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FLORIDA'S OVERSEAS RAILROAD

by DAVID L. WILLING

SOON after leaving the village of Florida City, the mid-twentieth century auto traveler driving to the Florida Keys rounds a curve and comes on to the roadbed of the Overseas Highway. If he looks quickly, the driver may see mile post 397¹ of the Florida East Coast Railway, a few rods west of the highway. This lonely sentinel of the Everglades sawgrass, standing literally "at the end of the line," marks the beginning of what was the Overseas Extension of the Florida East Coast Railway - a marvelous work of construction which ranks among the wonders of the world as an example of man's ability to transform a wilderness into civilization by assembling men and amassing materials in a gigantic overwater construction project.

Although few travelers or residents of the Florida Keys realize it, the building of the "railroad that went to sea" cost \$27,127,205, or about \$212,000 a mile² and approximately 200 lives.³ More than that, it was the fulfillment of a dream of its builder, being the last of Henry Morrison Flagler's major projects on the east coast of Florida.

The Florida Keys stretch out like a huge crescent for a hundred miles from the mainland of the peninsula to Key West. Composed of coral and oolitic limestone,⁴ the narrow islands range in size from Key Largo, thirty miles in length, to small atolls which contain scarcely more than a few cubic yards of sand covered with mangrove bushes. Until the coming of the white man, a dense tropical undergrowth covered the keys with a profusion of mahogany, ferns, and mangrove. The blue waters of the surrounding Florida Bay and Gulf of Mexico contain countless varieties of tropical fish. Pirates roamed the coves and passes

1. *The Official Guide of the Railways*, (New York, May, 1956), 634.

2. 84 ICC Reports 31 (1924), from Huber Dale Earle, *A Study of the Traffic of the Florida East Coast Railway* (Gainesville, University of Florida, 1933, unpublished M.A. thesis.)

3. Frank Parker Stockbridge and John H. Perry, *So This Is Florida*, (Jacksonville, 1938), 140.

4. Junius Elmore Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary*, II, (New York, 1952), 905.

in the days of exploration, taking advantage of the maze of waterways to hide their vessels between forays to plunder passing ships laden with gold for Spain.

As with most of Florida, the keys were among the first areas of the United States to be discovered and the last to be developed. White men first saw the islands in the sixteenth century, but several hundred years passed before the area became more than a tropical wilderness.

Agitation for a keys railroad began several decades before the project actually took form. In 1831, as "railroad fever" was overtaking the nation, the editor of the Key West *Gazette* suggested that a railroad line be built to the island town.⁵ (This was even before the first railroad in Florida was constructed from Tallahassee to St. Marks.⁶) Four years later, in 1835, another Key West paper, the *Enquirer*, also advocated a Key West railroad. Adding his voice to those who favored a line across the keys, Senator Stephen R. Mallory of Key West during the 1850's called in the United States Senate for a road to be built, referring to his home town as the "American Gibraltar."⁷

The debacle of the Civil War interrupted attempts to get a railroad to Key West, but only for a short time. In 1866, attention was again drawn to the keys when J. C. Bailey, a civil engineer, surveyed the route over the keys for a telegraph line of the International Ocean Telegraph Company.⁸ Three attempts to build a line were made in 1879, 1880, and 1883. In 1879 a Florida charter was issued to the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railroad Company to build a line southward, ostensibly to Key West. In 1880 the state of Georgia chartered the Great Southern Railway to build a line to Key West to connect with the then projected Latin American steamship service. Neither company built any line however.⁹ Then in 1883 General John B. Gordon, late of the Confederate Army, received a franchise from the Florida legislature to build a Key West railroad. Gordon's

5. Carlton J. Corliss, "Building the Overseas Railway to Key West," *Tequesta*, no. 13, (Miami, 1953), 3-21.

6. Harry Gardner Cutler, *History of Florida*, I. (Chicago, 1923), 60. This railroad was the first project one in Florida, although not the first to be completed. It was the most important road of Florida in the Territorial period. Ed.

7. Corliss, *op. cit.*

8. Cutler, *op. cit.*

9. Corliss, *op. cit.*

attempt was the first concrete effort to traverse the keys by rail, for his company managed to construct nearly sixty miles of line on the mainland before the project was abandoned.¹⁰

All the attempts by hastily chartered and short-lived railroad companies to build a keys railroad were but a prelude to the entrance upon the scene of Henry Morrison Flagler, who finally succeeded in pushing a line to Key West.

Flagler first visited Florida in 1878. At the time he was beginning a slow retirement from the Standard Oil Company, of which he was a co-founder. In 1881 Flagler's first wife died and in June, 1883, the oil magnate remarried. In the same year Flagler and his second wife visited St. Augustine, where they remained two months. Other trips to Florida followed. Soon Flagler became interested in the potential of the state and subsequently built the hotel, railroad, steamship, and land company system which by the mid-nineties had begun to transform the east coast.¹¹

In the early nineties, as Flagler's railroad was approaching the trading post on Biscayne Bay which would eventually become Miami, the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of Florida hired H. S. Duval, a civil engineer, to inspect the railroad south of Daytona. In this report Duval predicted mildly that Flagler might extend his line all the way to Key West. This was the first public statement made by anyone about the possibility of a keys railroad becoming one of Flagler's projects; although the tycoon did not answer the prediction, it attracted a great deal of attention and caused much interest to be focused on Flagler's works on the lower east coast.¹²

Interest was heightened in 1894, when Jefferson B. Browne, Collector of Customs for the Port of Key West, published an article in the *National Geographic Magazine* calling for an overseas railroad. Entitled "Across the Gulf by Rail to Key West," Browne's article now reads somewhat like a Chamber of Commerce pamphlet. He cited Key West's growth, trade, and strategic military location as requiring a railroad, especially if the "Nicaragua Canal" should ever be built. The piece concluded with an

10. Cutler, *op. cit.*

11. Dovell, *op. cit.*, 616.

12. Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida's Flagler*, (Athens, 1949), 202-227.

indirect invitation to Flagler to become the line's builder, referring to him as a late-nineteenth century Cyrus West Field.¹³

In September, 1895, Key West sent two of her leading citizens, George L. Babcock and George Lowe, to St. Augustine and Jacksonville to solicit interest in an overseas railroad.¹⁴

Flagler still remained silent. His railroad was pushed south, however, and reached Miami in April, 1896. A few years later the line was extended twenty eight miles to tap the fertile truck farm areas in the homestead country of south Dade County.

All the time after 1902, however, it was never intended that the line would terminate on the mainland, although no official announcement of the extension was made until three years later. Although he was past seventy and had already spent at least thirty million dollars¹⁵ on his Florida ventures, Flagler, paying little heed to the advice of his friends and subordinates to forget the project, began to move toward his final decision to build the extension. His love of doing big things and the promise of Key West and Cuban trade all led to his decision, but the single thing which caused, more than anything else, Flagler to build the road was the construction of the Panama Canal and the promise that project held for making Key West the South's most important city (which, of course, it never did). Years later, in 1912, when interviewed by a reporter, the builder said the passage of the Panama Canal bill by Congress on November 18, 1903, was parent to the idea.¹⁶

Flagler was a friend of Elihu Root, and frequently corresponded with him regarding the matter of an isthmus canal, so that there is ample evidence that Flagler followed closely developments leading to the canal's construction.¹⁷

In the summer of 1902 preliminary surveys had been made into the Everglades under the leadership of Location Engineer William J. Krome, then 26 and a graduate of both the University of Illinois and Cornell. Flagler's idea at that time was to investigate carrying the line across the Everglades to Cape Sable, thence

13. Correspondence and miscellaneous papers from the files of the Florida East Coast Railway, microfilm, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

14. Martin, *op. cit.*

15. Florida East Coast Railway files, *loc. cit.*

16. St. Augustine *Evening Record*, January 22, 1912.

17. Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root*, I, (New York, 1938), 470-1.

across Florida Bay and the Gulf to Key West, bypassing the keys. Krome's men encountered great difficulty in surveying through the sawgrass to Cape Sable; one of his parties had to be rescued by a relief expedition and, when found, was on the verge of starvation.¹⁸ Eventually the idea of building the road by way of Cape Sable was rejected in favor of a route across the keys.¹⁹

In the winter following the signing of the Panama Convention Flagler and his chief aide, Joseph R. Parrott, studied the engineer's reports and preliminary surveys in a new light. The investigation was carried further, and at the end of the winter of 1904 Flagler closed a conference with Parrott with the question, "Are you sure this railway can be built?" Parrott replied, "I am sure," to which Flagler said, "Very well, go ahead."²⁰

Although the momentous decision to build the extension had been made, it was still not revealed to the public. Flagler went ahead, however, and appointed a Chief Construction Engineer, Joseph C. Meredith, who was hired in July, 1904. At the time Meredith was employed in the construction of a dock at Tampico, Mexico.²¹ A graduate of Iowa State College,²² the engineer was a noted bridge builder. He has been described by one of his associates as "small of stature, but of great energy, resourcefulness, determination, and courage."²³ The choice of Meredith is generally recognized to have been a fortunate one, for he was responsible for much of the success in building the extension.

Continuous progress toward beginning construction was made in the months following Meredith's appointment. In January, 1905, Flagler and his aides toured the keys from Miami to Key West by steamer, viewing the route of the projected extension. At Key West they stayed several hours in conference with local officials.

Then on January 30, the *Miami Metropolis*, in a special Key West edition, announced officially that the extension would be built. The newspaper was Flagler's mouthpiece in South Florida; it noted that the line was expected to be finished in January,

18. *The Florida Flower*, (Miami and Tampa, October 15, 1911.)

19. Corliss, *op. cit.*

20. Florida East Coast Railway files, *loc. cit.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. I. N. Tompkins, *Through Sunny Florida*, (Mankato, Minnesota, 1921), 18.

23. Corliss, *op. cit.*

1908 - an optimistic prediction, indeed, since it would be until 1912 before the road would be completed.²⁴

When the decision was made to build the Overseas Extension, bids from private construction firms were invited, but only one contractor wanted the job, and he on a cost-plus basis. Flagler refused to have the work done in that manner, so the job was carried out from beginning to end by the organization of the Flagler System itself.²⁵ Meredith was in charge of the vast project. He was assisted by W. J. Krome and Division Engineers P. L. Wilson, C. S. Coe, G. R. Smiley, and Ernest Cotton. Bridge Engineer was R. W. Carter, General Foreman was E. H. Sheran, and Auditor of Construction was B. A. Deal.²⁶

Work began south of Homestead in April, 1905.²⁷ Immediately the skill of Flagler's engineers was put to test. The thirty-odd miles between Homestead and Barnes Sound consisted of Everglades sawgrass and marsh. To build an embankment for the right-of-way, dredges, built in immense holes in the ground, dug about thirty miles of navigable canals along the route. In the course of the work, water was let in to float each dredge. As the dredge ate its way toward the sea, mud was thrown up to make an embankment, leaving a canal behind. In some places the bedrock was so near the surface that the dredges were stranded; a system of locks was then used by which the stalled machines were floated over the barriers.²⁸

At Barnes Sound the line reached Key Largo. Work was pushed down this long island to Upper and Lower Matecumbe Keys and to Long Key. Much of the roadbed in this portion was built of native limestone blasted from along the right-of-way. To protect embankments exposed to wave action, a heavy layer of marine marl was dredged up and loaded on to trains of steel dump cars operating on long trestles built out into the marl beds. The marl was dumped where needed, where it formed a solid protective coating, with a glass-like surface which proved strong enough to withstand some of the heaviest hurricane seas.²⁹

24. Martin, *op. cit.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. Florida East Coast Railway Files, *loc. cit.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *The Florida Flower.*

29. Florida East Coast Railway files, *loc. cit.*

At Long Key a viaduct 2.68 miles long³⁰ was built to connect Long and Grassy Keys. This bridge is probably the most beautiful of all the bridges built on the entire extension, reminding one, as it does, of an ancient Roman aqueduct. The structure consists of 180 reinforced concrete arches of Hudson River rock. Each of the arches was built on piers set into solid rock on the ocean floor; twenty five feet separate the water's surface from the crown of each arch.³¹

By December, 1907, the railroad had reached Knight's Key, eighty three miles below Homestead. There a large dock reached by a long trestle was constructed. This structure was opened February 6, 1908, and passenger steamship service was established to Havana. For the next four years, until the extension was completed, Knight's Key was the southern terminal for FEC trains. A port of entry with a post office and customs house was set up to handle the traffic which soon began to pass through the terminal.³²

Just beyond the Knight's Key Terminal lay a seven-mile expanse of water which was crossed by the longest bridge built on the entire project. Two types of bridging were used on the Knight's Key viaduct: concrete piers and concrete arches. A foundation was provided by using cofferdams; piles were anchored in the solid rock at the sea bottom, and these were filled in and built up with cement. The piers which were placed above contained about 175 cubic yards of concrete apiece - enough to fill a five masted schooner - and on these a steel floor plate girder style of bridging was used to make a decked bridge. At the south end of the bridge, one and a quarter miles of water was spanned with 210 arches. The space between the spandrel walls above the arches was filled with sand and gravel. On this filling cross-ties were placed and subsequently ballasted, lined, and surfaced just as if the road were on shore.³³

When the extension was about half completed, Chief Engineer Meredith died suddenly on April 20, 1909. An indication of the esteem in which Meredith was held by his employer and associates can be had from the inscription which appears on the

30. Martin, *op. cit.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. Corliss, *op. cit.*

33. St. Augustine *Evening Record*, *loc. cit.*

unhewn granite monolith which marks his grave in the old Miami City Cemetery,³⁴ the resting place of so many people connected with South Florida's early history:

"In memory of Joseph Carroll Meredith, Chief Engineer in the Key West Extension of the Florida East Coast Railway, who died at his post of duty, April 20, 1909. This memorial is erected by the railway company in appreciation of his skill, fidelity, and devotion in this last and greatest work of his life."

Fortunately, however, Meredith had laid plans months in advance of the work; almost all the construction had been planned and was on paper at the time of his death. William J. Krome was promoted to take Meredith's place and the construction was pushed forward.³⁵

The third of the three greatest bridges on the extension was built at Bahia Honda. The deepest water anywhere in the keys was encountered at that point, some of the foundations of the steel truss bridge being thirty feet below tide level.³⁶

The story of the Overseas Extension of the Florida East Coast Railway is much more than a recital of events in the construction of bridges and right-of-way. The project was a gigantic human undertaking which involved a continuous battle against the elements. Hurricanes, blistering heat, insects, and scarcities of food, water and building materials all combined to hinder the progress of construction. Speaking of the determination which ultimately overcame these difficulties, Krome said, "We have put things through because we had to."³⁷

Mosquitoes were an ever present problem. The line was built many years before modern-day insecticides and DDT were discovered, so great quantities of pyrethrum powder and numerous smudge pots were used to combat the pests. Nature proved to be the best mosquito repellent when one year a hurricane swept across the keys, filling all freshwater pools with saltwater, so that the insects could not breed for a few months.

Lack of adequate food and water at the site of construction was an even greater problem. Except for fish (and there was

34. Florida East Coast Railway files, *loc. cit.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. Neal Wyatt Chapline, *Florida The Fascinating*, (New York, 1914), 91.

plenty of that!) the keys produced virtually no food, so that provisions for the thousands of construction workers had to be hauled from the mainland.

At first it was thought that water could be found in the keys, and so geologists were hired in the early stages of construction to explore for and dig wells on the islands. Their efforts were in vain, for no potable water was discovered. The project required up to 4,500,000 gallons, or 700 carloads, of fresh water a month. At first it was hauled from Miami to the keys by boat. Later, when enough track had been laid, the precious liquid was brought from Manatee Creek in the Everglades. Finally, wells were dug and a 100,000 gallon tank erected at Everglades, near Homestead, and water was carried from there to the project in 7,000 gallon cypress tanks mounted on flatcars. At Marathon and other points the water was transferred to six-tank barges for further distribution.

Although some things needed in the construction of the extension were found along the keys, most of the material had to be imported, some of it from thousands of miles away. Thirty five miles of temporary trestling and 70,000 units of piling were laid down along the route, and all this timber was brought in from the mainland.³⁸ Sand and gravel were hauled from Chesapeake Bay, crushed rock, enough to fill eighty tramp steamers, was brought from the Hudson River. Two hundred thousand tons of coal were also freighted in.³⁹ For underwater construction, cement was imported from Germany; American made cement was used for work above the water line.⁴⁰

During the course of construction a variety of equipment was used: twenty seven launches, eight stern-wheel steamboats from the Mississippi River, three tugs, twelve dredges, eight concrete mixers, twelve steam pile drivers, ten power excavators, eight derrick barges, one catamaran (for hauling coffer dams), 150 lighters, two steel barges, six locomotive cranes, and two sea-going steamers were all used in building the extension. All the floating equipment was furnished with dynamos for generating electric light, because much concrete work was done at night.⁴¹

38. Corliss, *op. cit.*

39. *The Florida Flower.*

40. Corliss, *op. cit.*

41. Cutler, *op. cit.*

By far the greatest obstacle nature threw up in the way of the railroad builders were the three hurricanes which struck in 1906, 1909, and 1910.

The blow which hit on October 18, 1906, took the greatest toll of lives and property: 130 men were killed and untold thousands of dollars in damage was done the right-of-way and equipment.⁴²

W. J. Krome estimated that the winds reached 120 miles per hour at Long Key in the 1906 hurricane. When the storm struck Long Key, houseboat number 4, with 150 men on board, broke from its moorings, and was quickly swept into Hawk's channel and out into the gulf. Heavy seas from the gulf began to break up the vessel. Soon the top was swept off and as the barge broke up, men grabbed for timbers and the side of the barge. From 30 to 40 were crushed to death as the boat collapsed. One side of the boat was especially crowded with men; but, as the waves mounted, the vessel turned over three times, reducing the number of men each time. Those who were lucky to survive were picked up by the Russian steamer *Jennie* and other passing vessels. Some of the workers were landed finally in ports as far away as Liverpool and New York. In this same storm the steamer *St. Lucie* was lost, carrying thirty five of the hundred workers on board to watery graves.⁴³ Meredith's statement that "no man has any business being connected with this work who can't stand grief"⁴⁴ was only too true!

The disaster of the 1906 hurricane taught a thorough lesson to the builders of the extension, so that thereafter, greater precaution was taken to minimize storm damage. More attention was paid to storm warnings. Flagler encouraged his engineers to bring their wives and families to the construction site, and provided housing for them, but by August of each year after the 1906 disaster families were urged to move to the mainland for the duration of the hurricane season.⁴⁵

To prevent floating equipment from being carried away by hurricane waves, storm channels were dredged out in shallow

42. Ralph Henry Barbour, *Let's Go To Florida*, (New York, 1926), 277.

43. *Florida Times-Union*, October 21, 1906.

44. Chapline, *op. cit.*

45. Martin, *op. cit.*

water where machinery exposed to storms was deliberately sunk, then raised when the winds subsided.⁴⁶

Although the storms of 1909 and 1910 were strong enough to carry rocks weighing from six to eight tons out to sea, there was much less property damage and loss of life.⁴⁷

To succeed in overcoming hazards of nature and to build the gigantic extension, Flagler and his aides found it necessary to employ an average of 4,000 workers at a given time. (Payroll records show that about 40,000 men were engaged in construction work at one time or other during the job's seven year life.)⁴⁸

A small part of the labor force came from among the "conchs," natives of the keys, but the bulk of the force was drawn from elsewhere. Recruiting agencies were set up by the Flagler System in Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh, and other northern cities. Negroes were recruited from the South and from the Bahamas. As the work progressed, the overseas extension became a veritable melting pot of races and nationalities. Greeks, Italians, Cubans, Negroes, southern white "crackers," and northern whites were all used in varying numbers.⁴⁹

Perhaps the most saddening aspect of the labor force was represented by the men who were recruited in northern cities. Most of them came from skid rows, like New York's Bowery, and were in poor health, broken by disease and alcoholism. A list of occupations and professions represented by the down-and-outers was kept in case an emergency on the job should require any special services, and this roster revealed that among the group were former lawyers, doctors, pharmacists, sculptors, clergymen, artists, actors, salesmen, and teachers, to name but a few. Some of these men would work for several years; others would quit during a payday spree, and would often return to the North, only to return again later, under a new contract.⁵⁰

One of the largest groups of laborers came from the three British islands of Grand Cayman, Little Cayman, and Cayman Brac in the Caribbean. Each year, usually in January, the islanders came to the project and stayed until about two weeks before

46. St. Augustine *Evening Record*, *loc. cit.*

47. Cutler, *op. cit.*

48. Corliss, *op. cit.*

49. Florida East Coast Railway files, *loc. cit.*

50. Corliss, *op. cit.*

Christmas, when they would quit - almost to a man - and go home to be with their families until January.⁵¹

As the work progressed, it was found that the best results were achieved from contract work. The railroad let contracts to individuals who then hired ten or twenty men to help them.⁵²

To accommodate the workers, fourteen camps were established along the keys; a number of two-story floating dormitories were also used.⁵³ Each camp was under the supervision of an engineer and consisted of dormitories and a mess hall, which were serviced by a staff of stewards, janitors, and laundrymen.⁵⁴

Until 1909 the construction office was located at the Miami Terminal Docks, after which time it was moved to Marathon.⁵⁵

At Marathon were the offices of the constructing engineer, chief auditor, and paymaster, as well as the reserve storeroom and material yards, loading docks, weather bureau, and emergency hospital. A short distance down the line, at Boot Key, were machine shops and marine railways for repairing floating and rolling stock.⁵⁶

Flagler took good care of his workmen. Each camp was adequately supplied with food and water brought weekly on boats from the central storeroom at Marathon. Hospital facilities were provided at Marathon and Miami.⁵⁷

Perhaps as a reflection of Flagler's stem Calvinism more than anything else, liquor was prohibited in the construction camps. As one might expect, this regulation was virtually impossible to enforce. Although they ran the risk of being treated with no more ceremony if caught than as if they were pirates, numerous operators of "booze boats" plied the waterways around the camps, supplying the workers with whiskey. The work camps were not frontier settlements in the strictest sense, but they took on the air of a wild-west town every payday, as laborers drank up much, if not all of their wages.⁵⁸

51. *Ibid.*

52. Florida East Coast Railway files, *loc. cit.*

53. *Florida Times-Union*, October 7, 1906.

54. St. Augustine *Evening Record*, *loc. cit.*

55. Corliss, *op. cit.*

56. *The Florida Flower*.

57. Martin, *op. cit.*

58. *Ibid.*

Paydays and alcoholic spree came only once a month, however. Most of the time, life on the extension project was one day of hard work after the other. Winthrop Packard, a Florida traveler during the time of the overseas project, gives us this word picture written after he had made a journey down to Marathon on the train around 1909:

"Men cling like birds to slender staging or insecure footholds, swaying to one side to let the train pass, then swaying back again to go to work. A lean, knob-muscle navvy, who has been half comatose, slumped in an awkward heap in a seat, rouses to the hail of these men as we pass, and becomes excited over the work. He explains that he has been in the hospital for five months, and is just on his way back to the job. The hurricane took his tent from over his head while he was eating his dinner, picked him up bodily, and hurled him against a pile of railroad iron, breaking a leg and other bones."⁵⁹

After the channel at Bahia Honda had been spanned, only forty miles lay between that point and Key West. Every effort was made to speed the progress of construction, for Flagler was growing older and his lieutenants wanted the job completed for him as soon as possible.

Much of the land between Bahia Honda and Key West consisted of rather large pine-covered islands. Construction on this portion of the extension was distinguished by the use of unique gasoline-powered dredges. When used in water, this equipment was mounted on barges; when needed for land work it was taken ashore, mounted on wheels, slid onto a steel truck, and used that way.⁶⁰

In the meantime, at Key West, 134 acres of land was dredged up to make a terminal for steamships that would connect with Flagler's trains. A concrete pier 1700 feet long and 134 feet wide was built out to deep water and wide slips were dredged through solid rock for the pier's full length.⁶¹

Early in 1911 efforts to complete the extension were doubled. W. J. Krome described the situation in this way:

59. Winthrop Packard, *Florida Trails*, (Boston, 1910), 248-9.

60. *The Florida Flower*.

61. Florida East Coast Railway files, *loc. cit.*

"It was near the end of February, 1911, that the question of finishing the road for traffic in the shortest possible time came up. We were asked, 'Can you complete the extension so that we can put Mr. Flagler into Key West in his private car and over his own rails from Jacksonville on his next birthday, January 2, 1912?' I did some close figuring and replied that we could complete the road for that purpose by January 22nd, provided that no storm or other unforeseen delay should overtake us. And we will lay the last rail on the morning of January 21st." ⁶²

Krome's promise was kept, for work progressed according to schedule, and on the afternoon of January 21, 1912, the completion of the Overseas extension was marked when the cross-over span at Knight's Key was closed. ⁶³ The first (pilot) train had entered Key West at 2:45 A. M. that same morning, drawn by engine number 201, which had been used to start construction in 1905. ⁶⁴ "Flagler's Folly," as it had been derisively called, was completed, and its builder would be able personally to enjoy his hour of triumph.

The next day, January 22nd, was chosen for the beginning of the three-day celebration in Key West which marked the opening of the extension. The train carrying Flagler's private car, *Moultrie*, was the first to arrive, pulling in at 10:43 A. M. An estimated 10,000 people - many of them seeing a railroad train for the first time - were on hand to greet the aged empire builder of the east coast. As Flagler's train came into Key West station, a thunderous shout of welcome went up from the assembled crowd, and the old man was showered with American Beauty roses; a children's chorus of 1,000 voices sang in his honor. After a welcome from the mayor, the official party was feted at a banquet and reception.

Seven additional trains arrived in the island city later that day. In order, they bore President Taft's official representative, Assistant Secretary of War Oliver and his party, a delegation of foreign diplomats, a group of high army officers, the Chattanooga, Tennessee, Board of Trade, delegations from Jacksonville and Miami, Florida Governor Gilchrist and his staff, and a group of

62. Cutler, *op. cit.*

63. *Florida Times-Union*, January 23, 1912.

64. *Florida Times-Union*, January 22, 1912.

passengers from New York City who departed for Havana at 4:00 P. M. on the steamer *Governor Cobb*.

In the two days that followed, the assemblage of United States citizens and foreign representatives participated in a celebration which included a political rally, a Cuban circus, a Spanish opera, moving pictures, and a carnival. Seven warships of the United States, Portugal, and Cuba were in the harbor.⁶⁵

Although Henry M. Flagler died in 1913, work on the extension continued after his death. Temporary trestles were replaced with concrete bridges and additional piers were constructed at Key West to handle the traffic which eventually made the road profitable on an overall basis. The line was considered so monumental a work that until it was abandoned it was incorporated into the FEC's emblem with a picture of a train crossing the beautiful Long Key viaduct.⁶⁶

And yet, although no one would have predicted it, the Overseas Extension was doomed from its very inception. For on Labor Day, 1935, a tropical hurricane struck the keys, damaging the right-of-way so seriously that the line was abandoned. By that time traffic had declined on the extension, and the railroad was bankrupt as a result of over building in the twenties land boom and of the effects of the depression. The receivers lacked funds to repair the damage, so, in 1936, all right-of-way, embankments, and bridges from mile post 397, just south of Florida City, to mile post 519, just north of Key West, was sold to the Overseas Road and Toll Bridge District. The railroad received \$640,000 cash and cancellation of about \$160,000 in taxes as payment.⁶⁷

The building of the Overseas Extension of the Florida East Coast Railway was a dramatic chapter in the epic of railroad construction in Florida. It reflected the vast financial resources of America on the eve of World War I and man's ability to conquer the elements, if but temporarily, with engineering skill. And, although the day of the great railroad builders has vanished into the ages, our memory of Henry Morrison Flagler is constantly refreshed, for his ocean road has become the Overseas Highway, which is making possible the current rapid growth and development of the Florida Keys.

65. *Florida Times-Union*, January 23, 1912.

66. Florida East Coast Railway, *Annual Reports*, (St. Augustine?, 1912-1920.)

67. Florida East Coast Railway, *Annual Report*, (St. Augustine?, 1936.)

In fact, if he looks closely, the present day traveler can still see concrete traces of the era of the construction of the extension. In Broad Street Station at Richmond, Virginia, the train bulletin board still advertises train number 76 as carrying passengers from "Jacksonville, Miami, Key West, and Havana," although it has been many years since the whistles of the Flagler System engines were heard across the coral waters of the Florida Straits. A Jacksonville wholesale food company still uses an adaption of the FEC'S original Long Key viaduct emblem (which the railroad discarded after the 1935 hurricane) to publicize its wares. On the Knight's Key bridge of the Overseas Highway the rails on which Flagler's trains rolled are now used as guard rails; and on a lonely, vacant stretch of upper Key Largo almost hidden in the undergrowth of mahogany and key lime trees, stands a small concrete marker which proclaims that it is "FEC right-of-way" - mute testimony to the eventful days of the railroad that went to sea!

EARLY NEWSPAPERS OF OCALA

by ELOISE ROBINSON OTT

DURING the more than one hundred years since the printing of the first newspaper in Ocala, this community has had an important and unique part in the journalistic history of Florida. Statehood had been achieved but two years before when, in 1847, the *Ocala Argus* began publication. Within the next two decades, seven other newspapers were established here. Several existed but a few months, others from four to six years, but the last of this group, the *East Florida Banner* (later the *Ocala Banner*) was to have a distinguished career of usefulness, with a record of editorship and ownership within one family for nearly seventy-five years.

Ocala, in its beginning, was not the usual gradual growing of a crossroads settlement, but was a site thoughtfully selected for the seat of the new county of Marion which had been created almost simultaneously with the admission of Florida to the Union. Streets and lots had been surveyed and ground for public buildings designated before its incoming residents undertook the development of a town, in a location as yet covered with a lush hammock growth of hickories, giant oaks, palmettos and magnolias. Clearings completed, homes and houses of business were erected, and the original group was augmented by scores of homeseekers who hastened in to claim properties made available after the cessation of Indian hostilities in this part of the State.

When the village was entering its second year, publication of its first newspaper, the *Ocala Argus* was begun, and within the next few years by several other papers, each apparently taking over the field of its predecessor. These were the *Marion Star*, the *Conservator*, the *Tropical Farmer*, the *Mirror*, the *Southern Sun*, the *Ocala Home Companion*. It was not until 1866 that the *East Florida Banner*, the first paper of permanence, was established.

The Ocala Argus

George M. Grouard, who had earlier published newspapers in Jacksonville and Palatka, moved to Ocala and began publica-

tion of the *Ocala Argus* * in July, 1847. As both editor and proprietor, Grouard directed it during its four years of publication. Despite the crudeness of equipment, this paper was neat in appearance, and announced ambitiously that it was "prepared in its office to print books as well as handle job printing." Warning was given that "all admissible personal contributions" would be charged for as advertisements, also that subscription rates were two dollars per year if paid in advance, but five dollars if paid at the end of the year.

The only dependable source of outside contact being mail brought by rider, the *Argus* contained little of national or world coverage. But in addition to the literary gems customary to the times, and the usual professional cards, advertisements and legal notices, the little paper, a four page weekly of four columns, managed to record much of local interest, with detailed accounts of public meetings and affairs incident to the growing community. The *Argus* continued publication at least until 1851, when a rival paper was established in Ocala.

The Marion Star

In June 1851 with D. McCrimmon as editor, the publication of the *Marion Star* began, of which a copy of only one issue has come down to us. The publishers and proprietors were John A. Andrews & Co. The masthead suggests what many people in the region were thinking, and foreshadows the coming conflict of the States. Across the page is: *In the Sovereignty of the States Lies the Safety of the South.*

From contemporary newspapers we learn more. The *Ancient City* of St. Augustine, under date of June 14 of that year has:

We are in receipt of the first number of the new paper published at Ocala, Marion County, Florida. The enterprising and intelligent citizens of that thriving county are well able to give the necessary support to a paper of their own, unless they are like many others who show their devotion to the South and home interests by taking only northern cheap papers which they can obtain for a few shillings a year less

Copies of one or more issues of all of the Ocala newspapers can be seen in the original or on microfilm at The Library of Congress or P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. This account was written from them.

money than their own can be published for. *The Star* announces itself as independent of old party names and combinations and prepared to vindicate the rights of the South.

Under the same date-line, the *Floridian and Journal* of Tallahassee says:

We welcome to our exchange list the *Marion Star*, a newspaper just started in Ocala. D. McCrimmon, Editor. . . . Marion County is said to be filling up and improving more rapidly than any other in the State, and we are glad to see this evidence that her population is of the sort to encourage domestic papers. Besides, we are glad to see that the *Argus* has found in his own baliwick a foeman worthy of his steel. Success to our new brother.

Differences of opinion and editorial clashes were already indicating the conflict between North and South, and it was a time when newspaper policies were strongly stated upon controversial issues. The *Marion Star* staunchly upheld the Union, but demanded that the rights of the South be recognized, as evidenced by its *Prospectus*:

The *Marion Star* will be devoted to the rights of the South, the Constitution, and the Union.

The FUNDAMENTAL principles of equality and justice, upon which the Union is based, must be upheld - the constitutional rights and interests of the South must be maintained or the best Government on earth will fall before the deadly blows of Northern Demagogues and fanatics.

The time has come when party politics should be hushed or the South will fail to present that *UNITED FRONT* to her enemies which is so essential to the maintenance of her institution.

Wherever a foe or traitor to the Constitutional Freedom and Southern Liberty presents himself, whether he be Whig or Democrat, we will "cry aloud and spare not."

A large portion of our paper shall be devoted to Literature, Science, Agriculture, the Arts and general news of the day. And no pains will be spared to make the *Marion Star* in every respect worthy of the patronage of the public.

The Conservator

Under Lewis C. Gaines as editor and publisher, the *Conservator* began publication in Ocala in August, 1851. Gaines had served in Florida during the Indian wars, and after settling in Ocala took an active part in local affairs. He dedicated his paper to "Liberty, Union and Equality" and editorially pleaded for tolerance in national questions, naming his publication in accordance with his views. In the issue of Oct. 22, 1851 he announced:

The *Conservator* is a strictly Union paper intended to aid in the organization of a National Union Party upon the basis of the Constitution and the late compromise as a settlement forever of the slavery agitation. It will oppose the reorganization of the old parties upon the worn out issues of the day and favor the concert of the conservative men of both parties and of all sections.

In doing this it will endeavor to reconcile men, parties and sections to each other and to bring about a Union revival . . . it will oppose agitation, secession, disunion, or repeal, and favor reconcillation, peace, Union, equality . . . civil and religious tolerance by all, for all. . . .

In all this great work, the editor trusting in God and a holy purpose, boldly affixes his standard to the outer wall, believing . . . that the great leaders of conservatism . . . will not leave their work unfinished, nor will the great State of Georgia, having put hand to the plow, ever look back. Already the constitutional union party of Georgia is become the chief corner of the national Union party. Roll on the ball and Alabama and Mississippi, yea until every state . . . shall vie with each other in kindly demonstration of fraternity and of devotion to that Constitution and Union which our fathers left us.

Welcoming Editor Gaines into the field the *Ancient City*, of St. Augustine comments, on Sept. 27, 1851:

We have received No. 6 of the '*Conservator*', a neat and promising weekly, published at Ocala under the proprietorship and management of Mr. L. C. Gaines. . . . Ocala is a town of rapidly growing importance; requiring a good paper,

such, as we doubt not, from its present showing the *Conservator* will prove itself to be. . . . While we must confess that our views upon certain points political do not entirely harmonize with his, we cordially wish our neighbor showers of laurels and lots of money from his undertaking.

The last issue of the *Conservator* found is that of July 21st, 1852. In this same month and year, Editor Gaines embarked upon a new venture, entitled *The Tropical Farmer*. This, a monthly, was printed in Ocala and seems to have taken the place of his earlier *Conservator*.

THE TROPICAL FARMER

Marion county in the early fifties was entering upon an extensive agricultural development. Many of its settlers were from the Carolinas and Georgia, and had brought with them slaves, equipment, and farm animals, with high hopes of establishing plantation homes similar to those of the older South. Crops were of absorbing interest as they endeavored to bring their newly acquired acres into production. Perhaps, then, the appearance of the *Tropical Farmer* was timely. Number one, volume one, of this sheet (16 pages) was issued in July, 1852, with two thousand copies printed. This was to be a monthly ". . . entirely devoted to Practical and Scientific Agriculture, Horticulture, Floraculture and the Culture of Tropical Plants, with Information on Agricultural Chemistry and Geology for Planters."

A bit over-enthusiastically, a public speaker of the day referred to the *Tropical Farmer* as ". . . the largest paper of the State, the only agricultural paper in the State, and as fine and excellent a one as can be found south of the Potomac."

The *Tropical Farmer* was appearing in the following June, but likely did not last much if any longer; for Gaines was soon publishing a very different paper.

The Mirror

This appeared first in March 1853, with Gaines and W. H. Royal as co-publishers, and was intended to be "A Family Paper; to include News, Literature, Science, The Arts, and choice miscellany." As no copies are known beyond December it probably only lasted the year out.

From the contents, evidently cotton was the principal crop in the area. Each issue contains Letters to the Editor, largely on that subject and politics. There is notice of the organization of a military company of "Volunteers for the removal of the Indians."

THE SOUTHERN SUN

Early in the next year (1854) William H. Royal was already in the second volume of *The Southern Sun*. Associated with him as editor was John G. Bowman, but he did not remain long, and soon Royal was publisher and proprietor.

Its masthead included, across the page under the title, "We Know Our Rights, and Knowing, Dare Maintain Them." This was political and in keeping with the times.

In the issue of April 8 (1854) there is an account of the Jacksonville fire of that year ". . . when the destructive element consumed the entire commercial portion of the town. The office of the *Florida News* and *The Republican*, we regret to learn, were both consumed. The citizens of the State generally will we trust, hold meetings and raise contributions for the relief of our suffering neighbors."

No issues of this paper are known after June 10, 1854.

The Ocala Home Companion

Under Charles S. Reynolds, editor and publisher, the *Ocala Home Companion* (briefly titled the *Companion and Democrat*) was established in April, 1857. This, a seven column, four page weekly, was more pretentious than any of its predecessors. Although published immediately before, and during the first years of the War for Southern Independence, its interests centered almost exclusively on local matters. Editorial pages were concerned much with agitation for the extension of a branch line from the Fernandina and Cedar Keys railroad to Tampa by way of Ocala, and it seems likely financial backing came from the promoters of this project. The *Home Companion* continued publication more than six years, so far the longest record of any Ocala paper. It was discontinued during the war, probably in 1863.

The Ocala Banner

The *East Florida Banner*, which later as the *Ocala Banner* was to become one of the best known of Florida newspapers, began publication in Ocala in 1866. This was founded by T. F. Smith, but associated with him from the beginning was Frank E. Harris, who shortly after became owner and editor, and served as such for more than sixty years.

Both Smith and Harris had previously worked under E. L. Allison on the *Quincy Republic*, a newspaper which was discontinued during the War for Southern Independence. Young Harris, who was born in Tallahassee, had been named for Francis Eppes, but shortened this to "Frank E." by which name he was known throughout his life. Orphaned when only three years of age, he began early to make his way alone. When scarcely more than a boy he began a four year apprenticeship on the Quincy paper, but when sixteen he enlisted in the Confederate Army, serving until its close two years later. Then, with his fellow-worker of previous days, he came to Ocala, where his uncle, Ebenezer Jackson Harris and his wife, had settled some years before.

Together these young men set about establishing a newspaper to succeed the *Home Companion*, which like many another journal of the period had been forced to suspend publication. A less promising outlook could scarcely have been imagined. From Marion County there had been a large enlistment of men and boys in the Army and many did not return from the battlefields. Cultivation of plantations had ceased and business of almost every kind was at standstill. Horse-drawn wagons to and from Silver Springs hauled freight and occasional passengers, hand-poled barges and infrequent boats on the Ocklawaha River affording the best available transportation of the day. The population of Ocala was about four hundred persons, with scant prospect of growth. Such were conditions amid which Smith and Harris began their labors when in May 1866, they published the first issue of the *East Florida Banner*.

Insofar as is known, no copy of this initial issue is now in existence, the first files of the *Banner* having been destroyed by fire. Probably the earliest remaining copy is that of June 13th, 1866, which was number four of volume one. From the first

young Harris, who had been engaged as typesetter, wrote most of the news stories and articles printed, and was likely the author of the leading editorial of this issue, which was concerned with the delay in the trial of the captured president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis. About two years later, Smith and Harris sold their interests, but Harris soon bought back the *Banner* and assumed entire control.

Slowly the small town overcame the discouragement of the after-war years. Sharing those difficult days, heartening its people, was the *Banner*, binding together common interests, steadfastly strengthening the progress of Ocala and Marion County. Somehow this newspaper managed to continue publication through the uncertainties of carpetbagger rule and the Freedmen's Bureau; and after the chaos recorded the earliest beginnings of the vast citrus culture in this part of Florida. It announced, too, the establishment of the first stagecoaches, and the first regular steamboats on the Ocklawaha, neither of which were in operation when the *Banner* was established. Despite a disastrous fire which almost completely destroyed the business section of Ocala, when the *Banner* office, its equipment and files and also the home of the editor, were burned, the newspaper survived. It chronicled the stringing of the first telegraph wire to Ocala, the building of the railroad and the arrival of the first train, the discovery of phosphate and other minerals in the vicinity, then saw the prosperous days of the eighties give way to the overwhelming calamity of the great freeze, and the bitter hardship of the decade following. Through all of this discouragement the paper continued, and long afterwards heralded the excitement and optimism of the land boom in Florida following World War One.

With the passing years, the *Banner* became one of the influential newspapers of the State, and was widely quoted by contemporaries. Its long-time editor, Frank E. Harris, though quiet and unassuming, was active in political and civic affairs. His carefully considered opinions were sought, his broadmindedness and gentle tolerance won respect and recognition. Almost his entire lifetime was devoted to his paper his retirement from its editorship taking place only a short time before his death in 1928. Chosen by himself to succeed him was his grandson, Harris

Powers, who became editor of the *Banner*, and Frank E. Harris, Jr., long associated with his father continued as business manager.

Now an active daily publication, the *Ocala Banner* on April 10th, 1941, issued its seventy-fifth anniversary edition. Shortly after the entrance of the United States into World War Two, Harris Powers withdrew to enter the service of his country, and the control of the *Ocala Banner* was relinquished by the heirs of Frank E. Harris, after distinguished achievement and a record of publication, ownership and editorship within one family for nearly three quarters of a century.

THE EARLY SUGAR INDUSTRY IN FLORIDA *

by WILBUR SIEBERT

DURING THE score of years of British occupation little sugar was produced in Florida. The cultivation of sugar-cane was tried only experimentally and was practically limited to small plots of land on the plantations of Lieutenant Governor John Moultrie and Richard Oswald, Esq. In 1776 only one hogshead of sugar and another of molasses were exported, although the number of barrels, casks, and puncheons of rum shipped totaled seventy-eight.¹

It was not until the early years of the nineteenth century, during the second Spanish period and especially after the acquisition of Florida by the United States, that the planters paid serious attention to sugar-making. However, as will appear in the following account, their ventures involved them in financial difficulties, which were manifested in the mortgaging of crops, lands, and the equipment necessary for the manufacture of their products. Sometimes these planters became so deeply involved that their estates had to be sacrificed to their creditors.

In 1803 Samuel and William Williams, who had lived in East Florida late in the British period, returned to the province and obtained grants of land for the purpose of producing sugar. William took up a tract of twenty-two hundred acres at New Smyrna, near Mosquito (now Ponce de Leon) Inlet, by a grant of July 21, 1803, and another of the same size at Spring Garden, on St. Johns river, in December, 1822. Samuel obtained a tract of thirty-two hundred acres on the upper part of Halifax river in April, 1817. The latter died before long, leaving several sons and a daughter. One of the sons, Samuel Hill Williams, operated the plantation with its sugar works. Late in August, 1834, he gave a mortgage on five hundred acres, which formed a part of his orange grove bordering the west side of Halifax river, as also on all of his buildings, sugar works, and other improvements to

*Many items in this paper are derived from notes taken from the Deed Books in Tallahassee by Miss Emily L. Wilson, former Librarian and Historian of the St. Augustine Historical Society.

1. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1774, I, 69, II, 30.

his brother-in-law, Vanancio Sanchez, "to have and to hold." The mortgaged orange grove was William's place of residence at this time.²

When William Williams died he bequeathed his New Smyrna and Spring Garden estates to three nephews, William, Abner, and William Henry Williams. Abner inherited one-third of the Spring Garden plantation (seven hundred and thirty-three and one-third acres) and a small quantity of land at Mosquito Inlet. At his death he left these properties to his mother, Hannah Williams, and his sister Sarah, the wife of William C. Thomas.³ The operations of John T. Williams, another of Samuel's sons, will be mentioned later.

The widow of Samuel married General Joseph M. Hernandez, who obtained the grant of a large tract of land at the head of Matanzas river and Graham's swamp from the Spanish Government in 1816. About seven hundred acres of this tract the General cultivated as a sugar plantation, calling it the St. Joseph plantation. In 1818 he brought from Francis Ferreyra two other places, one nearly eight hundred acres named *Mala Compra* and, adjoining it, the former country estate of John Moultrie called *Bella Vista* and containing at this time three hundred and seventy-five acres.⁴

In 1826, General Hernandez formed a partnership with Matthew J. Keith for the management of the St. Joseph plantation, the amount invested by the latter being \$10,750. Five years later the partnership was dissolved, and Keith took a mortgage on the place from Hernandez and his wife. About the same time Keith and his wife sold out their interest to Daniel S. Griswold for \$10,500, but later returned it and the mortgage to Keith, who took a note from Hernandez for what was due him. In 1832 Griswold mortgaged his share of the crops, sugar, rice, etc. to Benjamin D. Heriot on the property itself for money advanced for the purchase of supplies for the plantation.⁵

2. Escrituras of 1813-1814, f. 157; *American State Papers Public Lands*, III, 667, IV, 421; Deed Book D, 86; Deed Book B and L, 5, 7-8.

3. Deed Book E, 177-180.

4. Escrituras of 1813-1814, f. 157.

5. Deed Book I and J, 101, 134, 145, 149, 150, 211- 272-276, 326-327, 361.

Before long John T. Williams bought from Griswold half of the St. Joseph plantation, on which he gave a mortgage to Wragg, Heriot, and Simmons of Charleston. Another mortgage held by Griswold from General Hernandez and his wife on this property with its house, sugar mill, engines, buildings, etc. was transferred to Williams. In 1817, Williams had acquired from Martin Hernandez a tract of land at Matanzas, at the head of Northwest or Pellicer's creek, with its old mill. This tract Williams conveyed to Griswold, thus completing their trade. Williams employed Abraham Dupont to cultivate his crop on the St. Joseph plantation for \$936.⁶

At length the General decided to settle his remaining accounts with his creditors, namely, with Dupont for the hire of negroes and with Griswold, Heriot, Keith, and Joseph Lawton for other items. He also decided to buy out John T. William's half-interest in the St. Joseph plantation and pay him for all the buildings, mills, and sugar houses he had purchased from Griswold. Accordingly in 1835, he borrowed \$38,000 from the Union Bank of Florida, for which he executed a mortgage on his plantations of *Mala Compra*, *Bella Vista*, and *St. Joseph* and on the sugar houses belonging to the last one. The payments for all of these purchases seem to have totaled only \$11,172.02.⁷

Meantime John T. Williams had surrendered to Wragg, Heriot, and Simmons for a debt of \$1,900 his undivided half of the eight hundred and ninety-four acres of the St. Joseph plantation, which Griswold had brought from William J. Keith. This surrender included all the houses, sugar works and mill, and other buildings, the engines, furnaces, and kettles on the place. The outcome of the General's transactions with the Union Bank of Florida seems to have been that the Bank found it necessary or expedient to take over the properties on which it held the mortgage.⁸

Another planter who is said to have cultivated sugar-cane was Samuel Betts, a native of Milton, Connecticut. In 1803 he received from the Spanish Government a grant of two thousand acres west of where the village of New Smyrna had been. In

6. *Ibid.*, 403, 437, 438, 439; Deed Book K, 8, 233.

7. Deed Book L, 150-159.

8. Deed Book B, and L, pp. 40-45, 52, 150-158 Deed Book J, p. 134; Deed Book M, pp. 15, 35.

1791 this tract had been granted to Hepworth Carter, who erected buildings on his place and cultivated it. How extensive Betts's operations may have been is not shown in the available documents, but it is certain that they ran him into debt. In 1815 he was living at Fernandia, where he formed a trust of one-fourth of his property to meet his liabilities, naming as his trustees Fernando de la Maza Arredondo, Francis Philip Fatio, and George Fleming. In the following year he sold two-thirds of his land for \$40,000 to Joseph P. White of New York City.⁹

In 1804 John Bunch had received a grant of twenty-one hundred and sixty acres on Mosquito and Halifax rivers, which he sold to Colonel or Captain Thomas H. Dummett, late of Barbados, in 1825. The former also acquired by purchase a tract of 975 acres opposite Pelican island in Halifax river from Patrick Dean, which the latter had obtained by grant in 1804. This tract was later sold by J. and C. Lawton to Sarah P. Anderson, wife of George Anderson of Mosquito County. On May 3, 1832, Mrs. Anderson died, and in February, 1835, we find two-thirds of her estate in the possession of James K. Anderson, who may have been her son. He soon mortgaged this property and two-thirds of all the houses, sugar-mills, works, boilers, kettles, engines, and other machinery of the entire tract to the Southern Life Insurance and Trust Company.¹⁰

At the time that Captain Dummett purchased the tract of John Bunch, he also bought another belonging to John Addison from his administrator, Thomas Addison. The *East Florida Herald* of February 8, 1825, had announced Dummett's two prospective purchases at Tomoko, including the ninety negroes of Addison and Bunch, six months before they were consummated. It had also stated that the purchaser intended to put on the two plantations about one hundred more slaves and devote "his attention to the rigorous cultivation" of sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar.¹¹

It would appear that in buying John Bunch's tract Captain Dummett acted merely as the agent for his relative, Douglas

9. Deed Book C, pp. 14, 18, 188-189; Deed Book D, p. 77; Charleston Miscellaneous Record Book BBBB; *American State Papers*, Public Lands, IV, No. 18, Report No. 2 (1824), 225-237; Harpers' Monthly Magazine, LXV, 223.

10. Deed Book AA, 16; Deed Book I and J, 284; Deed Book M, 299.

11. Deed Book F, 250.

Dummett, who settled there and before long gave a mortgage on the land, including its buildings, sugar works, and other improvements. At length, in 1829, Douglas conveyed the property to Captain Dummett and his wife Mary.¹²

James Williams and Mary, his wife, came from Harford County, Maryland, and engaged in sugar-making. In 1829 the husband acquired from John E. and Gabriel W. Perpall a tract of five hundred acres in Graham's swamp in trust for his wife. They named it "Harford plantation." The tract was near the line dividing St. Johns and Mosquito counties and was bounded on the east by the road leading to the landing-place, on the north by land belonging to General Hernandez, on the west by vacant land, and on the south by a tract belonging to George J. F. Clarke. In 1836 there was still a debt of \$3,389 on the Harford place and its sugar-mill, machinery, and fixtures. Shortly thereafter James Williams died, and his widow disposed of the property with all its buildings, sugar-mills, and machinery to John H. Prince, a former resident of Maryland.¹⁴

We have very little information about the sugar plantation of William Travers and Matteo Solana, which was located a mile south of Black Creek. It was operated under a partnership agreement for a time, which was finally dissolved. By the settlement then made Travers took the sugar-mills and other improvements, the utensils, the sugar crop of fifty barrels, all of the molasses, and one-half of the crop of provisions, leaving the plantation, any slaves who may have belonged to it and the other half of the provisions to Solana.¹⁵

Ambrose Hull had been the recipient of a grant of eleven hundred and fifteen acres at New Smyrna, the southern boundary of this tract being a canal that also formed the southern boundary of the land deeded to William DePeyster and Mrs. Henry N. Cruger, formerly of New York. This property passed into the possession of Mary Dunham, the widow of David Dunham, late of New York. By a deed of trust, in 1833, and by her last will and testament, dated 1834, Mrs. Dunham authorized David R. Dunham of New Smyrna, probably her son, to sell any

12. Deed Book N, 169.

14. Deed Book N, 251; Deed Book I and J, 31, 31, 347; Deed Book H, 206.

15. Deed Book I and J, 392.

of her lands with their buildings and rights. He seems to have sold the Hull plantation to Christopher Andrews and John S. Lytle, for whom he was trustee in 1837.¹⁶ This tract was probably operated to produce sugar, like the DePeyster and Cruger plantation adjoining it.

INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS

The fate of these plantations with their appurtenances is told by Mrs. Jane Murray Sheldon, who removed with her husband and her mother from Mandarin, on St. Johns river, to New Smyrna in 1835, and occupied the Cruger and DePeyster residence, known as Dr. Turnbull's castle, which stood on the hill overlooking Mosquito (now Ponce de Leon) Inlet. Mrs. Sheldon's husband, John Dwight Sheldon, had been placed in charge of the Cruger and DePeyster sugar plantation and learned on the morning of December 24 that nine Indians with painted faces had appeared the night before at a dance that was held at Mr. Hunter's place, a mile north of New Smyrna. This was so ominous a sign of hostilities that Hunter and Sheldon decided to take their families and portable effects at once across the river to Captain Dummett's house. After the trunks on a lighter had been plundered by a small party of Seminoles, Sheldon and his ladies went on board a small schooner in Mosquito Inlet and proceeded up Halifax river to Bulow's landing for safety. The Indian marauders were secreted by Cruger and DePeyster's slaves until a large body of Seminoles joined them at night and burned the houses of the village, after which they destroyed the neighboring plantations on the mainland. Ere long they crossed the river and ravaged Captain Dummett's place. The ruins and broken machinery of a brick sugar works standing on the border of what is now known as Ponce de Leon spring, a few miles east of DeLand, shows that the savages extended their depredations twenty-five or more miles inland.¹⁷

After spending six weeks at Bulow's and two years in St. Augustine, during a considerable part of which time Sheldon acted as guide for the United States troops that were engaged in fighting the Indians, the Sheldon family returned to their old

16. Deed Book M, 309.

17. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, (April, 1930), XIII, 188-190.

home near Mazarin. Scarcely had they settled there when a party of eighteen savages killed a family two miles away and destroyed the farms in that neighborhood. An appeal sent to St. Augustine brought a body of troops, which captured most of the party near Picolata.¹⁸

Troops were also kept at New Smyrna and in 1839 more came in a small schooner, which was much tossed by the breakers until the rising tide gave a depth of nine feet over the bar at the mouth of the inlet. Then it entered the channel and moved up the river. On the left a little, wooded bluff was seen upon the summit of which a low paling encircled the graves of some seamen who had been killed by the Seminoles. In the previous autumn their bodies had been found and buried by the soldiers. The town was in ruins, except the fort and a few small buildings occupied by the members of the garrison and a collonade of six white Doric columns that stood in bold relief against a dark cope & live oaks and other evergreen trees.¹⁹

After the fresh troops had disembarked and gone to their quarters, several of their officers crossed the canal for a stroll. A few rods to the north they came upon the ruins of the Turnbull mansion, which from the top of a small rise of ground commanded "an extensive prospect over the lagoons and marshes to the Eastward." Passing on through several old fields and tracts of hammock land, they saw the small ruin of the Hunter house, which had been burned by the Indians. Later they made an excursion to the impressive ruin of the Cruger and DePeyster sugar works, a mile or more to the southwest of New Smyrna. They were astonished at "its massive wall and finished arches, all of hewn stone, standing forth in strange and solitary grandeur amidst a wilderness of pines." They were looking of course at the wreck of the old Spanish mission building, which had been first fitted up either by Messrs. Cruger and DePeyster or a Mr. Stamps from South Carolina with a furnace, steam engine with a walking beam, and immense iron kettles for making sugar. To this mill the Seminoles had set the torch and everything combustible had been consumed, but "all the iron work and machinery, especially the new steam engine" had been left "comparatively unharmed." *This destruction marked the end of the sugar industry in the New*

18. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, (April, 1930), VIII 190-193.

19. *Army and Navy Chronicle*, (January 16, 1840), X, 42.

Smyrna region. Inside the walls of the old mission today may be seen a part of the brick furnace and the concave surfaces where the great iron cauldrons stood, while in the rear of the building lie the walking beam and two cauldrons, mouth downward.²⁰

In October, 1843, the Sheldons returned to New Smyrna, where there were still three companies of United States troops. For some time Mr. Sheldon was employed as pilot for their vessles. Six years later the troops were moved down to Fort Capron, at the mouth of Indian river. Shortly after this Mr. Sheldon was appointed deputy collector of customs and purchased the site of Turnbull's castle, of which nothing but the "lordly foundations" and the stone-lined wells remained. During this period and down to the end of the year 1856 the Indians committed occasional murders. Thereafter the inhabitants had no further trouble with them.²¹

20. *Ibid.*, 43; *Florida Historical Quarterly*, (April, 1930), VIII, 194 N.

21. *Ibid.*, 193-196.

A GUIDE TO SPANISH FLORIDA SOURCE MATERIAL

by CHARLES ARNADE

AS THE YEARS PASS the Spanish period of Florida still remains the longest of its history. Not until the year 2091 shall our American era have reached the same length as the Spanish rule. Yet historical research on Hispanic Florida is now all but stagnant compared to what is being done in the American period. Serious research on the Spanish epochs is largely dependent on what is available from Spanish sources.

With the move of the Stetson photostats to the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida the necessary initial step has been taken to bring a new era of research and writing on Spanish Florida, almost neglected for the past two decades. The passing or inactivity of such scholars as Woodbury Lowery, James A. Robertson, Herbert E. Bolton, Irene A. Wright, Jeannette Thurber Connor, A. M. Brooks, Joseph B. Lockey, Verne E. Chatelain, Michael Kenny, and Maynard Geiger almost brought research on Spanish Florida to a standstill, excepting such scholars as Mark F. Boyd of Tallahassee and David True of Miami. But already a few professors in the social sciences have shown interest in the large Stetson Collection and several graduate students of the University of Florida are searching for possible material for their required theses. Three papers at the recent centennial meeting of the Florida Historical Society in St. Augustine were written from the Stetson papers. The availability of the collection in Florida undoubtedly has been responsible for this renewed interest in serious research on Spanish Florida. And these photostats serve well for the purpose of bringing primary sources of Spanish Florida within easy reach of the researcher.

The merits of this collection of more than 7,000 carefully selected documents were outlined by this author in a past number of this journal (XXXIV, 1955, 36-50). Further reading and more research on Spanish Florida have solidified his opinion. At the same time it must be said that these selections are not inclusive, and that much more Spanish Florida documentary

material is available. Unfortunately, documents of Hispanic Florida are dispersed all over this nation and the world.

For example, the Library of Congress remains a vital place for Florida research. For the second Spanish period it is the main source, and for the first Spanish period this great institution in Washington must be consulted. The main architects of the Stetson Collection, besides John B. Stetson, Jr. were the two great scholars, James A. Robertson and Irene A. Wright. Both historians left a considerable amount of private papers which represent their own interests in Spanish Florida. These Robertson and Wright papers lie unprocessed in the Library of Congress and are said to be very valuable for Spanish Florida research. These might well supplement the Stetson Collection. Miss Wright, who photographed the manuscripts in Spain for the Stetson Collection, provided a description of each one of the manuscripts and these descriptions are contained in the files of the now defunct Florida State Historical Society, whose records are also in the Library of Congress. There, too, rest the Lowery Collection (on microfilm at the P. K. Yonge Library) and most of the Lowery and Karpinski maps.

Dr. Hill's *Catalog of the Papales . . . de Cuba* (included in the *Bibliography* which follows) gives a brief description of the Florida material in that depository. In addition, all other great depositories in Spain such as the Archivo General de Simancas, the Archivo Historico Nacional, the Biblioteca Nacional, and the Academia de la Historia have Florida material. The archives of other countries also contain some manuscripts of Florida. It is true that the Stetson photostats are today the most important single depository of Spanish Florida historical material, but the task of gathering is far from completion.

Therefore, students of Spanish Florida first must acquire the necessary bibliographic knowledge about Spanish Florida source material in order to know where the needed documents rest. The project by Rollins College some years ago to establish a Union Catalog of Floridiana was a worthwhile undertaking. It was reported at the Southeastern Conference on Latin American Studies held at the University of Florida in 1956 that the Catalog is again being assembled.

Before consulting these bibliographic guides, it would be worthwhile to read a few solid works that have been written about Spanish Florida. Their texts are excellent, their bibliographies very helpful, and their citations constitute one of the best guides to sources. Such books are Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands; a Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven, 1921); Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defense of Spanish Florida* (Washington, 1941); Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas, 1783-1818* (Washington, 1940); Jean Delanglez, *El Rio del Espiritu Santo* (New York, 1941); Lawrence Carroll Ford, *The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola* (Washington, 1939); Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida* (Washington, 1937); Michael Kenny, *The Romance of Florida* (New York, 1934); John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935); Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements . . . in the United States* (New York and London, 1901-1905), 2 vols.; and Richard K. Murdoch, *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796* (Berkeley, 1951). Together they furnish a survey of Spanish Florida. Several masters' theses at the University of Florida, such as Robert E. Rutherford, "Spain's Immigration Policy for the Floridas, 1780-1806" (1952); Marion F. Shambaugh, "The Development of Agriculture in Florida during the Second Spanish Period" (1953); Helen H. Tanner, "The Transition From British to Spanish Rule in East Florida 1783-1785" (1949); Sister Leo Xavier, S. S. J., "Missionary Labors in East Florida" (1945), give interesting new leads. Their bibliographies can be valuable.

The works already mentioned should not only be considered a starting point for research but also they will interest the student in Spanish Florida. Thereafter, more detailed bibliographic guides of Spanish source material should be consulted. The following items are recommended for a more thorough knowledge of Spanish Florida manuscripts. These volumes are in the Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

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INDIAN PRESENTS: TO GIVE OR NOT TO GIVE. GOVERNOR WHITE'S QUANDARY

by RICHARD K. MURDOCH

AT THE CLOSE of the Eighteenth Century the use of presents to obtain loyalty, friendship, neutrality or allegiance was an old story to the nations of Western Europe, dating back to the days of the Greeks and Romans. Later presents were employed for the same purpose in the feudal period and in the campaigns of the Crusaders in the Holy Land. In the early years of the modern era the Portugese used presents to obtain peaceful entry into African ports as prelude to the slave trade. And finally presents were employed in the Americas by all the colonizing powers as a method of obtaining Indian support far less expensive than full scale warfare. In the long run, results were more permanent and far more fruitful.

The American Indians living under conditions quite different from Europeans, often set absurdly high value on items that were cheap in price, low in quality and numerous in quantity. Basically this made the giving of presents a cheap means of obtaining loyalty. As the claims to territories were extended, often overlapping, rivalry for loyalty of the Indians resulted in more and more present giving until by the French and Indian War in 1754 it was recognized as a part of the foreign policy of England, France and Spain, and accounted for a sizeable sum of money annually. At times the giving of presents was merely to neutralize a tribe of Indians rather than to gain active assistance.

When presents were first offered in America in the middle of the seventeenth century, this was done on a sporadic basis, usually just prior to negotiations to obtain a concession from the Indians. Later the giving of presents became an annual grant that the Indians learned to expect at stated periods and in established locations regardless of the conditions of the times.¹ By the time of the Seven Years War (French and Indian War), not to

1. The Spanish officials adopted the terms "regalos ordinarios" and "regalo anual" in referring to those presents given regularly each year. In this paper these terms will be translated as "the annual present."

give the "annual present" was a threat to the peace and stability of a region. Thus the Indians really held the upper hand and could threaten hostile action if the present was not immediately forthcoming. Demands for more numerous, more expensive and better quality goods became frequent. As an example of this, early in 1797, a federal agent in South Georgia complained, "We have a number of Indians here continually importunning us for provisions and presents, the first I have been obliged to supply them with in moderate quantity; presents I cannot think myself justifiable in giving them, atho' considerable have been made up for them before my arrival, composed of factory and public goods. . . ." ²

The use of presents was an important factor in Anglo-French Indian rivalry from 1713 to 1763 all along the Ohio River and in the relations of England, and to a lesser degree France, and Spain in the southeastern part of what is now the United States. ³ Rival Indian trading posts or factories appeared where agents attempted to lure chieftains away from old alliances with the enemy with more and more attractive offers. After the French were driven from the continent in 1763, the two remaining powers continued the active struggle for control over the loyalties of the southeastern tribes. True, the English expended less energy and money than previously for it had been the French in Canada and the Northwest who had posed the greatest threat. Less anxiety was felt for the Spanish as the two Floridas had just passed to England and the activities of the Spanish governor in New Orleans, far removed from the Atlantic coast colonies, appeared futile. Once the American colonies revolted, however, the English now in possession of the Floridas found it expedient to increase present giving to secure the loyalty of the Cherokees, Choctaws and Creeks. After the new republic appeared officially, it tried to carry on the same tradition of competing with the Spanish for the loyalty of the Indians along the southeastern

2. Diary of Benjamin Hawkins in *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, 1916), IX, pp. 66-67.
3. A detailed account of Indian presents in the period of the final Anglo-French struggle for North America can be found in Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry along the Ohio and Northwest Frontier, 1748-1763* (Stanford University Press, 1950).

frontier.⁴ The settlers along the borders of the new nation were less willing to dicker with the Indians because of an ingrained attitude toward the redmen which echoed the statement sometimes attributed to Miles Standish that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." This view was held by most state officers in opposition to the new federal policy which presupposed the recognition of each major Indian tribe as a national entity capable of signing treaties of amity, peace and alliance and of ceding land, to say nothing of having recognized geographic boundaries. State governments generally refused to recognize an Indian tribe as a state sovereign in the international sense and thus flung defiance in the teeth of the federal government.

The Spanish accepted this view of Indian sovereignty in principle although often privately referring to the Indians as savages, barbarians and heathens while publicly addressing the chieftains as brothers, friends, children and sons. As for the giving of presents, the Spanish were merely continuing a policy developed in the century prior to the American Revolution. The tribes offering the Spanish the greatest trouble were those living east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio. These had learned much earlier their value in the rivalry of England, France and Spain. It continued to be the cornerstone of Spanish Indian policy to hold these tribes loyal even after 1783 for they could easily be employed to prevent a westward surge of the new republic that might endanger Spain's position at the mouth of the Mississippi and along the northeastern shore of the Gulf of Mexico. It took little argument to convince these Indians of the danger the growing frontier settlements offered them. The settlers were willing to kill off or drive away all the Indians to gain new lands. Here was the heart of the trouble between state governments, encouraging the westward expansion of their population and territory, and the federal government attempting to maintain the *status quo* as guaranteed in treaties with the Indians. This disagreement reduced the so-called "American frontier policy" to a mere figment for while the federal government took the management of Indian affairs upon itself as a constitutional obli-

4. A general account of the Indian present policy of the federal government in the early years can be found in Ora Brooks Peake, *A History of the United States Indian Factory System 1795-1822* (Denver, 1954).

gation, the shortage of federal agents in the field made it impossible to implement this policy successfully. When the federal policy was laid down, the states more often than not failed to recognize the validity of agreements with the Indians such as the Treaty of New York of 1790 and other treaties between the Philadelphia government and the Creeks.

The Spanish had long followed the policy of an annual present to each tribe, usually presented to individual chieftains. The goods were purchased from private sources and paid for with drafts on the Royal Treasury. Trade goods demanded by the Indians usually constituted these presents and delivery was made at specified places to the leading chieftains or their designated emissaries. In the two Floridas presents were handed over in Apalache and Pensacola in West Florida, and in St. Augustine in East Florida. When Spanish control was re-established after the retrocession in 1783, this policy was renewed on the old terms.

Shortly after arriving in St. Augustine in 1784, Manuel de Zepedes, the new governor of East Florida was permitted to spend approximately 10,000 pesos annually on the giving of presents to the local Indians, and for the next decade the annual expenditures for this purpose were in the neighborhood of the sum authorized. Immediately after taking office in July, 1796, Governor Enrique White ordered the required complete financial accounting of the affairs of the Royal Treasury. A quick survey of the subsequent report indicated that the records were in very bad order, especially those concerning expenses for the annual present. White reported to his immediate superior, the Governor General of Cuba, that the cost of Indian presents from July 12, 1784, through December 31, 1789, had amounted to 72,974 pesos or an average of 13,272 pesos annually. These figures did not include the salary of two interpreters at 520 pesos each annually and their daily living ration, the salaries of two agents who shipped the goods at 544 and 520 pesos annually and their daily living ration, double for one of them, and the cost to the government for arming, maintaining and supplying the vessels that delivered the goods. The governor further estimated the cost of Indian presents from January 1, 1790, through December 31, 1795, to amount to 58,579 pesos or an annual average of 9,763 pesos, a decided reduction from the previous few years.

However in the last two years, 1794 and 1795, there had been a significant increase to 11,428 and 14,258 pesos due in part to the unrest among the Indians along the frontier as a result of the Elijah Clarke invasion of the Indian Lands and the so-called Revolt of 1795. Averaged out over the eleven and one-half years, Indian presents had cost the government 11,450 pesos annually, not including "marginal" expenses.⁵

By the standards of that day these figures were large, and represented a considerable portion of the annual deficit of East Florida that had to be met by a *situado* from Mexico. White's predecessor, Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, fearful of a combined Franco-American attack on his province from Georgia, had argued not only for the continuation of presents to the Indians, but also for a sizeable increase in the amount. The figures seem to indicate that he was permitted to make a slight increase during the last two years of his administration. When he left the province in March, 1796, turning his duties over to an interim governor until White could arrive from Pensacola, Quesada left the Royal Treasury in desperate condition with insufficient funds to pay current expenses. Thus the new governor realized that stringent economy was necessary to rehabilitate the financial position of the province.

White had been governor of West Florida for several years prior to his transfer to East Florida and had personally overseen the dispensing of presents at Pensacola and Apalache to the southern Indian tribes theoretically "attached" to his administration. He had become intimate with a number of the chieftains and head warriors who appeared before him regularly. Reaching his new post in St. Augustine, he realized almost at once that some of the more prominent chieftains on the list of those obtaining presents in East Florida had also appeared on the lists in Pensacola or Apalache. Governor Quesada, his predecessor, not acquainted with affairs in West Florida, had not realized that some of the Indians were getting "a second helping" at St. Augustine, although as White pointed out later, Quesada should have realized that the Upper and Lower Creek chieftains were

5. Enrique White to Luis de Las Casas, St. Augustine, August 24, 1796, Archivo General de Indias: Papeles de Cuba, *legajo* 1439. (Further reference to this source will be abbreviated as AGL:PC and then the *legajo* number.)

theoretically supposed to be dealing with the authorities in West Florida, while only the "plains" Indians living in the northwestern part of East Florida and the Seminoles were supposed to be coming to St. Augustine. No official designation, however, had ever been made as to which tribes were supposed to deal with the authorities in which province.

As soon as White realized what had been going on, he requested one of his assistants to prepare a report on Indian presents to include the financial accounting already mentioned.⁶ It quickly became clear that as the earlier records contained relatively few entries by the name of the recipient, it was impossible to do much cross-checking. After perusing the copious report, White prepared a dispatch for the Governor General of Cuba, in which he made several penetrating observations on the whole problem of distributing presents, stressing the great financial cost of this method of retaining Indian loyalty, especially with the condition of the Royal Treasury so critical. (A portion of this letter is included as Document A.) He then drew up a short description of the "rule of thumb" by which the giving of presents had been regulated in East Florida since 1784. (The entire enclosure is included as Document B.) White closed his letter to Cuba with the request that he be empowered to institute certain changes in the method of giving presents so that he might begin a policy of "slowing down, more care and more moderation."

The governor's request for additional powers was a direct reference to a series of Royal Orders in the previous decade establishing the specific method by which presents were to be dispensed. Much of this policy was based on suggestions made to the Crown by the Baron de Carondelet who as governor of Louisiana was responsible for maintaining peaceful relations with the Indians over much of the Mississippi Valley area. To request permission to act was not unusual for to act without such permission from the next superior official was almost unknown in the Spanish colonial system. White's report was received favorably by Las Casas who wrote in reply, "I agree with what you propose as far as the Royal Disposition is concerned, - but in this case I must consult with His Majesty about the slowing down, care and moderation you speak of because we do not want the Indians

6. White to Las Casas, St. Augustine, August 24, 1796, *op. cit.*

upset while the boundary line is being run." ⁷ He then forwarded a copy of the governor's letter to Spain with modifications and suggestions of his own.

White was not satisfied with the guarded approval expressed in Las Casas' reply as he wanted to take immediate action. Therefore he prepared a second report on the same subject of Indian presents, this time sent directly to Spain, addressed to Diego de Gardoqui, the former minister to the United States, and later the Secretary of Dispatch of the Royal Treasury, and thus a member of the Council of State. (The entire letter is included as Document C.) What White did not know at the time of writing was that Gardoqui had been relieved of this post on May 27, 1796, and had been appointed ambassador to the court of Sardinia on October 21. First the governor repeated the gist of what he had written to Las Casas on August 24, and then he went on to stress the financial savings that he could make for the Royal Treasury if permitted to put the giving of presents to the Indians on a restricted basis and to continue all Indian relations in a more businesslike manner. He requested clarification as to whether or not the fifth article of the new treaty with the United States had any bearing on the policy of giving presents along the southeastern boundary line. ⁸

White's letter was received in Spain on June 14, and was passed around the Secretariat of the Royal Treasury for perusal and comments before presenting the contents to the King and the

7. Las Casas to White, Havana, October 25, 1796, AGI:PC, *legajo* 1439. The running of the boundary line referred to the southeastern boundary of the United States to be established in accordance to the terms of the Pinckney Treaty signed a year earlier.

8. White to Diego de Gardoqui, St. Augustine, January 20, 1797, Archivo General de Indias: Santo Domingo, *legajo* 2644. (Further reference to this source will be abbreviated as AGI:SD and then the *legajo* number.) The fifth article of the Pinckney Treaty reads in part: "The two high contracting parties shall . . . maintain peace and harmony among the several Indian nations who inhabit the country adjacent to the lines and rivers, which by the preceding articles, form the boundaries of the two Floridas And whereas several treaties of friendship exist between the two contracting parties and the said nations of Indians, it is hereby agreed that in future no treaty of alliance, or other whatever (except treaties of peace,) shall be made by either party with the Indians living within the boundary of the other, but both parties will endeavor to make the advantage of the Indian trade common and mutually beneficial to their respective subject citizens, observing in all things the most complete reciprocity" *Documents of American History* (Henry Steele Commager, ed.) 4th edition (New York, 1948), pp. 168-169.

Council of State. Two briefs were prepared as it was the custom to save as much of the Council's time as possible, one very short merely outlining White's letter in the barest of terms ignoring the entire question he raised about the new treaty with the United States.⁹ (The brief is included as Document D.) The other brief was as long as the letter itself because a "note" was attached to it that attempted to offer an explanation as to why the same Indians appeared at various Spanish posts requesting presents. (The brief is included as Document E.) The author of the "note" was generally accurate in explaining that this was the result of "the Indians not having regularly a fixed residence as they move about according as it seems to please them. . . ." ¹⁰ The original letter from St. Augustine and the two briefs were presented to the King and the Council of State on June 16, 1797. A good deal of the letter was ignored as only two points seemed to interest the ministers: the governor's reference to Article 5 of the new treaty, and the possibility of added expenses to the Royal Treasury if duplicate present giving was allowed to continue. The minutes of the Council indicate that the decision was a drastic one, that no more presents of any sort were to be given the Indians in the St. Augustine area.¹¹ The secretary of the Council was ordered to transmit this decision to White in the form of a Royal Order at the earliest possible opportunity. The necessary dispatch was drawn up on June 22 but unfortunately a copy does not appear in any of the sources investigated.¹² Later on, however, when White acknowledged the receipt of this Royal Order, he made reference to it stating that he interpreted it to mean the "prohibiting further presents being granted to the Indians."¹³

9. Minute of the Secretary of Dispatch of the Royal Treasury, June 16, 1797, attached to White to Gardoqui, St. Augustine, January 20, 1797, *op. cit.*

10. Second Minute of the Secretary of Dispatch of the Royal Treasury, June 16, 1797, attached to White to Gardoqui, St. Augustine, January 20, 1797, *op. cit.*

11. Minutes of the Council of State, June 16, 1797, attached to White to Gardoqui, St. Augustine, January 20, 1797, *op. cit.*

12. The original letter of White to Gardoqui has the notation on the last page, "done on the 22nd of the same month," after the cryptic note of the action of the Council.

13. White to Prince of the Peace, St. Augustine, December 4, 1797, Archivo Historico Nacional: Estado, *legajo* 3890 *bis*.

The arrival of the Royal Order of June 22 late in November only added to White's uncertainty for instead of obtaining royal approval for a gradual reduction in the expenses of Indian presents, he was confronted with directions to eliminate all such charges to the Royal Treasury. This was far more than he had bargained for, and, according to his views, was a highly dangerous step to take. Consultation with his military advisor and legal officer helped him not at all for this authority, quite naturally, urged him to obey the terms of the Royal Order to the letter and then, and only then, to send an appeal to the King, setting forth the dangers inherent in depriving the Indians of the customary annual present. This advice did not please the governor as he could foresee Indian troubles brewing for a whole year while he waited for his appeal to reach Spain, for action by the Council of State, and for a reply to return to St. Augustine.

Avoiding the possibility of an Indian uprising in the province was more important than absolute obedience to a royal command, or at least so the governor expressed himself to believe. On November 27 the provincial secretary was ordered to call a special session of the Governor's Council to meet in emergency session as a *Junta de Guerra*, or Council of War, to consider White's views on future action in the matter of Indian presents. After reading the Royal Order of June 22 and recalling to mind all previous actions taken that year, White outlined his objection to instituting a complete cessation of present giving. He then requested each of the five council members to present his opinion. Apparently all agreed with the governor except Gonzalo Zamorano, the military advisor, who once again repeated the need for absolute obedience to the sovereign will of the King. The *Junta* debated the matter further before agreeing with one dissenting vote to second White's proposal to reduce but not cut off the annual present to the Indians. A memorandum was then prepared to be sent to the King, setting forth in great detail the reasons for the Council's action contrary to the terms of the Royal Order. All six members including the governor then signed the report and the meeting was adjourned.¹⁴ The governor prepared a long dispatch in defense

14. It was customary in meetings of this sort that all members of the Council sign a report including those who were in opposition since their signatures merely made the report official but did not constitute approval of the contents. Their dissenting views were already incorporated in the body of the text.

of his actions which he forwarded to Spain on December 4 together with a copy of the minutes of the *Junta* Session of November 27.¹⁵

What the immediate reaction of the royal government may have been cannot be determined from the documents consulted for White's dispatch of December 4 merely bears the cryptic notation, "sin minuta," which apparently meant that it was filed away for future reference. Two things are certain, however, for the annual present to the Indians was continued although on a reduced scale, and Enrique White remained as governor of East Florida until his death some fourteen years later. It might be worth noting that several Spanish sources later on indicated that the royal government considered White to be the most efficient and capable governor appointed after the retrocession in 1783.

This episode although of limited importance and local in nature, does indicate that the charges of inefficiency and lack of initiative often aimed at Spanish colonial officials in the later years of the Bourbon period are not entirely valid. Here was a governor willing to risk his entire career by refusing to obey a royal command when he believed that in so doing he would endanger the safety of the territory under his control. He deemed it worth while to place his personal knowledge of the local situation and his long experience with Indians in the balance against what he considered to be an unwise policy developed in the council chambers several thousand miles removed from East Florida. It appears that in the long run White's views were vindicated.

The following documents contain many details of the story not included in this introductory sketch. Microfilm of photostatic copies of the original document were used. These are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, the Florida Historical Society Library, and the Library of Congress.

Documents

A

(A translation of a portion of a letter from Enrique White to Luis de Las Casas, St. Augustine, August 24, 1796, Archivo General de Indias: Papeles de Cuba, legajo 1439).

15. White to Prince of Peace, St. Augustine, December 4, 1797, *op. cit.*

Among the Indians who hitherto have come here, I have recognized some who received their presents in Pensacola and believing the same to be true also of those seen in Apalache, I thought that it might be pleasing to Your Excellency, if it is convenient, that in the very briefest time possible, it be established to which tribe each belongs who is entitled to take his annual present here, with the belief that such foresight will, without doubt, bring benefits of many thousands of pesos to the Royal Treasury . . .

B

(Translation of an appendix attached to Document A, and located in the same source.)

Report that specifies the ordinary present that has hitherto been given to the Indians, with distinctions as to their classes.

To a Chieftain

A woolen blanket, a woolen shirt, three cuartas ¹⁶ of course woolen cloth, one and one-half varas ¹⁷ of plain, inferior cloth, a pair of garters containing three varas of woolen stripping, a looking-glass, a large knife, a plough handle, a shaving razor, a hand axe, two ounces of vermilion, two bundles of tobacco each a pound in weight, two small casks of spirits each of eight bottles, six pounds of powder, eight pounds of shot, eighteen pieces of flint.

To a Warrior

A woolen blanket, a plain shirt, one and one-half varas of plain, inferior cloth, a pair of garters containing three varas of woolen stripping, a looking-glass, a plough handle, a large knife, a shaving razor, an ounce of vermilion, a bundle of tobacco weighing a pound, a small cask of spirits of eight bottles, four pounds of powder, six pounds of shot, nine pieces of flint.

16. A cuarta is a measure of length equal to a "hand" or eight inches.

17. A vara is a measure of length equal to 2.78 feet.

To a Woman

Two and one-half varas of linen, five varas of woolen stripping, three curtas of velveteen, one and one-half varas of Siresa,¹⁸ a looking-glass, a little collection of glass beads, ten needles, a thimble, a skein of yarn.

To a Youth

Two varas of linen, one and one-half varas of inferior cloth, a small trumpet.

To a Girl

One vara of Siresa, one and one-half varas of inferior cloth.

The day of the arrival of the Indians, and as long as they are in the Plaza¹⁹ which ordinarily is four or five days, they are each served with a pound of bread, a bottle of refined honey, and a pound of rice. They are also given on the first day a little tobacco and some clay pipes in proportion to the number of men in the party that is present. In the same manner they are served with the same ration on the day of their departure: to those from the provinces or seven or eight days, to the Seminoles for three, four or five days, with consideration to the length of the walk they have to make to return to their homes. In the aforementioned ordinary present is not included those [items] that the governor specially ordered to be given such as guns, saddles, iron and copper kettles, tin-plate, flour, spurs, spades, hatchets, hats, nails, pieces of Irish lace, coats of fine cloth, and whatever other items the Governor held convenient to hand over at the continuous petitions of the Indians. St. Augustine, Florida, July 18, 1796. Fernando de la Maza Arredondo.²⁰

18. Siresa or Sarasa is a variety of woolen cloth, named after a monastery in Huesca, Spain.

19. This refers to St. Augustine.

20. Fernando de la Maza Arredondo, Senior, was a prosperous merchant in St. Augustine and was often employed by Governor White in a semi-official capacity. In this particular case since Arredondo sometimes supplied trade goods for the annual present to the Indians, he was able to give the necessary specific information desired by White.

C

(Enrique White to Diego de Gardoqui, St. Augustine, January 20, 1797, Archivo General de Indias: Santo Domingo, legajo 2644.)

Since the start of this settlement presents have been supplied to numbers of Indians who have presented themselves with petitions. His Majesty has set aside 10,000 pesos annually to cover the declared expenses. There are few savages who belong to this district. Almost all receive annually the customary friendship in Pensacola and Apalache. I have recognized here various Indians who it is obvious to me collect their presents in those named places, and with this matter [in mind] I consulted the Captain General who is over this province, as to what was convenient [to do] on August 24th last, and he replied to me on the subsequent October 25th to [go on] operating with prudence in this matter in order not to antagonize the savages during the present circumstances of being [in the process of] running the boundary line. During my residence in Pensacola where I was Commandant, I examined with care the quality of the annual present assigned to the Indians, and I have observed that that which is supplied here is considerably superior [in amount] and I hope it pleases Your Excellency to put this notice in its entirety before the King and to advise me whether or not it will be convenient to his royal approbation to diminish [the amount], to the benefit of the Royal Treasury, with delays, care and moderation, involved in this business, in accordance to [what I am] given to understand is the 5th Article of the Treaty of amity concluded recently with the United States. Likewise I beg Your Excellency to have the kindness to find out for me that which may receive the approbation of the Sovereign in reference to whether or not the annual presents are to be given to the savages who bring themselves here, belonging to the districts of Pensacola and Apalache, as mentioned before. I hope that my zeal for the better service of my Royal Master, the sincere desire that always motivates me to reduce without prejudice the expenses of his treasury, and a course of conduct such as I have proposed to observe in the matter as I have mentioned, that they may all merit the priceless approbation of His Majesty. Enrique White.

D

(Minute of the secretary of Dispatch of the Royal Treasury, June 16, 1797, attached to Document C, and located in the same source.)

He sets forth that which he proposes in regard to reducing the presents to the Indians in consideration that some of those who received them in that Presidio have [already] taken them as well in Pensacola.

E

(Second Minute of the Secretary of Dispatch of the Royal Treasury, June 16, 1797, attached to Document C, and located in the same source.)

Submitting that from the establishment of that Presidio presents have been given to certain Indians at their request, and for the expenses of these there was set aside 10,000 pesos annually. White says that there are few savages who belong to his district since nearly all [of these] this year have acquired the friendly custom recently with the United States. Likewise he hopes that he be informed as to what to do, that is, whether or not he has to administer the present to the savages who present themselves here who belong to the districts of Pensacola and Apalache.

Note

As the Indians do not have regularly a fixed residence as they move about according as it seems to please them, it is not strange the information that the governor communicates, that some of them are receiving duplicate presents in Pensacola and in Florida. Notwithstanding before trying to diminish [that amount] as he indicates, he believes that in this business it is opportune to seek advice from the Captain General of these provinces, sufficient for all the disturbances concerning which this business is susceptible, particularly since the demarcation line with the United States is concluded, since the letter of White does not manifest all the

knowledge that is necessary concerning whatever changes [are needed] in a matter so important in that country.

F

(Minutes of the Council of State, June 16, 1797, attached to Document C, and located in the same source.)

The purpose the King had [in mind] when he made this treaty in stopping these assistances [to the Indians] was not a minor point of interest [to him], and His Majesty absolutely does not approve any more expenses [such as] those made since that date.

G

(Enrique White to the Prince of the Peace, St. Augustine, December 4, 1797, Archivo Historico Nacional: Estado, legajo 3890 bis.)

Since my entry to the command of this government, my first object has been to relieve the Royal Treasury of the exorbitant expenses that crush it, and in truth, I have succeeded in lessening the diverse disbursements. But Royal authority was necessary to execute one of the principle points of the elimination as I intended. It is my desire that if His Majesty approves my taking some convenient foresight, [I will] cooperate with the chief officials at Pensacola and Apalache in order that there may be established with full understanding on the part of all a sure and effective method which may reduce radically the abuses of the Indians in taking duplicate presents in those places and here in the east. With this idea in mind I proposed it in Number 11, Index 5, [dated] January 21 last, and this [new] proposal I have derived from the Sovereign resolution of the past June 22 prohibiting further presents being granted to the Indians. The spirit that always has animated me for the better service of our Sovereign and the desire to maintain the tranquility and prosperity of those who are under my immediate orders, have been objects

that I have never lost from sight, and are the same that now present me with the most disagreeable dilemma of whether not to fulfill *in toto* the will of the King, or whether to disturb the quiet of this province and lessen in part the authority of His Majesty in it, since at the first violent attack of the Indians the population will abandon their homes seeking the protection of this fortress. With this obvious knowledge [in mind] and seeking a prudent solution that accomplishes both goals, I convoked a *Junta de Guerra* in which I outlined the aforecited Royal Order and explained the motives that obliged me to call the meeting. It was agreed not to suspend [the giving of] all the presents but instead to diminish them little by little sharing with His Majesty this decision reached on the present occasion, and sending Your Excellency a copy of the proceedings of the *Junta*.

Most Excellent Sir, the fears that I set forth to the King are not mere tokens fabricated by an exalted fantasy or originating from a faint-hearted spirit, but rather are the fears of the impending harm and immediate dangers that I see threatening the province upon the complete suspension of the presents. The practical knowledge I have of these barbarians obtained not only during the command of this aforementioned province but also in the time that I was commander at Pensacola, enables me to speak with authority on the fatal results that may be expected. The ease with which the province and the Indian Nations can be crossed today is due exclusively to the presents that assist in better administration, and the oldest Spanish inhabitants who live in it (province), [are] witnesses of the freedom [of movement] and tranquility that exists today. When they were formerly restricted to the vicinity of the town, they were never free from their (Indians') cruelties. In truth there are no habitations more than ten leagues away that did not find themselves marked with their (Indians') atrocious deeds; and documents about these [acts] are to be found in the governmental archives and memories [still linger] in the recollection of its natives. The Indian is a lying character, given over to robbery during peacetime; [he is] revengeful to the extreme; and although uncultured [he is] of a refined cunning nature in carrying out his bloody projects. It is necessary to employ greatest caution, prudence and suffrance in order not to break [off] with them completely. I need exhibit no more evidence as proof than the last understanding that was

made with the United States when they (Indians) were finally worn out by a war which ruined their agriculture and restricted their domicile, and they (United States) availed themselves with the greatest vigor imaginable to draw them (Indians) to reason. And though peace was brought about, I have been informed that this did not stop them (United States) from keeping their (Indians') favor with presents, having agents [there] to do this. The giving of them (presents) is not as burdensome to them (United States) as it is to Spain since they buy the goods that they expend as presents to the Indians for the account of the state at [nothing but] their original price. The reply of His Excellency Don Luis de Las Casas falls back on my advice that I indicated in my aforementioned declaration to His Majesty about the danger [that exists] in displeasing the Indians, especially at the time when the dividing line with the Americans has not yet been run. I do not doubt that it will be of great advantage to the Crown to curtail and annul this annual charge for presents; but at the same time permit me to say to Your Excellency with the due prudence and humble freedom I owe, and that alone is what moves me, that the command that the King in his compassion has condescended to give me seems to me not to be suitable to be carried out immediately. At all times continued experience has demonstrated that an attempt to eradicate quickly habitual usage and age-old custom, cannot be brought about without commotion and great disturbance. These motives and the representations in the *Junta* have compelled me not to follow the dictates of my military advisor, and all the more so when the dangers that are foreseen do not lessen without reason, and he only raises a prospect of imaginary reasoning. It is necessary to have a bold and credulous understanding in order to comprehend what might pass as sufficient pretexts that might quiet the Indians, to tell them there are not supplies of presents and victuals [for them] when they consider these (presents) the same as those of the king, then they are disposed to avenge themselves on all in the vicinity. Their nature is not so temperate nor of a temperament so credulous, and such an excuse will serve only to animate them with more vigor to carry on, seeing the falseness with which [we] were trying to delude them openly. Certainly there does not exist any other harmonious means [to avoid] notwithstanding that he alledged

other prudent excuses, and when I asked him what they were, he merely said that it was the will of His Majesty and that I ought to obey. If the will of the King behooves me [to act] upon a legislative action, or if he orders me to fulfill it without either a reply or advice, immediately I will be judged [to be] a disobedient vassal, one not giving orders for good government and prudent management the most complete obedience. But at no time is it the intent of the benevolent heart of His Majesty that by obedience in fulfilling [orders] there results great prejudice to the Crown and [its] vassals, but rather that it is agreeable [to him] that I might delay and explain without passion.

If selfishness, Excellent Sir, was one of my chief passions, without doubt nothing would have been decided upon except as [I was] ordered. My person would feel free of the results of their (Indians') barbarities since I have judged their forces insufficient to bother this Plaza. But a sad picture is projected into my imagination of the unhappy fortune of so many of the inhabitants. To see their belongings, houses, graneries and slaves burned up or stolen, their families killed or suffering the most cruel miseries, my view of this terrible catastrophe, I beg Your Excellency to represent it to the King, interposing your favorable and powerful influence, to raise these added considerations to the benign heart of our Sovereign to the end that he may deign to approve that which was resolved in the *Junta de Guerra*. May the Lord guard Your Excellency for many years. St. Augustine, Florida, December 4, 1797. Enrique White.

*(An Appendix enclosed in Document G, and found
in the same source.)*

H

In the *Junta de Guerra* held today in the citadel of His Majesty that serves as habitation for the governing officers of this plaza and the province of East Florida, at which there met the President, Enrique White, Colonel of the Royal Army, Governor and Commander General of this aforementioned plaza and province; and as voting members, Bartolome Morales, Brevet Colonel

and Commander of the 3d Batallion of the Regiment of Cuba; Pedro Diaz Berrio, Second Engineer and Commander; Juan de los Remedios, Captain Commander of the Corps of Royal Artillery; Gonzalo Zamorano, Accountant of the Royal Treasury and Military Counsellor already mentioned by the President. After having read the Royal Order of last June in which it is ordered forthwith not to make presents hereafter to the Indians, the aforementioned officer expressed [the view] that it behooved [us] to carry out this sovereign resolution because of its representation. However, [he said] that a dispatch [should be] directed to His Majesty indicating the abuse that there might be in repeating presents since the Indians who harassed Pensacola and Apalache were doing the same thing in this province, and including the following points: that taking into consideration the great and grave dangers that the total suspension of the presents that have been given liberally up to now will cause in the present state of the war, namely uniting them (Indians) with the English for whom they always have kept a certain affection which they have only for those who give them presents; that the inhabitants who find themselves scattered because of the vastness of the province will not have a secure life; that this action will be one that will produce for us the greatest hostilities on the part of these savages, as formerly was experienced when this province was Spanish; that the supplying of this plaza with the greater part of the cattle which are bought from the Indians will cease and also as a consequence the agreement which is established with advantage to the Royal Treasury for the supply of the troops employed here and the peasantry, [and they will have] to maintain themselves with salted meat brought from Havana; that also of the weaknesses that the continuing use of that will cause, suffice this staple to be wanting in the really critical circumstances because of the continuing blockade experienced because of the corsairs from Providence and the ships of war that cruise about within our sight, and besides ruining us, they (Indians) pillage our few cattle; that likewise to mention the only recourse that there was at present, I have had to send some experienced person promptly, crossing the province and the Indian Nations to Tampa Bay located on the Gulf of Mexico in order to advise Havana with one of the fishing boats that are apt to carry to that destination news of

what occurs and to seek there provisions; and they declared that they found the port blockaded, something that happens frequently, and for that reason in the last war with the French, two little ships were kept there in the Bay by order of His Excellency, the Captain General of the Island of Cuba, and at the request of my predecessor, Brigadier Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada; that an increased part of the population retires to the city abandoning homes in spite of having no real motive at the present, and the families that have settled themselves at the Mosquitoes are affected by the threats of death and robbery by which they fear [to be] overwhelmed; that it will be against the development and populating of this province which His Majesty so much desires and which he has charged by various Royal Orders; and lastly that besides causing the greatest misery and consternation to the province, the Indian Nations will become the refuge of the runaway Negro slaves and free Negroes, of the deserting and criminal soldiers who will incite the savages with vehemence to commit hostilities against our people. I informed the gathered officials of these very evident reasons, reconciling as much as possible the desire of His Majesty with the tranquility of the inhabitants of this city, and bearing in mind that in the humane heart of His Majesty the love of his vassals always is more predominant than any prejudice to his royal interests that might result. In view of all of this, the aforementioned President and assembled officials resolved and agreed on the following point: That the free giving out of presents that until now has been carried on with the Indians should not be suspended entirely, but the number of presents should be diminished gradually. An account of their decision should be given His Majesty, indicating it (decision) was taken only for the purpose of the best service of the King and for the felicity of his vassals living here [giving attention] at the same time to the Royal Orders that demanded the holding and developing of the greatest harmony with the Indians who will submit only by force or by presents.

This decision was against the opinion of the Military Advisor who expressed [the opinion] that the Royal Order should be carried out implicitly and the Indians put off, giving as the motive, the shortage of food and trade goods and other prudent excuses, and sending this to His Majesty as the decision of the *Junta*.

All that which is agreed to by the cited President and assembled officials . . . I certify, Juan de Pierra, as interim secretary of the government and commandancy-general, and also of the *juntas* of this sort in St. Augustine, Florida, November 27, 1797 . . . Enrique White. . . . Bartolome Morales. . . . Pedro Diaz Berrio Juan de los Remedios. . . . Gonzalo Zamorano. . . . Francisco de Abreu. . . . Juan de Pierra.

This is a copy of the original that exists in my care in this provisional secretariat St. Augustine, Florida, November 28, 1797. . . . Juan de Pierra.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Basic Ideas of Alexander Hamilton. Edited by Richard B. Morris. (New York, Pocket Books, 1957. 451 pp. \$.35.)

IT IS DELIGHTFUL to see this significant collection of Hamilton papers offered to the public in a paper-bound, thirty-five cent edition. The selections are from Hamilton's letters, speeches, essays, reports and other incidental writings. Frequently an entire letter is given; but the editor normally gives only as much from any document as needed to convey the central thought.

It is highly appropriate that this book should appear among those planned for publication to commemorate the Hamilton Bicentennial.

Dr. Morris introduces the work with a neat ten-page essay of his own on "Alexander Hamilton after Two Centuries." It is obvious that he has really "touched the hem of his garment," for he makes cogent observations concerning the sources of Hamilton's greatness, the nature of his contributions, the basic principles of his life, and some reasons for the frequent lack of objectivity among those persons who have spoken or written about the Great Federalist. He points out that Hamilton did not believe in political parties, was "profoundly radical" in that the "new kind of republican federalism" which he advocated "constituted a sharp break with the political ways of the past." Hamilton stood for "change and progress," but hoped it would evolve gradually.

The cover painting of the book is a good reproduction, in color, of the Trumbull portrait of Hamilton - the same one that is reproduced on the ten dollar bill. This is by far the best of the Hamilton portraits, for it conveys something of the tremendous intellectual powers that account for Hamilton's magnificent achievements.

The title of this book is partly misleading. Hamilton's "ideas" are, truly, to be found in the chapters on "The Right of Revolution," "On Government: Some Guiding Principles," "The Principles of Constitutional Government," and "On Life and Death." But other chapters develop primarily the deeds rather than the ideas of Hamilton, as, "Winning the Revolution," "Building a New Nation," and "The Fight for Ratification."

It is the nature of original documents that they retain a freshness and charm that causes them to be easily imprinted upon the mind of the reader. Those who read this brief collection of papers cannot fail to attain a deeper understanding of the statesmanship of Hamilton and of the principles upon which our republic is founded.

GILBERT L. LYCAN

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The Growth and Culture of Latin America. By Donald E. Worcester and Wendell G. Schaeffer. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956. 963 pp.)

The writers of texts and surveys of Latin American history face two serious problems. First, large gaps in basic research exist, particularly in the social and economic spheres, so that synthesis is difficult and generalization dangerous. The closing of these gaps can be accomplished only by prolonged and painstaking scholarship. Second, there is the problem of organization. How is the history of a region which includes such a diversity of climate and topography and which possesses such a heterogeneous cultural background to be welded into an integrated whole? The obstacles are particularly formidable after independence when the writer must cope with twenty independent nations. In treating the national period the solution has generally been simply to write the history of each of the countries or at least of the larger and more important ones. The results are not properly histories of Latin America but compilations of national histories. An alternative has been to treat the period topically; that is, chapters are devoted to the church, government, immigration, international relations, education, and other aspects of Latin American life since independence. In the process, however, the chronological framework is sacrificed.

A third approach to the problem of organization is to identify and trace a sequence of major themes, trends, or problems which have been more or less common to all of Latin America and to weave the history of the individual nations into this fabric. Professors Worcester and Schaeffer have experimented boldly with

this organization. They divide the republican period into three sections. The first is entitled, "The Struggle for Political Stability," and extends from the achievement of independence to *circa* 1860. The first chapter discusses the major problems that promoted instability. Were the newly-created nations to be monarchies or republics? Were they to be organized along federal or centralist lines? Was their orientation to be conservative or liberal? What was to be the relationship between church and state? The rest of the chapters in the section trace the struggle over these issues and the solutions achieved in the several countries. The second section is entitled, "Popular Government on Trial," and extends from 1860 to *circa* 1930. It is concerned primarily with the rise of new values, a growing social consciousness, the liberalization of the political process, and economic development. These developments are traced in the history of various countries. The last section bears the title, "The Contest for Hegemony and the Rise of Indigenous Nationalism," and covers the period from the Great Depression of the 1930's to the present. It is concerned with important social, political, and economic changes which took place in Latin America as a result of the economic crisis. Among the major themes discussed are the rapid growth of economic nationalism, the trend toward collectivism whether it be by democratic or dictatorial processes, the impact of foreign ideologies, Indianism, and social reform.

The authors use the same topical-chronological approach to the colonial period. Here, the main sections are, "Genesis of Empire," "Consolidation of Empire," and "Maturity of Empire," dealing respectively with the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and "The Revolutionary Era." In each of these a discussion of major trends and developments is followed by a treatment of their operation in the various parts of the Spanish Empire in America and in Brazil.

Readers will disagree on how successful Professor Worcester and Schaeffer have been in presenting an integrated history of Latin America. The various nations of Latin America have developed at different rates and at times in different directions. To try to fit them into an arbitrary organization is extremely difficult and sometimes leads to a little strain. This reviewer feels, however, that although the authors approach is the most difficult to

handle, it is also the most desirable. They have used it very effectively and the result is truly a history of Latin America. It might be added that the book will not only be an answer for many teachers of Latin American history but will meet the needs of the general reader. It is scholarly work and at the same time the authors have made a special effort to enliven the factual narrative with life and color.

LYLE N. MCALISTER

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NEWS AND NOTES

Local Centennials

LEESBURG DATES its birth from 1857 when Evander Lee settled there. The town was named in his honor in 1866. In February and March of this year the community marked the event by a month's celebration culminating in a pageant which told the story of the town's origin and development.

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During the week of May 6 - 11, citizens of Starke will celebrate the founding of their city in 1857.

” ” ”

Within the next four years, five Florida countries will reach the century mark. New River (now Bradford), Clay and Suwannee countries were formed in 1858. Baker and Polk countries were created in 1861.

Activities of Historical Societies

At the November meeting of the Hillsborough Historical Commission, Tony Pizzo spoke on "Jose Marti and Ybor City". In December the Commission dedicated its first highway marker, one of a series which will be erected in the county. The marker bears the following inscription: "Here a supply train of the Florida Militia, enroute from Fort Brooke (Tampa) to an inland encampment, was surprised and massacred by Seminole Indians, May 17, 1856." The site on U. S. Highway 92 between Tampa and Plant City was selected by the Commission's Marker Committee composed of Theodore Lesley and Mrs. J. H. Letton.

” ” ”

The St. Augustine Historical Society has installed the first of a new series of markers. Located at Orange Street and Fort Marion Circle, the marker tells the story of the Spanish moat site in the following words: "Spanish Moat Site. A 70-foot wide tide-filled moat and a palisaded embankment once ran

through this area. This defense work, called the Cubo Line, extending west from the Fort to the San Sebastian River, was built to protect the city after the English invasion of 1702."

At the Society's February meeting, Tom Shackford described life in St. Augustine in the 1830's and 1840's by recounting human interest stories gleaned from the files of newspapers of that period.

‘ ‘ ‘

In January the Pensacola Historical Society sponsored the erection of a marker at Palafox and Garden Streets. The marker reads: "Palafox Street. Named after Genenal Jose de Palafox y Melzi, the Duke of Saragossa, (1780-1847). The name Palafox was given to Indendente Juan Morales, to replace 'George' named by the British. Palafox was a famous Spanish General who defended Saragossa with 500 men against 7,500 of Napoleon's forces, in the Peninsular War (1808-1814).

An illustrated booklet of the 25 markers in the city and vicinity is available from the Municipal Advertising Board of Pensacola.

‘ ‘ ‘

William C. Sturtevant of the Smithsonian Institution spoke on "The Indians of South Florida" before the Historical Association of Southern Florida in January. The speaker described the various early Indian tribes as well as tribal customs of the present day Seminole.

‘ ‘ ‘

The Martin County Historical Society has completed arrangements to sponsor a reprinting of Dickinson's *Journal* by the Yale University Press.

‘ ‘ ‘

"The Chattahoochee Country - Old Florida's Inland Province" was the subject of Mark E. Fretwell's address before the Jacksonville Historical Society in February. Fretwell, who was the first president of the Chattahoochee Valley Historical Society, stressed the relationship between the area and St. Augustine as revealed in recently discovered letters from Spanish authorities.

Mrs. Marion Conner presented three readings, prepared by the speaker, descriptive of life in the Chattahoochee country during the early 18th Century.

Mrs. Ella Teague DeBerard presented the Society a copy of her book, *Steamboats in the Hyacinths*, written from the notebooks of the late John Wilson Somerville of Jacksonville. (College Publishing Company, Box 1012, Daytona Beach. \$2.00.)

The Florida Anthropological Society

The annual meeting of the Society was held at Rollins College in February. Among the speakers and their subjects were Charlton W. Tebeau, "Glades Cross Mission".

‘ ‘ ‘

The March 3 number of the *All Florida Magazine* contained an article by Mary Herbert. In a biographical sketch of T. T. Wentworth, Jr. of Pensacola, she told how he developed an interest in Florida lore. She discusses the growth of his interest and items which he collected. The high point in his work is the Wentworth Museum near Pensacola.

Joseph Redlinger

His many friends regret the passing of Joseph Redlinger of Jacksonville. After his retirement in 1946, he became a prominent civic leader and stimulated interest in Florida history in the parochial schools of the state. A number of times he brought the prize winning authors of parochial school contests, which he sponsored, for a day's visit to the University of Florida and an introduction to the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Among Joseph Redlinger's publications were: *The Reader's Guide to the Public Libraries*, *America's First Pioneers*, and *the Catholic Church According to the Syriac Rite*. He was an active member of the Florida Historical Society.

College News

Ione S. Wright of the University of Miami attended the December meeting of the Caribbean Conference at the University

of Florida in Gainesville. Miss Wright is the only Conference member who has attended each of the seven sessions of the group. She represented the University of Miami at the American Historical Association in St. Louis during the Christmas holidays.

James W. Covington of the University of Tampa has completed *The Story of Southwestern Florida* covering the area from Pasco county to Monroe county. Publication is planned for the summer.

Weymouth T. Jordan of the Florida State University has been appointed a Regional Associate of American Council of learned Societies for the state of Florida. One of his duties is to give quarterly reports to the president of the council on scholarly and creative writings of Floridians. Charles W. Arnade will lecture in eleven Latin American Countries this summer under the auspices of the United States Department of State. He will interpret United States history and government for our southern neighbors.

TEQUESTA

The Historical Association of Southern Florida was founded in 1940, and has become one of the largest and most active historical groups in the Southeast. Early in the next year the Association issued the first number of *Tequesta*, and this has been published as an annual each year without intermission. Charlton W. Tebeau, of the University of Miami, has been its editor continuously since 1946; which is assurance of the interest and the value of its contents, and is a reason for its high rank among historical periodicals.

Number XIV (1956) of *Tequesta* has appeared since the last issue of our *Quarterly*. It contains four articles written especially for the journal, a report of the Association, and a list of the officers and members. In recognition of the value of the publication, the Association has a large number of members throughout the whole of Florida, as well as all of those who are interested in Florida history in that region.

"Miami: 1896-1900," the leading article, is by one who knows at first hand much of what she writes. Ruby Leach Carson came to Miami in 1916, and has been writing of that city

and region at intervals ever since. Studying Florida history as a graduate student at the University of Florida, she received a Master of Arts degree from that institution. Her interest in the State's history continued. She was one of the members of the first Editorial Board of *Tequesta*, and is a member of the Board of Directors of the Association.

Miami's past is also the scene for another article. Frank B. Sessa tells of "Miami's most exciting and colorful year" and the following one, in his "Miami in 1926." As the staid *New York Times* said "... something is taking place in Florida to which the history of developments, booms, rushes, speculation, investment, yields no parallel, a boom that makes a Klondike rush seem tame."

Frank Sessa is the one to tell of all this - but *all* should not be used, for it is impossible to tell all. The author's graduate degrees are in history and he has taught on the history staff of the University of Miami. Now he is director of Libraries for the City of Miami, so he has most of the story at his elbow. You should read that story - a story which has another angle also, for that was the year of "the hurricane".

But here is much else to the region, as we all know, and "Mango Growing Around Early Miami" by Harold W. Dorn, will be read by many. Mr. Dorn "... a resident of the area since 1910, knows well the people and activities of which he writes, being a fruit grower and broker with an interest in history."

"A Seminole Personal Document," another article, is mainly a translation of a wire recording, taken by William C. Sturtevant, of a narration of Sam Huff "... the most noticeable old man on the Dania Reservation [1950], the only one there who always wore the old-fashioned Seminole 'big shirt' - a garment with constricted waist, long skirt, long sleeves, and buttoned down the front, decorated with inset strips of colored cloth and patchwork designs."

William Sturtevant has been studying the Seminoles for a number of years, and his writings have appeared in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, *Florida Anthropologist*, and previous issues of *Tequesta*. He is now at work in the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution.

A young Indian friend of his, Joe Jumper, was also a friend of Sam Huff, and so the interview and recording came about.

Sam knows little English. It was Joe who translated his narrative, which is descriptive of the Seminole of today and of what Sam knows of the earlier days.

Halifax Historical Society Journal

The Halifax Historical Society of Daytona Beach, one of the important regional societies of the state, publishes a group of historical papers at intervals. Number I of volume II of *The Journal* of the Halifax Historical Society has recently appeared.

"The Dummett Family Saga" by Alice Strickland is the leading article. Colonel T. H. Dummett when forced to flee from Barbados during an insurrection, later came to Florida, in 1825, with sugar in mind. He purchased two large plantations on the Tomoka River and with several hundred slaves grew cane and erected a sugar mill.

The Seminole War was the ruin of all and the family fled to St. Augustine. Later a son, Douglas Dummett, a noteworthy soldier, planted the famous Dummitt orange grove on Merritt's Island. The family history during so much of early Florida is narrated by the writer, and a list of sources which are available, as well as three present-day photographs of the family sites, complete an interesting article.

"The Plantation Area-Maps" by Emily F. Wilson includes a four-page manuscript map (not dated, original in Lib. Cong.) of the area along the coast from St. Augustine southwards. This covers Matanza Inlet, Halifax River, Mosquito Inlet, the Haulover, and a portion of Indian River lagoon. The locations of all of the early plantations are noted, more than a score of them.

From the various land records Miss Wilson whose knowledge of these records is equalled by no one else, has made notes (9 pages) of each of these grants and holdings, including a bit on the principal owners of the land.

"New Smyrna - 1801" is an account of Ambrose Hull and his plantation at New Smyrna during the first quarter of the last century. This was destroyed in 1812 during the Patriot War. (*Anon.*)

One of the largest plantations on the Halifax, the location of which is noted on the map described above, was that of Samuel

Williams, established in 1803, most of which is in the present city of Daytona Beach. Ianthe Bond Hebel has brought together here in "The Samuel Williams Family" what has come down to us relating to the family and some of their descendants with the surviving records of Orange Grove as the plantation was named. This was one of the noted country-seats of East Florida. Williams lived in Carolina, but remaining loyal to the British crown in the Revolution, and he went to the Bahamas. In 1803 he with a number of other families came to Florida and received this grant. His property was destroyed in the Seminole War. The remains of his sugar mill can still be seen in Daytona. His will is included in Mrs. Hebel's article.

Another article tells of the road opened by the British in their effort to settle East Florida (1763-1783). Mrs. Hebel has written an account of this well-known King's Road after research in all available sources. As Volusia County Historian and Editor of *Centennial History of Volusia*, she has long been researching as well as interviewing all prospects for their knowledge of that area. Published with the article is a view of an immense boulder of coquina with a tablet marking the location of one stretch of the ancient road.

Apalachee

The Tallahassee Historical Society publishes at intervals groups of the papers read at their program meetings. Volume Four of *Apalachee*, that publication, has recently appeared. This contains seven papers of unusual interest and historical value by members, for among the membership of the Society are several of Florida's ablest historians.

On the grounds of the Florida State Hospital in Chattahoochee is a group of brick and stone buildings more than one hundred years old which attracts the interest of every visitor. They were built in the 1830 decade as the Apalachicola Arsenal of the United States Army. Mark F. Boyd has made a full study of the inception, the building, and the use of this group. This is one of the contributions to *Apalachee*.

Dorothy Dodd, Librarian of Florida State Library, has long been gathering historical data relating to early St. Marks, one of the important towns of territorial Florida; and also of the rail-

road, the first projected and the second completed in Florida, which connected Tallahassee with tidewater. The main purpose of the railroad was an outlet for the cotton grown in the Tallahassee region. In "The Tallahassee Railroad and the Town of St. Marks," she gives their whole story.

Many visitors to Tallahassee note two monuments standing in front of St. John's Episcopal Church in the center of the city. These are reminders of two events which cast shadows over Tallahassee, in 1837 when Hardy Croom with his family were lost in the foundering of the steamer *Home* off Cape Hatteras; and again the next year when six Tallahasseeans were drowned when the boilers of the steamer *Pulaski* exploded and the vessel sank off Charleston.

In a paper read at another meeting of the Society Dorothy Dodd recounted these tragedies, together with what is known of those to whose memory the monuments were erected.

An educated young New Englander, Charles Hutchinson, came to Tallahassee in 1839, and during his residence there of some years often wrote his family of the town and its people. The letters were edited and read before the Society by James T. Campbell, and this contribution is also included in *Apalachee*. The interest and historical value of such are evident.

One of the most versatile and intriguing figures of the early Southeast is the colorful, and at times unprincipled, William Augustus Bowles. His life in the British Army, as an Indian chief, and in numerous other environments, is told of in another paper read before the Society by Margaret Key.

Except for Olustee, the Battle of Natural Bridge was the most noteworthy fight in Florida in the Civil War. The Confederate forces there were under the command of General William Miller. Recently an account of the battle written about 1900 by General Miller was brought to light. This was edited with full notes by Mark F. Boyd and read before the Society, and included in this issue of *Apalachee*. The author, whose contribution to *The Florida Historical Quarterly* on the battle (XXIX.3-37, 96-124) has become the standard account, says: "Heretofore the only available official account of the Battle of Natural Bridge from the Confederate side has been that of Major General Samuel Jones."

Another article, a paper read before the Society, relates to the Court of Appeals and its organization in 1825. This is by Guyte P. McCord, and is based on the Minutes of the Court which are still preserved, and especially those of January 3, 1825, the day it was organized. The author also tells of the first case before the Court, as well as several other early cases.

Also in this issue is a list of all papers read before the Society during the period 1950-1956. Copies of this issue can be secured from the Secretary, Tallahassee. An invitation is extended to any one interested to become a member of the Society. The Publication Committee of the Society is Mark F. Boyd, Chairman, Guyte, P. McCord, and Louise Richardson.

CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID L. WILLING is a senior in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Florida. His article was written during the second semester of his junior year and was a term paper in Florida history.

ELOISE ROBINSON OTT of Ocala is a former director of the Society and author of a number of articles in the *Quarterly*.

WILBUR H. SIEBERT is Research Professor of History Emeritus at the Ohio State University. He has contributed many articles to the *Quarterly*, and the present one was written many years ago.

CHARLES W. ARNADE is Assistant Professor of History at the Florida State University.

RICHARD K. MURDOCH is Associate Professor of History at the University of Georgia.

JULIEN C. YONGE, Editor Emeritus of the *Quarterly* wrote the reviews of *Tequesta*, the *Halifax Historical Society Journal*, and *Apalachee*.

NEW MEMBERS
(Jan. - Feb.)

Nominated by

A. K. Black, Lake City	G. P. McCord
Mrs. Harriet M. Bryant, Mt. Dora	R. W. Patrick
E. C. Burns, Lake Wales	Lois J. Sette
California State Library, Sacramento, California	Lois J. Sette
Mrs. Margaret L. Cureton, Washington, D. C.	Elizabeth C. Baldwin
F. C. Dame, Fort Pierce.	Mrs. O. C Peterson
Mrs Catherine S. Detwiler, South Miami.....	Mrs. Reginald Hart
J. W. Dupree, Tampa.....	Elizabeth C. Baldwin
James Lawrence Harrison, Jr., Palmetto	E. T. Keenan
Paul Sisler Hayes, Palm Beach.....	Edward C. Williamson
Ney C. Landrum, Tallahassee.....	Ben S. Roberts
Coy L. Lay, Lakeland	Elizabeth C. Baldwin
Howard L. MacFeeters, Moorestown, New Jersey	Miss Elizabeth Gillies
Frank McK. McKeown, Merritt Island.....	John F. McKeown
C. B. McLeod, Tallahassee.....	J. V. Chapman
Albert B. Moseley, Daytona Beach	Ianthe B. Hebel
Reuben Rutenberg, Clearwater	Elizabeth C. Baldwin
Frank J. Soday, Decatur, Georgia.....	Elizabeth C. Baldwin
Stephen L. Speronis, Tampa	J. Ryan Beiser
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