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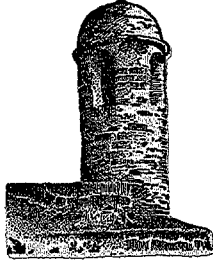
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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856  
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\* \* \* To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends, we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

*Saint Augustine, April, 1857.*

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### JULIEN CHANDLER YONGE

On April 25, 1962, Julien Chandler Yonge passed away at his home in Pensacola. Born on January 20, 1879, the son of Philip Keyes and Lucie C. Davis Yonge, Julien Yonge spent most of his life in his native state. For more than a generation he was editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and a mainstay of the Florida Historical Society. Known to generations of historians for his magnificent collection of Floridiana, remembered with warm affection by all who worked with him, Julien Yonge's name will always be found where Florida history is written. The memory of this kindly, self-effacing, and gentle man will always live in the hearts of those who loved him.



## TWO SEMINOLE TREATIES: PAYNE'S LANDING, 1832, AND FT. GIBSON, 1833 \*

by JOHN K. MAHON

THE TREATY OF Moultrie Creek or Camp Moultrie, of 1823, quickly revealed more weaknesses than strengths. Conspicuous among them was the absence of any deadline date by which the Seminoles were expected to be within the boundaries of their reservation. Very shortly it became obvious that the Indians were dissatisfied with the treaty, did not want to move, and were in no hurry to do so. Even after months had passed, still only a few had entered the reservation.<sup>1</sup>

Neamathla, the Mikasuky chief who had headed the Seminoles at Moultrie, was the most refractory of all. This brought matters to a head with him in July, 1824. Hearing that there was a gathering of discontented warriors at the chief's village, territorial Governor William P. DuVal hurried there, too. His appearance alone before three hundred hostiles was an act of great courage. Washington Irving thought it so much so that he wrote a dramatic version of the event. But DuVal was not content with that, he gave them a very hard talk while there. The governor made no attempt to make his action appear theatrical; he simply deposed Neamathla then and there and put John Hicks in his place. Such audacity must have had effect, for the bands west of the Suwannee agreed to be within their reservations by October 1, 1824. Performance, however, did not stem from agreement. Time passed, yet many Indians failed to come in, while some who had done so drifted out again. There are none but indirect figures to show how many entered the reservations. Governor DuVal reported that 1,500 natives were fed daily at

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\* This is the second of two articles dealing with the treaties made with the Seminole Indians of Florida. The first, dealing with the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, appeared in the last number of the *Quarterly*.

1. Talk of Seminole chiefs to Secy. of War, May 17, 1826, Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Territory of Florida*, XXIII, 548-551; Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II, 203-207.

two distribution points, but one of those points was not within any reservation.<sup>2</sup>

The Seminoles insisted that they could not subsist on the land assigned them, and some influential white men agreed; Gad Humphreys was one, Benjamin Chaires, ration contractor, another. In February, 1826, DuVal added his voice. He had examined the reservation, he said, for thirteen days, and had not seen three hundred acres of good land in it. "Nineteen-twentieths of their whole country within the present boundary is by far the poorest and most miserable region I ever beheld." He recommended that Big Swamp, containing 5,000 to 6,000 acres of good land be added. Although DuVal had not yet received the word, permission to add Big Swamp had been granted by the President the day after Christmas, 1825, not, however, as a permanent Indian property. The Seminoles were to have the use of it only as long as the government allowed them to remain; tenure was not guaranteed. Previously, in February, 1825, another fertile strip called "Big Hammock" had been added outright to their holdings.<sup>3</sup>

Latter day writers have now and again contended that the Seminoles were purposely forced onto a reservation which would not sustain them, so that they would in a short time be willing to leave Florida altogether. If this is so there is nowhere in writing any direct admission of it. It is true, James Gadsden admitted, that the purpose in placing them on a reservation was to concentrate them so that they might be moved later. On the other hand, he insisted that four times their number could live in the area assigned them if they would farm it sensibly. Nor did the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, regard the land as unable to support them. On the contrary his views, early in 1825, were these: ". . . it is probable that no inconvenience will

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2. W. P. DuVal to Secy. of War, Jan. 12, 1824, *Territorial Papers: Florida* XXII, 832; DuVal to Secy. of War, July 12, July 29, 1824, *ibid.*, XXIII, 13-22; Washington Irving, *The Conspiracy of Neamathla, Collected Works of Washington Irving*, 12 vols. (New York, 1882), XII, 289-304.

3. James Gadsden to Secy. of War, Jan. 27, 1824, *Territorial Papers: Florida*, XXII, 841; Gad Humphreys to DuVal, July 26, 1824, *ibid.*, XXIII 77; Secy. of War to President, July 29, 1824, *ibid.*, 21; Ben Chaires to DuVal, Jan. 13, 1825, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, II, 629; T. L. McKenney to DuVal, Dec. 26, 1825, *ibid.*, 643; DuVal to T. L. McKenney, Feb. 22, 1826, *Territorial Papers: Florida*, XXIII, 445-448; Exec. Order, Feb. 24, 1824, *ibid.*, 192.



be felt, for many years, either by the inhabitants of Florida or the Indians, under the present arrangement." The country could, in short support them, and, ". . . there ought to be the strongest and most solemn assurance that the country given them should be theirs as a permanent home. . . ." My own belief is this: if the land could not sustain them-and this is by no means certain -it was not due to the intent of the white men who put them on it, but stemmed rather from the fact that no one knew very much of the region, least of all whether it would support 3,000 to 5,000 Indians.<sup>4</sup>

While some Seminoles entered the reservation, some entered and then left again, and others never went near it, discussions of policy were in train in Washington. President James Monroe recognized that there was personal interest in many communities in getting the Indians out from among them. Yet each specific act of removal, that of the Cherokees for instance, only excited sectional jealousies and incurred high costs. These facts caused the President to advocate general Indian removal late in 1824. The outlines of his plan were included in a special message to Congress on January 27, 1825. Forthwith, the Senate turned to John C. Calhoun to draft a suitable bill, and swiftly passed the one he submitted, but the House of Representatives killed it. The Georgia Representatives, then engrossed in trying to force the federal government to clear the Creek Indians out of their state, obstructed general legislation lest it spoil Georgia's plans. Thus, no broad Indian removal law was enacted for another five years.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, an important change took place in the organization of the government relating to the Indians. As a result of intensive attack by private fur interests, notably John Jacob Astor's company, the government factory system was finally done away with in 1822. Then, in 1824, an Office of Indian Affairs was established in the War Department with Thomas L. McKenney

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4. Annie Heloise Abel, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," *American Historical Association, Annual Report*, 1906, I, 331; Secy. of War to President, Jan. 24, 1825, *ASP: Indian Affairs*, II, 543-544; J. Gadsden to Secy. of War, Mar. 25, 1826, *Territorial Papers: Florida*, XXIII, 489-492; J. Gadsden to Andrew Jackson, Nov. 14, 1829, Indian Records Branch, National Archives; J. Gadsden to Editor, in *St. Augustine News*, July 3, 1839.

5. Monroe to Senate, Jan. 27, 1825, *ASP: Indian Affairs*, II, 541, 542; Abel, 341-343.

(who had been director of the government trading posts) as head.<sup>6</sup>

The Treaty of Moultrie Creek, it was becoming clear, had not resolved Indian-white relations. In 1825 drought reduced Seminole crops so much that they had to rely on forest foods or starve. The government ration was insufficient to nourish those who had moved to the reservations. So, gnawed by hunger the Indians became less and less tractable. They continually raided outside their boundaries taking food where they could find it. Nasty incidents resulted when they killed white men's cattle. All in all, there was a general worsening of relations.<sup>7</sup>

Slavery further strained the already tense relationship. There were Negroes among the Seminoles, some Indian slaves, some free. White men claimed that many of them were runaways who found all too easy sanctuary with the redmen. Day in and day out they insisted to all governing agencies that they had the unquestionable right to identify and reclaim their human property. It seemed to matter little to them that their search and seizure would inflame an already delicate situation. For a time Governor DuVal championed the Indians against them. When, early in 1826, he ordered the redmen to deliver up all runaways, they promptly did so. In contrast, the white slavers continued to hold Negroes known to belong to the Seminoles. Ashamed, DuVal wrote to James Barbour (who had replaced Calhoun as Secretary of War when John Quincy Adams became President), "I cannot consent to that sort of left handed justice which gives all that is demanded to our citizens and which withholds justice from this cheated, abused, and persecuted race."<sup>8</sup>

Then, during the next six months, the Governor's attitude changed completely. By mid-summer he no longer thought of the natives as cheated, abused, and persecuted, but as badly spoiled. On July 27 he wrote that even though the best hunting was with-

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6. Lawrence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs* (Baltimore, 1927), 26, 27.

7. Lt. E. Alberti to E. P. Gaines, June 27, 1825, *Territorial Papers: Florida* XXIII, 273-275; J. M. Hernandez to Secy. of War, Aug. 9, 1825, *ibid.*, 291, 292; John T. Sprague, *Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), 30-33.

8. G. Walton to G. Humphreys, May 22, 1825, *ASP: Indian Affairs*, II, 634; DuVal to T. L. McKenney, Mar. 2, Mar. 20, 1826, *Territorial Papers: Florida*, XXIII, 473, 482, 483; Talk of chiefs to Secy. of War, May 17 1826, *ibid.*, 550.

in the Indian boundaries, yet they preyed instead on the cattle and provisions of the white settlers. Moreover, the settlers fed them at any house where they asked. This scarcely resembled his earlier theme. Why did he reverse himself so swiftly? We cannot be sure. It may be that the Seminoles grew more insolent, as he suggested, or it may be that the double burden of the governorship and the Indian superintendency had frayed his nerves. Attack struck him from all quarters. The tender-minded criticized because they believed he had used force at Moultrie Creek; the economy minded carped because he had spent money to keep the natives from starving, while day in and day out the slaveholders complained that he was not doing exactly as they wished concerning the Negroes among the Indians. To cap all this, DuVal felt himself badly underpaid and threatened to resign if not better rewarded.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time when Governor DuVal was reversing his position and switching from being champion of the Seminoles to being critic, Agent Gad Humphreys began to emerge as their supporter. His new role earned him the ill-will of many white men, and brought him under increasingly sharp attack. In the end it brought about his removal in 1830. The ostensible cause for it was malfeasance in office but his real offense was probably too much sympathy for his wards.<sup>10</sup>

By 1827 Floridians were thoroughly disgusted with the arrangement the federal government had made at Moultrie Creek. The Legislative Council in January enacted two very stem laws to keep white men out of the Indian reservation, and vice versa. Under these laws, individuals were allowed to seize any Indian found out of bounds and hail him before a justice of the peace who could sentence him to as much as thirty-nine lashes. Such regulations seemed certain to insure trouble. Meanwhile, the sentiment among the whites veered more and more toward complete removal. It was expressed in numerous petitions to Con-

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9. DuVal to Secy. of War, July 27, 1826, April 17, 1827, *ibid.*, 624, 625, 816-818.

10. G. Humphreys to DuVal, Feb. 8, 1827, in Sprague, 39, 40; Humphreys to DuVal, April 7, 1824, *ASP: Indian Affairs*, II, 617, 618. For additional citations concerning the charges against Humphreys see notes 45 and 48, Mahon, "Treaty of Moultrie Creek," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXX (April, 1962), 350-372.

gress from individuals, from communities, and even from the Legislative Council.<sup>11</sup>

In response, the government made an effort to persuade the natives to move. It chose Joseph M. White, territorial Delegate to Congress who was himself a strong removal man, to try to persuade them. He employed the same velvet-glove-over-iron-fist technique as Gadsden had at Moultrie Creek. For instance, in his talk to the assembled chiefs on May 20, 1827, he said, "[The President] now offers you a good country and a great deal of money and provisions, do not therefore listen to bad council but take them for this sickly country where you now are. If you do not in a dozen moons your bad men may do wrong again, and your Great Father will send soldiers and destroy their towns." But since the Indians were not then sufficiently reduced or intimidated to agree; they flatly refused to consider moving from Florida. In explanation, Micanopy, head chief of the bands east of the Suwannee said, "Here my naval string was cut. The earth drank the blood which makes me love it."<sup>12</sup>

But the situation was satisfactory to no one. Five important chiefs signified to Gad Humphreys in October, 1828, that they were willing to send a delegation to look at the western country. Nothing came of this.<sup>13</sup>

Then Andrew Jackson was elected President! He had from the earliest times been a champion of clearing the Indians out of the path of civilization; indeed one scholar contends that he had been the instigator of the removal policy sponsored by President Monroe. Be that as it may, his own administration brought action. In his first annual message he recommended that land west of the Mississippi be set apart and that the Indians in the east be encouraged, but not forced, to trade eastern land for western. If they failed to do so they would be obliged to come under the jurisdiction of the states, a condition to be averted. His rec-

11. *An Act to Prevent Indians from Roaming at Large . . .*, Jan. 15, 1827; *An Act to Regulate our Citizens Trading with the Indians*, Jan. 27, 1827; Memorial to Congress by the Legislative Council, July, 1827, *Territorial Papers: Florida*, XXIII, 896, 897; J. M. White to Secy. of War [July, 1827], *ibid.*, 898-901.

12. J. M. White, Talk to Seminoles, May 29, 1827, Indian Records Branch, National Archives; J. M. White to Secy. of War, June 15, 1827, *Territorial Papers: Florida*, XXIII, 864-867; Abel, 368.

13. G. Humphreys to T. L. McKenney, Oct. 20, 1828, *Territorial Papers: Florida*, XXIV, 92.

ommendation triggered, four months later, one of the sharpest debates ever heard in Congress. The result was the passage of an "Indian Removal Act" on May 28, 1830. This act appropriated half-a-million dollars to purchase land in the west and to facilitate the removal of the eastern savages to it.<sup>14</sup>

Now came eighteen months which softened up the Seminoles. Hardship was constant; even starvation gnawed at them. Their strength, and consequently their bargaining power, dwindled with every passing moon. All the while petitions from white communities kept ever before the government the urgent need to get them out of Florida. At the same time the cost of the Seminoles to the government ran high, for Congress continued to appropriate money to keep them from starving. The true situation of the redmen was probably well summarized by the Legislative Council in a petition to Congress begging for removal:

The Treaty of 1823 deprived them of their cultivated fields and of a region of country fruitful of game, and has placed them in a wilderness where the earth yields no corn, and where even the precarious advantages of the chase are in a great measure denied them. . . . they are thus left the wretched alternative of Starving within their limits, or roaming among the whites, to prey upon their cattle. Many in the Nation, it seems, annually die of Starvation; but as might be expected, the much greater proportion of those who are threatened with want, leave their boundaries in pursuit of the means of subsistence, and between these and the white settlers is kept up an unceasing contest.<sup>15</sup>

In spite of the pressure, and his own inclinations, it was not until the last year of his first term that Andrew Jackson reached the point of taking action. When his administration did move, it was not primarily because of the plight of the Indians, but because of the indignation of the white Floridians that the Indians were in their way. On that account on January 30, 1832, instructions went from the War Department to a man appointed

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14. Jackson's Annual Message, Dec. 8, 1829, James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 10 vols. (Wash. D.C., 1899), II, 459; Abel, 362, 377-380; Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal*, Second Ed. (Norman, 1953), 21; Indian Removal Act, May 28, 1830, IV *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 411, 412.

15. Petition, Jefferson County to DuVal, Jan. 18, 1832, *Territorial Papers: Florida*, XXIV, 632; Memorial to Congress by the Legislative Council [Feb., 1832], *ibid.*, 667; Petition from Alachua County to Congress, Mar. 26, 1832, *ibid.*, 678-680.

special agent to negotiate with the Seminoles. The recipient of this honor was none other than James Gadsden, who had been the moving spirit nine years earlier in the Treaty of Moultrie Creek. That he was a friend of the President's was enough to secure him this appointment but, in addition, to select him was to endorse his earlier negotiation. His reward was \$8.00 per day, plus \$8.00 for every twenty miles travelled, plus \$5.00 a day for a secretary and \$5.00 for every twenty miles the secretary travelled. These were good wages in the 1830's!<sup>16</sup>

Gadsden's instructions exuded lofty motives. The Indians, they said, were suffering and were unable to provide food for themselves. To relieve their distress Gadsden was to persuade them to move west. This was the core of his mission. Now appeared a stipulation which is startling in the extreme. The Seminoles were to become a constituent part of the Creek nation and were to share with it an allotment of land west of the Mississippi! This was almost a calculated affront for whenever the Florida Indians had had to fight the white man they had had to fight the Creeks as well. During the War of 1812, and again in Jackson's invasion of 1818, the Creeks had joined the whites to battle their southern cousins. What is more, there was unremitting bad blood between them over the ownership of slaves. Over this issue the Creeks had frequently raided Seminole settlements. The only sentiment the Seminoles felt toward the Creeks was hatred. Of course, as early as the acquisition of Florida by the United States, Andrew Jackson and other statesmen had set the amalgamation of Creeks and Seminoles as a goal, but they had been obliged to give it up. Now, in 1832, the moment had come because the Florida Indians were in so sad a plight that they could not resist even this indignity.<sup>17</sup>

This time Gadsden was to handle the negotiation alone. He went to work on the preparations at once. It was not necessary for him to consider the Apalachicola Indians in his plans for he was to deal with them separately later. It is curious to observe, therefore, that he set the treaty grounds farther west than Moultrie Creek, the point to which the trans-Suwannee bands had had

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16. See "James Gadsden," *Dictionary of American Biography*; Secy. of War to J. Gadsden, Jan. 30, 1832, *ASP: Military Affairs*, VI, 473.

17. *Ibid.*, 472; Wiley Thompson to DuVal, Jan. 1, 1834, *House Documents*, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 271, pp. 7-11.

to journey in 1823. He appears to have selected the site in conference with Micanopy - Payne's Landing on the Oklawaha River (a few miles from the present town of Eureka.) Whatever the reason for the choice, the spot was easy of access and well known to all bands. Nonetheless, it was three months after receiving his commission before the agent was able to assemble enough chiefs to hold a talk.<sup>18</sup>

It is unfortunate that Commissioner Gadsden never submitted any minutes of the talks held with the Indians at Payne's Landing. This failure laid him open to endless charges that the treaty signed there was obtained by force and fraud. As it is, we know little of what occurred. Later he reported two of the things he told them. The first was that the government could not continue to feed them year after year. Second, he did his best to show his listeners how disagreeable their situation would be when they came under the laws of the territory, their inevitable lot if they refused to move. Aside from this we know nothing of the parley except that a treaty was signed May 9, 1832. The marks of seven chiefs appear on it and eight subchiefs. These fifteen probably pretty well represented most of the Mikasuky bands, and a majority of the Seminoles who were descended from the first Oconees to come to the area of Alachua County, and who later fanned out over the peninsula. But certainly they were fewer and less representative than the signers at Moultrie Creek nine years before.<sup>19</sup>

Twenty-nine months later, Micanopy declared that he had not marked the Treaty of Payne's Landing. Even though his name appeared on the document, he insisted that he did not touch the pen. Of course the white men denied this, but in the last analysis it is their word against his. One must at least notice the rumor that none of the senior chiefs made their marks; the young bucks, disguised as their elders, did it. Worse yet, Charley Emarthla claimed that all the signers were coerced. This allegation, uttered on October 25, 1834, made the Indian Agent furious. (The Agent then was Wiley Thompson, successor to John Phagan, successor to Gad Humphreys.) ". . . it is said by

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18. Mark F. Boyd, *Florida Aflame: Background and Onset of the Seminole War, 1835*. Also printed in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXX (July, 1951), 44.

19. J. Gadsden to Editor, in *St. Augustine News*, July 3, 1839.

Charley Emarthla, that the white people forced you into the treaty of Payne's Landing," he must have almost shouted it at them, "If you were so cowardly as to be forced by anybody to do what you ought not . . . you are unfit to be chiefs." His argument, although lofty in tone, is not very strong in reasoning, for overwhelming force has obliged many people to do what they thought wrong. Moreover, the Indians did not nurture a tradition of martyrdom in their culture.<sup>20</sup>

All in all, it appears unlikely that we shall ever know whether or not those Indians whose marks appeared on the document actually signed. Nor, if they did do it, are we apt to find out whether or not they were forced to sign.

What did the notorious Treaty of Payne's Landing, executed on May 9, 1832, contain? The first article was the crucial one. It stipulated that the Seminoles were willing for seven of "their confidential chiefs" to travel west to inspect the Creek lands. . . . should they be satisfied," it continued, "with the character of that country, and of the favorable disposition of the Creeks to reunite with the Seminoles as one people . . ." then the remaining articles were to be considered binding. The key is the personal pronoun "they." To whom does it refer? Since the first sentence is long and involved, the reference is not at all clear. Did it point to the delegation of seven chiefs or to the Seminole nation? On this point, Indians and white men took opposite views. Charley Emarthla said in October, 1834, that his people were not bound to emigrate, "because the question was not submitted to the Seminole nation, after their delegation returned, whether they were willing to go." Other Indians agreed with him. White men, on the contrary, contended that "they" referred to the delegation of chiefs who, therefore, had full power to bind the group. This much can be said for the white position: the various bands which made up the loose association referred to as the Seminole Nation, seldom had any sort of national council except at such times as the United States government obliged them to do so. Therefore, the Indian contention that important decisions had to be decided by council seems weak; weak, but not, by the same token, automatically invalid. For councils below

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20. Abel, 393n; Abstract of Council, Oct. 25, 1834, *Sen. Docs.* 24 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 152, pp. 25, 26.



the level of the nation were frequent on matters of policy.<sup>21</sup>

Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock, although he was not there, contended as "simple, unquestionable truth," that Abraham, the Negro interpreter at the treaty meetings (and a powerful leader among the Seminoles), misrepresented the first article to the chiefs. Abraham knew, Hitchcock said, that the Seminoles had no intention of leaving Florida before the twenty years had expired which they considered to be the limit of the Treaty of Moultrie Creek. It follows that they would not have signed had the pitfalls in that article been apparent to them. Commissioner Gadsden, he added, bribed Abraham to conceal the truth, but of that more later.<sup>22</sup>

The remaining articles only went into effect when the first one was satisfied. They stipulated that the Seminoles would leave Florida within three years after ratification, one-third per year. They were, of course, to surrender all claims to their Florida land in return for various considerations. These added up (it is necessary to estimate some of them) to around \$80,000. Now, if they were surrendering the 4,032,940 acres assigned them at Moultrie Creek, their return equalled about two cents per acre.

In addition-and startling to see in print-the treaty stipulated that the Seminoles would become a part of the Creek Nation, would occupy land assigned to the Creeks in the west, and draw their annuities from the lump sum appropriated by Congress for the Creeks. They were thereby in effect surrendering their separate entity. To make so radical a departure they had to be hard pressed indeed. It is not unreasonable to infer that nothing but coercion could have obliged them to be swallowed up by their enemies.<sup>23</sup>

The people of Florida praised the Treaty of Payne's Landing because by means of it they might be free of the savages. But they stand almost alone in support of it. Thomas L. McKenney, who was superintendent of the Indian Office in the War Department until August, 1830, later wrote of it as an open fraud,

21. *Ibid.*, 26; Kappler, II, 344, 345.

22. W. A. Croffut, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field: Diary of Major General Ethan Allen Hitchcock*, U.S.A. (New York, 1909), 79, 80.

23. For illustration of their attitude toward the Creeks see William Worthington to Secy. of War, Dec. 4, 1821, *Territorial Papers: Florida*, XXII, 294.

“a foul blot upon the escutcheon of the nation.” Officers of the regular army who served in Florida almost to a man took the same view. Finally, latter day writers have been all but unanimously condemnatory. Yet when one tries to interpret the evidence left by those who were there, scanty as it is, he finds little which directly substantiates so strong a condemnation. On the other hand, he does not find evidence which flatly rejects it.<sup>24</sup>

In making a fresh analysis, it will be suitable to start with the charge of coercion. It does seem plain that there was no force at the treaty grounds sufficient to coerce the Indians. I have not seen any record showing what military detachment was present. The only evidence on the point is indirect. Four officers had signed the Treaty of Moultrie Creek as witnesses, and one other was known to be present. In contrast, at Payne’s Landing no military officers signed and none are known to have been present. The inference is that the detachment was smaller even than the twenty-five at Moultrie. As for the operation of a less immediate and more subtle type of pressure, it is more reasonable to presume that this operated than that it did not. I have already indicated that the merging of the Seminoles with the Creeks is hard to explain unless one infers pressure amounting to coercion. Moreover, Gadsden had not hesitated in 1823 to flex a mailed fist beneath a velvet glove and, inasmuch as the government had ratified his handiwork then, it is more likely than unlikely that he used the same tactics at Payne’s Landing. Finally, the Seminoles were weaker in 1832 than in 1823, and knew well that they were.<sup>25</sup>

What of the charge of fraud? Contemporary evidence is characteristically scant. The most damning body of it comes from Ethan Allen Hitchcock, a contemporary who was not present, but who claimed that he had interviewed those who were. In his diary, not for publication, he entered his conviction that the treaty was drawn up in Washington and sent to Gadsden with instructions to get the concurrence of the Seminoles. If this was

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24. Thomas L. McKenney, *Memoirs, Official and Personal*, (New York, 1846), 274, 275; Junius E. Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary*, 2 vols. (New York, 1952), I, 242; Minnie Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida*, Second edition (New York, 1920), 13; Croffut, 122.

25. J. Gadsden to Secy. of War, June 2, 1832, *ASP: Military Affairs*, VI 505; Gadsden to Secy. of War, Nov. 1, 1834, Indian Records Branch, National Archives.

true, the Commissioner must have been given some leeway, for he accepted the vital first article on the grounds that the Indians would not have continued the proceedings without it. Nor was it possible to make headway, Hitchcock wrote, until Gadsden had bribed Abraham. The sum involved was \$200 to be paid after ratification. Hitchcock's authority concerning the bribe was Captain Charles M. Thruston who claimed to have been present when James Gadsden told President Jackson in person that he could not have procured a treaty without this bribe. Thruston was a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, with an honorable record as a commissioned officer. One has slight grounds to suspect him of inventing an incident, or to suspect Hitchcock of perpetuating a fictitious one. Yet neither is impossible. This much is certain: Article Two of the Treaty provided that \$200 each should go to Abraham and Cudjo (Agent John Phagan's interpreter), "in full remuneration for the improvements to be abandoned on the lands now cultivated by them." Is this the bribe? If so it would appear Cudjo was involved in it too.<sup>26</sup>

This is the right moment to emphasize the importance of the interpreters. Few white men could handle Hitchiti and Muskogee; few Indians, English. Thus, the interpreters were the channels through which communication had to flow. In most cases they were Indian Negroes, that is Negroes connected with the Seminoles. They had no education. Yet what they reported as being said was, perforce, the basis for all official action. Obviously, whether bribed or not, the interpreters, though usually slaves, were as important in any negotiation as the most exalted person present.<sup>27</sup>

Next, Article I requires additional scrutiny. The Indian position about whom "they" referred to has already been stated. It remained consistent. Even the seven chiefs who in 1833 signed an agreement which the white men contended bound the Seminoles to move never pretended that they had authority to bind their people. In contrast, the white stand was not consistent. To begin with, the Commissioner himself, when reporting the treaty

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26. Anonymous letter to Editor, *Niles Register*, June 18, 1839; Croffut, 78, 79; J. Gadsden to Secy. of War, June 2, 1832., *ASP: Military Affairs*, VI, 505; G. W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy*, 3 vols. (New York, 1891), I.

27. Mark Boyd, 6, discusses the problem of interpreters.

to the Secretary of War, avoided committal language. His report went as follows: “. . . with the condition that a deputation of seven confidential chiefs . . . should previously visit the Creek country west of the Mississippi, and should it correspond with the representations made of it, then the argreement made is to be binding on the respective parties.” Obviously, this utterance does not resolve the problem. But seven years later when the Second Seminole War was raging, Gadsden-in reply to criticisms of his treaty-flatly labelled as a mistake the attempt to get the nation to move on the strength of the commitment made by the seven chiefs. Had the matter been submitted to the people in council, he insisted, they would have agreed to move.<sup>28</sup>

Lewis Cass, who followed James Barbour, Peter B. Porter, and John H. Eaton as Secretary of War, seems to have had but one view of the subject. This was expressed in December, 1832, in his annual report to the President: “The treaty, however, is not obligatory on their part until a deputation sent by them shall have examined the country proposed for their residence, and until the tribe, upon their report, shall have signified their desire to embrace the terms of the treaty.” It would be hard to be more explicit; but, as will be seen, when the matter came to a head Cass did not enforce this interpretation of the treaty at all.<sup>29</sup>

The exploratory party of seven was supposed to leave for the west after the Green Corn Dance in July, but it actually did not get away until about October 10, 1832. Jumper, Charley Emarthla, Coihadjo, Holati Emarthla, and Yahadjo were listed by name in the treaty and were present. John Hicks took the place of Sam Jones, who was an old man, and Nehathoclo went in the stead of Fuchelustihadjo. With the seven Indians went the Seminole Agent, John Phagan, and their “faithful interpreter, Abraham.”<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile the government was trying to perfect the policy of Indian removal. On July 14, 1832, Congress created a com-

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28. Abstract of Council, Oct. 25, 1834, *Sen. Docs.*, 24 Cong., I, Sess., No. 152, p. 26; J. Gadsden to Secy. of War, May 15, 1832, *ASP: Military Affairs*, VI, 503; Gadsden to Editor, *St. Augustine News*, July 3, 1839.

29. Secy. of War to McDuffie, May 31, 1832, *Territorial Papers; Florida XXIV*, 713; Report, Secy. of War to President, Dec. 4, 1832, *ASP: Military Affairs*, V, 23.

30. J. Gadsden to Secy. of War, Aug. 30, 1832, *Territorial Papers; Florida XXIV*, 728; DuVal to Secy. of War, Oct. 11, 1832, *ibid.*, 740.

mittee of three to gather information about the country west of the Mississippi and the Indians there. After encountering several refusals to serve, Secretary Cass at length appointed Governor Montfort Stokes of North Carolina, Henry L. Ellsworth of Connecticut, and the Reverend John F. Schermerhorn of New York. Also, during July the organization of the War Department was made more efficient. The head of Indian Affairs was designed "Commissioner" to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. At the same time greater powers were assigned to him than the head of the old bureau had held. The next step was to make a formal agreement with the Creek Indians concerning their removal and their relationship to the Seminoles once both peoples were in the West. This was accomplished in a treaty signed at Ft. Gibson (on the Grand or Neosho River, a little above its confluence with the Arkansas) on February 14, 1833. The Seminoles, that treaty stipulated, should become a part of the Creek nation, but should occupy a separate portion of the Creek reservation.<sup>31</sup>

A fog, due to lack of evidence, hangs about the fateful events which occurred next. The delegation of seven, after a long, hard trip, reached the "promised land" and waited and waited. Then they made a reconnaissance of the country, returning to Ft. Gibson in March, 1833. Later Jumper said they found bad Indians on the borders of the land they were supposed to bring the Seminoles into, and this is the only bit of positive evidence we have as to their reaction to what they saw. All we know is that beginning on March 25, 1833, the seven entered into meetings with the white authorities at Gibson. Those authorities were the three special commissioners (who had all finally reached Ft. Gibson by

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31. James C. Malin, *Indian Policy and Westward Expansion* (Lawrence, 1921), 18; Abel, 392; Kappler, II, 390; IV *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 564. A total of five men turned down the job of commissioner before three were found who would serve. Stokes resigned as governor of North Carolina in order to accept the position, and he remained in the Indian country afterwards on various public assignments. Least is known of Schermerhorn. All three men seem to have been conscientious in the discharge of their duties. All appeared to believe that the policy of removal was best for the Indians. For data on them see John Francis McDermott, ed., *The Western Journals of Washington Irving* (Norman, 1944), 9ff; Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926); Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, *Washington Irving on the Prairie, or a Narrative of a Tour of the Southwest in the Year 1832*, Stanley T. Williams and Barbara D. Simison, eds. (New York, 1937).

this time); General Matthew Arbuckle, commanding officer there; and John Phagan, their own agent. The prime mover among the whites seems to have been Phagan. According to the scanty white record, the chiefs expressed willingness to remove, provided that the Seminoles have a tract of land to themselves and an annuity separate from the Creeks. Also, Agent Phagan must be the removal agent. Two or three more fragments stand out in the fog. John Hicks told the three commissioners, "We have been kept here a long time while you were making treaties with other Nations. . . ." Had they been detained to soften them up? It seems doubtful. The principal reason for the delay was that the three "Commissioners of Indian Affairs, West" did not all reach the fort until early in February. Once there they had several special problems to address before they could properly turn to the Seminoles. The only other fragment to be drawn from the uninformative record of the talks is the portentous one that on March 28 the delegation signed what has come to be called the "Treaty of Ft. Gibson." This fateful document was very simple. The delegation of seven, it read, was satisfied with the land allotted to their people. It delineated the boundaries. The Seminoles, it continued, were to remove, "as soon as the Government will make arrangements for their emigration satisfactory to the Seminole nation." That was all! The marks of the seven chiefs appear on it together with the signatures of the three commissioners and some witnesses.<sup>32</sup> This brief Treaty of Ft. Gibson is rated by most latter day humanitarian writers as a fraud. Does the existing evidence justify such a judgment? We now turn to it.<sup>33</sup>

To begin with, Holata Emartla, Coihadjo (Alligator), and Jumper later claimed they did not sign. Whether they did this to justify themselves before their own people, to whom the Treaty was anathema, or whether they spoke the truth, we cannot know. Next, Charley Emarthla, himself a signer, in October, 1834, asserted that he and the other six had not the power to bind the Seminoles. Why then did he sign; why did the others? We

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32. Proceedings of a Council Held with a Delegation of the Florida Indians at Ft. Gibson, Sen. Records 23B-C 1, Record Group 46, National Archives; Kappler, II, 394, 395; Abstract of Council, Oct. 24, 1834, *Sen. Docs.*, 24 Cong. 1 Sess., No. 152, p. 23; Foreman, *Pioneer Days*, 101.

33. Abel, 393; Dovell, 242.

have no evidence from the participants. But once again Major Hitchcock recorded some information in his diary which he claimed was received from "the officer at the post." His version ran thus: Major Phagan offered papers to the chiefs which they refused to sign because they had not the authority. Their duty, they contended, was to submit their findings to "their king" who, with his chiefs, would make the final decision. (It is by no means clear who this king was. About the only person coming anywhere near the station was Micanopy.) Now Phagan became angry and warned that if they refused to sign he would not "proceed with them on their journey home." Fearful that they might never get back to Florida, they signed, but not, Hitchcock continued, in the presence of the commissioners. The latter accepted the document uncritically as Agent Phagan presented it.<sup>34</sup>

Captain George A. McCall, who was at Ft. Gibson, alleged that it was General Arbuckle rather than Major Phagan who cajoled the seven into signing. The only evidence from the signers themselves was the muddled statement made in council by Charley Emarthla nineteen months later: "When I was there, the agent, Phagan, was a passionate man. He quarreled with us after we got there - had Major Phagan done his duty it would all have been settled, and there would have been no difficulty."<sup>35</sup> What was the agent's "duty" which if done would have resolved all unpleasantness? Who knows?

There is one other piece of evidence which does indeed cast doubt upon the integrity of the white men who made this treaty. Recall that in the Treaty of Paynes's Landing nearly everything depended on to whom the pronoun "they" referred. The crucial clause read, "should they be satisfied with the character of that country" the remaining articles were to be binding upon the nation. But who were "they," the nation in council or the delegation of seven? Seeing the weakness in the original document, whoever drew up the Gibson treaty removed the ambiguity. The altered clause read, "should the delegation be satisfied." One cannot know whether the seven chiefs were apprised of this

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34. Sprague, 80; Croffut, 80-82; Abstract of Council, Oct. 25, 1834, *Sen. Docs.*, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 152, p. 26.

35. *Ibid.*, 24; George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868), 301.

vital alteration or not; but if their later arguments were in good faith, they were not apprised.<sup>36</sup>

At least for official purposes, the three commissioners thought well of the Seminole pact. Their official report ran: "The Seminoles, who were referred to the commissioners for advice and assistance . . . have been well accommodated. This nation is, by the late treaty, happily united with its kindred friends (Creeks) and forms with them one nation; but is secured the privilege of a separate location. . . . This tribe, it is expected, will remove immediately to the lands assigned them." The reference to happy reunion with "kindred friends," the Creeks, indicates either hypocrisy or ignorance of the true state of affairs. From my knowledge of their character, I conclude that the commissioners acted out of ignorance, not dissimulation. Indeed, although it cannot be proved by specific documents, I believe that Agent John Phagan prepared the treaty, forced it upon the Indians, and then secured the acquiescence of the commissioners without their bothering to inquire into it. Part of his game was the stipulation in the document that he himself should be agent for the Seminole removal. This the Indians swallowed with the rest. Considering that Phagan was later removed from his post for altering invoices and pocketing the difference, the presumption of questionable conduct can fairly be held against him.<sup>37</sup>

Whatever the attitude of the Seminoles to the two treaties which were so revolutionary, the United States itself did not act on them for months and months. President Jackson finally submitted them to the Senate on Christmas Eve, 1833, nineteen months after the signing at Payne's Landing and nine months after that at Gibson. Such delay itself seems suspicious but the explanation for it is simple, even though it has to be based on reasonable presumption. The President withheld the Payne's Treaty from the Senate because it added up to nothing until the Seminoles had acted upon the first article. This they did, at least to Jackson's satisfaction, on March 28, 1833, but the Congress had ended its session on March 3, 1833. Thus, there could be no submission until the next session commenced. After December 24, 1833, the handling of the document was perfectly

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36. Kappler, II, 344, 394.

37. Report of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, West, Feb. 10, 1834, *House Reports*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 474, p. 79.



routine in the Senate. After the regular number of reports and readings, it reached a vote on April 8, 1834, and was unanimously accepted. The President proclaimed the treaty four days later.<sup>38</sup>

Almost two years had elapsed since the signing. To John H. Eaton, erstwhile Secretary of War, longtime friend of Andrew Jackson, and now Governor of the Territory of Florida, such a time lag amounted to repudiation. He cited the precedent of the transfer of Florida from Spain. When Spain delayed that treaty two years, the Senate had thought it necessary to re-ratify. Must not the same thing be done again, queried Eaton? The question was referred to the Attorney General who found, it almost goes without saying, that the lapse of time did not injure the treaty.<sup>39</sup>

Pressure for removal became intense in the fall of 1834. Inasmuch as the treaty called for complete removal three years after ratification, this would have set a deadline of April 12, 1837, but it was clear that the United States meant to move faster. To that end the Indian Agent held a series of talks. The agent involved was Wiley Thompson who had formally replaced John Phagan on December 1, 1833. Phagan had gone the way of his predecessor, cashiered for irregularities in his accounts. His misdemeanors, however, were far plainer and more heinous than those which had removed Gad Humphreys and given him the place in 1830. As for Humphreys, Governor DuVal reported in 1834 that he still owned a store on the edge of the Seminole tract in Florida from which he was urging the Indians to refuse to migrate. It was during the talks with Thompson in October, 1834, that the Indians gave much of the testimony cited above. They claimed then that they did not have to move because the Treaty of Moultrie Creek ran for twenty years. This was the duration of the annuities and other payments, and they construed it to be also the time limit of the treaty.<sup>40</sup>

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38. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate . . . from March 4, 1829 to March 3, 1837 Inclusive*, IV, 338, 339, 382, 385-387; Kappler, II, 344; *Register of Debates in Congress X*, part 4, Appendix, 233;

39. J. H. Eaton to Secy. of War, Mar. 8, 1835, *House Documents*, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 271, pp. 97, 98; Atty. Gen. to Secy. of War, Mar. 26, 1835, *Territorial Papers: Florida*, XXV, 122, 123.

40. DuVal to Secy. of War, Aug. 21, 1832, *ibid.*, XXIV, 726; Abstract of Councils, Oct. 24, Oct. 25, 1834, *Sen. Docs.*, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 152, pp. 23, 25.

Agent Thompson replied angrily and illogically to their excuses. "You solemnly bound yourselves to remove within three years from the ratification of that treaty," he said on October 25, 1834, "and the whole delegation that went west, confirmed that promise by entering into a final agreement to do so, by which the whole nation is bound." He categorically denied the charge of coercion. "You know you were not forced to do it. You know that Colonel Gadsden told you at Payne's Landing that it was the wish of your father . . . to remove you west of the Mississippi River." None of his vehemence could possibly have been very persuasive to the redmen, for it differed altogether from their version of what had been agreed upon.<sup>41</sup>

In this article, and in the preceding one, I have attempted to examine critically the three treaties which sealed the fate of the Seminoles. The evidence to work with is fragmentary and often contradictory. Then too another factor clouds even the sharpest data, namely that the Indian reactions are known to us only through reports made by white men. Frequently these reports were third hand - from Indian speaker to Negro interpreter to white man. Realizing the unstable nature of such evidence the following conclusions are offered concerning the role of coercion and fraud in the three fateful treaties. It stands to reason that the Indians were strongly influenced by the power of the United States which they recognized as much greater than their own. As for fraud, it may be that Abraham and Gadsden misrepresented the nature of Article I to the chiefs at Payne's Landing, but I am not myself convinced. Yet in the altering of the wording of that treaty from "should they be satisfied" to "should the delegation be satisfied" it is all but impossible to escape the presumption of fraud.

Were the treaties just? They were no more nor less so than the others which at the same time were drawn up to implement the policy of Indian removal. It seems crystal clear that the Seminoles did not regard them as just; indeed, did not expect to be able to obtain justice from the United States. So, in the end, they refused to abide by the treaties. The alternative was war! They knew this, and must have felt themselves hopelessly cornered to be willing to enter into so unequal a fight. They had

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41. *Ibid.*, 26-27.

simply been pushed beyond the limit of endurance. From their viewpoint, they stood to lose everything whether they complied or fought. Following the dictates of their culture, they elected to fight! This decision brought about what has come to be known as the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, which for seven years occupied the entire United States Army and thousands of volunteers. When cornered the Seminoles put up as game a fight as did any of the North American Indians.

## THE IRONY OF SECESSION

by DONALD R. HADD

THE ELECTION OF Abraham Lincoln to the presidency of the United States marked the beginning of active measures for separation in the state of Florida. Throughout the state mass meetings were held to protest the ascendancy of "Black Republicanism." The term "secession" so truculently advanced by a militant minority since the Compromise of 1850 began to be advanced by an ever increasing number of Floridians inflamed by the spirit of the times.

Late in November, Governor Madison Perry, a firm advocate of separation, addressed a noteworthy message to the legislature. After a firm indictment of the recent election, he concluded with a clarion call to arms:

For myself . . . I most decidedly declare that in my opinion the only hope the Southern States have for *domestic peace and safety* . . . is dependent on their action now; and that the proper action is . . . *Secession from our faithless and perjured confederates.*

But some Southern men . . . object to secession until some overt act of unconstitutional power shall have been committed by the *General* Government. . . . But why wait for this overt act? . . . What is that Government? It is but the trustee, the common agent of all the States, appointed by them to manage their affairs, according to a written constitution of power of attorney. Should the sovereign States, then . . . for a moment tolerate the idea that their action must be graduated by the will of their agents?

. . . Entertaining these views, I most earnestly recommend a call of a Convention of the people of the State, at an early date, to take such action as in their judgment may be necessary to protect and preserve the right, honor and safety of the people of Florida.<sup>1</sup>

These very pronounced views met with wide endorsement. Even one of his political enemies conceded that the sentiments he

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1. Florida, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly*, 10th Sess., 1860 (Tallahassee, 1860), 12.

expressed would “coincide with the views of a vast majority of the citizens of Florida.”<sup>2</sup>

The legislature acted promptly. A bill was presented on November 28, for the calling of a convention to consider Florida’s position in the Union. It passed both houses with but one dissenting vote. On November 30, the bill became law. It provided for a special election on December 22, of delegates to a “convention of the people,” which was to meet in Tallahassee on January 3. Its prospective business, as was readily discernible, was to take Florida out of the Union.

On January 3, 1861, the delegates to the momentous convention began to assemble in Tallahassee. On that day sixty members presented their credentials. Among them were some of the best known, most respected, and wealthiest men of the state. They made up a body that was “to take unto itself sovereign powers, repudiate the Union and change in theory, at least, the very nature of the state represented.”<sup>3</sup>

John C. Pelot, of Alachua County, was appointed temporary chairman, and upon him evolved the historic task of delivering the opening address to the assembled group. Briefly summarizing the reason why the convention had been called, he concluded by asking Divine guidance for the deliberations ahead.<sup>4</sup> Having set in motion the wheels that were inexorably to carry Florida out of the Union and into a tempest, the like of which had never before been seen, Pelot resumed his seat. The curtain was about to rise on the tragic drama that, for Florida, was to begin with its secession from the union known as the United States of America, and end four bloody years later at Appomattox, Virginia.

With a future still screened by time, McQueen McIntosh, the Federal judge who had sworn to resign if Lincoln were elected, arose to introduce the Right Reverend Bishop Rutledge, who delivered the invocation. The convention, after having been formally opened, adjourned for two days until Saturday, January 5, 1861, in order to allow all the elected delegates time to ar-

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2. William W. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 35.

3. *Ibid.*, 56.

4. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1861), 3; cited hereafter as *Proceedings of the Convention*.

rive.<sup>5</sup> On January 5 the convention reconvened and got to business in earnest.

John C. McGehee, a staunch secessionist, was chosen president of the meeting. In his acceptance speech McGehee gave the reason *why* the Convention was called, as well as giving a key to the secession feelings of its members:

In the formation of the Government of our Fathers, the Constitution of 1787, the institution of domestic slavery is recognized, and the right of property in slaves is expressly guaranteed.

The people of a portion of the States who were parties to the government were early opposed to the institution. The feeling of opposition to it has been cherished and fostered, and inflamed until it has taken possession of the public mind at the North to such an extent that it overwhelms every other influence. It has seized the political power and now threatens annihilation to slavery throughout the Union.

At the South, and with our People of course, slavery is the element of all value, and a destruction of that destroys all that is property.

This party, now soon to take possession of the powers of the Government, is sectional, irresponsible to us, and driven on by an infuriated fanatical madness that defies all opposition, must inevitably destroy every vestige of right growing out of property in slaves.

Gentlemen, the State of Florida is now a member of the Union under the power of the Government, soon to go into the hands of this party.

As we stand our doom is decreed.

Under a just sense of impending danger, and realizing an imperative necessity thus forced upon them to take measures for their safety, the People of Florida have clothed you with supreme power and sent you here . . . to devise the best means to insure their safety . . . .

Your presence at this Capitol is the highest proof that your people fear to remain under their Government. With poignant regret no doubt they leave it; but they have no ground of hope of safety in it. . . . I will not presume to indicate your course - your superior and collected wisdom must decide.

I cannot doubt though . . . that you will . . . promptly

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5. The four western counties of Escambia, Santa Rosa, Franklin, and Liberty, and one eastern county, Clay, as well as some of the senatorial districts, were not yet represented. Representation was by county and senatorial district.

place them in a position of safety above the power and beyond the reach of their enemies.<sup>6</sup>

Contained within this speech is a point of great significance, a point which supplies an insight into why these men, by nature and occupation of a conservative bent, were not only willing, but anxious, to take a politically radical step, the like of which had not been seen since 1776 and 1787. The prime word seems to have been "property." It made little difference whether this property involved land, material goods, or slaves. The one inviolable factor was property. Furthermore, slaves were property - property that had been guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States as well as by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision. It was impossible to mistake this; the meaning was not ambiguous.

This interpretation is given added strength by an examination of the unpublished census returns of 1860.<sup>7</sup> Of the sixty-nine delegates elected to represent the various counties and senatorial districts in Florida to the Secession Convention, fifty-eight of them (84%) either owned slaves outright or in several cases held them in trust for others. Of these slaveholders nineteen would be classified as a small slave-holding group, controlling ten slaves or less, while eighteen controlled more than forty slaves. Furthermore, thirty-three of the members gave farming as their principal occupation; and of the remaining thirty-six, twenty-five were farmers in addition to their primary occupation.<sup>8</sup> The thirty-six members, incidentally, who gave occupations other than farming, described themselves as follows: thirteen merchants, eight lawyers, six physicians, two mill owners, one judge of the United States District Court, one judge of the probate court, one clerk of the Duval County Court, two ministers, one cotton agent, and, of all things, one carpenter. Certainly these men, if occupations can be used as a criterion, should not have been of a radical nature.

Economically, it is the same story. Forty-nine (71%) of the delegates had estates valued in excess of \$10,000; only ten

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6. *Proceedings of the Convention*, 11.

7. Unpublished census returns, 1860 (on Microfilm Florida State University Library, Florida State University). I and II.

8. Of the thirty-three farmers, thirty were slave-holders; of the twenty-five who farmed in addition to their regular occupation, all were slave-holders, although two of them held slaves in trust only.

bad estates of less than \$5,000. Actually, thirty-one members owned property valued at over \$30,000, which would place them, considering time and place, in the semi-wealthy group. Even in the age category, these men should have been conservative. Granted that nine of them were aged thirty or less, nevertheless, forty-three of the delegates were over forty years of age.

This should have been a reasonably mellow group - but it was not. Why? One solution that can be rendered is that these men were normally conservative; but where property was concerned they became raging Tartars, willing to risk all for the sake of a principle. This was not just a whim - it was a deep-rooted conviction that their concept of sanctity of property was worth every sacrifice that such a radical measure as secession might entail. The bulk of the ordinary people of the South were undoubtedly too emotionally stirred to look to the future - but these delegates in Tallahassee were mature, deliberate men who knew what they were doing, yet who unfortunately allowed their biased beliefs in one principle to color or distort the rest of their judgment.

Naturally, in this, as in all else, there were exceptions. Of the seven delegates who voted against the Ordinance of Secession, six were farmers, and the seventh gave his occupation as a merchant-farmer; five were slave-holders - one of whom owned 112 slaves; and five of the seven held property valued in excess of \$7,000.<sup>9</sup> The only inference that can be drawn is that the seven were either Whigs or Jacksonian Democrats; or while the rest subordinated their normal political conservatism to the threatened, as they saw it, loss of their property, these men refused to become overwrought. Possibly they realized as the others should have, that although the Democrats had lost the Presidency, they still retained control of Congress, and so all was not lost. Unfortunately for all concerned, the majority refused to view the subject dispassionately. Their minds were set and all the logic in the world could not swing their minds from the single track to which they had been switched. Even without the threatened loss of property, how could argument sway those who truly felt they had been enjoined by the Bible to separate from

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9. The two who were valued at less than \$7,000 were both from Orange County; one of the two was the poorest of all, having a total estate valued at only \$750; both were non-slave owners.



the abolitionist. Triumphantly they could point out:

In the first Epistle of Timothy, Chapter IV, Paul lays down the duty of servants to obey their masters, and adds "these things exhort and teach. *If any man teach otherwise* and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which was according to Godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing but doting about questions, and strives of words, *whereof cometh envy, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth,* supposing that gain is Godliness. From such withdraw thyself."<sup>10</sup>

With the double attitude of haste and determination, the Convention proceeded to get down to the business of taking Florida out of the Union. There was no doubt that this was the primary function of the Convention.

Ultimately it was determined to adopt a plan submitted by McQueen McIntosh which would have secession proclaimed a state right, Florida proclaimed justified in exercising the right, and the Convention proclaimed competent to act for the state. Acting immediately after addresses by commissioners from Alabama, South Carolina, and Virginia, the convention voted that the people of Florida possessed the right to sever political connections with the United States when in their opinion a just and proper cause existed. It further contended that a "just and proper cause" did exist, and that Florida should exercise her sovereign right of political severance.<sup>11</sup>

Immediately after the passage of the resolution a "select committee" of thirteen was appointed by the chair to prepare an ordinance of secession. Two days later, on January 9, the committee read its report, which boiled down to a reaffirmation of the Compact Theory of Government, quoting as partial authority the fact that New York, Virginia, and Rhode Island, when ratifying the Constitution, asserted their right to reassume the powers delegated to the Federal government "whenever it should become necessary to the happiness of their people, or should be perverted to their injury or oppression." It concluded by recommending that Florida "secede now, and reassume all the rights by her delegated to the Federal Government known as

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10. St. Augustine *Examiner*, December 22, 1860.

11. *Proceedings of the Convention*, 18.

the United States of America, and declare herself to be a Sovereign and Independent Nation, and to this end advise the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession.”<sup>12</sup>

The final desperate efforts made to amend the ordinance by the conservative element in the Convention was not so much to cancel the ordinance as to see that Florida did not end up taking the fateful step without the backing and support of her more powerful Southern neighbor states. It was all to no avail; each effort to amend the ordinance was decisively voted down.

On the following day, January 10, all efforts to slow passage of the ordinance having been defeated, the consequential issue was presented to the convention. As the packed gallery watched and listened in a strained silence, the delegates voted for secession, sixty-two to seven.<sup>13</sup> At twenty-two minutes past twelve noon the president declared the ordinance adopted.<sup>14</sup> The die was cast. Florida had crossed her Rubicon. The delegates could look upon their handiwork with satisfaction. The Constitution was vindicated; their property safe. In the exultation of the moment the final irony was hidden from them - that after four years of bitter struggle the least of their losses would be their slaves.

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12. *Ibid.*, 26.

13. Those who voted against secession were Baker of Jackson County, Gregory of Liberty, Hendricks of Clay, McCaskill and Morrison of Walton, and Rutland and Woodruff of Orange.

14. *Proceedings of the Convention*, 31.

## THE ENGLISH INVASION OF SPANISH FLORIDA, 1700-1706

by CHARLES W. ARNADE

THOUGH FLORIDA had been discovered by Ponce de Leon in 1513, not until 1565 did it become a Spanish province in fact. In that year Pedro Menendez de Aviles was able to establish a permanent capital which he called St. Augustine. Menendez and successive executives had plans to make St. Augustine a thriving metropolis ruling over a vast Spanish colony that might possibly be elevated to a viceroyalty. Nothing of this sort happened. By 1599 Florida was in desperate straits: Indians had rebelled and butchered the Franciscan missionaries, fire and flood had made life in St. Augustine miserable, English pirates of such fame as Drake had ransacked the town, local jealousies made life unpleasant. Spain threatened to dismantle St. Augustine. The viceroyal dreams were rapidly vanishing and to maintain the status quo was now the greatest ambition in order to preserve the very existence of Spanish Florida.<sup>1</sup>

Exactly one hundred years later things had improved little or none, according to our mid-twentieth-century notion of progress, but when judged in accordance with Spanish Florida standards the "provincias de las Floridas" were far better off in 1699 than in 1599. AS a matter of fact, St. Augustine, its environs, and the other regions under actual Spanish occupation, were in the midst of a "golden age" never equalled before and hardly ever achieved again under the Spanish flag.<sup>2</sup>

The Franciscans had revitalized their sixteenth-century missions and bravely marched west into populous Apalache. Here and along the trail to Apalache they founded many missions,

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1. The story of Florida at the end of the sixteenth century and the efforts to dismantle St. Augustine is told by Charles W. Arnade, *Florida on Trial* (Coral Gables, 1959).
  2. The emergence of the golden age and its relation to the creole landed aristocracy that was coming into being mostly made up from St. Augustine citizens, is sketched by Charles W. Arnade, "Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763," to be published in the *Journal of Agricultural History*.

thriving by mid-century.<sup>3</sup> Under the government of the energetic but unethical Pablo de Hita y Salazar (1675-1680), settlers were sent into Apalache.<sup>4</sup> When Hita y Salazar arrived in St. Augustine, the stone fortress, a dream of every governor since Pedro Menendez de Aviles, was in full construction. With the near completion of this fort St. Augustine changed from a miserable village to a respectable city.<sup>5</sup> The acid Father Alonso de Leturiondo, a true St. Augustinian and parish priest at the end of the century, tells us that it was "a magnificent fort of modern construction of such great capacity that it can, on occasions, shelter within its walls all the people of the city." Leturiondo told the King that this fort was "beautiful, it is a very pleasing sight to the eye. Its entire structure is haughty and powerful." The very presence of this fort had changed the style of living of St. Augustine and this in turn of all of occupied Spanish Florida.<sup>6</sup>

Since 1650, a proud citizenry of Florida creoles had come into being. Many of them were army personnel stationed in the fort. It had been the desire of the Spanish Crown since the foundation of St. Augustine to man the Florida fortifications with about 350 men, mostly from Spain.<sup>7</sup> As time went on a custom developed to enroll the native sons in the St. Augustine garrison. By mid-century a proud *criollo* military tradition tied to St. Augustine had developed. The leading families supplied men and officers to the garrison. The Crown fought a rear action to avoid this and in 1692 even issued a royal cedula "that native-born criollos are not to hold more than forty *plazas* of the garrison."<sup>8</sup> This was never possible to enforce. Only the

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3. For a short summary of the emergence of the Apalache missions see Herbert E. Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia* (Berkeley, 1925).

4. Hirachuba and Andres, *caciques* of Apalache, to the Governor of Florida, San Luis [in Apalache, Florida] February 12, 1699, 4 folios, Stetson Collection, University of Florida, AGI: 54-5-19-38.

5. See Albert Manucy, *The Building of the Castillo de San Marcos* (Washington, 1942).

6. *Memoria del Bachiller Alonso de Leturiondo* [written in Spain about 1700 and handprinted in St. Augustine], Stetson, AGI: 58-2-3-14, 31 pp.

7. Cf. Luis Arana "Infantry in Spanish Florida, 1671-1679," seminar paper University of Florida, 1958. Available in the library of the Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine.

8. Royal Cedula, Madrid, Feb. 18, 1693, 4 folios, Stetson, AGI: 58-1-22-26.

governorship remained beyond the reach of the local families with vested interests.<sup>9</sup> These families such as the Hitas, Horruytiners, Mexias, Solanas, Ponce de Leons (not descendents of the famous conquistador), Primo de Riberas, and many others had grown respectable but very narrow-minded during this last century.<sup>10</sup> The emergence of the beautiful and powerful fort had finally given them a *raison d'etre*.

Why did this fort exist? Certainly not to justify a local military citizenry. It was built because of the ever-increasing international challenge to Spain's vital shipping route which skirted along the Florida coast. This danger had existed as far back as the sixteenth century; it was, after all, the main reason that Spain kept Florida.<sup>11</sup> In 1668 the English freebooter, Robert Searles, with or without tacit approval from his Sovereign, attacked St. Augustine on May 29, causing much damage and confusion.<sup>12</sup> Only two years later English colonists in a most daring move established Carolina with Charles Town as its main settlement. It was the beginning of a long age of conflict between Spain and England, bringing war to Spanish Florida and sharp diplomatic hassles in European capitals. The great Herbert Bolton called it the fight over the "debatable land."<sup>13</sup>

The various skirmishes that began with the founding of Carolina culminated in the full-fledged invasion of Florida in 1702. The Carolinians from the very beginning felt an intense hatred for Catholic Spain. Coupled with this was a feeling of superiority; they regarded the Spaniards of Florida with utter disdain. They were sure of an easy final victory as soon as they had consolidated their new province. But by 1700 France had

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9. See John TePaske, "The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763," Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1959.

10. Interesting is the letter of Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada to the Crown, April 1, 1688, in which he complained in no uncertain terms about the unbeatable nepotism of the Florida garrison which made his executive duties extremely difficult (4 folios, Stetson, AGI: 54-5-12-53).

11. "Informacion de orden de S. M. sobre el estado general de las provincias de la Florida y si conviene o no desmantelar el fuerte de San Augustin," St. Augustine, 1602, 170 folios, Stetson, AGI: 86-5-24.

12. Royal Officials of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, June 30, 1668, 10 folios, AGI: 58-5-14-134, North Carolina Spanish Records, reel 3; Royal Officials to the Crown, St. Augustine, 1671, 38 folios, Stetson, AGI: Escribania de Camera, legajo 155, no. 22.

13. Bolton, 1.

completed sovereignty over the Mississippi with the establishment of Louisiana. While to the south of Protestant Carolina lay Catholic Spanish Florida completely determined to oppose English expansion, to the west emerged an even stronger line of resistance manned by Catholic France. And while the Carolinians underestimated the Spaniards in their disdainfulness they feared the French. Some thoughtful minds in Charles Town pondered over the possibility of a French-Spanish alliance which would encircle Carolina.<sup>14</sup> Then in 1700 the King of Spain died childless and Louis XIV claimed the throne for his Bourbon grandson. If there was consternation in Europe over the union of France and Spain there was near panic in Carolina.

Even before the news of the War of the Spanish Succession reached America, Carolina was ready to march on Spanish Florida. Substantial rumors had reached Charles Town that the French were ready to attack and use Spanish St. Augustine as a main base. The Carolinians elevated the ruthless James Moore to the governorship of Carolina. This man, "active, ambitious and aggressive," was an "impecunious planter," a high church man and a heartless slave dealer. There was in him one-half honest dedication to the cause of Carolina and Protestantism and another half to personal advancement by whatever means; in short, a saint and a devil. He was shrewd but reckless.<sup>15</sup> As a fire-eater of the worst type he convinced the colonial legislature to organize an expeditionary force to advance on St. Augustine.<sup>16</sup> Disdainful as ever of the Spaniards, Moore was careless in his preparation and failed to obtain proper intelligence about the military strength of St. Augustine. He misjudged the great fort at St. Augustine, a true powerhouse. Moore's counterpart, the Spanish governor of Florida, had arrived in St. Augustine in 1700 but immediately understood the true value of the fort. Governor Joseph de Zuniga y Zerda made a fast survey of his garrison and came to the conclusion that an open battle was dangerous; he decided to retreat inside the great

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14. Verner W. Crane, "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War," *American Historical Review*, XXIV (1918-1919), 379-395.

15. David Duncan Wallace, *The History of South Carolina* (New York, 1934), I, 157; Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor, 1929), 40.

16. A. S. Salley, ed., *Journals of the Common House of Assembly of South Carolina for 1702* (Columbia, S.C., 1932), 107 pp., *passim*.

fort with all the inhabitants of St. Augustine and surrounding areas.<sup>17</sup>

Moore and his men lashed into coastal Florida and Georgia in November, 1702, destroying Spanish outposts on Amelia Island and along the waterways of the mouth of the St. Johns River.<sup>18</sup> Whenever they conquered such posts, which usually had a church with a Franciscan friar as the spiritual protector, the English leveled the settlement by fire. Such procedure first adopted in November, 1702, was continued through the whole war until 1706. This shows the English aim of destruction rather than actual occupation or conquest.

By mid-November Moore and his soldiers and sailors had captured the city of St. Augustine without a battle and were laying siege to the fort. He admitted that he had been unaware of the size and power of the fort and that he had failed to bring the right weapons to capture this castle. He dispatched an aide to get more powerful artillery from Jamaica. A long siege ensued which has recently been described in great detail.<sup>19</sup> It suffices to say that Moore failed to capture the fort and Spanish reinforcements from Havana arrived before the anticipated English help from Jamaica. Moore hastily retreated after completely burning the town. Moore's retreat was orderly and not a rout.<sup>20</sup> Zuniga wanted to pursue the enemy but his men, besieged for two months, were exhausted and the relief contingent refused to obey further instructions of Zuniga once their mission had been accomplished.

The Spanish had won a Pyrrhic victory and Moore was thoroughly discredited. He lost his governorship but not his influence with the emotional legislature and soon regained it with the new executive. Moore was given permission to have a second

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17. Governor Zuniga to the Crown, St. Augustine, March 15, 1702, with enclosures, AGI: 58-1-27, North Carolina Spanish Records, reel 9.

18. See Charles W. Arnade, "Piribiriba on the Salamototo. A Spanish Fort on the St. Johns River," *Papers* (The Jacksonville Historical Society), IV (1960), 67-84.

19. Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702* (Gainesville, 1959).

20. John Oldmixon, *From the History of the British Empire in America, 1708* in A. S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York, 1911), 317-373.

try but without governmental financial support.<sup>21</sup> Naturally he was most anxious for vindication. And the Carolina government was also desirous to try again, because they hated Spain emotionally and feared French might. Louisiana was becoming every day stronger and better established, and between mighty French Louisiana and the powerful Spanish fort at St. Augustine lay the fertile and fairly densely populated lands of Apalache, spotted with small Spanish missions attached to weak guard houses. San Luis of Apalache, today's Tallahassee, was the administrative center of Apalache. No powerful fort protected the region. Indians were more abundant than in any other part of Florida and were of a higher civilization; they were of uncertain loyalty to Spain. A fairly good trail connected San Luis with St. Augustine through some cattle country along today's Gainesville area.<sup>22</sup> Communications with Spanish Pensacola just due east of French Louisiana were semi-adequate.<sup>23</sup>

Moore realized that a march into Apalache was to everyone's advantage and was foolproof. First, there was no fort to conquer; second, the Spanish military garrison was weak and ineffectual; third, direct communication between the French and the Spanish colonies would be interrupted; fourth, intertribal warfare between English-dominated Indians and those of Apalache could be started; fifth, the Apalache Indians could be easily weaned from Spanish rule: sixth, many missions, hated symbols of Catholicism, could be destroyed to provide a victory for Protestantism and emotionalism; seventh, the Apalache Indians could provide a new market for the Carolina traders; eighth, valuable cattle ranches would provide a good war bounty; ninth, the main Spanish road system would fall into English hands; tenth, mighty St. Augustine would be completely isolated; eleventh, Moore, always interested

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21. A. S. Salley, ed., *Journals of the Common House of Assembly of South Carolina for 1703* (Columbia, S.C., 1934), 140 pp., see index.

22. Crown Collection of Maps of North America, Series III, Public Records Office (London), Colonial Office, 700: North American Colonies, Florida, nos. 125 *et seq.* Cf. Mark F. Boyd, "The First American Road in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIV (October, 1935-January, 1936), 73-106, 139-192.

23. "Demanda Puesta Por Los Senores Juezes Oficiales de la Real Hazienda . . ." [part of the *residencia* of Governor Zuniga]. St. Augustine, 1707, fols. 12941-12936, Stetson, AGI: 58-2-8. Cf. Mark F. Boyd, "A Map of the Road from Pensacola to St. Marks, 1778," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII (July, 1938), 15-23.



in Indian slaves for his plantations, would be able to double or triple his slave supply. The attack on Apalache was the only logical plan of a renewed attack on Spanish Florida.

The Carolina legislature in September, 1703, approved permission for Moore to support the friendly Indians and attack Apalache with them, but refused to pay one cent for the expedition. <sup>24</sup> Moore was convinced that he would have financial gain by plunder and slave hunting. He immediately gathered a relatively small army of abundant Indians and about fifty whites which reached Apalache in January, 1704. <sup>25</sup> From then until at least 1706 Moore and his band rampaged through Apalache, burning buildings and committing atrocities of all sorts besides hunting Indian slaves. The Moore trail of destruction through fertile Spanish Apalache during the Queen Anne's War is one of the most difficult to reconstruct in its details.

Moore and his men apparently followed no rigorous military procedure, as indeed few colonial armies in America did, and therefore left no written records for the future. The Spaniards, especially the executive command in St. Augustine, were unable to ever find out exactly what was going on in Apalache, only knowing that Moore was on the rampage. Often the situation in Apalache during those crucial years as known in the governor's office in St. Augustine was more vague than what we know today. Consequently the Spanish records leave much to desire in reconstructing the Apalache campaign of the Carolinian Moore.

Dr. Mark Boyd several years ago gathered some data about the campaign <sup>26</sup> and has made a chart of the various missions in Apalache with their probable dates of destruction at the hands of the Moore raiders. <sup>27</sup> Additional data from Spanish sources is coming to light at a snail's pace. For example, most printed sources state that the largest military engagement of the Moore campaign occurred at the beginning of the campaign on January 25, 1704, when he attacked the village of Ayubale. Yet, recently found documents speak of another large engagement on September

24. Salley, *Journals, 1703*, see index: Moore.

25. Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 79-80, 21n.

26. Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, *Here They Once Stood* (Gainesville, 1951); Mark F. Boyd, ed., "Document: Further Considerations of the Apalachee Mission," *The Americas*, IX (1935), 459-479.

27. Boyd, *et. al.*, *Here They Once Stood*, 11-13.

3, 1705, at an unmentioned location, possibly in the Gainesville area. In this skirmish the Spaniards were decimated and lost some of the most trustworthy officers of the St. Augustine garrison, all respected citizens of St. Augustine.<sup>28</sup> Anyhow, enough primary material has been unearthed to state that by August, 1706, the Carolinians had destroyed everything in Spanish Florida from the Apalachicola to the St. Johns River. Only St. Augustine and its immediate surroundings was still under effective Spanish tutelage. While not actually occupying north central Florida, the English had successfully neutralized Spanish Florida.

It is pertinent to try to determine in a few lines the reason for the Spanish semi-collapse in Florida under the impact of the Moore invasions. As stated, Florida since its beginnings was always in a precarious position. Beginning with 1680 a period of strong citizenry and economic prosperity developed. But Moore brought this golden age to an abrupt end. First of all, the prosperity was based solely on military increments and did not extend into the provinces, especially to the missions and natives. It was localized in St. Augustine; more specifically it gyrated around the fort.<sup>29</sup>

While the Spaniards had strengthened their military material they failed to improve the social and related conditions. Their Indian policy, the basis of which was the mission, was utterly rigid even in the face of English competition. The English offered the Indians all kinds of goods, including firearms and liquor, while the Spaniards promised them eternal life in heaven. They treated them with a stern paternalism.

The results of this whole Spanish policy of increasing mili-

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28. Junta de Guerra [of the Council of Indies] to the Crown, Madrid, May 9, 1709, 4 folios, Stetson, AGI: 58-1-23-397; Consejo de Indias to the Crown, Madrid, June 6, 1709, with enclosures, 16 folios, Stetson, AGI: 58-1-20-790. These two documents are requisitions for permanent pensions for the widows of the victims of the battle of September 3, 1705. The widows were: Josepha Dominguez, widow of Juan Manuel; Anna Maria Lopez, widow of Juan de la Guardia; Lorenza de Garcia, widow of Juan Domingues; Isabel de Leon, widow of Luis Entonado; Isabel Lopez, widow of Diego Nunez; Maria Morales, widow of Bernardo Martin; Juliana Ponce, widow of Joseph Gomez; Maria de la Concepcion, widow of Francisco Vasunto; Mariana Gutierrez, widow of Thomas de Santiago; Maria de los Reyes, widow of Manuel Solana.

29. See the excellent study, based solely on primary records, by Luis Arana, "The Spanish Infantry: the Queen of Battles in Florida, 1671-1702," Master's Thesis, University of Florida, 1960.

tarism and paternalism when attacked by the English were natural and obvious. Moore failed before the military power of the fort but he was victorious when he attacked in the open space where the missions stood.<sup>30</sup> Spain's policy of relying in Florida solely on a military organization, which included the missions, proved to be the most important cause of English success and Spanish failure.

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30. Charles W. Arnade, "The Failure of Spanish Florida," *The Americas*, XVI (1960), 271-281.

## THE BLOCKADE AND FALL OF APALACHICOLA, 1861-1862

by JOSEPH D. CUSHMAN, JR.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN PROCLAIMED the blockade of all Confederate ports on April 19, 1861. In order to make the blockade effective, the United States Navy was split into two squadrons: the Atlantic Squadron which was to guard the entire Atlantic coast as far south as Cape Florida; and the Gulf Squadron which was responsible for the vast Gulf coast, an area which extended from Cape Florida to the Mexican border. Early in 1862 the Gulf Squadron was divided again into a West Gulf Squadron and an East Gulf Squadron. The area guarded by the East Gulf Squadron extended from Cape Canaveral on the Atlantic to St. Andrew's Bay on the Gulf. It was this command, with its headquarters in Key West, to which the approaches of Apalachicola were assigned.

Although the census of 1860 lists the population of Apalachicola at slightly less than 2,000 persons, the commercial and strategic value of the city was of greater importance than the population figures indicate. Incorporated in 1831, the town grew rapidly and developed a flourishing trade with the valleys of the Apalachicola, the Flint, and the Chattahoochee rivers. River steamers plied these waters as far north as Columbus, Georgia, and the docks of Apalachicola were crowded with bales of cotton and timber from Alabama, Georgia, and Florida. The harbor and channel had been dredged to accommodate the ocean-going ships which carried these products abroad or to markets in the North. By 1840 the town had become the third most important cotton port on the Gulf and it boasted a daily newspaper which had a wide circulation in three states. Its business section and warehouses were the most impressive in the state. <sup>1</sup>

It was not likely that a city of such prominence should escape the surveillance of the Federal blockade for long. On June 8, 1861, Flag-Officer William Mervine, commanding the Gulf

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1. William Watson Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 24-25.

Blockading Squadron, ordered the steamer the *U.S.S. Montgomery*, under Commander T. Darrah Shaw, to proceed "with all practicable dispatch, to the port of Apalachicola . . . for the purpose of establishing, and maintaining an effective blockage."<sup>2</sup> On June 11 the *Montgomery* stood close off West Pass, the most used inlet to Apalachicola Bay, between the two extinguished light-houses. On the following day a delegation of a pilot and "three gentlemen" in a pilot boat bearing a flag of truce was sent out from Apalachicola to the *Montgomery*. To them Shaw delivered the following proclamation, copies of which were to go to the mayor, the postmaster, the collector of customs, and to all commercial reading rooms:

I, T. Darrah Shaw, commanding the *U.S.S. Montgomery*, now off the port of Apalachicola, do hereby promulgate the enclosed declaration of blockade of the said port, made by William Mervine, esq., flag-officer, commanding the *U.S.* blockading forces in the Gulf of Mexico, under the following terms . . . No American coasting vessels are to be allowed to enter or depart from said port from the time of your arrival on the station. All foreign or neutral vessels now in the port of Apalachicola will be allowed ten days from the 11th of June, instant, for their departure.<sup>3</sup>

The proclamation naturally created considerable stir and apprehension in Apalachicola. There was over a million dollars worth of cotton in the city's warehouses and its fate might determine the economic future of a number of Apalachicola businesses. It was also feared that Federal forces, once in possession of Apalachicola, might ascend the Apalachicola River and its tributaries and bring these fertile regions under the heel of the Lincoln government. Also, the capture of the port would endanger the vast concentration of arms at the former federal arsenal at Chattahoochee.

With these alarming possibilities in mind, the citizens of Apalachicola immediately began to fortify the city. They had anticipated the arrival of the *Montgomery* by several weeks by erecting a battery of two old guns (32-pounders) procured from the state and delivered at the town's expense. These guns were

2. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1894-1927), Ser. 1, XVI, 530-531. (Cited hereafter as ORN).

3. *Ibid.*, 544-546.

placed on the waterfront "in the most eligible position to command the several approaches to the town."<sup>4</sup> Later an additional number of guns was obtained from the Confederate Navy Department in Richmond and they were placed in a battery on St. Vincent's Island to command the entrance of West Pass.

The defenses were further boosted by the arrival of the Florida Fourth Infantry, a state regiment recently taken into Confederate service. At one time there were over 1,200 soldiers in and around the city. Military discipline, however, was apparently lax. The commander of the regiment, Colonel Edward Hopkins, did not institute regular drill periods and the troops had much spare time. As a result there was a considerable amount of intemperance, dissipation, and disorder. A Methodist chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Richardson, gives a partial picture of garrison duty in the vicinity.<sup>5</sup>

All the field officers drank. We had fine bands and they frequently serenaded us. . . . One day the Lieut.-Col. came to me and said that I loved music and that the band had to be treated. I told him that I would not treat my father if he were to rise from the dead; but to show him that it was not money but principle with me, I said that if he would serenade me as a Christian I would treat them as Christians. . . . About nine o'clock the band and singers came. They opened up at my room at full blast with that grand hymn, "Before Jehovah's Awful Throne Ye Nations Bow with Sacred Awe." The moon was bright. Our headquarters were on the Bay. The sound of the many instruments and fine voices swept over the Bay, and all the air seemed alive with music.

The sound of the music was as potent as the spirits that had been consumed by the singers. It melted the heart of the puritanical chaplain. He had promised to treat the musicians as Christians, and his judgment was demonstrated by his choice - delicious Apalachicola oysters. "There are no songs like the songs of Zion."<sup>6</sup>

The security engendered by the presence of the troops soon gave way to insecurity and anxiety. Only three companies of the Florida Fourth Infantry were kept in the Apalachicola area.

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4. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. 1, VI, 286. (Cited hereafter as *ORA*).

5. Davis, 161. Also see *ORA*, 1, VI, 286-287.

6. Davis, 161-162.

Two were placed at St. Mark's, two at Cedar Keys, and one at Tampa. <sup>7</sup> The Florida coast line was long, and defense forces had to be spread thinly. On top of this, a deep antagonism developed between the citizens of Apalachicola and the Confederate commander, Colonel Hopkins. Hopkins angered the village fathers when he stripped the battery in the city and transferred its ordinance across the bay to St. Vincent's Island. There he constructed a second battery. The relations between Governor Milton and Colonel Hopkins were also strained by a personal antagonism. Edward Hopkins had run against Milton for governor in the hotly contested election of 1860. In the dispute between Hopkins and the citizens of the town, it was not unnatural for the governor to side against his old political adversary. Both the Governor and the townspeople conspired to have the Colonel removed from his command. When Hopkins moved the majority of his forces and his headquarters to St. Vincent's Island, the city was separated from its defending forces by almost twelve miles of water. The citizens complained to the Confederate Secretary of War.

The approaches to our town by land, as also from the East Pass, are entirely unguarded, and it would not require a large number of such boats as are now being constructed by the enemy to capture the city before any intelligence of an attack could reach Saint Vincent or assistance be rendered by the forces there. <sup>8</sup>

By the end of 1861, three miles of breastworks and shallow entrenchments had been thrown up around the land and sea approaches of the city, but to man them properly it was estimated that it would take at least 5,000 soldiers. The number of troops in the city and on the adjacent islands, however, never numbered over 1,200. <sup>9</sup>

Governor Milton's plantation, "Sylvania," was located in the valley of the Apalachicola near Marianna, and that fact no doubt sharpened his interest in the town. He tried desperately to procure aid from the Confederate War Department, but his letters to J. P. Benjamin brought him little more than the Secretary's sympathy. Milton did succeed, however, in getting Col.

7. *ORA*, 1, VI, 288.

8. *Ibid.*, 286-287.

9. *Ibid.*, 287-288, 355-356.

Hopkins transferred, and in having his aide-de-camp, Colonel Richard F. Floyd, appointed a brigadier and put in charge of the troops in the city. The heavy guns were dismantled on St. Vincent's and brought back to Apalachicola by permission of the War Department and new batteries were constructed with them on the mainland.<sup>10</sup>

The concern of the citizens of Apalachicola was directed more at the possibility of a Federal landing expedition than at the Federal blockade. In fact the blockade of the city was a comic attempt from the beginning. There were two main passes into the bay, two shallow channels, and only one Federal warship. Commander Shaw immediately realized that he needed two additional steamers with light drafts to watch the other sea approaches, but being a realist he requested one.<sup>11</sup> An Apalachicola woman writing to relatives in Lansingburgh, New York, graphically describes the situation. A summary of her letter was forwarded to Secretary of State Seward.

She states that there are four passages to the sea, and that they are guarded by only one small vessel; that while the vessel is near the mouth of one passage there is not any difficulty about effecting ingress or egress at some one of the other passages. . . . The lady directs her uncle to forward his reply to a firm in New York City, by whom it will be forwarded, and this intimates that there is still communication by sea.<sup>12</sup>

As late as the fall of 1862, Florida grocers were still advertising "Java and Rio coffees" among their choicest merchandise.<sup>13</sup>

As ships were added to the East Gulf Squadron, the blockade tightened. The *Montgomery* and Commander Shaw were replaced by the *Mercedita* under Commander H. S. Stellwagon, and a second vessel, the *Sagamore*, was assigned to watch the passes of Apalachicola Bay.<sup>14</sup> But still the blockade runners, though less frequently, escaped from the bay with cargoes of cotton, turpentine, and tar, and returned to Apalachicola with such items as medicine, shoe thread, spool cotton, soap, tourniquet, barrels of oranges, coffee, and bunches of bananas.

10. *Ibid.*, 288, 319, 326, 354-355.

11. *ORN*, 1, XVI, 547.

12. *Ibid.*, 613.

13. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, 1862, *passim*.

14. *ORN*, 1, XVI, *passim*.



Occasionally ladies' shoes, fans, hats, parasols, and children's dolls were also smuggled into the port.<sup>15</sup>

Duty in the Apalachicola area bordered on dullness. Both sides were immersed in the aged military routine of doing nothing in particular and doing it very well. Seldom was there any contact between the opposing forces. On one rare occasion, a Federal landing party under a flag of truce approached the shore in search of fresh water and oysters. A Confederate detachment under Lt. R. H. Randolph lay in waiting on the shore. But instead of a sharp skirmish, a wordy parley took place in which the Federals came within one hundred yards of the shore. Young Randolph's military reputation was smeared by rumors of cowardice, and accusations that he had had a treasonable interview with the enemy. At Randolph's insistence, a Court of Enquiry was convened which declared these charges to be without foundation.<sup>16</sup> So uneventful were military operations that the Randolph affair occupied much space in the military records and press notices concerning the Apalachicola area.

The city continued to wait nervously for assault from the sea, little realizing that it was ill-starred for a peculiar, inglorious destiny in this continental war. Apalachicola's fate was not determined by the increasing strength of the Federal blockade, nor by a bold Union assault on her recently constructed breastworks, nor by the ordeal of a long, nerve-racking siege in which her defenders and her commercial oligarchy would be weighed in the balance and found wanting. Her fate was sealed by the Confederate reverses in far off Tennessee, for her defenders were drawn off to meet the dagger thrust of the Union forces aimed at the very heart of the South. In February of 1862, on orders from Secretary Benjamin, Bragg began withdrawing his troops for service under General Johnson in Tennessee. When Fort Donelson fell the withdrawals were accelerated, and Apalachicola was soon abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. By the end of March her batteries were totally dismantled, her entrenchments vacant, her shops and warehouses closed, and three quarters of her inhabitants refugees scattered throughout

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15. Dorothy Dodd, "Florida in the War, 1861-1865," *The Florida Handbook 1961-1962*, comp. Allen Morris (Tallahassee, 1961), 270-273.

16. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, February 11, 1862.

three states.<sup>17</sup> The city was destined to fall not with a bang, but a whimper.

Rumors of the evacuation of the city reached the Federal blockading forces and a reconnaissance mission was sent to determine their validity. On March 24, 1862, following orders from Commander H. S. Stellwagon, Lieutenant Trevett Abbot in charge of a cutter, a whaleboat, and a fully armed crew, landed on a wharf under a flag of truce. He was met by the principal citizens of the town: Mr. Hancock, the mayor; Mr. Benezet; Mr. Porter; and Father Miller, the Roman Catholic priest. Pursuant to orders, Lieutenant Abbot verified the Confederate evacuation, demanded the surrender of the city, and offered as alternative bombardment by the large naval force in the neighborhood. He also stated that any persons who would take the oath of allegiance to the U.S. government could remain securely in town with their property rights assured as long as they were faithful to their oaths.<sup>18</sup> The delegation informed Abbot that the city had been evacuated on Confederate orders, that some troops had taken up positions several miles up the river, that they did not know whether the troops would return, and that the town was in a defenseless state. The delegation further informed the naval officer that there was "no one in the place willing, under any circumstances to take the oath of allegiance, excepting perhaps . . . a few miserable foreigners."<sup>19</sup> With this intelligence Abbot returned to the *Mercedita*. The civilian exodus which followed the Confederate evacuation was reported by Abbot. Hundreds fled up the river in small boats, ran into a violent rain storm, and were thrown ashore on the low bluffs many miles up the river with their household goods, furniture, and everything they could snatch up. The party, composed mainly of women, children, and old men, spent the night on the shore in a deluge of rain,

the river rising and threatening to carry them away, with scarcely any shelter for the weak and sick, they most of them laid in the mud, almost perishing with cold, until the

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17. *ORA*, 1, VI, *passim*. For a newspaper account of the withdrawal of Florida troops to the West, see the Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, March 4, March 18, 1862.

18. *ORN*, 1, XVII, 194-195.

19. *Ibid.*, 195. The "foreigners" were probably a part of the Latin fishing colony located in the town.

latter part of the next day, when they were taken away by rafts and flats over the deluged country.<sup>20</sup>

With the information which Abbott brought back, Commander Stellwagon made preparations to capture Apalachicola. On the night of April 2, an expedition of eight armed boats from the *Mercedita* and the *Sagamore* entered the bay via West Pass, crossed it, and landed on the main wharf late in the afternoon of the following day. Less than 500 people were left in town, and most of them were on hand to receive the landing party. Since no one had the authority to surrender the town, Stellwagon proclaimed it captured and proceeded to address the people:

My countrymen, for even you who are engaged in this unholy, unnatural war against our Government are my fellow-countrymen, we come not to injure the defenseless, or women and children; I like the people of the South, though I hate secession and rebellion, which have brought such calamities and misery upon all parts of our late happy land.<sup>21</sup>

There were cries from the crowd: "We have had no part in it." "The innocent suffer with the guilty" - to which the Commander replied, "That is true, here and everywhere; it is the result of civil war and your leaders should have thought of it."

It was obvious that this was the great triumph in the life of H. S. Stellwagon, Commander, U.S.N., but in his hour of glory he exhibited startling magnanimity. He granted the people permission to fish in what had been their own bay and allowed them to use their own fishing boats as long as they did not give aid to the blockade-runners. These privileges were to remain in effect as long as no hostile act was committed by the town. But Stellwagon warned that "any direct or indirect act, such as firing our boats, helping a vessel to run the blockade, bringing soldiers to town, or any thing of the sort will be severely punished." Stellwagon concluded his speech, the expedition boarded its eight armed boats, fired a salvo of shrapnel into the air to impress the people, and returned to the ships. Thus was Apalachicola captured and abandoned simultaneously.<sup>22</sup>

Another part of the expedition under Lieutenant A. J. Drake captured without resistance several schooners and pilot boats

20. *Ibid.*, 193-194.

21. *Ibid.*, 202-203.

22. *Ibid.*, 204-205.

a few miles up the river. Stellwagon reported smugly to the commander of the East Gulf Squadron at Key West: "The boats were gone from twenty-four to thirty-six hours. The men behaved admirably."<sup>23</sup>

From this time until the end of the war, Apalachicola was to remain in a twilight zone. It was occupied by neither the Federals nor the Confederates, but it was occasionally visited by southern guerillas and northern landing parties, neither of whom were welcome. No town in Florida had more material, men, or effort concentrated on its defense, and no town received less reward for its efforts than the city of Apalachicola, the most valuable seaport in ante-bellum Florida.

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23. *Ibid.*, 204.

## FLORIDA VOLUNTEERS IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN, 1898 \*

*by* WILLIAM SCHELLINGS

FOR MANY YEARS the Spanish American War has been referred to as a "Splendid Little War." John Hay first used the term to describe the war in a letter to his friend Theodore Roosevelt and Teddy, without doubt, fully agreed. Recently Professor Frank Freidel used the same words to title a book concerning that war. Perhaps many of the participants in the Second World War, or the Korean conflict, would also agree that the war with Spain was a comparatively splendid affair as wars go. Imagine a war in which there was no draft, and that was fought largely by regular army troops while nearly 200,000 volunteers remained in camp! A war in which the enlisted men elected the company officers after all the ritual and excitement of a local political campaign certainly offers a picture far from that presented in the 1940's or the 1950's. One more thing that makes this war in 1898 attractive to later soldiers is simply the fact that there were very few battle casualties.

But to do the men of 1898 justice the vast majority of them did not weigh these factors before deciding to enlist. They went to the recruiting office and signed up in a spirit far removed from that of recent years. Whereas in the past few years men have accepted military service as a fact of modern life, as a necessity and a duty, as part of an effort required to preserve our way of life, men in 1898 volunteered as though for a crusade and one in which they strongly believed. The volunteers shared the sentiment of the general public in every way. They did not see a prospect of a dirty campaign in a tropical island, nor did they contemplate the possibility of a miserable death in a field hospital far from home. They did see an opportunity, even a duty, to aid an oppressed people to gain independence and, they

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\* The material for this paper has been drawn largely from William Schellings, "The Role of Florida in the Spanish American War, 1898." (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Florida, 1958). In addition to the above, a convenient summary of the history of the First Florida is available in "Florida in the Spanish American War, 1898-1899," a typescript in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

thought, democracy. They were repulsed by a Spanish ruling class that was pictured in the popular literature of the day as a cruel, barbarous, bloodthirsty clique. Added attractions of the war were seen as a chance to wear a military costume complete with glistening boots and shining swords, an opportunity to win martial glory and everlasting fame and possibly the heart of a fair one left behind.

Needless to say, these eager volunteers were due to be disillusioned. There were blue flannel uniforms, rifles of Civil War vintage that emitted clouds of black smoke with every shot, and worst of all, no enemy to face, no gallant charges to make, no glory to be won. Save for a few fortunate regiments, and even fewer individuals on detached service, the volunteers faced no enemy save Florida mosquitoes and fought no battles save those against unbelievable amounts of sand and torrential rains. For that is what nearly 80,000 volunteers met as they spent the weary months of the war in Florida those long years ago. Fate must have seemed to be particularly ironic to the Florida volunteers, as they did not even have the faint satisfaction of being far from home. Except for the few who were attached to a separate unit of engineers, and a few others in a regiment of "immunes," no Florida volunteer managed to reach Cuba. Their dreams of participating in a glorious victory over the Spanish tyrants vanished in the summer heat of camps in Tampa, Fernandina, and in Huntsville, Alabama.

These Floridians had fully shared in the national enthusiasm for the war. Organized before the war in the companies of the Florida National Guard, they had recruited their ranks to full strength, and had drilled and marched for long weeks before President McKinley had called for volunteers. They had looked forward to the battle, and, like Teddy Roosevelt, had feared only that the war might be over before they had a chance to get to Cuba.

The optimism that underlay that fear was shared by the highest officials in the War Department, although it may be difficult to understand the basis for that feeling. Secretary of War Russell Alger had predicted that the Army would be able to throw 40,000 soldiers into Cuba within ten days. Army officers had gone even further, saying that an army of 100,000 would be sent in the same time. A sad awakening was to take

place. On April 11 the President sent a message to Congress asking for authority to use the Army and Navy in the Cuban crisis. By April 20 Congress managed to agree on the wording of a joint resolution conferring the desired authority, and the President thereupon signed it. On April 25 Congress passed a declaration of war against Spain, and made it retroactive to April 21.

That made it necessary to actually fight the war and, preferably, win it. It was suddenly realized that before an army of 40,000, or 100,000 men could be sent to Cuba, such an army would have to be created. The regular army consisted of some 28,000 men scattered the country over in Indian posts. Of these only 16,000 could be considered as combat troops. Even Congress realized this and on April 22 it approved a bill authorizing the President to call for volunteers. McKinley issued such a call the next day asking for 125,000 men. Each state was assigned a quota, theoretically in such a way that it could permit its National Guardsmen to volunteer en masse, though not as units. It was thought that the Guard regiments were already equipped, trained, and ready for service. In some cases, as in that of the Florida regiment, this was largely true, but in others, such as the Second Georgia, which arrived in camp wearing uniforms of Confederate gray, it was not.

Adjutant General H. C. Corbin sent telegrams to the governors of the various states notifying each of the number and type of troops that state was to supply. On April 23 Governor Bloxham of Florida received his notice, informing him that Florida's quota was to be one regiment of infantry. This telegram gave the Governor a serious political headache. One regiment of infantry could be translated into meaning no more than twelve companies, and Florida's Guard was organized into twenty such companies. Each and every one not only wanted to serve but expected, nay, demanded that it be chosen for service. Not unnaturally, as each company was organized in and made up of men from a particular locality, each had its own distinctive name and local pride, and no one of them was willing to even consider giving up its claim. Each, too, had its own local political connections.

For a while the Governor delayed announcing which companies would be used. While he was trying to secure a larger quota for the state, he sent State Inspector General J. B. Ander-

son to Tampa to select a site for a state camp. State Adjutant General Patrick Houston was sent on a tour of the state, visiting each company to determine its state of readiness. Despite this show of activity, the delay in issuing a call for specific companies aroused quite a bit of protest. The *Times-Union and Citizen* of Jacksonville demanded several times that the Governor make up his mind and end the uncertainty. Finally, on May 4 a temporary solution was found. The Governor ordered all twenty companies to report to the state camp at Tampa, there to undergo inspection.

While the state troops were first waiting, and then gathering at Tampa, other Floridians were acting on their own. Several individuals attempted to emulate Theodore Roosevelt. J. H. Norton of Jacksonville, identified by the *Times-Union and Citizen* as an "incapacitated insurance man," sent out a call for 1,000 men to enlist in a regiment to be commanded by himself and to be offered to the federal government. In Ocala a Colonel T. D. Lancaster announced that he was taking applications for membership in a brigade of Florida and Georgia cowboys he wanted to offer to the Army. In Pensacola Mr. J. Hazzard declared he was going to raise another regiment of cowboys, this time limited to Florida men, and that he was going to oversee their training as "Rough Riders."

Other Floridians wanted to participate in the war without having to join the Army. Several men in Tampa announced that they planned to engage in privateering, and asked for volunteers. While this, as with the other schemes, came to naught, the efforts to share in the war effort in a direct fashion was indicative of the feelings of many people. Others seeking to do their bit in the wartime emergency, though not in quite so direct a manner, were more successful. Up and down the length of Florida the men of the coastal towns made their own preparations for war. Fearful that the Army might not be able to afford a proper defense, these men set to work organizing "Home Guard Units." Several well-known political figures took leading parts in this effort. In St. Augustine Senator Gaillard headed one company of local men. In Jacksonville ex-Governor Fleming was elected a captain of another unit. R. P. Reese commanded the Pensacola company. H. F. Bowen was chosen 'Chairman' of the Orlando unit. B. E. Hambleton led 200 Miami men. In all,



with a total of more than a dozen companies formed, the state requested that the Federal Government supply 2,000 rifles with which to arm the home guard troops. While these men saw no real service, they did drill, march, and practice shooting for all they were worth. Their service, while it turned out to be unnecessary, was another indication of the height of the war fever that swept the country. The men deserve praise for their service even though when the sun was too hot they were able to postpone drill, or perhaps seek shelter in a nearby taproom. But that was perhaps another sign of intelligence on their part, and should not be held against them.

The first Floridians to see actual service in the federal forces were the members of the Florida naval militia. This organization proffered its services early in April, 1898, before the outbreak of hostilities. On April 17 the Jacksonville unit was accepted by the Navy, and was ordered to send men to establish a signal station at the mouth of the St. Johns River. The Tampa men were next, and established similar stations on Egmont Key, Sanibel Island, and the Dry Tortugas. The Pensacola unit also was called into service, and set up another station on Santa Rosa Island. In addition, sixty men of the Florida naval militia were assigned to various auxiliary ships in the Navy. Out of the total strength of two hundred men and twenty-four officers, ninety-three men and six officers went into active duty service.

Meanwhile at Tampa vain efforts were being made to persuade the men in some of the twenty companies of state troops to agree to disband their companies and join others. This would have brought all units to full strength, that is, all of the twelve that would be accepted by the Army. Not one company would agree to disband, and every one demanded that it be one of the twelve. The Governor continued to delay until the Federal medical officers arrived to make their examination of the men. The examination was completed by May 22, and the Governor could delay no longer. On May 23 he announced the names of the twelve companies that would form the new First Florida Volunteer Infantry.

The fortunate twelve were: the Ocala Rifles, the Leesburg Rifles, Orlando's Shine Guards, Palatka's Gem City Guards, the Jacksonville Light Infantry and the Jacksonville Rifles, the St. Augustine Rifles, Pensacola's Escambia Rifles, the Chipley Light

Infantry, the Gadsden Guards, the Bradford County Guards, and Live Oak's Suwanee Rifles. The other eight companies were ordered to return home and await an expected second call for troops. Several, however, were so disheartened that they threatened to disband entirely and the Tampa Rifles did just that. Some of the individuals thus released joined other units, with several enlisting in the regular army.

The troops forming the new First Florida were directed to hold elections for company officers. The Governor appointed regimental and battalion commanders. William F. Williams was named colonel, but only after a spirited newspaper discussion of his merits as compared to those of Thomas F. Woodruff. The latter, a former West Pointer, withdrew from the race, and Williams received the support of nearly all concerned. With that matter settled the regiment marched out of the state camp at Ft. Brooke, and occupied a new camp at Palmetto Beach, a short distance away. Here, on May 23, the forty-eight officers and 956 enlisted men were sworn into Federal service.<sup>1</sup>

The presence of the Florida boys in Tampa did nothing to lessen the increasing numbers of visitors in the city. Governor Bloxham headed a long list of dignitaries who made their presence known, and friends, families, and sweethearts arrived in large numbers. Home town newspapers, each with its own correspondent in the ranks, publicized the activities of the troops, and urged people to go and visit them. The *Times-Union and Citizen* was typical. Praising the valor of the men, calling them "our darling boys," it urged parents and friends to take advantage of special excursion rates being offered by the Plant System.

The dispatches published in the various papers were rather revealing. Apparently the Florida men complained and grumbled about the heat and the sand just as much as did men from other, cooler climes. It was also obvious that the men thought they were occupying the "best camp" in the city, an attitude that was to undergo sharp revision, and that they were adjusting to army life

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1. The records of the War Department contain conflicting statements of the numbers attributed to the First Florida. Those adopted here, have been checked most thoroughly, and adopted only after careful comparison of all records concerned. Those interested might compare the numbers given in *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1902), with those in *Reports of the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899*, Vol. I, Part 2.

rather easily, even to the constant marching and drilling. They seemed to enjoy themselves, and as one correspondent put it, "If the boys of Company I face the cannon as unflinchingly as they face the camera, they will all be heroes."

Serious complaints were few and far between until after General Shafter departed with the Cuban expedition on June 14. Left behind in Tampa, the Florida soldiers, gradually becoming aware that the war might really be over before they even left Tampa, were less happy about army life. For some time, however, everything went along smoothly enough. The different companies advertised in their newspapers for additional recruits, and little by little built up to full strength. The men wrote home frequently and excerpts from the letters were published in the newspapers. It was clear that the Florida men were convinced that their regiment was far superior to others, and that they resented being left in Tampa. Some men were detached from the First Florida, and formed part of a battalion of engineers under Major Sackett of St. Augustine. The rest of the unit remained where they were, very much disgruntled by the turn of events.

Even the arrival on June 30 of a set of regimental colors did little to cheer them up. A delegation of men from Jacksonville arrived to present the colors to the outfit at a ceremony held on June 30. The colors had been purchased with the proceeds of a drive for funds conducted by the *Times-Union and Citizen*, and were presented by the editor-in-chief, George W. Wilson, aided by ex-Governor Mitchell. In speeches made on the happy occasion the men were praised highly, being held up as examples of the finest American manhood.

Shortly after that, however, a sour note was heard. The *Pensacola Daily Journal*, on July 2, criticised the First Florida as being below standard in military tactics and as lacking in discipline. The paper hastened to add that the regiment was made up of the "very cream of Florida." Other papers also noted the lack of discipline, but this should be discounted. It is certain that the men of the First Florida, though they may not have been as completely disciplined as regular army troops, did not share in the headlines as much as did several other regiments. Seldom was the name of the regiment mentioned in dispatches about the disorders in Tampa, however, it is equally certain that the men in the First

Florida were by July highly dissatisfied with army life in general and with the camp in Tampa in particular. The colonel, Williams, had resigned to return to civilian life on June 24, and had been replaced by Major Charles P. Lovell. The enlisted men were not able to resign as easily, much as some of them may have wanted to do so.

Probably one of the most serious causes of the discontent was the fact that the camp had become actually unpleasant. Tampa had received more than its customary amount of rain in June, and even more in July. Many of the camps became water-logged and that of the First Florida was particularly bad. Immediately behind it was a large corral, normally holding several hundred horses and mules, and the rains washed a good deal of the surface soil down into the tent area. This naturally tended to make the area disagreeable to walk around in, and extremely unpleasant and even offensive to the nostrils. Despite the availability of several other areas that were more dry the regiment remained in that location until July 21, when it was ordered to entrain for a new camp at Fernandina.

The east coast town had long been trying to secure a camp, and it eagerly awaited the arrival of the troops. In addition to the First Florida, several other regiments were to be sent there, but Fernandina was especially anxious to greet the soldiers of the Florida unit. The town believed that it had made more than adequate arrangements for the troops, but it was quickly disillusioned. The soldiers disagreed. From the first day until the day on which they departed, the complaints about the camp were long, loud, and frequent. The weather was clear, the ground dry, and the townspeople cordial. Nevertheless the complaints continued. The heat, the fact that beach was one mile away from the camp, the food, all were apparently worse than ever before experienced. More serious were the charges registered about the camp itself. According to a dispatch published in the *Ocala Banner*, the camp was located on ground that had not been cleared of scrub, and the men had to labor long and hard to remove the undergrowth. A man in the Third Pennsylvania wrote that they had had to clear away a "tropical jungle," and that even then they were camped in a swamp.

The Florida men grumbled as loudly, and secured their revenge just before departing. On August 21 they staged a parade

through the town. Every other man carried either a grub hoe, an ax, or a shovel, and others carried banners reading "The First Florida Land and Improvement Company." In the center of town the parade halted, and the soldiers gave testimony of another sore point. An order was read aloud directing the town to erect a monument to those men who had joined up to "fight for their country after the war was over." Apparently recruits were still arriving, yet the war had ended on August 12 with the signing of an armistice.

With the war over, the volunteer troops had nothing to look forward to except occupation duty. Consequently their discontent increased rapidly, since they had not enlisted for anything but the prospect of sharing in an actual campaign. For many the prospect was made far worse by the tales of the ravages of tropical fevers among the troops in Cuba. This was not sufficient to discourage all the volunteers, and some even now volunteered for duty in special regiments of so-called "immunes," men supposed to be immune to tropical diseases. But among the majority of the men the situation was not one to be enjoyed. At first the major sign of unrest could be seen in the rising complaints against the camp at Fernandina. Demands were heard that the troops be removed to a different area. It was declared that the Fernandina grounds were swampy, and that they were the breeding ground for swarms of mosquitoes that made life unbearable for the men. One Florida man has left this description of the pests: "Some had hammers and chisels with which to cut down the hammocks. . . . When finally exhaustion brought sleep, (the men) soon woke up thinking that the bugle was blowing, only to find that it was the buzzing of myriads of mosquitoes."

The agitation against the camp at Fernandina was finally successful. Orders were received to entrain for a new camp at Huntsville, Alabama, and on August 23, one month after their arrival in Fernandina, the First Florida departed, much to their joy, and much to the disgruntlement of the townspeople. At their new camp in Alabama, however, the men quickly discovered that life in one army camp was very much like life in any other. The heat was still oppressive, the prospect for active service was dim, and the men still discontented. The regiment soon divided into two groups. The largest of the two consisted of those who desired to be discharged from service. The smaller was made up

of those who wished to remain in service. One correspondent wrote that fully eighty percent of the men wanted a discharge. A few men deserted. A charge was aired that officers were threatening a court martial for anyone who petitioned for a discharge. Adjutant H. W. Fowler expressed the feelings of the officers, on the other hand, when he wrote to the *Palatka Advertiser*: "Three-quarters of the men have seen more, eaten better food, worn better clothes, received more money for their services, and been treated with more consideration since they enlisted than ever before in their lives or ever will be in the future." If Fowler wrote truthfully, then either the Florida volunteers had been in sad shape prior to enlistment, or Army rations have been severely maligned. In any case, his letter certainly exposed the existence of a vast gulf between officers and men and, as the editor of the *Ocala Banner* commented, it was fairly sure that Fowler would not be a successful candidate for political office in the Palatka area.

An interesting contrast in opinions about the caliber of the men of the First Florida appeared when the *Huntsville Tribune* published an article about the regiment. It declared that Huntsville was glad to have them in town, and that the "First Florida was an honor to Florida. The men were gentlemen, and were accepted by the best Huntsville society. It is the most popular regiment that has ever been here." One might compare that estimate with the opinion of Adjutant Fowler, and then wonder just what the "best society" of Huntsville was like.

There was little time left for any further dispute. On October 8 the 1st and 2nd Battalions were ordered mustered out of service. The 3rd Battalion was to remain in the Army, and an opportunity was offered to the men to transfer to or out of the 3rd, depending on whether the individual desired to go home, or to remain in service. The two battalions departed from Huntsville on the 8th, and arrived in Tallahassee on October 11. There, on October 16, they were granted a thirty day furlough. Upon their return to Tallahassee, the troops checked in their equipment, and on December 3 were mustered out of the Army.

The 3rd Battalion remained at Huntsville until January 27, 1899, at which time it was also discharged from further duty. With that, the First Florida Volunteer Infantry passed out of existence. During its lifespan, it had suffered a number of casual-

ties, as follows: 1 officer and 27 enlisted men died from disease, 2 enlisted men were murdered, 19 enlisted men deserted. The strength of the regiment had risen to a total of 48 officers and 1,135 enlisted men at the time of their discharge. Of all the eager volunteers who had been so anxious to see action against the enemy, the only ones who even managed to reach Cuba were those few who had been detached from the regiment for service elsewhere. As a unit, the regiment got no farther away from home than Alabama.

There was, however, a different group of Floridians who did manage to serve in Cuba. This was Company C of the Third United States Volunteer Infantry, one of the famed regiments of "immunes." Company C was made up of five officers and ninety-eight enlisted men, all from Florida. They were mustered into service on June 17, 1898, served in Guantanamo, Cuba, and were discharged on May 2, 1899. If nothing else they demonstrated conclusively that they were not really "immune." One man, Hugh Blount, died in Cuba, a victim of an unspecified fever. Blount, however, was not the only Floridian who is known to have died in service while in Cuba. Another, Private William Jones, had joined the Ninth Illinois when he was discharged from the First Florida, and died in Havana, a victim of spinal meningitis.

One last group of Floridians remains to be mentioned, Florida did not have any military unit for Negroes, but Alabama did. The Third Alabama Volunteer Infantry was formed in July, 1898, and recruiting officers toured Florida for recruits. Their efforts were rewarded by the enlistment of at least one group of seventy-five Negroes from the Pensacola area. The *Daily Journal* of that city gave them quite a bit of publicity, and when they left to join the regiment, the newspaper joined in urging that the colored population of Pensacola escort the recruits to the railroad station. As the editor said, "These gallant men meet with hearty approval." It might be noted, though, that when he urged the Negroes to see their friends off, he was careful to phrase it in such a way that it could not be understood as an invitation for anyone to take a day off from work.

Doubtless there were other Floridians who served in the armed forces, and who did so with great credit to themselves and to the state, but their names and records are hidden in the files

of whatever regiment they served in, whether it was a regular army unit, or one of the unofficial groups formed by the Cuban-Americans. But even without counting them, it is evident that the state supplied almost exactly the number of men to the army that corresponded to the ratio of the state population to the national population. In this, as in nearly all other respects, the story of the Florida volunteers was very much like that of any other group of volunteers; they were a credit to the state and to the nation in their eagerness to serve, and there can be no doubt of their willingness to take part in actual combat. Despite that it was probably just as well for all concerned that the war was one that could be termed a "Splendid Little War."

#### APPENDIX

LIST OF THE CASUALTIES SUFFERED IN 1898 BY THE FIRST FLORIDA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY, INCLUDING DESERTERS. Listed by companies, with date and place of death.

- Co. A, Ocala Rifles, Capt. Robert E. Davidson, commanding.  
 Died: Alfred Brown, August 22, at Fernandina.  
 Deserted: Sam Agnew, August 8; Holmes Coon, August 8; George Hinson, August 7; all at Huntsville.
- Co. B, Leesburg Rifles, Capt. George E. Lovell, commanding.  
 Died: John L. Stone, Fernandina, August 28.  
 Deserted: George Otto, August 11, Fernandina; James D. Havens, Huntsville, November 18; George L. Denham, Huntsville, November 25.
- Co. C, Shine Guards, Capt. John Bradshaw, commanding.  
 Died: John A. Anderson, August 15, Ft. McPherson, Ga.  
 Deserted: Wm. DeCantillon, Huntsville, August 28; Eugene Lee, Huntsville, October 8; Hugh Dumsuer, dropped from rolls July 18, as deserter from the Navy.
- Co. D, Gem City Guards, Capt. Wm. Husson, commanding.  
 Died: John M. Crews, Fernandina, September 12; Don DuMaurier, Fernandina, August 6; Vollie T. Sullivan, Huntsville, September 16.  
 Deserted: None.
- Co. E, Jacksonville Light Infantry, Capt. John Maxwell, command.  
 Died: Frank E. Willard, Huntsville, September 29.  
 Deserted: None.



- Co. F, Jacksonville Rifles, Capt. James Wilson, commanding.  
 Died: Hugh Etheridge, Huntsville, September 22.  
 Deserted: None.
- Co. G, St. Augustine Rifles, Capt. Frank Howett, commanding.  
 Died: Edwin J. Owen, Tampa, July 12;  
 Harold Neligan, Huntsville, December 11;  
 George Beverly, Huntsville, December 11;  
 Alvin Willis, Fernandina, August 19;  
 Albert Button, Ft. McPherson, Ga., September 1.  
 Deserted: Albert Ferrell, Huntsville, September 25;  
 Garron Lee, Tampa, June 3;  
 William J. Lewis, Huntsville, September 18.
- Co. H, Escambia Rifles, Capt. Bushness, commanding.  
 Died: None.  
 Deserted: Wm. L. Alsbrook, Fernandina, July 30.
- Co. I, Chipley Light Infantry, Capt. Richard Cary, commanding.  
 Died: Wm. J. Walton, Ft. Barrancas, September 29;  
 Thomas McLaughlin, Ft. Thomas, Ky., September 11;  
 Philip Landmesser, Fernandina, August 15;  
 Allie Harris, Fernandina, August 19;  
 Yon A. Anderson, Ft. McPherson, August 15.  
 Deserted: James Dawson, Tampa, June 7;  
 Charles W. Hill, Tampa, July 21.
- Co. K, Gadsden Guards, Capt. Samuel Williamson, commanding.  
 Died: Charles B. Kirkpatrick, Huntsville, Sept. 14;  
 Eugene Stokes, Ft. Thomas, Ky., July 25;  
 Thomas Munroe, Quincy, August 28;  
 Robert Chester, Fernandina, no date given;  
 Marion Duboise, Fernandina, August 17.  
 Deserted: None.
- Co. L, Suwanee Rifles, Capt. Willie Tedder, commanding.  
 Died: None.  
 Deserted: H. D. Puckett, Fernandina, August 4.
- Co. M, Braford County Guards, Capt. Eugene Matthews, commanding.  
 Died: John S. Tanner, Huntsville, October 23;  
 John Wilkes, Fernandina, August 10;  
 Isaac Wilson, Alachua, October 22.  
 Deserted: Albert E. Lipwood, Huntsville, September 2.

The information in the above list has been taken from the typescript in the Library of Florida History, University of Florida, entitled, "Florida in the Spanish American War, 1898."

## A WAR CORRESPONDENT'S VIEW OF ST. AUGUSTINE AND FERNANDINA: 1863

*Edited by P. J. STAUDENRAUS*

NOAH BROOKS, BORN in Castine, Maine, in 1830, was an experienced newspaper man by the age of twenty-five. He worked for newspapers in Massachusetts, Illinois, and California before going to Washington, D. C., in December, 1862, as special correspondent for the *Sacramento Daily Union*. During the three years Brooks lived in the national capital he became a personal friend of President Lincoln whom he first met in Illinois in 1856. Before Lincoln died he asked Brooks to be his personal secretary. Brooks's visit to Union Army stations along the coast of South Carolina and Florida in June, 1863, was one of his rare trips outside the national capital during the war years. His eye witness description of occupied St. Augustine and Fernandina appeared in the *Sacramento Daily Union* on July 21, 1863. In later years Brooks published his Civil War memoirs under the title of *Washington in Lincoln's Time*, first published in 1896, but he failed to mention his visit to Florida.

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St. Augustine, June 30, 1863

### *An Ancient Spanish Town*

In these stirring times, when each day seems to be an age of history for the future, one can fancy that this staid, sleepy and ancient town of St. Augustine is a part of another planet, having no special part or connection with the rest of this world. Here everything is as quiet and lifeless as it must have been before the adventurous Ponce De Leon landed here in 1513 in search of the Fountain of Youth. The harbor is deserted, save when an occasional Government transport makes the echoes with its shrill steam whistle, or a little fishing shallop comes or goes. St. Augustine is, however, a most beautiful place, and has a delightful situation on the west side of an excellent harbor, which

is made by a deep basin formed on the inner side of Anastasia Island.

The time was when the town was a popular resort for invalids from various parts of the Union, and the raising and exportation of oranges and limes was a large feature of its revenue and trade. The war, however, has shut down upon this business, and there is nothing doing here now except what grows out of the limited operations of the Government. There are about seven hundred white inhabitants here, and it is a puzzle to know how they manage to live. The number of contrabands is comparatively few, there being but about three hundred. The Union lines do not extend but ten miles into the main land from St. Augustine in any direction, and communication with the town is thus cut off except by sea.

The place is now garrisoned by a single regiment, which is sufficient for all practical purposes, as St. Augustine, like several other points on this coast, is only held by the military forces of the United States for the purpose of keeping up the blockade. These soldiers live in clover, having a delightful climate, a fine old town, plenty of fresh meat, fish, vegetables, fruit and milk, and being in good quarters at the old fort built by the Spanish. This old fort, like most of the buildings here, is built of a deposit of concrete shells, called "coquina," found in inexhaustible quarries on Anastasia Island, opposite the town. For centuries this deposit of marine shells must have been forming, until there is now a vast layer of it, making the substratum of the Island, and affording a handsome and durable building material. The town is defended on the sea side by a well-built seawall, constructed by the United States under the superintendence of Captain (now General) [Henry Washington] Benham, at a great cost of money.

When the war broke out, the people of St. Augustine preserved their loyalty to the Government after a certain fashion, though all of the young men were swept off into the ranks of the rebel army; those who did not volunteer were impressed, so that an able-bodied man was not left in the town when the Federal army made its appearance here. Consequently, many of the citizens have relatives in the rebel army, and the recent order of General [David] Hunter, commanding that all such shall be sent over the rebel lines, works a great hardship to many. There

have been undoubted instances of loyal people being sent into the rebel lines by the order of General Hunter, leaving behind their property and effects, and having but small warning for preparation. On the steamer which brought me to St. Augustine came the proprietor of the only hotel in the place, who, about three weeks ago, was taken, with his family, to Hilton Head, by order of General Hunter, for the simple reason that he has a son in the rebel army. These people were imprisoned for a few weeks, and the wife and children, some of the latter being only a few years old, were sent over to Savannah under a flag of truce. The father has been sent back to St. Augustine, and he is, undoubtedly, a loyal man. There have been many cases similar to this.

Castle San Marcos, now known as Fort Marion, is one of the antiquities of the place. The date of its being commenced is not known [about 1672], but it is known to have been over one hundred years in building, and the following inscription, which I copy from a sculptured shield over the main entrance, shows that it was finished in 1756: "Reynando en Espana el Senr Don Fernando Sexto y Siendo Gob'or y Capn de Esa Cd San Augustin de la Floriday y Sus Prova el Mariscal De Campo Don Alonzo Fer'do Hereda. Asi concludio este Castillo, el An Od 1756 Divigendo Las Otras el Cap. Ign'xo du Pedro Brozas y Garay."

The fort is quite extensive, being built upon the plan of Vauban, and requiring a garrison of one thousand men. It has its dark dungeons, where human bones have been found; its secret chambers, walled up by the Spanish; its moats, portcullis, drawbridge and all of the features of an ancient fortification. Its bastions are named for several of the Saints, and under these bastions are to be found the ancient caves and recesses which the Spanish always built in their fortresses and castles. The pepperbox-shaped watchtowers on its four comers are falling to decay, and the glacis and ramparts bear the indentations of many cannon balls, but the old fort has never surrendered, though frequently besieged. . . .

#### *Fernandina*

Running up the low, sandy coast of Florida about sixty miles we reach Fernandina, whilom the residence of the famous Ex-

Senator [David Levy] Yulee, to whose efforts the new town of Fernandina owes its existence and temporary prosperity. The town of old Fernandina is situated about a mile-and-a-half below the new town, toward the entrance of the harbor, and is very ancient, having been founded in [1567] by the Spanish. The harbor is very fine, and is defended by an extensive fort, somewhat similar to Fort Sumter, built of brick and still unfinished. The work is called Fort Clinch, and at the breaking out of the rebellion it was held by the rebels, who expected to be able to blow out of the water any gunboat which might approach by the regular channel. To their discomfiture, however, the National forces approached by another channel on the north, far out of gunshot, and comparatively unknown to the rebels themselves. Thus flanked, the rebels had nothing left for them but to evacuate, which they did [March 3, 1862] taking the cars for the main land, Fernandina being on Amelia Island.

The new town of Fernandina was commenced about seven years ago, Yulee being one of the chief owners. The same speculative genius had so successfully engineered his railroad [Atlantic and Gulf] to Fernandina that he had diverted to this point a great deal of the New York Orleans trade, which otherwise would have gone around the great peninsula of Florida, and at one time he actually obtained a contract for carrying the mails across the peninsula from New York to New Orleans, and the California steamer mails were to have taken the same direction. But the war of the rebellion broke in upon this speculative scheme, and the skeddaddling rebels destroyed the depot, engines and cars, which are now a heap of ruins at Fernandina, though a single track yet remains, and the Yankee mechanics, who came into peaceable possession here have refitted an engine and tender by which they run out to the edge of the island and relieve pickets.

The town looks deserted and shabby enough, nearly all of the original inhabitants having left when the Yankee gunboats hove in sight. Their houses are filled up with contrabands, of whom over one thousand are now in the place, most of them being refugees from slavery. They come into our lines daily - men, women and children - most of them from Southern Georgia. The able-bodied men are put into the ranks of the colored regiment now being raised here, and the rest are supplied

with rations by the Government and are put to work upon plantations where practicable, but most of the poor creatures are hived up by hundreds in the abandoned houses of the former inhabitants, and have nothing at all to do. Some of them are very aged, there being several Negroes here of an age over one hundred years.

Colonel Littlefield, formerly of an Illinois cavalry regiment, is raising a colored regiment here, to be called the Fourth South Carolina, and he has very good success, having raised one company at once by volunteering; perhaps, however, the fact that he had the power to make a draft quickens the volunteering. While here I saw the very raggedest individual ever known - a fugitive slave who came into our lines, having come all the way from Georgia. By his own account, he had been a very hard case - that is, he had been a refractory slave, and had been repeatedly whipped for contumaciousness. On the morning of his escape he had been promised thirty-nine lashes; but, said he, with a grin, "when de time came dis chile was about five miles from dar, and he nebber stopped until las night." He was a mass of rags from top to toe, the original material of the garb being fairly undistinguishable.

This regiment is to be a cavalry regiment, and will undoubtedly be very useful in these parts. [General James] Montgomery's colored troops [South Carolina Second Regiment, Colored] have already proved themselves very efficient on this coast, and these frequent raids have inspired the rebel with a most wholesome terror. A rebel deserter, who came in here a day or two since, says that they have a variety of yarns concerning Montgomery's intentions - the most common of which is that he intends to free the whole of Florida from the rebels under [Brigadier-General Joseph] Finegan, which is a very likely story. There is but one regiment - the Eleventh Maine - at this point, and one gunboat, the *Potomska*. The harbor is good and affords a first rate chance for blockade runners to prosecute their business; but it is well defended and blockaded. It is a point worth noting, that this little one-horse town of Fernandina has a splendid and costly fort built for it by the Government, while such important places as New Haven, Connecticut, and thousands of others in the North are left unprotected. The difference is only the difference between North and South. If Yulee had begun sooner

he might have had his little railroad town the impregnable entrepot for the Secesh State of Florida.

As the original inhabitants of Fernandina have nearly all skedaddled, their property is about all sold under the hammer by the United State Tax Commissioners for the direct Government tax. The sales are now going forward, and are very lively. The town property is valuable and well-built for the most part, and some "splendid bargains" are made by the white refugees who are on hand, and by the contrabands, some of whom, having got a few dollars together, have bought comfortable homes for themselves. Three-story houses have been sold for \$200, and fine town lots for \$5 and upward. If the town shall continue to be held by the National forces, these purchasers will make a good bargain by these sales; but the future is "mighty on-sartin" in these parts. . . . It will be a long time before the squalid, ruined and Negro-haunted town of modern Fernandina is of any account to itself or the rest of the world. At present it is but a desolation and a heap.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The First South.* By John Richard Alden. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. vii, 144 pp. Bibliography, index. \$3.50)

In *The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History*, delivered at Louisiana State University in 1960, Professor John Richard Alden pointed out that there were many differences between the ante-bellum South and the First South. The older South, which is the subject of this provocative monograph, is less familiar, not only because of its remoteness in time, but also because it lacked a unique and distinctive regional character. That there was a South, though, when this nation was still in its infancy is Alden's thesis. In this volume, and in his earlier work, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789*, he shows that there was already a South in the eighteenth century, with strong feelings of sectionalism and regional apprehensions.

This First South, which existed during the years 1775-1789, is compared with the pre-Civil War South in land, climate, economy, and social order. The First South considered the wisdom of joining the Union in 1787-1789; its descendent supported disunion in 1861. There were many in the early period who wondered if the region might not suffer from the tyranny of a too-strong Congress; others thought Southern interests would be jeopardized by an unsympathetic North, particularly if it had greater voting strength in Congress. Indeed, there were many, North and South, who thought the sections should go their separate ways.

There was a geographic question at the time as to what should be called the South. George Washington called Virginia a "Middle State." In pre-Revolutionary days New York was sometimes referred to as southern. There was no controversy, though, as to the lower boundary. It was the St. Marys River, dividing the First South from East and West Florida, the loyalist colonies that had only been a part of the Empire since 1763, and which became, during the Revolution, havens of refuge for Tories.

Professor Alden discusses many of the issues which reveal that



Southern sectionalism was already a hard fact before the nineteenth century. Some of these North-South differences even affected areas outside the United States like Florida. For instance, in 1779, when Congress began to consider the goals it should strive for at the peace table, Northerners insisted that it was vital to obtain rights to fish on Newfoundland's Grand Banks. Southerners, on the other hand, believed that freedom of navigation on the Mississippi was more important and that it should be obtained even if the fishing rights had to be forfeited. The Mississippi question was related to the acquisition of the Floridas, which Southerners had long endorsed. When it was pointed out, though, by James Madison and others, that American expansion into Florida might cost us Spanish good will and help the idea was dropped. In fact, Virginians were even willing to abandon all attempts to secure rights on the Mississippi, if this were necessary.

Obviously, differences between North and South were not so great as to prevent the formation of the Union and the writing and ratification of the Constitution. In fact, as one now surveys the periods, we find substantiation for Madison's arguments that the basic issues were not between North and South or between large states and small, but between economic and regional interests. Economic and regional differences were not great obstacles to union in the 1780's; the situation changed drastically by 1860.

The author of *The First South* has given us little new material, but he does summarize - and summarize well - his own findings and those of other historians of the period. Both the general reader and the professional historian owe Professor Alden a substantial debt for all of his investigations and writings on the old South.

SAMUEL PROCTOR

*University of Florida*

*President James Buchanan: A Biography.* By Philip Shriver Klein. (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962. 506 pp. Illus., \$7.50.)

Buchanan once looked with favor upon a flirtatious lady be-

cause "she was so impetuous and passionate, qualities that he particularly admired in others, having so little of them himself." Thus Professor Klein neatly sums up the cold, calculating nature of his subject. He achieves substantial success in rendering this shadowy figure into human form. Klein refuses to gild his prickly lily. The unattractive aspects of Buchanan's egocentric ways stand forth undisguised. At the same time, however, Klein shows how Buchanan must have appeared to his contemporaries - as a man of impressive appearance, blessed with a gift for effective expression and with practiced, courtly manners. He seemed destined for greatness. Instead he reached the White House.

It is with the presidential years that this book, so rewarding as a study in Buchanan's personality, suffers as a contribution to scholarship. This deterioration results in my opinion in part because of the imperfect allocation of space, that allots only 140 out of 429 pages to the tumultuous and passionate events of 1857-1861. Of course it is good to have the precise data that Klein presents on Pennsylvania politics in the age of the Jacksonians and on American diplomacy in Polk's administration. But a life of Buchanan is more than Buchanan's life. Most readers will want to know above all else, about the secession winter, and rightly.

Klein's prefatory explanation, that he "purposely condensed the treatment of the presidential years because they have been described very fully by many scholars," fails to satisfy, or at least brings up the complex question of the proper function of a biographer-historian. Certainly the presence of a large amount of contentious scholarship on the secession theme that Klein passes by relatively quickly, indicates a confusion of voices rather than a consensus upon which he may properly rely.

Ambiguities in documentation provide another reason for estimating this volume as less than completely satisfying. Consider pages 270-1. Here, referring to the 1857 inaugural address, Klein states that Buchanan at one stage added a sentence implying "that settlers in Kansas and Nebraska had no power over slavery in the territories until the time of framing a state constitution." Cass, learning this, forced Buchanan to remove this sentence, that was offensive to the originator of popular sovereignty, according to Klein's account. Yet a sentence appears in Richardson's version of Buchanan's speech that reads remarkably

like the one that is supposed to have been struck out at Cass's insistence. Klein does not cite Richardson's compilation, contenting himself with a reference to journalistic descriptions of the inauguration. From the evidence on this point as presented in Klein's *Buchanan*, confusion rather than illumination results.

Concerning the Kansas Republicans, Klein concludes on page 289 that "the main issue with them was not slavery, nor the Negro; their prime objective was political power." Perhaps he is correct. He offers no evidence at all to sustain his judgment on the tricky question of motivations for political action. Evidence exists to sustain his view. But other evidence also is at hand to justify its being questioned. And if Klein is expressing his estimation of Buchanan's analysis, rather than his own, he does not make this clear.

He makes his admiration for Buchanan abundantly clear. In a stirring conclusion, Klein judges that "in a quieter era" Buchanan would have performed as a "great" president. Of course it is the essential point that normality was the only arena in which men of Buchanan's stamp could perform at all effectively, America a century ago was engaged in a process of vast change. Buchanan could not keep up the pace. He was not so much obscured by Lincoln or by the war, as that he courted obscurity. While the nation he had so recently governed sought survival; while one out of every ten Americans gained freedom first by arms and then by law; and while his successor in the White House perceived opportunities for the exercise of power where Buchanan had seen only constitutional limitations, the sage of Wheatland contented himself with preparing an apologia of his actions during the secession weeks.

Klein's *Buchanan* will serve as an essential, pioneering link in our understanding of Buchanan the man. It will not, however, be equally useful in enlarging our knowledge of the most important events in which Buchanan played a role.

HAROLD M. HYMAN

*University of California, Los Angeles*

"Fortificaciones de la Florida [Fortifications of Florida]." By L. A. Vigneras. *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* (Seville), XVI (1959), 533-552.

It has been my observation that Florida historians, Florida-history-interested libraries and the *Florida Historical Quarterly* have been unacquainted with Florida books and especially Florida articles published in Spain. Just recently the newest issue of the heavy *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* of the dynamic Hispanic Institute of the University of Seville carried this Florida article by a most able and recognized scholar.

The article deals with the first six Spanish forts in St. Augustine, in existence from 1565 to the Drake Attack in 1586. The second part of the Vigneras study deals with the four Santa Elena forts (Port Royal Sound in S. C.) from 1565 to 1587-88. I can state that the author has not found revolutionary new material. He has discussed a few new maps of the forts not available in printed sources but which this reviewer has seen in the St. Augustine Historical Society collection. It is possible that one or two completely new sources and even maps have been unearthed by Vigneras, but he has relied heavily on J. Thurber Connor's *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida* and he was unaware of the Connor article, "The Nine Old Wooden Forts of St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IV (January-April, 1926), 103, 171.

But in the difficult reconstruction of the history of Spanish Florida any study that has new data from new documents is welcome. We here in Florida should give more attention to work on Florida done in Spain. This essay is an example of fine scholarship.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

*University of South Florida*

*From Shiloh to San Juan.* By John P. Dyer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. Revised edition. 275 pp. Illustrations. \$5.00)

One of the interesting manifestations of the current craze for publishing Civil War books in the reprinting of a great many of the old standbys. The volume in question is one of these, and this reviewer seriously doubts whether the reprinting was absolutely necessary. Dr. Dyer's life of General Joseph Wheeler is as excellent a biography today as it was when originally written. It

brings to life a remarkable Confederate military figure, but it does not stop at Appomattox. Wheeler was one of those Southerners who readily adjusted himself to the new nation, took a leading part in politics, and in his later years proudly wore the uniform of the United States Army. Too much of the Civil War literature which is appearing is divisive in nature, and it is refreshing to re-read a volume which ends on a happy note of re-union.

This reviewer recognizes that Dr. Dyer's administrative duties have prevented him from making a thorough revision of his earlier work. It is unfortunate, however, that the bibliographical data is identical with that in the original volume and includes no material published since 1940. Perhaps the reprint will attract some who were not familiar with General Wheeler, but the great majority of those who would be interested already have access to the original biography. If Dr. Dyer did not have time to do a real revision, he could have performed a greater service to the profession by turning the task over to someone else.

Scholars will continue to refer to the original volume, because it is footnoted and has a more complete index.

BENJAMIN F. ROGERS

*Jacksonville University*

*Guide to Materials on Latin America in the National Archives,*  
Vol. I. By John P. Harrison. (Washington: General Services Administration, The National Archives and Records Service, 1961. 246 pp.)

The author of this work in the first three lines of his preface tells clearly its purpose as a "guide to describe and to assist the investigator in locating the materials in the National Archives concerned with Latin America: defined here as the Western Hemisphere south of the United States." Therefore, what Florida material is cited-and there is quite a bit-deals with the Spanish Florida eras and first territorial years. Dr. John P. Harrison, the author, is a most able scholar and administrator-a deserving successor and heir to the late Roscoe R. Hill whose archival studies and guides of Latin America are of so much value to the Florida historian.

This guide will eventually be a two-volume work. The first volume "covers the records of the Departments of State, the Treasury, War, and the Navy and the 'General' records of the Government. The second volume will describe the records relating to Latin America for the remaining departments and the independent agencies and for the legislative and judicial branches of the Government." Under "the General Records" come such matters as Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations; Records of International and Domestic Claims Commissions; Records of the United States Participation in Foreign Boundary Disputes; Records of United States Participation in International Conferences, Commissions, and Expositions.

A final note in our exposition of the guide: Harrison tells us that this guide and its yet unborn sister volume "is but one of a large number of publications designed to make the records in the National Archives better known and easier to use." Professor Harrison considers his guide "a specialized area supplement to the general *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* (1948)." The author also reminds the reader of the *List of National Archives Microfilm Publications* (1961).

Since the forthcoming second volume will have the general index for both volumes the Florida material must be found by paging through the book, a most tedious job. But there are interesting Florida documents. Page 75 cites Gregor McGregor and Luis Aury documentation dealing with Amelia Island which shows that the rascal Aury "illegally introduced into the United States on Amelia Island at least 1000 Africans." Harrison, on page 115, lists twelve volumes of Florida material under "Department of State; Territorial papers 1777-1828;" eleven volumes have been microfilmed. Page 117 shows eight more volumes "and eight expanding envelopes," entitled Florida Archives, which represent the efforts of the United States to recover the archives of East and West Florida.

Other interesting and lesser known Florida documents include records of the Collectors of Customs of St. Augustine and Key West from 1823 to 1833 (p. 138), reports of Special Agents to the Treasury Department informing of smuggling operations in Florida (p. 144), and records of the United States Coast Guard patrolling the Florida coast (p. 148).

There is no doubt that this guide more than justifies its exist-

tence, but we await the second volume which will have the needed index.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

*University of South Florida*

*The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819.* By Thomas P. Abernethy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. xvi, 529 pp. Maps, charts, essay on authorities, index \$7.50.)

This is Volume IV of the projected ten-volume *History of the South*, of which eight volumes have now appeared. Professor Abernethy is qualified by a professional lifetime of writing about this period and region.

The author raises the question as to when sectionalism originated, when the South became a self-consciously distinctive region, and points out that there could be no sectionalism until there was nationalism. Further, he reminds us that early sectionalism was East versus West rather than North versus South, and that intrastate differences were often more significant than any inter-regional quarrels. He suggests that the South was, if anything, more national in outlook at times in this period than was New England. This further implies that the North-South sectionalism of a serious and continuing nature begins after the period he surveys - the position held by most historians.

This is, of course, not a Florida book though there are many references to the Spanish Floridas and the movement for acquisition by the United States. Chapters on the "Blount Conspiracy" and on the West Florida rebellion, together with some attention to the career of William Augustus Bowles, give it a distinctly Florida flavor. These sections of the book are better described as parts of a lengthy treatment of the international rivalry for the control of the "Old Southwest." James Wilkinson and Aaron Burr come in for full shares of attention.

The book, then, is neither of the South nor Florida but is frontier history. Two chapters on the Yazoo Land companies and another on the New Orleans campaign are further testimony to the importance of that rapidly growing region not yet southern except in the geographic sense. This was the dynamic section

of what was in another generation to become the South of which we are accustomed more traditionally to think - the South of cotton plantations, rice and cane fields, as well as tobacco farms, with plantation slavery firmly established. But in the years 1789 to 1819 it was largely a frontier in which the land speculator, previously identified by Professor Abernethy as the middleman of the westward movement, is the more "typical" Southerner.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

*University of Miami*

*The Negro in the American Revolution.* By Benjamin Quarles. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. 231 pp. Bibliography and index. \$6.00.)

This volume fills an important gap in the historiography of the American Revolution. Covering more than the military contributions of the Negro to the war, it gives many interesting and important facts on his social and economic status and his contributions to human relations in Revolutionary America. The author has delimited his study with arbitrary dates, but they seem appropriate and logical. It begins with the Boston Massacre in 1770 and ends with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, thus enabling the author to touch upon the early abolition movement which was an off-shoot of the natural rights concepts of the Revolution.

Many obstacles were overcome in the preparation of this book, chief among them being the lack of records left by Negroes. The minority who could write were seldom prepared to maintain diaries, memoirs, or similar records. As a consequence, the author was dependent almost entirely upon the incomplete and sketchy records left by others. The author seems to have taken all possible steps to maintain an even keel in his evaluation of the data he used.

Probably not less than 5,000 Negroes were in the armies of each side during the American Revolution. This was not unprecedented, as hundreds of Negroes had been enlisted in the militia during earlier Indian wars. For a year or so after the



Revolution began, Southern leaders were successful in censoring the use of Negroes, but the growing need for manpower ended this bias. Only free Negroes were welcomed at first, but after 1777 any willing man was welcomed. In Revolutionary military service there was no segregation, but most Negro soldiers were infantry privates, orderlies, messengers, cooks, or servants. Hundreds of Negroes were in the navies, practically every ships' crew containing the names of a few Negroes. "Privateer" crews probably had larger proportions of Negroes than did the regular navies of either side.

In addition to direct military service, hundreds of Negroes were used on both sides as spies, informers, guides, manual laborers, medical orderlies, and craftsmen. Free Negroes were hired and slaves were conscripted or leased. Most of these auxiliaries were armed when serious emergencies arose.

After the Revolution, the fate of the Negro participants is a not always honorable story. Some went with the English in the belief that they would find freedom and better treatment. Some did, but hundreds were sold into slavery in the West Indies. Some thousands removed with their Tory masters to Florida, the Bahamas, the West Indies, or other areas. Probably not less than 20,000 left the United States under these circumstances. Perhaps another 5,000, acquired by French officers during the war, were removed from America. For a time those who remained fared much better. The "Revolutionary spirit" founded in the concepts of brotherhood, liberty, and equality could not condone the enslavement of former soldiers and helpers. Many of the states moved toward the abolition of slavery. Colored soldiers from Northern states were often entitled to land bounties and many took advantage of such opportunities. Even in the Southern states, the lot of the Negro participants was improved as a result of the war. The bad conditions usually connected with slavery in the South developed later.

The author has outdone himself in providing the scholar with all of the details and sources he could wish. Footnote documentation is most complete. In physical construction, the volume is tasteful, adequate, and complete.

THEODORE R. PARKER

*Freeport, Grand Bahama*

A *WOMAN RICE PLANTER*. By Patience Pennington. [pseud.] Edited by Cornelius O. Cathey. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961. xxxiii, 446 pp. Illustrations. \$6.00.)

Elizabeth Waties Allston (who wrote as Patience Pennington) was brought up in ante-bellum Charleston and on the family rice plantations near Georgetown. She received the usual education, at Charleston schools, for the daughter of a wealthy and enlightened South Carolina rice planter. Her planter father had been governor and was a leader in agricultural and community affairs. After the war "Patience" was widowed after a brief marriage. She bought the plantation where she had spent her married life and began rice cultivation on it with no previous experience. At her mother's death in 1896, "Patience" added the old home plantation, Chicora Wood, to her holdings.

The book is a diary by "Patience" of her daily activities and thoughts from 1903 until 1906 when she abandoned her planting activities. It was first printed in the *New York Sun* between 1904 and 1907 and later in book form. "Patience" adopted her pen name and renamed the towns and plantations to hide their identity.

The value of *A Woman Rice Planter* is that it makes the most common life and trials on a rice plantation come alive, and shows the beauty of character and personality of the author. When asked by a Northerner if the Lord did not ignore rice planters because of their continual troubles from nature, "Patience" suggested that the Lord loved both Job and rice planters. This reply is typical of her faith and of her belief that she could do what was necessary - the Lord helps those who helped themselves, "Patience" certainly believed.

As a planter she was not a great success; as a person she achieved a satisfactory life where most people would have given up what they considered an impossible situation. This is a refreshing view of the "New South" not often seen today.

KENNETH COLEMAN

*University of Georgia*

## NEWS AND NOTES

### *Julien Chandler Yonge Memorial Endowment*

On page 3480 of the 1962-63 edition of *Who's Who in America* is the following brief biography:

Yonge, Julien C(handler) (Yung), editor; born Pensacola, Fla., Jan. 20, 1879; s. Philip Keyes and Lucie Cairns (Davis) Y; student Ala. Poly. Inst. [now Auburn University], 1895-98; unmarried. Editor, Florida Historical *Quarterly*, 1924-56, editor emeritus, 1956 - (director Florida Historical Society, 1925-). . . . Director P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, U. of Fla., 1944- . . .

The name of Julien Chandler Yonge will appear in no future edition of *Who's Who in America*. On April 25, 1962, he and his work became history. He now belongs to *Who Was Who in America*.

The fifteen line biography in *Who's Who* never did justice to Julien C. Yonge. Prevented by an illness from completing college at Auburn and a possible career in the teaching and writing of history, he began to collect the sources of Florida's history. In 1944 he had the largest private collection of Floridiana in the world. In 1924 he became Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. During the following thirty-one years he served without salary or expense account, and often paid postage and bought necessary supplies with personal funds. His name appeared as author of only one article in the *Quarterly*, but he wrote more than 4,000 pages or approximately 1,500,000 words for the *Quarterly* during his thirty-one years of editorship.

Although in straightened financial circumstances, he had refused an offer for his library of books, newspapers, manuscripts, maps, pamphlets, diaries, and so forth-an offer which ran into six figures. Many of the items in his extensive and valuable collection had been given to him by Floridians and he wanted the collection to remain in Florida. In 1944 he gave his entire collection to the University of Florida to be held in trust for the people and to be open to all students regardless of their race, creed, color, or political persuasions. His collection became the

heart of the Philip Keyes Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History at the University of Florida. It was characteristic of Julien that he refused to allow the library to bear his name, and gave it that of his father, who had contributed greatly to higher education in Florida.

At its 1962 business meeting, held in Jacksonville on May 4, the members of the Florida Historical Society stood in silence to approve unanimously a resolution to his memory. With like unanimity they voted to establish the Julien Chandler Yonge Memorial Endowment Fund, the income of which is to be used to promote the study of Florida history and to publish the findings and interpretations of students.

The Florida Historical Society has never before made an appeal for funds. It does so now to honor the memory of a selfless individual and to advance the study of Florida history. If Julien C. Yonge were living he probably would not approve of this appeal, and particularly of attaching his name to the endowment. But he did devote his life to Florida history.

In contrast to historical organizations in most other American states, the Florida Historical Society does not receive an appropriation from the state. The Society has no endowment. Despite the age of Florida, the majority of her citizens are comparatively recent arrivals in the state. Perhaps for this reason they have tended to make their major contributions to educational institutions and agencies located in the states of their or their family origin.

Will you aid in three ways? (1) Send as large a contribution as you can immediately to the Florida Historical Society for the Julien Chandler Yonge Memorial Endowment. (2) Pledge as much as you can for as many years as possible, and allow the Secretary of the Society to remind you of your pledge when membership dues are payable. (3) Take this message to business organizations in your community and secure contributions from them.

All checks or money orders should be made payable to the Florida Historical Society. Please do not send cash. Contributions to the Society up to twenty percent of total business or personal income are tax deductible for Federal income tax. No individual will receive any part of your contribution. Every cent will go into the Yonge Endowment Fund of the Florida Historical

Society. Please mail your contributions to Miss Margaret Chapman, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida.

### *The Editors*

Unusually observant readers may have already noticed slight changes in this number of the *Quarterly*. The Board of Directors of the Society in its meeting last fall elected Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., associate professor of social science at the University of Florida, to the editorship effective with this number. Dr. Doherty succeeds Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, president of the Southern Historical Association, who will now devote all of his time to research and teaching. Dr. Doherty has named Dr. Samuel Proctor, associate professor of social science at the University of Florida, to the post of associate editor. Both new editors are natives of Jacksonville and have done extensive research, writing, and teaching in the area of Florida history. Dr. Doherty specialized in pre-Civil War history and received his doctorate at the University of North Carolina. Dr. Proctor specialized in the Progressive period and received his doctorate at the University of Florida.

A distinguished group of scholars, writers, and devotees of history have consented to serve in an advisory capacity to the editors. Their names and institutional affiliations are listed on the back cover and the Society is honored to have the benefit of their services.

All local historical societies, colleges and universities, and others having news for this section of the *Quarterly* are reminded that this information should be sent to the editors at P. O. Box 3645, University Station, Gainesville. Publishers having books for review should send them to the same address.

### *College and University News*

*University of South Florida:* Miss Margaret Chapman, formerly librarian of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, has accepted the position of Special Collections Librarian. The University of South Florida Library hopes to build a collection of Floridiana which will serve the people of the West Coast area. All gifts of Florida material will be gratefully accepted for inclusion in the Florida Collection. An earlier notice in the *Quarterly* stated that this material was

to be sent to Dr. Charles Arnade of the History Department, but it should be sent directly to Miss Chapman at the Library.

*University of Florida:* Dr. Lyle N. McAlister, chairman of the History Department, has a year's leave of absence to do research on Mexican military history. He is presently in Mexico City. Dr. Donald E. Worcester is acting chairman in his absence. Six historians, five in the Social Science department and one in History, have received research appointments from the Graduate School for the 1962 summer session. They are Professors Thomas Blossom, David M. Chalmers, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Russell Farnen, Samuel Proctor, and Arthur W. Thompson. Warren Dean, a doctoral candidate, has received a Ford Foundation Grant for research in Brazilian history.

*Stetson University:* Dr. Serge Zenkovsky, one of the nation's pre-eminent scholars in Russian history, will return to the staff next year to develop a Russian Studies program. Mrs. Zenkovsky, who will also join the faculty, will teach the Russian language.

*Rollins College:* Two new members have been added to the history and government faculty. They are Walter Herrick from the University of Virginia, former headmaster at Pomfret, and Lionel Summers, Dean of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, Washington.

#### *Manucy Is Honored*

Albert C. Manucy of St. Augustine, a recent president of the Society, has received a Fulbright appointment in Spain for the 1962-1963 academic year. In addition to his long and notable service in many offices of this Society, Mr. Manucy was for many years the chief historian at the Castillo de San Marcos. He is now regional historian for the National Park Service. His book, *The Houses of St. Augustine*, dealing with Oldest City architecture from 1565 to 1821, is soon to be published by the St. Augustine Historical Society.

#### *Southern Historical Association*

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will be held in Miami Beach, Florida, on November

8-10, 1962. The headquarters hotel will be the Fontainebleau. Featured at the meeting will be the presidential address of Rembert W. Patrick of the University of Florida. Hundreds of members from all parts of the United States are expected to be in attendance. Program chairman is Mary Elizabeth Massey, Winthrop College; vice-chairmen are David Dowd, University of Florida, for European history; and Richard K. Murdock, University of Georgia, for Latin American history. Local arrangements are directed by Charlton W. Tebeau of the University of Miami.

### *Phi Alpha Theta*

A regional conference of the national honorary history fraternity, Phi Alpha Theta, was held in Gainesville on March 17. Present were national president, Donald E. Worcester, and national secretary, Donald B. Hoffman. President Ralph Peek of the Florida chapter presided. Delegates were present from most colleges and universities in Florida and papers were read by Warren Dean, University of Florida; Walter Odum, Florida State University; Mrs. Essie Jacobs, University of Miami; and George Artman, University of Tampa. Luncheon speaker was Dr. Evans C. Johnson of Stetson University.

### *Local Societies and Commissions*

*Pensacola Historical Society:* The first research project of the Pensacola Historical Museum, which was aimed at establishing the history of Old Christ Church in which the Museum is housed, has been completed. The Museum was opened by the City under the direction of the Society in August, 1960, in the venerable building which itself is the museum's most valuable asset. A. O. Mortenson, president of the Society, states, "Our efforts have revealed that Old Christ Church is the second oldest still standing in the state, and the oldest Protestant church building in Florida. The preservation of Old Christ Church has cost history-minded citizens of the area many struggles and personal sacrifices since 1902 when the parish moved, and we are proud indeed to have its future secured as an important historic Florida landmark and as the home of the Museum."

Erected in 1832 for the city's Episcopal congregation, it is believed to be a design of Sir Christopher Wren and is con-

structed of native and English brick, with tall clear windows and hand hewn heart pine beams. It was deeded to the City of Pensacola in 1936 and housed the Public Library for twenty years.

*St. Joseph Historical Society:* Although unsuccessful in securing an appropriation from the last session of the Legislature, the Society is still pressing its efforts to raise money for an addition to the Constitution Convention Memorial Museum. Plans are for this wing to be a replica of the original convention hall. The Society continues its efforts to assemble portraits of all the delegates to the 1838 Constitutional Convention, and has met with encouraging success thus far. More than ten portraits of delegates have been discovered. The Society is also working in conjunction with other interested organizations toward the preservation of some of the ante-bellum homes in Apalachicola.

*Osceola County Historical Society:* New officers of the Society include Kenneth Duncan, president; Mrs. Sally Knight, vice-president; Mrs. Betty Metzger, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Preston Breffinton, assistant secretary; and Mrs. Lillian Garrison, librarian. The directors will be William Dummer, Charles Hartley, Mrs. Annie Whaley, and Bill Padgett. Retiring president is Mrs. Alma Hetherington.

During the past year alternate meetings in Kissimmee and St. Cloud have been held monthly with a variety of programs. Historical books have been presented to local libraries, and the annual field trip was made to the Brighton Seminole Indian Reservation where a special visit was made to Billy Bowlegs III.

*Jefferson County Historical Association:* This organization held its initial meeting on April 23, 1962, at Monticello in the federal building with about thirty persons attending. Fifty-five paid memberships were reported. At this meeting fifteen trustees were elected: Richard H. Simpson, Kenneth E. Cooksey, Jack R. Taylor, Miss Mary Budd Holmes, Mrs. Lee T. Bishop, Miss Elise Lafitte, Miss Elizabeth Mays, Edwin Pugsley, Mrs. F. W. Connolly, Charlie C. Anderson, Miss Frances Braswell, Mrs. J. B. Linn, James S. Sledge, Thomas L. Clarke, and L. W. Jones.

The trustees selected an executive board to conduct the business of the organization. Dr. Sledge is chairman; Mr. Jones, vice-



chairman; Mrs. Linn, secretary; Mr. Clarke, treasurer. By-laws were ordered drawn for the approval of the membership. Guest speakers were Professors Joseph Cushman and William W. Rogers of Florida State University.

*Dr. Henry Hanson*

An autobiographical account of the fight against yellow fever and bubonic plague in Peru from 1919 to 1922 by the late Henry Hanson, M. D., has recently been published. Dr. Hanson was Florida's State Health Officer from 1929-1935 and 1942-1945, and died in 1954 at the age of 76. Sponsoring publication of his account are the State Board of Health, Florida Public Health Association, and the Rockefeller Foundation. Copies may be procured from Doris Hurnie, FHPA Historian, P. O. Box 210, Jacksonville, Florida. Proceeds go to the historical fund of the Florida Public Health Association.

*Wilbur Henry Siebert*

Wilbur Henry Siebert died in Columbus, Ohio, on September 2, 1961, after several years of ill health. He was best known among Floridians for his excellent study, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-85*. Between the years 1930 and 1957, he contributed seven articles and numbers of book reviews to this *Quarterly*. Professor Siebert was born in Columbus on August 30, 1866, and lived most of his life there. He earned a Master's degree at Harvard in 1890 and studied at Frieberg and Berlin. He was married in 1893 and had served on the Ohio State faculty from 1898 until his retirement.

*GRANTS-IN-AID FOR RESEARCH*

The Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation of Wilmington, Delaware, announces the establishment of a grants-in-aid program for mature scholars holding the doctoral degree or having equivalent status. The purpose of the grants is to provide opportunities for the use of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library's collections relating to French history, 1760-1820, and to American history, 1800-1914. The grants will not be made for periods shorter than one month and will not exceed \$500 per month,

though the actual amount will depend upon the needs of the applicant.

Application forms and additional information may be obtained by writing the Director of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, Greenville, Wilmington, 7, Delaware.

## THE EDITOR'S CORNER

We continue in this number the reminiscences of Florida, begun in our January issue, by the late Jane D. Brush of Michigan. Mrs. Brush was the wife of Alanson P. Brush, a pioneer of the automobile industry.

\* \* \* \*

## TALES OF OLD FLORIDA

*by* JANE D. BRUSH

### CHAPTER III

#### ALZARTI HOUSE

**H**ERE WE ARE back at Alzarti House again; but I do not believe you have been properly introduced to this charming old Florida home, and Alzarti House deserves something more than a casual introduction. To appreciate it fully one should know something of its background. This house of simple but gracious lines was built by Mr. William H. Whitaker, first white settler of Sarasota, who lived in a much more imposing house higher up on the bluff overlooking Sarasota Bay. Much of this bay shore land belonged to Mr. Whitaker and he deeded a goodly piece of it to his oldest daughter, Nannie, and built this house for her as a wedding present. Nannie Whitaker was to marry "Johnnie" Helveston. An old Spanish sea captain named Alzarti, had given up his sea-faring ways and had "squatted" on the exact spot the young couple wanted for their home. The old captain must have been something of a character, for even after his shack had been moved and a new house had been built on its former location, people kept referring to it as "the Alzarti place." Perhaps because the Spanish name fitted in with early Sarasota legends, or perhaps just because they liked the sound of the name - the young couple decided to keep it as the name of their new home. Some old records refer to this region as "Alzarti Acres," but the big sign they had painted to put over their door

said "Alzarti House." That is what it was called when I first knew it and as Alzarti House it lives in my memory.

When we went down there on our first visit, the old people, Mr. and Mrs. William Whitaker, were gone and their big family of boys and girls were very much scattered. The imposing old house high on the bluff was almost in ruins - most of its fine furniture had been moved to the newer house which seemed to be taking the place of the old deserted house. The beautiful piece of shore line which went with the house built for Nannie Helveston, did not give the young couple any commercial advantage, except as an inviting location for entertaining guests. Their family was small - they had only the one son, Furman - but the Whitaker family had wealthy and influential members in the North. Some of these relatives formed the habit of coming South each winter, and gradually the reputation of this charming southern home spread. Soon Nannie Helveston had as many guests each winter as she could possibly care for. The youngest Whitaker daughter, Flora, had married the son of a prominent citizen of Birmingham, Michigan, Frank Brooks, one of my husband's friends. They had built a home just where the Whitaker Bayou empties into Sarasota Bay. Frank and Flora were not in their home that winter, but Frank's sailboat was anchored in the Whitaker Bayou and had been put at our disposal. We made good use of it. About halfway between Alzarti House and the Brooks place was an attractive little cottage which took the overflow when Alzarti House was crowded. Back of the big house were some trees, mostly guavas and orange, with one fine fig tree. This was not a grove, but was enough to keep the family supplied with fruit. Back among these trees were two small houses. In one of them lived a fine up-standing southern woman, John Helveston's mother. Her grandson, Furman, must have taken after her, for he was over six feet tall. Her own son, John, or "Johnnie" as she always called him, was much shorter. It may have been because there were three Mrs. Helvestons in this group that Mrs. John Helveston was so generally called Nannie.

In the second small house at the back of the Helveston place lived Furman, his really beautiful wife Ida, and Mabel, who with her reddish blond hair, fair skin, and sunny disposition, resembled her grandmother, Nannie Whitaker Helveston. Why do I write so much of this group of houses and these people? Be-

cause they are so much a part of the "Old Florida" I want to picture, and I hope I can show them in something of the beautiful simplicity of their lives and their characters. These people gave their guests (that is what we were, even though we paid for our room and board) not only a warmhearted hospitality, but they made us to quite an extent, a part of the simple informality of their lives. They shared with us their knowledge of local scenes and characters, with all sorts of odd bits of information: what farm to drive to for the best oranges ("much better than you can get at the big groves"), if you want some grapefruit, "go to the Phillips place. There is one tree there (and old seedling) that bears the best fruit to be found in Florida." For stone-crabs "go to the flats beyond Bird Key." Did we want some guava jelly to take back North with us? "Don't go to so-and-so's - they make theirs of sweet guavas, sweet syrupy stuff not fit to eat. Sweet guavas are all right for canning, but only sour guavas should be used for jelly." "Don't go fishing down on the dock today. Those old rovallias are there; they drive every good fish away." I have never been able to identify absolutely those "old rovallias" but I have seen them - ungainly, chunky fellows, said not to be fit to eat, and they did drive the good fish away.

Nannie Helveston was a perfect hostess for that kind of living, where the commercial element was so in the background that you forgot that you were anything but a welcome guest. Her big dining room was the gathering place for a somewhat miscellaneous group. Her long dining table had served in the past as the nucleus for family gatherings of the Whitaker clan; now it held such diverse elements as the venerable prelate from Baltimore, Bishop Curtis, and a crusty old man by the name of Smith. No one seemed to know much about him; however, he and Bishop Curtis had one thing in common - they both loved fishing. Mr. Smith was apt to preempt the Helveston's flat-bottomed rowboat and disappear for hours at a time, always showing up, however, at mealtime. Bishop Curtis was more apt to be seen fishing from the old Helveston dock. Many of my fondest early memories of this place center around the old dilapidated dock. It had been an imposing structure at one time, running far out into the bay to deep water. The supporting piles and timbers were still strong but many of the surface boards had

either been worn out or had been washed away by storms. This left dangerous gaps had they not been bridged by boards laid down lengthwise over the open spots. At the outer end of the dock were two detached platforms at different levels. A little at one side, off the corner of the dock, was a high square platform. Before the dock had been badly damaged by one of the fall hurricanes, this had been the landing place for passenger steamers which in earlier days ran between Tampa and Sarasota. The only access to it now was by means of some long planks which made a slanting runway to the higher level. On this square platform stood an old dilapidated canopy which looked as if it had been salvaged from some wrecked boat. Why this antique bit of wreckage was kept, I never heard. Near to the high detached landing place was a lower platform from which one could step into a rowboat.

This lower platform which was quite strong, was not only useful to us in getting into a small boat; it was also the favorite resting place for our tame pelican, old "Bill." Bill haunted our old dock where he picked up many tid-bits discarded from strings of fish brought into the house. "It is easy to make paupers of these fellows," said Al. "They would much rather be fed than to fish for themselves." One day Al tempted Bill with a minnow till he came so close that Al caught him by his big beak. Al handled him gently and the old fellow soon resigned himself to sitting in various poses for his picture with a man companion. He even allowed Al to expand his wings to their full extent. Eight feet they measured from tip to tip. I could never make up my mind as to whether his expression indicated pride or resignation. When Al took his hands away, Bill took a moment to make sure he was free and then flew off but not very far. When he was about to strike the water, he wheeled in true pelican fashion and lit facing us arrogantly. The experience seemed not to have disturbed him at all. He used his favorite resting-place as freely as ever.

My husband had been very anxious to have me like his old playground in the South, and after my first disappointment over Florida pines, I had so fallen in love with its semi-tropical beauty as to satisfy him. My first love was for the live oaks and the different varieties of palm trees, and I was enchanted with some of the blossoming shrubs. It took me a little longer to ap-

preciate the beauty of the pines, but I finally did. My interest in them started when Al showed me places where self-sown forests were trying to spring up. Large areas were nearly covered by young pines, from those just pushing above ground to saplings of all stages of development two, three, four, five or more feet tall. Each of these young pines carried at the top a large head, whose long leaves, or needles, spread out from its base to the tip with a fairy-like grace and beauty. They were very aptly called "pine-crowns"; the name fitted. The top terminal bud made the largest pine crown but the end of each branch held one only slightly smaller. I learned another term when we were driving one day and Mabel exclaimed, "Oh look, mama! The 'candles' are out." Mabel said this as a northern child might have said, "Oh see! The pussy-willows are out!" We looked, and sure enough, there was a young pine on the sunny side of a bank and from the tip of each crown was a pale green bud, its slender needles wrapped so closely about it that at a little distance the tree looked as if it had been decorated with pale wax candles. We knew, however, that as the season rolled by these "candles" would grow, spread out, darken, and by next year they would be the new crop of "pine crown." The time came when the spreading leaves of a newgrowth, long-leaved "pine-crown" seemed one of the most beautiful things I ever saw.

Al was also pleased, interested, and a little amused to find how much I enjoyed fishing. To tell the truth, he did not care a great deal himself for fishing, but he loved handling a boat and enjoyed taking me to places where he knew the fishing was good. If I made a notable catch, as I did several times, he was much more pleased than if he had caught the fish himself.

Al disappeared one morning right after breakfast and I wandered out toward the end of the old dock. Before long I saw him; he was sailing Frank Brooks' cat-boat up from the bayou. As he came near the dock he called out to me, "Janie, what do you say to going out in the Gulf and trolling for king-fish? It's a good day, and I hear they are running."

"You will have to get some tackle," I said. "I've got all kinds of tackle," he said, "Took it down with me when I left the house."

That told me he had set his heart on this sail and I knew

why. I liked sailing in the bay - I was not so keen on the open Gulf. This was a good day so I readily agreed.

Over at the other side of the dock Mr. Smith was putting his fishing-rod and pail of bait into the flat-bottomed boat. Al glanced at the old man and said in a low voice, "What do you say to asking him to go along? Let's give the old fellow some real fishing."

"Go ahead!" I said, though I'm afraid I hardly felt as enthusiastic as I sounded. Al went over and spoke to Mr. Smith but he soon came back, a funny little smile on his face. "The old fellow turned us down," he said. "He was tempted, and he almost yielded, but he finally said, " 'No, I'll go by myself. *You can never catch any fish when a woman's along.*' "

Fate played a shabby trick on Mr. Smith that day, for we had the most spectacular fishing luck I ever saw in Florida, or anywhere else. Al took our little sailboat out into the Gulf and sailed it back and forth parallel to the shore line, for that is where king-fish are most likely to be caught. While he was busy sailing the boat, I stood up in the stern holding a long trolling line. Soon I felt a sharp bite and began pulling in my long line. As the line grew shorter it became more and more difficult to handle, and I had to call for help. Letting the boat come up into the wind, Al came to my rescue. With his help I landed one of the biggest and finest king-fish I ever saw down there. We had been sailing north from New Pass but now Al turned and sailed down toward Big Pass. Once more I had a bite but this fish proved to be not quite as big; I got it up to the boat alone but had to have some help in lifting it into the boat. Then we headed up toward New Pass again. We had gone only a short distance beyond the Pass when I caught my third big fish. By this time the breeze had freshened, which made standing up and handling the line difficult. I was tired. "Al," I said, "these are such big fellows, I think three are enough. Let's go home."

"We've only been out an hour," said Al, "but I noticed the gulls were very busy in the Pass. We'll go in there and see what they are feeding on." We did this and found a most unusual situation. A large school of minnows had drawn the gulls; it had also drawn a school of Spanish mackerel and many bluefish. For another hour Al tacked his boat back and forth across the pass



and as fast as I could pull in the short line and hand it over to Al so he could take them off the hook, I caught fish. Our total catch that day - between fifty and sixty mackerel, over a dozen bluefish and the three very large king-fish, and *a woman caught them all* - though I must admit that my husband took them all off the hook. Poor Mr. Smith, when he saw our remarkable catch, made no comment, but later when they had been strung up to be photographed he very meekly asked if he might stand beside them. I always wondered who got that picture and also, did he tell that *a woman caught those fish*?

Bishop Curtis did not sleep at Alzarti House. He and his sister, who was also his housekeeper, lived at "The Palms," the next place on Sarasota Bay north of Alzarti House. This house, with its beautifully landscaped grounds, was used in the first place as a club for a few families, but it had reverted to private ownership and this winter the popular Catholic Bishop from Baltimore and his sister lived there. They took their meals, however, at Alzarti House.

I enjoyed Miss Curtis. She was everything one could imagine in a typical southern aristocrat. Refined, cultured, well educated, beautifully dressed, but very friendly, she seemed in a class by herself. The South, I reflected, could produce different types, as well as the North. I thought of my southern friend, Ida Helveston, and of her wild ride across the Florida plains. No! I could not see Miss Curtis in such a situation. In fact, I could not see her sleeping in a tent on a bed made of pine boughs, rather, she suggested fine linen and lace. The Bishop, however, was not always beautifully dressed. Frequently I would see him out fishing off the square end of the Helveston dock looking like anything but a Bishop. One day I snapped a picture of him at his favorite pastime. I would try to picture him on a Sunday morning, in the cathedral in his vestments. It was difficult to do so.

That winter one of the Whitaker cousins came down from Boston. He was a pleasant young man and very fond of his Aunt Nannie. The thing that I remember best about him was that he brought with him a small portable phonograph with a big horn and numerous cylindrical recordings. This was new enough at that time to attract a great deal of attention. After dinner the whole family would gather in the big livingroom,

and from there listen to the new instrument. We would hear "Any ra-a-ags, any bottles today? 'Tis the same old song in the same old way. Any ra-a-ags?" etc. Then, after a short interval, we would hear, "For I'm a red-head! ginger-bread-head!" and so on, to the plaintive refrain, "Why wasn't I born a blonde?" After the applause for Nora Bayes had died down we would hear another ditty which ended, "Every little bit, added to what you've got, makes just a little bit more." So we would finally drop asleep with some of the old refrains ringing in our ears. No wonder we never forgot them-that last piece of philosophy especially-Al often quoted it as we added one pleasurable experience after another to the abundance of our lives. My husband was truly a philosopher-no one ever cherished the "little bits" of happy life experience more than he.

I have tried to give you the *feel* of Alzarti House, but how can I make you *see* it as I do? The old ell-type house was somewhat unusual. The ell part was two stories high and was about a third longer than the upright with a broad gallery running its entire length. This gave the house a substantial look. The broad porch with its white columns and well-kept railing gave it a most inviting air. If its white paint had lost a bit of its glaring newness, still it did not look rundown or neglected. It had simply mellowed a little to fit in with the beautiful dignity of the great oaks under whose shadow it stood. Those oaks spoke of age, and around the corner of the upright part of the house stood an old seedling orange tree. This tree was so tall that the oranges on its top branches had been left unpicked, for they were out of reach from an ordinary ladder. My athletic husband had no trouble reaching them; his early training on boats came to his aid. In his youth he had thought nothing of having to "shinny" up a mast to fix the rigging, or just for the view; so now it was simple fun for him to go to the top of that old orange tree. When he came down, the front of his shirt would be full of the most delicious oranges I had ever tasted.

When one looked away from this house, one faced the blue water of Sarasota Bay. Through the branches of the trees could be seen the old dock, running far out to deep water. Fringing the end of the bank which led to the dock was a picturesque assortment of trees-young pines and cabbage palmettos of all sizes.

This is the place to which we came back from our camp on the Myakka. Did we have any other adventures on this first visit south in the early part of the twentieth century? To be sure we did, and my mind is full of them. To tell the truth, everything was so new, so absorbing, so beautiful, that every new experience became an adventure. To go as we did one day to a place in upper Sarasota Bay famous, at least in the Helveston family, as a good fishing spot and inside of an hour and a half catch not ten fish, but ten different kinds of fish-this was so unusual that it became an adventure. If I hadn't written about this at the time-and if I hadn't the faded record before me-I probably would not be able to name the kinds of fish we caught, but here are the names as I wrote them down that day: Spanish mackerel, grouper, black fish, mangrove snapper, grunts, sailor's choice, sheep's -head, shiner, suck-fish, and dogfish. All but the last three of these are good eating.

Then there was the day that Al sailed me down to lower Sarasota Bay-about twenty miles down the coast. There was no dock and he had to roll his trousers and carry me ashore. After landing, we had an adventure with a big gopher snake and I learned about southern hospitality from a most interesting family-the Higels. These and many other things live in my mind and would be interesting to talk about, but there is another series of adventures which came a little later, but which definitely belong to our "Old Florida," and they clamor to be told while the details are clear in my mind. The events just recorded took place in 1904. There were two years of hard work in Detroit before Al could go south again; then, due to certain important changes, he was to have a long vacation. It was to be two months-the longest one he ever had.

This led to two interesting experiences; one a camping-trip, the other a cruise. The camping-trip I want to tell about because it differs so from the Myakka experience. The cruise deserves even more attention for conditions were changing so rapidly in Florida, particularly in the Everglades region, that very soon not only would we not be able to repeat it, but neither could anyone else. We had what might well be called a unique experience. My next two chapters tell the story of these experiences.

*(Continued in the next issue)*

Mr. Robert M. Adams, Box 393D Route 2, Palmetto, has presented us with the following essay which gives us a charming, imaginative, and romantic impression of the lower Gulf coast region.

\* \* \* \*

## THE ROMANCE OF SNEAD ISLAND

*by* ROBERT M. ADAMS

Any fisherman on the lower Gulf coast can locate Snead Island for you by routing you from Palmetto west on Tenth Street and across "Humpback Bridge" - a focal point for fishermen for many years. It is where you load up with gas for your boat and lay in a good supply of shrimp for a day's fishing in Terra Ceia Bay, the Manatee River, or Tampa Bay, for all three of these bodies of water surround Snead Island. This little-known island has been preserved for people who seek a quiet, peaceful, and interesting way of life away from the noise and clatter of urban areas. It is removed from the glitter of night spots, seemingly so necessary to many tourists. Area zoning has helped make Snead Island a community for relaxed living but circumstances determined the ultimate fate of the island. A severe hurricane in 1884 stripped the tall timber from Passage Key, six miles directly west, and left it a small sandy island barely visible at high tide. But Snead Island was left undamaged and intact.

The nineteenth century ambitions of Henry B. Plant to convert the island into a southern terminus of his South Florida Railroad, and to erect there a magnificent hotel, failed largely because one large land holder refused to sell to Mr. Plant. More recently, plans to build the Skyway bridge and causeways from this island were abandoned. The island was destined to remain a residential area. Although remote from big city confusion, it has the advantage of being only minutes away from Palmetto and Bradenton, and within an hour's ride of Tampa and St. Petersburg.

It is not too difficult in one's minds eye to visualize Snead Island as it might have been on a fair May day in 1539. It is not hard to imagine peering, bewildered eyes of curious Indians who,

from vantage points on the island, may have seen the nine great caravels of Hernando de Soto approaching what is now Shaw's Point across the Manatee River. Perhaps war canoes slithered silently around Emerson Bayou near the west end of the island to get a glimpse of DeSoto's ships. Maybe a few of the older Indians could even remember a similar but brief landing of Ponce de Leon further south twenty-six years before. Little did these peaceful, agrarian Indians realize that the appearance of the white man would eventually require their removal from this area. The bow and the arrow, though capably used, was no match for the cross-bow, the fire-arms, the trained fighting dogs, and the cavalry of the Spaniards. Evidence of the importance of the fighting dogs is that DeSoto brought with him his personal watch dog, named "Bexerillo."

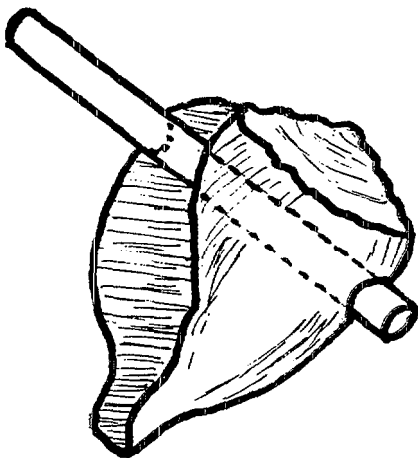
DeSoto lost little time in launching his quest for gold, which was his prime motive for coming to North America. Before his army of five hundred men, horses, dogs, and hogs, the Indians discreetly fled. In due time the village of Ucita on Terra Ceia Island, the home of Chief Hirrihigua, was destroyed by DeSoto. There is no recorded account of his sending a searching party across the Manatee River to Snead Island, but his proximity to the island, his enthusiasm in the search for gold, and the recent finding of many pieces of Spanish olive jars, make it reasonable to assume that a reconnoitering party might have landed on the island. According to Spanish historians, the Indians encountered in this region were quite tall. Historian Karl Bickel tells of finding two skeletons on neighboring Longboat Key, one seven feet, the other eight feet tall. At least one complete skeleton from Snead Island, with other Indian artifacts, now rests in the Smithsonian Institution. There were at least three Indian festive shell mounds located on Snead Island.

The nearby Caloosa Indians, from the Fort Myers area, took over this region after the Timucuan Indians who perhaps met DeSoto fled to north Florida. They remained until 1763 when Spain ceded Florida to Britain. Some of the Caloosas emigrated to Cuba, others went into hiding in the Charlotte Harbor area. By 1812, both the Timucuan and the Caloosas had virtually become extinct and the more recently arrived Seminoles were the dominant Florida Indians.

Before the appearance of the Spaniards, life must have been

easy on Snead Island-as it is now. Food was abundant. Some crops were planted, but most of the Indians' food could be obtained from the native plants, the rivers, and the bays. There were the buds and berries of the cabbage palm, the fruit of the sea grape, and pears from the prickly cactus. There was deer, bear, alligator, turkey, possum, rattlesnake, and birds on the island; and the river abounded with manatee and vast quantities of fish. The tale is told that fish were so plentiful that all one had to do was lower a weighted basket over the side of the boat. There were crabs, scallops, clams, and oysters. The capacity of the Indians to enjoy huge quantities of shell life is evidenced by the shells still found in the large mounds on the island.

Many artifacts - arrowheads, shell implements, pottery - are still being found on Snead Island, reminding us of the culture that existed there 400 years ago. Implements were often made



### *HOE MADE FROM WHELK SHELL*

of shells, as in the instance of the left-handed whelk and the much smaller fighting conch. Besides supplying food, these shellfish provided agricultural tools and implements for some of the Indian crafts. The left-handed whelks in particular were used in quantity. A notch was made in the lip of the shell about two inches from the top. On the opposite side from the notch, a hole

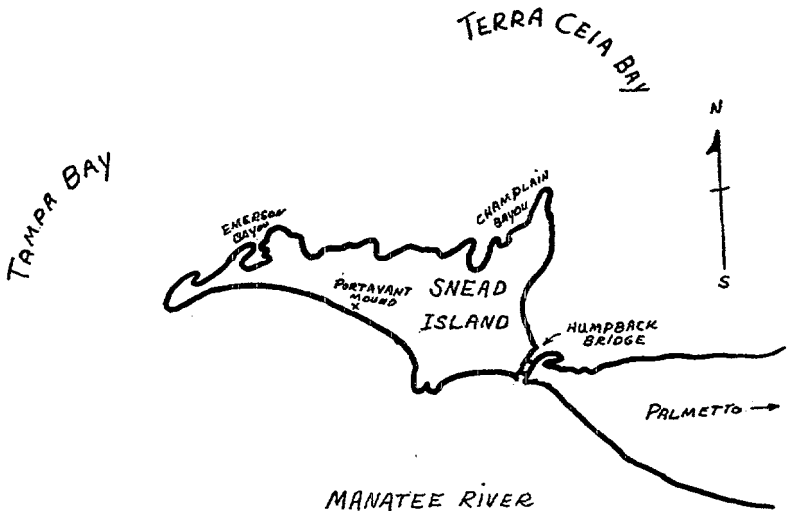
was drilled about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. A stick was inserted along the notch, extending through the drilled hole on the opposite side. The long narrow shank end of the shell was sharpened and the tool used as a hoe. In some cases the shank end of the shell was cut off several inches from the end, and the wider base sharpened and used as an adze or a scraper. Another use of the whelk was achieved by cutting off the top third of the shell, lengthwise, and using the remainder of the hollow shell as a cup. The smaller fighting conchs were used in the same manner as the whelks, but apparently for smaller projects. Such artifacts, along with others made of native limestone or imported flint, are still being found.

Since a few Indian artifacts were also made from bones of animals, or fossils, it is well to note the numerous fossils found on the island. The uninitiated are astonished upon first learning that the saber-toothed tiger, bison, camel, mastodon, mammoth, and horse roamed this area twenty thousand or more years ago. They were here by the thousands, along with the armadillo, bear, deer and, in the sea, the sharks. Most numerous of the fossils found on the island are manatee ribs, sharks' teeth, turtle shells, horses' teeth, and mammoth teeth.

An interesting feature of the fossils found on the island are their designs and shapes-often a clue to the identity of the animals. For example, the pre-historic horse which roamed this island thousands of years ago had teeth with a specific and complicated design on the grinding surface. Every tooth found in this species has exactly the same pattern on the grinding surface. The smaller and rarer three-toed horse has an entirely different design on the chewing end of the tooth. Most of these fossils are brought up from six to eight or more feet below the present surface of the soil. Even if one is not interested in the scientific aspects of a fossil found on the island, it does add a bit of curiosity to the many interesting subjects that make life worthwhile on Snead Island.

The island's tranquility was not even disturbed by the War Between the States, or the earlier second Seminole War. Indeed Edward Sneed [*sic*] for whom the island was named home-steaded 128 acres of land there under the Armed Occupation Act on June 19, 1843. Yet even twenty years later there was still little on the island to attract either Federals or Confederates

and no fighting occurred there. Fishermen and farmers may have seen Federal gunboats in the Manatee River, but they were not molested by them.



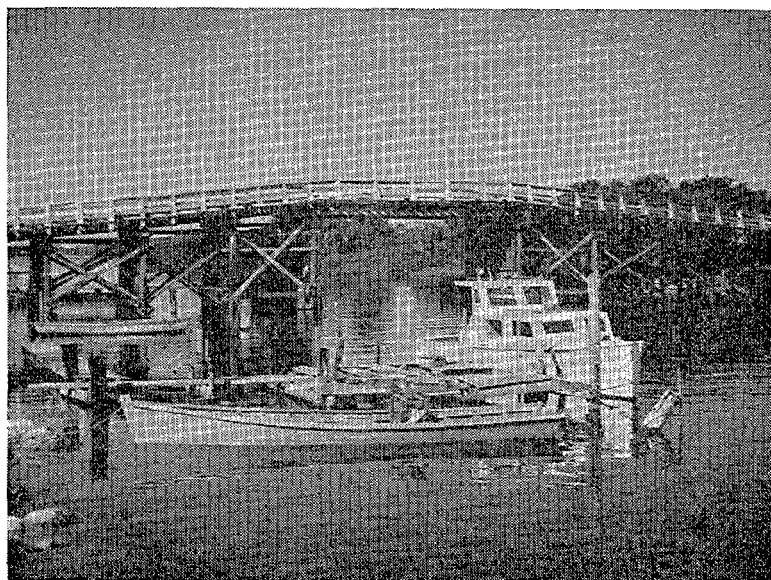
Before the War Between the States, a Mr. Foster built a home on top of a twelve foot high Indian mound located on the south side of the island. The excellent view from the high mound, with its long sweep to the Manatee River, was sufficient reason for the location of this house. The patience and determination of such early settlers is cause for reflection. The absence of saw mills required the importation of pine timbers from Pensacola, brought here by sailboat. Mr. Foster apparently did have plenty of help in building his house once the timber arrived; he was employed by sugar plantation owners who for some time permitted him to use their slaves to clear his land and construct his house.

In 1888, Captain June Poitevent, a retired Mississippi River captain, and his wife May purchased 363 acres including the Indian mound. The mound still bears his name but the spelling has been corrupted to Portavant. Concluding that Mr. Foster had chosen the ideal location for a house, the captain proceeded to enlarge the living area by adding a lean-to on the north and west sides and a porch on the east side. Mr. Irvin Andress, until recently a fifty-year resident of the island, helped dig the cistern



which stored the drinking water for the Poitevent family. The Poitevent family's various trips to the mainland were made by horse and buggy. They forded the narrow and shallow channel at the east end of the island at low tide. Some years were to pass before the channel was deepened for ships to come in. After this the big boats came in to load the produce handled through the Irving Andress packing house, near the present location of the Terra Manna Sports Center. It was a treat for the children of the island to stop at the packing house to watch the produce grown on Snead and Terra Ceia Islands being loaded. The H. B. Plant boat from Tampa was of particular interest, probably because it was the largest to stop there.

Progress came to Snead Island slowly. The first small bridge was built and it was no longer necessary to ford the channel to the mainland or use a boat. After the early bridge had given its



The weather-worn "Humpback Bridge" which connects Snead Island with the mainland.

useful service, a better one was built in 1932. This wooden structure is the present "Humpback Bridge," a landmark for fishermen and a guide to the island. Old "Humpback" is also

known for other reasons. Its weather-worn timbers have already been hurricane-tested - they were all that was left of the Longboat Key-Anna Maria Island bridge after the storm of March 6, 1932. Frugal county authorities brought the best timbers to Snead Island on barges and put up "Humpback." With its barnacled supporting columns, its steep incline from both approaches, and its flat top, it has become the central feature of many paintings by local artists. Late every afternoon kindly Mrs. Mary Hart hangs three oil-burning lanterns on the side of the bridge, a red one in the center and white ones on either end, as warnings to night boatmen.

Old "Humpback," however, is doomed. It will soon go the way of all wooden structures subjected to the elements of weather, devastating marine life, and time. Most people will acclaim the replacement with satisfaction and consider it an act of modern progress, but there will be a few who, with an inner feeling of nostalgia, will regret to see it go. "Humpback" is the last of an era.

Families whose names were prominent in the early life of the island are still remembered. The Pillsburys are one of the oldest families in the business of dredging; the Emersons are perpetuated in the name of the bayou at the northwest end of the island, and the Champlain name is given to the bayou at the northeast end of the island. The Pillsbury family in 1912 founded the Snead Island Boatworks, largest and best on the west coast from Fort Myers to St. Petersburg, which is presently owned by E. E. Bishop and is managed by Captain Jim Alderman.

On January 8, 1918, Mr. Peter Marine purchased the Indian mound and adjoining 363 acres. To enhance the natural grandeur of his location, he planted parallel rows of the stately royal palms from the base of the mound almost to the river's edge. Eighteen of these palms still remain-a memorial to one of our hardy pioneers. In February of the same year, Marine added thirty-nine acres purchased from the state. Present day land buyers may well cringe at the thought of the price paid for this thirty-nine acres: a total of \$59.46.

Peter Marine was born in Spain and married soon after coming to this country. He settled first in Chicago where he succeeded as a candy and ice cream manufacturer. Some of the Snead Island land which he and his son Lincoln farmed is now

in the Gulf and Bay Estates sub-division. They principally raised tomatoes and peppers and lived a tranquil life; but tragedy struck. One day Lincoln returned home at noon to find the meal on the table but no one in the house. Realizing that his parents customarily took a short swim in the river each day, he ran down the palm-lined lane to the river bank. There he found his father's body floating on the water. After help was summoned, the mother's body was found at the bottom of the river.

After the death of the Marines, Mr. and Mrs. Freeman H. Horton bought the acreage including the mound and, after extensive remodelling, lived in the house for some time. Parts of the old house were later torn down but a section remained as a beach house. Remnants of the old house are still there; the concrete cistern is still in place, a part of the chimney remains, and concrete slabs that were used as steps up the mound can still be seen. Huge limbed live oaks stretching gracefully toward the clear blue sky, still grow on the mound. The sansevieria has multiplied profusely, and occasional blooms of the tamarind are still visible. The bougainvillia regularly assists nature's beautification of the landscape. The huge gumbo-limbo trees add strength to the scene. Even the nearby Australian pines, with gentle sub-tropical breezes swaying their branches in murmuring symphony, seem to whisper for all who care to listen that this, the top of a mound, was once a home.

The surrounding bodies of water make Snead Island warmer in winter and cooler in summer than inland towns and cities. These same rivers and bays produce fish, crabs, scallops, and oysters in sufficient quantities for the average family. With the rippling blue tidal waters available for boating, swimming, and skiing; with abundant wild plant life in the undeveloped part of the island and with bird life everywhere an inducement to those interested in nature's best, Snead Island is more than just a community - it is a "Shangri-la."

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