significant numbers that led to the favorable press she received. "If there were any disturbing elements found to exist in the camp," one report gushed, "these were politely but firmly asked to camp elsewhere, but that is a rare thing." Karl Grismer, a local journalist and historian, offered a contrary view. Writing about the tent cities that had sprung up around Florida, he concluded that "some of the camps became refuges for an undesirable type of people who were not wanted near any community." From the beginning, then, dwellers in mobile homes engendered confusion within the community, gaining neither outright

5. Raymond O. Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1880-1950* (Gainesville, 1996), 186; *St. Petersburg Times*, 28 November 1919, 11 January 1921.

6. Arsenault, *St. Petersburg*, 189, 195-196; *St. Petersburg Times*, 4 January, 5 January, 9 May 1921.

acceptance nor rejection. Their existence, however, openly defied the image St. Petersburg's dream weavers intended to convey.⁷

This version of the Florida dream frightened St. Petersburg's elite, plus a number of state lawmakers. In June 1927, the Florida legislature moved to impose regulations on tourist camps in a way that revealed the full extent of the stigma held against the tin-canners. The law required all operators of tourist camps, defined as three or more tents, to maintain a distance of ten feet between tents and to report to the State Board of Health "every case of sickness" within the camp. Any violation of the law would constitute a misdemeanor, punishable by a ten dollar fine.⁸ It seems excessively burdensome for someone like Leora Lewis to report every "case of sickness" within her camp of two thousand. This law singled out tourist campers as singularly "unhealthy" potential agents of epidemics, following the general Progressive-era pattern of attempting to "cure" the lower class of its bad habits. A tourist camp owner challenged the law in court, denying the state had the right to intervene into this way of life so intrusively, but the Florida Supreme Court ruled otherwise. Most noteworthy is that a camp owner, not a tenant, brought suit; it would be decades before direct political action became part of the mobile home culture of Florida.⁹

In the 1950s, the mobile home industry underwent a profound change. Because housing shortages during the war had led to the use of trailers as emergency dwellings, the first trailers were eight feet wide and could be transported by an automobile, making them truly mobile homes. Design changes in the 1950s, however, allowed for the production of "ten-foot wides," which could only be transported down dual-lane highways by trucks. Less mobile and more comfortable to live in than their smaller precursors, ten-foot wides fueled a veritable explosion in mobile home sales. In 1940, the nation contained roughly 170,000 mobile homes, and during the next twenty years, this number increased to over 750,000. The

7. *St. Petersburg Times*, 17 January 1922; *St. Petersburg Daily Independent*, 10 October 1922; Karl H. Grismer, "Preparing For Tin Canners: Resort Cities Adopt Various Methods," *The Tourist News* 2 (19 November 1921): 3.

8. "An Act Regulating the Operation and Maintenance of Tourist Camps," *General Acts and Resolutions, 1927*, 2 vols. (Tallahassee, 1928), 1: 1383-1386; idem, "An Act to Amend Chapter 12419," *General Acts and Resolutions, 1939*, 2 vols. (Tallahassee, 1940), 1: 986-989.

9. *Egan v. City of Miami, et al.*, 130 Fla. 465 (1937). The court upheld the right of municipalities to regulate tourist camps, trailer parks, and tent cities.

first ten-foot wides made their debut in St. Petersburg when C. J. Stoll, "Mr. Mobilehome," offered them for sale. In 1962 came twelve-foot wides, which then precipitated another surge of trailer sales.¹⁰

The growth of trailer parks accompanied the boom in mobile home sales. The Bradenton Trailer Park began in 1936 with 100 spaces; by the early 1950s, it increased ten fold to 1,093, becoming the largest trailer park in the state. The city of Sarasota ran its own trailer park of over 900 spaces. "Almost all are elderly, or approaching that stage of life," reported a 1950 newspaper; "They are about as lively in a wholesome sort of way as you could want. The shuffleboard courts are humming from morning till 10 o'clock at night." Such a description resembled almost verbatim any number of profiles of St. Petersburg's Mirror Lake, a retirement mecca of the same era. Many merchants in the communities of Bradenton and Sarasota thought that these seniors represented major contributors to the local economy as consumers, although real estate interests did not always agree with this assessment. And consuming was all a resident of the Bradenton Trailer Park could do, as park residents were not allowed to work.¹¹

Fittingly, the first full-scale retirement mobile home community began in St. Petersburg in 1956, when Welburn Guernsey opened Guernsey City, where the original ten-foot wide resided in tribute. Guernsey and Fred Wilder participated in what became a revolution in Florida retirement, the proliferation of trailer parks as senior citizen havens. Developers like Ricky Bucchino ("the Frank Lloyd Wright of mobile homes"), James "Big Jim" Phipps, E. C. Allen, and Sydney Adler cozied up to the Pork Choppers, a cadre of rural Florida lawmakers who exerted considerable power in the Florida legislature, while making direct appeals to would-be retirees in the North by overtly pitching the Florida dream. "We set up a mobile home at the Michigan State Fair with an orange tree and a palm tree and a closed-circuit TV," Adler explained in 1998, "and told people, 'Put yourself in this picture.'" To Adler, this version of the Florida dream resembled, albeit on a smaller scale, what Henry Flagler had proffered in the 1890s: sun, citrus, and leisure,

10. French and Hadden, "Slums," 220; Alfred A. Ring, "The Mobile Home," *Economic Leaflets* 25 (April 1966): 1; *Orlando Sentinel*, 6 September 1998.

11. *Tampa Daily Times*, 15 March 1950; *Miami Herald*, 23 January 1948; "Trailers Are BIG Business on Florida's West Coast," clip file, "Tourism," St. Petersburg Museum of History, St. Petersburg, Fla.



By the 1940s, retirees began wintering in Florida, taking advantage of newly designed mobile homes and the largesse of the New Deal, which bestowed upon older Americans a steady, if modest, income. Trailer parks emerged as havens for senior citizens who could enjoy the Sunshine State on a tight budget. *Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.*

on a laborer's pension. By 1960, mobile homes and retirement in Florida had become inextricably linked. Those over sixty-five headed nearly 40 percent of all owner-occupied mobile homes in the state.¹²

In St. Petersburg, however, the powerful real estate industry defined the Florida dream more narrowly. As mobile homes became popular in the 1950s, developers were hastily erecting subdivisions, the proper suzerain of the Florida dream. Still, by 1950 mobile homes had become a popular form of housing in Florida, especially in St. Petersburg, the city with the most trailers in the state (1,084). Mobile homes remained a constant presence in the city during the 1950s but exploded in popularity during the 1960s, roughly mirroring larger state and national trends (Table 1). In one way, however, St. Petersburg's trailer parks proved unique. In

12. *Orlando Sentinel*, 6 September 1998.

Table 1. Mobile Homes As Percent of Dwelling Units, 1950-1970.

Year	St. Petersburg	Clearwater	Florida	United States
1950	2.5	1.6	2.1	0.7
1960	2.4	2.0	3.7	1.3
1970	11.3	13.9	6.9	3.1

Sources: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Housing*, 1950, vol. 1, General Characteristics, part 2, Alabama-Georgia (Washington, D.C., 1953), Tables 5, 17, and 18; idem, *1960 Census of Housing*, vol. 1, States and Small Areas, part 3, Delaware to Indiana (Washington, D.C., 1963, Tables 4 and 14; idem, *1970 Census of Housing: Housing of Senior Citizens* (Washington, D.C., 1973), Table 46; Florida Department of Community Affairs, Governor's Task Force on Mobile Homes (Tallahassee, 1974), 2-3; Pinellas Department of Planning, Demographic Study of Pinellas County, Florida (Clearwater, 1973), 39.

seven out of ten trailers in St. Petersburg in 1960, a person over sixty-five headed the household, almost double the statewide rate. The trailer parks of St. Petersburg represented another cultural venue in which older Americans established a way of life at once removed from but still defined by the outside world.¹³

The reasons why senior citizens opted for this form of housing remain unclear, but a majority of St. Petersburg's retirees of the 1950s relied on pensions or savings to support themselves. Retirement for many had come involuntarily, often in the form of a work-related disability. While not poverty stricken, they were not wealthy. Their entire working lives they had read or seen advertisements about the playground that was the Sunshine State; many retirees opted for the low cost of a mobile home as a way of spending the winter in Florida without assuming much of a financial risk. Their residence became seasonal: until air conditioning became more prevalent in the late 1960s, almost all seniors in the trailer parks

13. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of Housing*, vol. 2, Metropolitan Housing, part 6 (Washington, D.C., 1963), 178/17-18; Pinellas Department of Planning, *Demographic Study: Pinellas County, Florida* (Clearwater, 1973), 39. Interestingly, St. Petersburg contained a smaller percentage of mobile homes (11.3 percent) than other urbanized areas in the county in 1970: Largo stood at 18.6 percent, Dunedin at 16.7 percent, and Clearwater at 13.9 percent. Here one must be careful; mobile home parks varied in socioeconomic status. Newer parks tended to have many newer models of mobile homes that cost nearly as much as an average house; see Walter P. Fuller, *St. Petersburg and Its People* (St. Petersburg, 1972), 210.

packed up and departed around Easter, returning again in the fall to live in close-knit communities of like-minded souls.¹⁴

Mobile homes also allowed vulnerable members of society, especially widows, a chance to live the sweet life in Florida. A salient feature of the trailer parks was the predominance of older single females. In 1957, single females inhabited 26 percent of the units at Wilder's Park, and over two-thirds of them were either widows or divorcees. Likewise, unmarried women lived in roughly one out of four trailers at the Bradenton Trailer Park in 1954. By 1972, single females occupied 43 percent of the units at Wilder's, and nearly one-third of the park consisted of housing for widows. Florida's trailer parks reflected the "feminization" of aging in America, the trend of wives outliving their husbands, especially among the superannuated. "Trailer trash" included grandmothers in large numbers, a finding which complicates the very notion of "trash" as a social construct, implying that women no longer of breeding age have no real value.¹⁵

In other more tangible ways, American society in the late 1950s came to the same conclusion: the lives of older women did not count as much as older men. A widow living alone faced a more uncertain life than did a widower, especially before the passage of Medicare in 1965. In 1959, nearly 70 percent of women over sixty-five in the United States lived in poverty. Across the board, women received fewer benefits than men. When, in 1962, Michael Harrington explored the "other" America of poverty amid plenty, he selected Louise W. to represent the hardships endured by many older Americans. Louise W.'s life of isolation and withdrawal in cold New York contrasted starkly to the sun-splashed leisure of a Florida trailer park. Widows seeking to escape Louise W.'s fate, who desired to winter in the Sunshine State, faced the decision of where to live. "Rent hogging" jacked up the seasonal rates for apartments, leaving widows with the choice of buying a house or a mobile

14. Irving L. Webber, *The Retired Population of St. Petersburg: Its Characteristics and Social Situation* (Tallahassee, 1950), 25-33; William H. Harlan, "Community Adaptation to the Presence of Aged Persons: St. Petersburg, Florida" *American Journal of Sociology* 59 (January 1954): 338; Wilder interview. As an example of the seasonality of the life at Wilder's Park, the newsletter ceased in late April and began again in late October.

15. Directory of Residents, Wilder's Mobile Park, 7 December 1957, 15 November 1972, privately owned. The directory distinguishes between "Mrs." and "Miss." All those identified as "Mrs." who were living alone I counted as widows or divorcees. For statistics on Bradenton, see G.C. Hoyt, "The Life of the Retired in a Trailer Park," *American Journal of Sociology* 49 (April 1954): 362.



Tin-can tourists flocked to Florida in the 1920s, setting up impromptu camps on the urban fringe, like this one in Tampa in 1920. While many Florida communities welcomed the tin-canners, others considered these tourists to be cheap and disreputable. *Courtesy of the University of South Florida Special Collections, Tampa.*

home. A typical mobile home might cost one-third the price of the same-size house. Given that Social Security benefits allowed fewer options, widows almost by default selected a mobile home.¹⁶

While life at a trailer park offered older women unique opportunities, it also posed certain dangers. The first crime the *Wilder's Park News* mentioned involved a Miss Campbell who, in 1959, was attacked downtown on Ninth Street South. An assailant grabbed her purse and broke her arm. When Beulah Foster, a widow, fell and "broke herself up," she faced surgery and incurred medical

16. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, *Social Security Bulletin: Annual Statistical Supplement* (Washington, D.C., 1972), 34, 52; Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York, 1962), 101-102; *St. Petersburg Times*, 18 April 1962. For example, according to 1959 figures, disabled men received an average of \$91.90 per month, while women got \$76.10. A used two-bedroom trailer in St. Petersburg sold for \$1595, compared to the cheapest two-bedroom house going for \$4500. Other studies have confirmed a 300 percent price difference; see Margaret J. Drury, *Mobile Homes: The Unrecognized Revolution in American Housing* (New York, 1972), 102-103.

expenses. Five months later, she returned to Ohio. The stories of Campbell and Foster indicate that widows and elderly women were particularly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of life, one mishap away from undoing. Although 43 percent of all seniors had some form of health insurance by 1958, they received less than their proportional share of medical care.¹⁷

Other dangers also lurked within trailer parks. Park operators often took advantage of single women, particularly widows who lived in the same trailer for a long period of time. Although Fred Wilder claimed not to exploit widows, he knew of other parks that did, often by evicting them. In one legal case from Palm Beach County, a single woman was kicked out of her trailer park, even though she had paid a year's rent in advance, after the park management claimed she had violated park rules and regulations. Park management continued to "harass" and "annoy" her after she brought suit against the park. Once evicted, widows could not simply transport their mobile home to a new park; often, they had to buy a new mobile home to gain entry to another park. The Florida Supreme Court termed such practices "retaliatory evictions," finding them particularly reprehensible. As one legal scholar concluded, it is easier to evict a mobile home owner from a park than it is to evict a leaseholding tenant. Even Florida law conspired to make life for a widow, or any mobile home owner in a trailer park, uneasy.¹⁸

In other ways, though, life inside the trailer park for older single women did not contain the same level of gender bias as in the world at-large. The shuffleboard team at Wilder's was co-ed. Except for one year, at least half the park officers were women, and in many years, all the officers were female. Since the park officers were responsible for organizing group outings and other park activities, these positions entailed a measure of authority. Yet, Wilder's was not a hotbed of egalitarianism. Starting in 1965 and for nine of the next eleven years, Bill Reynolds was elected chairman. Whereas women were allowed to participate with men in several activities as equals, much evidence points to pressure to segregate the sexes. Often men were encouraged to play cards and

17. Wilder's *Park News*, 16 November 1964, 5 April 1965; Odin W. Anderson, *The Uneasy Equilibrium: Private and Public Financing of Health Care in the United States, 1875-1965* (New Haven, Conn., 1968), 174-175.

18. Wilder interview; *Palm Beach Mobile Homes Inc. v. Strong, Fla.*, 300 So.2d 881 (1974); James C. Hauser, "The Mobile Home Statute: Is It the Solution or Is It the Problem?" *Florida Bar Journal* 59 (April 1985): 66.

women to attend a show on flower arrangements.¹⁹ Each of the potluck dinners had a female hostess, never a male. Perhaps this explains why the poem "Trailer Wife" appeared in one of the first issues of the park newsletter. The last stanza reads:

He fished out in the sun,
fulfilled all his wishes,
She cooked three meals a day,
Washed, ironed, and did the dishes.²⁰

Leisurely fishing and day-to-day chores do not convey the full range of activities undertaken by seniors at the trailer parks. The social calendar never lacked engagements: potluck dinners, shuffleboard, dances, slide shows, card games, and Bible classes made for a busy schedule, just as they did for the residents at the Bradenton Trailer Park. In early 1957, there was a "park marriage" at Wilder's when people from adjoining trailers found each other and wed. Bradenton's residents listed "Sociability" as the most appealing part of park life, doubtlessly a sentiment shared by those in Wilder's.²¹

Even a subject like taxes received a tepid response at Wilder's in the late 1950s. At the time, a mobile home owner had to register with the Department of Motor Vehicles and pay a tag fee. Any improvements such as a cabana or car port fell to the county to tax as real property. Payment of this tax did not seem to concern park residents. Instead, most worried about the efficiency from the park's elected board, and some called for a more formal arrangement in which each trailer contributed twenty-five cents to cover expenses like flowers for bereavement and illness. This tendency to act as a group showed how Americans built up "social capital" through an array of associations that fostered a sense of community. Some commentators have decried the loss of such community; Americans now more commonly "bowl alone," to use Robert D. Putnam's metaphor. Just as Alexis de Tocqueville discerned of Americans in the early nineteenth century, the residents of Wilder's Park joined together on an almost nightly basis.²²

19. For the years 1969, 1970, 1977, and 1979, all park officers were female. In 1965, only one woman was elected. For cardplaying, see *Wilder's Park News*, 20 January 1958.

20. *Wilder's Park News*, 11 March 1957.

21. *Ibid.*, 25 February 1957, 14 January 1957; Hoyt, "Trailer Park," 364-366; *St. Petersburg Times*, 28 November 1960.

22. Robert D. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6 (January 1995): 65-78.

Of course, racial homogeneity helped to foster that imagined social cohesion. The park remained all white through the 1990s. According to the 1960 Census, the district in which Wilder's was located and the one to the immediate north were both overwhelmingly white.²³ In a study of the Bradenton Trailer Park in 1954, the author's assumption that his reader would know that no blacks lived among that retired population indicated the depth of segregation. Mobile homes remained a predominantly white form of housing into the 1970s: less than 2 percent of Florida's mobile homes had a black head of household in 1970. The Wilder's Park newsletter did not mention the word "negro" until 1963, when editor Henry Crossley endorsed Isaiah Williams for the District 5 seat on the City Commission: "I have never before voted for a negro but feel he is the lesser of two evils here." Crossley contended that Williams "will be on his mettle to uphold his race in the community." Such an endorsement, however, explains neither the racial attitudes of transplanted older whites nor the persistence of racial homogeneity in the trailer parks in Florida. Why did blacks not pursue this low-cost form of housing? As evidenced by the discrimination against widows, park managers exerted tremendous influence in selecting tenants. Strict de facto color lines worked to defuse the charge of "trailer trash" hurled by a contemptuous majority of homeowners. The almost total whiteness of park residents mirrored the racial composition of other subdivisions of postwar America.²⁴

Wilder's operated under a strict system of conformity. Repeatedly, articles in the newsletter urged residents to maintain their properties: "We hope that with some improvement in our weather we will see some improvement in the yards of a few of our residents." Those who did not conform to established norms—the few young couples, in particular—got public reminders about reducing noise of newborn babies. Unbeknownst to the residents of Wilder's, as the New Frontier dawned, a far louder hue and cry would soon intrude into their manufactured tranquility.²⁵

23. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census Tracts: Tampa-St. Petersburg, 1960*, Final Report PHC (1)-156. Wilder's sits in tract 205, which in 1960 had two "Negroes" out of a total population of 3,880. Tract 206 was 98.6 percent white.

24. *Wilder's Park News*, 11 March 1963; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Housing: Mobile Homes* (Washington, D.C., 1973), 1. See also French and Hadden, "Slums," 222. For a treatment of suburbia and discrimination, see Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, 1985), 241.

25. *Wilder's Park News*, 5 January 1958, 12 January 1959.

In December 1960, a St. Petersburg police officer stopped Wilder's resident Kay Beamon and gave her a ticket for failure to yield the right-of-way. Beamon protested the citation and at police headquarters was told to pay a fifteen dollar fine. Under a headline that screamed "Fined Without A Hearing," editor Crossley was aghast. "This is not a police state," he fumed. "[W]e're not GUILTY just because a man in a uniform writes a Ticket." This minor incident underscored the growing tension in St. Petersburg that pitted generation against generation. Retirees from the North were supposed to be buying houses and spending money but instead were living in mobile homes and eating potluck dinners. Their fixed incomes demanded frugality, and their frugality in turn made them undesirable imbibers of the Florida dream, built on the fantasy of conspicuous consumption. The first battle over "trailer trash" in American history had begun.²⁶

In 1957, the year that Wilder's reached maximum occupancy, the mobile home business in St. Petersburg was booming. Parks had opened up all over town. The St. Petersburg Trailer Shuffleboard League maintained eight active parks. Some twelve mobile home-related businesses sat along a fourteen-block stretch of Fourth Street North. By 1961, some thirty-three trailer parks did business within city limits.²⁷ Yet, the average value of a house in St. Petersburg in 1960 stood at \$12,000, considerably higher than either Tampa or Jacksonville. Moreover, almost nine-tenths of the housing in St. Petersburg rated as "sound," compared to three-quarters for Tampa. Almost half of St. Petersburg's housing units had been built between 1950 and 1960, a greater percentage than in Tampa, Jacksonville, or Miami Beach.²⁸

St. Petersburg's housing market, despite the large number of mobile homes, exhibited relative health in 1960, but the situation

26. *Ibid.*, 23 December 1960.

27. *City Directory, St. Petersburg, Florida: 1957* (Richmond, Va., 1957), 47 (Blue Pages); Greater St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce, Meeting of the Board of Governors, 28 December 1961, *Minutes 1961-62*, n.p.

28. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of Housing*, vol. 1, States and Small Areas, part 3, Delaware to Indiana (Washington, D.C., 1963), 11: 5; see also R. Bruce Stephenson, *Visions of Eden: Environmentalism, Urban Planning, and City Building in St. Petersburg, Florida 1900-1995* (Columbus, Ohio, 1997), 119. While Stephenson rightly noted the above-average value of St. Petersburg's home in 1960, he did not detect the drop in housing starts that soon followed, nor did he include the proliferation of mobile homes that so characterized St. Petersburg and Pinellas County during the years of his study.

began to change drastically thereafter. The housing market suffered a dramatic downturn, a situation that city boosters might have weathered, had it not coincided with larger concerns over how to change the city's image. In 1959, St. Petersburg received applications for 4,371 "dwelling units"; two years later, this number dropped to 2,143; and by 1966, the number of applications plunged to 1,244, a decline of 62 percent. Simultaneously, during the twenty-year span beginning in 1950, Pinellas County experienced the largest absolute increase in the number of mobile homes in the state, so that by 1970, 9.8 percent of all dwellings in the county were mobile homes. St. Petersburg's percentage of mobile homes exploded from 2.4 percent in 1960 to 11.3 percent in 1970. These statistics reveal that, during the early 1960s as the mobile home industry in St. Petersburg thrived, the housing market waned. A crisis of confidence plagued city leaders, and the battle over image that began in the late 1950s spilled into the housing market.²⁹

Against this backdrop, Nortney P. Cox won a seat on the St. Petersburg City Commission in May 1961. As soon as Cox took his seat, he began "peppering" City Hall with a "series of controversial proposals," including a plan to force mobile home owners to take their house trailers out on public highways for at least four hours a month. Cox wanted proof that a house trailer was truly mobile. For those that were not, he proposed that such fixed structures incur a local tangible personal property tax to be assessed at the same millage rate as real property. Cox estimated that "at least" nine thousand of the county's sixteen thousand house trailers were "grounded" in St. Petersburg. Trailer park residents paid ten dollars per year to register their mobile homes with the state; under Cox's plan, their tax bill would have reached between \$75 to \$150 per year.³⁰ Although Cox received threats as well as calls of support, he was adamant in his determination to raise taxes.

St. Petersburg and all Florida have become a sort of tax welfare state . . . our motto should be: "Send us all your people who are opposed to paying taxes and we'll take

29. Fuller, *St. Petersburg*, 258; Florida Department of Community Affairs, *Governor's Task Force on Mobile Homes* (Tallahassee, 1974), 3-4. Between 1950 and 1970, Pinellas County gained 19,372 mobile homes.

30. *St. Petersburg Times*, 28 November 1961. Cox might have gotten his tax idea from the 1961 state legislature, which had floated this idea around but ultimately did not enact it.

care of them." The old saying, "Nothing is sure but death and taxes," does not apply here. Only death is sure. . . . We're headed toward nothing but trailer parks and shopping centers.³¹

No other commissioner overtly supported Cox, but some expressed a mild desire for further study. Park owner Fred Wilder was convinced that the reason Cox picked a fight with trailerites was because Cox was a contractor, a builder of low-cost housing whose business had suffered.³² Whatever Cox's motives, his proposal found a sympathetic audience in some quarters. The *St. Petersburg Times* weighed in with an editorial that seemed to endorse Cox's plan. Headlined "The Problem of 'Immobile' Homes," the editorial unequivocally stated that it was "unjust to other taxpayers, living in conventional homes subject to normal taxes," for mobile home owners to "escape" with just a \$10 annual tax bill. The choice of words here was remarkable: "conventional" and "normal" described non-trailerites; trailer park residents were the antithesis, unconventional and abnormal. Yet, unlike the 1920s when auto-campers carried the label of "unhealthy" and "cheap," these later incarnations lived in "elaborate" structures that cost up to \$15,000. In its next salvo, the editorial quickly acknowledged that "many trailer-dwellers" lived in inexpensive trailers on fixed incomes. Somehow, a new tax law must account for such disparity, but any law would still lead to an "exodus [of mobile homes] from the city." The *Times* did not seem too troubled by this potential flight.³³

Their way of life challenged as never before, the residents of Wilder's did what many in their generation were inclined to do: voluntary association. To the residents of Wilder's, Cox's tax plan was about "chasing mobile homes out of St. Petersburg." To them, the primary point at issue was not higher taxes but rather the right to live as they pleased. Residents were urged to write letters, as well as register to vote. Previously, they had concerned themselves with the menu of potluck dinners and keeping the area beneath their trailers free of clutter. Suddenly, they became engaged in political theater, passing out pink cards around town that read: "These are mobile home dol-

31. *Ibid.*, 30 November 1961.

32. *Ibid.*, 29 November 1961; Wilder interview; *St. Petersburg Times*, 12 December 1961. Cox claims to have sold his first house for \$2,750.

33. *St. Petersburg Times*, 30 November 1961.

lars. Cox don't want 'um, do you?" Eventually, as radio commentator Paul Harvey advised his trailer-dwelling listeners to stay away from St. Petersburg, the entire nation became aware of the controversy. Angry residents of Wilder's and other parks flooded newspapers with letters, as the *Times* acknowledged: "The Times Forum has received more letters on this subject [Cox's plan] than any other in a long while."³⁴

Obviously, Cox had touched a raw nerve that spoke to the quintessential American quest for self-definition. St. Petersburg in the early 1960s engaged in an overt attempt to redefine itself by changing its image through the destruction of its past. It removed its "famous" Green Benches and tore down the Casino on the end of the Million Dollar Pier, installing "modern" replacements to counter the demographic fact that the city was the oldest in the nation in 1960. Cox and his allies, however, extended the battle over St. Petersburg's image to include private property and specific individuals. Residents of Wilder's seemed preternaturally to understand Cox's motives and vigorously defended the identity they had forged, one that Cox associated with "shopping centers" and a changing landscape that did not include homeownership. The sheer number of mobile home owners was overwhelming. Following its somewhat critical editorial on November 30, the *St. Petersburg Times* ran several flattering articles, culminating in a December 18 editorial that admitted "the hassle over a tax on mobile homes is doing the city untold damage."³⁵

The city commission repealed Cox's trailer measure soon after it was passed, and by early 1963, Cox had fallen into such a vulnerable political position that the commission voted to censure him.³⁶ In 1965, Cox lost his seat on the commission, finally realizing he had "hurt" himself politically "many times." But to the end, Cox wondered about

34. *Wilder's Park News*, 11 December 1961, 8 January 1962; Wilder interview; *St. Petersburg Times*, 5 December, 22 December 1961.

35. For a treatment of St. Petersburg's attempt to redefine its image, see Lee Irby, "Razing Gerontopolis: Old People, Green Benches, and Trailer Trash in St. Petersburg, Florida, 1910-1970 (M.A. thesis, University of South Florida, 1999), chap. 3; *St. Petersburg Times*, 18 December 1961.

36. *St. Petersburg Times*, 18 April 1962. The city council passed a tie-down ordinance in February that would have required all mobile homes to be anchored with enough support to withstand 25 mph winds; *ibid.*, 4 January 1963. The city council censured Cox after he accused City Manager Lynn Andrews of being racially prejudiced. This incident stemmed from Andrews denying a taxi cab permit to an African American driver. Andrews cited the driver's spotty record, while Cox suspected Andrews of denying license to a member of a "minority group." For Cox to publicly invoke the "race card" in 1963 only underscores his hard-to-classify political career.

the "image" of St. Petersburg, especially as the rest of the country was becoming increasingly "mod." Unrepentant, he called for an end to "Social Security slums" and the adoption of legalized gambling. "If we put [up with] the halt, the lame, the blind, the discarded," he opined, "people are going to get a false impression of the city."³⁷

The impetus behind Cox's demise was the Federation of Mobile-home Owners. Without Cox as a foil, it is doubtful that the organization would have coalesced. The first meeting of the FMO took place in April 1962 at Wilder's Park, with Henry Crossley and representatives from other local parks in attendance. Its sole purpose was to lobby local governments, not to get involved in "individual park matters."³⁸ Given the legal constraints of "retaliatory evictions," mobile home owners who rented a lot could not exert much pressure on park operators lest the trailerites be evicted themselves. The FMO began as a purely local organization in St. Petersburg, a city at the cutting edge of mobile home culture since the 1920s, but its formation marked the beginning of a national movement. Never before had any group of "stigmatized nomads" attempted to exert political pressure in a coordinated manner. If one considers that a vast majority of the trailerites were retirees, and that the Association for the Advancement of Retired Persons did not organize until 1955, an argument might be made that the FMO was among the first "gray power" movements in the country.³⁹

The rapid growth of the FMO indicated that seniors across the state shared similar fears of being exploited or singled out. By early 1963, less than a year after its founding, the FMO claimed fifteen hundred paying members and was expanding statewide, determined to defeat "UNFAIR LEGISLATION & TAXES against us. That's what we're guarding against with your Dollars." The same pressure to conform that demanded neat lawns now came in handy; repeatedly, the Wilder's newsletter called for a "united front," in which every park member had to join the FMO. With dues money, the FMO hired a lobbyist to pressure state legislators in Tallahassee during the 1963 legislative session. Later in the year,

37. *St. Petersburg Daily Independent*, 1 April 1965. Ironically, St. Petersburg followed much of Cox's post-defeat advice and got rid of the Green Benches; see Irby, "Razing Gerontopolis," chap. 3; Arsenault, *St. Petersburg*, 313.

38. *Wilder's Park News*, 16 April 1962.

39. Sheryl R. Tynes, *Turning Points in Social Security: From "Cruel Hoax" to "Sacred Entitlement"* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 123; *U.S. News & World Report*, 1 September 1980, 55.

the organization met with State Senator C. W. Bill Young, who informed the membership about pending legislation that might affect their pocket books. Almost overnight, the FMO had grown into a political force to be reckoned with, a group that politicians came to with hat in hand. "We're gaining so fast in numbers," boasted Crossley, "the politicians come to us now for answers."⁴⁰

The fight over Amendment Five in 1965 showed exactly how strong the FMO had become across the state. The battle again centered on taxes. Starting in 1963, county tax collectors began assessing mobile home owners for personal property taxes on their trailers, whereas trailerites previously had bought a ten dollar vehicle tag. A lawsuit ensued, and in 1965 the Florida Supreme Court ruled that "trailers are housing accommodations" not motor vehicles, and thus counties could assess personal property taxes on them.⁴¹ To circumvent this ruling, the FMO, along with the Florida Mobile Home Association, sought to have a constitutional amendment placed on the November 1965 ballot.⁴² Referred to as Amendment Five, the measure proposed to permit mobile home owners to buy a vehicle tag instead of paying personal property taxes. Two of the most vociferous opponents to Amendment Five were the Florida Home Builders Association and the *St. Petersburg Times*, which claimed that the amendment would foster an unfair tax situation and urged its defeat. The FMO, however, was prepared to wage total war. "Tell everyone you come in contact with to Vote YES on No. 5," Wilder's newsletter exhorted. At parks such as Wilder's, anyone who needed a ride to the polls just had to sign up. After Amendment Five passed, the *Times* speculated that the Yes votes in Pinellas County, more numerous than expected, contributed mightily to the cause. Florida had spoken: trailerites and retirees now helped define the Sunshine State, and their attitude towards mobile homes contrasted with developers and civic boosters who had long dictated the state's growth.⁴³

40. *Wilder's Park News*, 25 February, 21 October, 18 November 1963, 25 January, 8 February 1965.

41. *Paleothorpe v. Thomson, Fla.*, 171 So.2d 526 (1965).

42. The FMHA consists of park operators and acts as a trade association, in contrast to the grass-roots aspect of the FMO; Wilder interview.

43. *St. Petersburg Times*, 31 October, 3 November 1965; *Wilder's Park News*, 18 October, 1 November 1965. Ironically, voters in Pinellas County did not approve Amendment Five, with 47,569 No and 41,392 Yes. The *St. Petersburg Times* argued, however, that the Yes votes in Pinellas were more numerous than expected. These totals also reveal the divided mind of Pinellas County residents when it came to mobile homes.

By 1971, the FMO contained over 25,000 members and its organization spanned the state. Membership swelled to over 110,000 in 1992, before dropping somewhat by decade's end. Any politician in Florida who tampered with the taxation of mobile homes faced immediate retribution in the form of a highly organized letter writing campaign. As mobile home owners exerted more political clout, mobile home manufacturers and park operators cultivated close relations with Florida lawmakers. The confluence of such powerful interests resulted in a mobile home industry that has largely evaded safety requirements over the past two decades. The terrible tornadoes that ripped through Orlando in February 1998 demonstrated the human cost associated with mobile forms of housing and a political atmosphere of inertia.⁴⁴

Today, roughly 13 percent of all dwelling units in Florida are mobile homes, the highest percentage in the nation. Between 1980 and 1990, the number of mobile homes increased statewide by 66 percent. In particular, the lack of affordable housing drove many retirees into trailers, a trajectory followed by other vulnerable Floridians often regarded as expendable or unwanted. The sudden appearance and proliferation of trailer parks caused some community leaders to recoil as in St. Petersburg. Their battle with the city's trailerites revealed the animus many felt towards those who claimed a stake in the community but who lived as nomads and, when asked to pay the same tax as any other homeowner, argued that their mobility freed them from it. In many ways, the trailer park defines modern Florida: a populace literally not tied to a sense of place, liable to be swept away by a strong wind. If the notion of "poor white trash" grew from a Southern world view based on a system of deference and hierarchy, then we must turn to Florida to appreciate the myriad shades of meaning embodied in "trailer trash."

44. *Wilder's Park News*, 20 March 1971; *Orlando Sentinel*, 4 October 1998; *St. Petersburg Times*, 28 November 1999.

Book Reviews

Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present. By Jerald T. Milanich. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. 224 pp. Illustrations, photographs, maps, line drawings, table. \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

For an archaeologist who spends more time in the muck swatting mosquitoes than in front of a computer, Jerald Milanich has been writing a lot of books. In the last ten years alone he has published *Hernando de Soto and the Florida Indians* with Charles Hudson (1993), *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida* (1994), *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (1995), *The Timucua* (1996), this book, and the liltily titled *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians* (1999). By now, even a devoted reader might be tempted to ask what Milanich has left to say. The answer lies in the title: *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present* is an overview of the entire twelve thousand years of human habitation in the peninsula, told with grace and clarity.

The author begins with two chapters on the Paleoindian and Archaic periods. In 10,000 B.C., Florida was cooler, drier, and twice its present size. The sea level has since risen 300 feet, leaving most Paleoindian sites on the drowned coast on the Gulf shelf. The Paleoindians were expert predators with a large kit of lithic and bone tools (including the distinctively fluted Clovis points first described in the Southwest) and may have hunted several species to extinction. The Archaic people who succeeded them preferred to familiarize themselves with one environment than to follow the migrating herds. Central-based foragers, they lived in villages, undertook large construction projects, wove fabrics, and buried their dead in shell mounds and ponds, one of which they remembered and used for a thousand years. As early as 2,000 B.C., they were firing pots.

By 500 B.C., several distinctive cultures had developed, to which Milanich devotes five chapters. The St. Johns culture of east and central Florida, descended from the Late Archaic Orange culture, was ancestral to the Timucua and Mayaca peoples who greeted the Europeans. The Safety Harbor culture centered on Tampa Bay was ancestral to the Tocobaga and Pohoy. The Belle Glade, Glades, and Caloosahatchee cultures of south Florida, known for their elaborate wooden carvings and canoe canals, developed into the Calusa, Tequesta, and Ais. The people of the Fort Walton culture of north Florida, ancestral to the Apalachee, were the only Florida culture to develop the Mississippian traits of paramount chiefdoms, omnipotent chiefs, and pyramidal platform mounds associated with intensive agriculture. The earliest farmers, however, were probably the Georgia Indians, ancestral to the Potano, who migrated into north-central Florida around A.D. 600 to settle on fertile soils just west of the Suwannee River and roughened their pottery with dried corncobs. The agricultural revolution bypassed south Florida. Corn was not grown in the watery world below Lake George and Cape Canaveral, where Lake Okeechobee was twice as large as it is now. But the population growth which agriculture set in motion had, by 1500, raised the population of the peninsula to an estimated 350,000.

Milanich brings the story up to the present with three chapters on the historic period. He first gives the reader a serviceable summary of sixteenth-century European expeditions, concentrating on the cultures encountered. He then provides an overview of the mission period, asking why the Indians agreed to become Christian and answering that their chiefs found alliance with the Spaniards to their advantage. Last, he offers a fast-paced account of Indian depopulation and repopulation. During Queen Anne's War, slave-raiders scoured the peninsula, driving the native inhabitants into exile where, with the exception of the Red River Apalachees of Louisiana, they forgot their origins. Between 1750 and 1815, the hollow peninsula attracted three waves of wartime refugees: Lower, Upper, and Red Stick Creeks. Divided into Seminoles and Miccosukees, the Florida Creeks fought the United States to a standstill in three Seminole Wars.

Part of a new Florida Heritage series on *Native Peoples, Cultures, and Places of the Southeastern United States*, of which Milanich himself is general editor, the book is designed for the general public, offering good maps and drawings, sixteen color plates, and a low paper-

back price, and dispensing with the paraphernalia of index and notes. Readers who find the field romantic will enjoy Milanich's sidebars about the delights of archaeological discovery and appreciate his use of modern place names to identify sites. Scholars from other disciplines will be drawn to learn more about his arcane world.

College of Charleston

AMY TURNER BUSHNELL

Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions. By Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. xix, 215 pp. Series editor foreword, author's preface, foreword, introduction, appendix, bibliography, index, plates, illustrations. \$29.95 paper.)

Here They Once Stood is the latest reprint in the University Press of Florida's valuable *Southeastern Classics in Archeology, Anthropology, and History* series. Thanks to this series, a number of authoritative and seminal works in Florida and Southeastern archeology, ethnology, and history are coming back into print, offering individuals and libraries a chance to fill gaps in their collections. Not only are these reprints, such as the book discussed here, important as path-breaking studies, but they also still stand on their own merits as useful sources.

When it was first published in 1951, *Here They Once Stood* served as one of the principal sources of documentary and archeological information on Spanish northwest Florida. The book describes the actions of Spanish officials and Franciscan priests within the Spanish mission system established among the Apalachees and other north Florida Indians during the seventeenth century, and it documents the devastating impact of English raiders from Carolina during Queen Anne's War in the early eighteenth century. Today, readers seeking information on the Apalachees and the mission network should also consult John Hann's definitive ethnohistorical work, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (University Press of Florida, 1988). Hann relied in part on the documents and data presented in *Here They Once Stood*, and this volume still provides a very useful cross-disciplinary interpretation of the demise of the mission system.

Here They Once Stood is divided into three principal sections. The first chapter, by the late historian Mark F. Boyd, translates and reproduces forty-five Spanish documents from 1693 to 1704. That

correspondence reveals Spanish attempts to counter the military threat of English Carolinians who sponsored raids by the Creeks and other Indians against the Spanish mission towns among the Apalachees. Boyd also provides capable annotation and an introduction to this section that places the documents in context. The second and third chapters, by the late archeologists Hale G. Smith and John W. Griffin respectively, present the state of archeological investigations at two mission sites: San Francisco de Oconee in present-day Jefferson County and San Luis just west of Tallahassee. Both Smith and Griffin incorporated documentary findings and analysis of material remains into their discussion of these two mission sites. In addition, Smith and Griffin describe ceramic types and other objects found at the sites, many of which are reproduced in photographs in an appendix. In these pictures we see firsthand the intermingling of Indian and Spanish materials and technology that is symbolic of the merging of religious beliefs and culture that also occurred in the Apalachee mission towns.

By combining historical and anthropological approaches to better understand the joint Indian and Spanish villages of north-west Florida, *Here They Once Stood* was an early and successful attempt at ethnohistorical analysis. Such a cross-disciplinary approach characterizes the best publications on American Indians published today. *Here They Once Stood* was ahead of its time in another respect because it focused on a region and time too often relegated to "Spanish Borderlands" studies. This is American history, and the three authors are to be commended for considering the topic serious enough to warrant careful study. *Here They Once Stood* still inspires scholars working to interpret Indian culture and the impact of the European presence on native people. The University Press of Florida deserves praise for bringing this work to the attention of a new generation of students.

University of Southern Mississippi

GREG O'BRIEN

Florida's Hurricane History. By Jay Barnes. Foreword by Neil Frank. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. x, 330 pp. Introduction, appendix, acknowledgments, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Hurricanes have always been part of the Florida experience—unpredictable and unwelcome intruders in a fabled land of high

blue skies and bright sunshine. While the frequency of these cyclonic monsters has fluctuated over time, no generation of Floridians has been able to escape the fury and devastation of powerful tropical storms. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine anyone living in the state for very long without developing at least some appreciation for the historical significance of hurricanes. Yet, inexplicably, Florida historians and other regional scholars have paid little attention to the history of hurricanes. Among the few exceptions are environmental activist Marjory Stoneman Douglas, whose 1952 study *Hurricane* provided a sweeping survey of tropical storms; the novelist Zora Neale Hurston, who gave us a memorable depiction of the 1928 Okeechobee storm in her 1936 novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*; and environmental scientists John M. Williams and Iver W. Duedall, the compilers of *Florida Hurricanes and Tropical Storms*, a brief 1994 (revised in 1997) volume of charts, maps, and photographs. Unfortunately, these works make only a modest effort to place hurricanes in the broader context of Florida's natural and human history. Though valuable and suggestive, they do not give us what we really need: a body of sustained scholarship that provides both a comprehensive description and a sophisticated analysis of Florida's storm-tossed history.

Whatever faults it may have as a work of analysis, Jay Barnes's massive compendium of wind and water, *Florida's Hurricane History*, certainly goes a long way towards filling the prescription for a comprehensive survey of Florida hurricanes. As in his earlier work, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, Barnes offers an annotated chronology of tropical storms—an exhaustive array of individual storm narratives, ranging from the tempest of 1546 that left Domingo Escalante Fontaneda shipwrecked in the Florida Keys to Hurricane Opal, the Category 3 storm that ravaged the Florida Panhandle in 1995. Based on prodigious research and presented in an oversized format that allows the author to include a series of revealing charts and storm track maps, as well as numerous eye-catching photographs of storm damage, the book is encyclopedic in scope. Following three brief introductory chapters that offer a scientific profile of tropical storms, Barnes's chronicle proceeds apace, era by era, storm by storm. In recounting the early storms—those that struck the state prior to the twentieth century—Barnes is sometimes hampered by insufficient and fragmentary evidence. But when he gets to the modern era his accounts have an authoritative ring, despite the maddening absence of footnotes. Barnes is a good storyteller

with a flair for dramatic narrative, especially when he deals with the major storms of the twentieth century—the great Miami hurricane of 1926, the Okeechobee storm of 1928, the great Labor Day hurricane that struck the Keys in 1935, and more recent “named” (the official naming of hurricanes began in 1950) storms such as Donna (1960), Andrew (1992), and Opal (1995).

Readers in search of hurricane lore will find a wealth of informative detail in Barnes's compendium. What they will not find, however, is an analysis that acknowledges and explores the contingent and “unnatural” aspects of so-called “natural disasters.” In describing the many encounters between tropical storms and human communities, Barnes pays little attention to the disastrous consequences of the cultural conceits and public policies that have placed population centers at great risk. The human side of the story, as he tells it, is essentially a saga of damage to persons and property, not a complex tale of risk and responsibility. At the same time, his approach leaves little room for a proper consideration of the environmental consequences of hurricanes. The impact on Florida's landscape—on its flora and fauna and terra firma—receives almost no consideration in a work that should have been titled *Floridians' (as opposed to Florida's) Hurricane History*. Despite its strengths, this book does not meet the standards of the new environmental history, an emerging discipline that recognizes the interdependence of human behavior, natural phenomena, and global survival.

University of South Florida, St. Petersburg

RAYMOND ARSENAULT

Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia. By Woody Holton. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xxi, 231 pp. Acknowledgments, list of illustrations, abbreviations, introduction, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)

This is an important book. In deft, graceful, and economical prose Woody Holton revises the traditional picture of a confident and powerful Virginia gentry striding towards independence by demonstrating that the planter elite were driven, too, by a sense of desperation fueled by the influence of Indians, slaves, merchants, and smallholders; thus, the Revolutionary leaders were “forced founders.” In a subtle and sophisticated work which shows how ordinary people indirectly shaped the course of Virginia's drive for

independence, Holton examines the interplay between races and classes, showing that the contest over who shall rule at home greatly influenced the founders' drive toward independence.

A brief review cannot do justice to the nuances of the argument but a few examples suggest how the author constructed his thesis. Virginia's planters were burdened by debts on the eve of the Revolution. Holton argues that a 1769 boycott of British goods served both patriotic and financial ends. It forced planters to do what they could not bring themselves to do on their own: stop importing British luxury goods. But to work, the boycott needed the cooperation of all planters which did not happen; a 1774 boycott proved far more effective because a recession forced British merchants to contract credit and demand cash, leaving planters no choice but to reduce imports. To a great extent, then, economic necessity—not patriotic choice—made the boycott feasible and effective. The question of debt continually loomed large for the planter class and led to a plan for crop withholding whereby planters tried to drive up prices by keeping tobacco off the market. Here, Holton revises Progressive historians by contending that planters did act for economic reasons but not in the way usually thought. They did not simply repudiate their debts; rather, they withheld crops to force up prices, then sold them to pay off some of all of their debts. Serendipitously, withholding dovetailed with the patriot movement while still serving an economic goal: non-exportation came in response to the Coercive Acts and gave planters a chance to relieve their debtor status and support the patriot side. Holton makes clear that the merchant-debtor relationship exerted powerful pressures on the gentry.

At home, Governor Dunmore's threat to emancipate black slaves to fight for the crown against the patriots deeply troubled the planters who were ever fearful of slave insurrections. Dunmore's offer of emancipation never came, but since the initiative was actively supported by slaves seeking freedom, the mere possibility of such an action threatened the planters and provided yet another example—the book is full of them—of a supposedly powerless group shaping and influencing the elite planters. And smallholders also pushed the planter elite, believing that the only means to achieving a foreign trading partner was independence. This push from smallholders was part of an emerging sense on their part that independence would shake things up at home, offering them a much greater role in government and society. Virginia's elites, anx-

ious to get ahead of any such movements so as to head them off, moved to the forefront of the independence movement so that they could direct it toward their ends and vitiate any republican or democratic initiatives from below.

Holton's achievement comes in linking a variety of seemingly disparate movements into a "web of influences" (xvii) that pushed Virginia into independence. Equally impressive is his ability to show how groups usually portrayed as being passive actors in fact had a greater degree of agency than is traditionally thought. By insightfully using the records, letters, and diaries of elites to discover their reactions to the rest of Virginia society, Holton persuasively contends that the planter elite was driven or "forced" and had far less agency themselves than once thought. Ultimately, the Revolution strengthened the position of planters while it proved disastrous for Indians, contained mixed results for slaves, and proved less transforming than hoped for by smallholders. However, Holton argues convincingly that "at the *other* end of the revolutionary struggle—its inception—elite Virginians were less prominent than we have been led to believe. When the rulers of Britain's largest American colony took it into the American Revolution, they did so partly because they were feeling pressure from below" (220).

Oakland University

TODD ESTES

Nat Turner Before the Bar of Judgment: Fictional Treatments of the Southampton Slave Insurrection. By Mary Kemp Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 298 pp. Acknowledgments, index. \$30.00 cloth.)

According to Herbert Aptheker, more than 250 slave revolts occurred in North America prior to 1865. Yet, only four or five of these rebellions or conspiracies consistently have received much attention. Of these few, more studies have focused on the Nat Turner insurrection than any other. Since his 1831 slave revolt—where approximately fifty-seven whites lost their lives—Turner persistently has captured the imaginations of scholars and literary writers alike. Subsequent generations of writers have analyzed and re-analyzed his tale.

In *Nat Turner Before the Bar of Judgment: Fictional Treatments of the Southampton Slave Insurrections*, Mary Kemp Davis focuses on the works of six such authors. They include George P. R. James's *The Old Dominion; or, The Southampton Massacre* (1856), Harriet Beecher

Stowe's *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856), Mary Spear Tiernan's *Homoselle* (1881), Pauline Carrington Rust Bouve's *Their Shadows Before: A Story of the Southampton Insurrection* (1899), Daniel Panger's *Ol' Prophet Nat* (1967), and William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967). Davis's conclusion focuses on Sherley Ann Williams's response to Styron's novel. All novels, with the exception of one, were written by Americans—three by males and three by females.

This book should interest history buffs as well as literary scholars since the author places this event in historical context while using a wide range of scholarly and nonscholarly documents to analyze the works of the six authors under study. Davis's central theme, though, concerns a more philosophical matter. Regardless of how the six novelists described Turner, they all have the issue of judgment at their core. These writers placed him on trial, ultimately rendering a verdict of innocence or guilt. As Davis aptly notes, "Nat Turner has been re-arraigned, retried, and re-sentenced many times during the last century-and-a-half as a succession of novelists has grappled with the moral issues raised by this [in]famous revolt" (3).

Professor Davis is the first author to write a full length book that systematically analyzes the Nat Turner rebellion together with the works of previous writers on this controversial subject. She reveals that most of the writers largely drew their fundamental information from either Virginia governor John Floyd's over-determined assessment of the revolt or from Thomas Gray's *The Confession of Nat Turner*. This underlies the fundamental problem with the six writers' descriptions of the insurrection. Davis notes that Gray, a pro-slavery advocate, claimed to have gotten an actual confession from Nat Turner, but she and other scholars question this assertion since evidence does not support it. Floyd relied largely on pro-slavery newspaper accounts to formulate his assessment. Both men talked and wrote about the tragic loss of white lives during the insurrection, while avoiding the reasons why such a revolt occurred. They pointed their fingers at Nat Turner and his band of followers without blaming the institution of slavery that created their dilemma.

In general, Davis does a splendid job of analyzing the frames of reference, the times and political eras in which these six authors wrote their novels, and how these factors impacted their interpretation of the revolt. The author eloquently shows how these writers

described the moral, political, social, economical, sexual, and psychological factors surrounding Nat Turner and the revolt. Davis poignantly explains why these works will always be somewhat incomplete since the actual statements of black rebels who participated in the insurrection were not included. Everyone spoke for the insurrectionists instead of allowing them to speak for themselves. In essence, the Turner persona continues to be invented and reinvented with each passing generation. Much like the Civil War, the subject of the 1831 Nat Turner revolt doubtlessly will continue to receive much attention in future years.

If you are looking for an exciting, scholarly, and highly thought-provoking study of the Nat Turner revolt, you should read Davis's book. You likely will view the 1831 Southampton insurrection from a whole new perspective. This study is well documented and meticulously researched. The book also includes the most recent scholarship and goes beyond it in analyzing the Turner revolt. The most intriguing part about this work is not its major theme—how each novel contrives to extract a verdict from the plot—but its tantalizing pieces of information that suggest how writers over a 150-year period have conjured up various images of Nat Turner using questionable methods and sources. The book should be read by students of African American history and literature, Southern history, and United States history.

Florida A&M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement. By Julie Roy Jeffrey. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xii, 311 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

In this ambitious book Julie Roy Jeffrey sets out to “recover the experiences of abolitionist women living in small towns and rural communities, the areas where abolitionism was strongest” (2). Most studies of female abolitionism have focused on those individuals who became prominent in the women’s movement. Few of the women Jeffrey studies would have considered themselves feminists. They became abolitionists because of their conviction that a woman’s role should be that of the guardian of virtue, the friend to those in distress. However, as Jeffrey reminds us “to embrace abolitionism was to embrace radicalism” (6).

Male abolitionists did not initially envisage women playing a major role in the movement. They began by urging them to boycott slave-produced goods, educate their children on the wrongs of slavery, and spread the antislavery message among friends and family. Then came the call to form female auxiliaries—a call that had far-reaching consequences. Sometimes a society came into being after a group of women read an article calling them to action or saw the constitution of another society in an antislavery newspaper. Sometimes nothing was needed beyond the sense of several women in a community that slavery was wrong. Some of the societies flourished, but others soon foundered. After all, how could farmers' wives travel long distances in poor weather to attend meetings or find the time to do so? As Jeffrey notes, few were wealthy enough to employ servants to spare them from the daily drudgery of running a home.

Fund-raising was difficult when these rural women had little disposable income and when the cause was controversial. The antislavery fairs that began in the 1830s were designed to make money and draw in people who were not necessarily antislavery sympathizers. The network of fairs, and the making and exchanging of items for sale, also put these women in touch with a wider community of female reformers, including women across the Atlantic.

Women could and did change their religious affiliations if they felt their particular church was not sufficiently antislavery. Some derived a perverse satisfaction from challenging anti-abolition ministers and "weighty members." Others simply withdrew from a church, although doing so might well have had social consequences in the close-knit communities Jeffrey describes.

Although women did not vote, and relatively few female abolitionists joined the antislavery movement to the struggle for female suffrage, some did champion the Liberty Party, and later the Republican Party, as part of their abolitionist initiative. And in an age when the lines between politics, entertainment, and socializing were not rigidly drawn, there were many ways they could get involved.

By the 1850s, antislavery meetings, fairs, and sewing circles had become part of the everyday lives of many women. Others had been active, had dropped out in the 1840s, and were won back to the cause, as abolition moved from the fringes to the center of moral, religious, and political discourse. Still others became involved for the first time. Especially after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, abolitionist women, black and white, took upon themselves the task of aiding runaways. In a sense, their "domestic" role was being

called upon as they fed, clothed, and nursed fugitives. When war actually came, the antislavery women dedicated time and money to aiding soldiers and contrabands. Dozens went to the South as nurses and teachers.

The war's end saw an interesting parting of the ways. For black women, and some of their white sisters, the struggle was not over with Emancipation. They carried on, promoting a wider agenda of racial reform. Others declared victory and took up new causes, among them women's rights. If there is one aspect of the involvement of "ordinary women" in the antislavery movement that merits more attention it is the role of African-American women. However, Jeffrey can hardly be faulted when the material itself is lacking. She has mined her sources for every scrap of information and has brought out the complex interplay between black and white women in a campaign that had at its heart freeing the slaves—but not necessarily elevating people of color to civil and social equality. Overall, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism* is a superb work of scholarship that advances our understanding of women's antislavery efforts far beyond the careers of a handful of abolitionist-feminists. Jeffrey's women were truly the "foot-soldiers" of antislavery.

University of Massachusetts at Boston

JULIE WINCH

Empire and Antislavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833-1874. By Christopher Schmidt-Nowara. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999. xiii, 239 pp. List of tables, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth, \$22.95 paper.)

Among the several works on slavery, antislavery, and abolitionism in Spain, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Caribbean, *Empire and Antislavery* is a must for students and scholars. It is a serious book, flawed somewhat in its style of chronology and internal chapter organization and not easily read, but it is clearly worth the effort. Depending upon the level of knowledge of the subject, it may be viewed as a cornucopia, a treasure trove, or a Pandora's box.

Based on extensive research in Spanish original documents in the official archives of Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, and a wide selection of secondary sources, many of which are also in Spanish, the author's foundations for his interpretations are well established. The book's state subject is the origins of the Spanish Abolitionist Society and the goals, strategies, and rationales its members

and other metropolitan and colonial abolitionists utilized in their efforts to eliminate slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Rich in detail and interpretations, the major portion of the book describes and analyzes the growth, directions, and nature of the antislavery opinion and action within the swirling currents of a reconstituted empire as they became more pronounced in the liberal-conservative conflicts throughout the century, and especially so in the 1830s—the years of the Liberal Union (1854-1868)—, and the revolutions in both Cuba and Spain in 1868 and their aftermath.

Schmidt-Nowara frames his research and findings against a background of four arguments which he believes to be necessary in order to fully understand the growth and destruction of Antillean slavery: 1) the power and complexity of Spain's colonial policies and their relationship to the reconstructed empire must be reassessed; 2) the political stage on which the antislavery battle took place must be reconstructed and focus on the Abolitionist Society and related antislavery initiatives; 3) the antislavery campaign must be studied against the backdrop of the fact that metropolitan and Antillean elites always perceived political and economic transformations through racial lens; and finally, 4) the subject of Antillean slavery and the formation of antislavery movements must be studied by focusing on the interactions of colony and metropolis.

The author enriches the study by relating his findings to several historiographical interpretations of his subject. He indicates that he "will try to straddle" the two economic models of causation for antislavery advanced by Eric Williams and Seymour Dretcher and gives attention to later studies which give greater emphasis to social, cultural, and political transformations by examining "forms of ideology and political action" throughout the empire (9). Admitting that he follows Rebecca Scott's work on the influence of the expanded public sphere and popular mobilization, he skillfully traces the evolution of abolitionism from a single issue to coalitions supporting free trade, colonial representation, race, and other liberal ideas.

Woven throughout the narrative are important premises that influenced the policy debates on the slave trade and slavery in the colonies and the metropolis. They include the obsessive fear of a race war in the colonies or spilling over from Haiti or other Caribbean islands; the interest in annexation to the United States when Spain's support of slavery was in doubt; the alternative of separation as other Spanish colonies had chosen earlier; proposals for "whitening" the populations of the colonies to mute the metropo-

lis's concerns about "heterogeneity"; the relationship of free trade, free slaves, and liberty; and most of all, the mutual desire for Cuba and Puerto Rico to remain part of the Empire. The various proposals from colonial and metropolitan abolitionists were made within these considerations and were wide ranging, including gradual emancipation, compensation to the slave holders, and immediate freedom with no payment, depending upon conditions in the colonies and the political views in Madrid.

The Cuban insurrection of 1868, beginning the Ten Years War, was probably decisive in the ending of slavery, although clearly the Cuban and Puerto Rican abolitionist activities (including the formation of the Spanish Abolitionists Society in Madrid 1865) were also highly influential. The Spanish government decreed gradual abolition in 1870. Then, in what appeared a desperate move to hold on to the Caribbean colonies, one of the first acts of Spain's First Republic in 1873 was to abolish slavery with compensation in Puerto Rico with a required three-year contract for free wage labor to former owners. Emancipation for Cuban slaves had to await the ending of the Ten Years War, the settlement of the debris following its close, and the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. In 1880, the Restoration government enacted another gradual emancipation law for Cuba that required an eight-year period of apprenticeship of slaves to their masters after which freedom would be given. But again, the design did not fit reality and that law was superseded by another, finally freeing all slaves in Cuba in 1886.

The author concludes that the "interaction of Cuban and Puerto Rican reformers with Madrid liberals produced abolitionism" and that "the intersection of abolitionism with revolutionary changes to the imperial order in Cuba and Spain led to the Society's determined attacks on Antillean slavery". Ironically, the ending of slavery was produced by different parts of a loosely integrated "second" empire built on a base of a "second slavery." It is also clear from the conclusions of the work that the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico was accomplished by a combination of liberals and conservatives in the ebb and flow of revolutionary initiatives and visions of empire. Economics were important, the public mobilization essential, but in the end, it was the interests or perceived interests of empire and retention of the Caribbean colonies within that empire that carried the day.

For Honor, Glory, & Union: The Mexican and Civil War Letters of Brig. Gen. William Haines Lytle. Edited by Ruth C. Carter. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999. xiv, 244 pp. A note on the editing, acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, bibliography, index. \$27.50 cloth.)

William Haines Lytle was an interesting man. Born in Cincinnati in 1826, he was reared in an upper class family with connections throughout Ohio and into Kentucky. Lytle was well educated and imbibed politics from an early age. He followed his father as a supporter of the Jacksonian Democrats which helps to explain why he was a strong advocate of the Union while sympathizing with the southern position before the Civil War. After graduating from the University of Cincinnati and studying law, Lytle volunteered for the war with Mexico serving as a captain but seeing no combat. He echoed the spirit of the renaissance man by being an accomplished poet with many published poems to his credit. In the period between the wars, Lytle seemed unable to settle on a calling, shifting uneasily from law to politics to law again. The outbreak of the Civil War freed him from indecision, however, and gave meaning to his life. He received appointment as colonel of volunteers, earned promotion to Brigadier General, and was wounded in each of the three battles in which he led troops. The last wound, received at Chickamauga, proved fatal, ending what promised to be an outstanding military career.

Unfortunately, too little of the material in the letters collected here will be of interest to either the general reader or the scholar seeking materials on the politics of the border states or the war in the West. Instead, the collection is filled with comments about Lytle's personal concerns such as his new pistols, the health of his horse, and family matters.

Still, this is not to say that there are not some valuable items. Lytle's letters from Mexico provide good descriptions of the landscape and reveal the racism that was common among American forces. Some of the letters offer graphic evidence of the difficulties of campaigning armies such as when he complains of "rain—drenching pouring rains that wet a man to the skin every day" (74) during the struggle for West Virginia in 1861. Other letters are valuable, too, for showing the kind of political maneuvering that was endemic among the volunteer units as officers tried to pull strings to secure promotion. Still other letters written while Lytle

was serving in Confederate territory, especially in East Tennessee, depict some of the horrors of conflict in local areas.

The editor, Ruth Carter, an archivist for the University of Pittsburgh Library System, has provided a good brief biography of Lytle and has done an excellent job supplying needed information to make the letters usable, and the University Press of Kentucky has produced a handsome volume. Still, it can be argued that publishing a selection of the more useful letters as an article in a scholarly might have served the historical profession just as well.

Tarleton State University

MICHAEL D. PIERCE

"Jottings from Dixie": The Civil War Dispatches of Sergeant Major Stephen F. Fleharty, U.S.A. Edited by Philip J. Reyburn and Terry L. Wilson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. xiii, 262 pp. Preface, introduction, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Sergeant Major Stephen Francis Fleharty's "Jottings from Dixie" was a series of fifty-five letters published in the Rock Island (Illinois) *Argus* and the Rock Island *Weekly Union* from September 1862 to September 1864. Fleharty (1836-1899), an Illinois native, had worked as a schoolteacher, printer, clerk, and small-town postmaster before the Civil War. After the battle of Shiloh and McClellan's unsuccessful campaign on the Peninsula in 1862, President Abraham Lincoln called for 300,000 more troops. At this point Fleharty believed it was his "duty" to join the Union army so he enlisted in Company C of the 102d Illinois Infantry in August 1862.

Although the 102d Illinois marched into Kentucky in response to Braxton Bragg's campaign in the state, they did little beyond garrison duty. After a particularly frustrating march, Fleharty called for more cavalry since infantry were unable to move fast enough to intercept mounted raiders such as John Hunt Morgan. In November 1862, the 102d moved to Tennessee where they spent most of their time until February 1864 guarding various stretches of railroad. Then Fleharty went north for several months on recruiting duty, first to Illinois and then escorting the recruits to a camp at Vicksburg. Fleharty rejoined his regiment in northern Georgia in early May 1864 and experienced his first battle at Resaca on May 15. He observed the battles of Kolb's Farm and Kennesaw Mountain from a distance, but his regiment did not actually fight again until Peachtree Creek on July 20. After the Union forces captured

Atlanta, Fleharty, for reasons which he chose not to explain, decided to stop writing for the newspapers.

Since Fleharty's letters contain almost no battle accounts, why should anyone bother to read them? Fleharty was a literate, observant, and entertaining writer who gave excellent descriptions of the non-military aspects of the war. Activities of the soldiers in camp, the problems of homesickness, and the construction of shelter for the troops were discussed. At times Fleharty also boldly expressed his opinions about such matters as the attitudes of officers in general and the bad management of the camp for recruits at Camp Butler, Illinois. Fleharty described a lot of scenery when the troops were traveling or arriving at a new camp. He also took opportunities to be a tourist and visited caves near Bowling Green, Kentucky (November 1862); the Stone's River battlefield (June 1863); Andrew Jackson's home, "The Hermitage," near Nashville (February 1864); and the Vicksburg battlefield (April 1864). He also reported on the attitudes of the Kentucky and Tennessee civilians toward the Union troops and remarked favorably on the military appearance of some "Negro" Union soldiers near Vicksburg.

Fleharty survived the war and, using his own letters and notes plus the diaries of several comrades, wrote one of the earliest regimental histories of the war, *Our Regiment: A History of the 102d Illinois Infantry Volunteers, with Sketches of the Atlanta Campaign, the Georgia Raid, and the Campaign of the Carolinas*, published in October 1865. He served as justice of the peace and as a member of the Illinois house of representatives (1870-72), while continuing his journalistic career. In 1875, he moved to Nebraska where he was private secretary to the governor (1881-83), but he soon moved to Tampa because he was suffering from tuberculosis. He died in North Carolina of pneumonia in 1899.

The editors of the volume have done a good job of introducing and annotating Fleharty's letters to the newspapers. He apparently wrote a number of letters to family members also, which the editors used for annotation purposes. While these fifty-five letters stand very well on their own, it might have made the account seem more complete had the editors included family correspondence for the March to the Sea and through the Carolinas. However, there may have been such great stylistic differences between the two types of letters that the contrast would have been annoying. In any case, this volume is a worthwhile addition for any Civil War collection.

Civil War Macon. By Richard W. Iobst. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1999. xiii, 462 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

Macon, the fifth largest city in Georgia in 1860, became a center of intense economic and military activity during the Civil War. With a white population of over five thousand and more than three thousand slaves, Macon supported an army arsenal, armory, iron works, and weapons laboratory. It was an important railroad hub and the site of both a large prisoner-of-war camp and several military hospitals. It became a center for raising and training Confederate troops, and it served as headquarters for the Georgia Reserves during the last year of the war. In short, as Richard W. Iobst maintains, the story of wartime Macon and its people is in many ways "the story of the urban population of the Lower South" (1).

Iobst has accepted the challenge of telling that story, and he succeeds to an admirable degree. This is a workmanlike account of life in the urban Confederacy, filled with details of how the inhabitants of Macon coped with four suspenseful years of war. It is a treasure trove of facts and stories about human endurance. Iobst sets the stage with three chapters devoted to antebellum Macon. Here he describes the population in terms of occupations and professions, discusses the organization and role of its militia units, and explains the unfolding drama of the secession crisis in a city where pro-secession sentiment reached fever pitch as early as December 1860. Having dispensed with these preliminaries, he turns to the eventful war years, exploring everything from the recruitment and training of Confederate troops to the surrender and occupation of the city in the spring of 1865.

Iobst devotes a large chunk of his narrative—nearly 150 pages—to the chief military and economic institutions of wartime Macon: its military hospitals, arsenal, armory, laboratory, and prison camp (Camp Oglethorpe). The coverage is extensive and detailed, and Iobst could make his case for the economic and military importance of Macon based on the roles played by these five institutions alone. Yet, as careful and informed as this portion of the text tends to be, Iobst might have handled it more deliberately. Rather than weaving the stories of the hospitals, armory, arsenal, and so on into his narrative, he has separated—very nearly isolated—them from the rest of the city's experience. Each of the five is described on its own terms, from its creation early in the war

(1862 in each case) until the close of the conflict, in a separate chapter. The organization seems too mechanical, and it drains some flavor and pizzaz from other parts of the city's wartime saga.

Most of the rest of the book involves two themes: the lives of noncombatants in the city and the whirl of military operations around Macon. Iobst here avoids his earlier institutional approach, but he is still slow to create a sense of human drama. Two chapters on the home front cover a range of topics, including the numerous fires that plagued the city, crime, religious life, sickness, disease, entertainments, and plans for local defense. They provide an informative look at daily life, with much of the information drawn from local and city newspapers, but again, the author too often describes *things* rather than *people*. Not until the arrival of the Union army at Atlanta, in the summer of 1864, does the suspense build and the narrative assume movement through time. Then, five compelling chapters, describing such events as William T. Sherman's march to the sea and James H. Wilson's climatic raid on Macon, carry readers through the end of the war.

In other words, this is a good book that could have been better. It is the most complete survey of wartime Macon available, and it represents a good deal of diligent research and digging after archival nuggets by Iobst. If the book appears at times to be more compilation than story, it may be that Iobst simply could not digest the enormous amount of information he had gathered. All authors know the feeling.

University of Arkansas

DANIEL E. SUTHERLAND

Joseph E. Johnston and the Defense of Richmond. By Steven H. Newton. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. xiii, 278 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

For most students of the Civil War, the history of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia began with Robert E. Lee's assumption of command after Joseph E. Johnston's wounding on 31 May 1862 at the Battle of Seven Pines. Although Johnston had commanded the nucleus of this army since July 1861, historians have tended to view him as the underachieving caretaker of a military organization destined to be led into immortality by Lee. While recuperating from his wounds, even Johnston told a visitor that the

shot which felled him at Seven Pines "the very best that has been fired for the Southern cause yet."

In *Joseph E. Johnston and the Defense of Richmond*, Steven H. Newton reexamines Johnston's performance in Virginia between August 1861 and May 1862 while commanding the future Army of Northern Virginia. In the preface, the University of Delaware history professor wastes no time proclaiming "that the tenor of this work is pro-Johnston." While in many respects Newton's work might be more aptly entitled "Joseph E. Johnston and the Defense of Joseph E. Johnston," he generally provides an even-handed treatment of Johnston and a fresh look at a relatively neglected period of the war in Virginia.

Newton focuses on Johnston and his army's activities between March and May 1861, beginning with his retreat from Centreville and ending with his wounding at Seven Pines. Newton sees Johnston as an able leader and competent administrator who effectively performed a series of thankless duties to help insure the successful defense of the Confederate capital. Johnston's task became increasingly complicated as Lee and President Jefferson Davis became increasingly involved in the planning and execution of the overall operation. Davis and Johnston's uneasy interaction during this campaign drove a wedge between the two men that never was removed.

The author also shows how Johnston's operations were affected by the performance of his subordinates, particularly Gustavus W. Smith and James Longstreet. When he began his retreat, Johnston viewed Smith as his most valuable lieutenant. By May 31, Smith lost the confidence of his commander and essentially was functioning as a high-ranking aide de camp. Johnston came to rely more on the ability and advice of Longstreet, despite the Georgian's developing penchant for only half heartedly supporting operations which he did not believe in.

Throughout the narrative, Newton continually pounds home one unifying message: Johnston's performance in Virginia in early 1862 must be viewed separately from the rest of his Civil War career. Newton contends that other historians have done Johnston a disservice by judging this campaign as just another in a long line of retreats he would execute during the war. As Newton points out, both Davis and Lee advocated Johnston's 1862 retreat as the best course to defend Richmond. The operation also ended with Johnston launching an offensive attack at Seven Pines. Newton writes, "Through choice or circumstance, however, Johnston did

not fight another offensive battle until nearly three years later, at Bentonville."

Although Newton readily admits Johnston's shortcomings as a military leader, he often overreaches in his attempt to give the Virginian credit for the successful defense of Richmond. He rarely mentions the impact that the timidity of his opponent, Union General George B. McClellan, had on Johnston's operations. On more than one occasion, he unconvincingly tries to give Johnston more credit than is due for the success of Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley. Finally, Johnston had practically nothing to do with John Bankhead Magruder's successful defense of Yorktown, which was perhaps the most important single reason why McClellan was unable to capture Richmond. Newton waits until the final chapter to discuss the impact these three men had on Johnston's campaign.

Overall, Newton makes a strong case for examining the Joseph E. Johnston of 1862 separately from the 1863-1864 model. He also raises an interesting question concerning the impact his wounding at Seven Pines may have had on his performance later in the war. Newton asks the reader to ponder whether Johnston's Civil War career may have turned out differently if he could have been able to take the lessons he learned on May 31, 1862, and gone back into battle the next day. Newton contends that Johnston's wounds "almost froze his development as a field general forever."

Library of Virginia, Richmond

DALE HARTER

Letters to Amanda: The Civil War Letters of Marion Hill Fitzpatrick, Army of Northern Virginia. Edited by Jeffrey C. Lowe and Sam Hodges. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998. xxi, 227 pp. Foreword, introduction, acknowledgments, a note on the text, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth).

In October 1863, Private Marion Hill Fitzpatrick of Company K, Forty-Fifth Georgia Infantry Regiment wrote home to his young wife Amanda that "my poor pen fails to give even a faint description of the sufferings of the soldier. I will leave it for future historians to tell, but never will justice be done the subject" (94). Despite this lament, this Georgian's Civil War letters help in no small way to recreate the grueling existence of the common soldier in that struggle. Jeffrey C. Lowe and Sam Hodges, both descendants of

Fitzpatrick, have produced a new edited collection of over one hundred of his letters that are a microcosm of the Confederate experience.

When secession and war changed his life, Marion Hill Fitzpatrick was a twenty-seven year old farmer and itinerant school-teacher from Crawford County, Georgia. As a husband and new father he certainly did not hunger for a place in the ranks, but the fear of conscription pushed him into the Forty-Fifth Georgia by the spring of 1862. Hill Fitzpatrick was an ardent supporter of the Confederacy and vowed to "do without meat altogether than submit to yankee rule" (29). Such strong sentiments sustained Fitzpatrick during the hard days to come and are evident in all his correspondence.

The Forty-Fifth Georgia served as a part of A. P. Hill's famous division, giving Fitzpatrick a vantage point to see much of the war in Virginia. He first "saw the elephant" during the Seven Days battles and there suffered a slight wound. But it was at Fredericksburg that a bullet badly bruised his ribs and led him to report that "never had anything hurt quite so bad before" (37), placing him in the hospital, and Fitzpatrick was fated to be a patient several times for various conditions.

Recovered from his wound, the Georgian rejoined his regiment in time for the 1863 Chancellorsville campaign in which he served with particular valor under fire. Ill health rather than Union lead felled him after this clash, and once more landed Fitzpatrick in a hospital ward. He did not return to his comrades until the fall and thus missed the deadly fight at Gettysburg.

The rigors of army life tempered Hill Fitzpatrick, but nothing pained him more than the long separations from his wife and baby son. The burdens his beloved "Cout" endured alone weighed heavily on his mind, and he commented in a letter to her in September 1863 how proud he was of his "true and heroic Southern woman" (85). Like so many other Southern men, Private Fitzpatrick learned a new appreciation of the value of "woman's work" like cooking and sewing when these tasks were thrust upon them in military camps.

The return of spring to Virginia in 1864 saw the veteran Fitzpatrick now a sharpshooter and skirmisher, which even he admitted was "ticklish at times" (128). It was in this role that Fitzpatrick went through the Overland Campaign that finally brought Lee's army to Petersburg. He wearily confessed that "now it is nothing but fight, fight, and we are in danger all the time" (149). Such com-

bat stress ruined the Georgian's health yet again, and he escaped for a time to a field hospital. By October, he returned to a promotion to sergeant major on the regiment staff. This new position helped him to survive the hard winter in the Petersburg trenches, and he even managed a furlough home.

Sergeant Major Fitzpatrick declared in January that "Yankees may kill me but will never subjugate me" (194). Unfortunately these words became prophecy when enemy shrapnel tore into his hip during the final Union assault on Petersburg; he died from this wound on April 6, 1865. However, his story lives on in these letters, and the editors provide adequate and helpful annotations. Overall, *Letters to Amanda* makes a contribution to the literature of the Civil War and the men who fought it.

Florida Institute of Technology

ROBERT A. TAYLOR

African American Women During the Civil War. By Ella Forbes. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998. xv, 272 pp. Preface, abbreviations, bibliography, index. \$64.00 cloth.)

Ella Forbes is a pioneer in her attempt to reconstruct the role of African American women during the Civil War. This task is made even more difficult by the fact that writers of African American women's antebellum history must attempt to gather information from a "depersonalized objectification of the black female presence" (vii) in American historiography. The lack of available resources for telling the African American female's story has been further complicated by the fact that traditionally, the history of African American women has been collectively tied to that of African American males. These past actions have contributed significantly to making the historical presence and contributions of African American women invisible.

According to Forbes, a collective history was often perpetuated by African American women who had, as their primary goal, care for the entire African American community. Forbes asserts that African American women shared responsibility for creating a collective historical past because they saw themselves as sharing a common racial history with African American men that could not be separated by gender. Just as white antebellum women, they saw their economic fortunes and social futures tied to the success of their men. It is Forbes's belief that African American women

achieved "a certain nobility by playing a supporting role to their husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers," (vii) and that sexism was only a minor consideration in their minds. Forbes supplies evidence that African American women saw the creation of free and stable families—the building block of free and stable black communities—as a cause worthy of racial solidarity. The quest for stable African American communities was much more important than concern over gender issues, because through stable, free black communities, African American women could be exonerated. In addition, Forbes indicates African American women were forced to work for black liberation and black freedom because they, more than the African American male, were more directly confronted and challenged by negative stereotypes which included their race and their womanhood. Forbes credits black women with providing for the economic well being of the black family while their men fought for black freedom in the Union Army.

African American women brought many varied experiences, resources, and backgrounds into their battle for citizenship. Seeking to insure victory for black men was also a victory for black women; African American women actively worked to recruit African American males into the Union military. To combat the negative image of African Americans, black women feverishly supported the "freedman." Through their strong philanthropic work, African American women successfully influenced Congress to create the Freedman's Bureau and participated in the establishment of several organizations around the nation that served to educate, nurse, feed, clothe, and house wounded soldiers. African American women followed African American men into battle to provide needed medical attention and support services that were often denied by white officers.

Forbes estimates that nearly 250,000 African Americans actively participated in the Civil War. Several of these active war participants were African American women. Many were camp followers labeled "contrabands," drawn to the military experience by following black men to military camps upon enlistment. Some were introduced to military life when they made the decision to take their freedom, fleeing to the protection of Union military lines. Camp commanders, quickly realizing the benefit of free labor, put African American women to productive use, in many instances, assigning them the same military duties as their male counterparts with the exception that African American women received considerably less or no pay. These active military duties included traditional roles normally as-

signed to women such as that of nurses, cooks, and laundresses, as well as non-traditional roles normally reserved for men such as camp workers, servants, military scouts, spies, and journalists. Through recounting the military roles assigned African American women, Forbes demonstrates the lack of distinction or advantage female gender afforded black women. This lack of gender distinction served to further ban African American women from the cult of "true womanhood" by insuring their continued use as forced labor, thereby maintaining and reinforcing a clear distinction between European and African American women.

Using information taken from collections of African American women's club records, the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Bureau, African American newspapers, diaries, and autobiographies written by African American women, Forbes reconstructs an invisible history for today's readers. Using examples from such well-known autobiographies as that of African American Civil War nurse and educator Susan King Taylor, and Civil War spy, nurse, and scout Harriet Tubman, Forbes explores the lives of well-known and lesser-known antebellum African American women. The lives of lesser-known black women are reconstructed through the use of club records, newspaper articles, and personal diaries. From such sources, we learn of the active role African American women took in creating and supporting schools, health care organizations, and homes to care for orphaned, ill, and aged African American men, women, and children. Forbes offers many examples of nationwide participation by African American females by providing information on the formation of such local self-help organizations as The Ladies Sanitary Association in Philadelphia, the First Female Contraband Aid Society of Alexandria, Virginia, and the Relief Association of Elmira, New York, to name a few. The formation of these local self-help organizations across the nation involved the support of elite and newly freed African American women who sought to erase class distinctions among themselves by choosing to avoid use of such terms as "Mrs." or "Miss" when referring to each other. Middle-class African American women, whose family backgrounds often included several generations of freedom, took the lead in aiding newly freed southern black women in establishing methods to stabilize their communities.

The most valuable asset of Forbes's work is the information she provides readers by listing local and state self-help organizations formed at the time of and immediately following the Civil War.

Forbes expends great effort to document the names of each known African American female involved in creating a local, national, or international antebellum self-help organization. Through her efforts, Forbes has made these women visible, and made it possible for research to continue on this important work within local communities. Every reader has much to gain from this text. Some of it is well-known history; much of it is new information which challenges us to do more research on the work of antebellum African American women in our own individual states and regions.

Westbend, Kentucky

ALICESTYNE TURLEY-ADAMS

Families & Freedom: A Documentary History of African American Kinship in the Civil War Era. Edited by Ira A. Berlin and Leslie S. Rowland. (New York: The New Press, 1997. xx, 259 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, editorial method, short titles and abbreviations, introduction, notes, index. \$25.00 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

In the past few years scholars have focused on the slave family and its transformation over time. This book, edited by Ira Berlin and Leslie S. Rowland, both at the University of Maryland, presents an interesting selection of letters and other correspondence written by slaves and former slaves concerning family and kinship ties during and shortly after the Civil War.

This collection of letters was compiled by the editors over many years. Berlin and Rowland center their first chapter on the letters written by escaped bond people from the various farms and plantations of the South, and their subsequent rescue by Union forces. Chapter two focuses on slave families who successfully made it to the protection of Union forces located within the Confederate States. Chapters three and four center around slaves who joined the Union military as soldiers in the free and border states and their concerns about the treatment of family and kinfolk left behind on various plantations and farms throughout the South. Chapters five through seven explore black soldiers' quests to find lost family members—that is, husbands and wives, parents and children after the war. The letters in these chapters serve as a testament to the strength and resilience of the black family during and after the Civil War. And the final chapter focuses on the importance of grandparents, aunts and uncles, and cousins to the overall make-up of the black family.

As for Florida, the editors provide a glimpse into the life of one black soldier stationed in Florida who expressed concerns about his family in Louisiana. Two letters describe black soldiers' efforts to assist kinfolk and explore marriage arrangements after the war. Unfortunately, there are no letters or correspondence from Florida bond servants to their families, kinfolk, or loved ones in this book.

But, as historians Daniel Schafer and Canter Brown Jr. have shown, over one thousand blacks left East Florida to join Union forces. They became soldiers in numerous regiments, including the First, Second, and Third South Carolina Infantry, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, and the Second, Eighth, Twenty-first, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, Ninety-ninth, and 102d United States Colored Infantry (USCI) regiments. Many left families behind but returned during the war to reclaim them. Upon being reunited, these soldiers left with their families. Many safely reached Union lines.

Among these Florida bondsmen who joined Union forces, for example, were Thomas Warren Long and a slave named Jake. Long joined the Union army in 1862 but felt compelled to leave behind his wife and children. After joining the Thirty-third USCI, he returned to claim his wife and two daughters. Jake, a runaway slave from Jacksonville, joined the Union Army around 1862. Shortly afterward, he returned to the plantation of A. M. Reed to reclaim his wife. To his dismay, the master had sold her. Before returning to his regiment, Jake wanted to locate Reed, according to the slave holder's daughter, and teach him a lesson for separating husband from wife. The Florida experience abounds with stories of Florida soldiers who sought to maintain family and kinship ties during the war, and those who sought to strengthen them after it ended. This volume would have been enriched had some of them found their way into its pages.

Ultimately, this work does what any solid documentary volume should do. Berlin and Rowland expose us to mounds of documents that tell of the strength and tenacious nature of the slave family during and after the Civil War. This impressive book should be read by those interested in American, African American, and Southern History.

Florida A&M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

Freedom's Soldiers: The Black Military Experience in the Civil War. Edited by Ira A. Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. xvi, 192 pp. Intro-

duction, a note on editorial method, short titles and abbreviations, illustrations, sources of documents, suggestions for further reading, index. \$49.95.)

This book is volume two in a series by Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland on the African American experience in the Civil War. *Freedom's Soldiers* is considered an abbreviated version of the authors' earlier work, *The Black Military Experience*. The three have firmly placed themselves in the position as authorities on the black Civil War military experience, and this newest work becomes an important addition to the very limited number of publications currently devoted to the topic.

As their basis of analysis, the authors include an examination of letters retrieved from National Archives written by African American soldiers and their white commanding officers during the Civil War. Through judicious examination of the soldiers' own words, the authors shed light on how African Americans saw themselves and their role as fighting men, as well as offer a primary source on dominant white military opinion regarding the use of African American troops. By using "the commanding imagery of their language" contained within personal letters, the authors open windows into the lives of black soldiers, their families, and their communities (ix).

Attention is given to the role of individual states involved in black military recruitment. The careful listing of each state's recruitment numbers and personalities offers insight on popular opinions opposed to and supportive of the use of black military personnel. In addition, this listing provides readers with a source of seldom published figures on black military enlistment.

As in their previous volume, Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland attempt to impress upon readers the complex, non-uniform, and highly racial manner by which African Americans were inducted and maintained within the ranks of the Union Army and into the military ranks of the Confederacy. By providing a national overview of the protagonists, villains, and political and social issues that moved African Americans from former slaves to soldiers, the authors credit black military enrollment as the basis for all black citizenship, paralleling Lincoln's order granting African Americans access to military enlistment in the Union Army with the rapid advancement of black emancipation. African American troops fighting and dying for the Union are portrayed as securing claims of full

citizenship for all African Americans, encouraging the reader to view the struggle of African American troops for equality within military ranks as the basis for equipping the entire African American community for the larger struggle it endured following the war.

If there are flaws to this work, they center on the authors' total dependence upon the black military experience as the cause and basis for black liberty in America. Within the context of military experience, the writers virtually elevate African American soldiers to a status equal to that of lower class whites, while at the same time offering a contradiction to this theory by portraying African Americans as "contrabands" limited in their ability to bring about positive change even within military ranks. The black military experience was liberating for many African Americans. However, military experience did not automatically result in full citizenship for all African Americans in the larger society, North or South. Within their own text, Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland refer to the limited rights and access enjoyed by African Americans, even within their newly acquired status as soldiers. Black military involvement brought about positive changes, i.e., the ability of African Americans to acquire property. Death and suffering alongside white soldiers only made it possible for African Americans to make a claim for black citizenship. It is important to make note that African American males in the military were heavily supported in their efforts by the influence of northern abolitionists, women, and military necessity (even the influence of these important elements became illusive or non-existent following the Civil War). To downplay the important support received from these major agitators for African American military acceptance and citizenship ignores important antebellum African American historiography continuing to develop around this topic in recent years.

The authors also assert the importance of the African American military experience in the removal of black class distinctions. In many instances, military involvement served to create even greater class distinctions because military pensions, no matter how meager, created definite social and structural differences in the black community. Military pensions allowed former slaves to establish incomes separate from their former masters, created the ability of former slaves to purchase property, and directly contributed to their ability to acquire an education and/or access to information. As Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland acknowledge, African Americans from northern, middle-class families who possessed the ability to read and write were almost always selected as officers within black military ranks.

These former African American military leaders, by caveat, often became community leaders. This selection process in itself offers evidence of the formation of class distinctions as an outgrowth of military experience. These established leadership roles continued to grow and develop into the solid black middle-class, which persisted through the Civil War and development of the New South.

The greatest asset offered by this publication is its excellent use of references. By producing a well-referenced, less cumbersome, more accessible text, the authors have potentially widened the audience of those who can be better informed about the black military experience in the Civil War. The concise organization and listing of available resources allows for expanded research by interested parties.

This abbreviated version of the African American military experience offers important additions to our base of knowledge on African American Civil War history. In addition to providing seldom seen military photographs of African Americans along with black military statistics, this text recounts black military enlistment on a state-by-state basis for both the North and South. The authors also provide a list of important personalities associated with the formation of black Civil War units. This important information makes Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland's latest work an excellent resource. Readers may find it difficult to read as a stand-alone text; however, it does provide a good survey of events, personalities, and locations associated with the African American Civil War military experience. Because of this, Berlin, Reidy and Rowland have once again made a valuable contribution by expanding the field of knowledge on this under-acknowledged and under-researched aspect of African American history.

West Bend, Kentucky

ALICESTYNE TURLEY-ADAMS

Sherman's Civil War: Selected Correspondence of William T. Sherman, 1860-1865. Edited by Brooks D. Simpson and Jean V. Berlin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xx, 948 pp. List of maps and illustrations, introduction, acknowledgments, editorial method, symbols and abbreviations, chronological list of letters, list of letters by recipient, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

Simpson and Berlin provide a cornucopia of more than four hundred official and personal Sherman letters written between late

1860 (when Sherman was superintendent of the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy in Alexandria, Louisiana) and May 30, 1865 (when Sherman issued a field order announcing that the fighting was over and bidding farewell to his men). Much of this correspondence is published for the first time; further, the editors have restored deletions from and corrected misleading alterations within letters that have appeared in earlier published collections. A great share of the correspondence was directed to Sherman's wife Ellen, his brother U.S. Senator John Sherman, his father-in-law Thomas Ewing, his daughter Maria, and Ulysses S. Grant; but Sherman had many other addressees, including President Lincoln and former Southern acquaintances. Sherman rehashed many of the same concerns to each of his primary correspondents; yet virtually every letter is rich in its own way. Wisely, the editors exclude routine documents available in the *Official Records*.

This collection bulges with information about Sherman's marital and family relations (two of his children died during the war) and finances, his operations and occupation policies, and his judgments about fellow Union commanders, grand strategy, and army organization. Sherman had a conservative Unionist perspective on the coming of the Civil War: emotions and unreasonable, radical politicians North and South reigned supreme, bringing on an "Irresistible Conflict" (11). Believing that the South lacked justification for activating its "right of revolution" (24), he endorsed coercion, and both anticipated and explained the North's going to war in terms of the Old Northwest's need for unrestricted access to the Gulf of Mexico by the Mississippi River.

Never doubting that the war would be lengthy, Sherman, in phrasing relevant to historian Gary Gallagher's recent work as well as current debates about gender and the Southern cause, repeatedly attributed Confederate tenacity to the success of its leaders—as compared to Union authorities—in rallying a self-sacrificing public to the cause. Confederate white women, he kept discovering, displayed remarkably unshaken devotion to the Southern cause. Many letters illuminate Sherman's prewar proslavery attitudes, as well as his authoritarian and antidemocratic proclivities. As early as February 1861, Sherman was suggesting that "if the People are incompetent to Rule, some remedy must be devised" (53). Later, Sherman expressed sentiments that could have come out of George M. Fredrickson's *The Inner Civil War* (1965) by predicting that wartime regimentation would correct anarchic trends in the nation.

Possibly no theme dominates this collection more than Sherman's hatred of war correspondents (whom he tried to exclude from camp and operations), the home front press, and speculators. Sherman even had a *New York Herald* correspondent court-martialed for reports that Sherman considered tantamount to spying, since they divulged information to the enemy: "I want the fellow shot" (387-88). Sherman had disdain for volunteer soldiers and political generals (especially John A. McClelland), preferring to leave the war to professionals, though he ultimately chastised Union politicians for not adequately enforcing their own draft. In many letters, Sherman called for disenfranchising all Northerners who avoided service in the army.

Like George McClellan, Sherman overestimated the size of Confederate forces during the early going. If he did not go insane during his Kentucky campaigns (as his wife apprehended briefly), he drank excessively and verged upon a nervous breakdown. His letters reflect incomprehension at God's visiting his country with "this terrible judgment" (170), and he wrote his brother that he would have committed suicide had it not been for his children. It is fascinating to trace Sherman's growing appreciation of U. S. Grant's command abilities, as well as his own evolving self-confidence. Though deferential, Sherman had no compunctions about strongly pressing his own strategic ideas upon his superior. Many letters illuminate Sherman's attitudes about warring on Southern civilians, generally reinforcing the argument of Mark Grimsley (*The Hard Hand of War*, 1995) that Union policies were more calculated and measured than total. Still, Sherman quoted Laertes in "Hamlet" to justify deferring attempts at political reconstruction until the South surrendered. Many letters reflect his attitudes about assimilating black former slaves into the army. Generally he favored using limited numbers of black males as military laborers, but not as soldiers, since he doubted their fighting capacity—"Can they improvise roads, bridges, sorties, flank movements, &c., like the white man? I say no" (700)—and believed that black males needed to provide for their wives and children. Such ill-advised opinions turned up in Northern newspapers, causing a backlash against him. Sherman's self-righteousness and his ambivalence about contemporary and historical fame also permeate these letters. Fortunately for the Union cause, his frequent prognostications of his own battlefield mortality proved to be mistaken.

The editors divide Sherman's correspondence into fifteen chapters, correlating roughly to major phases of his Civil War career, and provide helpful introductions alerting readers to what they might expect to find in each chapter's letters. Excellent maps allow one to campaign with Sherman. Further, within their notes, the editors include synopses of, and sometimes quotations from, incoming correspondence, in order to clarify the context for unclear allusions in Sherman's outgoing letters. Notes do a superb job of identifying persons and events, though the editors might have explained terms that had a different meaning then than they do today (e.g., "filibustering," "strikers"). Unfortunately, the index lacks sufficient subject entries, a deficiency that will encumber persons consulting the letters for reference purposes. For instance, Sherman alludes to Jewish cotton speculators on pages 260, 269, 271n, and 319 yet the index lacks any entry for Jews or anti-Semitism. Similarly, it is impossible to tell from the index that Sherman tended to reference Mexico for an example of nationwide anarchy and decay. This engrossing, invaluable collection belongs in public, college, and university libraries, and on the bookshelves of Civil War scholars and buffs. Amazingly, its nearly one thousand pages are available for only \$45.

Purdue University

ROBERT E. MAY

A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South. By Eugene D. Genovese. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. xvi, 18 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Eugene Genovese is in some ways an unlikely candidate to write a book about southern evangelicals. A Yankee Marxist from a Roman Catholic background, Genovese has nonetheless written an insightful book about Southern religion in the nineteenth century, proving that an outsider often discovers patterns that insiders miss because they take them for granted. Little in Genovese's book is new or surprising to scholars who have carefully studied religion in the South. But Genovese's configuration and analysis of material from an impressive variety of well known and obscure sources breaks new ground.

The reader needs to know that this work is intellectual history focused on a theological elite. Like Brooks Holifield's *The Gentlemen Theologians*, it is a religious history from the top down and

largely ignores the illusive folk theology of the South's mainly bivocational ministers. Based on the author's Lamar Lectures at Mercer University, these four compact chapters move chronologically from the late antebellum period to the late nineteenth century. Genovese argues that most antebellum southern clergymen were moderates who tried to reform slavery. The "Christian" or "reformed" slavery established a Biblical standard that affirmed the obligation of masters to educate their slaves so they could read the Bible and to refrain from breaking up slave families.

Once the Civil War began, many ministers proclaimed the justice and righteousness of the South's cause. But others denounced war as an evil or warned that slave owner's private unrighteousness endangered the southern cause. They also renewed their call for reforms in the treatment of slaves and argued that slavery was not eternal, that in time God might bring it to an end. Furthermore the individuals upon whom Genovese focuses did not tie slavery to race (denying, for instance, the "curse of Ham" thesis as unbiblical).

The racism of the post Civil War church was different in some ways. Many orthodox, southern antebellum religious leaders had rejected the scientific racism rising in the North. But postbellum ministers slowly retreated from orthodoxy, Genovese claims, while focusing on the decline in personal moral conduct, grounding their defense of social stratification and the need for political order (Bourbon hegemony) in Scripture and Christian theology.

Genovese's most controversial argument is his claim that the postbellum defense of segregation was less principled, consistent, and Biblically based than the antebellum defense of slavery because the earlier movement was dominated by theological orthodoxy while the later movement was influenced by theological liberalism. Postbellum segregationist theory was more pegged to northern and European climates of scientific thought and less tied to Scripture. The church capitulated to racist community sentiment in a stage of sectarian development characterized by democratization of religious opinion.

There is something to Genovese's argument, but less than he imagines. Evidence comes on pages 95 and 96 where he cites only one example to support his premise, and that from a Methodist.

Bivocational and even many formally educated ministers, especially in the dominant Southern Baptist Convention, did in fact fashion a Biblical defense of segregation which may not be convincing to Genovese, but certainly was quite convincing to millions of southern

evangelicals. But as Genovese claims and as Mark Newman pointed out in a perceptive dissertation on Southern Baptists and race, there were major defections from such theology in the twentieth century.

Liberalism did intrude more into Southern evangelical thinking than most historians have realized, just as Genovese contends. But the dominant position on race and segregation still derived more from orthodox interpretations of Scripture than from liberalism.

Whether or not one accepts all of Genovese's propositions, this is a provocative book that cannot be ignored. It is well researched, tightly argued, and gracefully written. Few illustrations are drawn from Florida, but most of the generalizations apply as well to the Sunshine State as they do to other parts of the South.

Wayne Flynt

Auburn University

Hurrah for Hampton! Black Red Shirts in South Carolina During Reconstruction. By Edmund L. Drago. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998. xv, 158 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, notes, name index. \$32.00 cloth.)

African American historiography is maturing. Attempts by revisionists to force blacks into a single historical mold are yielding to more comprehensive scholarship. In recent years, post-revisionists like Larry Koger (*Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina*), Ervin L. Jordon (*Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*), and Richard Rollins et al. (*Black Southerners in Gray: Essays on Afro-Americans in Confederate Armies*) have explored diversity within the antebellum black community. In *Hurrah for Hampton! Black Red Shirts in South Carolina During Reconstruction*, Drago challenges revisionist orthodoxy and presents a more inclusive portrait of black southerners in the post-war decade.

The election of 1876 was high political drama in South Carolina. Resurgent Democrats, determined to regain control of the Palmetto State, mounted an all-out attack on the Radical power structure. Wade Hampton, a former Confederate general, led the Democratic ticket. Of course, their call for "home rule" was but a thinly veiled attempt to reestablish white supremacy. To support their "redemption" campaign, South Carolina Democrats organized paramilitary groups call Red Shirts to parade on horseback at political rallies and public gatherings. Composed mainly of Confederate veterans, Red Shirt companies sought black members to blunt

charges of racism and enhance their appeal to black voters. The Red Shirts were successful in luring hundreds of blacks to their ranks in a very visible show of support for the former general.

At a time when "black" was virtually synonymous with Republican in South Carolina, Drago asks why substantial numbers of blacks joined white Democrats in overthrowing the party of Lincoln. In seeking an answer, Drago explores the complexity of race relations in postbellum South Carolina and the personal connections that led some blacks to align their political loyalties with whites. And while specifics vary, all reveal the diversity of political thought within the black community. A diversity, Drago suggests, that fits a pattern of black conservatism that persists to the present.

By 1876, many black South Carolinians were becoming disillusioned with Republican rule. They often resented Yankee officials as outsiders. Moreover, the rampant corruption of the GOP coupled with the party's unkept promises prompted many blacks to wonder if their interests would be better served by a paternalist white regime. Democrats eagerly encouraged this sentiment and offered blacks tangible rewards for their support.

African Americans joined Red Shirt companies for a variety of reasons. Some were Confederate veterans who welcomed the chance to parade with former comrades. Others simply enjoyed the prestige of associating with prominent whites. Many more were attracted by the dash and verve of Red Shirt parades. Typically, black recruits were feted with food and drink, serenaded by brass bands, and furnished with mounts. Political patronage played a part as well. Grateful Democrats later rewarded key black Red Shirts with public employment.

The movement crossed lines of class as well as race. Brown elites in Charleston and field hands from the upcountry joined Red Shirt cadres in their communities. Sometimes, African American Democrats paid a price for their partisanship. Persuaded by Republican propaganda that Democrats intended to re-enslave the black population, African American women sometimes assaulted black Red Shirts. But opposition notwithstanding, black support helped carry the state for Hampton. Indeed, in some counties Hampton received as much as 20 percent of the black vote. Although difficult to measure with precision, the best evidence suggests that black support was crucial to Democratic victory.

Drago draws on substantial primary sources to make his case. Perhaps the best known is the WPA Slave Narratives. The inter-

views, conducted in the 1930s, preserve the memories of ten black Red Shirts and the widow of an eleventh. A lesser known but more contemporary record is the Congressional inquiry into the 1876 elections in South Carolina in which several black Red Shirts were questioned by three United States senators. Full texts of both sources are included in an appendix. An impressive body of newspaper accounts from both Republican and Democratic presses completes the evidence.

Hurrah for Hampton! is a cogent, well-written analysis of a little understood and undervalued aspect of southern history—divergence within the black community. This is a book no serious student of Reconstruction or black history can afford to ignore.

Coastal Carolina University

ELDRED E. PRINCE JR.

Iron Confederacies: Southern Railways, Klan Violence, and Reconstruction. By Scott Reynolds Nelson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. x, 257 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, illustrations, notes, select bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

Iron Confederacies: Southern Railways, Klan Violence, and Reconstruction is a book with a somewhat unusual title. Yet, after the book is read, the title makes sense. Author Scott Reynolds Nelson shows how a vastly reorganized post-Civil War railroad network, especially routes from Virginia into the Carolinas and Georgia, greatly altered the political and social dynamics of the region. With the opening in the early 1870s of a through line under single control between Virginia and Georgia (after 1893 known as the Southern Railway), trade expanded along this corridor. Moreover, the railroad affected racial relationships, initially creating greater economic opportunities with good paying jobs for people of color that white conservatives found unacceptable. The upshot was continued railroad system building, a growing Ku Klux Klan, and eventual "redemption" of state governments from carpetbaggers and scalawags. In time, railroad corporations became comfortable with the power shifts and their version of the Railway Age became firmly established.

Nelson reveals that a revolution of sorts occurred in Dixie between the 1840s and the 1880s. The nature of the Southern railroad network changed dramatically between the eve of the Civil War and the close of Reconstruction. Although shortlines had

dominated much of America where the iron horse had appeared, the South by 1860 had moved on a course somewhat different from the New England, Middle Atlantic, and Old Northwest regions. Generally in the South, there was much less enthusiasm for railroads. Southerners fussed about the impact of new-line construction on their long-established patterns of agricultural trade. And, too, they worried about state finances since the public sector had underwritten numerous pioneer pikes. Indeed, Southern governments were seemingly forced into "state socialism" because "smart money" commonly flowed to railroad projects elsewhere, especially in the populous and industrial Northeast. Moreover, Southern roads suffered from an imbalance of traffic: cotton traveled to coastal ports but little in the way of manufactured goods moved inbound. But after the war when mostly "foreign" railroad captains oriented traffic flows to new destinations, including in Virginia, the old ports like Charleston and Savannah suffered. These interregional carriers molded Southern agriculture, resulting in an economy based heavily on cotton, tobacco, and extractive industries.

Nelson has produced a thoughtful account of the impact of the powerful inter-regional railroad on a specific geographic area. Railroad corridors became more than what John Stilgoe has described in his path-breaking book, *The Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads in the American Scene*. The iron horse significantly altered the social and political milieu in addition to spawning physical changes. Nelson's thesis is both cogent and well-argued. Yet, he has hardly penned the flawless monograph. At times his narrative is repetitive; his grasp of railroad history is somewhat limited and he makes some factual errors. But *Iron Confederacies* is a *must* book for anyone interested in why the New South took the shape that it did.

Clemson University

H. ROGER GRANT

Paper, Presses, and Profits: A History of the E. O. Painter Printing Company. By Sidney Philip Johnston. (DeLeon Springs, Fla.: E.O. Painter Printing Company, 1996. List of illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$18.95 paper.)

Sidney Johnston wrote the original manuscript as his master's thesis at the University of Florida under the direction of Professor Samuel Proctor. With the urging of his father, Dick Johnston, and Professor Proctor, he subsequently revised and expanded his the-

sis. The result is this book: a history of the E. O. Painter Printing Company. Of course, the many illustrations are particularly interesting not only for the company history, but for the families too.

The book contains five chapters each dealing with a specific period in the company history: 1866-1903, 1904-1919, 1920-1941, 1942-1962, and the post-1962 era, which Johnston calls "The Challenges of the Future." Throughout, he explains the connection between his family, the Johnstons, and the Painter Printing Company, and how his family became involved with E. O. Painter.

The company originated in DeLand, Florida, in 1886, when it was created to publish the *Florida Agriculturist*. In 1904, the company expanded into the book and journal publishing market and was incorporated that year. The company has remained under the control of one family ever since and it is believed to be the oldest continuously operating printing business in Florida.

One of the company's early employees, Edward Okle Painter, began work there as a "printer's devil." Initially, Painter acquired half-interest in the *Florida Agriculturist*, but by December 1886, he had secured all rights to the journal. Painter, at age 26, became the sole owner of the company. In 1906, however, he severed his connection with the printing company and turned his interests to the fertilizer business. From 1908 to 1928, the company printed *Painter's Florida Almanac*, which served as a farm journal.

Johnston also discusses the persons who served as shareholders and those who played a major role in the company. For example, Bert Fish, one of Volusia County's most distinguished politicians, served as president of Painter Printing Company from 1907 to 1933. Company growth, however, put strains on the traditional ways of doing business, company employees became disgruntled with not being paid well and, in January 1907, went on strike. The company acquired a large portion of the specialty market of book printing in Florida, requiring the purchase of new and improved printing equipment. Company management tended to delay replacement of printing equipment, largely because of the high cost involved. Johnston goes into some detail regarding the problems facing a growing business in the early twentieth century.

World War II helped Florida and E. O. Painter economically. The publication of the *Florida Supreme Court Reports* was the largest single contract for the war years. But the war also created problems: employees were scarce, those found demanded higher wages, and paper for printing became more difficult to acquire.

In time, the business came under control of Paul Johnston who trained his two sons: Donald Corbin Johnston (1926-) and Sidney Dick Johnston (1930-) in the company business. They eventually became President and Vice President, respectively, and held those positions until the 1980s. After more than eighty years in DeLand, the company in 1970, moved to nearby DeLeon Springs, where it remains. Since its move, the company has secured contracts for annual and quarterly publications including the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, which it began printing in 1969.

This is a good overall history of the E. O. Painter Printing Company. Those interested in the history of printing in Florida will certainly want to read it.

William S. Coker

University of West Florida

Before the New Deal: Social Welfare in the South, 1830-1930. Edited by Elna C. Green. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. xxvi, 222 pp. Introduction, selected bibliography, list of contributors, index. \$36.00 cloth, \$18.00 paper.)

The past twenty years have seen a shift in the focus of historical analysis to the processes of social history and an examination of "history from the bottom up." This has included investigations into the individuals, agencies, and institutions involved in the emerging social welfare system—a system designed to improve the life chances of persons on the margins of society. For a variety of reasons, ranging from accessibility of source material to preconceived notions about the regional nature of the reform tradition, this analysis has centered on social welfare and reform in the North. *Before the New Deal* is a healthy corrective to this phenomenon and offers multiple views of the Southern experience in assisting those considered less fortunate. It is especially welcome in that it places focus on a time period generally ignored by even the few historians venturing into the field of the South and its experiences with public assistance.

Edited volumes are notoriously difficult to assess and review, as differences in style, focus, and interpretive framework make generalizations problematical. The introduction becomes crucial here, as it can provide the connections necessary to make the book a thematic whole, rather than a series of disconnected essays. Elna Green's introduction does this by emphasizing the regional nature of the southern welfare experience. The South *was* different, both

in its views of governmental responsibilities and its experiences with the devastation of war and defeat. But Green does not simply make the case for southern distinctiveness based on regional considerations. She emphasizes the importance of southern views on race, class, and gender in shaping the development of southern welfare institutions. She ties the essays in the book to broader themes in not only southern history, but women's history and the history of race relations. She recognizes this book as only the beginning of an investigation into southern welfare history and maps out a research agenda for future work. She also has added a comprehensive bibliography of articles and books dealing with southern welfare. This will be the first place scholars go to begin their work in this field.

The essays in this book examine a wide range of initiatives designed to ameliorate social ills. They look at both the organizers and the recipients of welfare help. By analyzing such diverse responses as the Poor Farm in Jefferson County (Birmingham), Alabama, aid to women and families in post-World War I Atlanta, and private charity aid in post-bellum New Orleans, the authors show the variety of southern welfare programs. Yet, in spite of their differences, the essays reveal a consistent pattern in the southern response to social problems. While consciously following northern models, southerners also maintained a regional welfare identity, one based on white southern values and traditions. This is shown best in the three essays that deal with the aftermath of the Civil War. Kathleen Gorman's work on Confederate penions, Susan Hamburger's story of the Richmond Home for needy Confederate women, and E. Susan Barber's analysis of responses to Richmond's Civil War orphan population all point out how the Cult of the Lost Cause was woven into the very fabric of charity. Charity was not "given"; it was earned as a reward for serving the South—the traditional white South. Other essays point out the class-based nature of southern welfare. Especially insightful at examining this issue is Lee Polansky's work on the Georgia Training School for Girls. The facility, opened in a blush of Progressive Era optimism in 1914, was used not only to help the unfortunate, but also, according to Polansky, "to widen the strictures of being a 'southern Lady'" (141). Finally, all the essays show, either explicitly or implicitly, the important relation of women to welfare and charity in the South. While maintaining their special sphere as domestic protectors, southern women carved out a public space designed to improve the society around them. Particularly good in this regard is Elna Green's piece on social welfare in New

Orleans and Joan Johnson's work on the push for reform among clubwomen, both white and black, in South Carolina.

This book, then, provides a good starting point from which to examine southern welfare history. As with all edited collections, the pieces are uneven in nature. All tell good stories, but some fail to place their narrative into the broader context of the historical mainstream. There are missing parts as well. The largest and most influential public welfare program in the South before the New Deal was the Freedman's Bureau. Yet it is not the subject of an essay. Perhaps a second volume will cover this neglected aspect. Elna Green is to be commended for putting out this work which adds much to our knowledge of the South and the interplay between its erstwhile reformers and most unfortunate citizens.

University of Florida

STEVEN NOLL

Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902-1930. By Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss Jr. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999. xv, 245 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, appendix, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

This study is an examination of the development of southern black education and its relationship to northern corporate interests, Protestant philanthropy, and southern race ideology; as well as to black demands and expectations. By the first decade of the twentieth century, secular foundation boards assumed major responsibility in shaping philanthropic funding to southern black education and displaced the postbellum roles of Protestant missionary societies and individual benefactors. The title of Anderson and Moss's study, taken from southern Methodist Bishop Warren A. Candler's 1909 polemic, *Dangerous Donation or Degrading Doles, or A Vast Scheme for Capturing and Controlling the Colleges and Universities of the Country*, delineates the hostile environment surrounding African American education. Candler's perspective reified the regional tension and suspicion generated by northern involvement with racial issues. The monograph challenged the direction and purpose of secular foundation boards which were not responsible to civil or religious authority; and the potential for black elevation at, ostensibly, white expense.

Candler's title underscores the importance of white supremacy in shaping private foundation policies. Secular boards, emulated by older Protestant missionary societies, set policies for black edu-

cation that accommodated the pressure of regional race ideology. But despite the dominance of southern race ideology, Anderson and Moss assert that northern philanthropy differed significantly from ideological whiteness. The scholars posit that private foundations had national impact on public policy, education as part of the domestic agenda, and cultural values.

The foundation movement, led by the General Education Board (GEB) beginning in 1902, included the Jeanes, Phelps-Stokes, and Slater Funds. The Protestant missionary societies included the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Aid Society, the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, and the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen. Anderson and Moss include an examination of the largely ignored Episcopal American Church Institute for Negroes (ACIN), established in 1906, as well.

Anderson and Moss argue that the GEB, as the prototype of modern philanthropy, sought to make education apolitical, non-partisan, and neutral but neglected race equality. The operating theory of the GEB supported improved standards and tax-supported public education, and tripled spending for black education beginning in the 1920s. The ACIN, characterized as influenced more by the foundation movement than its denominational counterparts, endorsed industrial education for southern African Americans, but ultimately failed to separate its organization from southern control; and its fund raising remained inconsistent.

Moss and Anderson conclude that philanthropy from the turn of the century maintained a separate space apart from white supremacy. They frame a transformation of northern philanthropy for black education between 1900 and 1930 that replaced the older models of religious motivation with modern ideas that included economic rationality. The foundation movement introduced modernity to a pre-modern space. In addition, the scholars suggest that, given the inconsistent but potentially ethical nature of the foundation movement, the black movement arose not from black educators but from the black church.

Dangerous Donations increases our understanding of the historiography of black education and the foundation movement. Moss and Anderson synthesized those interpretations which frame northern philanthropy for black education as either adversarial or "essentially benign."

Book Notes

Hiring the Black Worker: The Racial Integration of the Southern Textile Industry 1960-1980. By Timothy J. Minchin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. 271 pp. \$49.95 cloth.)

Timothy J. Minchin's scholarly but readable work investigates the economic impact of the Civil Rights movement. He focuses on textile workers because that industry was the largest in the South and had traditionally excluded black workers. Other historians have argued that mills only hired black workers because of a labor shortage. Minchin disputes this conclusion and attributes blacks' advancement to federal regulations. He also highlights the contributions made by unions and the opposition of white executives. Men and women had differing experiences of economic discrimination. Women had difficulty getting hired while men did not receive promotion. Minchin, then, supplies a well-rounded commentary that everyone can enjoy.

A Bibliography of Florida, Volume 3: 1881-1899. By James S. Servies and Lana D Servies. (Pensacola: King and Queen Books, 1999. 599 pp. \$165 cloth.)

Volume Three of this series is now complete. It lists books, pamphlets, broadsides, maps, articles, and government and corporate documents relating to Florida that were published between 1881 and 1899. The collection is arranged chronologically with separate sections under each year for newspapers and government documents. A comprehensive index allows searching by subject. Not all the items listed are available to researchers, but this bibliography shows that many sources exist for those prepared to search for them.

The Florida Handbook 1999-2000. Compiled by Allen Morris and Joan Perry Morris. (Tallahassee: Peninsular Publishing Company, 1999. 724 pp. \$44.95 cloth.)

The most recent edition of this annual is now available. Besides the usual revisions to the sections about the state government, literature, and demographics, this edition features a new section on Local Government. While Florida postcards seem an unlikely topic for discussion, they decorate the cover, and a whimsical yet informative account of their use has been included. The article on Florida's symbols has been augmented by colored pictures of the state's flags. This encyclopedia will tell readers everything that they wish to know about Florida plus some things that they never considered.

Antiquities of the Southern Indians, Particularly of the Georgia Tribes. By Charles C. Jones Jr. Edited and with an introduction by Frank T. Schnell, Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999. 640 pp. \$29.95 paper.)

When Charles C. Jones Jr. first published *Antiquities of the Southern Indians* in 1873, he hoped that his work would provide information and pleasure to those interested in southern archaeology. Frank T. Schnell, Jr. confirms that Jones succeeded admirably in the former, and a brief examination of the text will show that he also furnished the latter. A full-time lawyer, Jones still managed to be a trailblazer in southeastern archaeology. His work endures despite errors in assessing the extent of time involved. He refuted the suggestions that the mound builders were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel and that they had become extinct. Instead, he advocated the idea that they were the ancestors of the contemporaneous Native Americans who had recently suffered on the Trail of Tears. In attributing damage to Native American culture to the Spaniards' actions and ignoring that of the British and Americans, however, he showed that he retained some of the prejudices of his age. Nevertheless, scholars will appreciate the chance to obtain this influential work, and all readers will enjoy investigating archaeology.

Tin Can Tourists in Florida 1900-1970. By Nick Wynne. Images of America Series. (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 1999. 128 pp. \$18.99 paper.)

The popular Images of America series continues with an engaging look at tourism in Florida. Beginning with the advent of the

motor car, tourists started to explore their country in greater numbers than ever before. Florida quickly recognized that these "Tin Can Tourists" could have a positive economic impact. To take advantage of the opportunity, the state built roads, and private enterprise supplied accommodations and entertainments to attract visitors. Nick Wynne has chosen a delightful variety of photographs, primarily from the Ernest Meyer Collection, which documents the adventures of tourists. From shuffleboard to Jai-Lai, this collection includes everything except Mickey Mouse.

The Citrus Industry in the Sunshine State. By Brian Weaver and Richard Weaver. (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 1999. 127 pp. \$18.99 paper.)

Postcards are amusing primary sources that help us understand how people used to live, work, and play. This collection allows us to see how citrus was grown, harvested, and packed between fifty and one hundred years ago. Additionally, the cards show citrus's importance to Florida's tourist industry. People all over the United States received pictures of oranges to brighten their cold winter days. Photographers even used citrus as a backdrop that provided an excuse to show pictures of glamorous women. Brian and Richard Weaver have not simply assembled a group of postcards, however, they have augmented the compilation with personal recollections and even family recipes. Consequently, they have achieved the remarkable feat of making numerous pictures of oranges entertaining and informative.

Civil War Texas: A History and a Guide. By Ralph A. Wooster. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1999. 66 pp. \$7.95 paper.)

Ralph Wooster splendidly narrates the story of the Civil War in Texas from secession in February 1861 to surrender in June 1865. He does not confine his discussion to military matters but devotes a chapter to civilians' difficulties in dealing with shortages of basic foodstuffs such as coffee. Asides entitled "Then and Now" describe places of historic interest that can still be viewed today. Visitors can, therefore, use this book to plan a tour of Texas's important sites. This slim volume is well-illustrated with photographs and maps and offers a comprehensive but light introduction to Texas's role in the Civil War.

The San Saba Mission: Spanish Pivot in Texas. By Robert S. Weddle. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999. 320 pp. \$16.95 paper.)

The San Saba Mission: Spanish Pivot in Texas was first published in 1964 and explains how Fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros established the mission to proselytize the Apaches. Unfortunately, Robert S. Weddle tells the story from the Spanish perspective, which relegates the Apaches to objects for conversion. Their enemy tribes, however, managed to take center stage by destroying the mission, allowing Fray Alonso to fulfill his ambition to become a martyr and forcing the Spanish to revise their policy in the area. Military might replaced missionary zeal, which meant that the presidio and the mission became linked in local mythology. This confusion resulted in the mission site remaining undiscovered until 1993. Its rediscovery prompted publication of this new edition, and Weddle has provided a new introduction that relates how archeologists finally found the site of the San Saba Mission. Weddle produced a well-researched book but writes in a relaxed style that holds his readers' attention.

The Reins of Power: Racial Change and Challenge in a Southern County. By Clinton McCarty. (Tallahassee: Sentry Press, 1999. 330 pp. \$34.95 cloth.)

This county history written in a hard-hitting journalistic style explains the roots of racial problems in Wilcox County, Alabama. Sociologists have often studied Wilcox because it seems a perfect example of an impoverished southern county. Wilcox has little industry or infrastructure; its people are poor. Clinton McCarty's family came from the area so he writes with an insider's perspective though he had lived elsewhere for many years, which gives him an outsider's perception. He begins his story with the first settlers in the area who brought blacks as slaves. Although the slaves gained their freedom after the Civil War, they suffered from segregation until the Civil Rights movement forced change. Even so, the black majority did not manage to gain significant representation in government until 1982. Despite these changes, the inhabitants of Wilcox County remain backward in the important matter of education, and allegations of fraud still plague the electoral process. McCarty fears for the future because racial tension prevents economic and social improvements. That these problems still exist in modern America should give us all cause for concern.

Louisiana During World War II. By Jerry Purvis Sanson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 323 pp. \$60 cloth.)

Although many books have been written about the changes in the United States during World War II, few study individual states. Jerry Purvis Sanson puts Louisiana under the microscope, exploring the mechanization of agriculture, and the roles of increased affluence, patriotism, and participation by women and black men inspired by the war. The greatest changes occurred, however, in the public arena. Huey Long had dominated politics until 1939 when the electorate became disgusted with the level of corruption in politics and voted for the anti-Longite camp. These two factions dominated Louisiana's government until 1960. Still, Sanson leaves his readers with an impression that the more things change the more they stay the same. World War II brought superficial not fundamental alterations to Louisiana. This story, then, is one of continuity in the face of change.

Contemplations of a Primal Mind. By Gabriel Horn. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. 170 pp. \$19.95 cloth.)

History, philosophy, religion, and anthropology meet in this attention-grabbing anthology by Gabriel Horn. His collection of essays flows across our minds like a stream of white water flooding our consciousness with a demand to be heard. In discussing Indians' influence upon whites, he reclaims Native Americans' place in the nation's history. He criticizes civilization for forcing technological progress, claiming that people lack the psychological capacity to handle it. Not surprisingly, Horn has special concerns for the environment. The imbalance in nature caused by the spread of cities and pollution disturbs and angers him. A book of parables, this collection forms a parable itself that explains how we should live and devote ourselves to the mystic part of our lives rather than to excessive consumerism. It is a thought-provoking read.

River of Lakes: A Journey on Florida's St. Johns River. By Bill Belleville. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000. 192 pp. \$24.95 cloth.)

Bill Belleville has a different approach, but his ecological message mirrors that of Horn. Belleville's book narrates the story of the St. Johns River in both time and place. From its birth in prehistory

somewhere in St. Lucie County to its present Atlantic outlet at Mayport, the river meanders its slow way north through Florida. Its northern track is unusual in this hemisphere, but its strangeness does not end there. Each section of the river has its own attributes and personality. Wetlands, artesian springs, and bayous make this river fascinating to explore. Belleville sought help from scientists, environmentalists, fishermen, cave divers, and folk historians on his travels, and their comments illuminate a publication that could otherwise descend to travelogue. Sadly, this tale is one of loss: lost wildlife, lost springs, and lost water. We must not ignore these prophets for fear of losing profits, or our descendants will only have this book to show them the beauties of the St. Johns River.

Balancing Evils Judiciously: The Proslavery Writings of Zephaniah Kingsley. Edited and annotated by Daniel W. Stowell. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. 160 pp. \$49.95 cloth.)

Daniel W. Stowell contributes this latest addition to the Florida History and Culture Series. In his introduction to Zephaniah Kingsley's works, Stowell relates Kingsley's life story and explains how his proslavery beliefs compared and contrasted with other notable writers such as Thomas Jefferson. Although Kingsley was born in England, he changed his nationality frequently; he was variously American, Danish, and Spanish. Settling in East Florida in the late eighteenth century, he purchased a plantation on the St. Johns River in 1803. The plantation flourished, and when the United States gained control of Florida, Kingsley became a member of the Legislative Council for a short period before resigning over the legal position of free blacks in the territory. In the 1830s, he began settling some fifty freed slaves in Haiti although, at his death in 1843, he still owned more than eighty slaves.

Kingsley's writings begin with the moving document manumitting his wife and children and end with his will leaving most of his fortune to his mulatto children. This collection also includes his address to Florida's Legislative Council and letters he sent from Haiti. The most unusual item, however, is "A Treatise on the Patriarchal, or Co-operative System of Society" which Stowell reproduces as one document, but which actually went through four editions. Stowell clearly shows the differences between the editions to explain development in Kingsley's thought. Surprisingly easy to

read, this book will engage anyone with an interest in slavery but will be especially beneficial as a primary source.

Pop Culture Florida. By James P. Goss. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, Inc., 2000. 176 pp. \$9.95 paper.)

Florida's much vaunted climate has attracted the rich, famous, and infamous to its shores. In this entertaining volume, James P. Goss has collected anecdotes about those who have contributed to Florida's popularity since 1945. From Burt Reynolds who does not want to be remembered as the first man to pose nude to Chris Evert whose reputation as an all-American girl remains untarnished, Goss manages to include an eclectic cast of characters sure to amuse everyone. For the serious-minded, Goss uncovers Florida's part in the Watergate scandal and details its part in the space race. This book is perfect to read on the beach and then quiz your friends. So kick back, relax, and enjoy.

Grit-Tempered: Early Women Archaeologists in the Southeastern United States. Edited by Nancy Marie White, Lynne P. Sullivan, and Rochelle A. Marrinan. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. 416 pp. \$49.95. cloth.)

This group biography documents the lives of ten archaeologists from the 1920s through the 1960s. The essays vary from well-researched histories of pioneers to recollections of and interviews with modern practitioners of the craft. These individuals were all white women, but an additional chapter chronicles the experiences of both black and white women who excavated sites under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration during the New Deal. These women were disregarded by the profession and their contribution ignored—until now. Yet, this book does more than simply recount life histories; supplemental essays explore the influence of gender on interpretations of the past. The authors challenge terms such as “early man” to describe prehistoric men and women. Nevertheless, they avoid producing a strident criticism of men in favor of a plea for open-mindedness in deciphering ancient symbols. Personal details and anecdotes make this a light-hearted as well as informative read.

History News

In Memoriam

Wright Langley
1935-2000

Former Member of Board of Directors
Florida Historical Society

Wright Langley graduated from the Rochester Institute of Technology and earned an M.A. in journalism from Boston University. He wrote for *The Raleigh (N.C.) Times* and *The Key West Citizen* before serving as Key West bureau chief for *The Miami Herald* from 1968 to 1975. An avid local historian and photographer, Langley authored and co-authored seven books, including *Yesterday's Florida Keys* and *Yesterday's Key West*. At the time of his death, he was engaged in a videotape oral history project about Key West's longtime residents. Over his long career with non-profit organizations, Langley served as director of the Key West Maritime Historical Society, as executive director of the Historic Florida Keys Preservation Board, as a member of the Key West Sculpture Garden Memorial Selection Committee, and as chairman of the Florida Historical Society's Publications Committee. The family requests that donations be made in Mr. Langley's honor to the Monroe County Public Library's Local History Department, 700 Fleming Street, Key West, FL 33040.

Conferences

"Community and History in the Sunbelt: A Symposium."
"Community and History: Discovering the Past, Building the Future" is a multi-year venture sponsored by the University of Central Florida, combining academic and public history to explore the re-

relationships of historical knowledge, interpretation, and story-telling to community formation, definition, and identity. The first event is a symposium on "History and Community in the Sunbelt" to be held Wednesday, 28 February 2001 at the university student center. The program will focus on the intersections of race, gender, community, and history. Scheduled presenters are Roger Wilkins (George Mason University), "Sunbelt Dreams and the Founders' Aspirations"; David Goldfield (University of North Carolina at Charlotte), "Southern History Meets the Sunbelt"; and Glenna Mathews (Stanford University), "Silicon Valley Women and the California Dream." For information, contact Professor Shirley Leckie at <sleckie@pegasus.cc.ucf.edu>.

"The Savannah River at Fifty." An interdisciplinary conference of the Savannah River Site Historical Council will be held in Augusta, Georgia, and Aiken, South Carolina, from March 23 to 24, 2001. For details, contact Eric Emerson at 843-723-3225.

American Association for the History of Medicine. The annual meeting will be held April 18-22, 2001, in Charleston, South Carolina. Panels will cover topics related to the history of health and healing, of medical ideas, practices, and institutions, the history of illness, disease, and public health for all areas of the world. Further information may be found at the association's website at <http://www.histmed.org/>.

"Connections—Rethinking Our Audiences." The 2001 Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians convenes 26-29 April 2001 in Los Angeles. The program, informed by the opportunities of its location in Los Angeles and the long-standing commitment of Kenneth T. Jackson to engage audiences beyond the academy, covers such topics as writing about America in serious, popular nonfiction; history in film; the historical narratives children learn; history museums and the challenges of the cultural marketplace; historical memory and personal memoirs; and on-line history in classrooms and exhibition. Visit the conference website at <http://www.indiana.edu/~oah>.

Call for Papers

"The Popular Culture of Florida." The annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held 23-26 May 2001 in Cocoa. The general theme is "The Popular Culture of Florida," but papers

and presentations on other topics relating to Florida's history, environment, politics, or economy are invited. Send a brief summary of the proposed paper/session, along with the names and addresses of presenters, and proposed chairpersons, any audio-visual aids needed, and other pertinent information to Dr. Robert A. Taylor, Humanities Department, Florida Institute of Technology, 150 West University Boulevard, Melbourne, FL 32901 or to Dr. Robert Snyder, University of South Florida, 2401 Blind Pond Avenue, Lutz, FL 33549-7508. The deadline for proposal submission is 30 January 2001. For further information, visit the Society's webpage at <<http://www.florida-historical-soc.org/>>.

"Academic Hazing: The Dark Side of the Academy." Submissions are invited for a collection of new essays exploring the dark side of academic life: the denial of tenure and promotion, salary inequities, sexual harassment, exploitation of part-time employees, the publish or perish syndrome, time management issues, stress and burnout, workload expectations, administrative policies, etc. Personal stories are particularly sought. Essays should be a maximum of 4,500 words and should be accompanied by a current curriculum vita. Previously published essays will not be considered. Deadline: February 1, 2001. Send direct essays and queries to Denise D. Knight, 2616 Ames Road, Cortland, NY 13045.

"Diaspora Paradigms: New Scholarship in Comparative Black History." The planning committee for Diaspora Paradigms: New Scholarship in Comparative Black History, in conjunction with the Comparative Black History program at Michigan State University, invites proposals for a national conference to be held September 20-23, 2001. This forum will provide an opportunity for scholars to network in an environment that offers constructive criticism and fosters intellectual stimulation through comparative roundtable discussions, thematic sessions, keynote addresses and scholarly debate on various topics within the African Diaspora.

In addition to papers and panels on Africa and the Americas, the committee seeks scholarship on issues concerning such diverse regions as Australia, Europe, Asia, or any place where people of African descent reside. All proposals should represent the vanguard in methodological approaches and theory. Individual proposals should include a one-page abstract and current curriculum vita. All proposals are due no later than 31 January 2001. The preferred

method of submission is a Word or WordPerfect attachment e-mailed to: <cbhprgm@msu.edu> or <dukeeric@msu.edu>. For further information, visit the website at <<http://www.msu.edu/~cbhprgm/conference2001.html>> or call 517-410-3439.

“Science at the Frontiers: Medicine and Culture in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds.” The Twenty-first International Congress of History of Science will be held in Mexico City, 8-14 July 2001. Given the link between medicine and culture, the symposium will focus on the transformations occurring in the process of transfer and on the further adaptation of knowledge to new cultural parameters. For proposals, contact Alain Touwaide at <atouwaide@hotmail.com>. For further information on the Congress, see the website at <<http://www.smhct.org>>.

Local History Projects and Events

Havana Historical Society Millennium Project. The Havana Historical Society of Havana, Florida, announces its six-year Millennium Project which will culminate in the town's centennial in 2006. The project includes publications of books about Havana's history, identification and logging of cemeteries, and creation of oral histories. For more information, contact Sandi Beare at 850-539-7422 or <sandibeare@aol.com>.

“Spring Into History.” The Central Florida Local History Consortium will sponsor a series of events throughout March and April, 2001, emphasizing the intersection between history and community-building. For further information, including dates and locations, visit the “Community and History” webpage at <<http://pegasus.cc.ucf.edu/~flhisqtr/com&his.html>>.

Fort King. In 1846, the War Department opened Fort King to private purchasers, and this historic place passed into private ownership where it remained for 154 years. In 1997, the McCall family put it on the market inducing a fervor among history minded citizens to get it back into the public domain. Local activists drew together a remarkable coalition to buy the land: the City of Ocala, the County of Marion, the Seminole Tribe of Florida, the Seminole Nation from Oklahoma, the Florida Division of Historical Resources, Congressman Cliff Stearns, the school system, and West

Point graduates living in Florida. The Seminole Wars Historic Foundation Inc. helped coordinate these diverse interests, resulting in the 16 May 2000 purchase of the thirty-five-acre tract.

Why spend energy to save a fort site from an all-but-forgotten conflict—the Second Seminole War of 1835-1842? Fort King was built in 1827 to protect the Indian Agency. In council meetings at Fort King in 1832, 1834, and 1835, Agent Wiley Thompson told the Seminoles that the United States wanted them removed from Florida, a policy which Osceola flatly refused on their behalf. Fort King is where Osceola was chained for a time; it is also where he killed Agent Thompson. The Seminoles wiped out a detachment of 108 on its way from Fort Brooke to relieve Fort King. The location was a crossroads for every element of the war: eight generals of the regular United State Army, every regiment of the army, volunteers, non-military citizens, sailors, blacks free and slave, and Native Americans. From Fort King was directed the search-and-destroy strategy that finally reduced the Indians to surrender. When, by attrition, the war dwindled away in 1842, Fort King became for a time the county seat of newly-created Marion County.

Workshops

Annual Writers Workshop and Conference in Honor of Rachel Carson. The First Annual Writers' Workshop and Conference in honor of Rachel Carson will be held from June 12 through June 15, 2001, in Boothbay Harbor, Maine. The workshop is open to published and amateur writers as well as educators and interested individuals. Invited featured speakers include Linda Lear, author of the definitive Carson biography, Tom Horton, Gioia Timpanelli, Bruce Hiscock, and Barbara Ras. Workshop sessions will be held in the areas of fiction, non-fiction, poetry, and children's literature, and participants will have ample opportunity to enjoy the natural beauty of coastal Maine and the activities surrounding Boothbay Harbor. For additional information and registration, please visit the NEW-CUE website at <<http://www.new-cue.org>>.

Fellowships and Awards

American Association for State and Local History Award Winners. The American Association for State and Local History awards program was initiated in 1945 to establish and encourage standards

of excellence in the collection, preservation, and interpretation of state and local history throughout America. It not only honors significant achievement in the field of local history, but also brings public recognition of the opportunities for small and large organizations, institutions, and programs to make contributions in this arena. Among its recipients for 2000 were two Florida entries. The Henry B. Plant Museum in Tampa received an Award of Merit for the live exhibit production "Upstairs/Downstairs at the Tampa Bay Hotel." Patsy West of Key West received a Certificate of Commendation on the book, *The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism*. Congratulations.

Filson Fellowships. The Filson Club Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky, is pleased to announce the continuation of the Filson Fellowships, which encourage scholarly use of The Filson Club's nationally significant collections by providing support for travel and lodging. The Society's collections are especially strong for the frontier, antebellum, and Civil War eras. Applicants must submit a cover letter, a resume, and two letters of recommendation from colleagues familiar with their work. A description of the research project (no longer than two double-spaced pages) should demonstrate the relevance of researching the Filson's collections, including the identification of specific collections when appropriate. The application deadline is 31 January 2001. The Guide to Selected Manuscript and Photograph Collections of The Filson Club Historical Society is available at <<http://www.filsonclub.org>>. For additional information, contact Nelson L. Dawson at 502-635-5083 or by e-mail at <dawson@filsonclub.org>.

2001-2002 Fellowships at the Huntington. Approximately one hundred fellowships for research in English or American literature, history, art history, and the history of science, using materials at the Huntington Library, will be awarded. Awards vary from the Huntington Research Awards—for one to five months and carrying monthly stipends of \$2000—to the Barbara Thom Postdoctoral Fellowships—designed to support a non-tenured faculty member who is revising a manuscript for publication, and for nine to twelve months with a stipend of \$30,000. For more information, please reference the library's website at <<http://www.huntington.org>>, or contact Carolyn Powell at (626) 405-2194 or by e-mail at <cpowell@huntington.org>.

Charles DeBenedetti Prize in Peace History. The Peace History Society invites submissions for the Charles DeBenedetti Prize in Peace History, to be given to the author or authors of an outstanding article published in English in 1999 or 2000. Articles reflecting new, cutting-edge research appearing either in edited works or journals may focus on the history of peace movements, the response of individuals to peace and war issues, the relationship between peace and other reform movements, gender issues in warfare and peacemaking, comparative analyses, quantitative studies, or other relevant subjects. The prize includes a cash award of \$500. Articles should be submitted in triplicate by February 1, 2001 to Professor Robert Shaffer, Department of History, Shippensburg University, Shippensburg, PA. 17257. For further information, you may also contact Prof. Shaffer via e-mail at <roshaf@ark.ship.edu>. For more information about the work of the Peace History Society, including membership information, visit the web site at <<http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace/Peace/>>.

Virginia Historical Society Research Fellowship Program. To promote the interpretation of Virginia history and access to its collections, the Virginia Historical Society, funded by a matching grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and gifts from individuals, offers fellowships of up to four weeks a year. Applicants whose research promises to result in significant publication, including the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, will receive primary consideration. Applicants should send an original and three copies of the following: a cover letter, a résumé, two letters of recommendation (which may be sent separately), and a description of their research project not longer than two double-spaced pages that also states the length of the award requested. The deadline for applications is 15 January 2001; awards will be announced by 15 March 2001. Send applications to: Dr. Nelson D. Lankford, Chairman, Research Fellowship Committee, Virginia Historical Society, 428 N. Boulevard, Richmond, VA 23220; telephone 804-358-4901; fax 804-355-2399; <nlanford@vahistorical.org>. Visit the society's web page at <<http://www.vahistorical.org>>.

New Websites

"Beyond Face Value: Depictions of Slavery in Confederate Currency." An original virtual exhibit is now available through the web-

site of the United States Civil War Center at LSU: <<http://www.cwc.lsu.edu/cwc/BeyondFaceValue>>. Featuring more than one hundred digital images of historical currency, "Beyond Face Value" includes original narratives and analyses of the relationship between art and politics in the Civil War era. The exhibit was made possible through a grant from the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, a state affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

"Voice Vision Holocaust Oral History Archive." Housed in the Mardigian Library at the University of Michigan-Dearborn, the Voice Vision Holocaust Survivor Oral Histories Archive contains over 150 interviews with Holocaust survivors conducted by Professor Sid Bolkosky. The collection comprises nearly 330 hours of audio tapes and 60 hours of video, which are currently being transcribed and made available to the public. In addition to the transcribed interviews, the archive maintains a website consisting of several interviews in audio format using Realplayer and a transcription of the audio requiring Adobe Acrobat, both of which can be downloaded from the site at <<http://holocaust.umd.umich.edu/>>.

"My History is America's History." A new website explores our nation's history through our families. The National Endowment for the Humanities designed this to encourage and help individuals explore their own families, discover their families' places in history, and make their own contributions to history. The site, including ideas about applying the website to classroom and community use, may be found at <www.myhistory.org>.

Berkshire Conference of Women Historians. Announcing a new website for the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians. The site contains information on Berkshire Conference membership, First Book and Article Prizes, graduate student and postdoctoral fellowships, and the 12th Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, to be held June 6-9, 2002 at the University of Connecticut at Storrs. Call For Papers for the 2002 Berkshire Conference also available at the site. Deadline for Paper, Panel and Roundtable Proposals is December 15, 2000. Visit the website at <<http://www.berksconference.org>>.

Lectures

Florida Southern College Lecture Series. The 2000-2001 Florida Lecture Series continues with three programs in the spring. On 18 January, Michael Radelet of the University of Florida will speak on "The Death Penalty in Florida." On 8 February, Ben Green of Florida State University will address "Florida's Harry T. Moore: America's First Martyr for Civil Rights." And on 15 March, David J. Coles will lecture on "The Smallest Tadpole: Florida in the Civil War." All programs are free and open to the public, beginning at 7 p.m. in the Hollis Seminar Room. For information, call James M. Denham at 863-680-4312.

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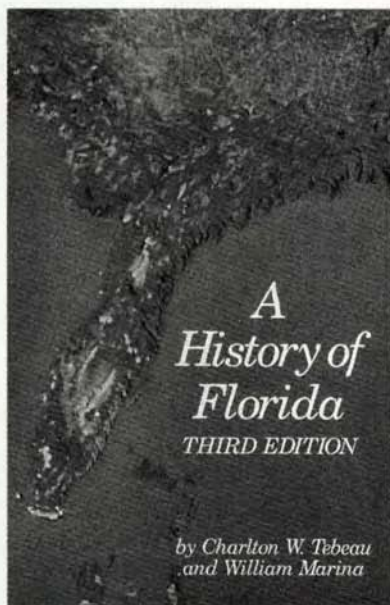
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The Florida Historical Society

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



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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—is 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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