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WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN AND THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

by SAMUEL PROCTOR

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN resigned as Secretary of State on June 8, 1915, and retired to his home in Florida. Edgar Lee Masters described him at this time as "the Christian Statesman, out of a job . . . no longer a presidential possibility, nor a law-maker nor a law-giver."¹ The last decade of Bryan's life was not a period of inactivity, however. A critic has said that it was during these years that Bryan identified himself "with some of the worst tendencies in American life-prohibition, the crusade against evolution, real estate speculation, and the Klan."² As his national political power declined, his interest in the political, religious, civic, and social life of Florida increased. His speaking tours and public appearances carried him into almost every county in the state where thousands flocked to hear him talk and where his advice and counsel were constantly solicited.

Bryan had come to Florida for the first time during the Spanish-American War. As a colonel with the Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry he was stationed for a few weeks in 1898 in Jacksonville.³ The Bryans were frequent visitors to Florida after that, and in 1912 they purchased a winter home in Miami. "Villa Serena," as they called it, became one of the city's showplaces, and it was not unusual for them to entertain as many as five hundred guests at their weekly Friday afternoon open house.⁴ Bryan's Tourist Bible Class was one of the distinctive features of Miami's winter season. Held in Royal Palm Park, it attracted thousands of people each Sunday morning.⁵ After Bryan transferred his legal residence from Nebraska to Florida in 1921,

1. Edgar Lee Masters, "The Christian Statesman," *The American Mercury*, III (December, 1924), 388.

2. Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1949), 199.

3. W. J. Bryan, "From Nebraska to Florida, A Memorandum," May 31, 1921, in the Bryan Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. This memorandum, edited by Samuel Proctor, appeared in *Nebraska History*, XXXVII (March, 1956), 59-65.

4. W. J. Bryan and Mary Baird Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Philadelphia, 1925), 435-36.

5. *Ibid.*, 452; *Miami Daily News*, July 27, 1925.

many people and several newspapers encouraged him to throw his hat into Florida's political ring and to announce his candidacy for either governor or United States senator.⁶ It was also during this period of his life that Bryan became interested in the University of Florida.

He first spoke on the University campus January 8, 1916, when he was introduced by President Albert A. Murphree. Bryan's major interest at the moment was foreign affairs, and he titled his talk "Lessons Gleaned from the European War." After commending Woodrow Wilson on his sincerity, and congratulating himself on the efforts that he had made to keep the United States out of the European conflict, he launched into an attack on the so-called "preparedness theory." Claiming that agitation for a strong defense policy was "a mercenary measure sought by those who would gain the most from it," he denounced those who would make "hatred a national policy." His premise was that the war had completely exploded the doctrine "that military preparedness prevents war." On the question of the traditional rights of an American citizen the Great Commoner said: "If an American for selfish reasons sails on a belligerent ship and places the peace of his nation in jeopardy, he should be taken off the ship by government authority and given a lesson in patriotism."⁷

Bryan's genius for oratory was his most powerful asset. He was recognized as one of the most effective public speakers of his time, and his ability to charm an audience was widely recognized. His Gainesville speech was no exception. His voice had not yet lost much of its brilliance, and it was as warm and as compelling as ever. It is little wonder that *The Alligator*, the student newspaper, reported that he had "carried his audience with him all the way."⁸

This visit to Gainesville in 1916 introduced Bryan to the community which he claimed was "his favorite next to Miami,"⁹ and to President Murphree with whom he was to maintain a close

6. There are several letters in the Bryan correspondence in the Library of Congress which reveal the interest that Bryan and his friends had, at the time, in the possibilities of a political career in Florida (May M. Jennings to Bryan, Dec. 15, 1921; J. H. Carter to Bryan, April 15, 1921; N. P. Bryan to Bryan, Jan. 14, 1922; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to Bryan, Jan. 20, 1922; Bryan to J. F. Essary, Feb. 15, 1922; Bryan to O. B. Howse, April 13, 1922).

7. *The Alligator*, January, 14, 1916.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *The Daily Sun* (Gainesville), February 22, 1922.

friendship throughout the remainder of his life. Murphree had been serving as president since 1909 and before that he had been president of the Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee. In many ways these two men were kindred spirits. Their ancestry was Southern Baptist-Methodist, although Bryan eventually became a Presbyterian. Both were deeply religious and regularly attended church and Sunday School. Prayer and Bible reading was part of their daily routine. Each played active leadership roles in his own church.

Religion probably exerted more influence over Bryan's public and private actions than any other single force. Mrs. Bryan said that her husband's faith was marked by freedom from doubt. "Others might wave, drift and struggle," she wrote, but "he went serenely on, undisturbed. . . . He had a firm faith in the inspiration of the Bible in which he had been nurtured, a strong belief in a guiding and protecting power, and a comforting reliance on the efficacy of prayer."¹⁰

Dr. Murphree's religious enthusiasm had been similarly described by the minister of his church in Gainesville: "I am not unmindful of his charming personality, his genial disposition, his friendly spirit, and his generous heart; but I am thinking primarily of the simplicity and fervor of his religious faith and the humility and tenderness of his soul."¹¹ He too built his hopes upon the divine teachings of the Bible, and depended upon his religious faith for guidance.

Neither Bryan nor Murphree wavered in their belief in the authenticity and authority of the Scriptures as "the Inspired Word of God." Bryan approved Murphree's insistence that University of Florida students attend chapel on campus twice a week, and that Scripture reading and prayer be included in each service.¹² It must also have pleased Bryan to know that Murphree had said that the University would "not engage, or retain, a professor who is known to be irreligious." A condition of membership on the

10. *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan*, 457.

11. Orland K. Armstrong, *The Life and Work of Dr. A. A. Murphree*. (St. Augustine, 1928), 121, quoting statement of Dr. Thomas V. McCaul, Pastor of the First Baptist Church of Gainesville.

12. M. E. Parrott to J. B. Clark, August 29, 1921, in Murphree Papers, University of Florida Archives.

faculty, during Murphree's administration, was that the person be "a member of some evangelical church."¹³

In their puritanical outlook, in their understanding of what was morally right, and in their inflexible attitude toward moral issues, Bryan and Murphree were alike. Both men were, each in his own way, religiously intolerant, and it is likely that Murphree joined Bryan in adhering to the belief that "a Christian, American democrat was the greatest work of God." Both men were determined to root out sin and evil wherever it was revealed but they were particularly insistent that the schools and colleges be kept as pure as possible. In answering a *Literary Digest* inquiry in 1921 relative to his feeling about social demoralization on American campuses, President Murphree said: "What is needed to prevent the shameless form of dancing and the indecent costumes worn by young people attending dances and parties is some 'daddies and mummies.' The low-cut gowns, the rolled hose and short skirts are born of the devil and his angels and are carrying the present and future generations to social chaos and destruction."¹⁴ It was also during this period that Bryan was lecturing before religious and civic organizations and on the Chautauqua, and in his speeches he described how the evils of drink, gambling and loose living had enhanced the "brute theory" which had "undermined the faith of many of our young people in college."¹⁵

The Young Men's Christian Association, in which Bryan had always been interested, was an important part of campus activities in Gainesville. Membership was open to all students, regardless of religious faith, and a large part of the Y.M.C.A. program at the University operated on a non-sectarian basis.¹⁶ In 1919, George E. White, a Presbyterian minister and a close personal friend of Bryan, was appointed general secretary of the University Y.M.C.A. He and Murphree conceived the idea of erecting on campus a student religious-activities building. The state legislature was reluctant to appropriate funds for such a structure, but Murphree and White thought that the necessary

13. Murphree to O. D. Foster, May 30, 1921, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.

14. "College Presidents Who Find Conditions Bad," *The Literary Digest*, LXIX (May 14, 1921), 58-61.

15. Bryan to John A. Marquis, May 2, 1923, in Bryan Papers, Library of Congress.

16. Murphree to P. K. Yonge, May 11, 1916, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.

money could be secured by a general subscription campaign. A fund raising organization was employed to do most of the work, but it was considered wise to have an important name as campaign chairman.¹⁷ Consequently, White wired Bryan on January 9, 1923, asking if he would serve in that capacity, and received an acceptance telegram in a matter of hours.¹⁸ Bryan wrote Murphree that he was "glad to aid in so meritorious an enterprise."¹⁹

He did much more than lend his name to the \$250,000 campaign. He travelled the state, making dozens of speeches, issuing appeals through the press, and approaching his friends for donations. He mailed out hundreds of letters asking for funds to save Florida students "from materialism," and to help consecrate their "learning to the service of God and the welfare of mankind."²⁰ He organized a one thousand dollar club and secured large donations from such men as Glenn H. Curtiss, J. C. Penny, and James Deering. Bryan himself pledged fifteen hundred dollars.

The drive opened with a large meeting in Daytona Beach, and during the next few weeks Bryan spoke over seventy times before civic, church and alumni groups. Driving his black Ford automobile across the narrow, dusty Florida roads, speaking sometimes four and five times a day, he was reminded of his old campaign days, and he seemed to thrive on excitement and a crowded schedule.²¹

Some of the meetings were elaborate affairs, such as the one staged in the flower-bedecked grand ballroom of the Royal Poinciana Hotel in Palm Beach. Samuel Untermeyer, the well-known attorney, was co-chairman with Bryan at this meeting and several thousand dollars were subscribed. In emphasizing the religious needs of college men, Bryan said: "The path of the young man . . . is continually beset by the devil and if the rest of us are as persistent in trying to protect him from the devil as the devil

17. White to Bryan, Jan. 9, 1923, in Bryan Papers, Library of Congress.

18. Bryan to White, Jan. 10, 1923, in Bryan-Murphree Correspondence, UF Archives.

19. Bryan to Murphree, Jan. 11, 1923, in Bryan-Murphree Correspondence, UF Archives.

20. Copy of letter, undated, in Miscellaneous Papers, (Letter Box, Y.M.C.A.), UF Archives.

21. *The Alligator*, March 17, 1923.

is to beset him, he will have no difficulty in treading the path right. . . ." He told his audience that colleges had a responsibility to educate not only "the mind of the young man," but "to train his heart as well." "A good heart with a good mind will make a good man," he said, "but the good mind alone will not be successful, and if the heart goes wrong it takes the mind with it."²²

Another large meeting was held in the Duval County Armory in Jacksonville and was sponsored by local civic clubs. The Gator band came from Gainesville to play for this affair. In Tampa there was some difficulty because of a conflict with a planned drive to raise \$250,000 to establish the University of Tampa. In Miami the initial attempts to secure subscriptions were so disappointing that it was decided to postpone the campaign until fall.²³ Everywhere else the drive succeeded, so far as pledges were concerned. These were "boom" days, and securing pledges was relatively easy; getting the cash was another matter. During the first ten weeks of the campaign more than \$135,000 had been subscribed, but only \$27,000 had been collected.

Bryan worked out a pattern for the meetings. The University Quartette, which included Milton Yeats, who wrote the University's "Alma Mater," James Melton, later of the Metropolitan Opera, George Anderson, and Nathan Mayo, Jr., opened with a medley of popular songs. The local chairman of the drive and Y.M.C.A. Secretary White explained the lack of religious-student activity facilities on the campus and the reasons for asking the public to support the construction of a building. If President Murphree or a faculty member was present he spoke and then a local dignitary introduced Bryan whose task it was to convince the audience of the need for generous subscriptions. Money and cards, denoting the amount of the pledge and the manner in which it was to be paid, were turned in at the close of the meeting and were then forwarded to state headquarters in the Seminole Hotel in Jacksonville.

The campaign ran into financial complications, and it was never really completed. Approximately \$179,000 was finally pledged, but by the summer of 1925 only \$79,682 had been collected. Almost all of the additional subscribers defaulted, par-

22. *Miami Daily Metropolis*, Feb. 7, 1923.

23. Murphree to Bryan, March 7, 1923, in Bryan Papers, Library of Congress.

ticularly after the collapse of the "boom" in 1926. Bryan himself did not pay all of his original pledge. According to President Murphree campaign expenses had amounted to \$33,909, or about forty-three percent of the total collected. The failure of the Florida Bank and Trust Company of Gainesville in 1924 had cost the fund \$15,759.²⁴ As a result, construction of a student activities building, or Florida Union as it was called, was not started until the 1930's.

The campaign had publicized the University. Bryan said the institution should emphasize more than ever, its "spiritual element," and suggested as a University motto: "Your son is safe here." In a letter to Murphree he pointed out that such emphasis would result in an increased enrollment and added prestige for the University. "We can make a specialty of developing the religious side of life," he said, "so that the students will go out from the school one hundred per cent men, ready to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's."²⁵

Not all of the reaction was favorable. Former Governor Sidney J. Catts wrote the following note after he received Murphree's circular letter requesting a donation:

Yours received, asking my support in your YMCA Building. The tone of your letter shows me that you do not care for my support. Any man who writes to a former Governor of the State after all Committees have been formed and addresses him as *Mr.* is either a fool or he does not want the support of *that man*. We all know you are not a fool, so you do not want my support.

No man in the State could have raised you more money than I. But as I have been left to the 11th hour and asked to 'play second fiddle' to others, why you go on without me. However, I will do nothing to hurt the movement for development at home is what I believe in.²⁶

During the early weeks of the campaign Bryan had remarked that he was securing "so much pleasure out of it that, to use a common phrase, the obligation is all on my side. I will get so

24. Murphree to P. K. Yonge, May 7, 1924, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives; and Murphree to Bryan, March 26, 1925, Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives.

25. Bryan to Murphree, Feb. 2, 1923, in Bryan Papers, Library of Congress.

26. Catts to Murphree, Feb. 4, 1923, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.

much reward out of this work that I fear I shall be subject to persecution as a profiteer.”²⁷ The campaign was hardly under-way before Bryan was accused of profiteering. Although there is nothing to indicate any validity to these accusations, there were rumors that Bryan received a percentage of the subscriptions. Murphree said that it was a “dirty lie that enemies of Mr. Bryan are circulating.”²⁸

The student body adopted a resolution thanking Bryan for his work,²⁹ he was commended by the student newspaper, and at the June, 1923, commencement he received an honorary Doctor of Laws from the University. When Florida Union was finally built, the main lounge was named in honor of William Jennings Bryan.

The building campaign was only one of Bryan's interests in the University of Florida. In January, 1923, he conceived of a plan to get college students all over the country to sign a whiskey pledge. It was to be tried first on the Gainesville campus, and, if it succeeded, Bryan hoped that the movement would spread to other campuses. He suggested that Murphree get a book, large enough to hold several thousand names, and inscribe on the first page the following pledge: “We, the undersigned, promise, God helping us, never to use intoxicating liquor as a beverage.” The President, faculty, and students were supposed to affix their signatures at some formal, public ceremony.³⁰ When Bryan made this suggestion the students were taking semester examinations, and Murphree decided that pledge cards delivered through the mail with an explanatory letter would serve the same purpose. He immediately assured Bryan that so far as the faculty was concerned no man could hold a position “who uses intoxicating liquors as a beverage.”³¹

When Bryan learned that all of the faculty and seventy-five per cent of the students had signed the pledge cards, he con-

27. Bryan to Murphree, Feb. 12, 1923, in Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives.

28. Murphree to F. M. Swanson, Aug. 6, 1924, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.

29. Original resolution, dated May 4, 1923, is in Bryan Papers, Library of Congress.

30. Bryan to Murphree, Jan. 11, 1923, in Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives.

31. Murphree to Bryan, Jan. 16, 1923, in Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives.

gratulated the University in an editorial printed in his newspaper *The Commoner*. President Murphree, according to this article, had "set the University of Florida on an eminence; he has made it conspicuous throughout the nation; he has put it back of prohibition in the most effective way possible."³² The Lincoln-Lee Legion of the Total Abstinence Department of the Anti-Saloon League of America also congratulated the University on its enviable record of sobriety and pledged its support in the nationwide campaign.

It is difficult to ascertain how effective this anti-whiskey drinking campaign was on the Gainesville campus over a period of time. One student immediately informed the President that he would agree not to drink in Gainesville, but that he did not see how he could adhere to the pledge at home, particularly when his father always invited him to have a drink. In fact, he said, his father received a case of liquor every two months from Miami.³³ The following year, Murphree answered an inquiry from *The Christian Science Monitor* with the statement: "The effect of prohibition on students of our institution has undoubtedly reduced the amount of drinking . . . the students' attitude towards prohibition is decidedly favorable."³⁴

The campaign was not as successful elsewhere in the country. In a letter to Murphree, Bryan complained about the "dodging of some of the university presidents in regard to pledge signing."³⁵ President M. L. Burton of the University of Michigan had refused to ask his faculty to sign the pledge since he said it "would be regarded by them as an interference . . . with their personal affairs."³⁶ Other college presidents answered Bryan's request in a similar vein, even though Bryan had pointed out in his letter that two instructors from a North Carolina institution had been fired after they were discovered making wine in the bathtub.³⁷

32. Copy of editorial, undated, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.

33. Murphree to Bryan, April 2, 1923, in Bryan Papers, Library of Congress.

34. Murphree to W. J. Abbot, April 29, 1924, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.

35. Bryan to Murphree, March 27, 1923, in Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives.

36. M. L. Burton to Bryan, April 10, 1923, in Bryan Papers, Library of Congress.

37. Bryan to Pres., Mass. State Univ., April 3, 1923, in Bryan Papers, Library of Congress.

The cause of evolution was another tie binding Bryan to the University of Florida. He had always regarded the concept of evolution as a dangerous menace because it questioned the literal interpretation of the Bible, the very foundation of his faith. With his fundamentalist ideas of God, Christ, and the Bible, it is little wonder that he regarded belief in the Darwinian theory of evolution the greatest menace to the Christian religion.³⁸ As he expressed it, "Evolutionists weaken faith in the Bible by discarding as false the account of man's creation by separate act; and then having accepted evolution as if it were a fact, they proceed to discard miracles and the supernatural, including the virgin birth of Christ and the bodily resurrection of Christ. When they have eliminated all of the Bible that conflicts with evolution, the Bible is no longer an authority, but merely a 'scrap of paper'."³⁹

Bryan fought Darwinism—a term that he used synonymously with evolution—on every front, but he was determined that the colleges and universities of the nation would not teach evolution as fact. Mrs. Bryan said that her husband was convinced that such teaching had caused young people to lose faith in the Bible and to leave the church.⁴⁰ Something had to be done about this problem, and Bryan wanted to know whether teachers, paid by taxation, should "be permitted to substitute the unproved hypothesis of scientists for the 'Thus saith the Lord' of the Bible, and so undermine the faith of the children of Christian taxpayers."⁴¹ He told one college audience that "no teacher should be allowed on the faculty of any American university unless he is a Christian." "Where the Bible is not taught," he insisted, "no other philosophy should be substituted."⁴²

When he published his famous pamphlet, "The Menace of Darwinism," he sent two hundred copies to Dr. Murphree to be distributed to the Florida faculty and to the students taking sociology courses.⁴³ On February 21, 1922, he lectured on evolu-

38. M. R. Werner, *Bryan* (New York, 1929), 294.

39. *Miami Daily Metropolis*, May 9, 1923, quoted in Jack Mills, "The Speaking of William Jennings Bryan in Florida, 1915-1925" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1948), 30.

40. *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan*, 479.

41. Werner, *op. cit.*, 304-05.

42. *Ibid.*, 305-06.

43. Bryan to Murphree, Feb. 1, 1922, in Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives. Lucius M. Bristol was Professor of sociology and in his unpublished manuscript, "Memoirs of a Yank" (Copy in UF Archives), 55-65, he discusses the problems of teaching at the University of Florida during this period.

tion to the students in the University gymnasium. His talk, which he called "Tampering With the Mainspring," condemned the spirit of mind-worship which, he said, was threatening the universities of the country. This problem had not become quite so serious on southern campuses, he thought, as it was elsewhere in the country. An "hypothesis," according to Bryan's definition, was "a scientific equivalent for a guess," and if this was true then Darwin's hypothesis was not fact but only a guess. It was hardly, from Bryan's point of view, an acceptable substitute for the word of God. He told his student audience that Darwin's "guess" had "absolutely no evidence to support it," and that in all the fifty years of scientific research the evolutionists had "not yet been able to find one single instance of a change from one species to another."⁴⁴

Bryan seems to have carried his audience with him throughout the lecture. The students, according to a newspaper account, were "completely under his spell throughout the entire evening, laughing or serious, thoughtful or jubilant, just as he pleased. Applause interrupted the discourse throughout, and a 'long Gator' was lustily given at the end."⁴⁵ Bryan believed that President Murphree endorsed this stand on evolution, and he congratulated him on being "the head of a great university who has not been carried away by the ape theory."⁴⁶ Perhaps at the time he was remembering his dispute with the President of the University of Wisconsin who had said that Bryan's lectures were more likely to make atheists than believers.⁴⁷ The Great Commoner answered this with the claim that Wisconsin was teaching the theory that men had "brute blood" and were descended from apes.⁴⁸

Bryan kept Murphree informed of his plans to have the Florida legislature pass laws to prohibit teachings which were contrary to the Bible. Such legislation, Bryan thought, should "prohibit the teaching of atheism and agnosticism and teaching *as true*, Darwinism or *any other evolutionary hypothesis* that links

44. *The Alligator*, Feb. 24, 1922.

45. *Ibid.*

46. Bryan to Murphree, Feb. 1, 1922, in Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives.

47. Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin, A History* (Madison, 1949), II, 134-35.

48. Werner, *op. cit.*, 301-02.

man in blood relationship with the animals below him.”⁴⁹ In a speech in Tallahassee, he denied that he was trying to “stifle freedom of conscience,” or curtail academic freedom. He said: “We only ask that if you will not permit Christianity to be taught in public schools that you do not allow the atheists, agnostics, or the Darwinists to spread their doctrine.”⁵⁰ With the passage of such legislation, Bryan’s agitation against teaching evolution in Florida schools subsided somewhat.

He gave a series of talks on the campus in February, 1924, including one on evolution. President Murphree said: “His foolish notions on evolution came in for a round, though he was not so bitter and not quite so unreasonable. Most of his talks were on Government, Economics, Public Speaking, Religion and the Bible.”⁵¹ Bryan actually knew very little about the technical aspects of evolution, and the Vice-President of the University said that he had “made himself ridiculous to the students.” It was agreed, however, that he was still an excellent speaker. His voice, according to the Vice-President, “was a musical instrument upon which he played with the superb skill of a great master.”⁵²

The most sensational publicity involving Bryan and the University came in 1924 when he was seeking election as a delegate to the national Democratic convention. Without warning or prior consultation, Bryan announced to the press on January 13, 1924, that he was planning to present Murphree as a candidate for nomination for the office of President of the United States.⁵³ More astonished than anyone else by the announcement was Murphree, who called it “a fiction. Nobody expects a Southern man to be nominated President, much less a Florida man.”⁵⁴

Various Florida newspapers reacted differently to Bryan’s announcement. Some considered it a joke, but others, like the Gainesville *Sun*, decided that Bryan was acting in good faith, and pointed out that “the mention of Dr. Murphree is no especial

49. Bryan to Murphree, April 20, 1923, in Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives.

50. Miami *Daily Metropolis*, May 12, 1923, quoted in Mills, *op. cit.*, 40.

51. Murphree to E. C. Berk, Feb. 16, 1924, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.

52. James M. Farr, “The Making of A University” (unpublished Ms. in University of Florida Archives), Chap. III, 41.

53. Miami *News Metropolis*, January 14, 1924; *Florida Times-Union*, January 14, 1924.

54. Murphree to Frank Spain, Jr., Jan. 31, 1924, in Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives.

compliment to him as though he were some obscure man who had been thus flattered. It is Mr. Bryan who is to be complimented.”⁵⁵ Most of Murphree’s friends refused to treat the matter seriously, and when they wrote him, humorously asking for cabinet posts or other political offices, he answered their requests in a similar vein. In writing to a friend, he said: “It is to laugh! I am sorry all this publicity has occurred. It has been a great embarrassment to me. All this is said to you in personal confidence, I don’t want to offend Mr. Bryan.”⁵⁶

Bryan’s fellow democrats regarded it as part of his plan to swing Alabama’s twenty-four votes from the wet Oscar Underwood to the dry and progressive President of the University of Florida.⁵⁷ Murphree, realizing this, commented: “It is, of course, his [Bryan] intention to support somebody from the South as against Mr. Underwood. It is not probable that any Southerner will be the nominee of the Democratic Party this year, much less a Floridian, but the goodwill of the Colonel is greatly appreciated, regardless of the impracticability of the suggestion.”⁵⁸

On February 24, 1924, Murphree announced that he was not a candidate and would not permit his name to appear on the state election ballot.⁵⁹ This action did not seem to alter Bryan’s original intention, and he announced that “no loyal Democrat could refuse the call, and I propose to submit his name to the national convention if I am elected a delegate from Florida.”⁶⁰ He seemed confident of Murphree’s success. “His chances,” he said, “are a great deal better than mine were six months before the Chicago convention of 1896, and they are better than President Wilson’s were two years before the convention of 1912.”⁶¹

Bryan campaigned strenuously, speaking in all but two counties, and in some counties he spoke as many as six times. He promised that if he were sent to the convention, no one would

55. Gainesville *Sun*, quoted in Miami *News Metropolis*, Jan. 22, 1924.

56. Murphree to Spright Dawell, Jan. 23, 1924, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.

57. Paxton Hibben, *The Peerless Leader: William Jennings Bryan* (New York, 1929), 379.

58. Murphree to J. Archy Smith, Jan. 29, 1924, in Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives.

59. *Florida Times-Union*, February 23, 1924.

60. Miami *News-Metropolis*, Feb. 25, 1924.

61. Letter from Bryan to Editor, *Tallahassee Dispatch*, quoted in Armstrong, *op. cit.*, 109.

"need ask where the Florida delegation is; they need but look where the fight is hottest."⁶²

Following the election, Dr. Murphree congratulated Bryan, who had won by a large majority:

What a rebuke your overwhelming vote was to certain interests! A little coterie of people would have given almost their very lives to keep you out of the Convention. Praise God, the forces of righteousness are marching! Your election was but a slight manifestation of Florida's deep gratitude to you for your service to the country and the reforms in government that you initiated almost single handed and alone.⁶³

The Democratic Convention of 1924 proved the most humiliating experience in Bryan's life. When he arose to explain why he was not supporting John W. Davis or Alfred E. Smith he was harshly booed. Hilarious cheers and loud applause greeted his announcement that this would probably be the last convention that he would attend as a delegate.⁶⁴ His voice was almost drowned out by jeers and hisses when he said that there were many available Southern candidates, including Murphree of Florida. Bryan's position and influence in the party had been destroyed. Weary, almost stumbling, taxed by the heat and crushed by the crowd's heckling, he descended from the platform. With tears in his eyes, he turned to Senator Heflin and admitted that he had never in his life been so humiliated.⁶⁵

A few weeks later, Murphree sent the following message to Bryan: "I appreciate your faithfulness and your friendship. The advertising that came to the University through your generous proposal concerning me has shown results in greatly increased correspondence with prospective Florida settlers from all sections of the United States."⁶⁶ From the University of Florida's point of view, Bryan's political activities at the convention had not been in vain.

His last formal appearance on the campus came in 1924 when he delivered a series of six lectures.⁶⁷ He spoke on gov-

62. *Miami Daily News and Metropolis*, April 23, 1923, quoted in Mills, *op. cit.*, 60-61.

63. Murphree to Bryan, June 16, 1924, in Murphree-Bryan Correspondence, UF Archives.

64. J. C. Long, *Bryan, The Great Commoner* (New York, 1928), 365-66.

65. Hofstadter, *op. cit.*, 200.

66. Murphree to Bryan quoted in Werner, *op. cit.*, 200.

67. Lecture program in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.

ernment, which he defined as "the people at work"; money and its place and value in society; religion; and public speaking. St. Paul, Demosthenes, and Wendell Phillips were, in his opinion, the most effective speakers of all time. He used them as his models, he said, because these men had talked to the hearts of their audiences. "The head," according to Bryan, "doesn't mean anything except as an instrument to find an excuse for what the heart wants to do." The campus newspaper hailed Bryan, after his lectures, as America's greatest orator, and described him as the University's "whole hearted supporter and distinguished alumnus."⁶⁸

Murphree and Bryan continued their correspondence until the latter's death on July 26, 1925, in Dayton, Tennessee, the scene of the Scopes trial. On the afternoon of the day he died, Bryan completed a speech denouncing the Darwinian theory. He had labored over the details of that speech, and after much searching he had found the perfect note on which to end it:

Faith of our fathers - holy faith,
We will be true to Thee till death.⁶⁹

Bryan's passing was deeply mourned by his friends and supporters all over the world. On the campus of the University of Florida flags were flown at half-mast, and there was a special prayer service. In the first fall issue, 1925, of *The Alligator*, the following editorial appeared:

In the death of William Jennings Bryan . . . the University of Florida lost one of its truest and best friends, as well as one of its most influential and noted alumni. Some of us may have differed with him in his views at times, yet all pay him honor, and respect his memory as one of the greatest Americans. Mr. Bryan's sincerity and deep conviction in what he believed to be right is not to be doubted. His fearless and aggressive stand in the face of enemies will long serve as an example worthy of emulation by all Americans.⁷⁰

68. *The Alligator*, February 16, 1924.

69. Hibben, *op. cit.*, 405.

70. *The Alligator*, Sept. 27, 1925.

FLORIDA AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

by JOHN MEADOR

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850, which temporarily settled the sectional dispute over slavery in the territories, had a great impact upon the political party structure in the United States. The ultimate result was the destruction of the Whig party, even though it was that party's leaders, Clay and Webster, who had been chiefly responsible for the Compromise. In the North, most of the party was drawn into the new Republican party, while its southern members either joined the Democrats or found refuge in such wobbly makeshifts as the American and Opposition parties. What the Compromise did to southern Whigs appears particularly ironic when one considers that they were among its staunchest supporters. Its effects upon them, and on southern politics in general, may be observed by studying political trends in Florida during the 1850-1854 period.

The people of Florida had viewed the great sectional controversy of 1846 to 1850 with mixed emotions. All Floridians, regardless of political affiliations, had good reason to be concerned with the fate of slavery, for 39,000 of the state's 87,000 inhabitants were slaves.¹ The Whigs tended to be more conservative than their rivals because they came from the more affluent elements of society, and had more to lose by extreme or precipitant actions. Nevertheless, both parties supported John C. Calhoun's contention that slavery should be allowed in all the territories acquired from Mexico through the Mexican War.²

Florida's senior senator, David Levy Yulee, was a faithful follower of Calhoun. He rejected any sort of popular sovereignty for the territories, and he did not hesitate to espouse the cause of the southern social system over the political structure of the Union. Indeed, Yulee regarded the growing strength of the North as such a menace that he believed the union of North and South could not be continued without a constitutional amend-

1. *The Seventh Census of the United States* (Washington, 1853), p. 401.

2. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *The Whigs of Florida* ("University of Florida Monographs", No. 1; Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959), pp. 35-38.

ment to check northern aggressions. Like Calhoun, Yulee favored the formation of a states rights party composed of "most of the Southern Dems. - a large part of the Southern Whigs, and a considerable strength from the free states."³ The other Florida Senator, Jackson Morton, though a Whig, usually followed in the wake of his abler colleague, Yulee. Whig opinion was better represented by Edward C. Cabell, who had been elected to the House of Representatives in 1846 at the age of thirty. He had opposed the acquisition of Mexican territory, but once the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo had gone into effect, he insisted on the maintenance of southern rights in the new territories. Still, Cabell was more amenable to making concessions to the North than was Yulee, as events of 1850 proved.⁴

Florida Whiggery reached the pinnacle of its power in the election of 1848. In that year Zachary Taylor, the Whig presidential candidate, carried the state; Thomas Brown, a conservative Whig, was elected Governor, while Cabell was triumphantly re-elected to Congress. The Whigs also gained control of the General Assembly. That body, meeting early in 1849, passed a series of resolutions denouncing the sectional controversies and declaring Florida's intentions to defend its rights. Of especial concern was the "right" not to have slavery excluded from the new territories.

One of legislative resolutions indicated Florida's willingness to take part in a southern meeting, if necessary, to protect its interests. But, when such a convention was actually called to meet at Nashville in June, 1850, Florida Whigs were not enthusiastic over attending the gathering. The pro-Whig Jacksonville *Republican* declared that any action taken by Florida to affiliate with the convention should emanate from the authorities of the state. This same newspaper expressed fear that the meeting might become a secession convention.⁵ The Marianna *Whig* noted the differences among southerners over what would probably be the most effective steps to take in defending southern rights and voiced the most perspicacious objection to a southern

3. Arthur W. Thompson, "David Yulee: A Study of Nineteenth Century Thought and Enterprise," (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation: Columbia University, 1954), p. 293.

4. Dorothy Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XII (July, 1933), 5-6.

5. Florida (Jacksonville) *Republican*, January 10, 24, 1850.

convention by declaring that the "entire unanimity of the South" would be wanting at such a gathering.⁶ On the other hand, the St. Augustine *Ancient City*, which was Democratic in its leanings, urged Florida participation at Nashville so that it could join the rest of the South in drawing the line up to which the North could come, but beyond which it could not go.⁷

Pressure was put on Governor Brown to endorse the convention and to take appropriate action. The entire Florida congressional delegation, Yulee, Morton, and Cabell, sent the Governor a joint letter urging Florida participation. Brown's reply was a chilly blast to the convention advocates. What, asked the blunt Governor, could such a convention do to demonstrate to the North southern disapprobation of the action of northern politicians that the legislatures of southern states had not already done? He cast doubt on the legality of such a convocation, and expressed doubt that a southern convention would unify the South-would it not be as likely to stress southern differences as southern harmony?⁸ Response to Brown's reply was varied. Senator Morton claimed that the Governor had "expressed the sentiments of neither of the great parties of Florida." A "distinguished citizen of middle Florida," writing to a Democratic newspaper, said that Brown's letter gave him "melancholy forebodings of the subjugation of the South."⁹ The Whig press, however, backed Brown in his stand, for many Whigs feared that the Nashville convention might end in southern secession - an event which Florida, in its still undeveloped and unstable condition, could hardly afford.

Meanwhile, events in Washington were working against any extremists who might have hoped the convention would result in secession, for, on January 29, 1850, Henry Clay presented to the Senate a series of resolutions designed to end the controversy over slavery in the territories. These resolutions became the Compromise of 1850. Reaction to them was mixed in Florida, with the Democrats generally unfavorable to them and the Whigs supporting them. While the Democratic press continued to

6. Quoted by the Florida *Republican*, April 11, 1850.

7. St. Augustine *Ancient City*, April 6, 1850.

8. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1850.

9. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1850; St. Augustine *Ancient City*, March 16, 30, 1850.

fill its columns with vituperations against northern abolitionists, Whig editors turned their guns on anti-compromise southern "fire-eaters." The Jacksonville *Republican* assaulted the extremists, declaring that Calhoun's speech of March 4 against the Compromise contained "no word of encouragement-no voice of promises-no ray of hope-nothing but despair, despair."¹⁰ Webster's speech of March 7 in favor of the Compromise, however, was hailed as the "harbinger of hope."¹¹

Meanwhile, supporters of the Nashville Convention, only temporarily stalled by Governor Brown's rebuff, met in various local gatherings over the state to choose delegates to go to Tennessee. Middle Florida, whose representatives met at Tallahassee, chose Charles H. DuPont, a Democrat, and A. J. Forman, a Whig, as delegates. West Floridians convened at Marianna and chose Congressman Cabell and James F. McClellan, a Democrat. East Floridians met at Ocala and nominated Colonel B. M. Pearson, a Democrat, and General Joseph M. Hernandez, a Whig, to represent them. Hernandez's letter of acceptance showed that Florida Whigs were already perturbed over the failure of their northern party members to support the Compromise. William H. Seward's "higher law" speech, in which the New Yorker answered Webster's 7th of March address, caused no little consternation among them, and Hernandez hinted darkly in his letter that the South might have to adopt measures for its own safety.¹²

The success of the efforts of Clay, Webster, and Stephen A. Douglas in behalf of the Compromise was reflected at Nashville, on June 3, where it was obvious that the force of the extremist opinion which had impelled the delegates there had diminished considerably. After passing resolutions condemning the Compromise, the convention adjourned to await future actions of Congress. Pearson, one of the Florida delegates, proclaimed that the meeting had proved that the South could unite; but, when the convention reconvened in November, Unionist victories in local elections throughout the South had precluded any likeli-

10. Florida *Republican*, March 7, 14, June 20, 1850; St. Augustine *Ancient City*, March 23, June 22, November 9, 1850.

11. Florida *Republican*, March 21, 1850.

12. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1850; St. Augustine *Ancient City*, April 13, 1850.

hood of extreme measures being taken, and the activities of the body were negligible.

Although the Florida congressional delegation usually voted together on Clay's proposals, there was actually a great difference in their objectives. Yulee and Morton opposed the Compromise as a whole, arguing that the only concession made by it to the South was the Fugitive Slave Act and that this was merely a confirmation of a constitutional right. Cabell, though he opposed certain sections of it, upheld the Compromise, overall.¹³ Florida's Democratic press continued denouncing the settlement, and, when the Whigs met a series of electoral reverses in other southern states during the summer, the *Ancient City* explained them by saying that the Whig congressmen had refused to stand up for the rights of the South.¹⁴

The Compromise became the chief issue in the 1850 Florida elections. The Democrats nominated John Beard, who had once been registrar of public lands, to oppose Cabell for Congress. Like Yulee, Beard advocated the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, and consequently he opposed the admission of California as a free state. He professed his faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, which "is based upon the truth and force of those principles which the immortal Jefferson made the ground work of that party, and which were illustrated by the lamented Calhoun."¹⁵ Nevertheless, he hinted at the possibility of secession as a remedy for southern complaints by proclaiming, "I love the Union with a reasonable affection, and not with a servile and superstitious reverence as some great invisible deity."¹⁶ Cabell and the Whigs seized the opportunity to attack Beard as a disunionist. Cabell declared the issues to be between union or disunion and between war or peace, and said he was for union and peace.¹⁷ Beard daringly accepted the Whig challenge and proclaimed his opposition to the Compromise even to the extent of secession.¹⁸ He had swallowed the bait and the Whigs based their campaign against him largely on the charge of disunionism. They also chided him for his previous rather

13. Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida," pp. 9-10.

14. St. Augustine *Ancient City*, August 31, 1850.

15. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1850.

16. *Florida Republican*, August 29, 1850.

17. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1850.

18. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1850.

enigmatic political affiliations. He had been Marshall of East Florida under the Tyler administration, and it was rumored that, in 1840, he had been a Whig.¹⁹

The Democrats endeavored to counteract this criticism of their candidate by attacking Cabell for his refusal to stand four-square behind the rights of the South, and for his alleged failure to carry out his promise to have the Indians removed by force from lands desired by white Floridians.²⁰ They also scored Cabell for affiliating with a party dominated by abolitionists such as Seward and Joshua Giddings. The congressman was urged to appeal to his fellow southern Whigs to withdraw from their alliance with the "abolitionists" of the North, and, instead to unite with the Democrats, "the only party in the North which has stood up, or will stand up, for the rights of the South, as secured and guaranteed by the Constitution."²¹ Cabell was also charged with hypocrisy for supporting the Nashville Convention and later declaring that "Never, either as Representative or candidate, will I assume the awful responsibility of recommending to you a dissolution of the Union."²²

The election, which was held in October, was a victory for Cabell, though his margin of 1848 was somewhat reduced. He polled 4,531 votes to 4,050 for Beard. Cabell carried those areas of the state which had the most to lose by a continued agitation of the slavery issue, that is, the wealthy and populous cotton and tobacco counties. Beard's support came from the more sparsely settled, frontier-like areas of southern and eastern Florida. The election results did not prove that Floridians approved the Compromise of 1850. Beard, running on an extremist, anti-compromise stand, polled approximately 47 per cent of the vote, and Cabell had voted against particular parts of the Compromise, himself. Moreover, the Democrats won control of the state legislature which they had lost two years before. This fact certainly suggests dissatisfaction in Florida with Whig policies, although many of the legislative races were doubtlessly determined by local issues.

One of the first duties that faced the new General Assembly

19. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1850.

20. *St. Augustine Ancient City*, Oct. 5, 1850.

21. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1850.

22. *Ibid.*, September 21, 1850; *Florida Republican*, Oct. 3, 1850.

when it met in 1851 was that of electing a Senator to succeed Yulee the next year. There were elements, both within and outside the Democratic Party, who were opposed to a second term for Yulee, and they managed to replace him with Stephen Russell Mallory, a Key West Democrat. It has been said that the reason a few Moderate Democrats in the legislature combined with the Whigs to elect Mallory over Yulee was because of the latter's extreme stand against the Compromise. But there was at least one other important factor in the defeat of Yulee - railroads. Yulee was opposed by certain "interests" because of his advocacy of a Fernandina to Cedar Keys Railroad. Persons representing a company that favored a Jacksonville to Pensacola route were known to be in Tallahassee trying to influence legislators against Yulee. Also, Key West commercial interests feared that any trans-state railroad would siphon off some of their business, and there was general disgruntlement against Yulee in south Florida because it was felt that he had neglected that area. The result was that Mallory forces of Key West and those of the southeast coast combined with the Whigs to elect Mallory on the fourth ballot.²³

The interpretation of Mallory's election as a slap in the face of the extreme states rights loses credibility when it is realized that Mallory was a states-rightist himself, and that he had formerly supported Yulee. In fact, he had favored the Nashville Convention and had even been elected an alternate to it.²⁴ The *Ancient City* interpreted his election to the Senate as having put the Whig seal of approval on a strong pro-southern rights stand because they had supported a known states rightist.²⁵ Even the pro-Whig Tallahassee *Sentinel* admitted that Mallory might be another Yulee, though it expressed hope that he would follow a more enlightened course than his predecessor.²⁶ Actually, it is not accurate to picture Mallory as an extreme southern rights man, for in a letter to B. M. Pearson, written at the time of the Nashville Convention, though he declared his approval of the Convention, he emphasized that "In Union is our safety."²⁷

23. Thompson, "David Yulee: A Study of Nineteenth Century Thought and Enterprise," pp. 62-63.

24. Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida," pp. 15-16.

25. St. Augustine *Ancient City*, January 25, 1951.

26. Florida (Tallahassee) *Sentinel*, February 4, 1851.

27. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, February 8, 1851.

Thus he had tried to act as a brake on the disunionists. Nevertheless, Mallory's election to the Senate was not a manifestation of Florida's approval of the Compromise.

Throughout most of 1851, Florida Democrats continued to be opposed to the Compromise. Early in that year their chief organ, the Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, could still be found denouncing Clay and his measures.²⁸ As late as September 6, the Jacksonville *News*, also Democratic, expressed its disgust with northern Democrats for having supported the Compromise, and declared its desire to "obliterate old party animosities" within the South.²⁹ This wish to substitute a sectional party for one involving cooperation with Compromisers was to some extent coming true, as states-rights associations were being organized in Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, Madison, and perhaps other Florida counties.³⁰ The constitution adopted by the Gadsden association promised to maintain the doctrine of states rights as set forth by the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions and "to insist upon the constitutional rights of the Confederacy and to sustain the honor and integrity of the same."³¹ The states-rightists pledged themselves to support staunch southern rights men and to boycott northern manufacturers with abolitionist leanings. Perhaps 10 per cent of Leon County's electorate belonged to one of these groups, while the figure ran as high as 33 per cent in Madison County.³²

Florida Whigs showed greater interest, however, in the idea of a Constitutional Union Party, which, according to the *News* was to be "composed of all the Whigs, and as many Democrats as will be necessary to carry the Presidential election."³³ This party, claimed its supporters, would exclude the two extremes, the abolitionists in the North and the "resistance" men of the South. A group of citizens meeting at Palatka, in April, endorsed the idea and adopted resolutions rejecting the old party lines and affirming their support of the Union.³⁴ Prominent Whig leaders, such as Governor Brown, former Governor Richard K. Call, and

28. *Ibid.*, January 4, 11, 1851.

29. Jacksonville *News*, Sept. 6, 1851.

30. Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida," p. 12.

31. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, June 7, 1851. The "Confederacy," in this instance, meant the United States.

32. Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida," p. 12.

33. Jacksonville *News*, December 20, 1851.

34. Florida *Sentinel*, February 18, April 29, 1851.

Congressman Cabell commented favorably on the idea of a party to preserve southern rights within the Union.³⁵

Actually, the Constitutional Union Party was merely the Whig Party with a new name and exploiting a single issue. That issue was the imminent peril of the Union. Since the Whigs had used this same battle cry in 1850, it had lost much of its effectiveness. "If the Union requires to be saved every six months," wryly commented the *News*, ". . . it won't pay to attend to the business."³⁶ The Democrats pooh-poohed the Constitutional Union movement as an attempt to bolster the sagging Fillmore administration, and its leaders were pictured as a set of demagogues who would sacrifice the interest of the South to party expediency.³⁷ This was in part true, for the Whigs were desperately trying to capitalize on their support of the Compromise by organizing a party whose primary tenet was the maintenance of the Union.

The turning point in the attitudes of the two parties towards the Compromise came late in 1851 when the success of Unionist candidates in Georgia and Mississippi became known in Florida. The defeat of states-rightists in these states caused Florida Democrats to drop their states-rights organizations and to deny that they had ever been for disunion.³⁸ Florida Democrats now accepted the Compromise, if a bit reluctantly, and they began to compare the great fidelity of northern Democrats to the principles of 1850 with the coolness of northern Whigs.³⁹ They seem to have anticipated accurately the troubles southern Whigs were going to have with the northern wing of their party, and they adopted a policy designed to profit from Whig dissensions. They also proclaimed their acceptance of the settlement of 1850. This shrewd move paid off handsomely when many Whigs discovered, later on, that they could no longer remain in the same party with their northern allies.

The fact is that the Florida Whigs desperately needed a new political party, for the one with which they were affiliated was

35. *Ibid.*, November 11, December 2, 1851; Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida*, p. 50.

36. *Jacksonville News*, December 20, 1851.

37. *Ibid.*, May 17, May 24, 1851; *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, February 15, 22, March 8, April 26, May 3, May 24, 1851.

38. *Jacksonville News*, November 22, December 6, 1851; *Florida Sentinel*, November 25, 1851.

39. *Jacksonville News*, November 22, 1851.

crumbling beneath them. Northern Whigs were coming to be increasingly under the influence of their anti-slavery wing. Although Florida Whig leaders tried to divert attention from this fact by playing down the northern threat to slavery and by pointing to the free-soil elements in the Democratic Party, they were whistling in the dark.⁴⁰ An examination of the vote on two important measures in the House of Representatives shows how badly split their party was. The first is the Fugitive Slave Law, which was supported by every southern member of the House, regardless of party affiliation. The Democrats managed to get a majority of their northern members to vote for this pro-southern bill, but the northern Whigs cast 57 votes against it and only 3 for it. Similarly, on a resolution presented early in 1852, declaring the Compromise of 1850 to be a finality, southern Whigs cast the largest percentage vote of any group for the resolution, while northern Whigs cast the largest percentage vote against it.⁴¹

Whig disunity was furthered by a congressional caucus that met in the spring of 1852. Here, southern Whigs tried to introduce resolutions declaring the Compromise to be final, but they were ruled out of order. The southerners, including Cabell and Morton, walked out of the caucus and adopted an address to explain their action. They warned their fellow Whigs not to fail to endorse the Compromise at the National Convention that was to meet at Baltimore on June 16.⁴² Meanwhile, rumors to the effect that the free-soil Whigs were going to dump President Fillmore, who had manifested a friendly attitude toward the South, for General Winfield Scott, caused some consternation in Florida Whig ranks. Cabell wrote to the Albany, New York, *Register* that

if the sectional animosities of your people to the South are such that an able, patriotic, northern man is to be put down by northern men merely because he has discharged plain Constitutional Whig duties, there can no longer be any sympathy of feeling or cooperation between the parties North and South. . . .⁴³

Florida Whigs received much well-calculated sympathy from

40. Florida *Sentinel*, July 15, December 16, 1851; Pensacola *Gazette*, February 7, 1852.

41. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, April 10, 17, 1852.

42. Pensacola *Gazette*, May 8, 1852.

43. Quoted by *Ibid.*, April 17, 1852.

the Democrats for the browbeating they were taking at the hands of northern Whigs. The *Floridian and Journal* declared that southern Whigs were becoming nothing but "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the free-soil majority of their party. There was only one alternative, said this newspaper, and that was union with the Democrats, for very little now separated the two parties. Whereas once Florida Democrats had been ashamed of the support given by northern Democrats to the Compromise, they now boasted that the Democracy had been "firm as the rock of the Ocean in their support of it, and in every instance repudiated all further agitation for repeal or modification."⁴⁴ The southern leaning of their party was extolled by the Democrats, and they declared that the free-soilers were being driven out of the party.⁴⁵

In the spring of 1852 the Democrats determined to wage the election of that year on a platform endorsing the Compromise. On the local level, they chose James E. Broome, a Leon County planter for Governor, and Augustus E. Maxwell, a pro-Compromise Democrat, for Congress. Broome had fought the Compromise vigorously, but, like the rest of his party, he supported it during this political campaign.⁴⁶ The National Democrats, meanwhile, met at Baltimore and chose Franklin Pierce, a little-known New Hampshire politician, for the presidency. Their platform declared the Democrats' adherence to the Compromise. The Whig Pensacola *Gazette* termed this statement of principle "eminently creditable;" and added "if the Whig Convention be less honest and true, it must, and deservedly will, plunge into the abyss of political self annihilation."⁴⁷

While all was going so well for the Democrats, there was some debate among Florida Whigs over whether or not they should send delegates to their National Convention. Many southern members of the party had been alienated by the cavalier treatment they had received at the hands of the northerners. The *Gazette*, however, urged Florida to send delegates in support of Fillmore who, it said, of every hundred Whigs in Florida "is the choice of at least ninety-nine."⁴⁸ Florida did send delegates,

44. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, January 10, 20, 1852.

45. *Ibid.*, March 27, 1852.

46. Pensacola *Gazette*, May 8, 1852.

47. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1852.

48. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1852; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal* March 13, 1852.

and they voted for Fillmore on all fifty-three ballots. This availed them naught, however, for Winfield Scott, the candidate of the free-soil wing of the party, received the nomination. As a sop to southerners the convention half-heartedly "acquiesced in" the Compromise, but this hardly assuaged their disappointment over the nomination of Scott. Cabell angrily attacked the old general for his silence on the Compromise. "His best friend cannot say that he is not now controlled by Seward and his followers . . . Far better will it be for the national men of our party that a conservative Democrat be elected."⁴⁹

The Whig state convention, which met in July to nominate candidates for Governor and Congressman, almost ended in an open rupture. The gubernatorial nominee, George T. Ward, a wealthy conservative, Union Whig, refused to run on the same ticket with Cabell because of the latter's denunciations of Scott. There were even suggestions that Cabell be dropped from the Whig slate. Governor Brown tried to restore some semblance of harmony by moving for the ratification of the Whig presidential nominee, and this motion was carried 34 to 5, with only Gadsden County opposing it. A unit system, however, whereby a majority of each county cast the entire vote of that county, masked much of the opposition to Scott. Then the quarrel between Ward and Cabell was patched up by the latter's agreeing to "acquiesce" in Scott's nomination.⁵⁰ Both men were nominated all over again. The incongruity of running a pro-Scott man and an anti-Scott man on the same ticket did not escape the attention of the Democratic press: "Surely such a farce was never before played off on an enlightened community!" exclaimed the *Floridian*.⁵¹

Throughout the campaign, Florida Whigs were confused, divided, and on the defensive. The *Gazette*, laboring under the strain of having to support both Cabell and Scott, deplored the Congressman's hostility to the Whig presidential candidate, although it could hardly afford to censure him.⁵² Other Whigs besides Cabell made known their opposition to Scott. For example, Colonel Thomas Waddell, of Fayetteville, a "firm Whig,"

49. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, July 10, 1852; Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida," pp. 16-17.

50. Pensacola *Gazette*, July 31, 1852; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, July 17, 1852.

51. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, July 17, 1852.

52. Pensacola *Gazette*, July 31, 1852.

announced in a card to the newspapers that he could not vote for Scott because if the latter were elected in 1852 Seward would be the Whig nominee in 1856.⁵³ The Whigs tried to combat the drift away from them by vicious assaults on Pierce. He was pictured as a coward, an abolitionist, an anti-foreigner, and an anti-Roman Catholic. He was also depicted as being the candidate of the British, on the grounds that England hated Scott because of his part in the War of 1812, and that Pierce, being for a low tariff, would be more amenable to the British policy of free trade.⁵⁴

The Whig charges against Broome were much more just. They accused him of having been a disunionist in 1850 and 1851, and quoted him as having said of the admission of California that "they tore the Constitution in rags and tatters, leaving the miserable remnants not worth preserving."⁵⁵ Broome was now saying that he had always favored the Union "on the principle of the Constitution,"⁵⁶ but the *Sentinel* pointed out that even the most extreme southern rights men of 1850 had said this much.⁵⁷ The Whigs, who were the traditional advocates of internal improvements at government expense, also emphasized the necessity for such improvements in Florida. Railroads, harbors, and other things needed by a young, primitive state would hardly be provided by "Locofoco Democrats," they insisted.⁵⁸

The Democrats returned the Whig fire by assailing Scott for his famous (or infamous) order No. 48, issued when he was commanding an expedition against the Indians in Florida during the thirties. The order was made in reply to complaints by Floridians about the Indians, and it implied that the former were overly nervous, if not downright cowardly. Floridians who recalled this incident were not well disposed toward Scott.⁵⁹ The Democrats received further ammunition to use against the general when it became known that Thaddeus Stevens, the Pennsylvania anti-slavery leader, had endorsed his candidacy.⁶⁰

53. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, August 7, 1852.

54. Pensacola *Gazette*, July 17, August 7, 14, 28, September 4, 25; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, August 14, 1852.

55. Pensacola *Gazette*, October 2, 1852.

56. *Ibid.*, September 25, 1852.

57. Quoted by *Ibid.*, September 25, 1852.

58. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1852.

59. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, August 7, 1852.

60. *Ibid.*, September 4, 1852.

Broome castigated the Whigs for their failure to support resolutions endorsing Scott and the Compromise.⁶¹ This was strange talk coming from one who had originally opposed Clay's measures of 1850, but Broome made it clear he was not letting go of all of his states rights principles. He praised the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 as "the platform upon which the party was organized, the foundation upon which it has rested, and the great political textbook to which it declared its allegiance in June last."⁶²

In a speech delivered at Tallahassee he avowed his support of the Compromise but said that he would not be bound by it if California were suddenly to decide it wanted slavery.⁶³ The Democratic press pictured him and Pierce and Maxwell as standing stoutly behind the Compromise, and explained away Broome's changed attitude towards it by saying that he had at first opposed the Compromise on principle, but had accepted when it became obvious that the people of the South had done so.⁶⁴ Thus the Florida Democrats accomplished a clever about face towards the Compromise. In 1850 and 1851 they had been opposed to it. Now, to gain Union sympathizers, they expressed approval of the Compromise, though they managed to hold on to their states rights elements by also voicing pro-southern sentiments.

The election for state-wide offices took place in October, and the Democrats, Broome and Maxwell, won narrow victories over the Whigs, Ward and Cabell. The race for Congressman was particularly close, with Maxwell polling 4,590 votes to 4,568 for Cabell.⁶⁵ Just how much their bickering and dissensions cost the Whigs is hard to tell. They lost strength in the rich "black belt" area of the state, where Cabell dropped Gadsden and Leon Counties to Maxwell. Perhaps a partial explanation for this loss is simply the fact that the Democrats were much more conservative, economically speaking, than they had been in the days of Jackson, and thus their policies were more palatable to the planter class.⁶⁶ Also, recent migrations into Florida from Georgia and South Carolina had added greatly to the strength of the Demo-

61. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1852.

62. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1852.

63. *Ibid.*, April 14, May 22, June 19, 1852.

64. *Ibid.*, May 29, 1852.

65. *Florida Republican*, October 26, 1854.

66. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida*, p. 46.

crats.⁶⁷ Still, the Whigs' losses of Florida offices were probably caused at least partly by the Florida slaveholder's reluctance to give his support to a party that had such strong abolitionist leanings in the North. This distrust in Florida of the National Whig Party was vividly demonstrated in the November presidential election, when Pierce overwhelmed Scott in Florida by receiving 4,318 votes, while 2,875 proved to be all his Whig opponent could muster.

This election was a most significant turning point in the decline of the Whigs in Florida. In October the party had still been strong enough to make a close contest of the gubernatorial and congressional races. If they had not been divided, and if they had not been burdened by Scott, Seward, and the northern Whigs, they probably would have emerged victorious from the October elections. They did not lose the election of 1852 in Florida. They lost it in the North, where the free-soil wing of their party rejected the Compromise of 1850 and, in so doing, destroyed the party.

Although they had been handed a near death blow in 1852, the Florida Whigs were still alive enough in 1854 to emit one last dying gasp. In that year the Compromise, which had held the center of the political stage since 1850, was shoved out of the limelight by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. As one of its clauses repealed the Missouri Compromise, this new law opened to slaveholders lands which, since 1820, had been forbidden to them. Whig newspapers in Florida deplored the measure as a needless reopening of the slavery issue, although they approved the principle of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The *Republican* feared that the North would become enraged by this southern victory, and would take reprisals by violations of the Fugitive Slave Law even more flagrant than those which had recently been occurring.⁶⁸ The *Floridian*, however, praised the bill, claiming that the Whigs had been destroyed by it, while the Democrats were left stronger by being purged of their free-soil elements.⁶⁹

The Democrats met at Madison in July to select a candidate for congressman. Maxwell was renominated and the Kansas-

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

68. *Florida Republican*, June 29, 1854.

69. *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, July 8, 1854.

Nebraska Act was heartily endorsed. This action led the *Republican* to remind the Democrats of their 1852 pledge to "resist all attempts to renew . . . the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt be made."⁷⁰ The *Floridian*, though, ignored such criticisms and pointed proudly to the fact that about half the northern Democrats in the House of Representatives had supported the act, while every northern Whig Representative had opposed it.⁷¹

Florida Whigs, themselves, had by this time gotten fairly well disgusted with their northern colleagues' failure to cooperate with them. The *Sentinel* declared that ". . . one sentiment pervades the Whig Party in Florida, and that sentiment is a waiver of our obligations to Northern Whiggery and c."⁷² The *Floridian* applauded the *Sentinel's* break with northern Whigs and urged that paper to come over to the Democratic fold.⁷³ The *Republican*, however, rebuffed Democratic entreaties for a Whig-Democratic alliance, and denied that the issues concerning slavery had disrupted the Whig Party. At a time when Whigs throughout the North were being absorbed into the new anti-slavery Republican Party, this newspaper was denying that the northern Whig Party was being dissolved or abolitionized!⁷⁴ The Democrats continued their arguments, however, declaring that unless the Whigs united with them "they can do the South no good."⁷⁵

The Whigs rejected the idea of a state-wide convention, and nominated former Governor Thomas Brown for Congress by local meetings in various counties. Brown, like the *Republican*, refused to disaffiliate himself from the northern Whigs. He had to struggle, though, to maintain the separate identity of his party, and thus he overstressed the differences, both in history and the present, between the Whigs and Democrats.⁷⁶ He criticized the Democrats particularly for their opposition to the "peace measures" of Clay and Webster, and for reopening the slavery controversy with the Kansas-Nebraska Act.⁷⁷ Although the Democrats tried to claim some credit for the passage of the Compromise

70. *Florida Republican*, August 3, 1854.

71. *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, August 12, 1854.

72. Quoted by *Ibid.*, July 29, 1854.

73. *Ibid.*, July, August 19, 1854.

74. *Florida Republican*, June 29, August 17, September 7, 1854.

75. *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, August 26, 1854.

76. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1854; *Florida Republican*, September 28, 1854.

77. *Florida Republican*, September 28, 1854.

of 1850, the Whig press ridiculed their efforts and cited the extreme statements against it in 1850 by Yulee, Beard and Broome.⁷⁸ Maxwell based part of his campaign on a bill which he had introduced in Congress to grant alternate sections of the public lands to aid in railroad construction. The Democratic candidate also took full credit to his party for the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and he praised the Pierce administration's enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law.⁷⁹

The result of the election was a Democratic landslide, with Maxwell getting 5,633 votes to 4,564 for Brown. Brown regained Gadsden County, in middle Florida, which Cabell had lost two years before, while losing Escambia and Walker Counties in western Florida. In the east, Brown carried only three of the six counties won by Cabell in 1852, while winning over only Hamilton County from the Democrats.⁸⁰ The Democrats' victory is explainable by the continued decline of their opponents and by their great propaganda victory contained in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The election was the last one in which the Whigs functioned on a state-wide basis in Florida. They were succeeded in 1855 by the American Party, which, in turn, gave way to the Constitutional Union Party. But neither of these successors to the Whigs was able to break the Democratic hold on Florida politics.

The long range effect, then, of the Compromise of 1850 on the party structure in Florida was the severance of the ties of Florida Whigs with their northern allies and the ultimate extinction of the party throughout the state. The re-election of the Whig, Cabell, in 1850 had indicated the unwillingness of Floridians to sanction precipitous measures at that time, although it can hardly be regarded as a great victory for the Compromise. In 1851, with the rise of Unionist activity throughout the South, the anti-Compromisers, mostly Democrats, began to review their stand on the great issue of the day, and by 1852 the Democrats had emerged as qualified exponents of the Compromise. In their campaign to woo dissident Whigs over from the camp of the enemy, Florida Democrats received inestimable aid from northern

78. *Ibid.*, September 28, 1854.

79. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1854.

80. *Ibid.*, October 26, 1854; Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida*, pp. 59-60.

Whigs, who almost seem to have embarked on a campaign to alienate as many southerners from their party as possible. The Whig debacle of 1852 permanently sealed the fate of the party, for the election of 1854 was a mere confirmation of Whig impotence. All but the most partisan Whigs recognized that the party had been dissolved into factions, many of which were already being reassembled into the Republican and American Parties in the North. Florida Whigs saw little to be gained from supporting a purely sectional or local party; therefore many of them crossed partisan lines to join the one national party that seemed to be interested in preserving to the South its rights-the Democrats.

FLORIDA IN WORLD WAR II: TOURISTS AND CITRUS

by BEN F. ROGERS

AS 1941 DREW TO A CLOSE, in many states of the Union complacent citizens still argued that the war in Europe and Asia was none of our business, that the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were insurmountable barriers which no enemy could ever cross. In the state of Florida, however, this was not so. Led by their irrepressible Senator, Claude Pepper, Floridians had long been deeply concerned with the rising tide of totalitarianism; the Gallup polls found Florida one of the most interventionist of all states.¹ During the preceding years, moreover, there had been a tremendous expansion of Florida's military facilities, and before the war was over, she was to play hostess to more than forty important military installations from Key West to Pensacola.

December 7 found the Florida tourist industry preparing for its biggest year. The bombs which struck Pearl Harbor such a devastating blow also took their toll at the great Florida resort centers. Businesses were "shrouded with gloom" as war hysteria caused many guests to cancel reservations in December and January. Blasted tankers, oil-filled beaches, air raid drills, black-outs, all combined to frighten tourists away, and there were those who predicted that the declining tourist trade might cause serious economic difficulties in a state which had drawn sixty per cent of its peacetime income from this industry.² Floridians, however, had no intention of giving up and immediately attacked their problem on several fronts. In the first place, they insisted that rest and relaxation was necessary for war workers, and Miami Beach hotels scheduled eight-day excursions for approximately seventy-five dollars. In this they had the support not only of railroads like the Atlantic Coast Line, which advertised that "Civilians need furloughs too," but also of many federal officials including President Roosevelt and Donald Nelson.³ Secretary of Commerce Ickes on January 19 urged more vacation travel "as an

1. New York Times, March 29, 1942, *Life*, March 23, 1942, 96.

2. *Life*, March 23, 1942, 94-5; *Florida Highways*, March, 1943, 36.

3. New York Times, March 29, 1942; *Florida Highways*, June, 1942, 9.

aid in the promotion of national health and morale," and noted that Britain, Canada, and Germany had all learned that too long hours meant decreased production.⁴ Meanwhile Florida hotelmen and the Florida Hotel Commission were busy negotiating with the United States government. The result was that eventually over 500 of the large resort hotels were leased to the military for use as barracks, hospitals, or convalescent homes. Moreover, as the military population of the state increased, many soldiers' and sailors' families made their way south to fill up the vacant accommodations. By February, business was almost normal in the big resort areas, and in March there was enough activity to raise the hackles of *Life* magazine, which was disturbed that there was enough money wagered at the Florida tracks to build three heavy cruisers.⁵

Floridians were not to be dismayed or even concerned over such criticism. In April, Commissioner of Agriculture Nathan Mayo called "tourist patronage vital to our welfare," and said that Florida would continue to try to get tourists. Florida Highways called attention more than once to the fact that sunshine was not rationed. Governor Holland was able to get two more trains put on Florida runs.⁶ The State Chamber of Commerce attacked the "I-hear-the-Army-has-taken-over-the-State-and-it-is-impossible-to-get-a-room rumor" by publicizing lists of rooms available in the resort areas. In spite of the fact that about forty per cent of the space had been taken over by the military, the vacancies totalled 328,934, with about half in Miami and Miami Beach. Dora Byron, correspondent for the *New York Times*, also felt it necessary to squelch the rumors that Florida would be "dead this Winter," and that you could not swim in the ocean without fear of hitting a Nazi mine.⁷ Another obstacle in addition to the rumors appeared on the scene when the War Mobilization Director ordered horse racing suspended as of January 3.⁸

In spite of all obstacles, however, tourists did make their way south during the winter. By mid-January, the Pennsylvania Railroad reported that its sleeper space was sold solid until after

4. *New York Times*, January 20, 1942.

5. *Life*, March 23, 1942, 92-97.

6. *Florida Highways*, April, 1942, 21; November 1942, 9.

7. *New York Times*, November 15, 1942; *Florida Highways*, November, 1942, 9.

8. *Florida Highways*, January, 1945, 62.

February 15, and the crack coach trains, the Silver Meteor and the Champion, were filled two to three weeks in advance. Many hotels were booked through February and some into March, as the perennially optimistic hotel owners predicted a longer season extending through April and possibly into May. At any rate, this was "a vastly better season than they expected last Autumn."⁹

Once arrived in Florida, the greatest problem was transportation, and well-located hotels made the most of this. The Palm Beach Hotel advertised, "A Step to the Ocean;" the Colony at Del Ray Beach, "No car necessary;" Harder Hall at Sebring, "Golf at our door." The Lakewood Country Club at St. Petersburg provided an electric shuttle service for golfers, while at Clearwater, one club member was observed taking his wife to a dinner party on the handlebars of his bicycle.¹⁰ Harris Sims of the *New York Times* found "little or none of the usual fanfare," since neither the visitors nor the residents were in the mood for social diversion.¹¹ Everywhere, there were service men and women, bringing home to all the proximity of the war. Philip Wylie noted of Miami: "By day and by night the jasmine-scented reaches of the Golconda of the flesh rang with the sound of marching." And on Daytona Beach, an anonymous elderly gentleman, after observing the WACs bathing, remarked, "If this is war, then I'm for it."¹² It seemed as if the Florida tourist industry had reached a stable compromise. Half the hotels were filled with visitors who accepted austerity with fairly good humor; half were filled with service men and women.

During the summer of 1943, however, the entire situation changed. As troops moved overseas, and as more permanent installations were completed, the Air Force took advantage of the thirty-day cancellation clause in their hotel leases to move out of 206 of 434 hotels they had occupied. The President of the Miami Beach Chamber of Commerce, whistling to keep his courage up, predicted that there would be no serious dislocation in business, but Florida Highways in July called attention to the fact that the state must have advanced planning to sustain such

9. *New York Times*, January 17; February 28, 1943.

10. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1943.

11. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1943.

12. Philip Wylie, "War and Peace in Miami," *New Republic*, February 21, 1944, 238; *New York Times*, February 14, 1943, 7.

blows and urged that the tourist trade be promoted immediately.¹³ Florida hotelmen, taking this advice, embarked on an extensive advertising campaign in an effort to fill the rooms left vacant by the exit of most of their military tenants.

The success of this campaign was already evident in the autumn when, according to Philip Wylie, "The collection of garbage-Miami's method of counting noses-was getting heavier every week."¹⁴ Many of the winter guests-one observer estimated fifty per cent of the total in January-were still relatives and friends of servicemen stationed in the state; but there were also many who were there for a good time. Moreover, the race tracks were open again, and the presence of large numbers of out-of-state cars attested to the fact that gasoline had been easier to get in most parts of the country. The Office of Defense Transportation requested civilians not to use the railroads for pleasure trips, but made no real effort to force people to stay at home.¹⁵

As the Florida hotels filled up to capacity, there were rumblings of discontent in many regions. While our troops were fighting and dying overseas, critics noted that the New Year's Day crowd at Tropical Park had bet almost half a million dollars and that 28,000 visitors had witnessed the LSU-Texas A and M game in the Orange Bowl. The Surf Club, closed the previous year, was open with one hundred new members, and night clubs were doing a booming business. Drinking, however, was a "trial;" Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., reported from Miami that brandy was selling for four dollars a pony and Cointreau was bringing fifty a bottle. As Philip Wylie put it: "Prices are unprintable and there are in practice more ways to get around gasoline rationing, liquor shortages and OPA rent ceilings than there were ways to get into a speakeasy during Prohibition."¹⁶

Newport, Hollywood, Park Avenue, and Broadway were well represented on the lower East coast, and *Time* magazine, with its customary fine impartiality, noted by name a number of political figures in evidence on the beaches and at the race tracks: Frank Hague, Ed Kelly, Joe Davies, Joe Kennedy, Summer Welles, Grover Whalen, and last but not least, Henry Morgenthau, who

13. New York *Times*, June 20; *Florida Highways*, July, 1943, 25.

14. Wylie, *op. cit.*, 238.

15. New York *Times*, February 13, 1944.

16. *Time*, January 10, 1944; March 13, 1944; Wylie, *op. cit.*, 238.

was returning to Washington "with tan and plans for the next War Bond Drive."¹⁷ Other observers undoubtedly noted at least a few Republicans taking advantage of the Florida sunshine.

At any rate, not all tourists were as lucky as Mr. Morgenthau. As vacations drew to a close in March, northbound transportation became a problem. Auto drivers had, in many cases, difficulty getting gasoline to take them back home. The Rhode Island Senate passed a resolution criticizing Florida agencies for letting tourists become stranded in the state. Governor Spessard Holland answered: "We greatly appreciate our tourists and want to do everything in our power to help them when they are right," but "unfortunately there are many who have come to Florida in disregard of rationing regulations."¹⁸ Rail facilities were totally inadequate. On one day, the Florida East Coast sold out all its seats in thirty-two minutes, while Pullman reservations were booked solid six weeks to two months in advance. By the end of February a flourishing black market had developed, with rail reservations for New York City bringing a premium of twenty dollars apiece or more. When the railroads predicted that it would take at least three months to evacuate the clamoring tourists, ODT ordered two extra coach trains put on to carry northbound passengers only.¹⁹ The first of these emergency trains left Miami on March 1 with about three hundred passengers, picked up about an additional three hundred at Jacksonville, and, according to *Time*, headed north "in a gritty whirl of orange peels and wax paper," finally arriving in Manhattan five hours late with its cargo of "battered passengers."²⁰ Arthur Krock felt that the tourists deserved "the fate that has overtaken them," while the Boston *Herald* editorialized: "There is something wrong . . . if the worst punishment to be inflicted on these truants in Florida is merely to oblige them to ride home in old-fashioned day coaches."²¹ Many a Florida hotelman agreed with Andrew G. O'Rourke when he plaintively asked: "If the Government doesn't want to have the tourists here, why does it let them come South?"²² The two ancient coach trains did their job.

17. *Time*, March 13, 1944.

18. *Florida Times Union*, March 4, 1944.

19. *Time*, March 6, 1944, 84.

20. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1944, 13.

21. Quoted in *Newsweek*, March 13, 1944, 57-8.

22. *Time*, March 6, 1944, 84.

By April 1, the New York *Times* noted that the clamor for rail reservations was subsiding.

The Winter of 1943-44 was the last to cause any serious problem or any extensive criticism. As the season of 1944-45 approached, news from the war fronts was encouraging, gasoline shortages were no longer severe any place, and the railroads continued to operate on their regular schedules. The ODT did issue travel warnings, but no one prohibited racing, and the tracks prepared for a full 120 days of activity. As early as the first week in December, the New York *Times* correspondent found the greatest influx of tourists since the boom days, and noted that, with hotels and apartments filled, the visitors were looking for trailers or rooms in private homes, while the Miami Chamber of Commerce was getting from 75 to 150 calls a day asking for accommodations.²³ As the war drew to a close, moreover, Floridians began to prepare for the first post-war seasons. The legislature appropriated a million dollars for a nation-wide advertising campaign, and when the Germans and Japanese were finally vanquished, the tourist industry was set for its greatest year in history.²⁴

During World War II, the Florida tourist industry demonstrated its adaptability. At a time when the military was hard-pressed for room, Florida hotelmen opened up their facilities at a saving to the government of both time and money. When the government no longer needed the room and dumped the hotels back on their owners, they lost no time preparing for a resumption of civilian business. It must be remembered, moreover, that "business as usual" was undoubtedly a heavy cross to bear for many a hotelman who had to devote his time to the entertainment of wealthy visitors while his own sons were off serving in the armed forces. Although there were often instances of servicemen having difficulty finding housing for their families, these difficulties were far less pronounced in an area like Florida with large numbers of guest facilities available than they were in many less attractive parts of the country where there had never been any hotels in the first place. And all through the war, a large percentage of Florida's tourist accommodations were occupied by friends or relatives of service men and women.

23. New York *Times*, December 3, 1944.

24. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1945, *Florida Highways*, January, 1945, 61-2.

Although there were occasional cases of resentment between tourists and the military, there were a vastly greater number of instances of goodwill and cooperation. Harris Sims of the *New York Times* in the first months of the war found visitors supporting the Red Cross and War Bond drives and helping to provide entertainment for servicemen.²⁵ Florida cities and towns everywhere opened golf courses, bowling alleys, and other recreational facilities to men and women in uniform, while USO's sprang up all over the state. Liason committees helped iron out difficulties such as the enforcement of the curfew and appropriate hours for selling liquor, and Phillip Wylie found middle class residents of Miami in countless cases sleeping in the parlor to make room for fighting men.²⁶

If Florida's tourist industry went to war, so also did her citrus. This is most dramatically demonstrated by a comparison of Florida and California figures for the war years. Where Florida's production, in millions of boxes, went roughly 50, 70, 80, California's remained relatively constant in the 60's.²⁷ There were several reasons for the rapid increase of citrus production in Florida, again in most cases coming back to adaptability.

As early as 1935, the State had set up a Citrus Commission, whose functions were to enforce state laws, to represent the citrus industry in Washington, and to advertise and publicize Florida citrus fruits throughout the nation. By 1944, this commission had nine full time agents covering 280 cities; and in spite of the fact that practically all citrus was being purchased by the government, the commission was advertising Florida fruit widely in papers and magazines on the theory that such advertising would sell "not only this year's crop but future crops as well."²⁸ Stressing the fact that Florida oranges had "*Extra Juice*," this campaign also pushed grapefruit, "the COMMANDO FRUIT to Fortify Every Body with vitamin C," and tangerines, "The Sugar-Sweet Treat with the ZIPPER skin!"²⁹

Although much credit for the expansion of the Florida citrus industry must go to the Citrus Commission, even more is due the

25. *New York Times*, January 11, 1942.

26. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1943; Wylie, *op. cit.*, 239.

27. *Business Week*, August 12, 1944, 50.

28. *Florida Highways*, April, 1944, 31; December, 1944, 33 ff.

29. *Ibid.*, April, 1941, 31 ff.

growers and processors, who immediately adjusted themselves to wartime needs. While California's "fresh fruit zealots" stuck to the "plugging of whole fruit," Floridians increased the production of jams and marmalades, expanded the canned juice industry, and began the large scale processing of concentrated juice.³⁰ The advantage of concentration during wartime was obvious since one freight car of concentrated orange juice would take the place of thirty carloads of whole fruit. The processing was simple, calling for evaporation under diminished pressure at low temperatures. Moreover, the government was willing to lend money to the concentrate industry and accept repayment on a gallonage basis.³¹

Perhaps the greatest difficulty facing the industry during the war years was that of building the concentrate plants at a time when all strategic raw materials were going to the armed forces. One observer found a Dunedin plant using salvaged boilers, gears from junked automobiles, girders from the demolished New York El, and old gasoline pumps.³² Practically the entire citrus production went to our armed forces, to our allies, and to the undernourished of other lands. It was not an empty boast when *Florida Highways* entitled an article in 1945, "Florida Citrus Cannery Saved Britain's Children," for practically the entire British supply of vitamin C came from Florida concentrates.³³ As E. H. Evans, writing in *Nature* magazine put it: "When services in this war are listed, a high place on the roll of honor should be reserved for these fighting citrus fruits."³⁴

So in the citrus, as in the tourist industry, Floridians adapted themselves to a world war. The same might be said of many another segment of the Florida economy. The state played hostess to more service men and women than any other except California and Texas. Those who refuse to believe that these visitors appreciated this hospitality have only to count the veterans who have returned to Florida either to vacation or to make their homes since 1945. Truly, the people of Florida can be proud of their wartime accomplishments.

30. *Business Week*, August 12, 1944, 48; J. C. Furnas, "The Big Squeeze," *Saturday Evening Post*, July 1, 1944, 18-19.

31. E. H. Evans, "Groves go to War," *Nature Magazine*, May, 1944, 234.

32. Furnas, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

33. *Florida Highways*, March, 1945, 16 ff.

34. Evans, *op. cit.*, 236.

MILITARY EVENTS IN FLORIDA DURING THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

by ALLEN W. JONES

IN THE VOLUMINOUS WRITINGS on the Civil War the region of the upper South has attracted attention as the battleground of the War and de military activity in the Confederate States of the lower South, especially Florida, has received little notice. The fighting in Florida began early in 1861 but was most active during the last two years of the War. This compilation of nearly one hundred forty military events at over eighty different places will give some indication as to the extent of the War in Florida.

This list of military activities in Florida is compiled from *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* and it does not include any military events which are not described in these documents. The location of each military event is identified by the type of incident and the date it occurred. Standard military terms from the *Army Regulations and Rules of War of the Confederate States* are used to describe the types of military events.

<i>Place</i>	<i>Type of Event</i>	<i>Date</i>
1. Amelia Island	Evacuation	March 3, 1862
2. Apalachicola	Occupation	March 4, 1862
3. Apalachicola	Expedition	May 31-June 6, 1865
Arsenal	Seizure	January 6, 1861
4. Bagdad	Reconnaissance	August 7-10, 1862
5. Baldwin	Raid	July 23-28, 1864
	Skirmishes	August 10, 1864
		August 12, 1864
6. Barber's Ford	Skirmish	February 10, 1864
7. Barrancas, Fort	Bombardment	January 1, 1862
	Expedition	August 13-14, 1864
8. Barrancas	Transfer of U.S.	
Barracks	Troops	January 10, 1861
9. Beresford Lake	Expedition	October 6-9, 1862
10. Blackwater Bay	Expedition	October 25-28, 1864
11. Bluff Springs	Action	March 25, 1865
12. Brooke, Fort	Engagements	October 16, 1863
		December 25, 1863
13. Bryant's		
Plantation	Skirmish	October 21, 1864
14. Canoe Creek	Action	March 25, 1865
15. Cedar Creek	Skirmishes	March 1, 1864
		April 2, 1864

MILITARY EVENTS IN FLORIDA DURING CIVIL WAR 43

<i>Date</i>	<i>Type of Event</i>	<i>Place</i>
16. Cedar Keys	Naval Descent Upon Skirmish	January 16, 1862 February 16, 1865
17. Cooper, Camp	Capture	February 10, 1864
18. Cotton Creek	Skirmish	March 25, 1865
19. Cow Ford Creek	Skirmish	April 2, 1864
20. Croked River	Affair	May 20, 1862
21. East Florida	Expedition Along Coast	November 3-10, 1862
22. East River Bridge	Skirmishes	March 4-5, 1865
23. Escambia River	Skirmish	March 25, 1865
24. Euchee Anna Courtthouse	Affair	September 23, 1864
25. Fernandina	Skirmish	April 10, 1862
26. Finegan, Camp	Skirmishes	February 8, 1864 May 25, 1864
27. Florida Railroad	Union Raid	August 15-19, 1864
28. Gainesville	Action Skirmish	August 17, 1864 February 14, 1864
29. Gates, Fort	Expedition	April 1, 1864
30. Gonzales, Camp	Skirmish	July 22, 1864
31. Grand Bayou	Affairs	January 25, 1864 August 7, 1864
32. Jackson's Bridge	Affair	May 25, 1864
33. Jacksonville	Evacuation Expeditions	April 9, 1862 July 15-20, 1864 March 7-12, 1865
	Occupations by U.S. Forces	March 12, 1862 February 7, 1864 March 23-31, 1863
	Operations	October 5, 1862
	Recapture	March 10, 1863
	Re-occupation	May 28, 1864
	Skirmish	January 18, 1861
34. Jefferson, Fort	Occupation	February 15-23, 1864
35. King's Ferry Mills	Expedition	February 10, 1864
36. Lake City	Skirmish	March 13, 1864
37. Lake George	Capture of C.S.S. Sumter	March 1, 1864
38. McGirt's Creek	Skirmish	January 1, 1862
39. McRee, Fort	Bombardment	January 12, 1861
40. Magnolia	Seizure Skirmishes	September 24, 1864 October 24, 1864
41. Marianna	Action Expedition Skirmish	September 27, 1864 Sept. 18-Oct. 4, 1864 September 27, 1864
42. Marion, Fort	Seizure	January 7, 1861
43. Marion County	Expedition	March 7-12, 1865
44. Mayport Mills	Skirmish	October 2, 1862
45. Milton	Expeditions	June 14-15, 1862 February 19, 1865 February 22-25, 1865 August 7-10, 1862 August 29, 1864 October 18, 1864
	Reconnaissance Skirmishes	June 2, 1864 May 31-June 3, 1864
46. Milton, Camp	Capture Expedition	March 25, 1865 Apr. 26-May 6, 1864
47. Mitchell's Creek	Skirmish	February 20, 1865
48. Monroe Lake	Expedition	
49. Myers, Fort	Attack	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Type of Event</i>	<i>Place</i>
50. Nassau River	Expedition	February 9-10, 1864
51. Natural Bridge	Action	March 6, 1865
52. Newport Bridge	Skirmishes	March 5-6, 1865
53. New Smyrna	Affair	March 23, 1862
54. Ocean Pond	Engagement	February 20, 1864
55. Ocklockonnee Bay	Affair	March 24, 1863
56. Olustee	Engagement	February 20, 1864
57. Palatka	Skirmishes	March 27, 1863 March 16, 1864 March 31, 1864 August 13, 1864 February 13-14, 1864 February 20, 1864
58. Pease Creek	Skirmishes	
59. Pensacola	Abandoned by Confederates Affair Bombardment Destruction of U.S. Drydock Evacuation Occupied by Union Forces Reconnaissance Skirmishes	May 9-12, 1862 May 25, 1864 November 22-23, 1861 September 2, 1861 March 20-24, 1863 May 9-12, 1862 August 7-10, 1862 June 25, 1862 April 2, 1864
60. Pensacola Navy-Yard	Descent On	September 14, 1861
61. Pickens, Fort	Bombardment Evacuation by Confederates Occupation by Union Forces	November 22-23, 1861 May 9-12, 1862 May 9-12, 1862
62. Pine Barren	Expedition	November 16-17, 1864
63. Point Washington	Skirmish	February 9, 1864
64. St. Andrews Bay	Affair	April 7, 1862 March 20, 1863 March 9, 1863 December 30, 1863
65. St. Augustine	Skirmishes	October 3, 1862 September 11, 1862 September 17, 1862 Sept. 30-Oct. 13, 1862 October 2, 1862
66. St. Johns Bluff	Capture Engagements	
67. St. Johns Mill	Expedition Skirmish Capture of Signal Station	
68. St. Johns River	Operations Skirmish	August 19, 1863 May 19-27, 1864 February 2, 1865
69. St. Marks	Naval Descent Upon Operations	June 15, 1862 Feb. 21-Mar. 7, 1865
70. St. Marys River	Expedition	Jan. 23-Feb. 1, 1863
71. Santa Rosa Island	Action Reconnaissance	October 9, 1861 March 27-31, 1862
72. Saunders	Affair Skirmish	May 19, 1864 March 19, 1865

MILITARY EVENTS IN FLORIDA DURING CIVIL WAR 45

<i>Date</i>	<i>Type of Event</i>	<i>Place</i>
73. Smyrna	Affair	March 23, 1862
74. Station Four	Action	February 13, 1865
75. Tampa	Affair	May 6, 1864
	Bombardment	June 30-July 1, 1862
76. Taylor, Fort	Occupation	January 14, 1861
77. Ten-Mile Run	Skirmish	February 8, 1864
78. Township	Skirmish	January 26, 1863
79. Trout Creek	Skirmish	July 15, 1864
80. Welaka	Action	February 5, 1865
	Affair	May 19, 1864
	Skirmish	March 19, 1865
81. Whiteside, Black Creek	Skirmish	July 27, 1864
82. Whitesville	Skirmish	July 24, 1864
83. Woodstock	Expedition	February 15-23, 1864
84. Yellow River	Operations	June 25, 1864

PENSACOLA MEMORABILIA

by T. T. WENTWORTH, JR.

JACKSON RECEIVES THE FLORIDAS

SINCE ANDREW JACKSON, one of America's most colorful historical figures was associated with Cantonment on several occasions and spent four weeks with his troops here in 1821 just prior to the change of flags in Pensacola, which transferred The Floridas to the United States of America, I want to recount the events in which Jackson played a part. *

On June 15, 1821, Jackson arrived in Pensacola and established his headquarters at what is now Cantonment, then one of several homes owned by Don Manuel Gonzalez.

Mrs. Jackson (Rachael), and other members of the party which arrived for the change of flags were given the use of a house which was made ready especially for them by Dr. John Brosnaham. Dr. Brosnaham had become very wealthy and owned two houses, one which he turned over to Jackson's party located at the South East corner of Palafox and Intendencia Streets. Before the arrival of Mrs. Jackson and her party Dr. Brosnaham had just purchased new furniture and had everything in readiness for the Jacksons. This home was destroyed by fire December 30, 1839 and the building which occupies the site at present was built later.

The Pensacola Historical Society has placed a Bronze Marker on the front of this building which has the following inscription:

SITE OF RESIDENCE OF
GEN. ANDREW JACKSON
WHILE GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA
1821
DESTROYED BY FIRE 1839

ERECTED BY THE
PENSACOLA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1935

* Extracts from a speech delivered before the Cantonment Rotary Club, May 29, 1957.

The Gonzalez Ranch which was chosen by General Jackson as Headquarters was known as the fifteen mile house, so called because it was fifteen miles from Pensacola. Today on these grounds are still standing great oaks under which Andrew Jackson encamped. For four weeks this ranch home of Don Manuel Gonzalez was used by Jackson as his headquarters and because of its use by Jackson and his army it was called a cantonment and thus Cantonment, Florida, got its name.

In the spacious house of Don Manuel Gonzalez and his family, Andrew met daily with the Spanish officials, preparing to make a change of the flags.

The many delays caused by the Spanish Governor distressed General Jackson. On July 10th Jackson moved his troops from Cantonment to an old camp site built by the British between 1763 and 1781 at the head of Bayou Chico. These accommodations had a large brick hospital with a fine spring of water. This spring was and is still known as Galvez Spring. This Cantonment was only two miles West of Pensacola and was a more satisfactory stopping place for awaiting the transfer which was to take place on the morning of July 17, 1821.

The ceremony of changing flags and governments took place in the Plaza Ferdinand The Seventh. The Pensacola Historical Society placed the following inscribed Bronze plaque on this spot :

IN THIS PLAZA
GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON
RECEIVED WEST FLORIDA FROM SPAIN
AND RAISED THE FLAG OF THE U. S.
July 17, 1821

TO RECALL THE FLAGS OF FIVE
NATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN RAISED IN
TURN TEN TIMES OVER PENSACOLA
SPAIN 1559-1719, 1723-1763, 1783-1821
FRANCE 1719-1723
GREAT BRITAIN 1763-1783
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 1821-1861-1863
CONFEDERATE STATES 1861 - 1863
RECALLING THAT HERE WAS THE CENTER

OF LIFE OF THE TOWN AND OF THE
PROVINCE OF WEST FLORIDA DURING THE
GREATER PART OF THE COLONIAL ERA.

ERECTED BY THE
PENSACOLA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1935

Thus Andrew Jackson became the First Territorial Governor of Florida.

The *National Intelligencer* (Washington) published a letter dated at Pensacola July 18, 1821, which included an account of the transfer ceremonies. To preserve this record, *Niles' Weekly Register* of August 25, 1821, reprinted it, from which the following is extracted.

Yesterday, after a series of delays, and disappointments, of a pace with the whole tenor of our twenty years' negotiations with Spain, the American authorities were finally and formally put in possession of this city, of the fortress of the Barrancas, and of the dominion of the Floridas.

Out of tenderness to the feelings of the Spaniards, deeply excited by the painful separation about to take place between those who go and those who remain-and who are allied not only by the ties of intimacy and friendship, contracted during a long period of a common residence in this pleasant and salubrious region, and confirmed by a community of habits and religion, as well as of lineage and language, but knitted together by the most sacred and endearing bands of consanguinity and affiance, the ceremony was conducted with very little ostentation.

The Spanish governor's guard, consisting of a full company of dismounted dragoons of the regiment of Tarragona, elegantly clad and equipped, was paraded at an early hour of the morning in front of the government house.

About 8 o'clock a battalion of the 4th regiment of U. S. Artillery, the whole under the command of Col. Brooks, of the 4th infantry, were drawn up on the public square, opposite to the Spanish guard, having marched into town from the encampment at Galvez' Spring. The usual military salute passed between them. Four companies of infantry from the American

line, under the command of Major Dinkins, of the 5th infantry, were then detached to take possession of the Barrancas, which is nearly nine miles below this city.

At 10 o'clock, the hour previously appointed, General Jackson, attended by his aides, secretary, interpreters, crossed the green, passed between the double line formed by the troops of both nations, who simultaneously saluted him by presenting arms, and entered the government house, where the formality of the transfer was soon dispatched, and the Spanish sergeant's guard at the gate was immediately relieved by an American guard. After a few minutes, Governor Jackson accompanied by Col. Callava, the late commandant, and their respective suites, left the government house and passed through the same double line of troops, to the house which the governor (Jackson) had rented for the temporary accommodation of his family.

The Spanish troops were then marched to the place of embarkation-the American flag was displayed upon the flag-staff, and grand salutes were fired by the artillery company and the U. S. ship *Hornet*, a gun being given to each state and territory of the Federal Union, not forgetting Florida, and the regimental band, and that of the *Hornet*, playing the "Star Spangled Banner" all the while. In the course of the day a number of citizens waited on the new governor to pay their respects, and offer their congratulations.

The delivery of the Barrancas was performed with a little more parade. The Spanish flag was lowered to half-mast. The American flag raised to a level with it. Both flags were, in this situation, saluted by the Spaniards. After, which, the Spanish colors were hauled down, and the American ensign hoisted. The Americans then saluted their national flag. The American troops made a fine and martial appearance, and the *Hornet* was gaily dressed.

The following article from the Progress Edition of the *Pensacola News-Journal*, October 2, 1949, is appropriate at this time:

THE OAK CROSS

Travelers along Palafox highway, about 15 miles north of Pensacola, find themselves passing through an industrial center

that was undreamed of when the News-Journal started its career. In fact, 10 years ago there were open fields and pine woods where the great St. Regis paper mills and the multiwall bag factory now stand. Where 175 homes, with churches, schools, and stores from a busy and growing community, there were the pine forests and a cross-roads, a postoffice, a railroad station, and a few scattered buildings. . . .

Gen. Andrew Jackson, during the war of 1812, encamped his troops there, and gave the name of Cantonment to the region. The house that Old Hickory used as his headquarters still stands, not far from the L. & N. railroad station. For many years it was owned by the Booth family, whose land was to become part of the mill site.

It was fortunate for the future community that the Booth family had kept intact a sizable piece of acreage essential to the project, in spite of proposals to break it up through sales of small parcels. When the deal with Charlie Booth and the other land owners involved was completed Jim Allen looked out over the quiet fields and the surrounding woodlands, the two country roads and the two railway lines. Then he turned and said: "Charlie, God made it: you held it; I found it."

ST. MICHAEL'S CEMETERY

St. Michael's cemetery was first used in 1781 as the burial grounds for Pensacola. During the twenty years prior, the British cemetery was located on Main and DeVillier streets and has long since been destroyed by the tide and elements. St. Michael's cemetery grounds were granted to the Catholic inhabitants of Pensacola on their claim of 30 arpents of land. I quote from the records :

"The Catholic inhabitants of Pensacola presented a claim for 30 Arpents of land and produced as evidence of their title papers the following original grant.

"Plat, Pensacola 7th of June 1810, Vincente Sebastian Pintado, Don Vincente Pintado, Surveyor General of West Florida.

"Pursuant to the provisions contained in the orders dated 13th day of July and 20th of August of the year 1807, issued by his Honor Don Juan Ventura Morales, Intendent general, Ad interim

and sub delegate of the Superintendency General, Judge of Royal lands and lots, in this province, in the matter of judicial proceedings. Furthered by Don Franco Caso Luzenzo, Captain of the Regiment of Infantry of 'Louisiana' and administrator of the erection of the Church Building, Parochial, Soliciting a parcel of land for a Cemetery and other purposes, the location and figure thereof being represented in the new plan of this town and which was approved by His Lordship the Governor of this town and Province, as appears by his official dispatch, dated the 13th day of August in the year 1809." (The record continues with the necessary information for the grant.)

In 1949 the legislature passed a bill designating St. Michael's cemetery a state park, subject however to proper deeds of conveyances being presented the State Board of Parks and Historic memorials without cost to the State.

Many famous people are buried in St. Michael's cemetery, among whom is Dorothy Walton, wife of George Walton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence from Georgia and mother of George Walton, Jr., First Secretary of State and Acting Governor of Florida.

GRANT FORECASTS THE FUTURE OF FLORIDA

edited by JAMES P. JONES

THROUGHOUT 1878 AND 1879 Americans followed ex-President Ulysses S. Grant's world tour. At the same time, Republican "Stalwart" leaders launched the "Grant for President" boom. In September, 1879, to the distress of his friends, Grant landed in California and began a slow procession across the country.¹ While the tide seemed to be running in Grant's favor when he returned to the United States, his supporters sensed a turn for the worse as Grant crossed the country. Senator John A. Logan, a Grant man, wrote Elihu B. Washburne that the "reception business" was being overdone, and its continuance would benefit the Blaine forces in the Republican Party.² By Christmas, the Grant promoters had become convinced that Grant's continued presence in the country would ruin his chances for the nomination. As a last resort these men talked Grant into making a trip to Cuba and Mexico.³

Grant agreed with this plan and on December 30, accompanied by his wife, son, daughter-in-law, and General and Mrs. Philip Sheridan, he began his trip south.⁴ The party passed through Charlotte, Columbia, and Savannah, and were cordially greeted everywhere they stopped. On January 4, Grant and his friends arrived in Fernandina where they were welcomed to Florida by ex-Senator David L. Yulee.⁵ On the eighth the party attended a banquet with Florida's Governor Drew in Jacksonville. On the following day they began a journey down the St. Johns and Ocklawaha Rivers.

The Florida Democratic press greeted Grant as an honorable opponent who deserved a cordial welcome.⁶ The Republican

1. William B. Hesseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant, Politician* (New York, 1935), 431.

2. John A. Logan to Elihu B. Washburne, December 18, 1879, Washburne, Mss., Library of Congress.

3. Hesseltine, *op. cit.*, 435.

4. *Sunland Tribune* (Tampa), January 8, 1880.

5. *New York Times*, January 5, 1880.

6. *Sunland Tribune*, January 15, 1880.

press, on the other hand, welcomed Grant as the man who, "may be our next President."⁷

Grant's brief trip through Florida was a pleasant one. While the North endured freezing weather, Florida basked in 80° temperature, and Grant began to see possibilities for Florida's future development.⁸ While sailing down the Ocklawaha, Grant voiced his optimism in this regard to a fellow passenger who reported it to the press.⁹ By the time he arrived in St. Augustine on January 18, Grant's interest in the state was clearly evident as he wrote his old friend Washburne. In a letter prophetic of Florida's future Grant wrote:¹⁰

My Dear Mr. Washburne,

I wrote you a hasty letter from Phila[delphia] but do not know whether you received it. Our trip through the South has been so far without an incident to mar the pleasure of it. All the way from Washington the people of all classes and colors were at the stations to meet the train and to extend invitations for myself and party to stop and accept their hospitalities. The business boom has reached the South and the people are beginning to feel much better contented in consequence. I am very much pleased with Florida. The winter climate is perfection, and, I am told by Northern men settled here, that the summers are not near so hot as in the North, though of longer continuance. This state has a great future before it. It has the capacity to raise all the sugar and semitropical fruits the whole country needs, besides supplying vast amounts of timber, early vegetables, rice, material for paper, rope, baging [sic] coarse matting & c. It affords the best opening to be found in any country for young men of little means but full of energy, industry and patience. The impetus already given will supply in a few years all the semi-tropical fruits required by the country. What is now wanted is the establishment of moderate sugar mills over the country to buy all this sugar cane small farmers will furnish. The state is underlayed and has around it deposits of valuable fertilizers sufficient for many generations. If you do not join me in Cuba, I hope you will come back here to spend March and Ap[ri]l. I do not doubt but you would receive much benefit from the visit.

I will sail from Cedar Key for Havana on the 20th. The Sec.

7. Tampa *Guardian*, January 10, 1880.

8. New York *Times*, January 5, 1880.

9. *Sunland Tribune*, January 22, 1880.

10. Ulysses S. Grant to Elihu B. Washburne, January 18, February 20, 1880, Grant Mss., Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

of the Navy has placed at Havana a vessel at my command. With kindest regards. . . . I am.

Very truly,
U. S. Grant

On February 20, from Havana, Grant wrote Washburne:

The weather is sultry, just such as we run from at home in the Dog Days. If this winter is a sample, Fla. is a much better winter resort.

A FRENCH DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH COLONY IN FLORIDA AT THE HANDS OF THE SPANISH, 1565

translated and edited

by A. E. HAMMOND

ONE OF THE BLOODIEST and most publicized chapters in the early history of Florida was written by Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles, intrepid and unscrupulous agent of Philip II of Spain. On three occasions in the months of September and October, 1565, this Spanish gentleman, fired with true inquisitorial fervor, ordered and supervised the systematic slaughter of remnants of the third French expedition to the Florida coast, thus ending the French attempt to colonize this disputed territory. Neither the events leading up to the massacres nor the details of the savage butchery requires retelling here. They are the subjects of numerous narratives, both secondary and primary. A brief word on the European reaction to these events is essential, however.

The recorded reactions in Spain were almost uniformly expressions of satisfaction. Spanish chroniclers, some of whom doubtless witnessed the affairs, spared no word of praise for the *adelantado* who in their opinion had acted justly, even generously, by dispatching his victims with the sword when he might quite properly have burned them alive. One elated writer exclaimed, "He killed them, I am convinced, more from divine inspiration than from any prompting of human intelligence."¹ Then as the full details of the massacres were gradually made known in Madrid during the early months of 1566, joy was uncontained. If we may rely on the report of M. de Fourquevaux, French ambassador in Madrid, to his sovereign, Charles IX, the Spanish court evinced much more happiness over the Florida success than it would have shown for a victory over the Turks.²

1. Bartolome Barrientos, "Vida y hechos de Pero Menendez de Auiles, Cauallero de la Hordem de Sanetiago, Adalentado de la Florida," in Genaro Garcia, *Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida* (Mexico [City], 1902), p. 72.
2. Ramond de Becarrie de Pavre Fourquevaux, *Depeches de M. de Fourquevaux, ambassadeur de roi Charles IX en Espagne, 1565-1572* (Publiees par M. l'abbe Douais, Paris, 1896-1904 T. I et III [Publie par la Societe d'histoire Diplomatique] I, 56.

Philip II, who had authorized the extermination of the predominantly Protestant expedition, completely exculpated Menendez, even troubling himself to write in the margin of a dispatch received in St. Augustine, "Tell him [Menendez], that with regard to those he has killed, it is fine; as for those he has spared, that they should be sent to the galleys."³ Upon his return to Spain in July, 1567, Menendez was accorded the welcome of a national as well as a Christian hero.

In France the reaction was varied. Against the background of religious conflict-France was at the time resting uneasily between its first and second religious wars-public opinion appeared to regard the French humiliation as a factional rather than a national matter. Some Catholics were openly delighted that the hated Admiral Coligny had been thwarted in his colonial designs, while others were simply pleased that "Menendez had accomplished in a small way what the Guises and their other fanatical leaders would like to achieve throughout France."⁴

Catherine de Medicis was enraged, perhaps as much for personal reasons (she had always found her son-in-law, Philip II, distasteful) as for any moral principle involved. She dared not proceed beyond the normal recourse to diplomatic protest and appeal,⁵ however, and in her subsequent encounter with Philip's ambassador, Don Frances d'Alava, she found herself more often than not trying to defend the French position when she might well have been demanding reparations. Charles IX was even less vigorous in pressing the French claims. Thus it was only Protestant areas that registered any genuine concern.

The document translated and edited below typifies the Protestant protest concerning the Florida tragedy. Its form is that of an open letter to the French king, Charles IX, presumably prepared by a group of widows, orphans, relatives and friends of the French victims of Menendez. In all probability, however, it was prepared by a clever and well-informed person, motivated by religious and political considerations. At any rate, it was printed

3. Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (Boston, 1865), p. 138.

4. Ch.-Andre Julien, *Les Voyages de Decouverte et les Premiers Etablissements* ([Colonies et Empires III: Histoire de l'Expansion et de la Colonisation Francaises], Paris, 1948), p. 251.

5. Paul Gaffarel, *Histoire de la Florida Francaise* (Paris, 1875), pp. 477-481; A. W. Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France* (London, 1904), p. 331.

and distributed at court and elsewhere. Although the letter eloquently drew the attention of Charles to the sad fate of the massacred French and of their survivors, and although it attempted to arouse the wounded pride of the king, there is no indication that it was greeted with anything more than a casual indifference.

Request ⁶ to the King, made in the form of a complaint, by the widows, little orphans, friends and blood and marriage relations of those that have been cruelly invaded by the Spaniards, in Antarctic France, ⁷ which goes by the name of Florida.

To the King.

Sire, there is an endless number of poor and miserable people, widows and orphans, all your subjects and vassals, who tearfully throw themselves at your majesty's feet, with the entire obedience and natural submission which they owe you and bring to your excellency and highness a pitiful tale of their most just complaints and grievances: or rather the sad spectacle and visible image of their fathers, husbands, children, brothers, nephews, cousins and relations by marriage, up to some eight or nine hundred, men, women and children alike, slaughtered and cut to pieces practically to the last in this land of Florida, by Captain Petremerlande ⁸ and his Spanish soldiers. The more as this outrage is already odious enough and all to villainous by itself, and as the blood of your poor subjects, thus treacherously shed, cries to God

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6. The anonymous author of this letter appears to have produced numerous copies of it and to have distributed it for whatever propaganda effect it might have. It is preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. In the meantime, several editions have appeared in print, one of the earliest being that of Theodor de Bry, who produced it simultaneously in German and Latin in 1591 appended to the minor works of J. Lemoyne. (Theodor de Bry, *America* [Part II, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1591]). It is also included in L. Cimber et F. Danjou, *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France* (Paris, 1834-40, 27 vols.), VI, 232-237. In preparing this translation I have relied on the editions of Paul Gaffarel, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-81, and Suzanne Lussagnet (ed.), *Les Francais en Amerique Pendant la Deuxieme Moitie du XVIe Siecle* (Paris, 1958), pp. 234-9.
 7. This term has been erroneously employed. It was earlier used by Andre Thevet, *Les Singularitez de la France Antartique autre nommee Amerique* (Paris, 1558, to designate the parts of Brazil under French control. See Lussagnet, *op. cit.*, p. 201, n. 2.
 8. Pedro Menendez.

for vengeance. It behoves your majesty, Sire, to consider, if you please, that he has made you sovereign King and granted you the obedience of so many people to govern them with good laws and to uphold and defend them. Therefore the poor supplicants have no other recourse, after God, but to implore your aid and protection and most humbly entreat your majesty to succour, raise and sustain them: at the very time when the wound of their anguish is still bleeding. In short, to assist them with the same gentleness and consolation, as the embrace of a father to his own children, or the master's good face to his loving and faithful servants: and, in fact, their complaints are not less worthy of compassion and pity than the cruelty of the Spaniard Petremerlande is contrary to all war practices, and to all laws and decrees that have been received either from God or from men. And to explain it to you in full, your majesty, Sire, knows well that your aforesaid subjects were sent by you in this land of Florida, under your authority and by your express command, and by virtue of your letters patent, in the form of commission and leave, carried by Jean Ribaud: ⁹ the aforesaid vessels have arrived in the aforesaid place in the land of Florida, were furiously invaded by five Spanish boats, the largest of which was eight hundred tons, the second two hundred tons and the others average tonnage. The people on board these vessels took first of all the fort which had been built in your name by the French: and the men women and children found inside the aforesaid fort were murdered and maimed by the aforesaid Spaniards without mercy. On the contrary, they displayed the pierced bodies of the little children held on the point of their pikes, ¹⁰ and secondly, they killed the aforesaid Captain Jean Ribaud, and all his company of seven to eight hundred men, in spite of the assurance and pledge they had given to spare their lives, having bound their hands and arms behind their backs, calling your subjects wicked, scoundrels, knaves,

9. A more common spelling, in French documents, is Ribault.

10. An obvious exaggeration. There exists no reliable eye-witness account of this event by any Frenchman, Le Challeux, Laudonniere and Le Moyne having fled Ft. Caroline before the massacre. Spanish accounts specifically point out that Menendez had ordered all children under the age of fifteen and all women, regardless of religious declaration to be spared. See the account by Gonzalo Solis de Meras in Eugenio Ruidiaz E. Caravia, *La Florida, su Conquista y Colonizacion por Pedro Menendez de Aviles* (Madrid, 1893-4, 2 vols.), I, 87, 97, *et passim*.

and French thieves, and all this in the presence, and under the eyes, of the aforesaid Ribaud who, through horror of the aforesaid massacre, wanted to come near the aforesaid Petremelande to place himself under his protection, and nevertheless, the said Petremelande repelled him and had him killed instantly by one of his soldiers, who struck him a blow through the body with his dagger from behind, from which blow the aforesaid Ribaud fell to the ground, and, once fallen, the aforesaid soldier struck him another blow through the body from in front, so that the aforesaid Ribaud remained dead on the spot, and, which done, the aforesaid soldier cut off his head, shaved his beard and split the head of the aforesaid Ribaud in four quarters, which were stuck on top of four pikes in the centre of the place where the other French people had died. Finally, the aforesaid Spanish captain sent a letter to the King of Spain, and enclosed in it the hairs of the beard of the aforesaid Captain Jean Ribaud, in such a way that the aforesaid Spanish Captain Petremelande and his men, insulting with such brazen acts the servants of so powerful and renowned a King, want to make it plain that they set very little store by honour, and fear even less the meeting of a mighty master. Your majesty, besides, knows that, to complete the triumph of wickedness and increase the outrage of such an execrable crime: even after death fun was made of, and mockery bandied at, the head and the beard of him who was no less a person than your lieutenant-general, and the paper of a letter was used as a dish to make a gift of the hair of his beard. It is, however, incredible that there should be a christian, or even pagan, King or prince ready to own the aforesaid Petremelande after such a cruel and barbarous deed, surpassing the rage and fury of Lions and Tigers, and the more execrable as it was performed in a period of complete peace, truces and a friendly meeting arranged, while there was no war declared by you on any other nation or principality whatsoever, and nevertheless the Spaniards have set their hands upon places and people: which in no way belong to other than your Sceptre and crown: unless Petremelande chose to say that the strength of a foreigner can prevail against the King, to usurp what is yours, or to appropriate the power to command in your stead, or to give himself the authority of the letters and to take upon himself to punish and correct those that God has entrusted to you as subjects, with such a

treasured wealth of submission, obedience and natural affection towards you, that they would rather die a thousand deaths, than deign to entertain the idea of changing masters, or voluntarily submitting to the yoke of another principality. If, therefore, Petremelande is disowned, his master has only to say that he is having, or will let you have, justice done, with such satisfaction and reparation as you are entitled to: in addition, forsaking and handing over to you the jurisdiction and possession of this land of Florida, which has long been acquired, occupied and held by your subjects in your name and under the title and authority of your Sceptre and crown, taking also into consideration that your aforesaid subjects have not been deported or relegated there as fugitives or deportees, but sent as ambassadors, officers and ministers of your majesty, and as, such recognized and owned by your letters patent commissioning the aforesaid Ribaud, held and acclaimed to act in these matters in the same capacity as you yourself, and no matter how atrocious such an indignity is by itself, yet it is made worse when left unpunished, and the dishonour is increased and the scandal carried further when the murders, violators of public faith, have their malice fed and sustained with impunity and can freely exercise it. Which your mansuetude, Sire, never allowing, will take up the quarrel of your poor subjects, thus unjustly outraged to the detriment of all laws, and with such great cruelty that it seems to be in order to dissolve the bonds of all human society, and break the divine order so thoroughly that the aforesaid Petremelande would, through his cunning, have all occasions for modesty lost, when patience is tried to the extreme.

The Carthaginians and African peoples have been strongly blamed for breaking their pledges in spite of all assurances given whenever this was advantageous to them. The Romans so faithfully observed theirs that they would keep them even to their enemies. Would to God that the same tribute could be paid to-day to Petremelande and his fellow-countrymen, who have made so light of their promises and assurances and hypocritical solemn oaths impiously calling upon the name of God as though to make him a party to their treacherous disloyalty. If at times God uses the wicked ones, and allows them rope to give the full measure of their wickedness, as he did the Cananeans, he is not, however, subject to the strength of men, and, being stronger than them

all, he fortifies the weaker and keeps us ceaselessly alive to our duty, that the thought of his gentleness and mercy does not make us forget the rigour of his justice and vengeance. So much so that, as in the same act, the crime of men is revealed, and the justice of God made manifest, so the warning befits them, that, it is said, God works in the hearts of the wicked as he pleases, yet pays each of them back according to their demerits.

To the King again.

Sire, you have heard what lamentations and regrets, what tears, or rather what dying sighs accompany the sad memory of our misery and misfortune, the pitiful account of Petremelande's audacious and scandalous enterprise, the marks of his injustice and tyranny condemned by all laws: the tokens and memorials of his infidelity and treason, the intolerable contempt he showed for your authority and grandeur: in short, the murders and cruelties perpetrated against your servants and subjects, all or most of them virtuous and brave captains, men of honour and good repute, who would have acted as a living rampart around your majesty, and as frontiers to hold back all the enemies of your state. By which if there were ever humanity, compassion and mercy on record, the supplicants hope that our God in his goodness will so fill your heart with these, that your majesty will let himself be touched by our just grievances and pitiful complaints, will espouse our cause to see justice done, and, to that end, will extend to us his favour and protection, which will be a pious work, worthy of your calling, and a manifestation of charity towards your poor subjects and faithful servants, with a view to assuaging the bitterness of their afflictions and bearing witness to their innocence to the whole of Christendom, which will make you beloved and hailed by all nations, not only as a King, but also as a father to your people.

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WYCHE HUNTER AND THE FLORIDA INDIAN CAMPAIGNS, 1837-1841

by REYNOLD M. WIK

IN JANUARY, 1837, Captain Nathaniel Wyche Hunter arrived at Fort Huleman, Florida, to engage in the military campaigns against the Seminole Indians.¹ His letters and diaries during the next four years provide a vivid account of military life in the Peninsula State.² Although his observations do not alter the history of the Seminole wars, they do reflect the thoughts of a perceptive officer facing the frustrations common to this theater of frontier warfare. They also present a soldier's view of the United States government's action in removing the Florida Indians to lands beyond the Mississippi river.

Captain Hunter, born in Powelton, Hancock County, Georgia, in 1810, had been well trained for a military career. Since he indicated a preference for the army at the age of fifteen, his father Arch R. L. Hunter suggested he enter West Point.³ The father described him as tall, active, agreeable, well-proportioned for his years and possessing a strong desire for military life. Be-

1. The Hunter families of Virginia came from a long genealogical line which can be traced back to Scotland in 1661. George H. S. King of Fredericksburg, Virginia, gives the following information taken largely from *The Hunter's of Duns, Berwick County, Scotland to Fredericksburg, Virginia* by Mary Kate Hunter (Palestine, Texas, 1940).

James Hunter lived in Dunse, Scotland, (1661-1738). His son William Hunter came to Virginia sometime before 1741 where he became a successful merchant at Fredericksburg. After his marriage to Martha Taliaferro of Snow Creek, Spotsylvania County, Virginia, in 1744, three children were born, James Hunter (jr) 1746-1788; William, 1748-1788, and Martha 1750-(?). James Hunter (jr) married Marianna Russell Spence 1747-1805. Their son, Arch R. L. Hunter moved to Powelton, Georgia. His three sons were Russell, James, and Nathaniel Wyche Hunter. The unpublished diaries and letters of Nathaniel Hunter provide the basis for this article.

2. The Hitchcock-Coit Collection, Mills College Library, Oakland, California. This manuscript collection includes the unpublished records of James Hunter (jr); the Arch R. L. Hunter Papers, and the Nathaniel Wyche Hunter letters and Diaries, volume I, 160 pages, and volume II, 210 pages. Unless otherwise indicated, the correspondence and diaries cited hereafter are from the Hitchcock-Coit Collection.
3. D. Vinton, Powelton, Georgia, to Hon. James Barbou, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C., May 7, 1825.

sides, he excelled in reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography and geometry.⁴ Nathaniel received notification of his appointment on May 30, 1828, and entered West Point later in the summer.⁵

The new Cadet liked the physical aspects of the Academy. He described the location as the most beautiful plain he had seen. Huge mountains surrounded the site, with the spectacular Hudson river cutting across the plain in almost a straight line. Fort Putnam of Revolutionary War days defended Fort Clinton on the verge of the point. "To the eye of the spectator the place is impregnable," he mused, and added, "the country is so rugged that few people live close to the point."⁶

Although impressed by the location of the Academy, he detested many phases of academic life complaining that the innumerable regulations could not be put down on ten quires of paper. Grades were based on daily recitation rather than annual examinations. Each word missed in class became a demerit to be totaled up at the end of the year. Sixty demerits could mean expulsion. Like many of his colleagues, Hunter worried about grades, moaned over his inability to study, and at times felt certain he would be discharged from the service of the United States.⁷ He wrote in the summer of 1831 that final examinations were over but that it would be impossible for his parents to know how miserable he had been. At times he said he hated the Academy and signed his name, "your son in prison."⁸ Frequently he criticized his instructors as biased and unreasonable men and insisted that,

4. Arch R. L. Hunter, Powelton, Georgia, to Hon. James Barbour, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C., May 8, 1825.

5. John Taliaferro, Washington, D. C., to Arch R. L. Hunter, Powelton, Georgia, May 30, 1828.

6. Nathaniel Wyche Hunter, West Point, New York, to Arch R. L. Hunter, Powelton, Georgia.

7. Nathaniel Wyche Hunter, West Point, New York, to Arch R. L. Hunter, West Point, New York, to Arch R. L. Hunter, Powelton, Georgia, June 20, 1831.

8. Nathaniel Wyche Hunter, West Point, to Arch R. L. Hunter, Powelton, Georgia, August 7, 1829. These fears could be held by the Cadets with some justification because almost half of each entering class was dismissed before graduation. In 1825, 87 students entered the Academy but only 46 graduated in 1829.

The one thing that tends more than anything else to make me dislike the place is that nearly all the instructors here are Yankees. They are so partial to the Yankees that it is almost impossible for a Southerner to stay here, but should he happen to stay, it is almost impossible for him to have any standing.⁹

In spite of these qualms, Hunter graduated from West Point on June 15, 1833, and shortly afterward received his commission as Second Lieutenant in the United States army.

Assignment to Florida probably came as no surprise to Captain Hunter because this region had been the stage for extended conflict between the white and red man. Negro slaves escaping to the Everglades swamps created added tension. Following the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, the United States government used diplomatic and military measures to persuade or force the Seminoles to relinquish their lands. The treaties of Camp Moultrie and Payne's Landing were dictated by the power of the United States army. Efforts to move the Seminoles west of the Mississippi River under provisions of the Removal Act of 1830 were met by stiff Indian resistance. Daniel Webster in the Senate on June 7, 1838, pointed out: "This Florida war has already cost us over twenty million dollars."¹⁰ Congressman William C. Preston of South Carolina estimated the cost as larger than all the other Indian wars put together and four times the price paid to Spain for acquisition of the whole country¹¹. By 1840, at least 1,500 American troops had been killed by the Seminoles, while the losses of the Indians in defense of their homes is impossible to calculate.¹²

9. Nathaniel Wyche Hunter, West Point, to Arch R. L. Hunter, Powelton, Georgia, October 8, 1829. This statement is a bit extreme because Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston, both of Virginia, were enrolled at the Academy in 1829 when Nathaniel Hunter made this comment. In fact, Robert E. Lee was made adjutant of the corps for 1828-1829 which was the highest honor granted to West Point students. See also, Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee* (New York, 1935), I, 48-60.

10. *Congressional Globe*, 25th Cong., 2nd Sess., June, 1838, p. 373.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

12. Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1932), p. 382. See also, Edwin C. McReynolds, *Seminoles* (Norman Oklahoma, 1957), p. 95. Professor McReynolds states that an official survey in 1820 indicated that approximately 5,000 Indians lived in Florida. That these limited numbers should inflict so many casualties on the United States army reflects the courage, skill and fighting ability of the Seminoles.

Fort Huleman, where Nathaniel Hunter was first stationed, was on the banks of the St. Johns, a river which William Cullen Bryant once called, "one of the noblest streams of the country."¹³ One hundred miles from its mouth, the wide, deep waters resembled a lake, Martha Hunter, the Captain's sister, in 1839 thought the region extremely beautiful with its large orange trees bending to the ground with their golden fruit. "We can gather wagon loads of fruit," she explained, "while lemons grow wild, the coconut trees are of considerable size, and the river abounds in fine fish of which the men gather great quantities of speckled trout every day."¹⁴

However, these scenic vistas failed to impress Captain Hunter who, three months after his arrival, wrote to his parents "abusing the country at a terrible rate."¹⁵ He seemed to agree with John Randolph who said, when he opposed the building of federal roads in this area, "No man would immigrate into Florida, no, not from hell itself."¹⁶ Much of this negative attitude resulted from the young officer's fear of the Indians. He never underestimated the fighting ability of the Seminoles. Even though the tribe had been weakened by 1837, the Florida marshes were still a no-man's land in which death might lurk in every shadow.

Captain Hunter in May, 1838, relieved Captain Beall in command of Fort Swearngen which was then the southernmost military post in Florida. General Jessup had just ended his eighteen month campaign, capturing, 2,200 Indians and killing 70 more.¹⁷ All volunteers were discharged and all territory south of Fort Swearngen abandoned to the enemy.

Anticipating new Indian assaults, Hunter believed his position insecure due to the weak construction of Fort Swearngen. He envisioned disaster with his group of twenty men facing an enemy which earlier had withstood the attack of 2,000 American troops. When relief failed to arrive his anxiety reached the highest pitch of tension and his "brain reeled with delirium."¹⁸

13. Branch A. Cabell and A. J. Hanna, *The St. Johns: A Paradise of Diversities* (New York, 1943), p. 3.

14. Martha Hunter, Palatka, Florida, to Arch R. L. Hunter, Huntington, Cherokee County, North Carolina, December 5, 1839.

15. Russell Hunter, Knoxville, Tennessee, to Arch R. L. Hunter, Valley Towns, Cherokee County, North Carolina, March 1, 1837.

16. Cabell and Hanna, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

17. *Congressional Globe*. 25th Cong., 2nd Sess., June 8, 1838, p. 355.

18. Nathaniel Hunter Diary, II, 26.

Later, Hunter described his futile attempt to defend the post against an Indian night raid. He recalled that after sundown a strange noise came from the upper story of the block-house which sounded as if a dozen Indians were dancing on parcels of dried hides. All soldiers were under arms. With torch in hand, the Captain led a party to search the building. Even the roof under the shingles was searched without finding anyone. Someone suggested that the noises might be the ghosts of the unburied dead who fell in the battle of Okeechobee. Meanwhile Hunter tried to calm his men by saying the noises came from owls and bats. Yet, in spite of all precautions, the Seminoles infiltrated the fort. By ten o'clock Fort Swearngen burst into flames, forcing the army troops to retreat to Black Creek.¹⁹

Later, Hunter criticized the buildings at Fort Melon, saying those responsible for these flimsy defenses should be ashamed to call them a military post. Martha Hunter writing from Palatka in December, 1839, likewise mentioned the inadequate construction.

When I arrived here I found that there were no quarters and I was obliged to live in a tent for several days, which I confess was not very pleasant. My house is made of half-skinned pine poles held together by clap boards nailed across. The outside of it is as clean as a pig pen, and not much better. The doors open on the outside like a barn door and at night we tie them together with a twine cord, and so we live. . . . I was much alarmed the first night and did not sleep a wink for fear of Indians.²⁰

Needless to say, Captain Hunter soon learned something about the obstacles encountered in building fortifications in Florida. When ordered in February, 1840, to proceed to Rollestown with his company of High Dragoons to establish a military post, he gave instructions for cleaning out the underbrush, constructing a wharf at the St. Johns river, and erecting quarters for his men. However, delays followed since one third of the men were needed for scouting expeditions. Then too, supplies were scarce and at times virtually impossible to secure. The Quartermaster at Black Creek refused to issue a tarpaulin or to send boards for flooring

19. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

20. Martha Hunter, Palatka, Florida, to Arch R. L. Hunter, Huntington, North Carolina.

except on order of the commanding general. Bricks, mortar, and lumber failed to arrive because the purpose for which they were to be used had not been specified. In fact, Hunter learned to loathe quartermasters, calling them hypocrites whose first official act was to make themselves comfortable, then to make everybody else as uncomfortable as the license of the service would permit. Besides, they retarded the movements of the army, disregarded the interests of the service, outraged private feelings, violated public confidence and all "to gratify the whims of some puritanical ass. To think of a Quartermaster possessing conscientious scruples, I'd as soon expect holy water in hell or sanctity in Satan." ²¹

Some of the frustrations of the military grew out of ignorance of the geography of the region. Scouts frequently got lost trying to return to camp. Hunter knew the general terrain but not the topography of specific areas. He felt the need of a good guide and reliable maps, not those available in bookstores at home which were so innacurate that, "any Negro guide could make a better one in the sand." ²² He wanted a comprehensive delineation of Florida because,

All the maps I have seen are erroneous in many important respects. They are almost entirely compiled from the verbal representations of illiterate guides. Each officer should be compelled to make a map of the district under his command from personal observation, actual movement, and such means as would enable him to certify to its accuracy. ²³

Even though the United States army held seventy fortified positions in Florida in 1840, the complete subjugation of the remaining Seminoles proved difficult because they hid in the swamps and dense foliage. This problem enlivened a Senate debate when a critic of the Florida wars suggested that someone count the Seminoles to enable Congress to determine the size of the army required to capture them. Senator Robert Strange of North Carolina sagely replied, "Gentlemen, to count the savages, we must catch them, and if caught the necessity for counting would be over. . . ." ²⁴ Thomas Hart Benton, senator from Missouri, believed successful military exploits did not exist in

21. Hunter Diary, I, 11.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

23. *Ibid.*, I, 24-25.

24. *Congressional Globe*. 25th Cong., 2nd Sess., June 8, 1838, p. 355.

such a country and against such a foe. He pictured Florida as swamps and lagoons which made it impervious to the white man's tread.²⁵

Under conditions favorable to Indian attacks from ambush, Captain Hunter insisted that soldiers were being exposed to unnecessary dangers. When on a scouting party which came upon a deserted Indian village, Hunter thought the Major's actions wholly irresponsible. "Who knew that the hummock on either side of the path was not occupied by numbers sufficient to annihilate the whole command?" he asked. "I shudder to think what might have attended the recklessness of the major on this occasion, and hope such dangers can be avoided for the sake of our country and our friends."²⁶

Additional concern resulted from the questionable tactics employed by some of the army officers. Since the Indians usually made their villages in marshes or retreats hidden in a labyrinth of vines where they could evade pursuit, common sense suggested that they could be taken only by surprise. This necessitated silent troop movements. Yet, the army units often crashed through the underbrush in general disorder creating pandemonium. Hunter thought anyone hoping to capture Indians under these conditions must be demented. Just when profound quietude seemed most essential,

Then that damned bugle is sounding again, as if the trampling of two hundred horses and the shouts of two hundred men and the occasional firing of a gun were not sufficient to notify the enemy of our approach and impress upon them the necessity of making themselves scarce. On such a night as this, sound can be heard five miles and I would not care to capture an Indian who is such a fool as not to profit by the information it conveys. The major says he will cease to have the usual calls blown when he ascertains proximity to the enemy. Well, I hope I am wrong in anticipating unfortunate circumstances from such indiscretion, but it does strike me as a piece of damned foolishness.²⁷

Furthermore, a sense of futility gripped the men. Captain Hunter's journals reflect this attitude in notations referring to

25. *Ibid.* p. 375.

26. Hunter Diary, 1, 78-79.

27. *Ibid.*, 1, 80.

scouts returning to camp with nothing to report aside from the killing of a rattlesnake. Again, cattle were seen, but no Indians. Swamps ten miles long were encountered which defied exploration. The Indians were too nimble and the soldiers had feet of clay.²⁸

Apparently morale fell to the point where the occasional capture of an Indian failed to arouse the spirit of the troops. Little romance sprang from charging a village to snatch a few terrified children couched in the weeds or kidnapping old squaws begging for mercy. For instance, Colonel Kearney returned to Fort King on June 26, 1840, to report the destruction of ten acres of corn, the capture of several horses, one negro, and an old woman who could not run and a child who could not walk.²⁹ After a scouting party camped near Tampa, Hunter snorted, "What have we gained from this expedition? Seven Indians and ignominy."³⁰

The use of bloodhounds to track Seminoles brought additional criticism from army personnel as well as from many citizens at home. Hunter insisted these dogs were of no value and that the bizarre experiment had proved to be a "chimera, a humbug and a hoax."³¹ When a petition drafted by people in Indiana protested the use of bloodhounds, Senator Oliver H. Smith announced that these dogs were not as dangerous as commonly believed. The petition was tabled.³²

Since war is a dirty business, the diaries written by those involved usually reek with boredom. In the Florida campaigns inclement weather plagued the men and the summer heat made work both disagreeable and dangerous. Military action ceased in the summer months.³³ Senator Benton sympathized with the soldiers in Florida, where "suffocating heat oppresses the frame,

28. *Ibid.*, p. 27. On April 15, 1840, Hunter wrote in his diary. "Received a notification from Lt. Brown that two men near the six Mile branch, swamp or hummock had been fired upon by Indians. One of the scouts fired at the smoke of the Indians' guns. I sent a scout to search the swamps near Deep Creek. He returned without seeing any signs of tracks."

29. *Ibid.*, I, 61.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 126. Hunter wrote, "Here we are on Christmas night 26 miles from Tampa with the eternal forest around us and nothing but Indians and wolves to molest or make afraid. And what a holiday it has been. I doubt that I will ever forget it. . . ."

31. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

32. *Congressional Globe*, 26th Cong. 1st Sess., April 21, 1840, p. 321.

33. Hunter Diary, I, 52.

annoying insects sting the body, burning sands, a spongy morass, and the sharp cutting grass receive the feet and legs.³⁴

Similarly, wet weather handicapped operations and depressed all hands. Scouts slogged through mud and water while roads became quagmires making transportation virtually impossible. Captain Hunter observed,

Rain, rain, rain, will it never cease its eternal patter? What a melancholy sound that monotonous pat, pat, pat as it falls from the eaves or trickles through the crevices of the roof just where your head happens to be. If such a reminder were to happen in London, half of it would be depopulated by suicides. Men and horses are performing the most arduous service and exposed to all the inclemencies of this variable climate. I presume the General will leave this God abandoned country at an early date. I would urge it most strenuously.³⁵

In addition, the long summers fostered disease and illness among the troops. Stagnant water pools fed mosquitoes to spread malaria and yellow fever. In February, 1840, Hunter thought Dr. Hitchcock should have an assistant surgeon because four posts would be too many when the "sickly season arrives."³⁶ In March, the men were getting sick so fast that a boat crew stayed on duty to transport them to a hospital at Palatka, and in April sickness prevailed to an alarming degree.³⁷

This increased sickness, according to Captain Hunter, resulted from careless management which tolerated unsanitary conditions. At Fort Nelson on June 12, 1841, he confronted unwarranted filth. Earlier reports had praised the post for its excellent gardens which provided a refuge from starvation. However, Hunter beheld an inundated garden with withered melon vines and corn stalks floating around to create a sight worse than Bunyan's Slough of Despond.³⁸ "Do you call that sink of mire a stable," he retorted. "What mountains of manure. What stench, stinks and odours that emanate therefrom. The Augean was nothing to this."³⁹ When he inspected the hospital rooms

34. *Congressional Globe*. 25th Cong. 2nd Sess., June, 1838, p. 355.

35. Hunter Diary, I, 86.

36. *Ibid.*, p. vcr. Dr. Charles M. Hitchcock served in the Florida campaigns and in the Mexican War. In 1850 he arrived in San Francisco to serve as an army surgeon.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

39. *Ibid.*, I, 136.

above a commissary store he thought the doom of Lazarus slight compared to the victims languishing in such a place. Here the smell of putrid pork and spoiled beans hit the nostrils, a condition he sardonically observed that existed on the principle that poisons counteract each other.⁴⁰ He added,

I don't see how we can possibly live here for a month and drink such villainous water. Besides its warmth and discoloration by the infusion of noxious stuffs, it generates myriads of wiggle tails and pollywogs which are anything but palatable in a state of animation. A slight infusion of "Old Rye" removes all deliteries gurgleititis and cooks the animalculae to perfection and renders the mixture quite agreeable.⁴¹

These fears evidently were justified because Hunter suffered a five month siege of illness, emerging as he said with his spirit broken and his hopes less sanguine and a "wreck in mind and body-a victim of the vicissitudes of Florida warfare."⁴² Nevertheless he kept his humor saying that his disease had added virulency to his bile which he would now disgorge over friend and foe alike.

Of course there is more in army life than tribulations. After long marches which exhausted the men, the subsequent rest felt unusually good. Following a twenty mile march, the Captain expressed his reactions in exquisite literary fashion.

How sweet our sleep. Slumber exercises perfect dominion over all our faculties and we can covet nothing more than to yield preemptory and implicit obedience to its overpowering influence. The hooting of owls from the umbrageous pines that moaned in doleful cadence over our heads, the cry of the wolves that howled their honor from the verge of the hills above us, the barking of the grey fox that prowled within the glare of our campfires. Wake me not from the

40. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 130. Hunter believed there were too many quacks in the medical corps of the army. In his Diary, II, 39, he said, "These quack doctors are fond of prescribing nostrums, patent medicines, roots and herbs. These men who not being able or willing to keep pace with science look upon all improvements and innovations with horror. They would rather kill a patient according to the good old sacred method of their ancestors, than cure him by new fangled practice of the day."

utter state of forgetfulness into which slumberland had wrapt me. . . . Blessed is he who invented sleep.⁴³

Extended travel brought memorable experiences. The diarist enjoyed his exposure to a changing panorama on a trip to Tampa in 1840.

And this is Tampa, a name familiar to all who have ever read a Florida bulletin, the landing place of DeSoto and his gallant Cavaliers in 1539; the most beautiful and chosen spot in Florida. The orange and lime trees look pretty and the stately live oaks, how grand and magnificent. The fort is built on a promontory projecting into Tampa Bay leaving the Hillsboro river on the right and the arm of the San Espirito Bay on the left. There is scarcely a vestige of the old fort left. Major Belton in 1836 caused nearly all the buildings to be pulled down and many improvements destroyed in anticipation of an attack from the Indians. How he has been cursed for it. The Alabama volunteers picketed their horses to the orange trees and cut down the live oaks for firewood. What sacrilege. Tampa is still a pretty place. What a contrast does it present to the wild woods in which I have been living. Then the fish, oysters, turtles, no wonder all the commanding officers make it their headquarters. Turtle steaks are frequently issued instead of fresh beef to the men. Trout, sheepshead, grouper, oysters and crabs go a begging. . . .⁴⁴

Then too, there was rejoicing in liquor. A concentrated pull on the bottle rejuvenated them. At times, provident soldiers slipped whiskey bottles into their holsters to enliven the march. This acute dryness of the palate drew frequent comments from Captain Hunter. On a trek through the forest in April, 1840, he explained,

But by a most unpardonable oversight my flask of liquor had gone with the packs to camp, and though our drink was a tolerably strong stimulant, the excitement soon subsided and a flask of Old Monongehela to warm our drooping spirits would have commanded any price. By the greatest good luck (the devil will take care of his own) a bottle was found and many were the cups we drained and patent were the draughts we quaffed until the bottle completely exhausted under our frequent applications uttered a gurgling sound and-was empty.⁴⁵

43. *Ibid.*, I, p. 81.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

At first glance, the Hunter journals seem to picture a cynical officer attempting to avoid all the unpleasantness found in military life in the Florida wilds. True, his complaints are legion. He decried slow communications which permitted presidential addresses to reach Europe before Florida.⁴⁶ Desertions were followed by painful court martials. Soldiers inflicted injuries upon themselves to escape duty; others wanted to resign if they could collect their pay. Excessive paper work piled up. Superior officers were envied, promotions came slowly, and brevet majors never died.⁴⁷

Yet, beyond these protests stands an officer with enough sensitivity to think seriously about the ethics inherent in the Indian policy carried out by the United States government. As an eye witness to the Florida events, Hunter questioned the morality of ejecting Indians from their homes by military force. For him the Red Man's "Trail of Tears" was a tragedy. While contemporary scholars find it easy to condemn the ruthlessness of the Indian removal policy, Captain Hunter came to these conclusions at the time these acts were being committed. Not all army men believed that the only good Indians were deceased. In this sense, these diaries are commendable in contrast to the black record of the Federal Government's overall relations with the Seminoles.⁴⁸

For instance, on April 14, 1840, when Hunter heard of General Zachary Taylor's order to take no more Indians alive, he failed to understand how a man with the General's sound judgment and discretion could take such a step. Hunter said he would defy the order because of his own innate repugnance to commit an act of downright murder. Indeed, no Indian prisoner under his command would suffer premeditated death.⁴⁹ Al-

46. *Ibid.*, I, 138.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 19. On May 15, 1840, Hunter revealed his dislike for superior officers when he wrote, "General Armistead assumes command of the army in Florida to the surprise of all, the mortification of many and the distrust of not a few. What does the gray bearded and imbecile dotard imagine he can do? If he accomplishes anything, it will be clear gain. None can have the presumption to anticipate any good from his efforts, a chance that may kill the devil. . . ."

48. See Mary E. Young, "Indian Removal and Land Allotment: The Civilized Tribes and Jacksonian Justice," *The American Historical Review*, LXIV (October, 1958), 31-56.

49. Hunter Diary, I, 27.

though admitting an obligation to his government, he wanted some semblance of justice on his side. His fairmindedness on the Indian question brought forth the following declaration.

I've tried every argument to still my conscience, but this restless imp will not be quiet. It bores me to death with impertinent questions relative to the propriety of conduct in which I am engaged and when I answer in the hackneyed phraseology of the day - that I have no right to discuss the propriety of my order; that it is the duty of a soldier to obey; that government is but enforcing a treaty; that our enemies are barbarous murderers of women and children; and last, that I am paid for acting not thinking-Sister to the audacious imp reply, "Fiat justitia ruat calm." Have God and justice no claims upon you prior and paramount to a government that incites you to de commission of a crime? Will no compunctions deter you from wringing your hands in innocent blood, even though it be the command of a superior officer? Enforce a treaty, a compact begot in fraud and brought forth in the blackest villainy and now in process of condemnation aided by the vilest machinations man or demon could invent? Is not every act of the Indians sanctioned by the practice of civilized nations? Are they not sanctioned by expediency and revenge? Mark me-if in this unhallowed surface one drop of Indian blood should soil your hands like Lady Macbeth you may cry to all eternity, "Out damned spot". . . . Besides I'm opposed to fighting Indians anyhow. . . .⁵⁰

These reservations merely reinforced Nathaniel Hunter's disenchantment with military affairs in Florida. Thus he became jubilant on May 2, 1841, when ordered to pull the 2nd Dragoons out of the Everglades and transport them to Fort Jessup in Louisiana.⁵¹ The men strained their eyes to catch a glimpse of the steamboat puffing up the St. Johns river to pick them up. Hunter exclaimed that the Children of Israel never gazed with more earnestness from the top of Pisgah upon the promised

50. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

51. *Ibid.*, II, 2. Captain Hunter did not reach Fort Jessup until December 14, 1842. He received a furlough in May, 1841, during which time he visited Baltimore and West Point. Then he spent some time in the recruiting service at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Hunter was moved to Texas on July 25, 1845, where he remained until the outbreak of the Mexican War. He died on April 25, 1849.

land.⁵² As the vessel touched the wharf at Palatka, the Dragoons shouted, "By the gods she blows. Let's go aboard."⁵³

This contingent left Florida knowing the Indian problem remained unsolved. In fact, a policy of alternating coercion, threats, bribes and promises continued until 1857 when the last 165 Seminoles were removed from Florida.⁵⁴ Survivors on both sides had experienced the agonies of a struggle in which right and wrong had never been clearly defined.⁵⁵

52. *Ibid.*, I, 138.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

54. Grant Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

55. See also Mary Sudman, "The Florida Indian War," manuscript, Mills College Library; and the correspondence files of Mary Manning Cook, Reference Librarian, Mills College.

BOOK REVIEWS

Stonewall's Man: Sandie Pendleton. By W. G. Bean. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1959. 252 pp. Selected bibliography, index. \$5.00)

THIS BIOGRAPHY OF A MAN, conceded to be one of the most brilliant of Confederate staff officers, who became a special favorite of the almost legendary General "Stonewall" Jackson, is unusual since it contains little of the noise and smell of battle. It is restful to follow the life of such a man without being forced through a repetition of battles which have been described so often.

Dr. Bean, a scholar, has based his narrative chiefly on unpublished, intimate manuscript sources. He has given us a full picture of this soldier's close family life, his gaiety, his devoutly religious nature, his romances, and the lighter side of the staff officers' daily living in camp.

Yet, the work has its disappointments. Why give a whole chapter to the minute details of General Jackson's funeral? Why did this brilliant, well educated young officer have no profound reflections on the war, its causes, its course, its possible results? Why are the qualities in Sandie Pendleton, which endeared him to "Stonewall" Jackson, not made clear?

Despite these criticisms this book is recommended both to the student and the general reader, for its engaging style, content, and its painstaking research.

J. RYAN BEISER

University of Tampa

HISTORY OF KEY WEST, Today and Yesterday. By Louise V. White and Nora K. Smiley. (St. Petersburg, Fla., Great Outdoors Publishing Co., 1959. 104 pp. Illustrations. \$1.00)

"VISITING KEY WEST," begin our lady authors, "either actually, or via the printed pages of a book-seems like having a date with Destiny. To go through the sun and shadow of the city is somewhat similar to being in at the very start of man's recorded history."

"A date with Destiny" permits the reader a feeling of great hopes, which, alas, are not wholly fulfilled. True, Key West offers a colorful parade of peoples, from the elusive Calusa Indians to the present Cuban population-element; and it has seen an array of spectacular activity in the doings of pirates, wreckers and fishermen; but on the whole, the place has tended to be off-stage in the main dramas. This fact would be likely to hamper any historian.

"Brief history" would have been an apter title for this 104-page paper booklet, for it is really a series of historical sketches, each one highlighting an important aspect of Key West's history. After a Foreword, the topics proceed in a general chronological way, leading off with a section on the Calusa Indians from which one may rightly conclude that not much is known about them. This is followed by a section on pirates, mentioning a few of the most famous names, for their story resembles the saga of the Calusa in its mistiness: "The exact year . . . is not known," "There may be truth to the statement . . .," "It is said . . .". A few early settlers receive notice next-among the names, John Simonton and John Whitehead.

A sizeable portion of the booklet is given over to the various industries that have occupied Key Westers over the years; i.e., sponging, salt making, wrecking, turtling, fishing, cigar making and farming. Recounted in the little review of the wreckers is an amusing island legend of a preacher who, facing the open door of his church, was thus able to spot a wreck before any in the congregation could possibly be aware of it. Leaving the pulpit, he walked deliberately down the aisle and out the door. Before jumping into his boat, he paused long enough to shout back, "A wrack on a reef!" Reading of these several industrial pursuits once vital to Key West, but almost all gone now, must bring some feeling of regret to old-timers of the place.

Brief notes are given on Key West in the Civil War (always referred to as the War Between the States), the Spanish-American War, and the two World Wars, as well as miscellaneous subjects like hurricanes and the economic depression of the 1930's.

Numerous photographs accompany the text. These have been garnered from the authors themselves, local photographers and the East Martello Gallery and Museum, of which Mrs. White is

the curator. Both authors live in Key West and are enthusiastic, one feels, about their subject. An error or two in punctuation and structure, and one or two lapses into repetition can be noted. More than these, one regrets the absence of a bibliography and an index.

However, these are minor faults, for when printed material on Key West is wanted, there is not much to turn to; therefore, anyone interested in Florida history will welcome this agreeable little book.

KATHLEEN LEATHEN

Miami Public Library

NEWS AND NOTES

The 1961 Annual Meeting

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY has accepted with pleasure the invitation of the Palm Beach Historical Society to hold its 1961 annual meeting at "Whitehall," the Flagler museum in Palm Beach. Circuit Judge James Knott, president of the Palm Beach Society, extended the invitation and suggested, tentatively, a date in early April. Details and exact date will be announced later.

The Florida Genealogical Society

This group was organized in Tampa in the fall of 1958. Membership now numbers 50. A library has been started and is located in the "historical room" at the Hillsborough County Court House in Tampa. Donations of books and genealogical data are welcomed. The society has scheduled its first publication for the fall of this year. The current officers serving with Mrs. John Branch, president, are Theodore Lesley, vice president; Mrs. Orial Meyerhoefer, recording secretary; Mrs. Dean Post, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Edyth Dill, treasurer.

The Restoration of St. Augustine

The St. Augustine Historical, Restoration and Preservation Commission has made plans to purchase historic Arrivas House and adjacent property near the city gates for use as headquarters.

Recent additions to the Commission's staff include Dr. Charles W. Arnade, Dr. John R. Dunkle of the University of Florida and Dr. Hale G. Smith of Florida State University. It is gratifying that the Commission is seeking the advice and guidance of these and other professionals in the planning and execution of its restoration program.

The Forest History Foundation

Louisiana State University's Department of Archives and Manuscripts has been selected as an approved repository of North

American forest history by the Forest History Foundation, Inc., of St. Paul, Minnesota. (For selection of the P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, see the last issue of *The Florida Historical Quarterly*.)

A formal presentation of the award was made in March to V. L. Bedsole, head of the university archives, in the presence of a committee of men prominent in forestry and the forest industries, including Parrish Fuller, president of Hillyer-Deutsch-Edwards, Inc., of Oakdale, Louisiana.

The special award was given to the University Department of Archives for its distinguished record of achievement in collecting, preserving, organizing and making available for scholarly research use, source materials on the forest history of North America.

"Louisiana State University, through its graduates, has made a profound contribution to the management of the nation's forests," Fuller said in making the presentation to Bedsole. "Here has arisen a great archives, one which is acknowledged throughout the nation as a treasury of regional and national history."

The Department of Archives is actively engaged in acquiring manuscripts, business and professional records, and similar materials pertaining to almost every aspect of life in the recorded history of the Lower Mississippi Valley.

Records of or concerning lumbering and forest history are a vital part of this collection program because of the long and significant role of forests in the life and history of this country.

Some of the department's major holdings of records and related material pertaining to lumbering are described in *Forest History Sources of the United States and Canada* (Forest History Foundation, Inc. 1956).

Non-current records of the Southern Pine Association and its predecessors, 1903-1948, consisting of an estimated 225,000 items, is the largest unit of forest history records in the university archives, whose total holdings consist of more than two million items. The Southern Pine Association serves member lumber companies in 12 southern states from Virginia to Texas and Oklahoma and including Florida and acts as a clearing house of information concerning pine lumber.

The Forest History Foundation, formed in 1952, is a non-profit organization operated for the purpose of collecting and

disseminating information about lumbering and forest history. Elwood R. Maunder is director of the foundation.

The Florida Civil War Centennial Commission

Two additional members of the Commission have been appointed by Governor LeRoy Collins. They are James C. Craig and H. Plant Osborne, both of Jacksonville. At a meeting in DeLand in April, Adam G. Adams of Miami was elected chairman of the Commission.

The Florida Anthropological Society

The Society met in annual session at the University of Florida, Gainesville, on March 12. Dr. John M. Goggin was program chairman.

The following officers were elected: president, Marvin J. Brooks, Miami; first vice president, William Lazarus, Ft. Walton Beach; second vice president, E. Y. Guernsey, Cocoa Beach; treasurer, Harry L. Goetz, Tampa; editor, Wilfred Neill, Silver Springs; secretary, Noel Herman, Miami; and executive committeemen, William C. Sturtevant, Washington, Cliff E. Maddox, Cocoa Beach and Charles L. Knight, Tampa.

Florida Southern College

Florida Southern College celebrated the 75th anniversary of its establishment during Founders' Week, March 14-20. During the past 75 years, the college has had seven changes in name and five in city of location. Founded in Orlando by the Methodist Church, it was soon moved to Leesburg, then to Palm Harbor (known as Sutherland), to Clearwater Beach and, finally, in 1922 to its present home in Lakeland.

The economic effects of the "big freeze" of 1894-95, damage from fires and hurricanes, the "boom" and its aftermath were all survived by the college which is today the second largest private college in the state. Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr. is president of the college.

The Orlando Sentinel

On May 15 of this year the 75th anniversary of the *Orlando Sentinel* was celebrated. The newspaper had its beginning in 1885 as the weekly *South Florida Sentinel*. A special section of the May 15 issue of the current paper was devoted to the history and development of the area. Tribute was paid editorially to the "memory of one, Latimer C. Vaughn, the courageous young Englishman who started this publication. . . . Mr. Vaughn came to Orlando with his pretty brunette wife and three daughters, from Marianna and Henderson, North Carolina. He gave the *Sentinel* its first modern machinery. He was more of a pioneer in his day than we are in ours. He brought to the little town of Orlando the marvel of the printing age, a Campbell rotary press. People came from miles round to see it operate and listen to its noisy clatter. The Campbell press in its day was equal to our new \$1,500,000 Hoe color presses today from a standpoint of progress. However, the Campbell created more interest and excitement among the citizens, who perhaps had more time to be curious about such things."

News of Local Historical Societies

Each year at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, local historical groups are invited to participate in the luncheon session. This feature of the program is becoming increasingly popular. Eighteen reports were heard this year, a record number and indicative of the growing activity in every corner of the state. Reports from the eighteen societies are given below.

"*The Bay County Historical Society* has been very active in terms of work during the past year . . . mainly through the efforts of Dr. Ralph Wager, our president, we have been given a room in the Panama City city hall for exhibits and records. This room is not yet completely furnished but we have acquired a bookcase for our complete set of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, purchased last year.

"Dr. Wager has been doing a tremendous amount of local research. He has searched for photographs of all Panama City

mayors and found all but one. He has also made many tape recordings of reminiscences." The writer of this report (read by Mrs. M. H. LaTour) was David Lewis, treasurer of the Bay County group. Mapping of the early St. Joseph railroads is a project of junior members of the Society which has met with outstanding success.

The Confederate Round Table. The founding chapter in Florida of the Confederate Round Table holds its meetings in Dade City and discusses, principally, the military strategy of the War Between the States, according to Dr. James W. Covington, one of its officers. E. M. Covington, P. O. Box 316, Dade City, is president; L. M. Hawes, Tampa, vice president; and T. C. Williamson, Dade City, secretary and treasurer. The directors, in addition to Dr. Covington, are Col. R. B. Harding, Arcadia, Chairman; Judge W. H. Brewton, Dade City; P. C. Tidwell, Temple Terrace; Dr. J. S. Williams, Dade City and Dr. O. S. Bandy, Lakeland.

William L. Webb, Fernandina Beach, was recently elected president of the *General Duncan L. Clinch Historical Society of Amelia Island*. As he was unable to attend the meeting, his report was read by Joe Weed, Jr., a director of the state society. The group is working currently on the organization of a junior affiliate which has created interest among many of the town's school children. Other officers of the society are Reed Lewellen vice president; Mrs. Pauline Elvin, recording secretary; Mrs. G. M. McNutt, Jr., corresponding secretary; and Ira Hall, treasurer.

The museum collection of the *Hillsborough County Historical Commission* is located in attractive rooms at the county court house. Dr. James Covington of the University of Tampa, a commission member, invited historians to visit the museum when in the Tampa area.

The Historical Association of Southern Florida (1340 duPont Building, Miami 22) is the largest local group in the state. Justin Havee reported that at its January meeting 1,200 persons heard Edwin A. Link tell of the exploration of the sunken city of Port Royal, Jamaica. (The February issue of *National Geographic Magazine* contains an account of this exciting voyage of discovery.)

"Florida and the Navy" by Rear Admiral E. M. Eller; "Un-

covering the Past" by Dr. John M. Corbett, chief archaeologist, National Park Service and "Down to the Cape" by Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Florida historian and writer, highlighted the group's recent program sessions.

The association has erected another historical marker in a series calling public attention to historically significant sites. On April 3, tribute was paid to a pioneer South Florida church by the unveiling of a marker at Grace Methodist Church, 6501 North Miami Avenue.

Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., president of Florida Southern College, gave the principal address. Wayne E. Withers, president of the historical group and Gaylord Price, chairman of the marker committee, were assisted by Joseph Faus, historian for the church and son of one of its pastors, in preparations for the ceremony. The text of the marker reads: "Grace Methodist Church. Oldest church in continuous service in Dade County. This sanctuary, built in 1959, is the third. The second was built in 1905 at 6311 Northeast Second Avenue after a hurricane destroyed the first. Original church was built in 1893 where an Indian Trail crossed Military Trail (Northeast 61st Street and Fifth Avenue) in Lemon City. The church was named Lemon City Methodist by its founders who had met for several years in Pierce's sponge warehouse on Biscayne Bay. This pioneer church was renamed Grace after Lemon City became a part of Miami. The Historical Association of Southern Florida, 1960."

Papers, Volume IV, the occasional publication of the *Jacksonville Historical Society* is now available, Miss Dena Snodgrass reported. Copies are available from the Society (P. O. Box 4343, Jacksonville) at \$2.00 to members and \$3.00 to others. In the foreword, president James C. Craig wrote: "The articles in this volume were selected with a view toward compiling in one book some of the known facts about the early history of Northeast Florida. Here the reader will find the stories of history that recount or have a close relationship to the discovery and development of our particular part of the world. Most of the articles are published here for the first time. Others are included to round out the story."

Officers elected at the May meeting were Egbert S. Moore, president; Mal Haughton, Jr., first vice president; Mrs. Karl

Bardin, second vice president; Mrs. W. E. Mott, corresponding secretary; Miss Martha Lee Segui, recording secretary; Frank L. Harris, treasurer; Herbert Lamson, historian; and Miss Audrey Broward, archivist.

"*The Lake County Historical Society* was organized five years ago and we have grown by leaps and bounds," Mrs. Charles Shaw, president of the society said. A special project of the group is the tape-recording of pioneer reminiscences. Another is a museum (315 New Hampshire Avenue, Tavares) founded late last year, where a collection of objects of early days in the area are on display. The museum building was the home of the late Honorable Jesse W. Hunter whose family cooperated in making the home available to the society. Another project of this active group is the publication of a quarterly leaflet, *Lake County, Then and Now*, and the microfilming of all newspapers which have been published in the county.

The Lakeland Historical Society was organized March 27, 1958 at the home of Mrs. L. B. Bevis, 406 East Lime Street, Lakeland. Gilbert P. Richardson directed the organization and the following officers were elected to serve one year: C. C. Miller, president; Miss Frances Riggins, first vice president; Mrs. A. D. Boring, second vice president; Mrs. C. C. Miller, secretary and Mrs. Nell White Swindell, treasurer.

The society's purpose is to collect, preserve and make available printed and other materials on the history of Lakeland and to mark places of historical interest for future generations. The first marker was placed on the site of the first school, now the new General Telephone building, corner of Lime Street and Tennessee Avenue. With the cooperation of the company, a bronze plaque was placed in the entrance of the building and unveiled with appropriate ceremonies on September 1, 1959.

The first reunion of early settlers was held on February 21, 1960 at the home of Mrs. Pattie Darracott, 121 Mosswood Road. Photographs were taken for the Jubilee edition of the *Lakeland Ledger*.

For Lakeland's Diamond Jubilee anniversary, Society members gathered material for publication in this edition of the paper. They participated in the parade (dressed in costumes of yesteryear); installed an exhibit of pictures of early Lakeland and Florida Southern College in the lobby of the First Federal Sav-

ings and Loan Association building, and acted as hosts during the week of the celebration. A letter addressed to the president of the Lakeland Historical Society, 1985, was placed in the capsule which was buried in Munn Park on March 18, 1960.

Future plans include placing of more historical markers and the establishment of a museum room. Dr. Charles Thrift, Jr. gave the Society's report.

The Martin County Historical Society maintains the House of Refuge Museum on Hutchinson Island, Stuart. Stephen Schmidt, director, wrote that work on the Society's wing of the Elliott Museum of Vehicular Evolution prevented attendance at the state meeting. His report (read by Mrs. M. H. LaTour) stated that "plans are progressing for the construction of exhibit cases for our wing in the Elliott Museum. The theme of 'Exploring Florida' will be expressed in displays in chronological sequence and emphasis will be placed on our own area's contributions to pioneering. Most of the actual work in setting up the exhibit will take place during the summer months and we hope to have the room in viewing form by next season and in time for the dedication." C. O. Rainey is president of the group. Serving with him are Mrs. Hugh Willoughby, Jr., vice president; Miss Lillian Armstrong, recording secretary; Mrs. Cornelia C. Abbott, corresponding secretary, Charles A. Porter, treasurer and Judge Evans Crary, Jr., attorney.

Frank E. Bridgman reported for the *Mount Dora Historical Society* that plans were nearing completion for the publication of a comprehensive history of the city. The state group was privileged to hear details of that history from Rupert D. Longstreet, chairman of the publications committee and from Mr. Bridgman during the Saturday session of the meeting. Walter D. Patton is president of the Mount Dora Society.

Donald S. Cheney of Orlando is chairman of the newly formed Orange County Historical Commission. Serving with him are James N. Burden, vice chairman; Arthur W. Newell, treasurer, Rolland Dean, editor and members Jenkins Dolive, Mrs. Juanita Tucker, Mrs. Donald S. Evans, Henry A. Porter and W. H. Reams.

R. V. Rickcord, who reported for the commission, told of the group's new home on the eighth floor of the court house annex, recently completed. In this room will be displayed the collec-

tion owned by the Antiquarian Society of Orlando which was formerly displayed in the Old Court House. The rooms will soon be open to the public. The commission publishes a quarterly leaflet devoted to the history of the area.

The Osceola County Historical Association was reactivated a year ago and holds its meetings, alternately in St. Cloud and Kissimmee, on the first Tuesday of each month throughout the year, William Dummer, president reported. Attending the state meeting with him were Mr. and Mrs. Preston, Mrs. Edith Silver, Mrs. Clyde Colley and Mrs. Lillian Garrison. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau will speak at an early date before the society on "The Minnie Moore-Willson Papers."

Circuit Judge James R. Knott, president of the *Palm Beach Historical Society*, stated that "through the generosity of Mrs. Jean Louise Flagler Gonzales, granddaughter of Henry Morrison Flagler, 'Whitehall', the magnificent Flagler home in Palm Beach has been made available to us for our headquarters and meetings. We have been provided space in this splendid museum. Early this year, restoration of the museum and many of its furnishings was completed. It is now open to the public."

Recent programs have included addresses by Dr. Elwood C. Nance, president emeritus, Tampa University, who spoke on "Modern Florida's History Makers" and Dr. Ben F. Rogers, vice president and dean, Jacksonville University, whose subject was "Andrew Jackson and the Acquisition of Florida."

At a meeting late in April, Albert C. Manucy, past president, Florida Historical Society, spoke on "Sea Forts of Spain" and illustrated his description of the New World fortifications with colored slides. Attendance at the meeting approximated 500 members and visitors.

Officers of the society, in addition to Judge Knott, are Louis Capron and Mrs. Jean Flagler, vice presidents; Kenneth I. Van der Hulse, treasurer; Mrs. Louis Capron, recording secretary and Miss Claramae Allen, corresponding secretary. Members of the board of governors are Roscoe T. Anthony, Stafford B. Beach, Alan F. Brackett, Mrs. Henry J. Burkhardt, Charles J. Clarke, George W. Coleman, Mrs. John R. DuBois, Mrs. D. F. Dunkle, Jerome D. Gedney, Paul L. Maddock, Mrs. Daniel J. McCarthy, Mrs. Frederick D. Morrish, the Rev. Tage Teisen, Mrs. F. Earl Wallace, Jr., and Marshall B. Wood, Sr.

The new officers of the *Pensacola Historical Society* elected in March are A. O. Mortensen, who succeeds C. P. Mason, as president; T. T. Wentworth, Jr., president emeritus; Miss Adelaide Bell, first vice president; Mrs. Daniel B. Smith, second vice president; Allen P. Ames, secretary; Mrs. Wilton Hayes, treasurer and, as directors, Dr. W. C. Payne, Sr., James E. Jerauld and Miss Catherine L. Stewart.

J. Stewart Milner, reporting for the group, described the completed restoration of Old Christ's Church and told of plans for the collection of museum materials to be housed there. A junior group has been formed with Mrs. Daniel B. Smith as its sponsor.

The Polk County Historical Commission has the distinction of being the oldest in the state. It maintains an extensive library and is at work on plans for the county's centennial celebration next year, according to Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., commission vice president who reported for the group. Other officers are J. B. Thornhill, Jr., chairman, Bartow (and chairman of the Board of County Commissioners); D. H. Sloan, secretary (and clerk of the Circuit Court); Miss Lillian Carpenter, assistant historian and Miss Isobel Dyer, librarian.

The St. Augustine Historical Society is continuing its outstanding programs of research and publication. Its *Calendar of Spanish Sources, 1512-1765*, though incomplete, has been microfilmed and copies will be available to libraries and institutions at cost. Approximately ten thousand documents are covered in the calendar and a card catalogue of maps.

The society's research grants include a study of the cattle industry in Spanish times, by Charles W. Arnade; archaeological investigations at the oldest house site, by Hale G. Smith and a housing study in the older section of the city. Albert C. Manucy, reported for the society. Officers for the current year, elected in January, are J. T. Van Campen, president; Albert C. Manucy, vice president; Mrs. Max Kettner, secretary; Otis E. Barnes, treasurer and Luis R. Arana, librarian. To serve for the next three years, Milton E. Bacon, R. A. Speissegger and W. J. Winter were re-elected to the board of directors.

Mrs. Irene F. Bennett, Fort Pierce, president of the *St. Lucie Historical Society*, wrote that members were hard at work assist-

ing with the Sandy Shoes Festival and a historical pageant and therefore were unable to attend the state meeting. Her report (read by Mrs. M. H. LaTour) told of regular third Thursday evening meetings of the group and a special interest in recording reminiscences of early settlers. The pageant this year was based on the life of A. B. Michael of Wabasso, a long-time resident of the county who is now one of the leading citrus growers in the state.

The Volusia County Historical Commission is preparing a pamphlet on the history of Ormond Beach and plans publication before the end of the year. Mrs. John E. Hebel reported as secretary of the group.

Other news of the area concerns the Daytona Beach Historical Museum, 145 North Halifax Avenue, which has afternoon visiting hours, Thursday through Saturday. William F. Coursen, former president of the Halifax Historical Society, is the museum director.

There are approximately 25 local historical societies, in Florida. News of several not shown above has come to hand. The *New Smyrna Historical Society* elected John S. Duss, Jr. as president in February. Other officers elected with him are Mayor W. E. Swoope, first vice president; A. I. Pooser, second vice president; Mrs. Robert Hill, third vice president; Rev. Joseph T. Daley, chaplain; John R. DeBerry, treasurer; Mrs. Belle T. Reed, recording secretary; Miss Mary Hill, corresponding secretary; Mrs. S. J. Sweet, historian and Mrs. Cora Wilson, custodian.

Officers of the *St. Joseph Historical Society*, Port St. Joe, are Mrs. Ned Porter, president; Jessie V. Stone, vice president; Mrs. Hubert Brinson, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Ralph Swatts, recording secretary and Charles Smith, treasurer.

At a meeting in January, the *St. Petersburg Historical Society* elected Walter P. Fuller, president; L. Chauncey Brown, first vice president; H. F. Hillman, second vice president; Grover P. Criswell, Jr., treasurer; Mrs. Charles Locklin, recording secretary; Mrs. J. T. Bonney, corresponding secretary and E. A. Newman, historical research secretary. Major George Robinson, Lorin B. Smith, Marvin E. Kaniss and Miss Eleanor Mellon were elected members of the board of directors.

The Junior Historical Contest - 1960

The society is indebted to the judging committee, Dr. J. Ryan Beiser, chairman and Drs. James W. Covington, Jesse L. Keene and Alan P. Stuckey, of the University of Tampa, for their cooperation in reading and assaying the papers submitted in the contest.

The first prize was won by Loraine Le Gette, Sarasota High School, for her "The Story of Colonel J. H. Gillespie's First Golf Course." Alvin Edgar Holmes of Andrew Jackson Senior High School, Jacksonville, took second place with "Encamped at Panama Park." Florence Brigham, Southwest Miami Senior High School, was awarded third prize for her "The Tamiami Trail." Other entries in the contest are listed below.

Lanny Adkison, "Citrus in Florida," Groveland High School, Groveland; Dennis Anderson, "Florida in the Space Age," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Eilene Apple, "The Fountain of Youth," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami; Connie Arnold, "Key West," Key West High School, Key West.

Randall Bartholome, "The Great American Swampland," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg; Danny Barwick, "Ponce de Leon and the Early Explorations of Florida," Mulberry High School, Mulberry; Richard Bernstein, "Flagler's Folly," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; John Borden, "Commercial Fishing," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Christa Bortfeld, "Florida History," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami; C. Hira Branch, "Atlantic Sports Fishing Along the Coast of Florida," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Robert Brewster, "History of Florida," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Gaynell Brown, "Henry Morrison Flagler and Florida," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Willard Brown, "History of the Jacksonville Area," Callahan High School, Callahan; J. Allyn Bullington, "Chronological Outline of the History of Sarasota and Sarasota County," Sarasota High School, Sarasota; Charlene Burgun, "Jose Gaspar and the Gasparilla Carnival," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach.

Diane Carter, "The History of Palm Beach and West Palm Beach," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Karen Chambers, "Brevet Major Francis Langhorne Dade and the Dade Massacre"; Carol Choquette, "The Seminole Indians of Florida,"

St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg; Dotty Clark, "Mrs. Potter Palmer," Sarasota High School, Sarasota; Fred Clarke, "The Last Florida Campaign of the Civil War," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Deanna Cobo, "The Convent of Mary Immaculate," Key West High School, Key West; Michael Collins, "The Florida Keys, Stepping Stones to Pleasure," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Harvey Cove, "The Fabulous Flagler," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Regina Cox, "The History of Florida," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami.

Nicholas D'Andrea, "The Cigar Industry," OLPH Academy, Tampa; Nancy Degroff, "Florida History," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami; Mary Domeier, "Exploration of Florida," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg; Jim Duran, "History of St. Petersburg to 1958," St. Petersburg High School, St. Petersburg.

Willie Mae Edwards, "Florida and its Tourist Trade," Campbell Street High School, Daytona Beach; Carl Ellis, "Conquest of Florida," Mulberry High School, Mulberry; Bobby Erixton, "The History of White Springs, Florida," White Springs High School, White Springs.

Joseph Faix, "Ponce de Leon: Explorer and Conquerer," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami; Diane Fischer, "Florida Government," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Norma Fleenor, "Everglades National Park," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Beryl Folsom, "History of the St. Johns River," Welaka High School, Welaka; Pat Freeman, "Florida- Land of Eternal Youth," Mulberry High School, Mulberry; Richard Wayne Freeman, "The Life and Times of Jose Gaspar," Mulberry High School, Mulberry.

Geraldine Garcia, "City of St. Augustine," OLPH Academy, Tampa; Sharon Garcia, "Osceola and the Second Seminole War," OLPH Academy, Tampa; Muriel-Jane Gaudet, "Vizcaya-Dade County Art Museum," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Glorinda Gentry, "Florida-the Land of Sun and Fun," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Glenn Goodwin, "Juan Ponce de Leon and His Discovery of Florida," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Linda Greer, "Providence Baptist Church," East Bay High School, Wimauma; Nancy Griffin, "War with the Seminoles," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach;

Sandra Griggs, "Villa City, a Town of Old," Groveland High School, Groveland.

Charlotte Harrison, "Sunshine State Parkway," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Y. Hehingsworth, "The Everglades National Park," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Holly Hendriksen, "Tampa's History," Hillsborough High School, Tampa; Gwen Highfield, "The Seminole," St. Petersburg High School, St. Petersburg; Stephanie Hlas, "Florida Industries," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg; Patricia Hobby, "Queen of the Flowering Shrubs," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Mike Hollingsworth, "Battle of Fort Pickens," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Thomas Hunt, "Florida Agriculture," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach.

Sandra Jackson, "Indians of Florida," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami; Elbert Jones, Jr., "Early History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of West Florida," Florida A. & M. High School, Tallahassee; Juliane Jorgensen, "Fort Jefferson," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach.

Mark Kalish, "Henry M. Flagler," Southwest Miami High School, Miami; David Kamin, "Development of Coral Gables," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami; John Kiernan, "A Day in the Everglades," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg.

Alton Littlefield, "The Red Tide," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Daniel Lockstead, "Pensacola's Industries," Pensacola Technical High School, Pensacola; Sandra Lucas, "The Seminole Wars," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami.

Jane Marsh, "Mr. Sarasota," Sarasota High School, Sarasota; Mary Linda McNeely, "The Story of Florida," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg; Michael Mehil, "Floridian Cities," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg; Bernie Merritt, "History of Pineapples in Florida," Groveland High School, Groveland; Kitty Lou Merritt, "Seminole Indians," Groveland High School, Groveland; George Moore, "The Seminole Today," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach.

Noel Nation, "Miami Wonder-Woman, Julia Tuttle," Southwest Senior High School, Miami; William Neron, "Traveling on Florida's Waterways," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg.

Jeanne O'Brien, "Florida's Fabulous History," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg.

Jacky Pacetti, "Florida, the Everglade State," Callahan High School, Callahan; Charles Pagan, Jr., "Florida in the Confederacy," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Sheila Patton, "Early Days at Belle Glade," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami; Dianne Paul, "History of Cape Canaveral," OLPH Academy, Tampa; Steven Pelley, "Florida's Progress in Transportation," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami; Carol Petersen, "Search for the Fountain of Youth," St. Petersburg High School, St. Petersburg; Sandra Peyser, "Florida History," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami; James E. Phillips, Jr., "St. Petersburg," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg; Elaine Purcell, "Edmund Kirby Smith," Mulberry High School, Mulberry.

Kay Rayfield, "Indian River County in Explorer Days," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Laverne Read, "Southern Indians," St. Petersburg High School, St. Petersburg; Barbara Regnier, "Florida's Citrus Industry," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Garlyn Robinson, "Are We Losing Our Spanish Heritage?," Clay County High School, Green Cove Springs; Leah Rodriguez, "Florida History-LeRoy Collins," OLPH Academy, Tampa; Beverly Rogers, "The Williams Family," Dan McCarty High School, Fort Pierce; Lavonia Rogers, "Florida's Sugarcane," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Rita Rongione, "The Seminole War," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Candace Rudasill, "Florida Citrus Industry," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Robert Russell, "Tourist Attractions of Key West," Key West High School, Key West.

Carolyn Sanders, "History, Explorers and their Explorations of Florida," Groveland High School, Groveland; Sandra Saunders, "History of Key West," Key West High School, Key West; Diane Simonsen, "Florida," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Joe Skinner, "History of Jupiter," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Elsie Smith, "Voodoo and Obeah in Key West," Key West High School, Key West; Joseph Sontergrath, "St. Augustine," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Michael Stanfield, "Tourist Trade," Groveland High School, Groveland; Helen Steinhauser, "Florida Everglades," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Jen Anne Stiles, "History of Florida," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami; Wilton Stokes, "Everglades and the Indians of the Everglades," Callahan

High School, Callahan; Patricia Stormant, "Florida's Contribution to the Confederacy," White Springs High School, White Springs; Moira Sullivan, "Exploration," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg; Barbara Swizal, "Indians of Florida," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg.

Nancy Tate, "City of Center Hill Settled in 1883," Groveland High School, Groveland; Martha Dee Thomas, "DeSoto," Sarasota High School, Sarasota; Mike Thomason, "The Attempted Assassination of Roosevelt," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Marifrances Tucker, "Epps Tucker, Senior, Typical Gentleman of the Southland," Gainesville High School, Gainesville.

Katherine Valletta, "Period of Florida During World War II," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami.

Linda Waldron, "Stephen Foster Memorial Park," White Springs High School, White Springs; Frances Wall, "Linden," Groveland High School, Groveland; Sharon Waterbury, "Mineral Industry," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Joyce Wawrzyniak, "Exploration and Settlement of Florida," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg; Helene Weintraut, "Seminole Indians," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Carole White, "St. Petersburg High School, St. Petersburg; John Wilde, "Florida Indians," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; James Williams, "Florida State and National Parks and the Tourist," St. Paul's School, St. Petersburg; Lynn Wilson, "History of Jupiter Island," Palm Beach High School, West Palm Beach; Connie Worthington, "It Happened in Madison County," Madison Junior High School, Madison; Ann Wylie, "Florida: Then and Now," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami.

Catherine Yarnall, "Key West and the War Between the States," Key West High School, Key West; Barbara Young, "The Florida Keys," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami.

Vonna Zellner, "Very Early Florida," Southwest Miami Senior High School, Miami.

PROGRAM OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

by BEN F. ROGERS

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its 1960 meeting in Mount Dora, at the Lakeside Inn, April 7-9, with the Mount Dora Historical Society as sponsors. Dr. Ben F. Rogers, of Jacksonville University, was Chairman of the Program Committee, and Mr. John G. Trudinger, of Mount Dora, was in charge of local arrangements.

The Board of Directors met on the evening of Thursday, April 7th, and a report of their activities appears below.

Dr. Charles Arnade, of the University of Florida, presided at the morning program session on Friday. The Rev. James Jones, of Mount Dora, delivered the invocation. In the absence of Mayor Guy C. Bliss, Mr. Walter D. Patton, the immediate past mayor, greeted the members of the Society. President Albert C. Manucy responded.

As Dr. Arnade announced, the three papers at the morning session dealt with "pre-American" Florida. Miss Rose Pfeifer, of the University of Florida, spoke on "Joseph Byrne Lockey, Florida Compiler and Historian." Mr. Kenneth Beeson, of St. Augustine, in his paper on "The Minorcans in Florida," called attention to the significant part these people played in the early history of New Smyrna and St. Augustine. Mr. William F. Rolleston, of Marineland, a member of the St. Augustine Restoration Commission, reported on the background and progress of "The St. Augustine Restoration Program."

The session was followed by a lively discussion, in which Mr. W. L. Barnett, of New Smyrna Beach, took issue with some of Mr. Beeson's findings. A delicious lunch was followed immediately by reports of historical activities in Florida, presided over by Mr. Walter D. Patton, President of the Mount Dora Historical Society, and a business meeting, presided over by President Manucy.

The Chairman for the afternoon session, which included three papers, was Dr. Ben F. Rogers, of Jacksonville University. Mr. Joe M. Richardson, of The Florida State University, delivered the first paper, on "The Freedmen's Bureau and Negro

Labor in Florida." In it, he emphasized the fact that the Freedmen's Bureau had been of assistance not only to Negroes, but also to their employers. Dr. James W. Covington, of the University of Tampa, spoke on "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," discussing at some length the contribution of that act to the settling of central Florida. "Early Visitors to the Florida Everglades" were discussed by Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, of the University of Miami.

Under the direction of Mrs. Cleon W. Colby, Chairman, the Reception Committee entertained the visitors at a delightful garden party at the home of Mr. and Mrs. O. M. Simpson, on Lake Gertrude. The reception was followed by the annual Dinner of the Society, at which Mrs. Mabel Norris Reese, Editor of the Mount Dora Topic, delivered the address.

On Saturday morning, Phi Alpha Theta sponsored a breakfast meeting prior to the program session. It was well attended, and it is hoped that this will become an annual event.

The Saturday morning session was presided over by Mr. John G. Trudinger. Mr. Frank Bridgman gave a very interesting and enlightening talk on Mount Dora's part in the founding of Rollins College; Professor Rupert D. Longstreet told of the progress he is making in the preparation of a full-scale history of Mount Dora; and Mrs. Charles Edgar Shaw read an entertaining review of Sidney Walter Martin's book, "Florida's Flagler."

At the conclusion of Mrs. Shaw's paper, the annual meeting was declared adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS MEETING

The Board of Directors met in fall session in the Society's quarters in the University of Florida Library, Gainesville, on Saturday morning, December 5, 1959, at 10 A.M., with President Albert C. Manucy presiding.

Members present were Gilbert Lycan, Frank Sessa, Lois J. Sette, Albert DeVane, James R. Knott, Mrs. M. H. Latour, J. Stewart Milner, Ben F. Rogers, Dena Snodgrass, Julien C. Yonge and Rembert W. Patrick.

The Board discussed the need for increased financial support of the *Quarterly* at considerable length. Among proposals to bring such support were encouraging Florida banks and industry to pay for the distribution of the *Quarterly* to school libraries, an intensified campaign by members, particularly the directors, to secure new school subscriptions, the possibility of accepting advertising, and of inducing the State Department of Education to pay the Society a flat sum in return for distributing the magazine to school libraries throughout the state. Mr. Rogers and Mr. Keen were to contact the Department of Education.

In the absence of Chairman Ruder of the Finance Committee, Mrs. Sette informed the Directors that the Society had approximately \$1,000 in its checking account.

Mr. Rogers, Chairman of the Program Committee, indicated that programs were almost completed for the annual meeting at Mt. Dora. Because of conflicts with other commitments of several directors, firm dates were not set but left to the discussion of the program chairman and the local committee.

Mr. Yonge advised the directors that a supply of the bound issue of the Pensacola number of the *Quarterly* was available at \$3.50 per copy. He noted, also, that the index was still selling well and that there is a biography of General Duncan Clinch in preparation by Dr. Patrick.

Because of his illness Mr. Louis Capron, Chairman of the Committee on Affiliations with Other Societies, felt someone else should take over his duties. Miss Snodgrass agreed to assume the chairmanship of the committee.

Mr. Manucy read a letter from the National Geographic Society which outlined plans to publish books on national shrines. It requested the Florida Historical Society to submit a list of sites considered proper for inclusion in such volumes. It was agreed that the president would write a letter to the National Geographic Society outlining the Society's position.

The Board appointed Judge Knott chairman of a committee to draw resolutions of regret to be sent to Mrs. Ruby Hancock upon the death of her husband, James T. Hancock, and to the family of Mr. C. H. Schaeffer who also passed away recently.

It was felt best to withhold announcement of the essay contest until the date of the annual meeting was made firm. However, Mr. Beiser was appointed chairman of the committee to judge such essays, and was authorized to choose committee members to serve with him.

It was announced that the American Association for State and Local History and Broadcast Music, Incorporated, had offered a prize of \$500 to the professional historian and \$500 to the non-professional for the best essay on his reflections while standing before the Lincoln Memorial. Mr. Patrick, Mrs. Sette, and Mr. Jordan were to act as judges for the state of Florida. The winning essays would then compete with those from other states.

Possible sites considered for future annual meetings were West Palm Beach, in 1961, and Jacksonville, in 1962.

As the final item of business, the Board considered the question of whether the directors should be chosen from local societies. It was the consensus that this change would result in too many directors. The question was tabled until the next meeting.

Meeting was adjourned at 12:45 P.M.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS MEETING

The Board of Directors met at the Lakeside Inn, Mt. Dora, Florida, April 7, 1960, at 8:15 P.M., with President Albert C. Manucy presiding. Members present were: Mr. Pederson, Mr. Weed, Mrs. Sette, Mr. Rogers, Mr. DeVane, Mrs. Latour, Mr. Milner, Miss Snodgrass, Mr. Lycan, Judge Knott and Mr. Sessa.

Mrs. Sette reported that fifty persons from Florida had participated in national competition for the best 1500 word essay on "Reflections while standing before the Lincoln Memorial" sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History. The winner in the professional category was from Idaho and the non-professional from Connecticut.

The financial report read by Mrs. Sette showed that the Society received \$8,123.74 from all sources and expended \$8,168.95, making a loss for the year of \$45.21. This loss in part was the result of a drop in membership of twenty-four members. The Society had 954 members and subscribers in March, 1959; it had 929 members as of March 31, 1960. The budget submitted and approved for the coming year anticipated an income of \$6,014 and an estimated total expense of \$4,568.50.

Mr. Rogers, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, suggested that the Society adopt the practice of changing the President each year rather than every two years as is the present custom. The Directors went on record as favoring adoption of the proposal. It was also decided that one member of the Nominating Committee should always be a former president.

Mr. Patrick, editor of the *Quarterly*, who could not be present, reported by letter on publications during the past year. He stressed the need for increasing financial support for the *Quarterly* and suggested that business firms and individuals might be induced to contribute substantial sums of money by being listed in the *Quarterly* as patrons who made contribution of \$1,000; sustaining members, \$500; and contributing members, \$100. He also emphasized the need for well-written articles for the

Quarterly and noted that it was the responsibility of the Society to encourage writing in Florida history. This might be accomplished by awarding a \$50 bond for the best article published in the *Quarterly* in the previous year and a \$100 bond for the best book on Florida history published in the same period. If the Society could afford it, it would probably be better to increase these amounts to a \$100 bond and a \$500 bond respectively.

The directors also contributed ideas that might be helpful in securing added financial support. It was suggested that each director ought to approach firms or individuals in his own area who would see that the secondary schools, public and parochial, would receive a paid-up subscription to the *Quarterly*. PTA's could also be approached to make such subscriptions possible, for once the PTA adopts such a policy, it almost always continues it. Mr. Lycan observed that it might help to give each author who had an article published in the *Quarterly* a small honorarium, perhaps \$10, or a certificate. The directors unanimously approved a motion that the Board of Editors be authorized to award a small honorarium and/or a certificate when funds for such a purpose become available.

The Directors unanimously approved a motion that resolutions of appreciation to Julien C. Yonge, Editor Emeritus, and to Colonel Duncan Lamont Clinch be drawn and presented to the membership.

Judge Knott reported on the activities of the Florida Civil War Centennial Commission and invited the Directors and members of the Society to attend and to contribute their ideas to the meeting scheduled at an early date at Stetson University.

Miss Snodgrass noted that twenty-six affiliated societies would report on their activities at the annual luncheon meeting, Friday, April 8.

Mr. Manucy read the report of Mr. Beiser, Chairman of the Committee to Judge the Annual Essay Contest. One hundred twenty-five essays were submitted. Winners were: First Place-Lorraine LeGette of Sarasota Senior High School for her essay "Early or Earliest: The Story of Col. J. H. Gillespie's First Golf Course." Second Place-Alvin E. Holmes, Andrew Jackson Senior High School, Jacksonville, for "Encamped at Panama." Third Place-Florence Brigham, Southwest Miami Senior High School, for "The Tamiami Trail."

The Directors voted unanimously to recommend to the membership that Julian C. Yonge be made an honorary life member.

Upon the invitation of West Palm Beach it was voted to recommend that the annual meeting in 1961 be held in that city. The dates chosen were April 6, 7, 8, 1961.

Judge Knott pointed out that this Society could be most helpful to groups that are anxious to form an historical society. After some discussion, it was decided that at headquarters the Society could develop a kit with materials helpful to such groups and that it should maintain a list of speakers which might be drawn upon by local historical societies or groups.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:20 P.M.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society held at the Lakeside Inn, Mt. Dora, was called to order at 2:10 P.M., Friday, April 8, 1960, by President Albert C. Manucy.

The Treasurer's report from the period 1 March 1959 to 31 March, 1960 was read by President Manucy. The balance on March 1, 1959, was \$7,259.97, receipts \$8,123.74, making a total of receipts and balance on March 31, 1960, of \$15,383.71. Expenditures for the same period amounted to \$8,168.95 which left a balance on hand of \$7,214.76 or a net loss of \$45.21 over the thirteen-month period.

In the absence of Mr. Rembert W. Patrick who was lecturing at Winthrop and Guilford Colleges, Mr. Manucy read a letter from him in which he reported on Publications. The Editor extended his appreciation to Frank Sessa, book review editor; Dena Snodgrass, editor of News and Notes; to Frank Haber and Charles Arnade, associate editors; and to the editorial board. As one possibility of raising additional income Mr. Patrick suggested that individuals and business firms might be led to contribute substantial sums by listing in the *Quarterly* as Patrons those contributing \$1,000 per year, as sustaining members, those contributing \$500, and as contributing members, those giving \$100. Writing in Florida history could be encouraged by giving a \$50 bond for the best article published in the *Quarterly* in the past year and a \$100 bond for the best book in Florida history published in the same period. He noted, too, that the Society was indebted to the University of Florida for providing the salary of Mrs. Lois Sette, Executive Secretary, housing the Society's library, providing light, heat and airconditioning, and to its History Department for a considerable portion of the postage expense of the editor's office.

Mr. Manucy noted that in the Lincoln Memorial Essay Contest, sponsored by The American Association of State and Local History and Broadcast Music Incorporated, Florida had some 50 Florida entries. Of these, two, one by a professional historian and one by a non-professional, were forwarded to compete with others nationally.

Mr. Beiser reported the winners of the annual Florida History Essay Contest after thanking members of the University of Tampa History Department who helped screen the 125 entries.

Judge Knott, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee offered the following resolutions all of which were unanimously adopted:

Resolution No. 1. WHEREAS, Mrs. James T. Hancock, of Okeechobee, Florida, a devoted and loyal member of this Society, lately suffered the death of her husband, James T. Hancock, and WHEREAS, Mrs. Hancock served this Society for years faithfully and well as its Secretary and has been a generous donor to our Society, and whereas she has otherwise contributed greatly to the cultural advancement of the people of the State of Florida; NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the members of the Florida Historical Society, on the occasion of this their annual meeting, on April 8, 1960, do record their profound regret at the passing of Mr. Hancock, and extend their condolence and deepest sympathy to

their fellow member, Mrs. Hancock. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a separate page be set aside in the minutes of our Society in order that this record may be preserved, and that a copy hereof be forwarded to Mrs. Hancock.

Resolution No. 2. WHEREAS, Charles Howel Schaeffer, of Tallahassee, Florida, lately departed this life, and WHEREAS, Mr. Schaeffer, as Chief, Information and Education, Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials always actively demonstrated a generous spirit of cooperation in the fulfillment of the aims and purposes of the Florida Historical Society and rendered invaluable services to the Society in many different projects concerned with the recognition and preservation of Florida's historic sites and buildings, and otherwise contributed greatly to the advancement of the cultural interests of the people of the State of Florida; and WHEREAS, the officers of our Society who had the privilege of working with Mr. Schaeffer cherish the memory of his quiet steadfastness of purpose, his keen awareness of historical values and his outstanding personal qualities as an individual; NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the members of the Florida Historical Society, on the occasion of this their annual meeting, on April 8, 1960, do record their profound regret at the passing of Mr. Schaeffer, and extend their condolences and deepest sympathy to the surviving members of his family. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a page be set aside in the minutes of our Society in order that this record may be preserved, and that a copy hereof be forwarded to Mr. Schaeffer's family.

Resolution No. 3. WHEREAS, Julien C. Yonge has throughout a long lifetime devoted his talents and energies to the service of the people of Florida in the field of history, and in addition to creating a great historical library for public use and editing the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, has recently made another outstanding contribution to our knowledge of Florida History in producing the monumental Pensacola issue of the *Quarterly*, thus meriting the appreciation of lovers of history everywhere; NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Florida Historical Society, at this its annual meeting on April 8, 1960, does record its sincere gratitude and obligation to Mr. Yonge, for his achievements in and contribution to the field of Florida History. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a page be set aside in the minutes of our Society in order that this record may be served, and that a copy hereof be forwarded to Mr. Yonge.

Resolution No. 4. WHEREAS, Colonel Duncan Lamont Clinch, of Miami, Florida, has provided the Florida Historical Society with a research grant furthering the preparation of a biography of one of Florida's most distinguished soldiers, General Duncan Lamont Clinch, and has indicated a continuing interest in that important project; NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Florida Historical Society, at this their annual meeting on April 8, 1960, does record its sense of profound appreciation to Colonel Clinch for his outstanding contribution to the study of Florida history. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a page be set aside in the minutes of our Society in order that this record may be served, and that a copy hereof be forwarded to Colonel Clinch.

Resolution No. 5. By this resolution the Officers and Members of the Florida Historical Society express their gratitude to the Mt. Dora Historical Society, the Committee on Local Arrangements and to all who have

devoted themselves to making this a memorable meeting with an outstanding program. We express, too, our appreciation to the management of the Lakeside Inn and Mt. Dora Chamber of Commerce for their gracious hospitality. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a page be set aside in the minutes of our Society in order that this record may be served, and that a copy hereof be forwarded to the Mt. Dora Historical Society, the Committee on Local Arrangements, the management of the Lakeside Inn, and the Mt. Dora Chamber of Commerce.

Judge Knott also offered a motion that Julien C. Yonge in view of his many contributions to the Society be given an honorary life membership. This motion was seconded and unanimously passed.

Mr. Rogers reported for the Nominating Committee the following slate of officers and the Nominating Committee offered a motion that the secretary be directed to cast a unanimous ballot for the slate. The motion was unanimously adopted: President, Gilbert C. Lycan; 1st Vice President, Frank B. Sessa; 2nd Vice President, Lucius S. Ruder; Recording Secretary, Mrs. M. H. Latour; Directors, Thelma Peters, Jesse Keene, Carver Harris, Margaret Chapman, T. T. Wentworth, Jr., John Tapers; Nominating Committee, 1961, C. W. Tebeau, Chairman, Albert C. Manucy, and Dena Snodgrass.

The members gave President Manucy a rising vote of thanks for his fine leadership of the Society during the past two years.

Meeting adjourned at 2:40 P.M.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Report of Treasurer

March 1, 1959-March 31, 1960

Balance, March 1, 1959 \$ 7,259.97

Location of balance:

Florida Nat'l. Bank
at Gainesville \$2,200.93
First Fed. Savings &
Loan Assoc. 3,059.04
Columbia Gas Bonds 2,000.00

Receipts:

Memberships
Annual \$3,317.00
Fellow 640.00
Libraries 754.00
Contributing 50.00
Institutional 225.00
Student 16.00
Life 200.00
Duncan L. Clinch 1,000.00
Pensacola Quadricentennial Commission 750.00
Essay Contest (anonymous) 50.00
Index 331.00
Interest (First Fed. Sav. & Loan Assoc.) 233.29
Quarterlies 360.85
Reprints 146.20
Microfilm of Quarterly 44.00
L.J.S. (handbook) 5.50
Total rec. \$ 8,123.74
Total rec. & bal. \$15,383.71

Disbursements

Printing of Quarterlies (3 issues) \$2,610.21
Printing Pensacola Quad. Issue 3,862.95
Convention Press-clasp envelopes 47.55
Rembert W. Patrick-Fellowship 1,000.00
Printing-stationery 134.33
Copyright (4 issues) 16.00
Programs - Pensacola Meeting 51.50
Programs--Mount Dora Meeting 39.80
Essay Contest, 1959 52.50
Microfilm of Quarterly 69.00
Florida Handbook (2) 11.00
Insurance - 3 years 16.52
Cash, supplies 240.00
Miscellaneous 12.58
Total dis. \$ 8,168.95
\$ 7,214.76

Balance, March 31, 1960

Location of balance:

Florida Nat'l. Bank	
at Gainesville	\$1,522.43
First Fed. Savs. &	
Loan Assoc.	3,692.33
Columbia Gas Bonds	2,000.00
Total	\$7,214.76

BUDGET

Estimated income:

Membership dues:

Annual	\$3,400.00
Fellow	700.00
Libraries	800.00
Contributing-Institutional	300.00
Student	10.00
Index	120.00
Quarterlies	200.00
Interest on savings	440.00
Microfilm of Quarterly	44.00
Total est. inc.	\$6,014.00

Estimated expenses:

Printing of Quarterly (4)	\$4,000.00
Printing, other	52.50
Essay Contest	52.50
Copyright of Quarterly	16.00
General expenses	300.00
(Inc. postage, P. O. Box rent, tax, supplies)	
Total est. expenses	\$4,568.50

MEMBERSHIPS IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
March 1, 1959 954 Members and Library subscriptions

Total memberships March 31, 1960

17 Life Members
63 Fellow
5 Contributing-Institutional
8 Student
131 Libraries
705 Annual

929 Total

Losses: March 31, 1960

10 deaths
17 resignations
70 dropped for non-payment of dues

97 Total

Gains:

2 Life Members
6 Fellow
12 Libraries
7 Student
46 Annual

73 Total

CONTRIBUTORS

SAMUEL PROCTOR is Associate Professor of History at the University of Florida.

JOHN MEADOR is a Graduate Student in History at the University of Florida.

BEN F. ROGERS is a Historian as well as Dean at the Jacksonville University.

ALLEN W. JONES is Teaching at the University of Alabama Montgomery Center.

T. T. WENTWORTH, JR., is a Resident of Pensacola, a Historian of that City, and a Member of the Board of Directors.

JAMES P. JONES is Assistant Professor of History at the Florida State University.

E. A. HAMMOND is Professor of History at the University of Florida.

REYNOLD M. WIK is Professor of History at Mills College.