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BIRTHPLACES OF THE CONQUISTADORS *

by KARL A. BICKEL

EVER SINCE I started dabbling into the business of Spanish Conquistadors; particularly Balboa, Cortes, Pizzaro and our own first great tourist Hernando De Soto, I have been interested in looking more closely into the birthplaces of these men - a topic rather lightly treated by the greater historians - and trying to find after a fashion, some of the things that made them "tick." The thing that really started me off, however, was a paragraph in a book by Ruth Matilda Anderson of the Hispanic Society of America. The book is titled *Spanish Costume - Extramadura* and without question it covers its field in great care and detail, but far and beyond her studies into Spanish costume her book is the finest guide book ever written on the great province in western Spain - a province rich in history and extraordinarily beautiful which, desipte good hotels and government motels, has been almost entirely neglected by the American tourist.

The paragraph read: "Though Extremenians migrated to America in fewer numbers than did Andulusians, Castilians and Leonese, they furnished more than their proportion of the leaders most of whom came from the Guadiana basin - Vasco Nunez de Balboa, discoverer of the Pacific, Hernando De Soto, who reached the Mississippi, Pedro Valdivia, conqueror of Chile, and Hernan Cortes who turned the history of Mexico. . . . Evaluating the Extremenian Conquistadors, Unamuno has said 'He who does not know something of these people, apathetic in appearance, violent and impassioned in heart, can but poorly comprehend that epic in our history.' Their temperment reflected the dual nature of the land, shaped into mountain and plain with rivers narrow and swift or wide and tranquil."

"The Pizarros came from Trujillo beyond the divide where their houses exemplify their passage from obscurity to success."

* Mr. and Mrs. Bickel toured Spain last year. This report by Mr. Bickel on the birthplaces of four Conquistadors* was delivered at the annual Florida Historical Society banquet, McAlister Hotel, Miami, on March 29, 1957. The pictures illustrating the article were supplied by the author.

From the very start there was considerable confusion as to just where several of these Conquistadors were born. Historians were very casual. The bird place of Hernando de Soto was variously placed by different writers over the last 150 years as "at a village in western Estramadura" or "in the vicinity of Badajoz" or near "Villa Neuva de la Serena" and many placed De Soto's birth place in the village of Jerez de los Cabelleros. Several asserted he was born near the old and at one time the great Roman city of Merida, not far from Badajoz. Through the cooperation of the Madrid bureau of the United Press and Miss Anderson, investigation developed that there was no apparent doubt that De Soto was born in the village of Barcarrota, about 18 miles South of Badajoz; that Balboa cane from Jerez de los Caballeros, a somewhat larger community about 12 miles south of Barcarrota, that Cortes came from Medellin, a village about 30 miles east of Merida and about 50 from Badajoz while Trujillo, the home of the Pizzaro's, lay over a low line of hills about 30 miles north of Medellin. It was immensely interesting to realize that these four great moulders of the history of the western world were all born within an area of about 70 miles north and south and 50 miles wide.

From there on the Spanish Tourist Commission, certainly one of the most effective institutions of its type in the world, took hold. An employee of the commission arranged for our car, and in response to my insistence upon an English speaking driver provided one that not only spoke English but also perfect "Tampanese." He had, he explained, been employed as a sailor out of Tampa Harbor back in the stirring days of the late 1920's, largely operating between Bimini Key and Tampa, and he quickly demonstrated that he knew far more of the twists and turns of Tampa Bay, Sarasota Bay, Lemon Bay and the Point of Rocks than any casual tourist. His busines, he pointed out had been an exacting one and a knowledge of a "swash" that might, at certain hours of the tide, give him five feet of unexpected water, which others might not know about, was of exceeding value. He followed that interesting and at times exciting trade for seven years and not once, he remarked with a certain pride, had he ever had occasion to talk to the judge. Quite properly he felt that he had a bit of the blood of a Conquistador in his veins and he

surely knew the area better even than any of the Miruelo or Alaminos' boys, whose knowledge of gulf coast waters was so great an asset to so many of the explorers of the early Sixteenth Century.

The Estremadura is a beautiful region. One of the least known of all of Spain's beautiful provinces, it has been largely "undiscovered." Approaching it from the south, leaving Seville in the morning it is easy to reach Merida or Badajoz by mid afternoon. The low blue hills that follow the nearby Portugese border, are on your left throughout the trip. The road itself, today a beautiful strip of blue-black asphalt, is a very ancient highway. Long before the Phoenicians scrambled up its rugged hills the Celtiberians had beaten it out, a long road leading from Cadiz through Seville and on its westward branch it touched Elvas and Lisbon while its eastern arm reached north to Toledo. Hasdrubal and Hannibal travelled it, Ceasar knew it well, as did Trajan and Hadrian, both Spanish born, and even today the frequent creeks and streams are crossed on high arched Roman bridges, still, two thousand years later, the finest stone bridges ever built. Columbus used this road in his wanderings between Spain and Lisbon, and he was on it when he was recalled by Isabella and told that he had Spanish royal backing to find the "New World" by the westward route. Amerigo Vespucci was a frequent traveller over it, as his business between Lisbon and Seville was such that frequent visits to both cities were necessary.

About 60 miles north of Seville there is a junction in the road at a point called Zafra, a mere division point, and you turn directly west and for fifteen miles you travel a sound, if narrow village highway, to Jerez de los Cabelleros. The town, with a relatively small population, crowned by the towers of two obviously very old churches and several ancient military works, lies along the crest of the low frontier hills. A swift stream meets you at the eastern boundary of the community and the narrow streets of the town slope swiftly upwards towards the crest of the hills. Tourists are still a great deal of a novelty at Jerez de los Caballaros. Quite a group swiftly surrounded us but to our inquiry as to where the home of Nunez de Balboa was located there was, for a time, no reply. Then one man, obviously a farmer, remarked that he knew of Balboa Plaza. Off to the Plaza we went. No

dice. It was the local cow and horse market. Again a crowd gathered about and there was a steady swift flow of Spanish as Julian, our driver, and the local inhabitants discussed the matter of the birth of Balboa. Finally a youngster stepped up and spoke with apparent definiteness.

Julian turned to us, "He says he knows where it is but he won't tell me. He wants to guide us there himself."

"OK," I replied, "take him in if you think he knows."

It seemed to be quite a trip to the Balboa home under the leadership of our youthful guide. Up we travelled through narrow hilly streets. Then down again. Then again up. Finally, Julian called a halt.

"Look here," he said to the guide. "I'm on to you. All you want is an automobile ride. Now that's all over. Where's the Balboa house? Do you know?"

"Certainly I know," the youngster replied, "It's right next door to my house."

"Where's that?" said Julian.

"Right here," he said. "Just up this street about fifty meters. It's been a good ride too. It's the first time I ever rode in a Mercury."

The Balboa house is extraordinary in that despite the fact that is was built about 1460 and housed the Balboa's at the time of Nunez Balboa's birth in 1475 - it is still operating today, apparently without any significant changes or even any changes in room locations, windows or doors. To all intents the Balboa home today is the same today inside and outside as it was about 1500 when Balboa first left for the Western World. There is a small, and scarcely distinguishable plaque near the door stating that Balboa was born there in 1475. It is occupied now by a very nice family. The lady of the house generously allowed us to enter. She explained that no changes had been made in the house, that the walls, floors, mostly of stone, the room arrangement had never been disturbed. She took me into the tiny bed room up stairs in which Balboa was born.

"He was born," she said "in this bed."

"In that bed?" I asked. "Why not," she replied, it is a very sound bed."

The photographs will give you a better idea of the home than any discription of mine. We were shown the old brazier upon which the charcoal fires were burned in Balboa's day and were assured the same brazier is in use today.

Balboa was one of the great figures in exploration and discovery in the Western World. Here is a rather amazing example of preservation of one of the historic shrines in the history of both North America and Panama not to speak of all nations whose shores are lapped by Pacific waters. It would seem that some agencies in the United States, Panama, and Spain might unite on an effort to have the property purchased by the three nations, and certainly preserved for the future. It is not only a spot of keen historic interest to all people in the western hemispheres but it is likewise a most interesting survival of a medevial home. It has been protected and well preserved for over 400 years and its survival in equally good condition should be insured by governmental effort.

Fourteen miles to the north of Jerez de los Cabelleros is the small village of Villa Nueva de Barcarrota. Here an imposing monument has been erected in honor of De Soto and the house itself, a rather important appearing home on a very narrow street . . . so narrow that it is almost impossible to take a good photograph of it, is the home of Hernando de Soto. The family, locally said to be descendents of the De Soto family, were in Badajoz the day we were there. We were told the home is kept up in good condition and it was obviously well cared for from an exterior view. A small sign states that the house is the birthplace of De Soto.

It was getting late by the time we left Bacarrota. Merida is the tourist center of the area but the best road leads via Badajoz. Badajoz is an interesting old frontier fortress city. Wellington lived there for a time during the Peninsular Wars and it was one of his important supply depots during most of the long years of that struggle. Only six miles from Badajoz on the Portugese border is the little old city of Elvas. This is the Elvas that was the apparent home of the mysterious "Gentleman from Elvas' who wrote one of the three noted relations of the discoveries and travels of De Soto. Badajoz and Elvas contributed several members of the De Soto expedition. Jerez dos Cabelleros sent three

also. That night Mrs. Bickel and I stayed at Merida in an excellent government motel.

Medellin, like Jerez de los Cabelleros and Barcarrota, is a small village, tucked away in the shadow of a long hill, along whose crest rests the ruins of what, at one time, must have been a most imposing fortification. It was projected by low walls reaching the base of the hill and along these walls were the ruins of out posts that had evidently been designed to make the place, against the weapons of the time, almost safe from all attacks. The Guadiana river, very placid at this point, sweeps about the base of the hill, just below the village and to reach the town a very fine example of a Roman bridge must be crossed.

The Cortes home was destroyed many years ago. A village plaza has been built up about the site and in its center a rather imposing statue has been erected in Cortes honor. On the actual site of the house and, it is said, just over the spot where the bedroom existed in which Cortes was born, a smaller and even more ancient stone marker has been raised. Medellin, which is as quiet and as somnolent, in the mid morning sunlight, as any small Spanish village of the Estramadura watched our arrival and visit with no evidence of interest. A gracious local resident spoke to Julian and responded to questions. The village held an annual festival about the plaza in honor of Cortes, he said, and at that time many strangers came to the town.

Through Julian I asked about the great heap of chocolate brown ruins upon the fortified hill. Did they have any history, I asked. "No" he replied. He did not think so. They were, of course, very old and in the old times they had been a defence, against the Visgoths and latter against the Moors. His face lighted up.

"As Americans," he said, "you might be interested in this fact. Isabella, the queen who pledged her jewels to help Columbus get to America, spent many years of her childhood in the castle."

It was almost noon by the time we left Medellin. Trujillo, the site of the Pizzaro home with its small but beautiful cathedral and its famous flocks of storks that nest on each of the four corners of its tower, was about forty kilometers ahead of us, but it was the nearest place also where there was an established

restaurant and so off we went. It's a wonderful road between Medellin and Trujillo. The soft rounded hills that divide the basin of the Guadianna and the Tagus are no traffic obstacle but serve to heighten the interest of the trip. Great fields of golden orange, bright yellow and ochre, lay on all sides of us as the harvest for wheat, late oats and barley was on and threshing was in progress on all sides. In many fields the old Roman method, and for all of that it was probably old when the Roman came to the Estramadura, of beating the grain out with flails was in progress. In other fields a team of mules attached to a wooden sled like vehicle was driven round and round over the cut grain and the grain was thus beaten out. But, most interestingly, in immediately adjacent fields were American tractors driving modern threshing equipment. Progress, an important student of civilization once remarked, is never unilateral. But nevertheless Spain is progressing most amazingly, almost too swiftly you feel at times.

Trujillo, in the distance, looked like a great, white castle, peaked with towers and battlements, on the crest of a golden hillside. The crosses on the churches glittered in the sunlight and in the gulches and along the stream beds in the valley the silver grays of the olives and the darker greens of the encino and the cork trees framed the picture.

Arriving Julian stopped a traffic cop and asked about Pizzano.

"Prizzaro", said the policeman, "I don't know him."

Julian carefully and slowly explained that the Pizzaro desired had been dead several hundred years. This did not increase the officers interest. He scratched his head.

"Well," he said, "this street is named Pizzaro street but I never heard of the fellow. But I'll tell you. There is a little restaurant up the street a block or two, you can see it from here. There is a waiter in there and he knows all about old times in Trujillo. You ask him."

So we did. Julian asked a bystander about a waiter who knew about Pizzaro and where he was born. Before the man could reply the waiter came up.

'Were you asking about Pizzaro?' he said to Julian. "I was," said Julian. "Do you know where he was born?"

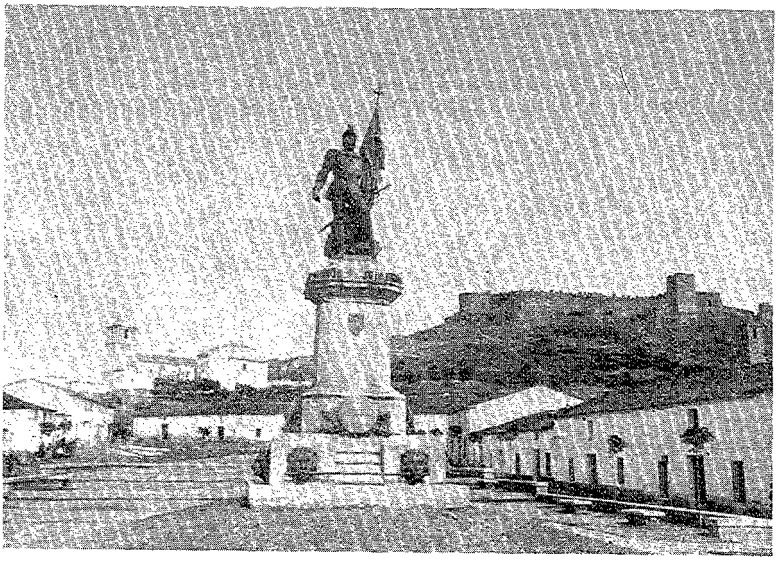
"Sure I know where he was born," he said. "I know all about Pizzaro. I know all about the whole family. I am the greatest

fan in Trujillo on the Pizzaro's. After all,' he said, "they are the only family we ever had in Trujillo that went out in the world, conquered a continent and brought back more gold than all the world has shipped into Spain since."

He accompanied us in our car until we reached the cathedral square where we parked the car in the shade and in the blasting sun of an early afternoon in Trujillo, we crossed the plaza and went around the Church upon whose roof corners the red legs and the long beaks of the storks threw a wonderful dash of color against the otherwise drab roof. Behind the church we stumbled up a hill, rock ridden and obviously unsafe for auto traffic. At the top he pointed to the three stone buildings resting there on a rocky ridge overlooking the valley of the distant Tagus.

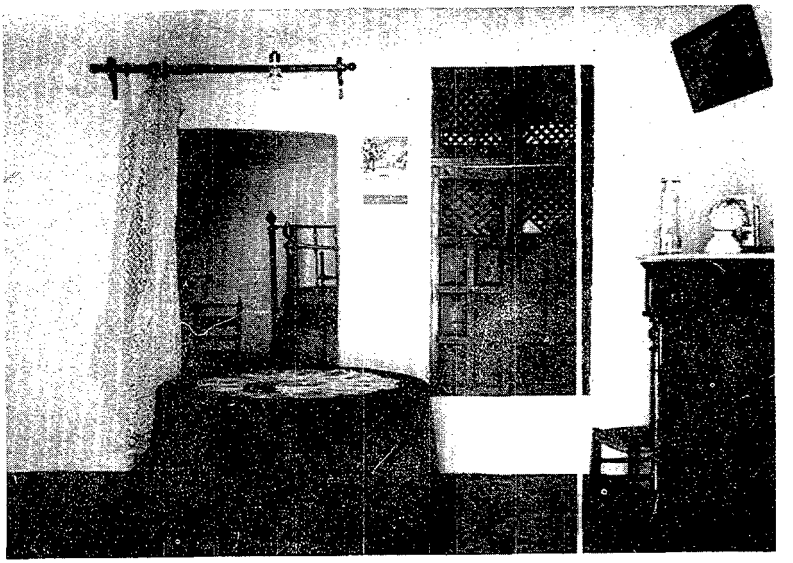
"The center building is the Pizzaro home," said our guide. "The old door is still there. The roof is gone and the window is only protected by old board. You can't go inside and there is nothing there anyhow. I don't think any one has lived here in a century. The two buildings, one on each side, are old nunneries. One has two members of the flock still there altho' they are very old. The other is abandoned." He pointed to the pink granite shield above the door.

"That is the Pizzaro coat of arms," he said. "Two pigs trying to reach the fruit on a tree." Some people say they are not pigs but bears but I think they were meant to be pigs. Why not? The Pizzaros fed them and took care of them for a percentage on the in pigs. They not only dealt in pigs but they kept pigs for farmers who had them and did not have space or feed for them and the Pizzaro's fed them and took care of them for a percentage on the sale price. People say Francisco was a pig herder. Of course he was when he was a boy. That was natural. The family had pigs to keep and he herded them under the olive trees and other places and they picked up food. It was no disgrace in Spain then and it would not be now to be a pig herder. The important thing was that Francisco did not stay a pig herder. He fought to get to Panama. He sent more gold to Spain than Spain has ever received since. Emperor Charles V gave him a fine palace down on the square but he never lived in it much altho' the family did. He died in Peru. They murdered him, of course. It was inevitable. He just had too much money and power to be left

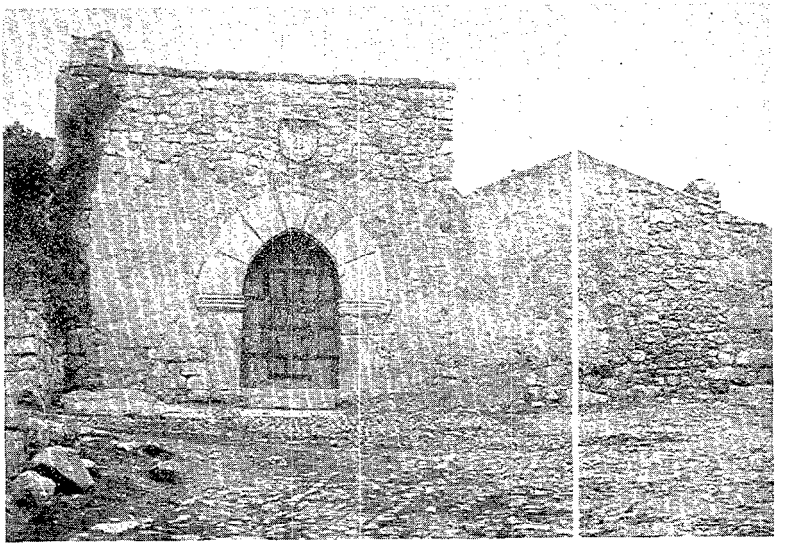


CORTES STATUE WITH MEDILLIN CASTLE IN THE BACKGROUND

DETAIL OF THE PIZARRO FAMILY CREST



INTERIOR OF THE BALBOA HOUSE
JEREZ DE LOS CABALLEROS



THE BIRTHPLACE OF PIZARRO, TRUJILLO, SPAIN

alive. In Trujillo they don't think much about the Pizzaro's now altho' they were a great family for a time. But you would think that they would care enough to put on a new roof, a new door and a floor on his birth place. Wouldn't you think they would care that much? But they don't - not yet."

So here is another suggestion for a reconstruction and preservation job in Spain. Possibly the Franco government and the government of Peru, joined perhaps by certain American historic interests, might associate themselves in the restoration of the Pizzaro home on the high hill back of the cathedral in Trujillo. The long afternoon shadows were just pushing across the Plaza when we went back to our car and took our guide, the Pizzaro fan, to his cafe on Avenida Pizzaro. The last red of the sunset was fading into a deep colbalt blue when Julian dropped us off at the fabulous Castellano Hilton in Madrid. Three wonderful days with the Conquistadors of Spain.

For half a century before Columbus made his western voyage the Kingdom of Portugal, under the leadership of Henry the Navigator had thrilled all Europe with the daring and the speed with which its sailors had lifted the horizon lines of the medevial world and opened up the eastern edges of the Atlantic, discovered or re-discovered the Azores, the Canaries, the Cape Verde Islands, and worked around Cape Verde, passed Cape of Good Hope and finally found its way to the doorways of India. Wealth poured into the narrow little country. Doubtless some of it, perhaps a good deal of it trickled back to Elvas and the little villages along the Portguese border. The boys from Elvas and the youngsters of Badajoz, the kids from Jerez de las Cabelleros, Medellin, Barcarrota, hung out about Badajoz like youngsters do today and have always done and there they heard about the gold and ivory, the strange woods and the perfumes of Africa and the East. They heard too, of the profits in the Black Ivory trade that the Portugese were just starting, at enormous profit, to develop in Portugal.

Hard money was desperately scarce in the farms along the Guadiana and the Tagus. A tiny silver piece would pay for a week's good time in Badajoz and the story was that there were sailors in Elvas, back from voyages around the Cape that had gold in their ears, gold in their noses and gold coin in their

pockets. How did they get it? Discovery, exploration, trade. So when the word worked up the long road from Seville, Palos and Cadiz that Columbus had "discovered the East" by sailing west and that new lands, piles of gold, wonderful birds with wonderful plumes, new woods and strange perfumes were to be seen in Seville, there wasn't a boy in all the long river valley that wasn't wild to go. That was what they talked about on their Saturday nights in Badajoz. Portugese boys coming over the line told them more and relighted the fierce fires of their interest. So they made their plans. It was a bitter fight to get aboard a Spanish ship bound west as it always is to get to treasure trove that's far away. But they fought to get the right or failing that they stowed away, in barrels and under bales. They worked their fingers to the bone, they starved, were sick and some times jailed. For Balboa it was terribly hard, often starvation and death looked him close into his eyes, yet he never ceased persisting, never once stopped going ahead. He hit his high point, discovering the worlds greatest ocean. But he did it the wrong way. He should have left it for his "Boss" and seen to it that his Boss got the credit and he, in turn, got what he wanted, which was gold. So Balboa lost his head and gained immortality, except for a non historical British poet who almost stole the prize for "stout Cortez".

Balboa got into the West Indies in 1501. He lead the pack. Cortez was in Panama in 1504 and yards and yards of the great map still remained to be unfurled. Pizzaro hit the beach at Panama in 1510 as broke as he ever was in Trujillo with his pigs. De Soto also "stony" did not reach Panama the great focusing point for opportunity, until 1519. By that time Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine boy that had made good in Seville, and was probably the greatest navigator of the whole group of navigators then loose upon the "Main," had drawn better maps of northeastern South America for Spain than any other nation would have for fifty years to come. De Soto and Pizzaro were distantly related. Balbo met De Soto in Panama. Cortes was known to all of them, but Cortes was not a part of the Panama crowd. Fortunately for De Soto his relationship with Pizzaro got him a good job in Pizzaro's Peruvian expeditions which sent to Spain so terrific a flood of gold and discovery. It was that gold that financed

De Soto's floundering about southeastern North America and lead him to his lonely death and grave on the banks of the Mississippi.

They were rude, rough, ugly tempered, but great men. They had the essential stuff in them. They knew poverty, they knew the curse of powerlessness. They felt and believed the New World was to be their land, their treasure trove and their crown of glory. And it was. For barefooted youngsters on the muddy shores of the Guadiana they went far.

THE FLORIDA SHIP CANAL PROJECT

by BENJAMIN F. ROGERS

A FEW MILES SOUTH of Ocala four huge bridge piers tower out of the underbrush to puzzle most tourists and many Floridians. These piers are monuments to a project which was pictured the moment the Spanish realized Florida was a peninsula, which was considered by Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and John C. Calhoun, which was surveyed and re-surveyed during the administrations of Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover, which was undertaken and abandoned under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and which still stirs the imagination of many Floridians - the trans-Florida canal. [1]

When President Roosevelt came into office in 1933, the army engineers had completed twenty-eight surveys of possible canal routes across Florida and had already decided that route 13-b was the most satisfactory. On this route, ocean going vessels would enter the canal at Jacksonville, proceed up the Saint Johns and Oklawaha Rivers, through a cut which would pass close by Ocala, down the Withlacoochee River and into the Gulf of Mexico at Port Inglis. [2] Before Roosevelt's inauguration, Floridians had already formed the National Gulf-Atlantic Ship Canal Association with former Army Chief-of-Staff General Charles P. Summerall as president, had applied to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a loan, and had been turned down. [3] After the Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Department of Commerce also rejected the canal, and after an army board presented an estimate of $208,000,000, almost twice as high as the original appraisal, many of the lobbyists were discouraged. [4] There were, however, enough persistent Floridians to persuade the president that another board should study the matter. After this new board made an estimate of $146,000,000, and when Congress appro-

1. Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida, Land of Change* (Chapel Hill, 1948), 183-5; *Congressional Record,* 76 Congress, 1 session, pp. 5502-3; *Time,* Feb. 17, 1936; Venila L. Shores, "Canal Projects of Territorial Florida," Tallahassee Historical Society *Annual,* 1935, 12-16.
2. *Time,* Feb. 17, 1936.
3. *Congressional Record,* 76 Congress, 1 session, 5503.
4. *Ibid,* 5504.

priated several billions for the president to spend on work relief, the stage was set. [5]

The Division of Applications and Information of the WPA approved the canal in the summer of 1935; the Advisory Committee on Allotments gave it the green light in August; and on the thirtieth of that month, as he was leaving for a few days at Hyde Park, the president told the press that he thought he would probably proceed with four or five million dollars on a purely relief basis. [6] On September 3, a hurricane struck southern Florida, dashed the passenger boat Dixie upon a reef, and sunk her. No lives were lost, but the president took advantage of this dramatic incident to announce on the same day that $5,000,000 would be allocated to the beginning of the Florida Ship Canal. [7]

Along the canal route, the announcement was a signal for celebration. Sumter Lowry, chairman of the Canal Division of the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce, called it "one of the greatest events that could possibly happen to the people of this State," and predicted that it would bring "happiness and prosperity to all." [8] A Duval county church celebration referred to the canal as a "holy enterprise," and Ed Ball said that it would "advance the commercial development of Florida by 100 years." [9] Lieutenant-Colonel Brehon Somervell, who was put in charge of digging the canal, called it "one of the most useful, if not the outstanding project which has been undertaken with Works Progress funds." [10] Representative "Lex" Green of Starke felt that the canal would go down in history as the most important accomplishment of President Roosevelt's administration, and Representative Millard Caldwell, speaking in superlatives, called it "the outstanding achievement of the century." [11] Ocala entered upon a "bonanza era." Hotels and restaurants were jammed. Inquiries regarding investments poured into the Chamber of Commerce. Stores stayed open at night and were very considerate about cash-

5. *Ibid,* 5505.
6. New York *Times,* Aug. 27, 1935; *Florida Times Union* (Jacksonville), Sept. 1, 1935 (hereafter referred to as *Times Union).*
7. *New* York *Times,* Sept. 4, 1935; *Times Union,* Sept. 4, 1935.
8. *Times Union,* Sept. 4, 1935.
9. Tampa *Tribune,* Sept. 20, 1935, 10; New York *Times,* Oct. 20, 1935.
10. *Times Union,* Sept. 7, 1935.
11. *Ibid,* Sept. 12, 1935; Tampa *Tribune,* Sept. 20, 1935.

ing checks. At one county commission meeting, there were ten applications to open bars. [12]

Meanwhile, central and southern Florida were unhappy. Miami and Tampa felt that if a canal were dug, it would seriously affect their position as seaports; and the citrus growers of central Florida were afraid that the canal would act as a huge drainage ditch, drawing off the fresh water and perhaps even allowing salt water seepage into the limestone which underlies the state. The day after Roosevelt's announcement, the Seminole County Agricultural Association met in Sanford and made plans to fight the canal. Forming the Central and South Florida Water Conservation Committee, they requested donations from interested parties, ran large ads in papers throughout the state asking "What Will We Do Without Water," requested the Federal courts to issue an injunction, and started a campaign of protest to President Roosevelt. [13] Throughout central and southern Florida, others followed their lead. The Bradenton *Herald* felt that the canal should not be started until "every sensible objection" had been satisfied. [14] The Dade City *Banner* warned the people along the route that they would be in a "heluva fix" if sea water seeped in through the walls of the canal. [15] The Tampa Tribune felt that the project would be a "tollossal waste of money," [16] and the Lakeland *Ledger* protested that it did not care "whether Tampa, Jacksonville, Ocala, or Yankeetown become world ports," but that it was "concerned with the danger to the central and southern part of the state." [17]

These complaints were somewhat disturbing to President Roosevelt and Colonel Somervell, who reassured the opponents of the canal with regard to the water supply and promised another geological study while work on the canal progressed. [18] In December of 1935, this new board of experts returned a favorable report. They said that the canal could have "no possible effect whatever" on the water supplies of Jacksonville, Miami, Palm

12. *Times Union,* Sept. 18, 1935.
13. *Ibid,* Sept. 12, 1935; Sept. 4, 1935; New York *Times,* Oct. 20, 1935.
14. Quoted in Tampa *Tribune,* Sept. 3, 1935.
15. Quoted in *ibid.*
16. *Ibid,* Sept. 5, 1935.
17. Quoted in *ibid,* Sept. 17, 1935.
18. *Times Union,* Sept. 7, 1935; New York *Times,* Oct. 4, 1935.

Beach, or Orlando, or on the artesian water resources of the state. Although they did say that shallow farm wells near the cut would have to be deepened, they pointed out that the canal would not serve as a drainage ditch since the area which it would cross was already being drained by the St. Johns and Withlacoochee Rivers. As one of the engineers stated, the canal would have no more effect on water drainage in the area than a scratch on the outside would affect a water main. [19]

Meanwhile, however, opposition to the canal was developing in another region. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes had never favored the project. His PWA had turned it down flatly, and the proposal to finance it with relief money, which would put it within Harry Hopkins' jurisdiction, was doubtless distasteful to him. As early as August 1935, he was corresponding with the Florida opponents of the canal concerning the geological problem, and in that month he had W. C. Mendenhall, head of the Geological Survey, dig up an old report which said that construction of a canal would have "major effects" on the state's water supply. [20] In December, Ickes talked with the president about the project and noted that he "really listened for the first time, which indicated to me that perhaps he is beginning to have some doubts himself about the practicability of that canal." [21] In January, Ickes was in Miami conferring with Colonel Frank B. Shutts of the Miami *Herald*, a vigorous opponent of the project. According to Ickes, the colonel said that he was going to Washington to fight the canal, that Senator Vandenberg of Michigan had written him for ammunition, and that although he was a Democrat and a New Dealer, he had to fight the administration through a Republican senator on this measure. Ickes remarked in reply that of course he could not say anything publicly, but that behind the scenes he had done everything in his power to prevent the building of the canal. [22]

President Roosevelt apparently sensed that the opposition to the canal was planning to work through Congress, for on December 17, in a press conference, he told reporters that he no longer

19. New York *Times*, Dec. 27, 1935.
20. *Ibid*, Aug. 27, 1935.
21. Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The First Thousand Days*, 1933-1936 (New York, 1953), 488.
22. *Ibid*, 502.

planned to make large grants from the relief allotment for such projects but rather would ask Congress to grant direct appropriations for them. [23] Following this tack, he included an item of $12,000,000 in the army appropriation bill. Another source of opposition immediately became apparent when the House committee ignored the president's request and stated that its policy was to grant specific appropriations only when the projects named had been authorized by law. Florida's Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, from the beginning a staunch supporter of the canal, declared that the committee had played into the hands of the Republicans, who had "been contending that the President was without authority to initiate these projects, and have tried to make political capital out of it." [24] Difficulties in the Senate could be predicted as the subcommittee on army appropriations rejected the canal 6-5 and the full committee rejected it 12-11. Senator Fletcher took the bill to the floor, and Senator Vandenberg led the attack on it. Armed with statements of shipping companies who said they would not use the canal even if it were free, Vandenberg inveighed against the project as a useless waste of money and as an infringement of the president upon the prerogatives of Congress. Tears in his eyes, Senator Fletcher begged the Senate for the $12,000,000, but the defeat of the canal appropriation by a vote of 39-34 constituted a reprimand to the president for starting a long-range expensive project without authorization. [25]

Although the argument in Congress was mainly concerned with the president's alleged abuse of power, Floridians had awaited the outcome of the battle eagerly. The news of the canal's defeat caused sorrow in Ocala and other cities and towns along the route, although they all immediately girded their loins to renew the fight. [26] In Miami and Tampa there was general rejoicing, and in Seminole County, citizens invoked the blessings of God on Senator Vandenberg and sent cases of celery to those senators who had voted against the appropriation. [27] But although they rejoiced, opponents of the canal were still concerned. The

23. New York *Times*, Dec. 18, 1935.
24. *Ibid*, Feb. 11, 1936.
25. *Time*, Mar. 30, 1936; New York *Times*, Mar. 12; Mar. 13, 1936; Mar. 17, 1936; Mar. 18, 1936.
26. *Times Union*, Mar. 19, 1936.
27. *Time*, Mar. 30, 1936.

Miami *Daily News* predicted that the "canalists" would make further efforts; the Tampa *Tribune* noted that they were "determined and resourceful," and moreover had the ear of the president; the Sanford *Herald* warned that "the war is not necessarily over." [28]

Without money, Colonel Somervell prepared to close up shop, and in the summer of 1936, work on the canal ground to a halt. The engineers had spent $5,400,000, with which they had built a camp named for the president, had cleared about 4000 acres along the right of way, had moved almost 13,000,000 yards of earth, and, as the monuments south of Ocala testify, had started work on the bridges. [29] Even the opponents of the canal agreed that the engineers had done a good job. Although the partly dug ditch and the partly built bridges were of no value, the buildings at Camp Roosevelt were taken over by the University of Florida as an extension division. By 1937, this branch was enrolling 4206 students in vocational short courses, which included programs for clergymen, policemen, rural teachers, and others. [30]

Although congressmen in Washington threatened to cut Harry Hopkins' relief appropriation and eventually received from him assurance that no relief money would be spent on the Florida canal, President Roosevelt refused to give up on the project. [31] On May 26, 1936, the Senate Commerce Committee acted favorably by a vote of 12-5 on a resolution by Senator Joseph Robinson of Arkansas which would provide for a new survey by the engineers, and, if the survey turned out favorably, an appropriation of $10,000,000 to continue work on the canal. Senator Vandenberg again rose to attack the project as "indefensible exploitation, extravagance, and recklessness," and to attack the president for ever having started it in the first place. As he put it, Roosevelt had gotten into hot water and wanted Congress to share the bath. This time Vandenberg was less successful as the canal passed the Senate by a vote of 35-30. [32] Senator Fletcher, exhausted by the fight, died shortly afterward, and on the day of his death, the House rejected the appropriation. Many senators had voted for

28. All from Tampa *Tribune*, Mar. 23, 1936.
29. *Congressional Record*, 76 Congress, 1 session, 5510-1.
30. *Survey*, Nov. 1937.
31. New York *Times*, Apr. 11, 1936.
32. *Ibid*, May 27, 1936; May 30, 1936; May 31, 1936; *Newsweek*, June 6, 1936.

the canal out of respect for Fletcher, and so upon his death, the Senate let the whole matter drop. [33]

On the national scene, the canal was forgotten, but Florida was still concerned. In the senatorial election held to fill Park Trammel's seat in August, the canal was still an issue. Most newspapers and magazines credited the election of Charles Andrews to his support for the Townsend old age pension plan, but *Newsweek* called attention to the fact that the ship canal was a more important issue, since both Andrews and his opponent, former Governor Doyle Carlton, urged pensions for the aged, while Andrews had favored the canal and Carlton was silent on the issue. [34] Harris Powers, editor of the Ocala *Morning Banner,* commended the magazine for its analysis, and pointed out that although Andrews received a majority of only 4,600 in the state, he received a majority of 6,000 in the six counties of the canal district. [35] In other words, the canal had elected Andrews and as United States senator he was to fight vigorously for its completion.

November of 1936 brought the canal into the public eye again. Another board of army engineers approved the project, this time raising the ante to $163,000,000 exclusive of the cost of the land. [36] The New York *Times* reported "general rejoicing along most of the canal route from Jacksonville to Ocala," but it also noted that Senator Vandenberg was vacationing in Miami, where he was looked to as the main hope of the canal's opponents. [37] At hearings held in December, the old arguments were repeated more vociferously; the Audubon Society added its voice to the opposition on the grounds that the water problem would seriously affect the wild life of central Florida; [38] and the railroads "were frank enough to object to the canal on purely selfish grounds, pointing out that such a waterway would take business from them." [39]

In spite of the opposition, Major General M. Markham, Chief of Engineers, gave his blessing to the project in April, 1937, although he again raised the price - this time to $198,000,000.

33. *Time,* June 29, 1936.
34. *Newsweek,* Aug. 22, 1936.
35. Letter to *Newsweek,* Sept. 12, 1936.
36. *Newsweek,* Nov. 28, 1936; New York *Times,* Nov. 22, 1936.
37. New York *Times,* Nov. 22, 1936.
38. *Bird Lore,* Jan.-Feb., 1937; cf. Mar.-Apr., 1936; May-June, 1937.
39. New York *Times,* Dec. 27, 1936; cf. *Newsweek,* Dec. 26, 1936.

Business Week remarked wearily: "Banquo's ghost had nothing on the Florida ship canal, which is back in the news again after being killed off by heavy oratory during the last session of Congress." [40] In Congress, however, the bill was shelved, much to the relief of the canal's opponents.

Even in Florida, the canal was almost forgotten as 1938 appeared on the scene. In a senatorial primary in May, according to *Time* magazine, all the candidates shunned the issue until election day approached. Then Claude Pepper, throwing caution to the winds, came out for the project, accused the other candidates of "pussyfooting," and was elected by a clear majority in the first primary. [41]

In spite of all his trials and tribulations, President Roosevelt still had not given up. In January, 1939, he wrote a letter to the chairman of the House Rivers and Harbors Committee in which he urged the completion of the project. Factions in Florida, dormant since the last abandonment, were aroused. The Jacksonville *Journal* was joyous: "Hope springs again in the breasts of Jacksonville people - hope that the Florida canal will be built and make of this city one of the world's greatest seaports." [42] The Tampa *Tribune* retorted sarcastically: "As for Jacksonville, that city has the advantage of being occupied by some of the world's greatest optimists." [43] The Gallup poll reported that half the people in the country did not know anything about the canal and that, of those who did, 75% were opposed to it. [44]

This time, the big argument for the canal in Congress was national security, and the New York *Times* predicted "little doubt that the military needs will be dinned into the ears of Congress . . . in the present agitated state of Europe." [45] Again Senator Vandenberg played his old familiar tunes, but this time he emphasized the issue of economy in government, and many Democrats joined him on the grounds that one state should not get so much patronage in a single lump. When the canal was beaten in the Senate on May 17, 1939, by a vote of 45-36, the *Times*

40. *Business Week,* Apr. 10, 1937.
41. *Time,* May 2, 1938; May 16, 1938.
42. Quoted in Tampa *Tribune,* Jan. 23, 1939; cf. New York *Times,* Jan. 22, 1939.
43. Tampa *Tribune,* Jan. 23, 1939.
44. New York *Times,* Feb. 12, 1939.
45. *Ibid,* Apr. 18, 1939.

called it a feather in Vandenberg's cap and suggested that his victorious fight against the administration might help make the Michigan senator a Republican candidate for president in 1940. [46]

With war in Europe, minds and energies were directed into new channels, but in 1941, the canal project reappeared in the Senate in the form of a bill offered by Senator Sheppard of Texas and in the House as one item of the Rivers and Harbors omnibus bill. *Time* magazine observed: "The House Rivers & Harbors Committee, traditional Congressional gravy boat (composed of members who never let their right hands know what their lefts are doing), last week dusted off the defunct old $150,000,000 Florida Ship Canal, named it a defense project, urged an authorization." [47] The bill, however, did not come to a vote.

Two years later, the project appeared in a new guise - as a $44,000,000 - barge canal, which would make it possible to ship oil to the northeast without venturing into open water, and thus to ease the wartime fuel shortage in that section of the country. Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, who had been one of the most vociferous opponents of the canal in its previous appearances, was now one of its most vigorous supporters. During the war, however, there were too many obstacles. The canal would use too much manpower, too many strategic materials, and would take too long to build. [48] Although Congressman "Lex" Green cited a contractor who said he had plenty of men and could dig a canal in ten months if only he could get "a little priority," [49] he was overpowered by the opposition, and again the canal went by the board.

It was not until late in 1956 that the barge canal was revived when the Florida Geological Survey and the Ship Canal Authority of the State of Florida (which is holding the right-of-way) received a traffic analysis drawn up for them by Gee and Jenson, Consulting Engineers, Inc., of West Palm Beach. [50] This report calls attention to a document of the 84th Congress which, in the interest of national security, urges that "the connection of

46. *Ibid,* May 12, 1939; May 13, 1939; May 8, 1939; *Time,* May 22, 1939; May 29, 1939.
47. *Time,* June 2, 1941.
48. *Ibid,* Apr. 19, 1943.
49. New York *Times,* Apr. 2, 1943.
50. *Traffic Analysis and Estimated Tonnage Prospectus of the Cross-State Florida Barge Canal* (West Palm Beach, 1956.)

the Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway with that of the Gulf by the construction of a connecting waterway across northern Florida should be prosecuted with dispatch."[51] Stressing the economic advantages which would accrue to Florida as the result of the construction of such a barge canal, the report also endeavors to answer the old criticisms. In order to avoid disturbing the water table, the canal would be a lock canal, and Robert Vernon of the Florida Geological Survey feels that this would be an adequate guarantee.[52] In order to gain the support of Tampa, Gee and Jenson advocate an extension of the Gulf inland waterway to that port, while they try to woo Miami by pointing out that such a canal would make possible the construction of an aluminum extrusion plant in Florida and a great saving to Miami consumers of that commodity.[53] They also point out that southeast Florida consumes 30,000 tons of premium beer annually which comes in by truck or rail, and which would cost $.42 less a case if it were moved by barge.[54] The trans-Florida canal issue is still very much alive.

And so we have come as far as we can in our story - a story of a ditch which was never dug, but which nevertheless split a state in two; a story of a project which never received an appropriation from Congress although it had the continued support of one of our nation's most powerful presidents; a story of controversy among lobbyists, economists, geologists, military men, and politicians. It is a story of great local and national significance. And it is a story whose last chapter has not yet been written.

51. *The Panama Canal, the Sea Level Project and National Security,* House Document 446, 84 Congress, 2 session.
52. Interview with Dr. Vernon.
53. Gee and Jenson, *Traffic Analysis,* 1, 37, 53.
54. *Ibid,* 36-7.

FLORIDA AND IOWA: A CONTEMPORARY VIEW

by FRANKLIN A. DOTY

WITHIN THE SPAN of one generation after the admission of Florida and Iowa to the Union, the citizens of the two states confronted each other in the awful strife of the Civil War. Portents of this bitter separation had been discernable in the birthing of the states, but who could have said with assurance that these two frontier communities, having so many more roots and inheritances in common than they had fatal divergencies, would shortly stand drawn in battle array against each other? Regardless of their common institutional origins, the two communities came to subordinate themselves to, and form a part of, the emerging realities of North and South, and played the roles between 1861 and 1865 which larger events thrust upon them.

Iowans had in fact prided themselves from the beginning on having been the first new state to be carved out of that part of the Louisiana Purchase which from 1820 had been "forever" designated as free soil. The activities of Iowans in the underground railroad were prominent and wide-spread. Even during territorial days, disparaging attitudes toward "slave" Missouri were frequently evident. This pious gleam in the Iowan's eye did not quite cover, however, the mate of civil privilege which he attempted to assure to the white folk in subsequent debates on the Iowa constitution. It was not, indeed, until after the Civil War that "free soil" Iowa formally removed all civil disabilities against members of the Negro race.

In Florida, on the other hand, it will be recalled how deliberate were the attempts to preserve and protect the institution of slavery as the area emerged into statehood. This fundamental dedication, among other things, led to the conflict which would

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[Editor's Note: Readers of the *Quarterly* will recall an article by Mr. Doty, published in July, 1956, on the admission of Florida and Iowa to the Union as a phase of the sectional politics of the ante-bellum years. In the present article, the same author, who has lived and taught in both states for a number of years, presents an informal commentary on the two commonwealths and their respective roles in the contemporary national scene.]

one day be called inevitable. Florida's role in the Confederate cause was in some respects more critical than the role of Iowa in the fortunes of the North. Although the resources in men and materials poured out of Iowa during the war years, her soil was not invaded, her homes and farms were not pillaged, nor her borders tormented by the enemy. Florida, on the other hand, suffered as her harbors were occupied, her coasts ravaged, and her soil darkened with the blood of her sons. While paralleling Iowa's role as the breadbasket of her cause, Florida was closer to the crushing advance of the war, and - firmest point of all - was on the side that lost.

The painful process of setting the nation to rights again indirectly pitted the two states against each other for nearly a generation. From these unhappy years, time has kindly carried forward the two communities into the firm bonds of the reconstructed nation and into the reciprocally advantageous relationships of the family of states in this, the world's largest and richest free trade area.

Run down a few statistics and you begin to build a foundation from which to appraise the two states today. In numbers of people, Florida had out-distanced her twin sister in the proportions of 3.5 millions to 2.7 millions by 1955. This considerable margin of difference is a fairly recent phenomenon, however, for in 1945 Florida led Iowa only by 2.5 millions to 2.3 millions. The change here indicated points to the fact that the last decade has been one of the most exciting in the peace-time history of Florida. While Iowa added in the vicinity of 400,000 souls, Florida underwent the tremendous addition of nearly one million persons, or an increment of roughly forty per cent. According to the United States Census Bureau calculations - thus excluding the possibility of local exaggerations - Florida, between 1950 and 1955, increased at the rate of 348 people per day or 16 every hour. This was the third highest rate of population increase among the 48 states for these years. Among other results of this growth the two states reversed their positions in rank among the states, with Florida, as early as 1950, rising to 20th place, bypassing Iowa in the 22nd rank. In 1910 by way of sharp contrast, the rankings were Iowa tenth and Florida thirty-third!

Beside the distinguishing features of the rate of population growth, other aspects of the population give additional insights into the make-up and the maturing of the two states. Today their population density is very close: Florida has 51 persons per square mile and Iowa 48. The national figure is 50.7. The changes in the density figures are more interesting, however, and reveal much about the growth of the two states. As long ago as 1920, Iowa's density was 43 while in the same year Florida showed about 18 persons per square mile. This statement is merely going the long way around to say that Florida remained an open, semi-frontier state long after Iowa had virtually reached her maturity as a fully occupied agricultural domain. It implies also a recency and rapidity of settlement and growth which has not been without its disadvantages and troubles for the southernmost state.

In rural-urban balance the statistics reveal some noteworthy comparisons and contrasts. In 1920, both states showed a nearly exact parallel in the predominance of rural over urban dwellers in proportions of about 2 to 1. But by 1950, Florida had upset this picture completely for in that year there were about 350,000 more city dwellers than rural people in the Sunshine State. Iowans maintained their dedication to the country side, but not nearly in the old ratio, for by 1950 there were only about 200,000 more people dwelling in the country than in the cities of the Hawkeye State. It is highly probable that by this writing Iowa's urbanites have broken into the majority.

In view of these many differences in the history and background and growth of the two states, it may come as a surprise to some to discover that income-wise, the people of the two states are on remarkably close levels. The per capita income of Floridians in 1955 was $1,654 and that of Iowans $1,577. It is interesting that here, as in the case of population rankings, the two states reversed their positions, since the figures for 1954 showed $1,610 for Florida and $1,667 for Iowa. In this respect, while Iowans' income is consistent with the general level of the midwestern agrarian states, that of Floridians is conspicuously out of line with any other neighboring states, some of which show barely half the per capita income that Florida can boast. Indeed, Florida enjoys a comfortable margin above even the Old Dominion, above Louisiana, situated as she is amid the crossroads of enor-

mous land, water and air commerce, and even above the "sovereign state" of Texas!

If one bears in mind the general ratio of population between the two states (3.5 to 2.7), it is worthwhile to note the differences in the sources of income. Floridians earn more than two and a half times as much in service trades as do Iowans, and nearly that much more in the construction trades. On a percentage basis, however, Iowans who work on farms or who own them take home almost 25% of the total income of the state, while comparable people in Florida earn only 6% of the state's total income. No labored interpretation of these figures is called for. They simply underscore the dominant features of the economics of the two states.

But what is the living like in Iowa and Florida? Far be it from a Yankee newly come down to tell Floridians what their state is all about. This brings up the question, however, of just who are today's Floridians. The hard fact of the matter is that in 1950 nearly 54% of the residents of Florida were not native, but had migrated to the state from elsewhere. This percentage must have materially increased by 1957. The corresponding figure for Iowa in 1950 was about 19%. This massive migration to Florida is one of the fundamental factors which helps to explain, among other things, why Florida is the political maverick among the deep south states, having voted for Republican presidents in 1928, 1952, and again in 1956. It also goes a long way to explain the extraordinarily favorable income figures for Florida, as compared with her southern neighbors. It means greater diversity of talents, wider resources in ideas, greater productivity, more funds for investment and enterprise, - all within the framework of a phenomenally expanding market.

But this transplanted Iowan will never-the-less tell a Floridian that he has yet to sample a Florida tomato that even begins to resemble the taste of an Iowa tomato. That Florida corn is a sorry affair compared with the fat, deep yellow Iowa corn when it is popped into the kettle not an hour after it has been picked. That he would rather have a mouse in his basement than a roach in his kitchen. That, in fact, he would admire to have a basement! That a barn, to be a worthy barn, ought to be a painted barn. That a clean elm is more poetic than a moss-strewn oak. That

it is a disgrace to be able to count the ribs of a cow. That sand is wonderful when confined to the shore or consigned to concrete. That Iowa houses are warmer at 20 below than Florida houses at 20 above. That mild winters hardly compensate for the physical and spiritual stimulation of vigorous changes of season. But perhaps this is mere quibbling.

Iowa's greatest asset is her prodigiously fertile soil, in spite of the persistent and diabolical legend that no land south of the Rock Island railroad (Davenport, Iowa City, Des Moines, Atlantic, Council Bluffs) is worth putting a plow into. This dividing line would cut off a third of the state, and it is simply not true. The land is better north of the Rock Island, but this is to be blamed on Missouri, much of whose celebrated gumbo has oozed up over the line. The nearest the writer ever cane to experiencing a suspension of the second law of the conservation of energy was in driving a car over a dirt road in southwest Iowa early in the morning before the dew had risen. What you do after a rain is simply to stay at home.

When it comes to the poetry of nature, however, here is something that Florida can't begin to match - depending on tastes, of course. Stand at a cross-roads in Hamilton County, in north central Iowa, early on a May morning. Look at that flat, black, *black* soil. Then follow along the little glimmering row of fresh green slips of corn leaves, four or five inches tall, as it outlines the path of the plumb-line-straight furrow until you lose it on the horizon. Smell the earth as the moisture rises. Feel the simple beauty of the design, expand your mind into the distance, and envision the promise of fruition. This is one of the sublimest of human experiences.

There is no doubt that Iowa's land is her crown and glory. Certain of the staple by-products of animal husbandry, when regularly plowed back into the ground, enhance its productivity and make it literally the empire of corn and hogs. Which of these products goes most to market depends upon the vagaries of the respective price structures. Good prices for corn will direct the golden stream to mills and bins and granaries, but uncertainities or depressions in the price of corn will conspire to give it the muddy mobility and porcine personality of an Iowa hog a season hence.

These are admittedly earthy values, and Iowa cannot contend too successfully in the field of the exotic and the glamorous. There is natural beauty in the state, to be sure. The sharply hilly section in northeast Iowa is a pleasant contrast to the gently rolling prairie which characterizes most of the state. Considerable resort and recreational activity has developed there. In northwestern Iowa, nature has deposited a considerable number of lakes whose existence Minnesotans begrudgingly acknowledge, but only as terribly inferior ponds. Nevertheless, the fish has bitten the man here, and fairly extensive recreational enterprise flourishes in this area during the mild months. In fact, something approaching a social elite has identified itself with the area around Lake Okoboji for a number of years.

One of the pleasant experiences the writer has had, and often, is to drive west from Des Moines on route 6 of an afternoon. You are soon in fairly high table land that constitutes the watershed between the Mississippi and the Missouri, and some truly fabulous farm land can be seen on every hand. After you pass Atlantic, you begin to rise and fall between the increasingly vigorous corrugations that parallel the valley of the Missouri. The greater variety of the landscape and the novelty of each successive vista make the time pass quickly, and then you are on the last and highest ridge from which in graceful curves you ease down into the historic gateway city that takes its name from the region itself - Council Bluffs.

Both Florida and Iowa, in this connection, have an interesting cultural feature in common in the prominence of Indian names attributed to rivers and lakes. The Wapsipinicon might well be paired with the Withlacoochee, and Okamanpedan take equal rank in Indian lore with the Okeechobee. Indian wars and purchases and removals occupy many pages in the history of the two commonwealths. Both states, give or take half a century, have had their cowtowns and cowboys and all the color and lore associated with that way of life. But it is doubtful if Kissimmee will ever know the life and times that Sioux City experienced when the latter was one of the hottest and wildest spots in the Missouri valley along in the 1870's and 1880's. (Family tradition has it that the writer's great-aunt flatly refused to leave Chicago for a visit to relatives in Omaha in the early 1900's for fear of Indian threats to life and limb!)

In other aspects of cultural development, Iowa took a long lead over Florida in public support for education, as befitted her earlier population growth, and boasts of the high literacy rate enjoyed by her traditionallly rural people. But the gap is closing, as residents of Florida can testify, especially since the beginning of the Minimum Foundation Program in 1947. Iowa takes exceptional and pardonable pride in Grinnell College, a private institution, considered to be the oldest (1859) educational institution west of the Mississippi with continuous service as a four-year college. Iowa preceded Florida by more than half a century in establishing public support for higher education, but today both states spend princely sums on two large and burgeoning state universities, with Florida adding a third for her colored citizens.

It is a far cry, however, from the magnificient experimental theatre on the Iowa City campus or the creative work in music at Florida State, on the one hand, to the hayseedism and "wool hat" attitudes still to be found in the two states, on the other. The strong rural foundations and agrarian or gins of the two commonwealths exhibit modern carry-overs in the form of massive parochialism, narrow mindedness in the most literal sense, suspicion of urban ways and urban wealth, and even in the peasant-like dress, manners, and speech that can be detected around the courthouse square in the middling and smaller towns on a Saturday afternoon. These cultural gulfs and attitudinal conflicts are all a part of the American way, and the conciliation of these differences is one of the objectives to which the democratic political institutions, if not the social and "cultural" institutions, of both states are in large measure dedicated.

But who can gainsay it? Life in West Liberty is a lot different from life in West Palm Beach. Florida's crown and glory are her climate and her shores. (South Florida, that is!) These are the golden and glamorous assets that underlie the extraordinary development which was adumbrated in the facts and figures reviewed earlier. And these are not fickle and transient assets, it must be pointed out. In the atmosphere of the greater wealth and the more extensive leisure of these times, Florida has a marketable item whose stability was never greater and whose future was never more promising. Look how Florida rated in a recent poll of opinions on the states: First in choice for winter vacations (2 to

1 over California!), second as the state most desirable to move to, third in healthy climate and in natural beauty, and fifth in choice for summer vacations! This last point in itself constitutes a minor revolution in the tourist industry of the state, and seems to be a result of a combination of effective publicity and attractive summer rates.

Neither state, however, seems content or indeed feels secure in relying too exclusively on the natural assets which furnish its principal economic foundations. In both, therefore, one finds a quite wide diversity of enterprise. Under the promising conditions of an expanding free-trade economy within the United States, these efforts at local diversification do not seem always to exhibit the greatest wisdom. Partly inspired by state pride - which like any other kind can become foolish - these policies aimed at a "balanced" economy do reflect the fact, of course, that a very considerable portion of the market is still local. At the same time, however, they violate the so-called law of comparative advantage whose larger observance, on the national scene, goes a long way to explain the American standard of living. Nevertheless, it is local diversity in occupation and enterprise that gives variety and flavor to daily life. How unthinkable would be a community consisting of nothing but hotel keepers or hog raisers!

Thus in Des Moines alone there are over 500 manufactories, and the prominence of banking, insurance, and publishing in the city is fairly well known. Eight major railways converge on Council Bluffs, making it one of the largest mail transfer points in the country - as anyone can testify who has tried to get through the place on a train! Dubuque has a large tractor works and important lumber mills. If Sioux City boasts the world's largest creamery and Cedar Rapids the world's largest cereal mill (Quaker Oats), these are natural complements of local staple production. Maytag washing machines from Newton, Iowa, are known all over the United States.

In order to relieve Florida's prosperity from excessive dependence on the capacity of winter and summer visitors for driving, drinking, gambling, and sun-bathing, much effort has been expended toward balancing these factors with an improved agriculture and an expanding cattle industry. It may come as a surprise to some to learn that the lordly pine has now surpassed the

citrus tree in earning capacity in the state, and in addition stimulates the operation of several hundred saw mills as well as major forest extractive industries. Florida farmers sold 55 million dollars worth of tomatoes - right tasty ones, no doubt - and 18 million dollars worth of beans in 1956 to boost their average spendable income to $5,156 - a gain of 17% over the previous year! Aided by the fencing law of 1949, the quality and quantity of Florida's beef cattle have risen steadily. Millions have been spent in research in breeding, nutrition, and improved husbandry.

In still another direction, Florida is seeking to diversify her economy and that is in light and heavy manufacturing industries. In 1953 alone, over $100 millions were spent for new plant and equipment in manufacturing, Governor LeRoy Collins has been especially active in attracting more industry into the state, not without some objections, however.

It would seem, then, that Florida and Iowa, as they proceed into their second century, have found their respective and proper niches in the social and economic scheme of things. Each commonwealth presents a picture of unique resources wedded to a respectable diversity upon which the pursuit of the good life can be engaged in with great promise. If any prejudices have crept into this discourse upon the two states, they have been purely intentional. Suffice it to say, however, that life has been greatly enriched and horizons appreciably widened by the good fortune of residence in both states.

GAVINO GUTIERREZ AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO TAMPA

by JESSE L. KEENE

SEVENTY THREE years ago the inhabitants around Hillsborough Bay never dreamed of the vast possibilities hidden in the scrub and native forest about them. They never dreamed that a large city was to be built at their own doors and by their own hands. [1]

In 1844 there were between seven hundred and eight hundred people in the town of Tampa, a majority of whom were engaged in fishing, farming, and citrus cultivation. The few unpaved streets were named after presidents of the United States. The streets were made of sand. In fact the expanse of sand which was Franklin Street, now the main business street, appeared more like a seashore. There were a few sidewalks of wood in Tampa, and the buildings were chiefly rough and the houses small, while in the rural areas the homes were constructed of logs. Cows still roamed at will over the town, flocks of geese waddled down the streets, and grunting hogs could be seen here and there. Large numbers of alligators were often seen resting their noses on the banks of the Hillsborough River.

A stagecoach line had appeared by 1878, connecting Tampa and Dade City, then known as Tuckertown. Additional stage lines were in existence by 1883 - one connecting Tampa to Sanford, where the railroad terminated. Prior to 1884 northbound travelers were faced with the choice of a stagecoach to Sanford and the train, or a boat to Cedar Keys where they could board a narrow-gauge train to Fernandina. Mail also followed these routes, and freight was shipped by boat into Tampa by way of Key West. Many odd characters were to be found, some in a cluster of shanties on Spanish Town Creek. [2]

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1. *Tampa Tribune,* May 25, 1894. Hereafter cited as *Tribune.*
2. Jessamine in Pioneer Florida, *Tribune,* July 24, 1955, reprint of article in *Tribune,* 1915; E. C. Robinson; *History of Hillsborough County, Florida,* 56-59.

The first railroad to reach Tampa was completed on January 23, 1884, and the first train-run with Tampa as the terminus was made January 24, 1884. This railroad is now the Atlantic Coast Line. The first bridge across the Hillsborough River was a railroad bridge. The other method of crossing was a flatboat ferry, no more than a good rowboat, at the approximate location of Lafayette Street Bridge. A rope pulled by hand furnished the motive power. Some of the travelers using the ferry came from the Pinellas section, including the towns of Largo and Clearwater. [3]

Tampa, up to 1884, looked like and was a "sleepy hamlet," somewhat isolated because of the lack of a railroad and because the United States military forces still occupied Fort Brooke, making navigation difficult for commercial craft which had to by pass the more desirable docks at the mouth of the river, and go up the river to inadequate wharves. Tampa's desirable water front was occupied by Uncle Sam, and the use of the extensive shore line was denied to Tampans. [4]

Despite the arrival of a railroad in Tampa in 1884, no industry of importance had located there, and industry was vital to the development and expansion of a modern city. Thus the first real impetus toward metropolitan growth was the coming of the cigar industry in 1885, [5] a vitalizing influence, one that was to change Ybor City from an area of scrub oaks, palmettos, alligator holes and underbrush into a cosmopolitan area with all the assets necessary to promote commercial and social progress. The impetus came by accident rather than by a well-laid plan wisely carried out. [6] It was due to the vision, intelligence, ability and indomitable will of Don Gavino Gutierrez, who made a deep impression on the community through his valuable contributions to the development and progress of Tampa.

Like so many noted people, who were born in small towns and villages, Gavino Gutierrez was born October 26, 1849, in San Vicente de la Barquera, a picturesque village in northern Spain near the foothills of the Cantabrian Mountains in the northern part of the province of Santander. San Vicente de la Barquera,

3. Robinson, *op. cit.* In 1884, St. Petersburg did not exist.
4. *Ibid.*, 56.
5. *Ibid.*, 60-61.
6. *Tribune*, May 25, 1894.

named after Saint Vicente, was and still is a fishing village near the Bay of Biscay. In modern times it is a tourist attraction with its notable bridges, the older one dating from the 15th century and the newer one nearly 200 years old. Elements of Napoleon's army of invasion came by San Vicente de la Barquera to seize the church jewels which were stored for safety in the Gutierrez home, and the army endeavored to burn the home but did not succeed. The ancestral home was a massive building located on a promontory 200 yards from the shore. Here young Gutierrez had an opportunity to learn about the rest of the world. From his home, ships could be seen on their voyages from the ports of other nations to the ports of Spain and Portugal. Here also he frequently saw ships dashed to pieces against the cliffs. Here, as a youth, he acquired a love for the sea which he retained for life.

The province of Santander, of which his village was a part, was rich in agricultural and citrus products and mineral resources. Furthermore the cattle and fishing industries were well developed.

Gutierrez observed the early development of the wealth of his province, but the promise was not enough to allay his curiosity about other parts of the world. [7] So strong was his love of the sea and his desire to better himself economically that he went to Cuba, the usual destination of Spanish emigrants. Here he worked in a store, but according to Mrs. L. B. Mitchell, a daughter of Gutierrez, he was not satisfied, and in 1868 at the age of nineteen he arrived in New York. [8]

The United States was in the reconstruction period, following the War Between the States, when Don Gutierrez arrived. We were a comparatively weak nation of a little more than 30,000,000 people with a disjointed and disturbed economic situation. Yet the young Spaniard from San Vicente de la Barquera had faith in the future of this country. [9] He worked as a bellhop for the first month in New York City. In a short time he had established an import-export business, selling in this country merchandise from Spain, Cuba and Mexico, and making numerous trips to Mexico, thus acquiring a good knowledge of the land. Being

7. Interview with D. B. McKay, January 16, 1957; E. C. Nance, "Gavino Gutierrez," *La Gaceta,* July 26, 1956.
8. Interview with D. B. McKay and Mrs. L. B. Mitchell, February 14, 1957.
9. Interview with D. B. McKay and Mrs. L. B. Mitchell, January 14, 1957, and February 14, 1957. E. C. Nance, *loc. cit.*

of an inquisitive and searching nature and having a great hunger for knowledge, young Gutierrez devoted much of his spare time to the study of architecture, engineering, surveying, the English language, and the customs of his adopted country. He became proficient in all of these intellectual pursuits.

Gutierrez was a handsome young man. His complexion was light and he had friendly but penetrating blue-gray eyes. Of medium stature, he had a robust appearance. He was a good conversationalist and enjoyed the exchange of ideas. His lively mind and imagination were obvious to all. He had reddish hair and in our day he would be nicknamed "Sandy." We are, therefore, not surprised to learn that such an attractive young man might also attract a beautiful young lady. When he was twenty eight years of age he fell in love with a beautiful Irish girl by the name of Nelly Daly, and they were married October 31, 1877.

An interesting humanitarian incident, which occurred while Gutierrez was still in New York City, is related by his son-in-law, D. B. McKay. One of the many revolutions in Mexico forced the members of a convent into exile. They walked from the United States-Mexican boundary to New York, carrying with them a piano in a push cart. Gutierrez clothed and fed the individuals and made arrangements for passage to Spain. He was offered compensation but refused it. When the members of the convent were on board, a mutual friend told Gutierrez that they had left the piano as part compensation. The piano could not be used: so Gutierrez demolished it and made some furniture from it. Three of the pieces, a console table, a small chest, and a mirror frame are in D. B. McKay's home today. [10]

In 1884 approximately seven years after Gutierrez's marriage, vast and important changes took place in his life, changes that were to influence not only his own life but the Tampa Bay area also. Gutierrez had a friend by the name of Bernardino Gargol, also a young Spaniard, who owned marmalade and guava paste factories in Cuba. Gargol told Gutierrez that he possessed reliable information that large plantations of wild guavas existed all along the west coast of Florida in the vicinity of Tampa Bay. Gargol believed that this would be an ideal place to establish fac-

10. Interview with D. B. McKay and Mrs. L. B. Mitchell, February 14, 1957.

tories for the manufacture of guava paste, and he had little difficulty in persuading Gutierrez to accompany him on an inspection trip to the region along Tampa Bay. Gargol did not speak English and he especially wanted Gutierrez as his interpreter as well as a partner in the exploration of the wild regions near Tampa.

Gargol was poor sailor, therefore it was decided to make an overland trip to their destination, and they took the railroad to Sanford, then a rough stage ride to Tampa. They were not able to find any guava plantations in this locality, although they found some trees in the Tampa area. Gutierrez and Gargol then explored other nearby regions, particularly Peru, an area near the Alafia River, but again were disappointed, and acknowledging failure, they returned to Tampa.

During the search for the non-existent guava trees Gutierrez had ample opportunity to study the area around Tampa and was thoroughly convinced that Tampa and the surrounding country offered a bright and profitable future. He studied Tampa's natural harbor, visualizing this area converted to a center for export and import business, and, reasoned that, because of its strategic geographical position, its ideal climate, and the hospitality of its citizens, this would be a fine business area. Furthermore, Gutierrez was fond of hunting and fishing, two sports in which he could not indulge in New York as he would like. Thus, to Gutierrez there were opportunities for business success and gracious living. [11]

Disappointed in their search for guava plantations, Gutierrez and Gargol decided to return to New York by boat. Their decision, no doubt, was influenced by the uncomfortable land journey to Tampa and Gutierrez's love of the sea.

The trip required a change of boats at Key West, and while waiting for the New York boat the two gentlemen decided to visit an old friend, Vincente Martinez Ybor, who owned one of the many cigar factories at Key West. Here they found another mutual friend at Ybor's home, Ignacio Haya, who owned and operated a cigar factory in New York City. These two men were to be vitally identified with the future history of Tampa. [12]

11. E. C. Nance, *loc. cit.*
12. *Tribune,* October 30, 1956.

Gutierrez was informed by Ybor that he was planning to move his factory from Key West because of constant labor trouble. The manufacturer was considering offers from Galveston, Texas, and Mobile, Alabama. At this point Gutierrez made a suggestion that has helped Tampa in the past seventy-odd years. He described the wonderful climate and other desirable conditions, similar to those of Havana and Key West; the ease with which the Havana tobacco could be imported; the necessary transportation facilities which would unite Tampa with the northern markets; and above all the friendliness of the people. So convincing was Gutierrez that Ybor and Haya decided to go to Tampa to investigate. They invited young Gutierrez to accompany them. [13]

Ybor and Haya found the conditions favorable for the manufacturing of cigars, but they could not reach an agreement with the Board of Trade regarding financial help they would receive as an inducement to bring the factory to Tampa. Just as they were about to leave for Galveston, they visited the store of Miller and Henderson. At this time Colonel W. B. Henderson offered them valuable property equal in value to the desired amount. W. C. Brown, then clerk of the circuit court of Hillsborough County, expressed his desire to collaborate with Colonel Henderson if the visitors established factories in Tampa. The offer was not accepted, but it probably influenced them to reconsider their decision and investigate further the advantages of manufacturing cigars in Tampa. [14]

Gutierrez thus became the first advocate of a major industry in the area. His zeal and courage, foresight, and wisdom, enthusiasm and brave vision were contagious, and Ybor decided to build his factories in this location. Gutierrez continued, through correspondence with Haya, to advance reasons why Haya should move his factory to Tampa. Haya, troubled by the climate and other conditions in New York City, decided to do so, and a friendly contest ensued between Haya and Ybor to see which one would activate the first factory. [15]

13. *Tribune*, October 30, 1955; Anthony Pizzo, "Gutierrez Discovers Tampa," *Tropico*, March, 1955.
14. E. C. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 61; interview with D. B. McKay, February 14, 1957.
15. Interview with D. B. McKay, January 16, 1957; E. C. Nance, *loc. cit.*

V. Martinez Ybor purchased from John T. Lesley, for $9,000, 30 to 40 acres of land northeast of Tampa on which the factory and a number of houses for the employees were to be erected. Afterwards, an additional 30 acres were purchased from S. P. Haddon. Meanwhile, Haya purchased 20 acres and started building a two and one-half story factory at Seventh Avenue and Fifteenth Street.

Gutierrez, a capable civil engineer, was selected by Ybor to lay out the streets, and to design and construct the factory and the homes of the workers. The first tree was cut down on October 8, 1885, the beginning of a process which was to result in urbanization of this area.

Both firms completed their factories by January, 1886, and decided to open together, but labor trouble occurred in Ybor's factory because of a Spaniard employed in the bookkeeping department. The Cuban cigar workers, who were anti-Spanish, refused to work. This difficulty was the first of many such incidents to appear in the Tampa cigar factories. The Spaniard was discharged, but the delay caused Ybor's factory to secure a license as factory number two.

In the meantime, in the early part of 1885, Gutierrez made arrangements to move his family to Tampa and went to New York to liquidate his business affairs. He returned to Tampa in September, 1885, bringing with him his family, which consisted of his wife, two daughters, Aurora and Adelaida, and a seven-months-old boy, Gavino, Jr. In 1888, a third daughter, Maria Harriot, was born.

Gutierrez was thirty-six years old when he came to Tampa, and he worked hard and with enthusiasm in the creation of the small town. Originally it consisted of a few blocks from Twelfth Street eastward to Fourteenth Street, and from Sixth Avenue northward to Ninth Ave. The numerical designations of the streets were due to Gutierrez, and it is significant that Ybor City is the only part of present Tampa so numbered.

Gutierrez was a busy man in the following three years, and the program sponsored by Ybor and directed by Gutierrez grew rapidly. The nature of the area changed from a frontier character to a town of 10,000 people, with numerous factories, restaurants, social clubs, hotels, stores, and homes.

As years passed, Gutierrez continued in various fields of endeavor. His family was growing. His oldest daughter, Aurora, married D. B. McKay, later Mayor of Tampa. From this marriage seven girls and three boys were born. Aurora died October, 1956. His second daughter, Adelaida, married Francisco Colado. When she died, she left three sons and two daughters. His only son, Don Gavino, Jr., married Lolita Del Corro, a native of Santander, and they had two sons and two daughters. His youngest daughter, Maria Harriot, who was born in Tampa, married L. B. Mitchell, a prominent Tampan physician. [16]

Don Gavino established the family fortune and properties by buying 149 acres of land in an area that extended from Thirty-sixth Street up to Fiftieth, and from Seventh Avenue to McKay Bay, and showed an extraordinary ability and knowledge in this field of real estate development. He subdivided this land and sold it in parcels for the construction of homes. He also acquired a swampy piece of property which was drained and filled situated on Sixteenth Street and Seventh Avenue. A three-story building was erected on this lot in front of another two-story building, which served for a long time as the post office. Both properties still belong to the family.

Gutierrez built his own home, which he named "Spanish Park," in an area covered with palm trees and other tropical plants. It was the stage for many fiestas celebrated with his friends, some of whom still remember the picnics and outings where the delicious Spanish wine calmed thirsty throats. "Spanish Park" is still maintained in its original state, and there Gavino Gutierrez, Jr., his family, and his sister, Maria Mitchell live. [17]

Because of his position in the community Gutierrez was appointed the first Spanish consul in Tampa by the Spanish government. He held the office for many years, rendering faithful and honest service without compensation.

His love for the water often motivated trips to the adjacent islands of the west coast of Florida. On one of his voyages he met an old Spanish fisherman name Casanas, who had homesteaded the island of Anna Maria and lived there for thirty-five years. In

16. Robinson, *op. cit.,* 60; interview with D. B. McKay and Mrs. L. B. Mitchell, February 14, 1957; Anthony Pizzo, *loc. cit.*
17. Interview with D. B. McKay, January 14, 1957; Anthony Pizzo, *loc. cit.*

his old age, Casanas requested Gutierrez to survey the land for purpose of sale. Casanas also sold some of the land to him and for compensation gave lots to Gutierrez's children, who still own the property.

Gutierrez, in his late years, made a trip around the world on the ship of an old Scottish friend. He kept a diary recording the interesting episodes, but unfortunately, according to members of the family, this diary has been lost.

His voyage coincided with outbreak of the World War I, and the news reached the ship when it was off the coast of Africa. The vessel immediately went to a neutral port in Spain.

The life of a great humanitarian, builder, engineer, and architect came to an end in Madrid on March 8, 1919. His body remained in Spain until 1924, when it was brought to Tampa, where it now remains in its last resting place. [18]

18. Interview with D. B. McKay and Mrs. L. B. Mitchell, February 14, 1957.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN FLORIDA

by A. ELIZABETH TAYLOR

EARLY IN THE nineteenth century many persons began feeling acute dissatisfaction with the status of American women. Because of this sentiment they wrote, spoke, and organized for the purpose of changing this status. By the latter part of the century their efforts were producing results. In ever increasing numbers women were attending institutions of higher learning. They were engaging in many professional and business activities. In the political realm also their status was improving, and a few states were even allowing them to vote. [1]

It was during this period that the movement for woman suffrage reached most of the southern states. For the first time southern women began manifesting interest in their own enfranchisement, and in some states they formed suffrage societies. This agitation, often instigated by a few strong-minded individuals, sometimes proved abortive and productive of few tangible gains. Nevertheless it represented a beginning and caused many southern people to give serious consideration to the question of votes-for-women.

The woman suffrage movement in Florida originated in Tampa through the initiative of Mrs. Ella C. Chamberlain of that city. In 1892 Mrs. Chamberlain attended a suffrage conference in Des Moines, Iowa, and while there resolved to begin crusading in her home state, especially in the realm of press and organizational work. [2]

Upon returning to Tampa she secured permission to write a column for a newspaper. When it was suggested that she write about topics of interest to women and children, Mrs. Chamberlain replied that "the world was not suffering for another cake recipe

1. During the 1890's three states permitted women to vote. In 1890 the territory of Wyoming was admitted to statehood with woman suffrage. In 1893 and 1896 Colorado and Idaho adopted constitutional amendments enfranchising women.
2. *Woman's Journal* (Boston and Chicago, 1870-1917), XXIV (February 4, 1893), 34.

and the children seemed to be getting along better than the women." She resolved, therefore, to devote her column to women's rights, especially their right to vote. She was allowed to do this in spite of the fact that contemporary public opinion evidenced little sympathy for her feministic ideas. [3]

Some time later, at a social gathering, Mrs. Chamberlain was asked to give a recitation. Taking "taxation without representation" as her theme, she delivered a speech on woman suffrage. So favorably did she impress her audience that one of the men present suggested the formation of an equal suffrage society. The group then formed a club of twenty members, eight of whom were men. Mrs. Chamberlain was elected president of this newly created organization, which came to be known as the Florida Woman Suffrage Association. [4]

The Florida Woman Suffrage Association, organized January, 1893, affiliated with the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which Susan B. Anthony was president. It paid dues and made reports to that organization. Within the next three years Mrs. Chamberlain attended two of the association's annual conventions. In 1893 she went to the meeting in Washington, D. C., and, thereby, became the first person to represent Florida at a national suffrage convention. Two years later she went to Atlanta, Georgia, to attend the first national suffrage convention ever held in a southern city.

Under Mrs. Chamberlain's leadership the Florida suffragists launched their votes-for-women crusade. Since they were especially anxious to acquaint the public with their ideas, they distributed many leaflets and pamphlets. In answer to a request from Mrs. Josephine K. Henry, a prominent Kentucky suffragist, Mrs. Chamberlain issued a statement of her reasons for favoring enfranchisement. She said: "I am a free-born American woman. . . . I deny that my brother American can properly represent me. How can I, with the blood of heroes in my heart, and with the free and independent spirit they bequeathed me, quietly submit to representation by the alien and the negro?" She concluded by stating that disfranchised southern women faced all of the hu-

3. *Proceedings* of *the Twenty-fifth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association,* 1893, 132. Cited hereinafter as N. A. W. S. A. *Proceedings.*
4. *Ibid.,* 133.

miliations of their northern sisters plus that of being governed by their ex-slaves. [5]

Although the suffragists considered written propaganda very effective, they did not neglect verbal appeals. Whenever the occasion permitted, they addressed clubs and other gatherings. In December, 1894, they sponsored a bazaar and in this way raised $125.00 for their cause. [6] They attempted to organize additional suffrage clubs but without success. Concerning their attempts Mrs. Chamberlain wrote that they had "not had much encouragement" . . . but felt "that the effort was wise" . . . and would "result in organization in the future." [7]

As the months passed Tampa continued to be the center of activity, but some individuals in other parts of the state joined the suffrage association. By 1895 its membership was approximately one hundred. In January of that year it held a state convention in Tampa, and on that occasion Mrs. Chamberlain was reelected president. Other officers were Mrs. Emma Tebbitts of Crescent City and Mrs. Jessie M. Bartlett of St. Petersburg, vice-presidents; Miss Nellie Glenn of Melrose, secretary; and Mrs. J. L. Cae of Limona, treasurer. [8]

During the next two years the Florida suffragists continued their agitation. They found their campaign a slow and difficult one, for to most of their contemporaries the philosophy of feminism was a strange and distasteful belief. In spite of this discouraging factor, the suffragists maintained their organization until 1897. During that year Mrs. Chamberlain left the state, and the movement, thereby, lost its leader and chief sponsor. Soon the Florida organization became less active. It stopped sending reports to the national association and apparently disbanded. [9] From 1897 until 1912 the woman suffrage movement in Florida was dormant. Mrs. Chamberlain and her followers had endeavored to sow the seeds of feminist thought in Florida but had failed to establish any enduring organization there.

During the first decade of the twentieth century the movement gained momentum nationally. The desirability of women's

5. *Woman's Journal,* XVI (January 26, 1895), 26.
6. Mrs. C. S. Burnett-Haney, "Florida," *History of Woman Suffrage* (6 vols. New York, 1881-1922), IV, 577.
7. N. A. W. S. A. *Proceedings,* 1895, 59.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Burnett-Haney, "Florida," *History of Woman Suffrage,* IV, 577.

participation in political affairs was winning more general acceptance, and additional states were allowing them to vote. These developments did not pass unnoticed in Florida, and in June, 1912, the movement was revived when a group of thirty women in Jacksonville organized the Florida Equal Franchise League. They elected Mrs. Katherine Livingston Eagan president. Shortly thereafter Mrs. Eagan left Jacksonville, and her position was then filled by Mrs. Roselle C. Cooley, who served as president for the next several years. [10]

After securing office space in *a* downtown building the league began distributing suffrage literature and holding monthly meetings. Soon its membership had increased to forty-five. It affiliated with the National American Woman Suffrage Association but made little effort to extend its activities beyond the city of Jacksonville. [11]

Although the league was a suffrage society, its members avoided the use of that term. They felt that there was so much feeling against woman suffrage that the label would handicap their organization. Hence they preferred that it be known as the Equal Franchise League. [12]

Several months later, in October, 1912, a small group of Florida women attempted to register to vote. The occasion arose when the mayor of Orlando issued an announcement that "all freeholders" should register for a sewerage bond election. Since the mayor did not specify *male* freeholders, a few property owners went to the city clerk's office and asked to register. The astonished clerk "referred them to the mayor, who referred them to the councilmen, who, in turn, referred them to the city attorney, who found that the law of Florida granted women no voting privilege whatsoever." This refusal did not surprise the women for they had expected to be turned away. They felt that they had gained their purpose, however, in that they "had brought about a discussion of the question, and furnished a concrete illustration of women's ability to pay taxes and inability to have any voice as to how they should be used". [13]

Several months later, in February, 1913, a group at Lake

10. Mrs. Alice G. Kollick, "Florida," *History of Woman Suffrage,* VI, 113.
11. N. A. W. S. A. *Proceedings,* 1914, 159
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Woman's Journal,* XLIII (Oct. 19, 1912), 329.

Helen formed a suffrage society. Avoiding the term suffrage they called it the Political Equality Club and elected Mrs. S. A. Armstrong president.[14] This incident was followed by the organization of a league at Orlando. The Orlando league chose as its president Mary A. Safford, a suffrage worker of much experience. Mary Safford had participated in the movement in several states before moving to Florida in 1905. For eleven years she had lived in Des Moines, Iowa, where she served as pastor of the Unitarian Church. Miss Safford soon became one of the leaders of the movement in Florida.[15]

With the formation of the Orlando league there were three equal suffrage societies in Florida. In addition there were some individual suffragists scattered throughout the state. As yet there was little unity or cooperation among them. In order to remedy this weakness, in April, 1913, a group met at Orlando to discuss the formation of a state association. A call was issued for a convention in Orlando in November, 1913. Twenty-five or thirty women from more than a half-dozen towns attended. On this occasion they organized the Florida Equal Suffrage Association, adopted a constitution, and elected officers. Mary Safford was elected state president.[16]

Although the Equal Franchise League of Jacksonville had participated in the convention's call, no one from Jacksonville attended. For the next several years the Equal Franchise League maintained its separate existence and continued its separate affiliation with the National American Woman Suffrage Association. In 1916, however it joined the Florida Equal Suffrage Association and, thereby, brought unity into the ranks of the suffragists of the state.[17]

One of the chief functions of the Florida association was the holding of conventions. The first of these took place in Pensacola in December, 1914, and the second in Orlando in February, 1916. In 1917 it held two conventions. One met in Miami in March and the other in Tampa in November. In November, 1918, the suffragists convened in Daytona, and in October, 1919

14. Kollick, "Florida," *History of Woman Suffrage,* VI, 114.
15. *Ibid.,* 116.
16. *Florida Equal Suffrage Association Bulletin,* I no. 1 (July, 1914), 1-2.
17. Jacksonville *State,* March 10, 1916.

they met in Tampa. Their conventions usually lasted one day and were primarily business conferences. Delegates from the affiliated leagues attended, elected officers, and planned suffrage activities. [18] Sometimes prominent speakers addressed these conventions, and on those occasions the meetings were open to the public.

Although the state association gave unity and guidance to the movement, much of the agitation was, of necessity, conducted by the affiliated local leagues. The association began with two affiliates but as interest in the cause grew, the number increased. By 1915 there were nine affiliated leagues, and by March, 1916, there were sixteen. [19] Sometimes a group of local women would become interested in woman suffrage, organize a club, and ask the state association to recognize it. Sometimes an industrious suffragist would visit a town for the purpose of forming a club there. During the movement suffrage societies were organized in at least twenty-one Florida towns. [20]

The size of the local leagues varied, and at first the one in Jacksonville was the largest. By 1915, however, it had been surpassed by the Pensacola league. Then, for a while, the Ocala league was the largest. By 1917, however, the one in Miami had the largest membership. [21]

It is difficult to estimate the number of suffragists in Florida. In March, 1916, the state association reported an affiliated membership of between seven and eight hundred. [22] In addition there were a few suffrage clubs and some individuals that never joined the state association.

As one might expect, women took the lead in conducting suffrage activities. Some men were sympathetic, however, and in many ways cooperated with the women's organizations. In

18. Mary Stafford served as president of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association until March, 1917, when she was succeeded by Mrs. Frank Stranahan of Ft. Lauderdale. Mrs. Stranahan served until November, 1918, at which time Miss Stafford again became president.
19. Jacksonville *State,* March 10, 1916.
20. References were found to suffrage organizations in the following places: Jacksonville, Orlando, Pensacola, Orange City, Tarpon Springs, Lake Helen, Zellwood, Pine Castle, Winter Park, Miami, Tampa, Coconut Grove, Tallahassee, Ruskin, Milton, Palm Beach, Ft. Lauderdale, Davie, St. Petersburg, Winter Haven, and Florence Villa.
21. Tampa *Morning Tribune,* November 21, 1917.
22. Jacksonville *State,* March 10, 1916.

several Florida towns men's equal suffrage clubs were formed. The first of these was the Orlando league with the Hon. D. F. Sperry as president. [23] The second was the Men's Equal Suffrage League of Pensacola, organized in December, 1914, with A. C. Reilly as president. [24] During 1915 men's leagues were formed at Coconut Grove, [25] Miami, and Tarpon Springs. [26] Of the four organizations the one in Miami was perhaps the most active. In 1915 it circulated a petition asking that Miami women be permitted to vote in city elections. It was reported that many of the most prominent men of Miami signed this petition and that very few of those approached refused to sign. [27] The following year the Miami men's league joined the women's in sponsoring a lecture by William Jennings Bryan. [28] In general the activities of the men's leagues supplemented those of the women's and afforded them both moral and actual support.

As a means of publicizing their ideas the Florida Suffragists often sponsored public lectures. In the fall of 1912 the Equal Franchise League invited Miss Jean Gordon of Louisiana and Mrs. Florence Kelley of New York to speak in Jacksonville. Much to the suffragists' surprise both the Board of Trade and the Woman's Club refused to rent their auditoriums for the lecture. They finally secured the use of a room adjoining their headquarters, opened the connecting door, and, thereby, improvised an auditorium. Despite unpleasant weather the lecture was well attended and the rooms crowded with men and women who came to hear Miss Gordon and Mrs. Kelley speak in behalf of the emancipation of womanhood. [29]

In March, 1914, the Jacksonville league once again focused the city's attention on suffrage by sponsoring a lecture by Miss Kate Gordon [30] of Louisiana and Congressman J. W. Bryan of Washington. Speaking in the Duval Theater Miss Gordon stated that women were being recognized as men's equals in other fields and that they now wanted the franchise - "the full badge of their

23. *Florida Equal Suffrage Association Bulletin,* I no. 1 (July, 1914), 2.
24. Florida *Times-Union,* December 11, 1914.
25. *Woman's Journal,* XLVI (March 27, 1915), 100.
26. *Ibid.,* XLVI (August 29, 1915), 275.
27. *Ibid.,* XLVI (April 17, 1915), 124.
28. *Ibid.,* XLVII (March 25, 1916), 101.
29. N. A. W. S. A. *Proceedings,* 1914, 159.
30. Miss Kate Gordon was a sister of Miss Jean Gordon.

freedom." She asked: "Has woman the right to express her opinion? Then what is the ballot but an expression of opinion? . . . Would you deny woman a weapon with which to defend herself? Then what is the ballot but a weapon of defense?" She described the legal disabilities of women in Louisiana and asked if men would be willing to live under such laws. She said that the Democratic party was on trial relative to the suffrage issue and warned that its failure to champion the federal amendment might affect its success in the 1916 election. [31]

Congressman Bryan, who represented a woman suffrage state, [32] said that he strongly favored the enactment of the proposed Susan B. Anthony Amendment. He maintained: "The only true democracy is a democracy that really extends equal rights to all and special privileges to none, and that can come only when woman and man together cast the ballot and together assist in making the laws that shall govern them both by the consent of both." [33]

This lecture by Miss Gordon and Congressman Bryan was considered an outstanding success. It was reported that "the entire theater was filled from the bottom to the top gallery and the audience remained for the entire evening, evidencing its approval by repeated and prolonged applause at apt hits or some extra good sentiment." [34] The Equal Franchise League considered that "much genuine enthusiasm was awakened" and that interest in its activities increased following the lecture. [35]

A prominent speaker who often visited Florida was Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1904 to 1915. In March, 1915, she visited Winter Haven as the guest of Dr. Mary Jewett, an active Florida suffragist. While there, she gave several suffrage talks. [36] She also went to Pensacola where she addressed an audience that filled the Opera House. [37] For two days she held conferences in Tampa but gave no public lecture. [38] Accompanied by Mary

31. Florida *Times-Union,* March 4, 1914.
32. Washington had enfranchised women in 1910.
33. Florida *Times-Union,* March 4, 1914.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.,* April 13, 1914.
36. Tampa *Morning Tribune,* March 3, 1915.
37. *Woman's Journal,* XLVI (April 3, 1915), 107.
38. Tampa *Morning Tribune,* March 3, 1915.

Safford she went to Miami where she addressed an "enthusiastic audience." [39]

Two years later Dr. Shaw returned to Miami to speak before the state association's convention. On this occasion the Miami *Herald* called her "one of the greatest women America has produced" and stated that her speech was "one of the wittiest, wisest, and sanest expressions of the suffrage arguments" ever delivered. [40] In March, 1918, she spoke in Jacksonville under the auspices of the Florida women's committee of the council of national defense. Although her address was about national defense, she "frequently touched on the suffrage movement." [41] In January, 1919, she was the chief speaker at a suffrage mass meeting in Orlando. [42]

Another out-of-state suffragist who lectured in Florida was Mrs. Pattie R. Jacobs of Alabama. In an address before the state convention in Pensacola in 1914 she explained her reasons for wanting to vote. [43] In November, 1917, she addressed the state convention in Tampa. On that occasion she said that the United States was a democracy in name only and that there could be no true democracy as long as women were excluded from participation in government. She thought that the mother's viewpoint was needed and that woman suffrage should be adopted as a war measure. She observed: "Some state that the woman's place is in the home, and yet the war is thrusting them into fields they never occupied before. Economic conditions forced woman to seek her livelihood. It was not from choice but necessity. We agree that woman's place is the home, but not in the home. We regard the world as the home, and we want the ballot to protect the home." [44]

In August, 1918, Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Tennessee toured Florida in behalf of the federal woman suffrage amendment. She maintained that President Wilson had approved the amendment and that it should be enacted. To the objection that it would violate state rights she replied: "I believe in state rights, too, when they do not conflict with human rights, but has it ever oc-

39. *Woman's Journal,* XLVI (March 27, 1915), 100.
40. Miami *Herald,* March 16, 1917.
41. Florida *Times-Union,* March 26, 1918.
42. *Ibid.,* January 10, 1919.
43. *Ibid.,* December 9, 1914.
44. Tampa *Morning Tribune,* November 20, 1917.

curred to you that men never stop to think of state rights in relation to anything but suffrage." [45]

Besides these out-of-state lecturers many Floridians spoke in behalf of the cause. Suffragists, public officials, and others often addressed meetings and participated in discussions relative to the enfranchisement of women.

Whenever possible the suffragists publicized their ideas and activities in the newspapers of the state. On two occasions they sponsored equal suffrage editions. On July 3, 1914, the Jacksonville league edited a special issue of the *State,* a weekly published in that city. It contained cartoons, articles, endorsements by persons of national prominence, statistical data, and statements by Florida suffragists. Twenty thousand copies were printed. [46] The edition was considered a "grand piece of suffrage propaganda," and copies were sent to members of the legislature and to the Florida delegation in Washington. [47] In September, 1914, a similar edition of the Pensacola *Journal* was published in behalf of the suffrage crusade. [48]

Accounts of meetings, announcements, and other news and propaganda appeared in the newspapers. Sometimes there were editorials on equal suffrage. Some of the editorials were favorable, but most were not overly enthusiastic. Some expressed doubts that a majority of women wanted the vote. Most assumed that they would be enfranchised at some future date. The editorial writers seemed to feel that woman suffrage was coming but were not convinced as to its wisdom or desirability.

Besides newspaper publicity the suffragists used letters and leaflets as propaganda devices. At the Orlando meeting in 1916 it was announced that fifteen hundred letters had been written and "thousands of pieces of literature distributed." [49] In reporting to the national association in 1917 Mrs. Frank Stranahan said that the state association had sent out five hundred and seventy-five packages of mail and received three hundred communications. [50] Most of the literature appealed to the public to favor

45. *Woman Citizen* (New York, 1917-1927), III (August 10, 1918), 210.
46. Ida Clyde Clark, *Suffrage in the Southern States* (Nashville, 1914), 23.
47. N. A. W. S. A. *Proceedings,* 1914, 160.
48. *Woman's Journal,* XLVI (December 4, 1915), 385.
49. Jacksonville *State,* March 10, 1916.
50. N. A. W. S. A. *Proceedings,* 1917, 194.

equal suffrage, but some asked for monetary donations. One leaflet stated:

> Let Florida be the first Southern State to Grant Votes for Women.
>
> I am in favor of Woman Suffrage and will give .....to help win the ballot for the women of Florida. [51]

Since the suffrage leagues charged nominal dues ($.25 or $.50 per year), it was often necessary to raise money in other ways. Sometimes they took up collections at public lectures. At the lecture by Kate Gordon and J. W. Bryan in Jacksonville in 1914, they collected $120.00. [52] At a lecture sponsored by the Men's League of Miami in 1917 Mary Safford made an appeal for funds, and the audience pledged $775.00. [53] Also in Miami in 1917 Mrs. William Jennings Bryan gave a silver tea at which the guests donated $66.00. On that occasion W. S. Jennings, ex-governor of Florida, announced that he would match the donation and, thereby, make the total $132.00. [54] In 1919 the suffragists held a series of conferences for the purpose of raising funds. They raised $1,000.00 at Orlando, $198.00 at Tampa, and $260.00 at Miami and West Palm Beach. [55]

The leagues gave teas, banquets, and musical programs. They entered floats in parades. They sponsored booths at fairs at which suffrage literature was distributed. The group at Pensacola sponsored a Better Babies Contest in which over one hundred babies participated. The league conducted citizenship classes to prepare women for their eventual enfranchisement. They circulated petitions and adopted resolutions to send to state legislators and to the Florida delegation in Congress. They sought the endorsement of organizations in the state. In 1915, after failing the year before, they secured the approval of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs. [56] Also during that year the State Federation of Labor endorsed woman suffrage [57] Several other groups, such

51. Leaflet on file in the P. Y. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida
52. Florida *Times-Union,* March 4, 1914.
53. Miami *Herald,* March 16, 1917.
54. *Woman's Journal,* XLVIII (April 14, 1917), 87.
55. Kollick, "Florida," *History of Woman Suffrage,* VI, 117.
56. *Woman's Journal,* XLVI (Nov. 27, 1915), 375.
57. *Ibid.,* XLVI (March 27, 1915), 100.

as the county superintendents and school principals, [58] announced their approval of the enfranchisement of women.

Most suffrage activities in Florida were conducted by the Florida Equal Suffrage Association and its local auxiliaries. The Florida Equal Suffrage Association was an affiliate of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and, until 1917, was the only state association in Florida. During that year, however, a branch of the National Woman's Party was organized.

The Woman's Party, a national organization with headquarters in Washington, D. C., was headed by Alice Paul and was a rival of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The chief differences in the two organizations were the Woman's Party's use of militant methods of agitation and its lack of interest in winning equal suffrage through state legislation. The Woman's Party worked solely for the federal amendment while the Suffrage Association worked for amendments to state constitutions as well as for the federal amendment.

In May, 1917, Alice Paul visited Florida for the purpose of forming a branch of the National Woman's Party there. She was accompanied by Mrs. St. Clair Thompson of North Carolina, field secretary for the southern states. At a meeting in Jacksonville they organized a Florida chapter of their Party with Mrs. Hannah Detwiller as state chairman. [59]

The Woman's Party was never very active in Florida but did try to influence Florida congressmen in favor of the federal amendment. It conducted no militant agitation in the state for most Florida women disapproved such tactics. A few did engage in militant activities, however. One was Mrs. Mary O. Nolan of Jacksonville. In November, 1917, Mrs. Nolan was arrested in Washington, D. C., and kept in jail for six days for picketing the White House. She was at that time seventy-three years of age but none-the-less determined to "stand up for her rights." [60]

The practice of imprisoning suffrage agitators was dramatized when the "prison special" visited Jacksonville. A group of twenty-six women, all of whom had served prison sentences, chartered a railroad car and toured the nation to call attention to their struggle

58. Tampa *Morning Tribune,* May 2, 1917.
59. Florida *Times-Union,* May 10, 1917.
60. Tampa *Morning Tribune,* November 15, 1917.

for enfranchisement. They reached Jackonville in February, 1919, and were received by Helen Hunt, then chairman of the National Woman's Party in Florida. They held an outdoor meeting in Hemming Park and an evening meeting in the Morocco Temple. At the evening meeting twelve of the women appeared in their prison garb. On this occasion Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer of New York City told the audience: "It is no fun to go to jail. It takes courage to go to jail and face such conditions." Miss Lucy Burns related her experiences in prison and said that the suffragists had been subjected to brutal treatment. She said: "We did it all for democracy and we get mockery." Miss Sue White of Tennessee, the last of the speakers, maintained that the Democratic Party would gain a great political victory through the enfranchisement of women and urged that this action not be delayed. The meeting then adopted a resolution asking President Wilson to urge the passage of the federal woman suffrage amendment. [61]

In 1913 the woman suffrage issue for the first time received serious consideration in a session of the Florida legislature. [62] On April 14 of that year H. L. Bussey of Palm Beach introduced in the house a resolution to enfranchise women through an amendment to the state constitution. [63] On April 25 the committee on constitutional amendments conducted a public hearing on this issue. The hearing took place in the house clamber and attracted a large audience. The chief speaker was Miss Jeanette Rankin, a suffragist of national prominence and later United States Congresswoman from Montana. Miss Rankin gave a thirty minute talk which was said to have been most convincing and sincere and which "undoubtedly won a great majority of the auditors to the cause of equal citizenship." [64] In spite of this and other pro-suffrage appeals the committee failed to agree to a favorable report and referred the measure to the house without a recommendation. [65]

A few days later, on May 2, the house debated the issue. H. L. Bussey, its sponsor, stated that he did not favor woman

61. Florida *Times-Union,* February 19, 1919.
62. A woman suffrage resolution had been introduced in the house in 1911 but had not been acted upon.
63. *Florida House Journal,* regular session, 1913, 270.
64. Tampa *Tribune,* April 28, 1913. Among the other speakers were Mrs. Roselle Cooley of Jacksonville and Mrs. Victor Starbuck of Orlando.
65. *Florida House Journal,* regular session, 1913, 829.

suffrage but had introduced the measure at the request of the Federation of Women's Clubs in West Palm Beach. He said that he would work for the passage of the proposal by the legislature but would vote against it when it should be submitted to the people for ratification. He conceded that woman suffrage might be a good thing some day, but for the present he did not favor it. [66]

L. C. O'Neal of Hernando County made a strong anti-suffrage speech. He considered woman suffrage "contrary to tradition, history, manners, modesty, and the best thought of the country." He predicted that if "women were granted the ballot they would be lowered from the exalted position which they now hold." [67] John M. Gornto of Lafayette County denied that woman suffrage would improve political conditions but said that it would "bring on marital unhappiness, divorces, and a disruptive domestic condition." It would mean the enfranchisement of the Negro woman, as well as the white, and, therefore, would "entail such a train of evils that it would be impossible to conceive of what might follow." [68] H. Clay Stanford of Osceola County and St. Elmo W. Acosta of Duval both argued that equal suffrage was a northern ideal and that the South wanted none of it. No one spoke strongly in favor of the measure, and when the vote was taken, the house rejected it twenty-six to thirty-nine. [69]

Most people assumed that this defeat would end consideration in the 1913 legislative session. On May 7, however, Fred P. Cone of Lake City introduced a woman suffrage resolution in the senate. [70] This measure was referred to the committee on privileges and elections which recommended that it pass. [71] When the senate discussed it on May 28, Cone offered a substitute which included both woman suffrage and the grandfather clause. Senator Daniel A. Finlayson of Monticello objected to the substitute because it contained two separate issues. Cone replied that since the substitute provided for the enfranchisement of white women and the disfranchisement of Negro men, it would mean the replacement of Negro men by white women at the polls. In the

66. Florida *Times-Union,* May 4, 1913.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Florida House Journal,* regular session, 1913, 970.
70. *Florida Senate Journal,* regular session, 1913, 839.
71. *Ibid.,* 950.

ensuing debate John B. Johnson of Live Oak spoke against it because he thought that "woman's purity" would "suffer at the polls." John P. Stokes of Pensacola spoke for it, but his speech was reported to have been lacking in "earnestness and zeal."[72] The senate then rejected Cone's substitute and postponed his original measure indefinitely.[73] Thus equal suffrage failed in both houses in 1913.

When the legislature assembled in 1915, the suffragists were very hopeful of favorable action. They sent a committee to Tallahassee to lobby for their measures. These efforts were in vain, however, for although proposals to enfranchise women were introduced in both houses, they failed in committees, and the legislature adjourned without taking any action. In spite of this failure, equal suffrage scored a small gain in 1915. By special act the legislature established the municipality of Fellsmere in Saint Lucie County with the provision that both males and females should be qualified to vote in general and special elections.[74] The adoption of this act marked the beginning of woman suffrage in Florida.

Two years later, in 1917, the suffrage issue once again came to the attention of the Florida lawmakers. A highlight of their session was an address by Mrs. William Jennings Bryan. Mrs. Bryan said that enfranchisement was both timely and expedient and would increase the dignity of woman. She thought that women could be both wives and voters and that suffrage would provide a broader basis of common interest between husband and wife.[75]

A few days later, on April 20, the senate considered a proposed state constitutional amendment to enfranchise women.[76] After a brief debate the senators voted eighteen for the measure and eight against it.[77] Since the favorable votes were less than the three-fifths of the total senate required for constitutional amendments, the measure was defeated. On April 23 the senate reconsidered, and on that occasion, without debate, passed it

72. Florida *Times-Union,* May 29, 1913.
73. *Florida Senate Journal,* regular session, 1913, 1862.
74. *Special Acts Adopted by the Legislature of Florida,* 1915, 529.
75. Florida *Times-Union,* April 19, 1917.
76. Bills to permit women to vote in primary elections were introduced in both houses but were never acted upon.
77. *Florida Senate Journal,* regular session, 1917, 513.

twenty-three to seven.[78] The measure was then referred to the house.

Two days later the house debated and voted upon it. Speaking in its behalf, W. H. Marshall of Broward County said that equal suffrage had been successful in the western states and had become an important issue in Florida. He strongly favored adopting the pending measure and, thereby, submitting it to a referendum. A. C. Hamblin of Hillsborough did not believe that male voters were any better qualified to govern than female. In the realm of moral fitness he considered women superior. He commented: "Go to the saloons and see which sex will be found there." Amos Lewis of Jackson said that woman suffrage was right in principle and that it was the duty of the house to pass the measure. David Scholtz of Volusia did not think that enfranchisement would cause men to lose respect for women. He said that gentlemen respected ladies and "once a gentleman, always a gentleman."[79]

Speaking in opposition, Frank Clark, Jr. of Alachua said that the right to vote was not a natural right and that there was no general demand for woman suffrage. Christopher Matheson of the same county maintained that the woman suffrage states had no better laws than other states. C. A. Stephens of Hamilton said that women should not get "mixed up in politics" because "divine law placed man at the head of the family and made him the ruler and governing power of nations."[80] At the close of debate forty house members voted in favor of the measure and twenty-seven against it.[81] Since this was less than the required three-fifths total of the house, the measure failed.

The following day the house reconsidered. Several members argued that woman suffrage was inevitable and that the legislature might as well go ahead and submit the issue to the voters. Others said that woman suffrage would make for better government and that the liquor interests were its chief opposition. In spite of these arguments the measure once again failed to receive the required three-fifths majority.[82]

78. *Ibid.*, 531.
79. Florida *Times-Union*, April 26, 1917.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Florida House Journal*, regular session, 1917, 807.
82. *Ibid.*, 820. The vote was thirty-nine ayes and thirty nays.

During the 1917 sesssion the legislature passed several local bills conferring municipal suffrage on women. The towns where municipal suffrage was authorized were Florence Villa, Moore Haven, Palm Beach, and Pass-a-Grille. Thus woman suffrage continued to make gains in the realm of local government.

When the legislature convened in special session in November, 1918, the suffragists attempted to induce the adoption of a resolution endorsing the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, then pending in congress.[83] This move was sponsored by the National Woman's Party in an effort to influence the Florida delegation in Washington. Encouraged by Representative E. W. Waybright of Jacksonville, Governor Sidney Johnson Catts sent to the house a message stating that President Wilson and the National Democratic Committee favored woman suffrage and asking the house to adopt a resolution urging the Florida delegation in Congress to support the proposed Susan B. Anthony Amendment.[84] On December 5 the house debated the resolution and rejected it thirty-one to thirty-seven.[85] Many voted against it because they did not favor votes-for-women but others because they did not think that the legislature should presume to instruct members of the Congress of the United States.[86] In spite of the resolution's failure, suffrage made some gains during the 1918 session, for the legislature passed local bills making women eligible for municipal suffrage in DeLand, Aurantia, Daytona, Daytona Beach, and Orange City.

In his annual message in 1919 Governor Catts urged the legislators to give the suffrage issue a "respectful and careful" hearing. On April 18 Senator W. L. Hughlett of Cocoa introduced a resolution to enfranchise women through an amendment to the

83. During its history in Congress no Florida senator ever voted for the resolution to enfranchise women. When the United States house of representatives considered the issue in January, 1915, no one from Florida voted for it. In May, 1918 the representatives voted two for and two against it. In May, 1919 they voted three to one in favor of the measure.
84. *Florida House Journal*, extraordinary session 1918, 202.
85. *Ibid.*, 291.
86. The suffragists took advantage of the occasion to circulate a petition in behalf of the proposed Susan B. Anthony Amendment. Fourteen state senators and thirty-one representatives signed it. This petition was presented to senators Duncan U. Fletcher and Park Trammell but apparently failed to influence them.

state constitution. [87] The senate immediately suspended its rules and within five minutes passed the measure without debate. [88] Only five senators voted against it. So quickly did they dispose of the resolution that some of the members of the house accused them of being insincere and of merely shifting the responsibility for the issue to the house. [89]

A few days later the house debated the senate resolution. Speaking in opposition, Representative N. J. Wicker of Sumter County stated that morality and purity could not be legislated and that woman suffrage would undermine the government. George G. Brooks of Monroe County did not "care to lower women from the pinnacle" upon which tradition had placed them. He said, "Politics is a dirty game . . . and women can not mix with filth without some of it sticking." Murray Sams of Volusia said that "he was unconditionally and unqualifiedly opposed to woman's suffrage and everything that promotes it." He thought it "as impossible for women to be equals of men in determining questions involving suffrage as it was for them to be their equals physically." [90] None of the representatives strongly defended woman suffrage, but some argued that the house should adopt the resolution in order that the issue might be submitted to a referendum. When the vote was taken, forty voted for it and thirty-three against. [91] Since the resolution did not receive the required three-fifth majority, it failed to be adopted. [92]

Early in June the federal woman suffrage amendment was submitted to the states. A delegation hastened to Tallahassee to urge ratification. A small majority of the legislators indicated their willingness to vote for it. The day of adjournment was at hand, however, and Governor Catts refused to call a special session for he doubted that ratification would carry. [93] The legislature never

87. *Florida Senate Journal,* regular session, 1919, 307. At the beginning of this session the suffragists planned to seek only the right to vote in primary elections. This plan aroused so much opposition, however, that it was abandoned.
88. *Ibid.,* 308. The vote was twenty-six to five.
89. Florida *Times-Union,* April 23, 1919.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Florida House Journal,* regular session, 1919, 472
92. In 1919 the legislature made women in the following towns eligible to vote in municipal elections: Cocoa, Dunedin, Ft. Lauderdale, Moore Haven, Orlando, Ormond, St. Petersburg, Tarpon Springs, Vero, Winter Park, and West Palm Beach.
93. Kollick, "Florida," *History of Woman Suffrage,* VI, 119-120.

considered this measure, and Florida, therefore, became the only state in the Union to take no action on the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

During the months that followed, many states ratified the amendment, and in August, 1920, it was declared part of the United States Constitution. Florida officials considered that this amendment's ratification invalidated existing state laws against woman suffrage and, therefore, they permitted women to vote in the general election in 1920. The next year the legislature enacted a measure stating that all citizens over twenty-one years of age should be considered qualified electors. [94] In this way Florida women gained the political privileges they had been seeking, and their crusade came to a close.

94. *Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida,* 1921, 401.

BOOK REVIEWS

Latin America, A History. By Alfred Barnaby Thomas. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956. xiii, 801, pp. $6.50.)

Several years ago, in the wake of President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, and the widely awakened. interest in Latin America, attention was focused on the scarcity of good books about that area, especially textbooks for college use. Publishers and authors present got to work with the result that several excellent new survey histories of Latin America have appeared recently. Certainly one of the best of these is *Latin America, a History,* by Professor A. B. Thomas of the University of Alabama.

This book is designed for use as a college text and in content, organization, format, maps, reading lists, etc., it reflects the experience and understanding which have made Dr. Thomas renowned as one of the best and one of the most popular, history teachers in the South. It is not a book to be read casually or superficially, but is designed to give a sound, factual, honestly interpreted survey history of all the Latin American countries, stressing "the human forces operating in its culture and the continuity of its development" (author's preface). Particular emphasis is given to the cultural history of each country.

The organization of the book is logical. The colonial period deals with the Indians, Iberian backgrounds, conquest and colonial administration. The section on the wars for Independence is particularly well done, with a thoughtful analysis of the underlying causes and far-reaching results as well as the more obvious, immediate ones. In his treatment of the modern republican period, Dr. Thomas hit on a happy compromise between the simplification of generalizing or accepting certain countries as typical of the rest and the complication of presenting the detailed history of each of the twenty republics. He has accepted the theory, which most Latin Americans themselves seem to prefer, that each country is unique and that the history of each country must be presented individually. Having adopted this framework, the author achieves a pattern by dividing the countries into natural geographic groups,

the Atlantic, Pacific, Caribbean nations, with Mexico, Central America and Panama handled in a separate category. One could wish, however, that Dr. Thomas had defined his pattern a little more clearly by a brief preliminary analysis of common factors, problems, or differences among the countries in each group.

An excellent up-to-date study of Inter-American affairs provides a fitting conclusion to this book. Again, however, an omission is noted. Why is no mention made of Puerto Rico, the proud new Commonwealth which has effectively undertaken the role of interpreting the Anglo-American and Spanish-American cultures to each other?

Two of the strongest and most useful features of this new history of Latin America are to be found at the close of the book in the bibliography and the index. Recognizing that a survey history should serve primarily as a base of departure for further study, Dr. Thomas has included a very full reading list, with some descriptive notes, so excellent and complete that its titles might well serve as the nucleus for the Latin American collection in any library. Equally useful are innovatons in the unusually detailed index.

To emphasize the usefulness of this history as though that were its chief virtue is to do an injustice to Dr. Thomas' vigorous style and zestful, infectious enthusiasm for his subject. This is a book which everyone interested in Latin America will want to have and to keep.

IONE STUESSY WRIGHT

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Reminiscences of Big I. By William Nathaniel Wood. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Jackson, Tenn., McCowat-Mercer Press, 1956. 138 pp. Illustrations, appendix. $3.95.)

Lieutenant "Nat" Wood and the 19th Virginia Regiment went into camp at Chaffin's Farm seven miles east of Richmond in September, 1863. While enjoying the fruits of a well-earned rest, Nat and a few friends came upon a tasty looking cat. One of the men remarked, "What nice venison she will make." This lone feline was slaughtered and nicely dressed and placed tenderly

into the camp kettle to cook. Each time the simmering cat was tried for tenderness, the report was, "not done yet." The cat was boiled throughout the first day, and even through the second, but she continued to resist the fork. At the end of the second day, a camp table was set up and the feast was served. One soldier inquired, "What is the matter with this knife?" As the cat had resisted the fork, so did she also resist the knife. It seemed that the choice "venison," the feline veteran of three years of war, was as tough as her antagonists.

This is but one of the many stories told by Nathanial Wood in his, *Reminisences of Big I.* The Big I, a name evidently invented by the author after the War Between the States, was a Second Lieutenant in Lee's Army. Although Wood was an officer, the editor concludes from his study that the Big I "was a soldier's shavetail who never forgot his humble beginnings and whose first interest was always the well being of his men."

The most significant reward that one receives from reading Wood's reminiscences is a vivid picture of the life of the common soldier in the Army of Northern Virginia. Wood, whose tour of duty carried him from First Manassas to just before Appomattox, mirrors with words the trials of the soldier. We read of the long marches, up the Shenandoah Valley and into Maryland and Pennsylvania, the continual lack of supplies, cold rations and the lasting friendships of the field mess, an occasional poker game, the digging, digging of trenches, Rebel ingenuity and the Confederate soldier's unshakable faith in General Lee. Although the common soldier's burden was heavy, seldom did his sense of humor desert him. Wood gives considerable attention to the humorous incidents of war, indirectly showing how humor sustains the fighting man.

Along with the "foot slogger," such men as Lee, Beauregard, Hill, Stuart, Mosby and others appear when Wood had occasion to meet or observe them. Most vivid is the author's description of Pickett as he encountered the General after withdrawing from Cemetery Hill on that momentous day in 1863.

Three days before Appomattox the Old Nineteenth deployed as skirmishers at Sailors Creek and Big I and his men fought their last battle. Wood was captured and was interned at Old Capital Prison in Washington. Soon thereafter he returned to civilian life at Charlottesville, Virginia.

Thanks to Bell Wiley the *Reminiscences of Big I* have been rescued from obscurity, and after his usual thorough job of editing, it is now available to Civil War enthusiasts. Adding an introduction, illustrations and an interesting appendix, Mr. Wiley has presented a much improved edition of the original limited edition of 1909.

In the tradition of "Johnny Reb" and "Billy Yank" Bell Wiley presents a genuinely interesting book, one that gives a better understanding of the little man in a big war.

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Steamboats in the Hyacinths. By Ella Teague de Berard. (Daytona Beach, College Publishing Company, 1956. 64 pp. $2.00.)

Both on the dust jacket and in the preface, it is claimed that this little volume is a history of steamboating on the St. Johns River. Actually, it consists of the reminiscences of John Wilson Somerville of the years from 1880 to 1900, together with a small amount of material gathered by the author.

The author terms these twenty years the "steamboat decades," and by explicit statement and implication repeatedly dates the beginning of the steamboat era as 1880. The total neglect of the preceding half century of steamboating may be seen in the following statement: "Before the coming of the steamboats to the river, the only communication between Jacksonville and the south side of the city was by rowboat, but after 1880 a hundred stern and side wheelers ran on the St. Johns."

Practically the only statement relating to earlier vessels is a passing reference to the *Essayons* (misspelled Eesseon) during the Seminole War. Actually the *George Washington*, out of Savannah, in May, 1831, holds the claim of being the first steamboat on the river, and she was followed by dozens of others before 1880. A few of these receive mention, but are somehow squeezed into the "steamboat decades." An example is Hart's

Silver Spring, built in 1860 and not surviving until the first official steamboat list, of 1868.

In many respects the period 1880-1900 could better be taken as the beginning of the end. While the development of the state during the period was great, the rapid expansion of the railroads was driving the boats from the river.

Over 100 steamboats are mentioned, and in many instances there are interesting comments on the vessels. These observations of Somerville are the major contribution of the book, and had it purported to be no more, there would be no basis for criticism. One can only conclude that the history of steamboats on the St. Johns remains to be written, and that this book, despite the limitations mentioned above, is an addition to the woefully meager literature on the maritime history of Florida.

JOHN W. GRIFFIN

St. Augustine

NEWS AND NOTES

The Program of the Annual Meeting

by CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its 1957 program and business meeting in Miami at the McAllister Hotel on March 28-30, with the University of Miami and the Historical Association of Southern Florida as sponsors. Charlton W. Tebeau of the first sponsor was chairman of the program committee and Ernest G. Gearhart, Jr., of the second sponsor was in charge of local arrangements. The Board of Directors met on the evening of March 28, the report of their deliberations is printed elsewhere in the *Quarterly*.

Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., of Lakeland, immediate past president of the society presided at the opening program session on Friday morning. Rev. Frank E. Harlow of Coral Gables delivered the invocation. Three addresses of welcome were received: Dr. Frank B. Sessa, director of libraries for the City of Miami and a director of the society spoke for Mayor Randall N. Christmas of Miami; Dr. H. Franklin Williams, vice president of the University of Miami and director of community relations for the University; and President Ernest Gearhart, Jr., of the Historical Association of Southern Florida. President Dena Snodgrass responded for the society.

Four papers were scheduled for each program session, each paper being limited to twenty minutes, which seemed to be a popular idea. Vaughan Camp, Jr., of the University of Miami spoke on the first session of the state legislature with particular reference to the revenue bills passed. Mrs. Alice Strickland of Astor told of blockade running in the War Between the States with special attention to her own area of the Atlantic coast. Dr. George R. Bentley of the University of Florida presented a view of Marion County during Reconstruction based largely upon Freedmen's Bureau reports. A paper on the Florida Ship Canal Project by Dr. Ben F. Rogers of Florida State University elicited much comment from the floor. The luncheon session presided

over by Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau was devoted to reports of historical activities throughout the state and showed again the steady increase in the extent of organized interest in the history of the state. Mr. John C. Blocker of St. Petersburg presided over the afternoon session where Dr. Edward C. Williamson, formerly executive secretary, treasurer and librarian of the society discussed "Bourbons: Reformers or Reactionaries," and Dr. Maurice M. Vance of Florida State University described the importance of economic as contrasted with political carpetbaggers in the state's history. Dr. S. Walter Martin of the University of Georgia spoke on Henry Bradley Plant's Georgia and Florida activities. William J. Schellings of State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama, closed this session with a paper on soldiers in Miami in 1898, showing that the Florida East Coast Railway Company played an important role in getting a camp for Miami.

The highlight of the meeting was the Friday evening program which began with a reception for dinner guests tendered by the Historical Association of Southern Florida. The wives of officers and directors served as a reception committee. Ninety-six persons attended the dinner after which Karl A. Bickel of Sarasota, long interested in Florida History, shared with us some of his personal experiences and philosophy and his observations on a visit to the Spanish birthplace of some of the explorers and discoverers of the New World. It was an address notable for wit and humor and beautifully expressive language as well as history.

After this, the Saturday morning session might have been expected to prove anti-climactic but was far from it as a program of largely local interest attracted a good attendance. Florence S. Brigham, a junior high school student with one historical publication already to her credit spoke on Key Vaca (Marathon) and exhibited numerous documents that she had collected on the topic. Dr. Jesse L. Keene, University of Tampa, read a paper on "Gavino Gutierrez and His Contribution to Tampa." Dr. Samuel Proctor of the University of Florida told of William Jennings Bryan and his concern with the development of the University of Florida. Adam G. Adams of Coral Gables closed the program with a discussion of "Some Pre-Boom Dade County Developers" forerunners of those better known in the middle twenties.

Business Meetings

by RUBY J. HANCOCK

The Directors Meeting

The board of directors met in annual session on Thursday evening, March 28 at the McAllister Hotel in Miami. The members present were: Miss Snodgrass, Mr. Manucy, Mrs. Sette, Mrs. Hancock, Mr. Patrick, Mr. Thrift and directors Beiser, Hebel, McRae, Richardson and Sessa. Past president John C. Blocker was present by special request of the president.

Plans for a statewide membership committee, with J. Ryan Beiser as chairman, were discussed and set for the coming year.

A considerable supply of The Florida Historical *Quarterly*, January-April, 1955 reprint, is on hand and methods of disposing of these copies, especially to schools and libraries, were proposed. A committee to implement disposition will be appointed.

Under the will of the late Dr. Francis Allen Copp of Jacksonville the Society was bequeathed his family home in Middleburg with the requirement that it be "maintained as a historic landmark". The directors expressed their deep appreciation and interest but found it necessary to refuse the bequest because of lack of funds to restore and maintain the property.

The Society is indebted to Mr. Blocker for the preparation of two bills designed to create a state historical commission and make the Society a part of such a body. These bills, and a petition to the governor to create a study committee to explore the question of a commission, were discussed fully. The executive committee was empowered to follow the most feasible course in its opinion, after discussion with legislators, and subject to the wish of the membership of the Society.

Mrs. Sette gave the following reports which were approved:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

April 1, 1956 - March 15, 1957

Balance: April 1, 1956			$2,278.25
Location of Balance:			
Florida Bank at Gainesville	520.98		
Loan (Endowment Fund)	1,757.27		
Receipts:			
Annual memberships		3,459.25	
Contributing		490.00	
Life		150.00	
Institutional		75.00	
Quarterlies sold		361.05	
Reprints		86.10	
War Bonds		75.00	
Annual dues St. Augustine		200.00	
Essay contest		50.00	
Interest		57.29	
Total receipts			5,003.69
Total to be accounted for			$7,281.94
Disbursements:			
Printing of Quarterlies (4 issues)		3,530.63	
Printing other		109.56	
Essay Contest		52.50	
Postage		117.00	
Register of copyrights		12.00	
Expenses of secretary to St. Augustine		10.00	
Miscellaneous (Memberships, office and library supplies, insurance, newsletter, bank service charges, Library of Congress, taxes, etc.)		179.77	
Total disbursements			4,011.46
Balance: March 15, 1957			$3,270.48
Florida Bank at Gainesville	1,030.92		
First Federal Building and Loan (Endowment Fund)	2,239.56		
	$3,270.48		

Budget, March 15, 1957 - April 1, 1958

Cash balance, checking account March 15, 1957			$1,030.92
Estimated income:			
Membership dues			
Annual		3,500.00	
Libraries		500.00	
Student		12.00	
Fellow		540.00	
Institutional		175.00	
Interest		77.00	
Total			4,804.00
Total available funds			5,834.92

Estimated expenses:		
Florida Historical Quarterly	$4,200.00	
Printing, general	250.00	
Books, binding, subscriptions	100.00	
Repairs, equipment	75.00	
Copyright	8.00	
General expenses (supplies, mailing)	400.00	
Essay contest	60.00	5,093.00
Estimated balance		741.92

The Annual Membership Meeting

The annual business meeting of the Society was held on March 30, following the program session. Action of the directors in regard to the bequest of the late Dr. Francis Allen Copp was approved by the membership.

Copies of the proposed bills prepared by Mr. Blocker were made available to the membership. After full discussion and an expressed desire that the identity of the Society not be submerged by a state agency, the membership agreed unanimously to leave the question of legislation or a petition to the governor in the hands of the executive committee.

Weymouth T. Jordan gave the report of the annual junior historian writing contest. The Society expressed its appreciation to the donors who provided the prizes for his year's contest and to Mr. Harry Simonhoff of Miami who will be the donor of the prizes in 1958.

John Griffin, chairman of the resolutions committee, presented the following resolutions which were adopted unanimously.

1. Be it resolved that the Florida Historical Society in annual meeting convened, express its unanimous appreciation to the University of Miami, the Historical Association of Southern Florida, and the City of Miami for their efforts in their role of co-hosts of this successful meeting, and more particularly to Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau of the University of Miami and Mr. Ernest G. Gearhart, Jr., of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, for their work, respectively on the program and on arrangements.

2. Be it resolved that the Florida Historical Society express its appreciation to the management of the McAllister Hotel for the provision of meeting rooms for this meeting and for courtesies extended to the Society.

3. Be it resolved that the Florida Historical Society express its appreciation for the way in which The Florida Historical *Quarterly* has been edited by Dr. Rembert W. Patrick during his first year as editor.

The following slate was presented by Frank B. Sessa, chairman of the nominations committee, and elected unanimously: president, Miss Dena Snodgrass; first vice president, Albert C. Manucy; second vice president, T. T. Wentworth, Jr.; recording secretary, Mrs. Ruby J. Hancock; executive secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Lois J. Sette; directors, Miss Venila Lovina Shores, James W. Covington, Robert R. Bowen, Louis Capron and Ernest G. Gearhart, Jr.; nominations committee, 1958, John W. Griffin, James Covington, Frank B. Sessa, T. T. Wentworth, Jr., and George Bentley, chairman.

The 1958 Annual Meeting

At a brief meeting of the board of directors, the invitation of the University of Tampa to meet in Tampa was accepted.

Martin Elected President by Emory Board

S. Walter Martin, a distinguished educational administrator and University of Georgia dean, has been named 15th president of Emory University. The Georgia-born Dr. Martin, 46, is dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Georgia, where he has been a member of the faculty since 1935. He was named dean in 1949. Dr. Martin is chairman of the conference of academic deans of the southern states, and is a prominent historian and a well-known Methodist layman.

Emory's 15th president is a native of Tifton, Ga. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Furman University in 1932, a Master of Arts from the University of Georgia in 1935, and a Doctor of Philosophy in history from the University of North Carolina in 1942. Dr. Martin joined the Georgia staff as an instructor in history. In 1939 he was made assistant professor; in 1944, associate professor; and in 1947 promoted to full professor. From 1943 to 1945 he was acting head of the history department; and from 1945 to 1947 was assistant dean of facul-

ties. Prior to coming to the University of Georgia faculty, Dr. Martin taught for three years in the Palatka, Florida, high school. In the summer of 1946 he was a visiting professor at the University of Florida.

An interest in Florida history characterizes his research and writing. Dr. Martin is the author of two books, *Florida During Territorial Days,* and a biography of Henry M. Flagler, *Florida's Flagler.* Both were published by the University of Georgia Press. He is an active member of the Florida Historical Society and has contributed a number of articles to the *Quarterly.*

Mrs. Martin is the former Miss Clare Philips of Palatka, Florida. She attended Florida Southern and Wesleyan College. Dr. and Mrs. Martin are parents of two children, Ellen, 14, and Philips, 9.

T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Museum

On April 17 Governor LeRoy Collins signed House Concurrent Resolution number 276. This resolution is as follows:

WHEREAS, on April 6, 1957, there was dedicated the T. T. Wentworth. Jr., Historical Museum at Enslev. Escambia County, Florida, eight miles north of Pensacola on U. S. Highway 29 (Old Palafox Highway), and

WHEREAS, the said museum houses more than seven thousand (7,000) items of great historical significance including Florida relics, artifacts, maps, ancient guns, antiques, historic letters and papers dating from the expedition of Don Tristan de Luna, Spanish explorer, in 1559, to the Pensacola area, and

WHEREAS, said museum collection not only is a great contribution to the cultural and historical background of northwest Florida, but it makes a monumental contribution to the history of our State and Nation, and

WHEREAS, it represents a dream of its founder T. T. Wentworth, Jr., who began his study and collection of historical relics at the age of 8 in 1906, which culminated in the establishment of said museum all at his private expense and as a result of his continuous personal efforts for more than a half century, and

WHEREAS, the said museum building erected by Mr. Wentworth is a beautiful brick structure and a worthy contribution to

our great State and is open to the public without charge, NOW THEREFORE,

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA, THE SENATE CONCURRING:

Section I. That the Honorable T. T. Wentworth, Jr., is deserving of the highest praise and commendation from the representatives of the people of the State of Florida, in legislative session assembled, for his outstanding contribution to the State's cultural and historical values in establishing and dedicating the T. T. Wentworth, Jr., historical museum.

Section 2. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Legislature of the State of Florida hereby recognizes the great and lasting significance of the said museum to our State and expresses to the Honorable T. T. Wentworth, Jr., its sincere appreciation and gratitude for his magnificent gift.

Section 3. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be signed by the Speaker and Chief Clerk of the House and by the President and Secretary of the Senate, and that such copies bearing the seal of the great State of Florida be transmitted to the Honorable T. T. Wentworth, Jr.

Samuel Gwynn Coe

Dr. Samuel G. Coe came to Florida Southern College in September 1926 as a member of the Department of History. During his 30 years at Florida Southern, he has taught classes in the History of the United States, emphasizing the strategic importance of Florida as the earliest settlement of the American continent.

Who's Who in America tells of Dr. Coe being born in Blacksburg, Va., December 28, 1888, the son of Henry Slicer, and Cornelia (Pettigrew). He attended Randolph-Macon Academy, Front Royal, Va. 1904-06, and received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Washington and Lee University 1909; his M.A. in 1916, and his Ph.D. in 1926 from Johns Hopkins. He was married to Miss Anna Ford of Front Royal, Virginia, September 10, 1921, and they are the parents of two children Anna Louise, and Beverly Ruth.

Dr. Coe became an instructor at his Alma mater, Randolph-Macon Academy 1909-11, and later entered the Virginia Public School system as a high school principal 1911-15. After a tour of military service in World War I, he served again as high school principal, 1919-1923.

During World War I, Dr. Coe, served in command as a 2nd Lt. in the United States Army. He later was an instructor in History A.E.F.U. of Beaune Cote d'or, France, 1917-1919. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Pi Gamma Mu. His specialized writings has been *The Mission of William Carmichael to Spain* (John Hopkins Press, 1926) and is the author of the account of "William Carmichael" in the *Dictionary of American Biography.*

As chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Florida Southern, he works with his staff which consists of: Thomas Ford, William Calderhead, A. F. Fugitt, Edward Johnson, Herbert E. Book, Robert G. Richards, and Gilbert P. Richardson. The Florida Historical *Quarterly* salutes Dr. Coe, for his 30 years of active service of teaching History in Florida.

JUNIOR HISTORICAL CONTEST

A total of 82 papers were entered in the annual Junior Historical Writing Contest which is sponsored by the Florida Historical Society. Secondary school students from 19 schools participated in the 1957 contest. The papers were judged by a committee from the History Department of The Florida State University composed of Weymouth T. Jordan, as chairman, Charles W. Arnade, Earl R. Beck, Benjamin F. Rogers, and Venila L. Shores. The following awards were recommended and approved by the Society.

FIRST PRIZE

"Capital Removal", by Sylvia Jean Hardaway, Gainesville High School, Gainesville, Florida.

SECOND PRIZE

"Social Life and Fashions in Jacksonville, 1910-1916", by Beverly Willhelm, Andrew Jackson High School, Jacksonville, Florida.

THIRD PRIZE

"Barnett National Bank", by Anne Barnett, Bartram School, Jacksonville, Florida.

HONORABLE MENTIONS

"The History of Hamilton County," by Anne Snell, White Spring High School, White Springs, Florida.
"A History of Enterprise", by Harvey Dunn, DeLand High School, DeLand, Florida.
"Tin's Chinese Vegetable Farm", by Christina S. Doyle, Walker Junior High School, Bradenton, Florida.

BEST PAPER FROM EACH SCHOOL

Bartram School, Jacksonville: Anne Barnett, "Barnett National Bank"; Boone High School, Orlando: Jean Schmitt, "The History of Cattle in Florida"; Chattahoochee High School, Chattahoochee: Oneal Bevis, "From Chattahoutchi to Chattahoochee"; DeLand

High School, DeLand:, Harvey Dunn, "A History of Enterprise"; Eustis High School, Eustis: Helen Dovas: "Changing Eustis"; Gainesville High School, Gainesville: Sylvia Jean Hardaway, "Capital Removal"; Greensboro High School, Greensboro: Jo Ann Shepard, "Cigar-Making in Greensboro, Florida"; Havana High School, Havana: Donna Jane May, "The Planters Exchange"; Andrew Jackson High School, Jacksonville: Beverly Willhelm, "Social Life and Fashions in Jacksonville, 1910-1916"; Northwestern Senior High School, Miami: Clyde Smith, "Florida, 1512 to 1773"; Ocala Junior High School, Ocala: Martin Lynne Bitting, "The History of the Methodist Church in Ocala, Florida"; Oviedo High School, Oviedo: Ann De Shazo "The Stephen Foster Memorial"; Rosarian Academy, West Palm Beach: Cheryl Burkhardt, "The Mail Must Go Through"; Saint Joseph Academy, St. Augustine: June Hand, "A Pioneer Missionary-Father Mendoza-Grajales"; Saint Patrick High School, Miami Beach: Judith White, "The Discovery and Early Exploration of Florida"; Seminole High School, Sanford: Sandra Lee, "Henry Shelton Sanford, 1823-1891"; Seabreeze High School, Daytona Beach: Susan Goddard, "A Biography of James Calvert Sntith"; Walker Junior High School, Bradenton: Christina S. Doyle, "Tin's Chinese Vegetable Farm"; White Springs High School, White Springs: Anne Snell, "The History of Hamilton County".

CAPITAL REMOVAL

by SYLVIA JEAN HARDAWAY

IN 1823, TWO COMMISSIONERS, one representing East Florida, and the other representing West Florida, selected Tallahassee as the most suitable site for the capital of the newly organized territory of Florida. However, from the very first time the Legislative Council convened at Tallahassee, pressure was brought forth to remove the capital from Tallahassee. Typical of the objections to Tallahassee was that it was so far from any settlement or habitation of civilized man, although it had been chosen by men well qualified to determine the most advantageous position near the center of the population. In the very first session of the Legislative Council to convene at Tallahassee, a petition was presented which requested the removal of the capital to a site on some navigable water. This petition, read on November 8, 1824, was the beginning of a more or less continual struggle to remove the capital from Tallahassee.

In 1831 a bill was passed which provided for five commissioners to examine locations for the seat of government. The commissioners were unable to agree and no action was taken by the council. In 1832, Tallahassee retained the capital when the members voting to hold the following session of the council at St. Augustine did not get the requisite majority. Eight days later, another resolution was proposed which provided for a committee to draft a bill authorizing the selection of a site in a central part of Florida for the capital. The motion lost and was indefinitely postponed. In 1853, a bill was passed by the council which provided that if a majority of the voters voted for the removal of the capital, five commissioners would be appointed to select a location for a new capital. Tallahassee barely retained the capital, winning by only 600 votes. All these earlier battles came to a climax in 1900 when no less than five cities were fighting for the capital. These cities, Tallahassee, Jacksonville, Ocala, St, Augustine, and Gainesville [1] went to great effort to present their

1. Gainesville dropped out of the race early and never went to any great effort to present its claims.

claims in the best possible manner. Each city had its capital removal association which publicized the advantages of its city. There were many heated arguments as each city tried to outdo the other in its claims.

Tallahassee supporters remained relatively calm and confident but did present many arguments. A strong advocate for keeping the capital at Tallahassee, Governor William D. Bloxham, insisted that the capitol building was a suitable, durable, and safe building and that it had ample accommodations for all the departments of the state government. In a reply to the governor, Frank Clark [2] charged that there were not ample accomodations for the departments and that the governor of Florida had to rent a house or board out. Governor Bloxham further said that: "A vote for Tallahassee means no extra taxation or expenditure for capital purposes. The present building is in all respects ample and sufficient, and no appropriation is asked for, as necessary to secure efficient public service." [3]

This statement was challenged by many, including the *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* [4] which stated that the legislature had pledged to repair the present capitol, and $50,000 was the price suggested. [5] This money would be raised by taxation. Frank Clark and A. G. Hamlin, members of Jacksonville's Capital Removal Association, added that it would cost much more to rebuild or repair the present capitol than to remove it to another city such as Jacksonville, because of cheapness of materials, ample railroads, and water transportation there.

Other advantages listed by the governor were the following: governmental records were already stored there and all departments were running efficiently, Tallahassee is free from yellow fever and from capture by a foreign nation, Tallahassee has ample mail facilities, and Tallahassee has efficient telegraphic communications and railroad communications connecting all roads of Florida.

In a letter to the editor of the *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* N. W. Eppes offered the following reasons for keeping the

2. *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* October 28, 1900.
3. *Ibid.,* October 26, 1900.
4. *Ibid.,* October 22, 1900 and November 4, 1900.
5. At first the *Times-Union* had mentioned $100,000 as the price suggested, but later scaled it down to $50,000.
6. *Ibid.,* October 28, 1900.

capital at Tallahassee: [6] it would cost much more money to build a good capitol than any donation offered; the capitol is sufficient for the requirements of the legislature; sentiment and tradition, Tallahassee has healthful conditions including natural drainage and an abundance of pure water; Tallahassee is inland, free from tidal waves and foreign invasion; the surrounding country is scenic; there are ample hotel accommodations; passenger trains run daily; and Tallahassee is reasonably accessible to all sections of the state.

According to the *Live Oak Democrat,* [7] "The people of this part of the state, or a great many of them, will vote against a removal until the question of the probable cost of the new building is made clearer to them." The *Bronson Times-Democrat* said, [8] "If this end, central location, can't be accomplished it would be better far to leave the capital where it has satisfactorily stood for sixty years. It is paid for." In the *Sumterville Times* [9] the editor answers the threat that a large section of West Florida will attempt to go to Alabama if the capital leaves Tallahassee by simply saying, "Let them go."

The Jacksonville supporters worked hard for their cause. The Jacksonville paper received much criticism for its staunch support as did the Jacksonville people. Jacksonville supporters got into many bitter arguments with the supporters of other cities. One such argument arose over the claim of Jacksonville supporters that Ocala and St. Augustine were aware that they had no chance of winning but hoped by their combined forces to prevent Jacksonville from winning, in the hope that they might win another time. Jacksonville claimed that if the removal was voted down this time the capital would always remain at Tallahassee mainly because of the new and expensive building. Ocala supporters answered this charge by stating that they had proposed a preliminary contest between the cities opposing Tallahassee to unite the capital removalists and insure the removal of the capital from Tallahassee. However, they claimed that Jacksonville and St. Augustine were not interested in this plan.

7. Reprinted from *The Daily News,* Pensacola, Florida, October 1, 1900.
8. Reprinted from *The Daily News,* Pensacola, Florida, October 1, 1900.
9. Reprinted in the *Ocala Evening Star,* October 8, 1900.

Jacksonville had made an offer of $100,000 and a building site if the capital were removed to Jacksonville. The plan stated that no bonds should be issued until the primary source of money was exhausted, that is assessment of property benefitting from the location of the capital in Jacksonville. The Ocala supporters asked how these benefits would be apportioned, what property could be made subject to such an assessment, how these assessments would be collected, and how long would it take to collect them. They charged that so much red tape would be involved that state officials would remain in temporary quarters until the people of Florida got disgusted and paid for it themselves. But, according to the *Tampa Herald,* [10] if the money were not raised the capital would not be moved to Jacksonville.

The *Sumterville Times* attacked Jacksonville's offer by citing Atlanta's similar proposition to Georgia and stating that Atlanta never paid, but her promises were as binding as Jacksonville's. [11]

Some of the advantages listed by Jacksonville were these: Almost every branch of labor was represented by unions in Jacksonville, and all legislation concerning labor affairs could be under observation by labor leaders; immediate publicity to all acts would make secret enactions impossible; Jacksonville has attractions that would make a visit to the capital pleasant; railroad communication with Jacksonville was direct; commercial interests centered at Jacksonville; it would put the capital within reach of all; and Jacksonville was a growing city. The *Starke Telegraph* states that "The rapid growth of Jacksonville during the past decade has proven beyond a doubt that it can be made to grow into a city of large proportions.." [12]

The *Lake City Index* said, "Jacksonville is accessible to the enemy in time of war and to disease in time of peace." [13] Jacksonville supporters said that Boston is a sea port and that Massachusetts citizens are not afraid that a foreign power would sail up and capture the state government.

Jacksonville was often accused of being selfish and greedy. Jacksonville supporters stated that as long as the change was good for the state, the motive made no difference.

10. Reprinted in *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* October 5, 1900.
11. Reprinted in the *Ocala Evening Star,* October 8, 1900.
12. Reprinted in *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* October 5, 1900.
13. Reprinted in *The DailyNews,* Pensacola, Florida, October 1, 1900.

Ocala's position in this contest was supposedly strengthened by the early withdrawal of Gainesville. According to many newspapers the withdrawal of Gainesville meant that Gainesville voters would not be divided between Ocala and Gainesville, but according to the *Gainesville News,* the majority of these voters wanted the capital to remain in Tallahasse. Ocala appealed to southern and eastern Florida for votes on the basis of the growth of southern Florida. Ocala promised to provide a suitable site and contribute $125,000 towards the cost of the new capitol. Ocala stated that the legislature would then need to provide only half the cost of the new capitol, that is, an additional $125,000. This could be taken from the surplus treasury of the state and no new taxes would result. Conditions included that the building could not be started until Ocala fulfilled her promises and that Ocala could not become the capital until the building was finished. Ocala pointed out that her bonded indebtedness was $16,000 while Jacksonville's was $1,300,000 and St. Augustine's was $105,-000. [14]

Advantages for Ocala included the following: Ocala had modern conveniences, Ocala had good hotel accommodations, Ocala was centrally located and inland, Ocala had the best health record, Ocala was most accessible by railroad, Ocala was the center of the great phosphate industry, and Ocala had scenic attraction.

The accessibility of Ocala was her strongest point. The *Sumterville Times* [15] stated that Ocala was more accessible to three-fourths of the population than Jacksonville or Tallahassee. The *Bronson Times-Democrat* said, "Those of our readers who believe the capital should be centrally located must admit the strength of Ocala's position." [16]

"Neither time nor expense is being spared in properly presenting St. Augustine's claims to the people of Florida. The advantages which this city has to offer are being presented to the people in a clear, concise and honest manner." [17]

St. Augustinians made an offer of $250,000 and a suitable site for the capital. They insisted that the money would be raised

14. Ocala's total indebtedness was $25,000; Jacksonville's $400,000.
15. Reprinted in *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* October 8, 1900.
16. Reprinted in *The Daily News, Pensacola,* Florida, October 1, 1900.
17. *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* October 2, 1900.

before the capital was removed to their city. They claimed that their offer was the only one which did not require taxation, as Jacksonville and Ocala would only pay half of the cost, the remainder to be raised by taxation. Ocala's supporters answered that there was not authorization for the passing of necessary bonds and thus the capital association literature was the only guaranty of contributions.

Among St. Augustine's advantages were these: St. Augustine was accessible to the state if accessibility was determined by railroad connections; two-thirds of the population live east of the Suwannee River; good climate and health; tradition; historical reasons; it was the geometrical apex of a triangle of which Pensacola and Key West were the extremes; it could be reached from any point in Florida in less than one day it had facilities for speedy communications with all of Florida; it had good fire protection; it was a modern city with improvements such as the water plant, street pavement, and a new electrical plant to be built soon; there were good hotel accommodations; there were many sporting facilities, clubs, and parks; it was architecturally beautiful; there was a good police force and ample military protection; it had ample newspaper facilities complete telephone system, and good mail connections; and St. Augustine was the wealthiest city of its size in the United States.

Tallahassee claimed that all campaign promises to pay for the new building were invalid and that contributions promised by party platforms, political meetings, boards of trade, or the people of the city by local taxation could not bind the city because no such authority is known to law. Promises of taxation made by a city would be of no binding validity as they violate the constitution. [18]

On November 6, the voters of Florida went to the polls. When the final count had been taken, Tallahassee had retained the capital, winning by 13,435 votes, Jacksonville won 7,672 votes, Ocala won 6,373 votes, and St. Augustine came in last with only 2,100 votes. It seems that the people of Florida were afraid that if the capital were moved from Tallahassee, there would be increased taxation. Undoubtedly other factors entered

18. Florida Constitution, section 5, Article 9.

in, but the fear of increased taxation certainly helped Tallahassee's cause.

This was the last major attempt to move the capital from Tallahassee. It was a good fight. It may have been the final attempt, but, then, it may not be.

CONTRIBUTORS

KARL A. BICKEL, the former President of United Press, is a resident and a most active citizen of Florida.

BENJAMIN F. ROGERS is Associate Professor of History at the Florida State University.

FRANKLIN A. DOTY is Associate Professor of History at the University of Florida.

JESSE L. KEENE is Professor of History and Political Science at the University of Tampa.

A. ELIZABETH TAYLOR is Associate Professor of History at the Texas State College for Women.

NEW MEMBERS

Miss Annie Clair Alexander, Pensacola.....John W. Cole
Mrs. Roger Wm. Arnold, Miami.....C. W. Tebeau
P. E. Bowen, Charlotte, N. C.....Dena Snodgrass
James T. Dahlem, St. Petersburg.....
Harold W. Dorn, South Miami.....C. W. Tebeau
C. Howard Hill, Jacksonville.....Lois J. Settee
Mrs. D. M. Humphreys, Ft. Lauderdale.....C. W. Tebeau
James R. Knott, West Palm Beach.....Mrs. Henry Kohl
Joseph Lewis, Miami Beach.....C. W. Tebeau
Henry S. Marks, Melrose.....C. W. Tebeau
F. J. Redmond, St. Augustine.....
Mrs. J. H. Reese, Miami.....C. W. Tebeau
Thomas M. Rickards, West Palm Beach.....Charles G. Hays
Mrs. Wilton Roger, Vero Beach.....Rev. John F. McKeown
John W. Simmons, Jacksonville.....Dena Snodgrass
Frederic W. Wallace, Gainesville.....
Mrs. Kenneth M. West, Inverness.....Mrs. Mary MacRae