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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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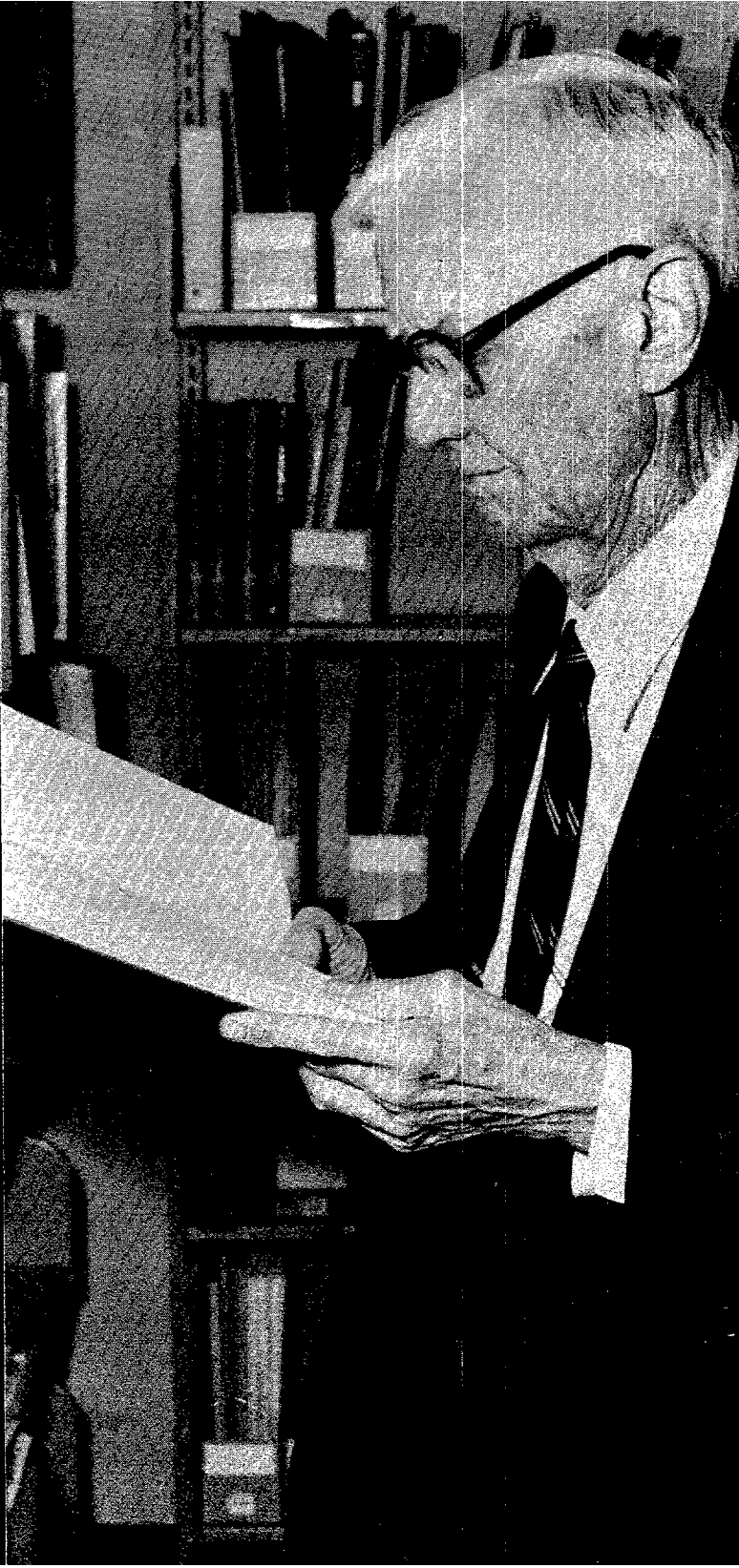
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JULIEN CHANDLER YONGE

By REMBERT W. PATRICK

IN THE FALL OF 1892 a thirteen-year-old boy requested and received a copy of Campbell's *Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida*.¹ Beginning with Panfilo de Narvaez's discovery of Pensacola Bay, the 284-page book traced the explorations of Hernando de Soto, described the ill-fated attempt of Tristan de Luna to found a colony at Pensacola, and detailed the eventual permanent settlement there. The author emphasized the British Period of Colonial Florida, overweighted the importance of Pensacola, and ended his narrative with the American occupation of the province.

By contemporary standards Campbell's volume lacked many attributes of good history, but its dull pages stirred the imagination of the thirteen-year-old Julien Chandler Yonge. He read and reread the book. It stimulated him to add to his one-volume personal library, whenever possible, other accounts of Florida.

Julien Yonge was born in Pensacola on January 20, 1879, the second child and first son of Philip Keyes and Lucie Cairns Davis Yonge. His paternal ancestors had arrived in East Florida during the British Period, and his father was already on the road to financial success in the lumbering business and showed developing interest in civic and state affairs. In Pensacola Julien passed through a normal, healthy childhood. All around him were sites rich in historical lore. From his home on West Intendencia Street he could see the waters where Spanish galleons, British frigates, and American warships once rode at anchor. Out toward the Gulf of Mexico the tip of Santa Rosa Island jutted westward, and on its sandy land Spaniards had attempted a settlement. There, too, stood the impressive brick walls of Fort Pickens, the grounds of the fort overgrown with vegetation and its masonry walls crumbling from neglect.

On unpaved roads overlooking Pensacola Bay Julien Yonge rode his bicycle until he gained a mastery of the vehicle. His legs grew strong and his speed and endurance won praise from his

1. Richard L. Campbell, *Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida* (Cleveland, 1892).

elders. His bicycle provided him transportation to Public School Number 1, which he attended for seven years.

After study, reading, and play, the teenage boy had time to clip and paste newspaper articles in his scrapbook. A variety of subjects caught his fancy: stamp collecting, the annual cubic feet of water flowing from the mouths of the Mississippi River into the Gulf, the Pensacola Fire Department, poems, and jokes. A booklet by Max L. Bear of Pensacola entitled "What Congress Has Done" and containing eight blank pages won a place in the scrapbook. A long account of the New York Stock Market with explanations of bulls and bears, puts, calls, and spreads, long and short sales, pools and corners, and ballooning of stocks and milking the Street went into his record.

Perhaps a subconscious mind pushing him toward eventual editorship forced him to retain items on the typographical slips of printers and the factual errors of famous authors. Among sentences he saved illustrating the omission of the letter "s" in a word were: "The Russian soldier Kickkinoffoskewsky was found dead with a long word sticking in his throat" and "The conflict was dreadful and the enemy repulsed with great laughter."

Prominently displayed in the scrapbook was the graduation program, Class of 1894, of Public School Number 1. Sixteen boys and girls were scheduled to graduate that year from the seventh grade, the highest grade provided by the Pensacola public school system. All of the students chose or were assigned topics for papers to be written before graduation. One student evidently failed to complete the required course work and another did not turn in an essay, but did finish with his class. Authors of the four best papers were to deliver their essays at commencement. "Pensacola Commerce" by fifteen-year-old Julien C. Yonge won a coveted place.

At 8:00 P.M. on Tuesday, May 29, he gave his essay before a large audience at the Opera House. Julien noted the growth in trade between the Mississippi Valley region and Latin America. Some people, he told his listeners, advocated a railroad through Mexico and Central America to South America, but this project would entail tremendous capital. A better and more practical route was a railroad to Pensacola and steamship lines from there to Latin-American countries. When dug, a Nicaraguan canal (he did not mention a Panamanian canal) would make Pensa-

cola a great port for the Latin-American trade, for its harbor was ten miles nearer to the jetties at the mouth of the Mississippi River than were the docks at New Orleans. The young historian described the development of lumbering in the Pensacola area from the first sawmill of 1826 to the 270,000,000 board feet of lumber exported in 1893 on 517 ships. But he declared that work was needed to deepen the channel into Pensacola harbor: in 1719 a small French ship had had difficulty in crossing the bar, and although the Federal government had spent \$60,000 in deepening the channel to twenty-four feet, an additional \$1,800,000 was needed to extend the depth to thirty feet and give Pensacola the opportunity of becoming the largest port on the Gulf of Mexico.

In addition to the distinction of giving one of the four speeches, Julien won another honor. An examining committee of prominent Pensacolans found him to be the preeminent scholar of his class in mathematics. The judges spent little time in making a decision. The young boy had an average of 100 per cent in all homework and examinations. Even in 1894 proficiency in mathematics was indicative of the potential engineer. The young student enrolled at Alabama Polytechnic Institute (now Auburn University). At that educational institution he won two blue ribbons for distinction in his studies and the medal for the best drilled man in Company A of the ROTC.

During this period of his life he was also winning medals for prowess in athletic contests. His specialty was the bicycle. On July 19, 1895, he received the novice award in a half mile race at Pensacola. For the Annual Fields Sports, held at Kupfrain's Park the same summer, the Pensacola electric trolley line ran special cars every fifteen minutes and charged patrons fifteen cents for the ride. Admission to the park and the races was twenty-five cents. In event number seven, Julien peddled his bicycle with seven other contestants for half a mile, and won the second-place silver medal. His speed on his bicycle also gained other prizes during the summer: second awards in the one-mile handicap and the half-mile Brentwood Road Race.

After 1895 his attention centered on his studies. Anticipation of a collegiate degree was foremost in his thoughts. Commencement programs of his college and honors won in his studies went into his scrapbook. On June 13, 1898, as one of the

three junior class orators, he gave a speech on "Some Stepping Stones." The 1898 commencement program listed him as one of the three distinguished members of the junior class and cited him for achievement in the course in electrical and mechanical engineering.² In 1898 Julien Yonge was a handsome young man: six feet two inches, slender and erect, with wavy, light brown hair and a fair skin.

Then misfortune struck hard at the promising engineer. A rare fever bedded him and his life hung in balance. Recovery was slow and was never to be complete. At first every physical faculty was seriously impaired: his speech and hearing vanished with the disease. On the sick bed Florida lost an engineer but gained a historian.

The following years were trying ones for a person accustomed to riding his bicycle and playing tennis with his brothers, or for one who excelled in public speaking and who had won awards for scholastic achievement. Fortunately Julien's mind had not been affected by his illness. He was, however, sensitive about his difficulty in speaking and his lack of hearing. Perhaps he recalled the motto of his Class of 1894, "Row, Not Drift," and adapted himself to a new physical situation.

In 1911 he used a skill learned at engineering school to draft plans for a large house which his parents built near the end of East Jackson Street. Flower and vegetable gardening, carpentry and general repairs around his parents imposing home developed into an avocation. He enjoyed the sweat of work and the quickness with which one could see the result of labor in flowering plants and producing vegetables. "It is a satisfaction to accomplish something," he said with conviction. This work with his hands was a source of satisfaction throughout the remainder of his life. After passing the age of eighty, he spent hours daily in restoring the lawn by loosening the soil and sprigging in grass on the bare spots.

Julien also became the friend and guardian of the children in his neighborhood. Quick to sense variation from normal in an adult, boys and girls respond in one of two ways to a person with physical handicaps: teasing, jeering, and fun-making, or friend-

2. Reconstruction of these phases of Julien C. Yonge's life are based on his scrapbook, in possession of Marjorie J. Yonge, 1924 East Jackson Street, Pensacola, Florida.

ship, respect, and dependence. Children's reactions depend on the adult's attitude toward them. Julien was sincerely fond of the neighborhood children and later, as they appeared, his nephews and nieces, and they returned his affection.

Childish voices calling "Mr. Julien" or "Uncle Jue" were frequently heard in and around the house on Jackson Street. A toy needed mending, a doll's broken arm required attention, bicycle spokes were loose, or a little girl wanted furniture for a doll house. Young senses thrilled to the wonders of the world around them and inquisitive minds asked explanations of the mysteries of life. Julien answered their questions and repaired their broken toys. At times he took some of the children for a canoe ride or a swim at Bayview Park.

Had his work been limited to odd jobs and children's helper, Julien Yonge's influence would have been limited to his family and neighborhood. His keen mind required occupation. The hobby of collecting Floridiana and studying Florida history became an absorbing vocation. In addition to his desire and industry, he had the advantage of family assistance in attaining his goals. His father, Philip Keyes Yonge, had sufficient financial resources to supply funds for buying rare books, pamphlets, and maps. After the Buckman Act consolidated many state colleges into three institutions of higher education and provided for a Board of Control, P. K. Yonge served almost continuously for twenty-five years as a member or chairman of the Board. His duties sent him to cities throughout Florida and brought him into contact with Floridians who possessed source materials on their state's history.

The collection of Floridiana eventually amassed by Julien Yonge came by three basic means. During more than thirty years, approximately \$25,000 was spent in buying materials. The dollar, however, went far during the first decades of the twentieth century. Both the purchasing power of money and the lack of interest in Floridiana enabled father and son to acquire books at prices ranging from five cents to two dollars, and files of newspapers for two dollars and fifty cents. Later the monetary value of some of the books increased five hundred times and the newspapers became almost priceless. A second method of acquisition was by requests, and the consequent gifts of individuals. Those who held source materials of historical value were frequently happy to contribute them to one who promised to preserve them

and make them available to students and other interested persons. Finally, important records were saved from destruction, or salvaged from dumps. Personnel changes in state and local offices and the inauguration of new officials more interested in making space than in keeping old records made official documents available to a collector. Children who cleaned out inherited houses of parental accumulations had no place for items of little or no monetary value.

By 1920 the Yonge holdings were the outstanding collection of Floridiana in the state. For twenty-five additional years Julien continued to build his library, but the pace of accumulation slowed with the arrival of the Great Depression and almost ceased after 1934 with the passing of his father. To attain safety and space, a masonry building was erected behind the Yonge home on Jackson Street to house the collection.

Julien read every book and pamphlet that he obtained. When uncertain about any matter, a member of his family would say: "Ask Julien." He always "came up with the right answer. He was a walking encyclopedia."³ College professors and lay historians, who went to Pensacola to use his collection or knew him through correspondence, spread word of his knowledge to other Floridians interested in Florida history.

In 1924 the dormant Florida Historical Society was awakened. Originally organized in 1856, the Society had experienced the vicissitudes of a small cultural association in a frontier state. Its first publications were the Constitution and By-Laws of the organization and a thirty-two page historical essay by George R. Fairbanks, one of the founders. No other publication followed the two pamphlets of 1856 until after a reorganization of the Society early in the twentieth century. Beginning in 1908 and continuing through a part of the next year two volumes, containing six issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, were published. After another period of dormancy the Society revitalized its publication program in 1924 and brought out two issues of Volume III, numbers 1 and 2, of the *Quarterly* in July and October of that year.

"J. C. Yonge . . . a student of early Florida history," the *Pensacola Journal* reported, "with a number of kindred spirits is try-

3. Marjorie J. Yonge to the author, June 23, 1962, in P. K. Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

ting to revitalize the Florida Historical Society. Mr. Yonge has sent a copy of the quarterly [July, 1924] to the editor and it contains articles of intense interest.”⁴ In this number Julien’s name appeared for the first and only time as the author of an article in the *Quarterly*. His “Minutes of Organization in 1856 and List of Members” was on pages four through nine,⁵ and he wrote:

“Before the Civil War most of Florida was a wilderness. Here were but half a dozen small towns and a few scattered farming districts. Except for certain short boom periods—the sudden rise and collapse of ports, and the flush times in Middle Florida, when credit, based largely on land, was the source of the flood of money flowing freely about Tallahassee until the bubble burst—except for these few years Florida was, in the main, a land of poverty—the poverty of a new country with no ready source of wealth to bring a quick prosperity.

Yet many of the pioneers, though they had work enough to do in making their start, looked beyond their own affair: and gave a thought to the future of the State they were building for their children. Among other evidence of this forethought, during the period of comparative quiet following the years of Indian disturbances, is the organizing of the *Historical Society of Florida*.”⁶

Before the end of 1924 the reorganized Society was in difficulty. Inadequate financial support, a small membership list, and failure to find an editor for its publication were apparently foretelling another failure. On November 13 members from only eight counties assembled in Tallahassee to decide the fate of the Society. Julien Yonge attended by proxy and the 1924 annual meeting saved the publication program of the organization by electing him Editor of the *Quarterly*.

His first number, appearing in January, 1925, contained six articles, three of which were compiled and edited by Julien. Beginning with this issue he started a policy which he was to continue throughout his editorship; his name did not appear as compiler, editor, or author on any article. Whatever he contributed was unsigned and readers were left to infer that every article or

4. Quoted in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, III (October, 1924), No. 2, p. 41.

5. *Ibid.*, III (July, 1924), No. 1.

6. *Ibid.*, 4.

report without a byline was the work of the Editor. The January, 1925, number of the *Quarterly* with its fifty-four pages was followed by 123 other issues and more than 9,000 pages, all under the editorship of Julien Yonge. For thirty-one years he continued to work, never receiving salary or expenses and often buying supplies and paying postage with personal funds. Only three times during his lifetime did he attend meetings of the Society: once when the annual meeting was brought to him at Gainesville; the centennial meeting at St. Augustine in 1956, the year after he retired as Editor; and the Pensacola meeting in 1959. His shyness at large gatherings and his sensitiveness because of speech and hearing difficulties prevented him from enjoying conventions, but despite his absence from the meetings, everyone realized that Julien and his *Quarterly* were the Florida Historical Society.

Throughout his editorship he never had secretarial help. The retyping of articles, preparation of his contributions, and correspondence were all pecked out by his fingers. Periodically he appointed assistant or associate editors but they usually received more in honor than they gave in work. Choice of articles and editing of them, reading of galley and page proof, making of format and design, selection of type and paper, and a considerable financial responsibility all fell to the Editor. Hundreds of members joined the Society as a result of the invitations extended by him, and to insure publication of the *Quarterly* he persuaded individuals and organizations to defray some of the costs of printing. Because of the periodic dearth of manuscripts submitted for publication, he searched books, magazines, and newspapers for interesting reprintable sources, and prepared unpublished records, diaries, and reminiscences for the *Quarterly*. The unsigned articles, book reviews, and notes in the 124 numbers of the journal during his editorship were one-third of the total number of pages printed and amounted to approximately 1,200,000 words.

Usually an editor of a historical quarterly can rely on professors and students at state and private colleges to write articles, but during most of Julien's tenure as editor few professional historians demonstrated interest in Florida history. Mainly because of John B. Stetson, Jr., Stetson University was the center for the state's history in the 1920's; but Colonel Stetson organized the Florida State Historical Society, spent \$500,000 or more in collecting the sources of Florida's colonial history in Spain, France,

and England and in employing historians and paying publication costs of their work. Alfred Jackson Hanna of Rollins College began writing about Florida, and for years he took tremendous responsibility in keeping the Florida Historical Society functioning and in securing funds to finance its operations. Florida State College for Women, under the direction of Kathryn Abbey (later Mrs. Alfred Jackson Hanna) as head of its history department, also began to emphasize the study of state history. For twenty of Julien Yonge's years of editorship, the state's largest educational institution, the University of Florida, offered no course in Florida history and seldom used any of its limited book funds to buy books in the field.

While editing the *Quarterly*, Julien also made his collection available to researchers. No serious student could arrive too early or stay too late. He had a particular sympathy for financially pressed graduate students who made the most of their resources by taking notes many hours a day. Late at night he would appear with dishes heaped with ice cream for visitors using his library. Few worthwhile dissertations or books could be written without research in the Yonge collection. Many people discovered it unnecessary to visit Pensacola; Julien would do their research for them without charge and send them packets of notes. His correspondence with individuals requesting genealogical data was voluminous.

Although working more hours a day than most of us, Julien Yonge received no salary. Twice during his life patriotism forced him to labor for pay. Past thirty-eight years of age in 1917, he nevertheless braved the world of the laboring and every day, with lunch pail in hand, he left by trolley car for the shipyards to help alleviate the manpower shortage during World War I. More than twenty years later, again motivated by a desire to be of service, he read proof on a part-time basis in 1943 and 1944 at the offices of the Pensacola newspapers.

Near war's end a new challenge and a more vigorous test of his courage confronted him. In the fall of 1944 the University of Florida begged him to give his large and valuable collection to its library. By this date he no longer enjoyed the financial security of earlier years. Parts of the large home on Jackson Street had been converted into apartments and he and his sister, Marjorie Yonge, lived in comfort but not affluence. But Julien

rejected offers for his collection which would have given him financial security and gave his prized Floridiana materials to the University of Florida. His only stipulations were that it be adequately housed, opened to all students regardless of race, color, or creed, and a minimum of \$2,000 a year be spent on filling in gaps in the holdings. He refused to allow his name to be associated with the collection and insisted that it be known as the Philip Keyes Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History.

Unknown to Julien the President of the University, John J. Tigert, was also planning to be demanding. He insisted that Julien Yonge move to Gainesville and become the director of the library. At first the generous donor gave many reasons why he should stay in Pensacola. The more important ones he avoided—his fear of having to meet numbers of students and of relationships with staff personnel; his defective hearing and difficulty in speaking; and possible accusation that he had sold his collection for a salaried position. Emphasis on the obvious, namely, that he could not continue to edit adequately the *Florida Historical Quarterly* without the resources of his collection was an important counter argument. Finally he agreed to come on one condition. The \$3,000 salary offered him was, in his opinion, too high; he accepted \$1,800. On these terms he secured a hearing aid and arrived in Gainesville shortly after a large moving van delivered most of his collection.

For a number of years he made no protests on the poor housing facilities on the third floor of the University Law Library. With almost childish interest he watched progress on the construction of a new main library wing at the University and planned with Director Stanley West the space and fireproof vault specified for the P. K. Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History. When the additions were completed, he supervised moving the collection, and his supervision included aiding the workmen with physical labor. Once located in the then relatively spacious but now inadequate quarters, he was content. The University of Florida had not only provided housing but had also given much more than required by the deed of gift for new acquisitions to the library, and had earmarked funds for microfilming city and county newspapers.

Every day was an adventure for Julien Yonge. Students and faculty, visiting scholars from the state and other states were

welcomed. His enthusiasm for Florida history conquered his shyness, and except when batteries lost their power, he apparently forgot his hearing aid. He arrived at the library early in the morning, took a rest at noon, and left after five; but he returned at seven to keep the library open until the last student, professor, or visiting scholar tired and left. With the exception of Sunday, his schedule seldom varied. On the morning of that day, he would remove the supposedly comic deposits of paint, beer cans, coke bottles, or articles of clothing left by prankish students on the statue of former President Albert A. Murphree which stood on the campus between the University Library and Peabody Hall. Passersby feared for the life of the seventy-year-old white-haired man as he climbed high to clean the symbol of a man whose memory and work he respected.

The good day for Julien Yonge was the one in which a large number of students used the library. An exceptional one came with news of acquisitions: a rare book, the Will Papers, the Stetson collection, or the Spessard L. Holland Papers. But the Director also had his disappointments. One was the retirement of Harriet C. Skofield as librarian of the Yonge Library. Perhaps this forced retirement hurt him because he was already past the terminal age of employment and was being retained on a year-to-year basis by the Board of Control, out of respect for him and his valuable gift. Then he found that a new librarian, Margaret Chapman, could do the work required and relieve him of many responsibilities.

At the end of 1955 he retired from the editorship of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. He realized that his energies were being limited by age, and his duties in directing the library and editing the *Quarterly* were too taxing for him. But his interest in the Florida Historical Society continued. The library of that organization had been moved from St. Augustine to the University of Florida late in 1950 and housed on the fourth floor of the main library. Every day he found time to walk or take the elevator to the Society's library. To a number of secretary-treasurers of the organization he was a paternalistic adviser. Often Lois Sette, the last secretary-treasurer-librarian of the Society before its headquarters were moved to the University of South Florida after the passing of Julien Yonge, asked and received his advice. Frequently, in his gentle way, he gave ideas which she

and former secretary-treasurers made their own without realizing they came from the stoop-shouldered, white-haired dean of Florida history.

Although Emeritus Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, he could not leave his old field of activity. Under his direction, and often as a result of his work, cards were accumulated on a comprehensive index of the *Quarterly*. He wrote numerous letters and secured the best authors to contribute articles for a double numbered edition of the *Quarterly* devoted entirely to the history of his native city.

This production was his last contribution to the Florida Historical Society. Shortly thereafter, he retired from the directorship of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History and returned to his home in Pensacola. The reason was his loss of memory which distressed him but made the always perceptive man realize that his effectiveness as a director of a library had passed beyond recovery. At home with his sister Marjorie, he again became the handyman in and around the home on Jackson Street. There were many places in need of repair and the lawn needed replanting. He did these chores, but his vitality gradually ebbed. On April 25, 1962, after a short stay in bed, he passed from the world.

There are many monuments to Julien Chandler Yonge, none of them chiseled in granite or molded in metal. His thirty-one years as Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* will probably remain a record for eternity. He had peculiarities as an editor; for instance, his refusal to sign book reviews angered some authors. Although the editor claimed that everyone knew unsigned reviews and articles were his work and opinions, he forgot that he had become the official voice of the Florida Historical Society. He changed an author's words and phrases, and often never sent the writer a report on the alterations made. His own ideas of the relative importance of an article in the *Quarterly* sometimes made sensitive authors cringe. Julien Yonge believed there was little difference in importance between the first and last article in an issue of the Society's publication. No extended argument would change him from his stand: at times he would place what was, in his opinion, the best and most important article first and at other times, last.

Throughout his editorship quality, not friendship with the

author or any other consideration, determined his reaction. If an article called for revision, he revised it and took the criticism of the author as a consequence of editorship. His self-effacing ways led him into errors, but they were errors of magnificence rather than of intent.

He was honored during his life for his contributions to Florida History. In 1958 the American Association for State and Local History gave him an Award of Merit, and the following year the University of Florida created the Chair of Julien Chandler Yonge Graduate Professor of Florida History. Members at many Florida Historical Society annual meetings stood to pay their respects to the Editor of their *Quarterly*. On May 4, 1962, the convention at Jacksonville established the Julien Chandler Yonge Memorial Endowment Fund to keep alive forever the name of the man who had devoted his life to the Society and the study of Florida history.⁷

7. Much of the information and the interpretations in this article are taken from recollections of the author's intimate association for almost twenty years with Julien C. Yonge.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1885

by EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

FLORIDA IN 1885 was a rural state, a long strip of relatively unoccupied frontier of the deep South. It sprawled from Pensacola to Key West with few farms or people south of Ocala. An inadequate system of transportation composed of sail and rail loosely tied the state together. Key West, its ties to Florida consisting of a few trading schooners, was the largest town. Counties large in area but small in population were in the south; those small in area but larger in population were in the north.

The "Redeemer" or "Bourbon" Democrats who seized the state political machinery in 1876 inherited the "carpetbag" constitution of 1868. This relic of Reconstruction provided a highly centralized government headed by a governor who appointed almost every officer from cabinet member to county official. Since this provision had originally kept the "carpetbaggers" in Tallahassee in control of the state, it obviously limited the home rule political power of either a local Democratic or Negro majority which might gain control of a county. Provisions in the 1868 constitution called for free education, fair representation according to population for the counties, a governor endowed with adequate powers and the right to run for re-election, an appointed supreme court, and lastly, a planned historical record program. Furthermore, this document was brief and uncluttered.¹ Why then all the agitation to change it?

There are two schools of thought on this question. For the followers of the romanticist school, who believe in the righteousness of the first Ku Klux Klan, who are convinced of the complete evil of the "carpetbaggers," there is the obvious conclusion that the "carpetbag" constitution was a great wrong which should be righted. For those who scan the newspapers of the 1880's and read the proceedings of the Florida legislatures of that period, there is the thesis that the agitation for a new constitution was brought about by a grass roots revolt against the top-heavy powers

1. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1868).

of the governor. In brief the county politician wanted more home rule and a weaker government at the state capital.

The Florida political scene in 1885 was not dominated by a single man or pressure group. Some power was wielded by politically naive Edward A. Perry. During the Civil War Perry had commanded the Florida brigade with Lee in Virginia. Before becoming governor he had neither held nor desired public office. Senator "Wilk" Call, a former Whig, was strong in the white counties but was hated and distrusted as a demagogue and turn-coat by the black belt "Bourbons." The other senator, "Charlie" Jones, was more of a political accident than an effective politician. The shrewd Tallahassee pair, Charles E. Dyke, ex-editor of the Tallahassee *Floridian*, and ex-Governor William D. Bloxham, always exerted strong political influence.² However, most political power lay with the county politicians. These Democrats were not tools of land speculators, railroad promoters, or Philadelphia sawmakers. True they were conservative in thought and action. Coming mostly from small towns surrounded by piney woods or cotton fields, they displayed a political shrewdness that governors George F. Drew and Bloxham had ruefully discovered earlier, the former in 1880, the latter in 1884.³ The home rule advocates had little to fear from the Republicans by 1885. Except in a few black belt counties, and in Jacksonville and Fernandina, the Republican party was a second party in name only.

Why did the county leaders desire to change the *status quo*? First, they wanted a governor with limited powers who could be controlled. Second, they wanted home rule-by Democrats. Third, they wanted the state government run at bargain prices. Don McLeod, conservative-minded editor of the Tallahassee *Land of Flowers*, aptly expressed the third reason when he suggested that the office of state school superintendent be abolished and the free school system placed under the attorney general as an added duty.⁴

The question of a new constitution had been greatly overshadowed in 1884 by the Democrat-Independent contest. Further-

2. For a pro-Bloxham survey of this era see Ruby Leach Carson, "William Dunnington Bloxham, Florida's Two Term Governor" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1945).

3. Both Bloxham and Drew failed to get a second term immediately following their terms in office.

4. Tallahassee *Land of Flowers*, November 29, 1884.

more, there was no great ground swell of interest in the election of delegates in the spring of 1885 after the legislature decided that they were to be selected from the counties and the senatorial districts in proportion to their representation in the legislature, and were to number 108.⁵

In the cotton-growing black belt and the northern port counties, middle-of-the-road politicians of both parties, realizing that their counties would elect Republicans who would have no influence in framing the new constitution, proposed fusion tickets. Frank W. Harris, longtime editor of the Democratic *Ocala Banner*, and Joseph E. Lee, veteran Jacksonville Negro leader, were two who made such propositions. Lee, a Republican nominee from Duval County, suggested that he withdraw and be replaced by Colonel J. J. Daniel, a prominent "Gate City" attorney and a member of one of its old families. The tolerant atmosphere that existed in Jacksonville between Negro and white had been nurtured by such families as the Daniels. That this atmosphere existed is vouched for by James Weldon Johnson, one of the few Negro lawyers in the "Bourbon era" and an organizer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.⁶ However, Negro leaders would not fuse and most white Democratic leaders were of the same uncompromising frame of mind.

Surprisingly enough, in the election some white counties elected Republicans. Eighty-two delegates were Democrats, twenty-three Republicans, and a lonely three represented the rapidly disintegrating Independent movement. Marion was the only black belt county to stay in Republican ranks. She was joined by port counties Duval and Nassau, and by Hamilton, a piney woods bailiwick.⁷ The Hamilton County *Jasper Times* commented on the local Republican victory, "God help us."⁸ Eight other white counties sent single Republican delegates, attesting to the fact that these men were respected and were not "carpetbaggers" or

5. *Florida Laws, 1885*, Chapter 3577; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 5, 1885.

6. *Ocala Banner*, April 15, 1885; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 18, 21, 1885; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 23, 1885; James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson* (New York, 1933), 45.

7. "Official Certificate of the Board of State Canvassers of the General Election Held on the Fifth Day of May, A.D., 1885 for Delegates to the Constitutional Convention," published in the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 4, 1885.

8. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 14, 1855.

“scalawags.”⁹ Jefferson County went Democratic for the first time since Reconstruction, electing Samuel Pasco, chairman of the Democratic State Committee since 1876, as a delegate. Negro politicians, led by the Reverend George Washington Witherspoon and influenced by Democratic money, had urged Jefferson’s colored to abandon the racial issue.¹⁰

Convention delegates arriving at Tallahassee in June, 1885, found the capital city undergoing a moderate boom. Where formerly Negro fish peddlers pitched their stalls, a new \$21,000 stone and brick courthouse stood, “by far the prettiest in the state,” according to Don McLeod in his latest journalistic venture, the *Tallahasseean*. McLeod also informed the delegates that the City Hotel had been remodelled and renamed the Morgan. He hoped that they would end the “insidious” state printing monopoly of Dyke and his *Floridian*. In this he was disappointed. Whether the printing bid was given on a competitive basis is unknown, but it is significant that Dyke remained the official printer insofar as the constitutional convention was concerned.¹¹

With the excitement growing in Tallahassee over the approaching convention, a stranger tipped an astonished Monroe Street Negro barber for not asking if he were a delegate. Sobriety seems to have been the rule since McLeod commented as the convention got underway that he had yet to see an intoxicated delegate.¹²

Although Negroes were not represented in proportion to their number—only seven delegates being Negroes—the convention represented a fairer cross section than the average legislature today. Thirty-five delegates were lawyers, twenty-eight farmers, ten merchants, six doctors, six teachers, and two ministers. All but a small minority were born in the deep South, and a number were Confederate veterans.¹³ The delegates represented many shades of political opinion. On the racial issue the Democrats were sharply divided. James P. Coker from Jackson County had been termed in a Reconstruction Congressional investiga-

9. “Official Certificate,” *op. cit.*

10. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 7, 1885.

11. *Tallahasseean*, June 6, 1885; *Constitution Convention Journal*, 1885.

12. *Tallahasseean*, June 13, 1885.

13. J. B. Whitfield, “Notes on the Constitutional Conventions of Florida,” *Tallahassee Historical Society Annual*, III (1937), 81; Eldridge R. Collins, “The Florida Constitution of 1885” (unpublished Master’s thesis, University of Florida, 1939), 40.

tion, "generalissimo of his section's Ku Klux." David S. Walker, Jr., a former Independent, was active in encouraging Negro participation in Leon County politics. William A. Blount, Pensacola attorney for the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and William A. Hocker, an ardent railroad supporter from Sumter County, presented formidable opposition to any starry-eyed land reformers or advocates of a railroad commission. There to champion public education was its foremost proponent, William N. Sheats of Alachua County.¹⁴

Although the Republicans lacked both strength and a program, they did have some influence as the convention provided the platform for the final public appearance of the party's Reconstruction leaders as a group. These included former Senator Simon B. Conover, ex-Chief Justice Edwin M. Randall, and Jonathan C. Greeley, prohibitionist leader and former Independent candidate for lieutenant governor. Conover was from Tallahassee; Randall and Greeley were from Jacksonville. Among the seven Negro delegates, H. W. Chandler, a former instructor at Howard University now residing in Ocala, and Thomas V. Gibbs, a Jacksonville attorney, were the most able.¹⁵

Meeting on the first day of the convention, June 9, the delegates unanimously elected Samuel Pasco president. Born in England and Harvard educated, Pasco had come south in the antebellum era as a teacher. Now a Confederate veteran and Monticello attorney, he was probably the strongest of the county leaders. As party chairman he had survived the Independent revolt led by Frank W. Pope and with moderate views had been able to harmonize the various discordant factions into a relatively cohesive party by 1885. His acceptance speech showed this quality of conciliation as he praised the Negro for his progress and called for a constitution that would provide the "greatest good for the greatest number."¹⁶ That this meant the greatest number of "Bourbons" was plain after the announcement of committee appointments. Judge A. E. Maxwell of Pensacola headed the com-

14. *Florida State Government Directory, 1885*, 8-18; *Constitutional Convention Journal, 1885*, 54. For information concerning the Ku Klux background of James P. Coker see W. W. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 572.

15. *Florida State Government Directory, 1885*, 8-18.

16. *Constitutional Convention Journal, 1885*, 8-9; Samuel Pasco, Jr., "Samuel Pasco (1834-1917)," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VII (October, 1928), 135-38.

mittee on the executive and administrative department, Livingston Bethel of Key West, recently lieutenant governor, headed the legislative committee. This was a slap in the face of his bitter political adversary, William D. Bloxham. Gainesville attorney Edward C. F. Sanchez became presiding officer of the judicial committee. The only "non-Bourbon" to head a major committee was "Farmer" Austin S. Mann, Hernando County citrus grower and leader of the anti-Call faction in the white counties. Mann was named chairman of the committee on suffrage and eligibility.¹⁷ Before getting down to work, the Democratic majority promptly squelched one of its number who had the temerity to propose that a stenographer record the proceedings.¹⁸

Throughout the convention the Democrats resorted to the caucus—a proven unification device. Thus any former Independents who exhibited wavering tendencies could be prevented from voting with the Republicans and upsetting the "Bourbon" cotton wagon. To further strip the Republicans and few Independents of any chance to wield a balance of power in the event of a split between white county and black belt Democrats, the Democratic majority voted that the adoption of any proposed part of the constitution should have the vote of the majority of all the delegates rather than the majority of the quorum present at the time.¹⁹

The governmental branch that received the greatest amount of convention surgery was the executive. Under the drastic changes the cabinet members were to be elected along with the governor who could no longer be re-elected.²⁰ Inasmuch as nomination by the Democratic state convention was tantamount to election, the selection of the governor's cabinet to all practical purposes was done by the Democratic county leaders ("Bourbons") in control of the state convention. Furthermore, cabinet members were eligible for re-election.

On the second major issue, that of home rule, a compromise was effected, but not before "Farmer" Mann clashed with Pasco. Young Mann idealistically went all out for home rule and local

17. *Constitutional Convention Journal*, 1885, 53; *Florida State Government Directory* 1885, 9, 13, 17.

18. *Constitutional Convention Journal*, 1885, 15.

19. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, July 10, 1885; *Constitutional Convention Journal*, 1885, 41-42.

20. *Constitutional Convention Journal*, 1885, 82-85 and *passim*.

elections, while Pasco feared that such changes would deprive the black belt "Bourbons" of the county rule which they had enjoyed since 1877 despite the fact that their counties still contained Republican majorities. The compromise provided that county officials except for commissioners would be elected; the governor would continue to appoint the commissioners.

The state's financial structure received careful treatment from a West Florida Scotchman. Alexander McCaskill, chairman of the committee on taxation and finance, not only cut expenses to the bone but inserted a prohibition against state-supported railroad construction. In addition he recommended that the constitution forbid the issuing of state bonds. Once during the Whig era, and again during Reconstruction, Florida had issued bonds to aid private corporations and then repudiated them. McCaskill divorced the credit of the state from wildcat promotional schemes.²¹

The most important difference in the convention was on suffrage and eligibility. Here the delegates from the poorer piney-woods counties broke with the cotton-growing black belt "Bourbons." When the majority report on suffrage came in, the "Bourbons" were most displeased. "Farmer" Mann had had the courage to divorce the issue of disfranchisement of the Negro from the constitution. Furthermore, he warned the convention that to inject this issue now would be hazardous, and he suggested that it be voted on as a separate ordinance.²² Indignant "Bourbons" immediately rejected this unwanted advice on race relations by a young Yankee upstart. On the other side a sizable group of white county Democrats supported Mann. A wild rumor circulated that Mann had broken the hitherto solid Democratic front and was accepting support from the Republicans.²³ That such support was available was made clear by the Republican leadership. Thomas V. Gibbs urged his fellow party members to shake off their lethargy and help defeat the poll tax.²⁴ A stormy session of the convention ensued on July 22 when ex-Judge Edwin M. Randall presented a petition from the Workingman's Association of Jacksonville. These white laborers had clearly seen that a poll

21. *Ibid.*, 280-81.

22. *Ibid.*, 346.

23. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 18, 1885.

24. *Constitutional Convention Journal*, 1885, 361-62.

tax would work an injury on labor and poor whites in general. They bluntly warned the convention that such a tax would convert Florida from a democracy into an aristocracy. In support of their resolution Mann affirmed that a poll tax was unfair to the laboring class.²⁵

It soon became obvious that the youthful citrus man was fighting a losing battle. The minority report of the suffrage committee was the weapon by which the "Bourbons" delivered a sharp blow to Mann's rising political star. This report, authored by James E. Yonge of Pensacola, became part of the constitution by a vote of eighty-six to twelve. Surprisingly, a few Republicans—including ex-Senator Simon B. Conover, Hannibal Rowe of Santa Rosa County, and William F. Thompson, a Leon County Negro—supported the measure which was obviously directed at the disfranchisement of the Negro and the obliteration of the Republican Party in Florida.²⁶

The fight to maintain the public school system in Florida, led by William N. Sheats of Gainesville, caused the only major break in the Democratic ranks and the only serious defeat of the black belt "Bourbons" whose leader, Pasco, defied the preponderance of public opinion in his section to support Sheats. The education committee was completely dominated by Sheats. Article Twelve of the proposed constitution as written by the Gainesville schoolman became the financial bulwark of the Florida school system. Whereupon the wrath of the most parsimonious of the "Bourbons" was unleashed against Sheats. Their spokesman, John Temple Graves, editor of the Jacksonville *Daily Florida Herald*, thundered that the "school crank" was trying to confiscate the property of the state in order to educate Negroes.²⁷ The same newspaper seems to have been rather quiet on the lavish giving of the state lands to the railroads and the selling of them in the amount of four million acres to a wealthy northern industrialist for twenty-five cents an acre. In the voting on Article Twelve on July 20, enough Republicans and Independents joined Sheats

25. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 23, 1885; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 16, July 23, 1885; *Constitutional Convention Journal*, 1885, 402-4.

26. *Constitutional Convention Journal*, 1885, 562, 568-69.

27. Oswald L. Parker, "William N. Sheats, Florida Educator" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1948), 72-80.

and the pro-education Democrats to garner victory by a vote of fifty-nine to thirty-two.²⁸

On two other issues reformers met with quick and crushing defeat. A railroad commission was proposed to the convention by Joseph M. Tolbert of Columbia County. However, the defeat of the railroad-reforming Independents in 1884 had been so final that Tolbert could not even force a vote on this issue.²⁹

Concerning the second issue, the record of the Democratic administrations from 1877 to 1885 was weakest morally in their handling of the state convict system. Here their policy was based on the premise that the best way was the cheapest. The Reverend Robert F. Rogers, Missionary Baptist preacher from Suwannee County, seems to have been the only penal reformer present at the convention. Representing the home county of the iniquitous Dutton convict-labor turpentine empire, Rogers rashly suggested that the state operate its own prison and prison farm. William A. Hocker, chairman of the committee on public institutions, then reasoned that Roger's proposal should be tabled inasmuch as future legislatures should be free to develop a prison as the state's finances improved, humane ideas grew, and the needs of society demanded. Hocker seems to have been a leading spokesman of out-of-state capital at the convention, and as his view carried, this source of cheap labor for out-of-state capital continued to be available.³⁰

From the day the convention commenced to its conclusion the "Bourbons" lost few skirmishes and only the battle on education. In the skirmish on prohibition the local option issue carried. In an evaluation of the work of the convention the *Florida Times-Union*, speaking for the "Bourbon" interests, could well report that the black belt was safe for the Democrats.³¹ In other words the new constitution would do nothing to undo the work of the "Redeemers" in this area.

The next step was up to the voters. Samuel Pasco led the fight for the constitution's ratification, supported by enthusiastic editors such as the scholarly George R. Fairbanks of the Fer-

28. *Constitutional Convention Journal, 1885*, 382.

29. *Ibid.*, 106.

30. *Ibid.*, 131. The year the convention met phosphate was discovered in Florida. Phosphate mining was later to play the major role in the ruthless exploitation of convict labor.

31. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 5, 1885.

nandina *Florida Mirror*. Curiously the conservative-minded Fairbanks was most pleased with the provisions calling for the election of supreme court judges and cabinet officials.³² Although the new constitution would cause the disfranchisement of many Negro voters with its poll tax provision, Republicans failed to unite in opposition to it. Ex-Senator Conover even went so far as to favor ratification.³³ However, on the Democratic side Governor Perry gave ratification weak support. In a letter to the editor of the *Florida Times-Union* he publicly qualified his support by objecting to several features in the proposed constitution.³⁴

Several former Independents who were reform-minded thought the new constitution a step backward. Expressing such views, David S. Walker, Jr., whose fight for election reform at the convention had been completely defeated, was now ready for a complete break with the Democratic party. In a letter to ex-Lieutenant Governor William H. Gleason, a south Florida Republican leader, Walker requested assistance in bringing about an understanding between Independents and Republicans in order to "deliver the state from the terror of the tyrannical and arbitrary party now holding power."³⁵ Lone Democratic vocal opposition came on the editorial page of the *Ocala Banner* from the pen of its individualistic editor, Frank W. Harris. In his dissent Harris claimed that the new constitution would in surreptitious fashion accomplish that which the old one effected openly. He particularly attacked the election of supreme court judges and the elimination of the post of lieutenant governor. Furthermore, according to Harris, the proposed constitution was a patchwork of compromises.³⁶

The "Redeemer" revolution which began in 1876 was completed on November 2, 1886, when the new constitution was ratified by a vote of 31,803 to 21,243. In the black belt the "Bourbons" met with defeat in Jackson, Jefferson, and Leon counties. Nassau and Escambia, two of the three port city

32. Fernandina *Florida Mirror*, August 15, 1885.

33. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, Oct. 22, 1885.

34. Collins, "Constitution of 1885," 137-38.

35. D. S. Walker, Jr., to W. H. Gleason, July 27, 1885, W. H. Gleason papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

36. *Ocala Banner*, October 29, 1886; Collins, "Constitution of 1885," 120-22.

counties, also voted against the new constitution. It was evident that the white Democrats in the counties having a large Negro population did not favor the election of local officials. Levy, Baker, and Columbia in North Florida and Volusia in South Florida were the only other counties to oppose the new constitution. Elsewhere the proponents of the constitution met with victory.³⁷

Despite the fact that it had sent a Republican to the constitutional convention, Santa Rosa, a west Florida white county with a population of 7,490 would elect the same number of legislators in the lower house as black belt Madison County with a population of 25,947.³⁸ Florida was now safely in the hands of the white voter. The county leaders had gained the home rule which they had so long desired. At Tallahassee the governor and the elected cabinet would provide collective executive leadership rather than the single leadership of a governor.

37. "Official Certificate of the Board of State Canvassers of the General Election held on the Second Day of November, 1886," Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 16, 1886.

38. *Constitutional Convention Journal*, 1885.

THE STORY OF CAPTAIN JOHN C. CASEY

by FRED W. WALLACE

ONE LINK IN THE CHAIN of off-shore islands extending from Anclote Key southward along Florida's Gulf coast is Casey Key in Sarasota County. This little Key has more than its share of natural beauty and charm yet remains one of the least known islands. Although little is heard of Casey Key, except locally, for which the residents who value privacy are grateful, even more obscure is the origin of the name. One historian has written, "When and how Casey's Pass was named no one knows. According to waterfront legend an Irishman named Casey settled there for a number of years early in the 19th century and left during the War of 1812. Rut that is only legend."¹ It seems fitting and proper that a closer acquaintance be had with Captain John Charles Casey and that he receive credit for the role he played in the early history of Florida. Recent attempts to glamorize this island paradise by changing its name to the insipid title of Treasure Island have, happily, failed and the euphonious and distinctive name it has had for more than a century remains.

The first mapping of the interior of southern Florida and its Gulf coast was done by the U.S. Army. This project was imperative for operations against the Seminoles and maintaining lines of communication with outlying depots and forts. This task was difficult and hazardous and involved much hardship. The terrain covered great expanses of swamp, sawgrass, and dense jungle and offered few places of elevation or reference points. Taking observations, bearings, and measurements and making detailed notes and sketches under these conditions was an exacting job. It was admirably done by a number of officers during the years 1839 - 1855. Lieutenant John Christmas Ives, Topographical Engineers, compiled all this data and, by order of the Secretary of War, produced a most interesting and valuable map of Florida south of Tampa Bay and latitude 28° North which

1. Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Sarasota* (Tampa, 1946), 55. Except where otherwise stated in the text or in the footnotes the materials and data for this article were obtained from various sections of the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

was published in April, 1856. This map is amazingly accurate in detail and is a superb work of cartography and engraving. Under "Notes" in the lower left corner, and in greater detail in his memoirs, Lieutenant Ives gives the sources of his data and credits the officers who derived it. Included prominently in this roster and given much credit for the entire map, particularly for the Gulf coast area, is Captain John C. Casey.

John Charles Casey was born in England in 1809 and emigrated to the United States a few years later with his parents who settled in Paterson, New Jersey. Young Casey attended local schools and soon decided he wanted to attend the U.S. Military Academy and make the Army his career. A letter dated at Paterson, August 11, 1823, to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, from their Congressman says, in part, "I take the liberty of recommending John Charles Casey of our town, a youth of about 15 years of age & of the most respectable connexions. . . . I feel the utmost confidence that, if appointed, he will reflect nothing but honor upon this excellent Institution. . . ." Several prominent persons sponsored Casey and no less a person than the Secretary of the Navy in a letter to the Secretary of War requested the appointment as a personal favor. On the margin of this letter in a bold forceful hand appears the somewhat ungrammatical notation "To be particularly attended to. J.C.C." The initials are those of Calhoun, not Casey. With backing of this calibre, the appointment was assured. April 24, 1824, prior to his fifteenth birthday, young Casey wrote to the Secretary of War accepting his appointment, "I accept with pleasure and gratitude the appointment with which I am honored by the President to a cadetship in the Service of the United States . . . and beg you to believe me with a deep sense of obligation. . . ."

Casey was enrolled at the Academy July 1, 1825, and graduated July 1, 1829. He ranked eleventh in a graduating class of forty-six. Several members of this class were destined to play important roles in military and civilian affairs, the most illustrious being Robert E. Lee who ranked second in the class. Casey was commissioned Brevet Second Lieutenant, Second Regiment Artillery. His permanent commission was accepted by letter with some interesting comments. August 18, 1829, he wrote the Secretary of War, "I acknowledge the receipt of an appointment in the Second Regiment of Artillery and in compliance with

the order contained I inform you that . . . I was *born* in England but I left that country while a child and was raised and educated in New Jersey. I am to all intents and purposes an American. You will, however, place me on the roll as you think proper." The underlining is in ink different in appearance than that used by Casey, probably done at the War Department. He was "placed" as an American.

Casey's first assignment was garrison duty at Fort Pike, Louisiana, which offered protection against roving bands of Creeks and fugitive Negroes which often menaced the area. It later served as an important staging area in the forced migration of Indians by way of the Mississippi and Arkansas Rivers to the Indian Territory. On January 21, 1831, Casey reported back to the Academy to serve as Assistant Professor of Chemistry and Geology until December, 1833, when he returned to Fort Pike. The Second Artillery was ordered to Florida because of increasing trouble with the Seminoles and arrived at Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, on March 24, 1835. Casey received promotion to First Lieutenant April 30, 1835. He took part in several skirmishes and minor actions against the Indians and made several trips to the new Indian Territory after being appointed Acting Agent for transferring Seminoles there from Florida.

General Thomas S. Jesup, Commanding General, Army of the South, wrote the Secretary of War January 3, 1838, asking that Lieutenant Casey be assigned to the Department of Commissary General of Subsistence. This letter states that Casey is an officer ". . . who has high claims to the notice of the Government and among the most conspicuous, whether his services or his high attainments and talents for business be considered, and I recommend him for a Captaincy, at least in the Corps. By appointing him the Government would render a greater benefit to the Service than to him and, in addition to the advantage the nation would derive from it, I would esteem his appointment a personal favor of no ordinary value." The request was granted and Casey was assigned to the staff of the Commissary General with duties at Fort Brooke. His regimental commission as Captain, Second Artillery, was not received until January 4, 1842.

Commissary of Subsistence, under command of the Commissary General, was an important department of the Army and

was charged with procurement, maintenance, and distribution of all supplies and equipment. The first Commissary General was General George Gibson who served until he resigned to join the Confederacy. Under date of February 21, 1839, General Gibson requested assignment of Casey “. . . to the depot at New York under my orders.” Casey served as Purchasing Commissary at New York from March, 1839, until the latter part of 1841 when he was appointed Assistant to the Commissary General in Washington. In 1843 he was detached for a brief period for special duty at West Point.

Effective May 14, 1844, Casey's regimental commission was transferred to the 3rd Regiment Infantry and June 18, 1846, this was vacated and he was permanently assigned to the Department of Commissary of Subsistence. He served in Washington as Assistant to the Commissary General until August 15, 1847, when he was ordered to Mexico as Chief Commissariat of the Army commanded by Major General Zachary Taylor. Casey was in poor health at this time, suffering from a severe lung ailment, and at the end of the Mexican War, at his own request, he was ordered to Fort Brooke. He felt the climate at Tampa Bay would be more beneficial to his health than that of Washington or New York. At Fort Brooke he had charge of all Commissary duties handled at that post for the extensive area of southwest Florida. On September 1, 1849, Casey was assigned the additional duty of Commissioner for the Removal of the Seminole Indians from Florida.

Constant pressure and agitation for the removal of all Indians to beyond the Mississippi River resulted in passage by Congress in 1830 of the Removal Act. This act designated a large, ill defined area, later to become part of Oklahoma, for resettlement of the reluctant Indians by persuasion or force. The manner in which the removal of Indians was handled in Florida and the treatment afforded them followed the same sorry pattern as in other parts of the nation throughout the nineteenth century. It was a shameful record for the United States government, replete with broken promises, treaty violations, and sordid dishonesty on the part of many.

In 1823 a pact known as the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, which limited the territory allowed to the Seminoles, had been negotiated. After passage of the Removal Act there followed the

ambiguous Treaty of Payne's Landing, and its sequel signed at Fort Gibson, which called for resettlement of the Indians in the Indian Territory. Major John Phagan, a civilian, was appointed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to handle removal of the Seminoles under terms of the treaties. Within a few months irregularities in his financial accounts resulted in a Congressional investigation and he was fired. An able and competent successor, General Wiley Thompson, was appointed but he was destined to become one of the first casualties of the impending Seminole War. On the afternoon of December 28, 1835, while at Fort King he was ambushed, shot, and scalped just outside the compound. A few hours earlier and about thirty-five miles to the south the column of Major Francis Dade, moving to reinforce Fort King, was ambushed and virtually wiped out.

The only member of Major Dade's command to escape death or serious wounds was a Negro slave, concerning whom there has been some controversy and difference of opinion. Louis Pacheco, or Luis Fatio, who had been hired to guide Dade's column, is thought by some to have led the troops into ambush. He was captured and claimed as a slave by Jumper, a lesser Seminole chief. It was Captain Casey who had hired Pacheco as guide. A deposition dated April 15, 1839, gives the following account: . . . personally appeared John C. Casey, Captain, United States Army, who, having been sworn upon his oath, . . . stated: 'I hired the said Negro man, Louis, on Dec. 23, 1835, at the rate of \$25 per month and that date the Negro joined Major Dade and accompanied his command on the Federal Road toward Fort King. This deponent did not again see or hear anything of said Negro until April or May 1837 when he came in from the nation with Chief Jumper who represented, that after the battle of Dec. 28, 1835, between the Seminole Indians and the command of Major Dade, he (Jumper) had saved the life of said Negro man, . . . and was therefore entitled to him.'² When Chief Jumper and his slave were in New Orleans on their way to the Indian Territory Casey was called upon to establish rightful ownership of certain Seminole slaves, including Pacheco, who was claimed by a certain Mr. Love. In a letter to the Army legal officer in New Orleans Casey wrote: ". . . Pacheco, Louis, black, 40 years, good

2. D. B. McKay, *Pioneer Florida* (Tampa, 1959), II, 479-480.

looking, intelligent, can read and write, speaks Spanish and Indian, etc. This man (Louis) belongs to the estate of the widow of Pacheco, now in Havana, formerly of Saragota [*sic*] 40 miles south of here, Tampa. . . .”³

The Bureau of Indian Affairs was under the War Department until 1849 but the succession of agents appointed to handle removal of the Indians from Florida, with some temporary exceptions, were civilians, usually chosen for reasons of patronage rather than ability and honesty. Oddly enough in 1849 the situation was reversed. The Department of the Interior was created with jurisdiction over Indian affairs and an Army officer, Captain Casey, was appointed Commissioner for removal of the Seminoles. All orders and reports to and from Casey were handled through the Adjutant General's Office of the War Department which caused some confusion as to which department of government had authority.

The Adjutant General ordered Capt. Casey to submit a general plan with specific recommendations for removal of the remaining Indians, citing that Casey was well qualified to do this because of his knowledge of the area and his friendly relations with Chief Billy Bowlegs. Casey complied with a very complete report containing definite recommendations. In brief, these were that new forts and depots be established at certain strategic points at Charlotte Harbor, along the Caloosahatchee River and on the west and south shore of Lake Okechobee; that more effective measures be taken to prevent the Indians from obtaining arms and ammunition; and that scouting expeditions be increased to improve communications between Army posts and make the Seminoles constantly aware of soldiers in the vicinity of their villages. Casey hoped the Indians could be reasoned with to migrate by proper use of firmness and persuasion. One interesting proposal concerning new forts was that a military post be located on “Giuseppe Island” in Charlotte Harbor. Specific reasons given were its high elevation and protected location - Fort Dulany at nearby Punta Rassa had been destroyed by a hurricane October 19, 1841; the site was easily accessible by boat from the Gulf of Mexico; the mouths of the Myakka, “Pea” (Peace), and “Caloosa Hatchee” rivers were close at hand and many Indian towns and

3. Contribution by Father Jerome, St. Leo Abbey, in “Pioneer Florida,” *Tampa Tribune*, May 8, 1960.

families could be kept under surveillance. On January 3, 1850, Fort Casey, named for the Captain, was established on the island, now known as Useppa and later to become an exclusive club. Post returns show a garrison of two companies under command of a Brevet Major. Casey stopped there often on his trips and on one occasion he was escorting Brigadier General Thomas Childs who had assumed command of troops in Florida.

Casey sent the Adjutant General a lengthy report dated July 23, 1849, describing a trip he had made into Indian country in the hope of seeing Bowlegs. He left Tampa Bay June 30 in a small sloop and returned July 23, “. . . having visited Sarasota, Charlotte Harbor, the mouth of the Pea River and ascended the Caloosa Hatchee some 20 miles, or as high as navigable by sail vessels. . . . Near the mouth of the Pea River I found on July 6 a party of Marco Indians with their chief. . . . The Indians refused presents offered them saying it was against tribal law to accept anything, (except tobacco and whiskey, I believe).” Casey sailed on the Caloosahatchee and in San Carlos Bay from July 9 through 18, landing frequently, but saw no further signs of Indians. He failed to meet Bowlegs because, as he learned from the Chief later, the messenger he had sent earlier, “Simon, a negro belonging to Bowlegs,” deliberately failed to notify the Chief until too late.

Another report to the Adjutant General tells of the finding by one Felipe Bermudez near his “rancho” on a high elevation at the extreme south end of Sarasota Bay of an Indian peace token, “. . . a white flag made of feathers with tobacco and white beads.” Bermudez left a sign the token would be answered at the full moon and sent word to Casey at Tampa. Casey describes his arrival at the ‘rancho’ on the day before the full moon where he found waiting emissaries from his friend, Bowlegs, who greeted him in most friendly manner. Their message from the Chief was that Bowlegs and the tribal council deeply regretted and condemned the killing of three white settlers by five drunken Indians. It promised every effort would be made to catch the criminals and deliver them to General Twiggs at Fort Brooke. The messengers asked that a meeting be arranged between General Twiggs with Casey and Bowlegs and his chiefs. The council was appointed for September 18 at Charlotte Harbor. Casey pledged the safety of the Indians “. . . under the white flag and in no event would he [Gen. Twigs] grab them.”

Twiggs and Casey arrived at Boca Grande Pass on the appointed date where they found "King Bowlegs" with thirty-seven of his subchiefs and warriors waiting. After warm and friendly greetings Bowlegs repeated his deep regret for the recent murders and again promised the criminals would be delivered before October 19. The following day "other chiefs arrived and all went on board the steamboat to see the General and all renewed their pledges. . . . They appeared to be sincere and trusted their Chief on board the armed steamer on my pledge and without hostages which I offered." On October 26 Casey wrote General Twiggs at Palatka saying the October 19 deadline had not been met but that he had confidence in the Indians and thought the guilty ones would soon be turned in. His faith was justified. On November 17 three of the criminals and one hand of a fourth, who had been killed resisting capture, were delivered to General Twiggs. The Indians expressed regret for the delay and for the escape of the fifth culprit.

A colorful account of the two meetings with the Indians in September, 1849, at Casey's Pass and Boca Grande Pass was published thirty-five years later in an issue of the *Journal of the Military Service*, contributed by Brevet Major General John Gibbon. The article is of interest because of the tribute paid to the character and ability of Captain Casey. Only those sections are quoted.

"At the post [Fort Brooke] was stationed Capt. John C. Casey of the subsistence department. He had gone there two years before afflicted with tuberculosis and was supposed to be in dying condition. He was one of the most distinguished officers of his time and, a number of years before, had been stationed in Florida and had then made a close study of the Indians, their language, and habits and had become quite an authority in regard to them."

"He was known to have great influence with the Indians. . . . he gained this influence by a very simple, though unfortunately unusual, process; he never deceived them; never told them a lie; and never made a promise he did not fulfill if within his power. . . . By this simple means he gained the confidence of the whole nation and it was only necessary for Captain Casey to assert a thing for them to receive it with the most childlike faith. He never hesitated to trust himself in their hands with the utmost

confidence and, when his friends protested against his rashness, would laughingly reply that he always carried his means of defense with him in the shape of a case knife. 'Besides' he would add philosophically, 'I have but a short time to live anyway and a few months, more or less, won't make much difference.' The knowledge and influence gained by Captain Casey were now about to bear remarkable fruit." ⁴

At a meeting with Bowlegs on January 19, 1850, General Twiggs and Captain Casey, by order of the Adjutant General, offered the Indians \$500 for each warrior and \$100 for each woman and child who would leave Florida. A total of eighty-five accepted the terms and went west. Despite the fact he was offered \$10,000 Bowlegs disdainfully refused and returned to the Everglades. Casey reported "I regret to say that I now see no hope of inducing these people to go West in a body by any pecuniary temptation." Casey reported June 2, 1850, a trip he had made to Fort Myers during which he talked to many Indians. Most preferred to follow the example of Bowlegs in refusing to leave Florida. However, one subchief and his family, eight in all, returned to Fort Casey with him where they joined others gathered there and embarked for New Orleans.

Casey was confronted with another murder committed by Indians. In a letter to the governor of Florida, he wrote from Fort Myers April 2, 1851, that he had "demanded the surrender of all connected with the murder. I have allowed no trade in ammunition since the outbreak of 1849 and all trade has been suspended since I was notified of the murder of the boy Hubbard and will not be reopened until the guilty are surrendered." On May 13 Bowlegs delivered to Casey in Fort Myers three Indians who confessed to the murder. Casey transported them to Tampa where they were lodged in the county jail. Three days later they were found dead in the jail by hanging.

The tempting opportunities for profits for civilian agents in handling Indian affairs resulted in strong political pressure to have a civilian appointed as Commissioner for the Seminoles. This was finally agreed upon in high places and April 15, 1851, the Secretary of War in a letter to the Secretary of the Interior wrote, in part, "the request is acceded to and orders have been

4. McKay, *Pioneer Florida*, II, 560.

given Capt. John C. Casey, the special agent of this Department, to turn over to such agent as may be designated by you all property, funds, etc., belonging to the Indian Department which may be in his hands." The special agent appointed by the Interior Department was one Luther Blake, a native of Alabama, who had had experience in trying to remove the Creek Indians in 1849 and 1850 under a contract. He had only indifferent success but the operation had proved very profitable for Blake.

Blake, who used the self-bestowed title of "General," arrived in Fort Myers the middle of May and within a few days sent to the Bureau several lengthy, self-laudatory, and optimistic reports. He actually spent little more than one week at Fort Myers and then left on a trip, at Government expense, to New Orleans and Indian Territory with the stated purpose of getting a delegation of resettled Seminoles to return to Florida to induce obstinate Bowlegs to leave. Blake was away on this junket more than eight months and returned to Fort Myers in February, 1852, with a small delegation. Bowlegs listened patiently to Blake's persuasive arguments and the uninspired comments of the delegates. Unimpressed by what he heard, and disliking Blake, the stubborn Chief retired again to his home in the Everglades. Blake's next effort to gain the goodwill of Bowlegs was to arrange a trip to Washington and New York for the Chief and his friend, Old Abraham, a subchief, interpreter, and freed Negro slave. Bowlegs and Abraham were outfitted with expensive clothes and lodged, fed, and wined at the best hotels on the trip. After ceremonial meetings with dignitaries in Washington, Blake continued on to New York with his prize exhibits, much to the delight of the newspapers which wrote colorful accounts of the unconquered Chief from the Everglades. Blake revelled in the fanfare and publicity and P. T. Barnum must have viewed this superb piece of showmanship with reluctant admiration and envy. Perhaps it provided the inspiration for the importation of Jenny Lind, General Tom Thumb, and Jumbo. When the junket returned to Florida wily Bowlegs performed his usual disappearing act into the Glades, as determined as ever not to leave Florida or listen further to Blake.

Bowlegs complained several times to his friend, Captain Casey, about the conduct of "General" Blake and his aid, "Colonel" S. H. Bowman, and their treatment of the Indians. Ill feeling

arose between the contractor and Casey and, triggered by a trivial incident, this erupted into a furor which reached high places in Washington. This resulted in a severe reprimand for Casey which was, however, soon followed by his complete vindication and the dismissal of Blake. Casey had sent to the contractor in Fort Myers a shipment of supplies for the Indians and had included a small present for his old friend, Abraham. In a letter to "Colonel" Bowman, Casey explained he had promised the small gift of a blanket, two pipes, and some tobacco and asked Bowman to see that Abraham received it. In Bowman's absence, the letter and gift went to Blake who considered this a flagrant interference in his affairs. He sent a lengthy report to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in which he greatly distorted and exaggerated the facts. Soon thereafter Casey received orders from the Adjutant General, dated November 1, 1852:

"Sir: I am instructed by the Secretary of War to say that you have been reported to the War Department for interfering with the arrangements in progress for emigrating the Indians of Florida and that your conduct in this matter meets with the decided disapprobation of the Department.

"The Secretary therefore directs that you leave Florida as soon as practicable and report to some point (which you may select with reference to your health) beyond the limits of that State, from which you will report for orders."

Casey was shocked but he immediately replied at length and with vigor. He asked that a Court of Inquiry be convened to determine the facts and that he be informed of the charges made against him. In reply the Secretary of War wrote December 7: "I consider Capt. Casey's own statement that he had not interfered with the arrangements made by the Department of the Interior as a sufficient disproof of the charge. I therefore consider a Court of Inquiry as unnecessary. . . .the order to leave Florida was not intended as a censure upon him but to remove all pretexts on the part of the Contractor by whom the complaint was preferred. . . ." On December 18 Casey answered at some length. "I must respectfully protest against an order banishing me from a particular State without trial or even suspicion of crime or intention to censure me but only to 'remove all pretexts on the part of the Contractor.' A pretext can never be wanting to calumny. . . . the order to leave Florida has already been made

known to this community in which I live and will soon be known to the whole Army." He again requested a Court of Inquiry. Several months passed with no reply to this latest request and Casey must have undergone some mental anguish to aggravate his poor health. However, on April 13, 1853, the Adjutant General wrote: "By direction of the Secretary of War the instructions . . . sent to you from this office Nov. 1, 1852 (to leave Florida) are rescinded." About two weeks later Casey received orders which directed: "As soon as the state of your health will permit, report to Washington to the Commissary General of Subsistence."

The reasons for this change in attitude by the War Department appear quite clear. The request to have Casey removed from Florida, made by one Cabinet officer to another, was acceded to as a matter of courtesy. No specific charges against Casey were submitted to the War Department, only the vague allegation of "interfering." However, the War Department was aware of Blake's record and conduct and was anxious to hold the Court of Inquiry. Learning of this possibility, the Secretary of Interior, who had acted solely on the advice of his subordinate in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, made a preliminary investigation of the charges which showed them to be wholly unwarranted and also disclosed enough evidence of misconduct and inefficiency on Blake's part to make a Court of Inquiry definitely undesirable for the Interior Department. A compromise was agreed upon whereby the order banishing Casey was rescinded, all censure of him removed, and he was ordered to Washington. It was hoped this settlement would satisfy all concerned. Casey, however, was far from satisfied. He was a man of honor whose integrity had been impugned. In a long letter to the Adjutant General dated June 20 he again asked for a copy of the charges made against him because he wanted to place in the record answers to these charges, ". . . not that one respectable man, knowing me, ever believed them for an instant, (to quote the Secretary's own words.) I pledge my honor to prove any such charge from whatever source (interfering with arrangements, etc.) is a wanton calumny circulated by the Contractor because I would not aid in what I deem a shameful attempt to defraud the Government and the Indians and to explain the consequent failure of a plan so inefficient and corrupt."

It was due in large part to Casey's repeated demands for a Court of Inquiry that an investigation into Blake's activities was made. This probe turned up such a plethora of evidence of malfeasance and inefficiency that the contractor was fired. In February, 1854, Casey was reappointed as Commissioner. With perspective of more than a century the entire affair seems petty and trivial. However, it served a worthwhile purpose and brought into sharp focus the characters of the two principals involved, about whom there has been some difference of opinion.

This same trivial incident of modest gifts given by Casey to his old friend and interpreter, Abraham, touched off a rash of acrimonious correspondence with a fellow officer. Brevet Lieutenant Colonel John Henry Winder was commanding officer at Fort Myers at the time, and a crony of Blake. Winder had had a brilliant record in the Mexican War and was to attain the rank of Brigadier General in the Confederate Army. When he died in February, 1865, he was in charge of all Yankee prisoners east of the Mississippi River with headquarters at the infamous prison at Andersonville, Georgia. After the war the superintendent of the prison, Colonel Henry Wirz, formerly Winder's assistant, was hanged. It seems reasonably certain Winder would have met the same fate had he lived a few months longer. Winder had spread reports around Fort Myers that Casey had tried to bribe Abraham to persuade the Indians not to deal with Blake. These stories soon reached Casey's ears and he wrote Winder demanding an explanation and authority for the story, "as it is false and slanderous." Winder's reply, written eleven days later, was evasive and Casey's prompt answer was a long, scathing indictment of Winder for spreading false rumors at the instigation of Blake. He wrote: "Your letter is herewith returned as it does not answer my inquiry and is not such a reply as I have a right to expect from either an officer or a gentleman. . . . Suggest you find some other topic of conversation than my gifts or messages to Old Abraham. . . . bear in mind that you have something to do with the truth or falsehood of stories and reports you may repeat about me." These letters, several in number, were exchanged directly between the two officers and it is interesting they are among official records.

Casey returned to Fort Brooke early in March, 1854, after his reinstatement as Commissioner, despite his failing health.

An order from the Adjutant General dated September 21, 1854, directed to Colonel John Munroe, "Commanding Troops in Florida, Tampa Bay, E. F.," and with copies to "(1) General in Chief; (2) Capt. J. C. Casey; (3) Commanding Officer Department of the East;" states that the Secretary of War directs immediate steps be taken to abandon certain forts and establish new ones at more advanced locations; that lines of communication be opened from Fort Myers and from Tampa Bay to new posts along the west and south shores of Lake Okeechobee and "into the Indian country south of the Caloosahatchee in the direction of the towns and homes of the Seminoles. The object of these arrangements is to circumscribe the Indians in their limits as much as possible, to cut off their supplies and to force upon them, if possible, a conviction of emigrating. In carrying out these arrangements you are advised to confer freely with Capt. Casey."

The "arrangements" contained in this order have a striking similarity to the recommendations made by Casey nearly five years earlier in the general plan he was asked to submit. The order was carried out efficiently by the Army and reconnaissance parties were soon probing southward into the Everglades, causing increasing tension and anxiety to Bowlegs. In December, 1854, provoked by wanton vandalism done by an Army detachment to his home, Bowlegs reacted violently by attacking and wounding several soldiers, thus launching hostilities into the final phase of the recurrent Seminole disturbances. The Indians withdrew into the swamps and sawgrass and sent out raiding parties to scalp, pillage, and burn. No engagements of importance took place and activities fell into a pattern of ambushes and hit-run raids on homes and villages of both Indians and settlers. After fighting had dragged on for several months, the Government decided to try again offering money rewards, but this time with some unusual stipulations.

The *Florida Peninsular* issue of March 29, 1856, proclaimed this latest proposal under bold headlines: "IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON!! REWARD FOR LIVING INDIANS!!! Capt. Casey, the Agent for Indian Affairs in Florida, is authorized to offer per capita reward or premium for living Indians who may be captured or induced to come in for emigration to the West." The rates to be paid were \$250 to \$500 for a warrior, \$150 to \$200 for women and \$100 to \$200 for boys over

ten years. The highest rates were for specimens in good condition, the lower rates for "infirm, bed-ridden and helpless." This proposal was generally greeted with anger and derision. Floridians were demanding military action to exterminate the Indians by force, not bounties. The unusual stipulation that rewards would be paid only for live and whole Indians eliminated any great interest and results were negligible, except for those achieved by the colorful Captain Jacob Mickler. The area around Tampa Bay was thoroughly aroused by recent Indian raids and murders only a short distance to the south, culminating in the bold attack on the fortress home of Dr. Joseph Braden in Manatee, to which many settlers had fled for protection. The *Florida Peninsular* of April 5, 1856, in a sarcastic and scathing editorial said: "Why did not the good citizens of Manatee capture those innocent, unoffending creatures for reward? We must assume that these citizens do not read the *Peninsular* or else they would not have been so rash as to shoot at Uncle Sam's pets! We would advise them to set steel traps with the teeth filed off, baited with negro blankets! Whiskey would be an excellent bait but many more white birds than red would be caught." The *Florida Peninsular* issue of the following week suggested editorially "that every man who kills an Indian be forced to receive from the Indian Agent \$500. Beware how you shoot at Uncle Sam's pets!"

As stated previously, Casey was a victim of tuberculosis. This dread disease grew progressively worse and was to claim his life within a few months. He suffered severely from this affliction while in Mexico and was in very critical condition when he returned to Fort Brooke in 1848. A letter written by a prominent Alabama attorney, Clement Claiborne Clay, to his wife, dated March 19, 1851, at Tampa says: "The most interesting and agreeable man I have met in Florida is Capt. John C. Casey U.S.A. and Indian Agent for this State, who, though looking quite well, told me he is breathing with but one lung; that, when he landed here three years ago, he was carried in the arms of his servant, greatly emaciated from hectic fever and profuse hemorrhages and not expected to live a month. He says that many cases of as remarkable recuperation have been under his observation here and thinks all attributable to the sanatory influence of

the climate. . . .”⁵ Despite the improvement indicated in the letter, Casey’s health grew steadily worse and it is, indeed, remarkable that he was able to continue his duties during the latter part of the year 1856 when his physical condition deteriorated rapidly. Loss of weight, violent hemorrhaging, and confinement to bed ensued. He received the best medical care available but little could be done for him. Casey knew well that death was approaching and he took steps to put his official and modest personal affairs in order. An old and trusted friend, Captain C. S. Kibburn, with whom Casey shared bachelor officers’ quarters, was carefully instructed and entrusted with carrying out last wishes.

Captain Casey died on Christmas Day, 1856. A formal dispatch to the Adjutant General from Major W. W. Morris, 4th Artillery, Commanding Regiment and Post, Fort Brooke, gave a brief account giving cause of death as pulmonary consumption. A later, more detailed report said that Captain Casey died at “10 minutes past 6 o’clock of the 25th. His intellectual faculties were unimpaired until 24 hours of his death and he gave most minute instructions in reference to his burial, all of which were strictly complied with. He was buried with the honors of war on the 27th Inst. at 2¹/₂ P. M. In a few words, Capt. Casey died as he had lived, calmly and methodically, leaving none but friends to regret that so large a soul had not been encased in a stronger frame.” Major Morris issued a General Order on the evening of Christmas Day. “The Commanding Officer has the melancholy duty of announcing the decease of Captain John C. Casey of the Subsistence Department, who died of pulmonary consumption at six o’clock this afternoon. His moral character was unimpeachable, his self denial and courage admired by all who knew him and, in every relation of life, whether official or private, he has proved himself an ornament to his race.” The order designated officers of the General Staff as pall bearers and set forth complete details regarding the funeral procession and burial with full honors in the post cemetery. All military and naval units in the area were represented in the procession which included federal, state, county, and local officials and other dignitaries. Flags throughout the post and aboard all vessels in

5. Olin Norwood (ed.), “Letters From Florida in 1851,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (April, 1951), 271.

port were at half mast from sunrise to sunset. The *Florida Peninsular* issue of December 27 reported "Died on the 25th Inst. Captain J. C. Casey, Indian Agent for the Seminoles. . . .appointed in 1849, he performed the functions of that responsible position until his death. No man had a larger circle of devoted friends." The article continued with a lengthy and colorful description of the funeral cortege and listed the many prominent mourners.

Most early maps of Florida's Gulf Coast give the name Clam Island to what is now known as Casey Key. The earliest map or chart found showing Casey Key and Casey's Pass, named after the Captain, is a working drawing made by the United States Coast Survey, predecessor of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. The annual report of the Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey for the year 1851 to the Senate includes an exhibit, "Sketch F, showing the Progress of the Survey in Section VI with a General Reconnaissance of the Western Coast of Florida." Notes on this sketch state the coast line south of Tampa Bay was "laid down" from reconnaissance, observations, and sketches from Captain J. C. Casey. The magnificent map compiled by Lieutenant Ives, previously referred to, which was published in April, 1856, only a few months before Casey's death, names Casey as the authority for the data used in mapping the coast south of Tampa Bay to the Caloosahatchee River. The concluding statement of the 'Notes' appearing on this map is: "Nearly all of the compiled maps and sketches above mentioned refer to Capt. J. C. Casey, Subsistence Dept., as the authority for a large portion of the information therein contained."

After Casey's death the Bureau of Indian Affairs felt that the relatively small number of Indians remaining in Florida, estimated to number but a few hundred, did not warrant appointing a successor to Casey. The matter of removing the remaining Seminoles from Florida would be handled by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Arkansas, Colonel Elias Rector. In March, 1858, after weeks of negotiations and offers of substantial sums of money, Chief Bowlegs finally came to terms and agreed to leave his beloved homeland and move to the Indian Territory with a group of his followers. On May 4, 1858, the vessel *Grey Cloud* embarked Bowlegs and 124 other Seminoles at Fort Myers and three days later put in at Fort Dade on Egmont Key. Here forty addi-

tional Indians were taken aboard and at 11:00 A.M. on May 7 the *Grey Cloud* departed for New Orleans with her passenger list of thirty-nine warriors, including the Chief, and 126 women and children.

The account of the departure from Egmont Key which appeared in the issue of the *Florida Peninsular* of the following day contains some provocative information. "Went to Egmont Key to meet the incoming *Grey Cloud*. May 7th at 11:00 A.M. the *Grey Cloud* departed from us bearing Billy Bowlegs with all the principal Chiefs and war spirits of the nation amid the booming of Artillery and shouts from those aboard. . . . One remarkable coincidence we will mention, that the boat conveying Billy and his party carried also the remains of his friend, the late lamented Capt. Casey, to the last meeting place among his friends. Billy ever expressed that Capt. Casey was an honest and good man,- a truthful tribute."

All efforts to locate the final burial place of Captain Casey have, so far, been unsuccessful. It is hoped that some reader may be able to offer a clue as to the whereabouts of his grave. Billy Bowlegs, by best authority, died some time in the latter part of 1860 and was buried near his home in the vicinity of Fort Holmes, Oklahoma. He did not die a despondent suicide by poisoning within a few days after his arrival in Indian Territory, as has often been stated. His remains, too, were later exhumed and now rest in the National Cemetery at Fort Gibson, Oklahoma. There is no record or information concerning Casey at either place of burial. The removal of a body, especially from a military cemetery, even back in 1858, must surely have required some authority, permission, or legal procedure. A search of records in Tampa, Tallahassee, and Washington has proved unsuccessful in learning by whom and why his remains were disinterred or their place of reburial.

Wherever the final resting place of John Charles Casey may be, may he rest in peace. He deserved a more kindly fate than that his bones lie in an unknown grave. Casey Key may well be proud of its name and heritage.

LINCOLN'S COURIER: JOHN L. WORDEN'S MISSION TO FORT PICKENS

Edited by JAMES P. JONES

THE SPRING OF 1861 was a time of decision-making for the newly installed Lincoln administration. First on the agenda was the reinforcement and supply of Ft. Sumter, but an equally grave problem involved Ft. Pickens in Pensacola harbor. For several months a truce arranged between two members of President Buchanan's cabinet and Confederate military authorities had been in force. This truce was an agreement not to reinforce Pickens if the Confederates promised not to attack.¹ By March, 1861, Lincoln, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, and General Winfield Scott were growing concerned over the Pensacola situation. The Pickens garrison remained pitifully inadequate and, though they had not attacked, rebel forces on the mainland were increasing daily in strength and belligerency.²

As the national crisis worsened, the Navy Department dispatched units to the waters off Santa Rosa Island, on which Ft. Pickens was situated. Aboard one of these ships, the *U.S.S. Brooklyn*, was an army detachment commanded by Captain Israel Vogdes. In March, Vogdes received orders from General Scott to land his troops and reinforce Pickens, but the senior naval officer present, Captain Henry A. Adams, demurred.³ The Scott order was confusing to Adams, a naval officer unwilling to break the Pickens truce at the command of the chief of another branch of the service. Not sure that he had acted wisely, Adams sent

1. The truce had been arranged in January between Joseph Holt, Secretary of War, and Isaac Toucey, Secretary of the Navy in Buchanan's cabinet, and Stephen Mallory, Senator from Florida and soon to be Confederate Secretary of the Navy. The entire text of the agreement is in Charles B. Boynton, *The History of the Navy During the Rebellion* (New York, 1867-1868), I, 297-298.
2. The Pickens garrison of 25 men was commanded by Captain Adam Slemmer and opposite him Confederate forces were being gathered by General Braxton Bragg. For a discussion of the early days of the Pickens crisis see: Edwin C. Bearss, "Civil War Operations in and Around Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (October, 1957), 125-165, and (January, 1961), 231-255.
3. See Gideon Welles, *Diary* (New York, 1911), I, 29, for a discussion of the Adams decision.

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a messenger to his own superior, Navy Secretary Welles, asking for instructions.

The courier, Lieutenant Washington Gwathmey,⁴ arrived in Washington on April 6th and the administration, irate at the already disastrous loss of time in reinforcing the fort, decided to send a messenger with orders clarifying the situation. With naval officers defecting daily to the Confederacy, Welles had to be sure of the man who would take the order. He chose Paymaster Etting but, too ill to travel, Etting recommended Lieutenant John L. Worden who had just arrived in Washington. Worden's loyalty was beyond doubt and he was quickly called to the Navy Department where Welles told him the nature of his mission and that he must leave at once. Without hesitation, Worden accepted the duty and was given the communication to Adams. In no uncertain terms Welles wrote:

Your dispatch of April 1 is received. The Department regrets that you did not comply with the request of Captain Vogdes to carry into effect the orders of General Scott sent out by the *Crusader* under the orders of this Department.

You will immediately on the first favorable opportunity after receipt of this order afford every facility to Captain Vogdes by boats and other means to enable him to land the troops under his command, it being the wish and intention of the Navy Department to cooperate with the War Department in that object.⁵

Welles told Worden to commit the words to memory and destroy the dispatch if an emergency presented itself. The morning of the 7th, Worden crossed the Potomac and began his journey to Pensacola.

John L. Worden, born in Westchester County, New York in 1818, had been in the Navy since 1834. He had served with the Brazil and Pacific Squadrons, and for four years was on duty at the Naval Observatory. Worden saw service in the Mexican War and from 1848 to 1861 spent most of his time with the Mediterranean and Home fleets. A versatile officer, he was con-

4. Despite the fact that he was a Southern sympathizer, Gwathmey delivered Adams' message. As soon as he reached Washington he resigned and joined the Confederate Navy. Welles, *Diary*, I, 29.
5. *Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. 1, IV, 110-111. Hereafter cited as *ORA*.

sidered able and loyal. For those reasons he was chosen for the mission.⁶

Long after the Civil War Worden, a retired admiral, jotted down his reminiscences of the journey to Pensacola, and of his subsequent capture and imprisonment.⁷ This episode was of great importance in the Union's ability to hold Pickens throughout the war. It also brought Worden seven months in prison as the Civil War's first prisoner of war. Yet this mission was largely forgotten in the great acclaim that came to Worden in 1862 when he commanded the *Monitor* in its epic struggle with the *Merrimac*. In his old age, however, Worden decided to set down his memories of the trip which was his first Civil War duty, and established him as a model of perseverance in adversity.⁸ His seven months in an Alabama jail, a forgotten man, left him with a score to settle. One writer has declared that "after seven months . . . he was a man for desperate ventures, and perhaps Department heads believed his months in durance would make him extra-anxious to hit back at the people who had held him. If they thought so, they were right."⁹

The Worden journal is in the John L. Worden Manuscript Collection in the Lincoln Room of the Lincoln Memorial University. It is published with the university's permission.¹⁰

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Sketch of my trip to Pensacola in 1861 as special messenger from the Navy Department to Capt. Adams commanding naval forces off that harbor.

On April 6, 1861, I reported, under orders, at the Navy

6. For biographical data on Worden see: Allan Westcott, "John Lorimer Worden," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1944), XX, 531; Clarence Edward Macartney, *Mr. Lincoln's Admirals* (New York, 1956), 172-199; and William C. White and Ruth White, *Tin Can on a Shingle* (New York, 1957).
7. Worden wrote this account sometime between his retirement in 1886 and his death in 1897.
8. For the problem of prisoner exchange in the early days of the war see William B. Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons* (Columbus, Ohio, 1930).
9. Shelby Foote, *The Civil War, A Narrative* (New York, 1958), I, 259-260.
10. A microfilm copy of this journal is in the possession of the library of the University of Kentucky.

Department to Admiral Stringham¹¹ for special duty connected with the "discipline and efficiency of the Naval service," and finding that a Squadron had just been ordered fitted out for service on the Southern coast, to be commanded by Admiral Stringham, I asked to be relieved from those orders and to be assigned to duty afloat, which was granted and I was about to return to my home to prepare for sea service.¹² That night, near midnight, I was sent for by the Secretary of the Navy who informed me that he wanted me to go at once to Pensacola with dispatches for Capt. Adams, commanding the Naval force off that harbor.¹³ I received the dispatch and the next morning left in the first train via Richmond, arrived at Montgomery at about 10 p.m. April 9th and left the next morning, by the first train, reaching Pensacola near midnight on that day.¹⁴ On the next morning, April 11th, I went to the wharf to get a boat to take me down to the steamer *Wyandotte* commanded by Capt. Mullany¹⁵ which was laying inside the harbor under a flag of truce, when I was approached by a prominent citizen of Pensacola¹⁶ who asked me if I was an officer of the Navy and I answered that I was, and he then asked "of which Navy?" I replied, "The U.S. Navy." He then said that he required me to report to Genl. Bragg¹⁷ whose headquarters were at the Naval Hospital near

11. Admiral Silas Horton Stringham (1798-1876) entered the Navy in 1809 and fought in the War of 1812. When the Civil War began, Stringham was given command of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. Though successful on his command of an expedition to Hatteras Inlet in 1861, Stringham, due to advanced age, spent the rest of the war in semi-retirement in command of the Boston Navy Yard.
12. Worden's home was in New York City with his wife the former Olivia Taffey.
13. Captain Adams commanded the force off Pensacola from the *U.S.S. Sabine*. For most of the war Adams, promoted to commodore, was superintendent of coal shipments for the Navy, stationed at Philadelphia.
14. Worden's railroad route lay through Aquia Creek, Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Lynchburg, Virginia; Bristol, Knoxville, and Cleveland, Tennessee; thence to Atlanta, Montgomery, and Pensacola.
15. Lieutenant J. R. Madison Mullany had just been named to command the *Wyandotte* following the death of her commander on April 2. Before the war was over, Mullany had risen to commander in command of ships in the blockade off Florida and Texas.
16. The "prominent citizen" was a Mr. LeBaron. *ORA*, Ser. 1, I 462-63.
17. Braxton Bragg (1817-1876) graduated from West Point in 1837 and served with distinction in the Seminole and Mexican Wars. In March, 1861, he was named Brigadier General and given command of Confederate forces between Pensacola and Mobile. Bragg's subsequent Civil War record of command in the West is well known.

Fort Pickens, and introduced me to a Confederate officer, who he said would accompany me to the General's quarters. He took me to a steamer which took us down.

On the passage it was talked about on board that Genl. Bragg was to send a body of soldiers over the Pickens that night to attack it, notwithstanding the quasi armistice which had been agreed upon by both parties.¹⁸ I came to the conclusion that, if such was the case, he would not let me communicate with Capt. Adams. (On my way down from Atlanta the cars were filled with Confederate soldiers bound to Pensacola, who were somewhat boisterous, and thinking that I might be arrested, I went into the water closet, opened, read, and destroyed the dispatch.)

I had an interview with Genl. Bragg on that day, the 11th, and stated to him that I had come, as a special messenger from the Navy Dept. to communicate with Capt. Adams under the arrangement agreed upon, and he wrote a pass and as he handed it to me he said "I suppose you have a dispatch for Capt. Adams." I replied "not a written one General, but I have a verbal communication to take him from the Navy Dept." Then, after a few words of unimportant conversation, I left him and immediately sought means for getting to the gunboat *Wyandotte*. It was blowing hard and I did not succeed in reaching her until 4 o'clock p.m., but her commander Lieut. Mullany, declined to take me out to the squadron as the sea on the bar was so heavy as to render it impracticable to cross it. On the next morning, April 12th, at 10 o'clock, the wind and sea having somewhat subsided, the *Wyandotte* was gotten underway and took me out, and about noon I communicated the orders of the Navy Dept. to Capt. Adams, who handed me a despatch to the Secretary and directed me to return to Washington with it.¹⁹

I said to him that if he threw reinforcements into the Fort that night, which he must do, that they would arrest me. He said no, that as they had allowed me to come down, they would permit me to return. That night Pickens was reinforced and Genl. Bragg's purpose of attacking it by escalade was frustrated

18. This is the Holt-Toucey-Mallory armistice.

19. Adams' return dispatch was recognition of Worden's arrival and an assurance that Pickens would be reinforced as soon as possible.

and the fort saved for the government.²⁰ (Pickens had but 25 men to defend it²¹ and Adams landed the company of 269 artillery under Capt. Vodges,²² the marines of the squadron, 100 men, and a strong party of officers and seamen. Admiral Porter²³ in his *Naval History* claims that the arrival off the harbor on the 17th of the steamer Atlantic, with 600 troops, under command of Genl. Brown,²⁴ and of the *Powhatan* under his command on the 16th saved Pickens!!)²⁵

On the same day at 3 o'clock p.m. (April 12th) I left on the *Wyandotte* and landed at the city of Pensacola, whence I took the cars at 9 p.m. for Montgomery on my return towards Washington. On the next day (April 13th) at about 4 o'clock p.m. I was arrested by 4 Confederate officers who came into the cars at the first station south of Montgomery²⁶ and on our arrival at the latter place the depot was surrounded by a large gathering of excited people, it having been reported by the morning papers

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20. It is not certain that Bragg intended to attack the fort that night. It is certain that the Vogdes-Adams reinforcement was an important step in saving Pickens for the Union.
 21. Commanded by Captain Slemmer.
 22. In the margin Worden has written "Porter says 75 men," were sent into the fort at this time. See David D. Porter, *The Naval History of the Civil War* (New York, 1886), 106. Israel Vogdes (1816-1876) graduated from West Point in Bragg's class of 1837. He had seen service in Florida and on the frontier and in April, 1861, was serving as an artillery captain in Florida. In October, 1861, Vodges was captured near Pensacola. Released in 1862, he later served in Florida, Virginia, and North Carolina. He was advanced to brigadier.
 23. David Dixon Porter (1813-1891) joined the Navy in 1829 and served all over the world for the next 32 years. He was named a commander in April, 1861, and figured in the plans for relieving Sumter and Pickens. From 1861 to 1865 Porter's role was an active one. His most famous activities being at New Orleans and in the ill-fated Red River campaign. See Porters *Naval History* mentioned above.
 24. Harvey Brown (1796-1874) was an 1818 graduate of West Point. He had seen action in the Seminole and Mexican Wars and was put in command of a reinforcement landed at Pickens in April, 1861. From April 16, 1861, until February 25, 1862, he commanded the fort.
 25. This passage by Worden is indicative of the bitterness that developed between participants in this campaign. Boynton's *The History of the Navy During the Rebellion* supports the claim by Worden and Vodges that the troops put ashore on the night of the 12th are due the credit for saving the fort. Porter, on the other hand, minimizes that effort and places greater emphasis on the landings of the 16th and 17th in which he participated. See Porter, *Naval History*, 100-106.
 26. Greenville, Alabama.

that I was a spy.²⁷ The officers who had me in charge surrounded me and rushed me through the crowd to a carriage on the other side of the platform, and took me to the Adj. General's office where I was detained until 9 o'clock p.m. when I was placed in charge of a Mr. McGiboney²⁸ who I think was a deputy marshal, and who kept me in his rooms until Monday, April 15th, when he received instructions to put me as a prisoner in the city jail,²⁹ where I was kept until Nov. 13, 1861 when by direction of the Secretary of War³⁰ I was paroled and directed to report, without delay, to Adj. Genl. Cooper at Richmond.³¹ I left Montgomery on the 14th and arrived at Richmond on the 16th and reported on the same evening, to the Adj. Genl. who furnished me with a letter from Mr. Benjamin, the Secretary of War, to Genl. Huger,³² commanding at Norfolk. The next day (18th) Genl. [Huger] sent me under a flag of truce to Admiral Goldsborough³³ at Hampton Roads, with a communication informing him that in accordance with their agreement I was sent

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27. There is no mention in the Montgomery press on the morning of April 13 of Worden as a spy. It was not until April 15 that the Montgomery *Daily Advertiser* mentioned Worden and not until the 19th that the Montgomery *Confederation* broke the news. What had brought the city's population into the streets on the 13th was news of the firing on Sumter the night before. The *Daily Advertiser* reported, "The people seemed wild with excitement and congregated around the telegraph office in vast numbers."
 28. Gus McGiboney was a local law enforcement official. Montgomery *Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1861.
 29. On April 15 Worden's fate was decided in General Orders No. 4 (which held that "having been detected in conveying secret communications of a hostile character . . . [he] will be imprisoned and held as a prisoner of war until further orders." *ORA*, Ser. 2, III, 679.
 30. Judah P. Benjamin (1811-1884), Senator from Louisiana, and holder of three posts in the Confederate cabinet was, by November, Jefferson Davis' second Secretary of War.
 31. Samuel Cooper (1798-1876) was a West Point graduate of 1815. Cooper, the highest ranking officer in the Confederate Army, served the entire war as adjutant and inspector general.
 32. Benjamin Huger (1805-1877) graduated from West Point in 1825 and served in the Mexican War. He was named a Confederate brigadier in June, 1861. Promoted to major general in October, he commanded Confederate forces at Norfolk through 1861.
 33. Louis Malesherbes Goldsborough (1805-1877) served in both the Navy and the Army before the Civil War. From 1853 to 1857 he was superintendent of the Naval Academy, and when war broke out in 1861 he took command of the Atlantic Blockading Squadron. When the squadron was divided in October he was given command of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron which was his position during the negotiations for Worden's freedom. He later saw service in North Carolina and Virginia. Goldsborough was a son-in-law

to him on parole, and that as soon as Lieut. Wm. Sharpe³⁴ of the Confederate Navy was sent to him my parole would be ended. Lieut. Sharpe was sent at once to Norfolk by Adml. Goldsborough and thus ended my imprisonment.³⁵

During my imprisonment several little incidents occurred which go to show the unfriendly feeling towards me. Not long after I was imprisoned the jailor died and as he was a mason a large concourse of people assembled at his funeral, and as I was sick at the time, Mr. McGiboney, who was always kind and considerate to me, suggested that I should go out to his quarters with him. I accordingly went and on arrival at his rooms I said to him that I did not wish to cause him any inconvenience and therefore would pledge him my honor that, whilst with him, I would not attempt to escape and he replied that then I could do as I pleased and he left me alone most of the time and I used to walk out on the outskirts of the town very frequently in the morning. As I was returning, on one occasion, a common man spoke to me and said that he was directed by the vigilance committee to say that I must return to the jail. Soon after Mr. McGiboney came in and expressed surprise and some indignation at the interference with him and said he would see about it and went out. A few hours afterward he came back to me and said that it would be well for me to go back to the jail, which of course I did, but he gave me no reason why he thought it necessary.

On another occasion a gentleman came to the jail, whilst I was at breakfast, and enquired of the jailor if Lieut. Worden was there and I said yes that was my name and he replied "excuse me but you will hear from some parties."

The morning papers of that morning had published a call for

of Virginian William Wirt, one-time Attorney-General of the United States, and was engaged with Wirt in the late 1820's in an attempt to organize plantation communities near Tallahassee manned by European immigrants.

34. At the beginning of the war, Sharpe was stationed at the Norfolk Navy Yard. He resigned and joined the Confederate Navy and in August, 1861, was taken prisoner at Hatteras Inlet. After being exchanged for Worden, he served on the east coast throughout the rest of the war.
35. The Worden-Sharpe exchange was not technically a prisoner exchange since the U. S. government had not yet begun exchange policies later developed. Worden and Sharpe were simply paroled at the same time. Reluctance to participate in exchanges was due to the Lincoln administration's fear that exchange might lead to recognition of the Confederacy. See Hesselstine, *Civil War Prisons*.

a meeting of citizens without stating the object of it, and the jailor seemed to be impressed with the idea that it had reference to me and said he would go out and see McGiboney about it and called the turnkey and told him that if in his absence any crowd gathered around the jail to keep the outer gate locked and to put me in the lock up, which was Ironclad. When he returned he said McGiboney said it was all right.

The next day the above inquiry was accounted for by the fact that a servant girl coming into the jail with a server laden with eatables of quite a tempting character and said that her mistress (mentioning her name) had received a letter from her niece, who was living at Memphis, and was the widow of Capt. Gardner, an old friend of mine and whose wife had been an intimate friend of my wife's in former years, asking her to send me some tempting eatables. The young man who had made the inquiry the day before was a son of the lady sending the things.

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As Worden indicated, he was exchanged in November at Norfolk. After a rest in New York with an anxious wife, Worden returned to action as the Navy Department's choice to command John Ericson's *Monitor*, then building in New York. His greatest fame came as commander of the ironclad which revolutionized naval warfare, but his 1861 service as the Lincoln administration's courier to Ft. Pickens also brought change. It ended the Pickens truce and ushered in the Civil War in Florida.

MEMOIR OF A WEST POINTER IN FLORIDA: 1825

Edited by CECIL D. EBY, JR.

IN THE EARLY SUMMER OF 1825 the group of Seminoles relegated to the Big Swamp area of central Florida by the treaty of Moultrie Creek, signed two years before, were subjected to a drought so severe that nearly their whole crop was destroyed. Forced to subsist upon game, the Indians obtained permission from Major Gad Humphreys, their agent at the post that later became known as Fort King, to send hunting parties beyond the boundaries of their reservation to the north. While the incursion of Indian hunters into territories belonging legally to white settlers was absolutely necessary for the survival of the Seminoles and was approved officially by an agent of the Government, the whites greeted these parties with increasing alarm.

Early in June occurred an incident that nearly precipitated a war between the United States and the Seminole Nation. One Philip Solano, a planter of the St. Johns region, reported to the commander of the garrison at Fort Marion (Castillo de San Marcos) that six Indians, searching for three Seminoles long overdue from a hunting expedition into Georgia, had threatened him and other settlers with reprisals if the missing Indians did not reappear. Federal Judge Joseph L. Smith of St. Augustine immediately authorized a detachment from the fort to bring in the six Indians for questioning. In the morning of June 22 Lieutenant Augustus Canfield with twenty soldiers, accompanied by Solano and other indignant citizens of the city, found the party at Cabbage Swamp, some twenty miles to the north. However, before Canfield was able to open communication with them, the Indians, suspicious of the hostile-looking whites, fled into the swamp. Solano fired his pistol at them, and the soldiers and citizens followed his example by unleashing an unauthorized volley that brought down one Indian with a broken arm. Two other Seminoles were captured, one of whom was sent by Canfield to assure the others that the volley was accidental. Since the Indians had a pass from Major Humphreys, they were permitted to return to the reservation but their report of the white men's

belligerence angered the other Seminoles, who immediately prepared for war. Humphreys was compelled to call for assistance from the military garrisons at Fort Marion and Tampa Bay. An Indian War seemed imminent to the panic-stricken white settlers who fled to the towns throughout East Florida.¹

The march of Captain Francis L. Dade with two companies from Tampa to the Agency was executed promptly and efficiently. His appearance among the Seminoles proved that Major Humphreys could rely upon support from the main arm of the United States Army in Florida. But the march of the Fort Marion contingent, led by Lieutenant Alfred Beckley - a green West Pointer commanding his first detachment in the field - became a notable example of a campaign that failed. In four days he got only as far as Palatka, distant from St. Augustine about twenty-five miles as the crow flies. While en route, Beckley was recalled because the three missing Seminoles had been found, one of whom had been rushed to the Agency to placate the indignant Indians. Furthermore, Surgeon Richard Weightman of Fort Marion was sent to tend the Seminole wounded at Cabbage Swamp. A war with the Florida Indians had been averted by a narrow margin.

While historians of the Second Seminole War have recognized that the Cabbage Swamp affair was a prominent incident in the misunderstandings between the Indians and the white settlers which ultimately led to the outbreak of 1835, the role of the Fort Marion detachment has nowhere been chronicled. The lieutenant himself left behind a report of his march in an unpublished autobiography, discovered only in 1961. His account is particularly important in demonstrating how green and untried soldiers were incapacitated by impossible roads, a rudimentary system of logistics, and the rigors of the climate and terrain of Florida.

Alfred Beckley (1802-1888), who graduated ninth in the class of 1823 at West Point, was stationed at Fort Marion from 1824 to 1826 as a second lieutenant of the Fourth Artillery. His later service included two years at Fort Monroe, five years at Allegheny Arsenal (near Pittsburgh), and one year at Fort Hamilton, before his resignation from the army in 1836 in order to oc-

1. For brief discussion of the Cabbage Swamp incident see John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), 28-32, and Mark F. Boyd, "The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXX (July, 1951), 38-39.

cupy the family lands in Fayette County, Virginia. During the Civil War he campaigned in western Virginia as a brigadier general of Virginia militia.² His unfinished autobiography, from which the following narrative is taken, was begun in 1886, but he may have referred to an earlier journal kept during his Florida service. The present editor has taken no liberties with the Beckley manuscript, except for brackets indicating materials not in the text.³

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[NARRATIVE OF LIEUTENANT ALFRED BECKLEY]

Some time in June 1825 a Spanish Planter named Solano came before Judge [Joseph L.] Smith of the U. S. District Court for the Territory of Florida and made oath that a party of six Seminole Indians armed had called at his plantation some ten miles or more from St. Augustine in the direction of the St. Johns River enquiring for three young Indians, sons of the chiefs who had some months previous left the Reservation & gone on a hunting expedition towards the frontier of Georgia, and having been absent two or three moons over their time, The Nation was fearful that some harm had befallen them. Solano also swore that the six Indians had threatened that if they failed to find the three missing Indians, on their return they would take vengeance on him & the other settlers.⁴ Upon this sworn statement the Judge made a written requisition upon Lieut Edwin S. Alberti then in temporary command of Fort Marion at St. Augustine for an officer & detachment of soldiers to arrest this scouting party & bring them before him as the civil officers were unable to serve

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2. Incomplete biographical information about Alfred Beckley may be found in Virgil A. Lewis, *History of West Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1889), 709-713, and Georgia W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (Boston and New York, 1891), I, 305-306. For Beckley's short-lived military career in the Civil War see Hila A. Richardson, "Raleigh County, West Virginia, in the Civil War," *West Virginia History*, X (April, 1949), 249-250.
 3. I am indebted to Professor Paxton Davis of Washington and Lee University for permission to use this autobiography of his great-great grandfather.
 4. In July, 1825, Major Gad Humphreys wrote to Judge Smith, claiming that Philip Solano had deliberately fabricated the threats of the Indians and charging that Solano had stolen their skins and meat after their capture. See Sprague, 32.

the process upon armed savages and as Maj Genl [Edmund P.] Gaines commanding the Eastern Department had left written information to the Commandant to aid the civil authorities when called upon by the U. S. District Judge.

Lieut Alberti dispatched Lieut Augustus Canfield ⁵ with 20 Men who embarked in two barges & ran up the Matanzas River & small arms of the sea along the coast towards the mouth of St Johns River and with orders to intercept the six Indians, arrest them and bring them before the Judge. Lieut Canfield being popular with the young men of the City very unadvisedly permitted a number armed with shot guns and pistols to accompany him. They left in the evening and by rowing all night just as the day dawned they espied the Indians encamped on the edge of a large swamp at no great distance. Canfield and his City friends advanced rapidly upon them, the 20 soldiers with their shining muskets following closely. The six Indians naturally took the alarm (and the more so, as it was said that the negro Interpreter who accompanied the party was instructed to hold his tongue when the Indians asked him what it meant) & fled to the swamp leaving their guns and blankets. Some of these embryo soldiers of the City blazed away with their shot guns &c, & the soldiers following their lead, gave the fugitives a volley. They however escaped into the swamp, but one had his arm badly shattered by a musket ball and made their way to the Nation. Of course their not finding the three missing Indians and being thus rudely interrupted in their search and fired upon by Canfields party gave great offence to these irascible spirited Seminoles & those around the Agency at Fort King began to show symptoms of hostility sending their women and children into the swamps painting themselves & dancing the war dance &c. Greatly alarmed, Maj Gad Humphreys the Indian agent sent expresses to Major Dade at Tampa Bay and to Lieut Alberti [at] Fort Marion for aid under Genl Gaines instructions. Lieut Alberti gave me orders on the 5th July 1825 to make up a picked company from the men of my own light Compy "A" & Company "G" and with a six pounder make a forced march to Fort King.

5. Augustus Canfield, a native of New Jersey, had graduated from West Point in 1822, one year ahead of Beckley. He was transferred from Fort Marion in 1826 and later became a topographical officer engaged in the construction of canals and harbors in the Great Lakes. In 1854 he died in Detroit.

The QrMaster of the post could only furnish me with two badly harnessed horses to draw my gun and two carts to transport my provisions ammunition & a little baggage with one horse each as no wagon could be had for love or money in the City. As there was no road to "Buena Vista" & Pilatka [Palatka] for artillery only a bridle path I was compelled to make a detour to the North and pass thro' 12 Mile Swamp so as to strike the head of Six Mile Creek, the main drain of the swamp and there embark in a large timber scow & proceed down the Creek to the St Johns River and thence up that river to Picolati [Picolata] & Pilatka. Some hours before I started I sent Orderly Sergeant Beale of "G" Company with the larger part of my men to Picolati with orders to send a large timber scow of Messrs Riz & Cowley down the River & up Six Mile Creek to the landing or head. With the residue of my Command, consisting of Sergeant Prager of my own light Compy "A" and fifteen men with the 6 pounder & the baggage cart I marched from Fort Marion at 3 P.M. on the 6th day of July 1825 (the day of the week disremembered) for 12 Mile Swamp some 4 miles from the City. After experiencing a smart shower of rain & losing some time by taking the wrong road owing to my guide's inability to join me in time and being much delayed by my untried horses unwillingness to pull such unreasonable loads as were in the urgency & hurry of the occasion imposed upon them I was compelled to encamp for the night a short distance beyond Redhouse branch about five miles from St. Augustine. During the night we had several severe showers of rain for two hours.

At 2 o'clock A.M. of the 7th July on arousing the party to resume the March I was mortified to find that by the culpable carelessness of the Men in not securing my artillery horses, they had strayed off and could not be found in my immediate vicinity which I had searched in every direction. I then mounted my guide on one of my cart horses and an hour after another man on the other cart horse, and dispatched them to trace up & pursue some fresh horse tracks on the road leading to Solanos ferry which crossed the road upon which I was encamped, a short distance from the City as far as the City, if necessary. This accident detained me much to my chagrin till 4 o'clock P.M. when the guide & man rejoined me with the two strayed horses and an additional horse which Lieut Alberti had sent me as an

addition to my small artillery team. I recommenced my march under as I thought more favorable auspices but owing to the very bad condition of the roads and to the horses proving refractory & stubborn besides the Heavens pouring upon us a deluge of rain the whole time I halted for the night just before dark, having only advanced from three to four miles after having my tent pitched near a rousing fire around which the soldiers preferred bivouacking to the trouble of pitching their tents. By the cheering influence of the fire I made shift to dry my dripping garments & after a hearty supper I had a really comfortable nights rest on a bed of Palmetto. My tent I never used again as the musquitos drove me into the smoke of the bivouac fire by their bites. My ammunition cart owing to the horse giving out in consequence of the roughness of the muddy & wet road did not come up till near daylight.

I resumed my March at 6 A.M. on the 8th July and after again losing my way a mile or two by the ignorance of my guide and halting an hour or so in the extreme heat of the day for rest and food, I reached 6 Mile Creek landing by 2 P.M. There I found a party of my men with the timber scow from Picolati, a clumsy vessel nearly as broad as long of double the necessary weight doubtless suitable to bring live oak timber out of the swamps but very unsuitable for military transportation & dispatch. I at once dismounted the 6-pounder & laid it in the bottom as ballast & taking the wheels from the other two carts and packed the carts & artillery carriage with all my provisions ammunition and baggage &c. and after sending a corporal & three men with my horses around by land to "Buena Vista" I began my voyage down 6-Mile Creek, a stream little wider at the head than my scow scarcely more than 25 feet. The trees & bushes from the swamp on both sides overhanging & shading the dark inky water covered on the surface with large floating leaves of aquatic plants. It looked like Virgils description of the descent of Erebus the empire of Pluto. We pulled along by the branches until it gradually widened out enough to put out & ply our long sweeps or oars two on each side. This is a most remarkable Creek, increasing its breadth & volume of water in stretches from 1 or 200 yards to half a mile until with another drain of considerable size coming in a short distance above its mouth the two drains or creeks discharged their waters into the Noble River St Johns by

an *embouchure* of more than a mile in breadth. Previous to its confluence with the river its course presented for a mile or two elegant water prospects rendered quite interesting to me by its dark turbid water & the hosts of alligators which ever & anon displayed above the surface their scaly coats of mail and rolled their great protuberant eyes upon you, depriving you of all desire to share their refreshing bath. After leaving the creek, we made our way slowly up the St. Johns four or five miles in width in the face of a strong southerly wind by the constant plying with our sweeps, propelled by successive relays of rowers. One of our sweeps was repeatedly broken.

We arrived at Picolati just after 1 o'clock A.M. on the 9th July having been favored by star light the first part and by moonlight the latter part. After mooring a suitable guard I proceeded to join the main body of my command which I found in occupation of a house situated a mile from the river in pine woods belonging to Messrs Riz & Cowley which those gentlemen were kind to offer to my men they being without their tents. It being a healthy situation I determined to remain there until the arrival of my horses and the two Indians from Judge Fatio's,⁶ two of the three missing Indians the third having been sent express with the care of Mr. Dexter⁷ to Fort King. They coming in at this juncture happening very providentially for my soldiers and myself as they reached St. Augustine as I was on the marching when Lieut. Alberti employed Mr. Dexter to take one on a swift horse to the Agency & directed me to take the other two with my detachment.⁸ Just as I was about sending a boat after them they reached my encampment & soon after between 10 & 11 A.M. my horses arrived and after hiring a Mr Crispen to guide two of my men with the horses by land to "Buena Vista" opposite to Pilatka, I embarked the whole detachment & started up the river

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6. Presumably this was Francis J. Fatio of St. Augustine, a prominent citizen who had helped allay civil tension in East Florida after the territory had passed to the United States. See Walter Hartridge, "The Fatio Family," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXI (October, 1952), 143.
 7. One Horatio S. Dexter had witnessed the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, signed on September 18, 1823, which had arranged for the removal of the Seminoles into the interior of Florida. See Sprague, 20.
 8. The first of the missing Indians reached the Agency on July 8, thereby terminating the threatened uprising and cancelling Beckley's march. See Sprague, 31.

to Pilatka at 10 minutes past 3 and after halting a few moments occasionally I reached there at 5 P.M. on the 10th July.

Finding Mr. Dexter not yet returned from the Agency I landed the troops, mounted the 6 pounder & having obtained a wagon in place of my carts I had our provisions ammunition and baggage loaded upon the wagon and while busied in pitching my tent in the pine woods 200 yards from the river or soon after Mr Dexter arrived and handed me a dispatch from Major G. Humphreys dispensing with any further advance of my Detachment to Fort King as the difficulties with the Seminoles [had ended] owing to the safe return of the three young Indians and to Dr. [Richard] Weightman having been sent to Fort King to set the Indians broken arm & the agent distributing new guns & blankets to the six Indians and the more so the three young Indians made very favorable statements as to their kind treatment by the Georgians & the St Johns river inhabitants.

These things pacified these Indians for the time being,⁹ but this affair was perhaps one among subsequent difficulties with these Indians a sort of mongrel tribe between the Creek Indians & other tribes which culminated in the tedious bloody expensive war commencing about 1835 in which this small Seminole tribe owing to their position amid the lakes, swamps and hammocks of East Florida difficult of approach very defensible & suitable to their rapid, cunning, sneaking mode of warfare kept the whole military force of the United States at bay for a longtime tho' commanded by Generals Gaines, [Duncan L.] Clinch, [Thomas] Jesup, [Zachary] Taylor & other distinguished leaders. The affair in which I was engaged I shall always believe arose from the fact that the Spanish planter Solano who made the sworn complaint did not understand what the Indians said or purposely exaggerated matters to get up an Indian War so that the whites might possess themselves of many valuable negroes, runaways from their Masters. It seems very unlikely that 6 Indians with a regular pass from the Agent would threaten peaceable inhabitants within a few miles of the Garrison at Fort Marion. It is

9. Depredations continued, however. In 1826 the inhabitants of St. John's County wrote to the President complaining that slaves were being enticed away from their owners. The continued unrest led to the garrisoning of the Agency, which became Fort King in 1827. See Sidney W. Martin, *Florida During the Territorial Days* (Athens, Georgia, 1944), 229.

doubtful whether the further advance of my detachment & the 6 pounder toward Fort King would have had a favorable effect unless its prompt junction with the two Companies which under the command of Major Dade had reached Fort King from Tampa Bay the day I reached Pilatka, would have shewn to the Indians that the Agent had within his reach military aid from both east and west. But as yet the Seminoles had not been harrowed up by the encroachment of the authorities whose policy was to remove the tribe, Nolen Volens, from Florida to the west to that pitch of exasperation to which they had attained ten years afterward, when in the year 1835 in the line of Oseola, Major Dade in attempting the same march, after being earnestly dissuaded from the attempt by the friendly Indians, was ambushed and surrounded by the incensed and furious Seminoles led by Oseola, who had been roughly treated by the Indian Agent [Wiley] Thompson, who had succeeded Major Gad Humphreys & after a gallant hopeless defence his officers 8 in number & 100 soldiers were cut off, all but one man, who badly wounded had feigned death, till the Indians left the battleground, crawled on his hands and knees by night, concealed himself in the day back to Tampa Bay. Had the Seminoles been as enraged in 1825 as they were in 1835, Maj Dade and his Battalion & myself with my detachment would have been ambushed and cut to pieces! With this digression I resume my diary.

On receipt of Major Humphreys dispatch I immediately reimarked everything but the tents preparatory to my early return. At 8 A.M. embarking my men and tents I pushed off on my descent of the river again, not unlike a King of France who marched "his army of 10000 men up a hill, & then marched down again." After a passage of 27 hours & ten minutes I made 6 Mile Creek landing. The tide being in my favor and an occasional breeze filling a sail extemporized out of a tent, the "Southern Engineer" made more rapid progress down. I made the landing about midday of the 12th of July, during which I narrowly escaped a shipwreck, or rather swamping of my vessel with the whole contents Commander, soldiers, artillery, and stores in the midst of the dark turbid waters of the St Johns & its ferocious alligators. While sailing down the broad river of 4 miles width about the middle I suddenly found myself on a very ugly chopping sea caused by an adverse easterly wind blowing

up the river & as my gunwale was only 9 inches above the water under the heavy cargo, shipping would have sent us to "Davys Locker" in a thrice. Taking down my sail turning the bows to the shore and double mooring my sweeps we soon reached the shore which I prudently hugged all the way. In reascending 6 Mile Creek we amused ourselves, peace having succeeded threatened war, shooting at alligators. One of which we killed & as he sank covered the surface with blood, the water being four feet deep the foolish soldiers wanted to jump in & fish the alligator up. I am sure we fired some dozen musketballs at a monster alligator which from the back he shewed could not have been less than 20 feet long. But the balls glanced off & he crossed the Creek and plunged out the swamp with a loud flounder.

At the landing I found my horses which I had sent back by land from "Buena Vista." After employing an hour or two in disembarking my piece of artillery, my stores, and baggage, in remounting my 6 pounder & the two carts, I recommenced my return march to St Augustine distant about sixteen miles. After advancing 7 or 8 miles very slowly as my horses evinced much fatigue I was compelled to stop about 7 P.M., & pitch my encampment in a pine barren near the road. Next morning 13th July 1825 about 6 A.M. I was again in motion and after a slow & toilsome march owing to the horses being scarcely able to put one foot after the other and during this days march as well as my previous marches thro' the 12 Mile Swamp I had to attach my men with bricoles to the 6 pounder carriage I reached the City between 11 & 12 M. having previously at Redhouse branch 4 miles distant unlimbered my cannon and firing once, announced my return. A much more safe discharge of my cannon than if I had been surrounded by hostile Indians among the hammocks & undergrowth of Florida. What a folly to send artillery against Indians in that region. Major Dade the gallant lamented martyr to this delusion, was destroyed and with all his command shot down by endeavoring to fight these Indians with two pieces of artillery. I had instructed my soldiers, that if we were attacked to give the cannon a wide berth and every man jump behind a tree, and fight Kentucky fashion.

Amid the kind congratulations of the people of St Augustine at our safe return from Indians and country fever, the latter as dangerous as the tomahawk, I quickly marched my men into

their pleasant cool quarters in St. Francis Barracks. And twas providential that alternately wet to the skin by the sudden tropical showers and scorched by the sun in July we all escaped from country malaria, & all the inconvenience we experienced was that we looked more like Moors or Indians than White Men. Thus ended my little expedition into the interior of the territory of eight days.

When I made my sudden march towards Fort King there was a great deal of alarm among the people, and the militia were called out, & I left them drilling in the Public Plaza, and they assured me that when I reached Pilatka their bugle at "Buena Vista" across the river should assure me of their cooperation in the campaign and while I was gone daily bulletins were posted at the East Florida Herald printing office of my progress & distributed among the Citizens but when my sunburnt soldiers and myself returned the militia were still drilling and drawing rations. Had there been fighting these Heroes would have gone out with shovels and spades to gather up the remains & bury them of the unfortunate lieutenant and his soldiers victims of Seminole treachery & ferocity unaided and [not] reinforced by these Citizen soldiers. But afterward in the progress of the war these gentlemen became brave and skillful Indian fighters.

BOOK REVIEWS

Richard Keith Call: Southern Unionist. By Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961. vii, 195 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$5.50.)

Richard Keith Call was a complex personality. Mercurial in temperament, proud, propelled by a sense of mission, he repelled more than he attracted. Though Call's childhood was often marked by straitened economic circumstances, he was saturated with the ideals and beliefs of the planter class. He only once held elective office, but his prolonged tenure in appointive offices almost imperceptibly made him feel that he was needed to guide government and progress in Florida. As one reads this excellent biography the motivations of Call's character emerge but they were never simple, since he was not a simple man.

Early in his military career he came into the favor of General Andrew Jackson, who promoted his young friend too fast for his own good. The blessings of Jackson gave him a feeling he had military talent, yet he hardly had military experience enough to prove this. He had no training for command yet Jackson gave him command. Through Jackson's good offices he achieved a succession of civil and military appointments, ultimately being named Florida territorial governor by Jackson's own hand. In that capacity he briefly, and unhappily, commanded all United States forces in the Seminole War (1835-1842). After his removal from command, his continued interference in military affairs was a cause of his removal from the governorship by Martin Van Buren. Less than two years before he died he still thought that he had military usefulness; he offered his services to the Confederacy for the Civil War, but was rejected. Certainly he was no military man although he thought he was.

Politically, Call aped Jackson who was patriarchal, domineering, and used to ordering people around. Holding so many appointive offices, Call came to feel a right to hold office and to lead and direct, but people did not follow and resented his proud and dictatorial ways. Call never learned the lesson of democracy from his old mentor. He never made the transition from the earlier

leaders who "stood" for election to the post-Jackson men who got down and drank and wallowed with the populace.

Call's public career was involved in the wide-open days of bank craze and internal improvements. Involved in projects in both of these areas, he did not emerge very well from either. He was close to the center of the bank craze in Florida and was later embarrassed when the panic-crazed legislature repudiated the "faith bonds," through which the territorial government had implied it would save the stockholders if the banks failed. Call was the president of the Tallahassee Rail Road Company, which charged its contractors with having built "the very worse road known in the United States." Its only engine blew up; a hurricane destroyed its installations at Port Leon, and its bridge across the St. Marks River was carried away.

As a planter Call did better. When he died in 1862, he left extensive lands and 197 slaves. At his Lake Jackson plantation seat, he raised cotton, corn, vegetables, and livestock. Late in his life he tried to forget politics and lose himself in the management of his lands, but these periods were always interrupted by the tensions of the 1850's, which seemed to demand his influence to quiet and soothe - but the people in the 1850's would not be soothed by him. The last ten years of his life were spent in trying to persuade southern leaders and voters to support the Union. Here again he failed.

Call's personality appears at its best in this splendid biography when portrayed as a planter and family man. He was romantic and super-charged with determination to do what he wanted to do. When the mother of his beloved wife, Mary, had opposed their marriage, the two young people had eloped to the Hermitage where they were married with the approval and assistance of "Old Hickory." Jackson later undertook to reconcile the mother-in-law to the disobedient and impetuous event, but the bride's mother ordered him out of her house at pistol point. In their happy marriage, the Calls had six children of whom only two lived. After his wife's death in 1836, Call increasingly confided in and relied upon his elder daughter and it was she who took him back to Tallahassee in 1862 shortly before his own passing.

This biography is the first detailed account of this fascinating figure. Any future studies of this man will have to add to Professor Doherty's basic and attractive work. Call was so important

in Florida history from the end of the War of 1812 until the Civil War that the collateral research needed was prodigious. Consultation of the Call papers, state and federal records, and archival materials was all done and the salient events of Call's life, the history of Florida, and the relation of national events to Florida are presented in splendid proportion.

Professor Doherty's writing is carefully done, painstakingly correct, and pervaded by both understanding and forbearance for his subject. Call emerges with more dignity in this volume than he deserved.

NATHAN D. SHAPPEE

University of Miami

Nuevas fuentes para la historia de Puerto Rico. By Aurelio Tio. (San German: Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico, 1961. 653 pp. Notes, maps, bibliography, charts, appendix, index.)

Aurelio Tio, an energetic and wealthy amateur historian from Puerto Rico, has gone unnoticed in Florida (Mr. David True in Miami is highly appreciative of Tio). In 1956 Tio published a book about the town of San German in Puerto Rico which was the embarkation point of Juan Ponce de Leon for his Florida discovery. Both his earlier and this newer and more voluminous book deal very much with Tio's hero: Juan Ponce de Leon.

In the book under review, the author has carefully transcribed fourteen groups of unpublished documents from Seville. He has transcribed Ponce de Leon's contract with the Crown, dated Burgos [Spain], February 23, 1512, for the conquest of Bimini (which resulted in the discovery of Florida) - indeed a vital document in Florida history. But it has already been transcribed and very well translated by the late Edward W. Lawson in his Ponce de Leon book. Another document is two printed pages long yet Tio has appended forty-five pages of notes and then another seven of sub-notes. The notes for the first document alone run from pages 110 to 191. All this is too much; instead of showing erudition it confuses the reader and beclouds the issues.

There are still with us two controversial issues: the origins

of Ponce de Leon, which includes when and where he was born and who were his parents, and where did Ponce de Leon land in Florida. Tio tackles these two issues in the appendices, which contain seven subjects of discussion unrelated to his notes and sub-notes. As commendable as these appendices are they do not shed too much new light on the two points of debate. Tio does not question that someplace in the neighborhood of St. Augustine is probably the landing place.

As to genealogy, Tio presents one of the most complicated descriptions that I have ever encountered in my career. I read it three times and later asked my colleague, Dr. John TePaske, to read it. I (and he concurred) could not solve the riddle with which Tio presents us. It has an amazing amount of new and good data but it is badly digested and presented. Tio also gives all the supposed descendents of Ponce de Leon in Puerto Rico, and the blood of the conquistador reaches the Tios.

This voluminous and undigested book looks beautiful and is well printed. Nevertheless, I agree with TePaske, who writes in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* that Tio "is not completely convincing. Rather than pursuing the more Rankean course of letting the documents speak for themselves he uses inference, deduction, and dialectics to make his case." At the same time, it is a work that must be commended as an important new addition to Ponce de Leon research. Mr. Tio's own theories should be studied with scholarly respect. It is not a piece of clear and lucid writing but it is loaded.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

University of South Florida

The Pied Piper of Peru. By Henry Hanson. (Jacksonville: Florida Public Health Association, 1961. \$2.00 cloth; \$1.50 paper.)

Since the *Pied Piper of Peru* is an account of a fight against yellow fever (yellow jack) and plague (black death) in Peru from 1919 to 1922, one may be prompted to ask why it is reviewed in the *Quarterly* which is usually reserved for Floridiana. The author, Dr. Henry Hanson, however, prior to this experience was Director of the Division of Bacteriological Laboratories of

the Florida State Board of Health, later was Florida's State Health Officer on two occasions, lived in Jacksonville for an extended period of time and had a host of Florida friends who will greet the book with more than common interest.

Preserved among Dr. Hanson's papers, posthumously edited and published through the efforts of the Florida State Board of Health, this highly readable volume is a contribution to medical history in the Americas. Facing great odds and at times seemingly unsurmountable difficulties, Dr. Hanson's success in the fight was notable.

Highly personal, at times quietly humorous, and at times tragic, it is written with a clarity that makes it enjoyable to readers without scientific training as well as to physicians. For instance, the author clearly instructs the reader in the signs and symptoms of yellow jack, and keeps him on the edge of his seat at the same time, when he describes the disease and one of its complications as he himself suffered it, hour by hour, day by day.

For the lover of history who looks for more than just another scientific treatise or diary of adventure, this warm, human document is recommended reading.

WEBSTER MERRITT

Jacksonville, Florida

Glimpses of the Panhandle. By Harold W. Bell. (Chicago: Adams Press, 1961. 227 pp. Maps, bibliography. \$3.50).

This short work has to do with the Florida Panhandle-Bay, Calhoun, Gulf, Jackson, and Washington Counties - the area between Pensacola and Tallahassee. Although the book is not written with the professional historical competency that might have been expected, yet it is an important step in the process of developing state and local history. Without such books as these, much local color and on-the-scene description might be irretrievably lost.

Glimpses of the Panhandle is recommended only as a general summation of some of the people of West Florida and their activities. There are a number of amusing incidents scattered throughout the volume, but without footnoting there is no way to check

their authenticity. An index and a more complete bibliography would be helpful.

HENRY S. MARKS

Florence State College (Alabama)

The Secession Conventions of the South. By Ralph A. Wooster. (Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1962. 294 pp. Maps, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

The title of this book precisely embraces its contents. This is a study, not of the secession movement, but of the eleven conventions and four legislatures which considered the relations of the fifteen slaveholding states to the Union in the winter and spring of 1860 and 1861. Dr. Wooster not only examines the work of each convention, but analyzes exhaustively certain characteristics of its members. In recounting the stories of the several conventions, he draws freely upon the extensive secondary literature on secession; but in assembling personal data, he utilizes a hitherto overlooked source - the population schedules of the United States census for 1860.

The author's methodology was to search the census schedules of free inhabitants for information on each convention member; then to search the schedule of slave inhabitants for the appropriate county to ascertain if the delegate was a slaveholder and, if so, the extent of his holdings. In this way he was able to determine the birthplace, occupation, property ownership, and slaveholding of 1,780 of the 1,859 members of the fifteen conventions and legislatures. Since few of the delegates were neatly labeled as to their views on secession, he determined their positions by analyses of the votes on key motions in the several deliberative bodies. Finally, he sought to correlate political positions and personal data.

Dr. Wooster found that all of the secession bodies were composed of leading public figures of their states, who were predominately middle-aged lawyers, planters, and farmers. The members were, as a rule, substantial property holders, although those of the states of the lower South were, in most cases, wealthier than those of the upper and border states. Slaveholding varied considerably, ranging from a median of 37 slaves in South Caro-

lina to less than one slave in Delaware. Similarly, the proportion of native sons ranged from 90.2 percent in the Virginia convention to none in the Texas convention.

If the reviewer interprets Dr. Wooster's findings correctly, none of the personal data analyzed accounts for the political views of the delegates in the states of the lower South. It is true that secession was supported most strongly in the heavier slave-holding counties, but the men of the lower South were overwhelmingly for secession, regardless of their nativity, occupation, wealth, or ownership of slaves. In the upper South, on the other hand, lawyers, who comprised the second largest occupation group, opposed secession by a sizeable margin, while secessionists were appreciably more wealthy in real property and slaves than their opponents.

Although Dr. Wooster nowhere states that his purpose is to explain why the members voted as they did, the hope of finding an answer to that question seems to this reader, at least, to be implicit in his research. It is a tantalizing question, and one that probably will never be answered. But Dr. Wooster has demonstrated that the answer must be sought on a plane above that of personal economics.

The story of the North Carolina convention hints at what may possibly have been a major factor. Only in that convention was the right of secession questioned by the organized majority. They recognized the natural right of revolution but not the constitutional right of secession. In the other conventions, there seems to have been no real ideological differences between the immediate secessionists, the cooperationists, and the conditional unionists. Perhaps the answer lies in a deeply and widely held conviction of a constitutional right.

It is probably unnecessary to remind the readers of the *Quarterly* of Dr. Wooster's study of the Florida secession convention which was published in the issue for April, 1958 (Vol. XXXVI, No. 4). That article is essentially the same as his chapter on Florida in the volume under review, except that the former lacks several summary tables to be found in the latter and includes a tabulation of convention members by name and personal characteristics which is not carried in the book.

DOROTHY DODD

Florida State Library

The Colonial Records of South Carolina, Series I: Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, January 19, 1748-June 29, 1748. Edited by J. Harold Easterby. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1961. 413 pp. Preface and index. \$11.00.)

In 1951 the South Carolina Archives Department began publishing a series of the journals of the Commons (lower) House of Assembly for the period 1736-1775, of which the volume under review is the eighth. It is also next to the last to appear under the editorship of the late J. Harold Easterby whose high standards and intimate knowledge of the state's early records have contributed significantly to the value of the series. Especially worthy of notice is an index so useful that it should be a model for all editors of legislative records in the future. The format is pleasing and the binding durable.

This volume contains the proceedings of the Commons House during five short sessions in the first half of 1748. Indian relations and defense of the colony were the principal business of Governor James Glen and the General Assembly in that year. When units of the Royal Navy were withdrawn for other service, Glen secured and armed private vessels to protect the shipping in the approaches to Charleston harbor. He then faced the task of persuading the General Assembly to honor his commitments by voting the funds. The legislators' solution was to issue 40,000 pounds in paper currency (8,000 pounds in sterling) to be redeemed from taxes, but the governor vetoed the bill as contrary to his instructions. The General Assembly then voted a specific sum for coastal defense to be defrayed from tax revenues over a period of years, but Glen vetoed this without explanation.

Indeed, aside from routine appropriations and private bills, the Commons House carried on a running battle with Glen throughout the legislative year. His Excellency vetoed four of fourteen bills presented to him; he complained further that the General Assembly was niggardly in providing gifts for visiting Indian chiefs and rental allowances for himself. The Commons House in its turn scrutinized administrators' accounts in minute detail and sharply reproved the Governor for a message in which he commented on a tax measure under consideration in that body.

This is a valuable and attractive addition to South Carolina's

published records, and the Archives Department is to be congratulated on its achievement.

ROBERT S. LAMBERT

Clemson College

Georgia's Journeys: Being an Account of the Lives of Georgia's Original Settlers and Many Other Early Settlers from the Founding of the Colony in 1732 until the Institution of Royal Government in 1754. By Sarah B. Gober Temple and Kenneth Coleman. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1961. Pp. xviii, 348. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

This is a good book. It is thoroughly researched, carefully organized, heavily documented, well written, and very readable. It is strikingly different from most of the histories of the founding of other colonies in that it is not primarily a story of leaders but instead a rather detailed account of the obscure, ordinary men and women whose lives were not spectacular but whose work was so essential to early Georgia. The heroes of this book are "the men, women, and children whose hard work, heartaches, failures, and successes in Georgia's first two decades began the colony."

Mrs. Temple died in January, 1956, before final completion of her manuscript. Professor Coleman, a member of the History Department of the University of Georgia, completed the job.

Among the more interesting of the volume's fifteen chapters are: "Atlantic Crossing"; "Birth Pains of a Colony"; "Other Worthy Poor"; "The 'Unfortunate Poor' as Rulers"; "Scandals, Savages, and Tangled Clerical Love Affairs" (including that of John Wesley and Sophia Hopkey); "Botanists, Trustees' Garden, and Gardeners"; "A House of Mercy" (with particular emphasis on George Whitefield's Orphanage); "John Milledge-From Orphan to Principal Inhabitant"; and "Noble Jones-From Carpenter to Principal Inhabitant."

Those persons - of the some 400 in the Index - who receive most space in the text are: Paul Amatis, Thomas Causton, Thomas Christie, Samuel Eveleigh, Joseph Fitzwalter, Peter Gordon, James Habersham, Francis Harris, Noble Jones, Thomas Jones, John Milledge, James Oglethorpe, Henry Parker, William Step-

hens, John and Charles Wesley. Through quotations from such men the story of Georgia's first two decades is revealed. We learn about the "Atlantic Crossing" on the *Ann*; the problems of government; the desperate efforts to develop agriculture; the establishment of forts at strategic places; Indian relations; the threat of Spanish Florida; education; religion; crime and punishment; the founding of Savannah, Augusta, Ebenezer, and other towns; health and the high mortality of settlers; and other problems confronting a frontier colony.

One of the most interesting sections of the book is the "Appendix" containing the "List of Passengers on the *Ann*" - their name, age, occupation and family connection, location of land (if they owned any), official position, and the "disposition by 1754" of the 114 passengers. In this group there were 64 adult men, 23 wives, 23 sons, 19 daughters, and 9 servants. Among the 25 or more tradesmen on the *Ann* were carpenters, farmers, gardeners, cloth workers, cordwainers, basket makers, mercers, tailors, wheelwrights, bakers, peruke makers, and even a surgeon and a writer. By 1754, 60 of the original passengers had died, 7 had moved to South Carolina, only 11 were "alive in Georgia," and 9 were "probably in Georgia." Few of the early settlers lived to enjoy a better life. Most of them met an early death - the reward of most real pioneers.

HUGH T. LEFLER

University of North Carolina

The Baratarians and the Battle of New Orleans. By Jane Lucas de Grummond. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. xi, 180 pp. Illustrations, maps, note on sources, index.)

The Battle of New Orleans: A British View. With an introduction and annotations by Hugh F. Rankin. (New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1961. vii, 51 pp. \$2.00.)

A student of the Battle of New Orleans can pick up a few new grains of information from the booklet edited by Professor Rankin. It contains a lucid nineteen page introduction by the editor which is welcome because of its critical evaluation of the

generalship. Next comes the Journal of C. R. Forrest, a British officer, the *raison d'être* of the booklet. This journal, never published before, reveals the extreme logistical problem faced by the British. It fills up twenty-three pages. The closing item is a reprint of General Lambert's letter to his superiors in England relating the grievous failure of the attack on New Orleans. Mr. Rankin added this to fill out the combat narrative presented by Major Forrest. Purely an item for specialists, this booklet justifies itself by means of a few grains of new information.

The Baratarians and the Battle of New Orleans, is primarily an interesting retelling of the story of the defense of New Orleans. Quantity-wise the Baratarians do not appear in it as much as the reader might expect, probably because data on them is hard to come by. From the "Note on Authorities" one learns that the author has dug in several collections of manuscripts where the digging would be very long in proportion to the useful data extracted; for example, the Archives of the U.S. District Court of the Louisiana District. Brief or not, the author does make it clear that the Baratarians contributed more to victory than they have ever been given credit for. It was they who provided most of the ammunition needed to repulse the enemy. It was they who, by refusing to aid the British, in effect forced them to approach the city by the fatal route taken. For had Lafitte and his associates been on the other side, they could have led the invaders through better ways. But they refused that aid, and apparently did so for insignificant personal advantage. Certain it is that the professional soldiers painstakingly left them out of official reports in spite of evidence that they had done more than others to foil the enemy. One articulate contemporary, Arsene Lacarriere Latour who wrote of the battle, could have set the record straight, but did not do so because he knew too much about the Baratarians. In subsequent years he was implicated with some of them as spies for Spain.

Except for the justice done to the Baratarians, the author adds little not previously known to the story of the battle. But she is particularly skillful in reminding the reader of the politics operating behind events, for instance the activity of Governor William C. C. Claiborne, and the British unwillingness to accept the Louisiana Purchase as valid. Points like these, usually shadowy, are treated far better here than in most books. On the other

hand, Andrew Jackson is drawn too much from the patriotic image of him. Finally, the style of writing is jerky, composed as it is of too many short paragraphs and devoid as it is of the sort of connectives which make a narrative flow.

JOHN K. MAHON

University of Florida

Old Gentlemen's Convention: The Washington Peace Conference of 1861. By Robert Gray Gunderson. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1961. xiv, 168 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Dr. Gunderson, Professor of Speech and Theatre at Indiana University, presents a detailed study of the last-minute gesture toward forestalling the Civil War by 132 representatives from twenty-one states who met in Washington in February, 1861. Former president of the United States, John Tyler of Virginia, exerted a major influence in bringing about the Convention and served as its president. The nine seceded states did not send delegates; their representatives were in Montgomery participating in the formation of the Confederate States of America.

The author gives a clear picture of the political, economic, military, and psychological influences which ultimately led to the breakdown of the American tradition of compromise and the failure of the Convention to achieve its stated purpose. The first chapters elaborate upon these influences, depicting the increasing power of the extremists, both North and South, and the impotence of those advocating a middle ground. Subsequent chapters deal with the multitude of preliminaries to organizing the Convention, "masterly inactivity" after it was organized, delaying tactics and conflicts among the delegates, and finally the adoption of a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This amendment satisfied no one; the Senate failed to give it the required two-thirds vote and the House refused even to receive it.

Illustrations include a photograph of the exterior of Willard's Hall, where the Convention was held, an interior view showing it in session, and portraits of some of the delegates. Pointing up the position of one faction of extremists and also the political attitudes of some delegates, is a reproduction of a political hand-

bill which included a letter from Zachariah Chandler to Governor Blair of Michigan urging him to send uncompromising delegates to the convention to save the Republican party from rupture, and stating, "without a little blood-letting this Union would not be worth a rush."

The book is fully documented. The bibliography lists ninety-three manuscript collections upon which the author drew. A roster of the Convention and the proposed amendment to the Constitution are included in the appendix.

R. L. GOULDING

Tallahassee, Florida

A Rebel Came Home. Edited by Charles M. McGee, Jr., and Ernest M. Lander, Jr., (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961. xviii + 153 pp. Notes, appendices, index, and illustrations. \$4.50.)

This is the diary of Floride Clemson, granddaughter of John C. Calhoun and daughter of Thomas Green Clemson. Born in South Carolina in 1842, most of her early life was spent in Belgium, where her father was charge d'affaires, and in Maryland where her family had a farm near Blandensburg. Floride attended boarding school in Philadelphia and visited frequently with Northern friends and relatives but less often with those in the South. A few months after the outbreak of the Civil War her father and brother cast lots with the Confederacy but Floride and her mother remained in Maryland until December, 1864. The young lady's life was not radically changed by the conflict, though there was a certain insecurity to be endured by one whose roots were in the South but whose home was in a border state. Her favorite diversion continued to be visits with relatives and friends. It is therefore natural that the first entry in her diary was made while she was a guest in the home of John H. B. Latrobe of Baltimore. For two years she faithfully recorded the events of her life in the North, and although her sympathies were with the South she was not violent in her views. Floride was discreet and her relations with those around her were more pleasant than one might think possible under the circumstances. With her, friendship took precedence over political views.

As tensions mounted and unpleasant situations multiplied, Mrs. Clemson decided to return to South Carolina. In December, 1864, she and her daughter commenced their arduous twelve-day journey to Pendleton, the home of Floride's grandmother, Mrs. John C. Calhoun. The young diarist described the problems of wartime travel and the shocking change of circumstances she found in the Confederacy. Stunned by the contrast of conditions in the North and South, she wrote at length of the shortages, high prices, devastation, impoverishment, and displacement of many once affluent Southerners. Her diary reflects the conditions in upper South Carolina during the last three months of war during which time she recorded her observations with fair regularity. Like so many other chroniclers of the period, her entries were more erratic after the cessation of hostilities and, in October, 1866, her diary abruptly ends. Floride always emphasized personal and family matters, but she also included the news and rumors of the day.

The most significant contribution of *A Rebel Came Home* is Floride Clemson's comparison of conditions in the North and the South. From a life which included nothing more than minor inconveniences, frustration, and uncertainty she was hurled into a war weary, demoralized, depressed, ruined Confederacy which was gasping its last breath. Unlike many wartime diarists she had not been in a position to record its daily anguish and its decline, but she could and did register her shock at the changed circumstances of the people. Floride did not write in a philosophical vein, nor was she given to soul-searching or predictions of things to come. Her primary interest was people, not issues, and she was a name-dropper par excellence. For this reason the diary needed editing and Charles M. McGee, Jr., and Ernest M. Lander, Jr., have done one of the finest jobs this reviewer has seen. They are to be congratulated on the prologue, epilogue, appendices, and excellent identifying footnotes, all of which reflect careful research and meticulous attention to detail. The illustrations, photographs, and maps combine to make this an exceptionally attractive little volume of which the editors and publisher should be proud.

MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY

Winthrop College

Sheridan in the Shenandoah: Jubal Early's Nemesis. By Edward J. Stackpole. (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1961. Pp. xviii, 413. \$5.95.)

"Up to the summer of 1864," Union cavalry commander Wesley Merritt reported, "the Shenandoah Valley had not been to the Union armies a fortunate place either for battle or for strategy." For the Confederates the Valley supplied foodstuffs and a means of easy transit to the north; for Union generals Banks, Fremont, Shields, Sigel, and Hunter it was the graveyard of their reputations. While Stonewall Jackson lived he made the Shenandoah his private preserve, and afterward it was known as "Mosby's Confederacy." Between those two Rebel commanders came the activities of Jubal A. Early, successor to Jackson in the audacious art of the diversionary strike. In July, 1864, Early's troops sought to relieve pressure upon Lee at Petersburg with a raid upon Washington. They got within sight of the Capitol dome, and even momentarily subjected Lincoln to their rifle fire. Though the raid failed in its purpose, it was a reminder of the dangers in a Confederate-controlled Shenandoah Valley.

Thereafter, the Union leadership decided that the Valley must be made useless to the Confederates. Grant selected the controversial Phil Sheridan as Union commander in the Valley, gave him instructions to "go in" and defeat Early-as much for political as for military objectives, since it was election-time in the North-and then to scorch the Valley farmland. "It is desirable that nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return," Grant ordered. "Take all provisions, forage, and stock wanted for the use of your command. Such as cannot be consumed, destroy." Sheridan's Valley campaign was to emulate the better-known scorched-earth action of Sherman in Georgia and the Carolinas, and the small-statured Phil carried out his instructions in brilliant fashion. In a three-month campaign he defeated the outnumbered Early and stripped the Valley so that, in his own words, even the crows would have to take their rations if they travelled there.

This book is a study of Sheridan's Valley campaign, with especial attention to the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. It is based upon the Official Records, letters and diaries of the participants, and subsequent biographical studies.

Much of it is an extension of Richard O'Connor's *Sheridan the Inevitable*. But General Stackpole, with a soldier's understanding of battle and an unusual skill at literary presentation, injects interest into the tactics of these little-known but important Civil War battles. Readers, especially of the "buff" variety, will enjoy his account.

DAVID L. SMILEY

Wake Forest College

Commanders of the Army of the Potomac. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962. 273 pp. Notes, bibliography, and index. \$6.00.)

This volume is a study of the Army of the Potomac and the seven men who commanded it. The author has actually written seven short biographies with major attention given to each man's regnum as commander of the ill-fated Army of the Potomac. In each sketch Hassler compares and contrasts military achievements with comparable campaigns planned by George B. McClellan, whose biography he earlier published. Each general emerges second best compared with McClellan.

The author's research into published sources has been extensive. Although Gamaliel Bradford and Theodore F. Dwight have written biographical sketches of some of these commanders, this study may well provide us with a primer for further, more exhaustive research and writing pertaining to all Lincoln lieutenants in the East.

Hassler is most original in his treatment of George G. Meade. Called by his troops "a damned old goggle-eyed snapping turtle," Meade allowed responsibility to weigh him down, thinks Hassler; this made him impatient and careworn. "At times, in his rage at malefactors, he would deal out corporal punishment with his own hands." Essentially, the tragedy was that Meade had real ability, but lacked the capacity to win and inspire his soldiers.

Hassler interpretations of campaigns led by Irvin McDowell, John Pope, Ambrose Burnside, and Joseph Hooker contribute some interesting anecdotes for the student of Civil War history. In general, J. G. Randall's thesis—that McDowell was not so badly beaten at the First Bull Run and that he was not really too

drunk to fight in the Second Bull Run-is allowed to stand. McDowell and McClellan failures are largely blamed on the Radical Republicans who wanted offensives and emancipation of slaves. John Pope is presented as "a braggart and a liar." Hassler is apparently willing to accept the verdict of those who hated the fighting general from Illinois: Montgomery Blair, Flag Officer Andrew Foote, and George B. McClellan.

Hassler explains most of McClellan's losses by reasoning that "it would probably have been impossible to retain in command of the Army of the Potomac a man who was not only a Democrat, but the probable Democratic candidate for the Presidency at the next election, and that his removal was therefore only a question of time."

Hassler's estimate of Grant as Commander of the Army of the Potomac is that he was tactically second best in all contests, except in crossing the James River and in the Appomatox chase. In his conclusion, however, the author quotes the contradictory assumption of none other than General Robert E. Lee: "I have carefully searched the military records of both ancient and modern history, and have never found Grant's superior as a general. I doubt if his superior can be found in all history." Lee's words may be viewed as an effort to repay Grant for his generous terms at Appomatox, but there is a possibility that Hassler is rating Grant lower than his achievements merit.

Professor Hassler has given us a very interesting and authoritative account. He presents the commanders of the Army of the Potomac in clear perspective and traces their rise and fall with skill. This volume is recommended for both high school and college libraries. Readers wanting to know more about the last great civilian war will find Hassler's work more interesting than most Civil War novels.

MERLIN G. COX

Daytona Beach Junior College

James Monroe Smith Georgia Planter, Before Death and After.
By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press.
xii, 294 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index.
\$5.00.)

Professor Coulter has written the biography of a super farmer, James Monroe Smith of Georgia. Carefully sifting an impressive amount of material, much of it county records, the author gives order and life to a complex story.

Born in Georgia in 1839, Smith attended old-field schools. He received a law degree in 1861 from Tennessee's Hiwassee College but never practiced. Smith's Confederate military service was cut short by an eye affliction, and he spent the war years trading and peddling. By 1866 profits from this itinerant vocation enabled him to purchase land in Oglethorpe County. With Oglethorpe serving as the base of what without exaggeration can be called an empire, Smith soon purchased additional tracts in adjoining counties. He dismissed suggestions that his accumulation of real estate amounted to greed by explaining that he only wanted "All the land that's next to mine."

As a farmer Smith concentrated on cotton, but as a man of the New South he also practiced diversification. Scattered about his holdings were vegetable gardens, orchards, plots for various grains, and many livestock. He operated a dairy, had the largest cotton gin in Georgia, and maintained a cottonseed oil mill, gristmill, brickyard, fertilizer factory, and a number of wood and blacksmith shops.

Operating this farm community required a sizeable labor force, and at one time Smith worked more than one thousand people. These included wage hands, tenants, and state convicts. His use of the latter provoked criticism and prompted investigations, but apparently Smith did not violate the state convict lease laws. The small town of Smithonia grew up around his home, and by the 1880's Smith's self-sufficient holdings were crisscrossed with private railroad lines. His farm won repeated mention in the press and agricultural journals for its efficient administration and endless variety.

Politically, Smith was a Bourbon Democrat (Tom Watson was his arch-enemy). He served three terms in the lower house and one in the senate of the state legislature. In 1906 he made

an unspectacular and unsuccessful race for governor. But first and foremost, Smith was a farmer. At his death in 1915 his estate was worth, according to some estimates, \$4,000,000. Numerous claimants rushed forward to grab a share of Smith's property. Litigation continued for several years and was an unworthy end to the Smith legend.

Smith was cut from a late nineteenth century mold of rugged individualism. Had he been an oil magnate, a railroad baron, or a steel tycoon his success would have been more spectacular but no more difficult. Professor Coulter writes sympathetically but objectively. His style is highly readable and this study is a contribution to the field of southern biography and agricultural economics.

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

Florida State University

Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada. Edited by Richard W. Hale, Jr. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, for the American Historical Association, 1961. xxxvi, 241 pp. Bibliography and index. \$5.00.)

Any guide which takes as its province the location in North American institutions of historical material photocopied from originals scattered around the world and which at the same time must depend upon the goodwill and industry of harassed curators to report and describe their holdings is going to be a hit-or-miss affair. So hit-or-miss, in fact, that it is hard to imagine what use can be made of a *Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada*.

Take the case of Ezra Stiles, that eighteenth century clergyman and historian whose voluminous manuscripts, containing everything from weather records to experiments with silkworms, are in the Yale University Library. The Guide reports that the Massachusetts Historical Society has on film some correspondence between Joseph Fish and Ezra Stiles, made from originals at Yale. What good is this snippet to anybody? So long as manuscript collections are not systematically photocopied or faithfully

reported, there seems to be little enough reason for printing a list of the fragments.

The arrangement of this guide is by country (not alphabetically) beginning with the ancient world and ending with Micronesia. Materials include government records, church records, personal papers, business papers, collections, etc. Each of the 11,137 entries includes the briefest description (log, Civil War journal, land records, letters, etc.), the location of the original manuscript, the location of the photocopy, and a symbol showing whether additional copies can be made. The *Guide* lists only bodies of manuscripts, not individual pieces, and includes only photocopies under institutional control reported before January 1, 1959.

The index has no subjects and is otherwise inadequate. A bibliography of finding aids to photocopied material—union lists, guides, indexes, sales lists, house organs—might well be the book's best feature.

MARJORIE G. WYNNE

Yale University Library

BOOK NOTES

Personnel of the Civil War, Edited by William Frayne Amann. Volume 1, The Confederate Armies: Volume 2, The Union Armies (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961. vii, 749 pp. \$10.00.)

The first volume, dealing with the Confederate armies, is a reprinting of two rare and long out-of-print books by former Confederate General Marcus Wright: *Local Designation of Confederate Troops and Memorandum of Armies, Corps, and Geographical Commands in the Confederate Army During the Years 1861, '62, '63, '64, & '65*. These two books, first published in 1876, were an attempt on the part of the federal War Department to preserve for historical purposes as many Confederate military records and documents as possible. Volume 2 is a reprinting of the 1885 Fallon Report which attempted to solve the confusing problem of military forces during the Civil War using several different names. This volume also contains the appointment list of the general officers of the Union Army. This important reference work presents the tables of organization of the volunteer service of the two armies involved in the Civil War.

Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. viii, 401 pp. Bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

This full, scholarly, impartial study of the civil administrators of the Confederate government is a reprinting of the 1944 edition of Professor Patrick's book. It is a study of the lives of the high Confederate officials, individually and in their relations with President Jefferson Davis, and it is an important addition to the impressive list of Civil War literature that is presently being published. The volume's extensive bibliography adds to its great value.

Lee. An abridgement in one volume by Richard Harwell of the four-volume *R. E. Lee* by Douglas Southall Freeman. (New

York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961. xvii, 601 pp. Index. \$10.00.)

Mr. Harwell, with a true appreciation of Freeman's book, of General Lee, and of the times in which he lived, has abridged a classic biography and has produced a scholarly and intensely interesting study of a great American. Abridgements usually suffer when compared with the original and this volume is no exception. Yet, the essential proportions of Freeman's book have been preserved. Ample space has been allotted to the earlier periods of Lee's life, and an earnest effort has been made to create a "balance between fact and interpretation." Mr. Harwell has included all of the great battle descriptions of Freeman's book and many of the important chapters of analysis. The maps and illustrations add to its value.

General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A. By Joseph Howard Parks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962. viii, 537 pp. Bibliographical essay, index. \$7.50.)

This scholarly, well-written study of Florida's great Confederate general is another in the impressive list of contributions to Southern history by the Louisiana State University Press. Kirby Smith, one of only seven full generals commanding Confederate armies in the field, commanded the Trans-Mississippi Department, the largest theater of the Civil War. He held this post longer than any officer on either side. The author, presently head of the Department of History at the University of Georgia, worked largely from primary sources, including the large collection of Kirby Smith Papers at the University of North Carolina. Many of the letters in this collection were written by members of the Kirby Smith family living in Florida, and this biography describes the lives of Floridians and their reactions and attitudes during the Civil War. Of interest and value to all serious students of the war and its aftermath, this book, another reprinting by the L. S. U. Press, will be welcomed by those who did not get the original printing in 1954.

A Chronology of Florida Post Offices: Handbook No. 2. By Alford G. Bradbury and E. Story Hallock. (Leesburg: The

Florida Federation of Stamp Clubs, 1962. vii, 91 pp. \$2.50.)

This is the second volume of a series of Handbooks on Florida postal history. Volume 1 covered the postal history and postal markings of the pre-stamp period. This present publication covers the ninety-seven year period from 1832 through 1929, which is based largely upon the "Records of Appointments of Postmasters" for Florida in the Department of Archives, Washington, but it continues down to December 31, 1961. Postoffices are listed alphabetically, retaining county designations to distinguish between offices of the same name in different counties. Wherever possible, each entry shows the name, county, the date of establishment (appointment of first postmaster), dates of change of name or status, and dates of discontinuance together with names of offices to which mail would be sent after such discontinuance. This is an excellent reference work, and will prove its value over the years to librarians, philatelists, writers, and students of Florida history.

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Recent paperback reprints of works in Florida history include *Cabeza de Vaca's Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America*, newly translated and edited by Cyclone Covey. It leans heavily on the full translation done by Buckingham Smith in 1851, although it has also been checked against the 1904 translation done by Fanny Bandelier (Collier Books, \$.95). *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or God's Protecting Providence*, by E. W. Andrews and C. McL. Andrews, with a foreword and new introduction by Leonard W. Labaree, was made available some months ago (Yale University Press, \$1.25), as also was *Spain in America, 1450-1580*, by Edward Gaylord Bourne, with an introduction and supplementary bibliography by Benjamin Keen (Barnes & Noble, Inc., \$2.25).

The Civil War, by Harry Hansen, is a paperback original that gives a short, concise history of the war (Mentor Book, New American Library, \$.95). *North Carolina Women of the Confederacy*, by Lucy London Anderson, was recently republished by

the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission (\$1.00). A similar publication by the Alabama Civil War Centennial Commission is *Some Notable Alabama Women During the Civil War*, by H. E. Sterkx.

THE ANNUAL MEETING, JACKSONVILLE, MAY 3-5, 1962

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS MEETING

PRESIDENT GILBERT L. LYCAN presided over the meeting of officers and directors which was held May 3, 1962, at the Roosevelt Hotel, Jacksonville. The meeting was attended by Dr. Lycan, Duncan L. Clinch, H. J. Doherty, Jesse Keene, Mary McRae, Margaret Chapman, Paul L. Maddock, Rembert W. Patrick, Thelma Peters, Ben F. Rogers, Lucius Ruder, Frank B. Sessa, M. L. Vance, and T. T. Wentworth, Jr.

Following the announcement of the recent death of Mr. Julien C. Yonge, Mr. Wentworth, the Society representative at Mr. Yonge's funeral, paid tribute to Mr. Yonge's great contribution to Florida history. Dr. Lycan read the names of other Society members who had died during the past year.

The annual financial report was read by the treasurer and on Mr. Wentworth's motion it was accepted unanimously.

Dr. Doherty, new editor of the *Quarterly*, reported on the following matters: (1) Editorial Board - new members appointed are Dorothy Dodd, Charlton W. Tebeau, Weymouth T. Jordan, Luis R. Arana, Theodore Pratt, John E. Johns, Dena Snodgrass, William C. Sturtevant, and John K. Mahon. Samuel Proctor was appointed associate editor; (2) Printing - bids were received from several printing houses for the publication of the *Quarterly*, but upon consideration of them it was decided to continue with the Convention Press; (3) Editorial problems - the University of Florida subsidizes the Society to a considerable sum by furnishing the services of the editor of the *Quarterly*. The change to a trimester system, however, raises the possibility of the editor's vacation periods interfering with the publication dates of the *Quarterly*, and the possibility of the editor occasionally being away from University employment from May through September. It was suggested that the directors should take under consideration the necessity to pay an editor during these periods. Dr. Doherty stated that he would be out of the country during the summer of 1962 and recommended that Dr. Proctor be paid the sum of \$300 in the event that it is necessary for him to do final proof-

reading on the July number and preliminary work on the October number. On motion of Mr. Wentworth this was unanimously approved. Dr. Patrick reminded the directors that this topic had been discussed at an earlier meeting at which it was stated that it may be necessary to pay \$600 for a full time editor during vacation periods.

Dr. Lycan read a letter from the Florida Board of Conservation in which the members of the Society were requested to indicate sites for state parks and recreational areas. Dr. Lycan appointed as a committee to secure further information from the Board and Society members Dr. Rogers, chairman, Mr. Wentworth, Mr. Justin Havee.

In the report of the annual Junior Historian Essay Contest, the secretary reported that approximately 400 announcements were sent to Junior and Senior High Schools in the state, and more than seventy-five entries resulted. Dr. Charles W. Arnade of the University of South Florida served as chairman of the judging committee and the winners were announced.

The following matter of business was brought before the Board. At the directors meeting of December 2, 1961, Dr. Patrick had read a letter from Dr. John S. Allen offering the Society facilities for its library and headquarters at the University of South Florida Library. Dr. Lycan had named Dr. Patrick chairman of a committee to investigate the advantages to the Society of a removal to Tampa. Dr. Sessa and Miss Chapman were appointed to the committee, but Miss Chapman resigned at a later date because she had accepted a position at the University of South Florida.

In his report, Dr. Patrick first emphasized that the University of Florida had in no way indicated any feeling that the Society should move from its Gainesville headquarters. He further stated that the University of Florida has contributed approximately \$5,000 per year to the Society by paying the salary of the executive secretary, providing space for the headquarters, telephone, electric, and maid service, and so on. He reported that other colleges and universities were notified that a move was being considered and their bids were requested. Bids were received only from Stetson University and the University of South Florida. Dr. Patrick inspected the facilities and equipment of both universities to be assured of adequate care for the collection of Society material.

After his report, Dr. Lycan spoke on behalf of Stetson University and Miss Chapman on behalf of South Florida. Dr. Lycan stated that Stetson wanted the collection; could accept it immediately even though their new library will not be completed for some time; the new library will provide adequate facilities for the collection; the material will be available for students of Florida history and teachers. Miss Chapman stated that enrollment at South Florida is expected to increase to 10,000 by 1968; that the library now has adequate facilities for the collection; that a professional librarian will be in charge of the material; that two competent assistants will be available to help the librarian with the collection and correspondence.

In the discussion that followed, Dr. Rogers pointed out that private institutions have the problem of securing funds for library material, while those supported by the state receive yearly appropriations which assures library funds. Dr. Vance asked which move seemed most likely to assist in the study of Florida history. Dr. Lycan and Miss Chapman both argued the qualifications of their institutions to meet this requirement. Dr. Sessa moved that the headquarters of the Florida Historical Society be moved from its present location and the vote was unanimous approval. Dr. Vance moved that the vote on location be by ballot and this was accepted. When the ballots were counted there were three for Stetson and nine for the University of South Florida. Dr. Lycan's motion for unanimous approval of the move to South Florida was unanimously approved.

A final item of business was the selection of the location for the 1963 annual meeting. At the 1961 meeting, a tentative acceptance of an invitation to meet in Sarasota had been given and this city was confirmed by the Board as the site of the 1963 meeting. Dr. Sessa extended an invitation to the Society to meet in Miami in 1964.

The Board of Directors then adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held in the Emerald Room of the Roosevelt Hotel, following the luncheon, with Dr. Gilbert L. Lycan presiding.

Dr. Rembert Patrick spoke of a proposal to move the head-

quarters of the Society from the University of Florida to the University of South Florida. As reasons for the move, he stated: (1) the Florida Historical Society library is not used where it is because it is overshadowed by the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; (2) the Tampa area has several colleges and a large population but no important collection of Floridiana; (3) the University of South Florida has made generous arrangements for housing the collection and for paying a competent staff to look after it.

A motion was made that the Society move its headquarters to the University of South Florida. It was approved unanimously. The move will begin by July 1.

Mr. Adam G. Adams announced that the state Civil War Centennial Commission is publishing a monthly leaflet describing events of 100 years ago and is sending it to about 2,000 schools, libraries, and historical societies in the state. Dr. Samuel Proctor is its editor.

Dr. Charles Arnade announced the winners of the annual Junior Historians Essay Contest sponsored by the Society. Winners were: First Prize, Alfreda Blackshear, Florida A. and M. University High School, Tallahassee; Second Prize, Veronica Pelaez, St. Joseph Academy, St. Augustine; Third Prize, Joan Lancaster, Sarasota High School. Honorable mentions were awarded to Roger D. Crim, Pensacola High School; Hugh Lipton, Sarasota High School; and Nancy Von, Ormond Beach Junior High School.

Dr. Lycan spoke of a letter from Governor Bryant asking suggestions from members for sites deserving of historical markers and also of sites which should be acquired now as future recreational areas.

The invitation of the Sarasota Historical Society to the Florida Historical Society to hold its 1963 meeting in Sarasota was accepted unanimously. Dr. Sessa extended an invitation to the Society to meet in Miami in 1964.

Dr. Lycan announced the creation of a Julien Chandler Yonge Endowment Fund to honor Mr. Yonge who died April 25, 1962.

Dr. Doherty, chairman of the resolutions committee, reported a Memorial Resolution eulogizing Julien C. Yonge. It was unanimously approved by a silent, standing vote of the Society. Four other resolutions of thanks were reported and unanimously approved.

Mr. Justin Havee moved that printed slips correcting an error on the title page of the index of the *Quarterly* be prepared and mailed to each purchaser of the index. Dr. Patrick amended the motion to read, "be mailed to the libraries and people who request it." The motion, as amended, was carried.

Miss Dena Snodgrass gave the report of the nominating committee which was unanimously approved as the slate of officers for the next year. They are: President, Frank B. Sessa; 1st Vice-President, James R. Knott.; 2nd Vice President, Lucius S. Ruder; Recording Secretary, Thelma Peters; Executive Secretary, Margaret Chapman; Directors, Adam G. Adams, Charles W. Arnade, William M. Goza, Walter R. Hellier, Ernest H. Jernigan, James H. Lipscomb, III, Rembert W. Patrick, Wesley Stout, Justin Weddell.

The following were named for the nominations committee: Gilbert L. Lycan, chairman, Albert C. Manucy, Dena Snodgrass, Bayard Shields, and Jesse Keene. The meeting was then adjourned.

RESOLUTIONS

Dr. H. J. Doherty, Jr., chairman of the resolutions committee reported the following resolutions which were adopted as read.

In Memoriam

The officers and members of the Florida Historical Society mark with grief and regret the passing on April 25, 1962, of Julien Chandler Yonge at his home in Pensacola. Long a bulwark of this Society, Julien Yonge's name was synonymous with the *Florida Historical Quarterly* for over thirty years. Beyond his signal service to the Society was the magnificent service which Julien Yonge performed for historical scholarship in general and for Florida history in particular.

In his role as editor of the *Quarterly*, which he assumed in 1925, he ceaselessly brought to light the many-faceted aspects of his state's past. To the young scholar he offered encouragement, counsel, and kindness; to the established professional he extended patience, assistance, and understanding. To all, his optimism and good cheer were refreshing sources of new strength.

Under his direction the *Quarterly*, which had been dormant for fifteen years, was built into a periodical of wide circulation and high respect among state historical journals.

A contribution of equal importance to his editorial activity was his accomplishment in collecting and preserving the records and documents of Florida's past. With the aid and encouragement of his father, Philip Keyes Yonge, Julien Yonge began the collection of Florida history materials as a boy and made this a life-long pursuit. In his lifetime Julien Yonge assembled the largest and most valuable collection of Floridiana in the world. In consequence of his deep concern for higher education, in 1944 he donated it to the University of Florida where it became the nucleus of the P. K. Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History, open under his stipulation to all seekers after knowledge, regardless of race, color, or creed. He served as director of this library from 1944 to 1958. In view of the negligence of the State of Florida in preserving and collecting Floridiana, the contribution of Julien Yonge in this connection assumes monumental proportions. Scores of American historians will never forget their indebtedness to the treasures of the Yonge Library. Scarcely a book on Florida history has been written in the twentieth century without the assistance of Julien Chandler Yonge.

It is with a profound sense of loss, then, as well as personal grief that the members of this Society salute the memory of this beloved, kindly, self-effacing - but great gentleman.

Therefore, be it resolved by the members of the Florida Historical Society in general meeting assembled that these sentiments be recorded in the official minutes of the Society, that they be published, and that they be transmitted to the Yonge family in commemoration of the love, honor, and high esteem in which they held the late Julien Chandler Yonge.

Resolutions of Thanks

1. Rembert W. Patrick has for seven years faithfully and efficiently devoted his skills, talents, and energies to the service of this Society and the history of this state in the editing of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, during which time he has promoted the highest scholarly standards and carried on the high levels of editorial performance of the late Julien C. Yonge, thus meriting the thanks of devotees of history everywhere.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Florida Historical Society does record its sincere gratitude and obligation to Professor Patrick for the devoted service which he has given as editor. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be recorded in the minutes of the Society and that a copy hereof be forwarded to Professor Patrick.

2. WHEREAS, Mrs. Lois Sette has devoted several years of her talents and energies to the service of the Florida Historical Society in the position of executive secretary, in which position she has served conscientiously and well; THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the officers and members of the Society do record their sincere gratitude for and appreciation of Mrs. Sette's devoted labors. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a record of this resolution be preserved in the minutes of the Society and that a copy be presented to Mrs. Sette.

3. BE IT RESOLVED that the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society tender their sincere thanks to Miss Dena Snodgrass and Mr. Frank B. Sessa for their services over the past seven years as News and Notes and Book Review editors, respectively, of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be preserved in the minutes of the Society and copies be forwarded to Miss Snodgrass and Mr. Sessa.

3. BE IT RESOLVED that the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society express their gratitude to the Jacksonville Historical Society, the Jacksonville University, the committee on local arrangements, and the program committee. They have made this 1962 Annual Meeting a memorable one with an interesting and outstanding series of events. We express, too, our appreciation to the management of the Roosevelt Hotel and to the Independent Life Insurance Company for their gracious hospitality. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be preserved in the minutes of the Society and that copies be forwarded to these gracious hosts.

NEWS AND NOTES

Removal of Society Headquarters

As authorized by the annual meeting of the Society on May 4, 1962, the library and headquarters of the Florida Historical Society have been removed from the University of Florida and located in the new library of the University of South Florida at Tampa. Miss Margaret Chapman, who was elected executive secretary of the Society, is the Special Collections Librarian at South Florida and will be in direct control of the Society holdings. The Society's books and property remain a separate and distinct entity and are not incorporated into the University's collections. Special quarters have been provided in the library building for the Society. The arduous task of removal was completed during the summer under the personal direction of Miss Chapman. Members are invited to drop in at the new headquarters when they are in the vicinity.

All business correspondence should now be addressed to Miss Chapman at University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida.

Local Societies and Commissions

Historical Association of Southern Florida: Wayne E. Withers was re-elected to a fourth term as president of the Association at the annual meeting last April. Other officers include Charlton W. Tebeau, 1st vice president and editor of *Tequesta*; Roland A. Saye, Jr., 2nd vice president; Justin Havee, executive secretary; Virginia Wilson, recording and corresponding secretary; and J. Floyd Monk, treasurer,

District vice presidents include Karl A. Bickel, James R. Knott, James W. Covington, David M. Fee, Mrs. James T. Hancock, Norman A. Herren, Charles T. Thrift, Jr., and Louise V. White. The Association also elected twenty-one directors.

Martin County Historical Society: The Society announced recently the appointment of Mrs. Mildred L. Spring of Port Salerno as the new secretary for the Martin County Museums. Originally from Worcester, Massachusetts, Mrs. Spring has resided in Martin County for more than five years and has been an active

member of the Society. She replaces Mrs. Cornelia Abbott who recently moved to St. Petersburg.

Through the summer and fall, the Society held a weekly film classics series at the Elliott Museum which presented a number of outstanding films of cultural interest. The House of Refuge Museum continues to feature special monthly exhibits.

Palm Beach County Historical Society: At the March meeting in the Flagler Museum, the Society in cooperation with the Florida Chapter of the Ziegfield Club presented a gala spectacular, "A Ziegfield Night." Featuring two dozen former Ziegfield beauties and a male chorus, and presided over by Society president, Judge James R. Knott, the event drew wide publicity and was the talk of the town.

At the May meeting, Dr. Samuel Proctor of the University of Florida spoke on Napoleon Bonaparte Broward's filibustering operations. The Society continues its project of tape recording the reminiscences of senior citizens with special knowledge of early days in the area. More than forty persons have thus far contributed.

Pensacola Historical Society: The Society has been impressed and gratified by the discovery in May of the site of the third location of the city of Pensacola. An amateur archaeologist, Norman Simons, made the discovery on Santa Rosa Island. Dr. William H. Sears of the Florida State Museum after inspecting the site termed it the most "important archaeology discovery in the history of the Southeast United States." Sears was reported as saying, "There is unmistakable evidence that remains of complete buildings and/or their foundations are buried in the sand." T. T. Wentworth declared that Floridians in the area had been trying to find the site for over forty years.

Protection and preservation of the area is now a major concern. Sears stated, "Nothing like this has ever been discovered before in America and I cannot overemphasize the importance of preserving the area."

Southern Historical Association

The 1962 annual meeting will be held at Miami Beach, November 8-10 at the Fontainebleau Hotel. More than twenty programs are planned, covering virtually every field of historical

interest. Non-members are welcome to attend these sessions. One session will feature papers on the Florida land boom of the 1920's Of special interest to Floridians will be the presidential address of Rembert W. Patrick of the University of Florida, former editor of this *Quarterly*. An informant closest to the mind of Dr. Patrick informs us that his address "will be recognized as the greatest presidential address ever delivered by the executive officer of any professional organization!" The convention will mark the end of Dr. Patrick's term as president of the Association.

THE EDITOR'S CORNER

We continue in this issue the reminiscences of Florida begun in our January, 1962, number by the late Jane D. Brush of Michigan, widow of Alanson P. Brush, a pioneer of the automobile industry.

* * * *

TALES OF OLD FLORIDA

by JANE D. BRUSH

CHAPTER IV

A CAMP AT VENICE

MY SISTER ESTHER was to go with us to Florida. Just back from Europe, she had stopped in Detroit for a visit and Al had invited her to come with us and get acquainted with Florida. I was delighted, but I could not help wondering a little. She had been seeing so many beautiful places-Rome, Florence, Venice-what could Florida seem like against this background of old world loveliness? What would she think of this American Venice-its sole structure an old wooden wharf, with a background of scattered pine trees and scrub palmettos? Above all, would she like the Helvestons-simple, kindly, unsophisticated people-as we did? But I knew my sister, and we had given her a pretty good idea of what she was to see and whom she was to meet. The very fact that this was to be so different from Europe appealed to her and she agreed with me when I suggested just one or two pretty dresses for possible festive occasions. Our main preparation would be clothes for camping, hunting, fishing, cruising. We decided to discard suits for bloomers-quite daring for that day. Our bloomers, something like Turkish trousers, came a little below the knee and each leg required as much material as would make a full skirt today. This outfit was completed by middy-blouses for hot days, sweaters for the cool ones.

"Only one hat," I told Esther, "for traveling and dress-up.

After we get down there we can buy better sunhats than any we can find here." So, though we were to be away two months, our baggage was not heavy. Al's equipment, however, was not so easily taken care of. Besides some heavy hunting boots, he had his own shot-gun, my light-weight rifle, a queer little gun with a skeleton stock which for some reason was called "the elephant gun," and his heavy caliber revolver, which must always be available if one went harpooning for the big rays or a possible saw-fish. Al was also responsible for our fishing equipment.

Esther did indeed like the Helvestons; the quiet charm of Alzarti House appealed to her. She and Ida became fast friends. One night we had gone over to the little house back of the orange trees, and were having a visit with our friends. Suddenly Esther asked, "Just what people do you refer to, Ida, when you speak of a Florida 'cracker'?" We listened for Ida's answer. She took her time, as if thinking, and then said in her soft southern voice, but with the decision that was a part of Ida Helveston, "I don't know, Estah - I suppose I'm a pretty good example of a Florida 'Crackah'." The quiet statement from this serene, cultured, well-educated woman, fairly took our breath away, for we had had rather poor ideas of Florida "crackers," but Ida went on to explain. The term was used, she said, to designate those who were not only born in Florida but whose parents, and probably their grand-parents had been born there. In other words, "crackers" were "natives." The fact that many of these early settlers were people of little means and less education, had given the term a meaning it did not deserve. If Ida was a "cracker" then we liked "crackers"! Ida gave the word a new meaning for us.

Furman had a new boat named for his wife, Ida May. This boat was adding greatly to our enjoyment of the water. It had an auxiliary motor and was ideal for exploring the winding channels of upper and lower Sarasota Bay. It was so staunch a boat that we took many runs out into the Gulf. We had begun to think of a possible short cruise on the Ida May, but first we wanted Esther to see something of the Venice region. We had told her that as far as land was concerned, Venice meant Dona's Landing, and that Dona's Landing meant a rough little wooden wharf and nothing more unless you went back for some distance among the trees or over on the Gulf side of the Pass. Over there,

facing the Gulf and shielded from view by the high banks, was the Higel clan. Of that place and its people, Al had given me fond memories on our previous trip. Now with the help of LaRoux Knight, we were to take Esther with us on a camping trip to Venice.

We were fortunate, for several reasons, to have LaRoux with us on this outing. In the first place LaRoux had spent his youth helping his father and uncles with their great herds of cattle out on the Myakka plains, and he knew this part of the state as a city boy knows his own yard. His keen wit, sense of humor, and bubbling high spirits, made him a delightful companion at any time and his southern accent and cowboy slang added to his charm. Besides this, we would be so near the old Knight homestead that he would be practically in his own domain. Most of the names around here were associated with his family by history or legend; most intriguing, and most indefinite of these names was "Horse and Chaise." Named in the first place by sailors coming up the coast who saw a fancied resemblance in the grouping of land masses and trees, to a horse and chaise, the name was later used to designate the Knight family holdings. Later the government authorized a post-office for the region and called it Venice. Here too were Dona Bay, Dona's Landing and Shakit Creek - story-book names, all of them, and associated with the Knight family.

LaRoux's knowledge of this part of Florida was so accurate and so detailed as to be a constant wonder to us. I remember a day when we had been exploring the "back country," beyond Horse and Chaise. The road was sandy and rough giving us many hard bumps. "We can do better than this," said LaRoux and he turned toward a pond which seemed to stretch away in an indefinite line. "See," he said, as we splashed along in a foot or so of water, "This is much smoother."

"But we might get stuck!" I exclaimed. "Not here!" said LaRoux. "I know this bottom; it's as hard as beach sand." A little more smooth driving and he said, "Well, I reckon we're about ready to take to the road again. Yes-just this-a-way-right up this bank." He turned the horse's head-a wild scramble for a minute or two-a scratchy time getting through some dense undergrowth - and we were back on our road but a smoother, pleasanter road than it had been. "If I had been driv-

ing 'Rattlah,' " said LaRoux, "I wouldn't have had to guide him. He would have found his own way up the bank."

Now LaRoux and Rattler were to be a part of this camping expedition and we were to camp out at Venice near Horse and Chaise. Esther was visiting the Knight family in Braidentown and LaRoux was to pick her up there and join us in Venice at Dona's Landing. Al and I were to take the double team and drive all the camp supplies down. We would have the tents, rods, guns, the Dutch oven, and all our big boxes of supplies. Mindful of our last experience, I threw in all the odd pillows and cushions I could find. When we drove into the clearing around the wharf, Al and I were not surprised to find ourselves ahead of the others. Said Al, "You can have the honor of selecting the camp site. I'll get the tents out to put up but I'll wait 'till LaRoux gets here to help before tackling that job."

When the others arrived LaRoux helped Esther out and fastened Rattler then came over to help with the tents. He looked around rather dubiously, and remarked, "A bit low, isn't it?"

"Yes," said Al, "in the rainy season it wouldn't do at all, but it's perfectly dry now and is not likely to rain soon." Our camp was soon organized—a large tent for Esther and me, a small one for the boys. As for beds, they made a good one for their women folk but insisted that blankets were enough for them. Said LaRoux, "Many a night Rattlah's saddle has been all I wanted."

Even before putting up the tents the boys had started a camp fire in a carefully selected spot, and while they were busy Esther and I worked at building up that fire. It was not hard to find plenty of material around here—big pieces of "lightwood." Before their work was finished we had a glowing fire. As the sun went down, it became cool enough so that the glow from our camp fire was welcome. We made fresh coffee (we always did that) but we ate the delicious picnic luncheon we brought with us. We were very modern; we used paper plates, cups and napkins; when we had finished, on the flames they went—and our dish-washing was done. After our picnic supper, the men spent some time bringing in a heap of heavier wood and small logs to keep the fire going all night. This made a great appeal to two Northerners who knew little of camping-out and to whom this region looked primitive and wild.

As we sat around the fire that evening, those two boys embarked on an orgy of story telling. They told of wild animals of this region in the pioneer days. They told of bears, panthers, catamounts, and other creatures with many a weird snake story thrown in for good measure. LaRoux's stories were particularly wild and dramatic. After an unusually weird yarn he would jump up, snatch the axe, and exclaim, "After that one, guess I better go cut some more 'co'd-wood' and build up the fire, or you girls won't sleep a wink tonight."

The next morning we hunted-at least the men did. Esther and I stayed in the wagon and visited while the men tramped the fields, and got a few quail. They did not think we had enough birds, but when we found that they had just found and killed a big diamond-back rattlesnake we lost all desire to have them tramp those fields. We urged that we should get back to camp at once and have those birds dressed and roasted in the Dutch oven for our dinner. On our way home it began to cloud up ominously and before we had finished our meal a few drops had fallen. We retreated to our tents, hoping that it would only last for a few minutes but, alas, it got blacker and blacker-we were in for the first thunderstorm of the season and LaRoux's dubious look at our low situation was more than justified. Little trickles and rivulets of water began running in under the edge of the tent, and though the cedar boughs and palmetto leaves kept our blanket out of the water, it was very evident that it was going to be uncomfortably damp. The men's tent was worse. This unseasonable and unexpected weather gave us a problem. What should we do-give up and go home? Break camp at this time of night, pack all the equipment, drive twenty (or was it twenty-five?) miles getting to Alzarti House tired, wet and disgusted? Unthinkable! But what else was there to do?

Then LaRoux came to our rescue with a plan which he thought would work. Esther's and my tent was not impossible. He and Al could sleep on that raised bed for one night. He had an aunt living near here, a Mrs. Lowe; he would hitch up Rattler and take us to Mrs. Lowe's for the night. In the morning he and Al would pick us up and we would move into a vacant house he knew of, and finish our camping there.

Of course Esther and I objected. Drop in on an entire stranger, unannounced, at this time of night? And what would

the owner of the house think of such highhandedness? Rut LaRoux would listen to no debate; his aunt had an extra room-he often stayed there himself. As for the vacant house, it was Uncle Fred's. It had been used by the orange-pickers, but they had finished with Uncle Fred's grove. The house would not be locked and Uncle Fred would love to have us use it. So LaRoux took charge, and in every respect he proved to be a true prophet. Esther and I squeezed into the little two-seater cart with him and we had a wild ride on a winding, twisting road over pine slashings, around stumps, over palmetto roots, the darkness lit by flashes of lightning. Off a little to one side, yet near enough so that it was constantly in our view, was an old pine tree that had been struck by lightning. The partly decayed trunk acted like a giant chimney while the center-heart pine-was dry and burned like tinder. Neither my sister nor I ever forgot that wild ride with its flashes of lightning and, in the dark intervals between them, the sight of that blazing tree sending out great showers of sparks.

Everything was exactly as LaRoux said it would be. Mrs. Lowe welcomed us as if we were long expected guests; the next morning Al and LaRoux drove up with our camp equipment and we moved into Uncle Fred's little house at the edge of his big grove. This was an experience that taught me several things. Camping out, I found, is one thing if you are alone with nature - nature *in the raw* - but it is something else in a house. A house, no matter how isolated, seems to say, "I was put here to make you more comfortable - now go ahead and *use me!*" Uncle Fred's house was like this. It had even made some starts. There was a long narrow table. (The packers had sorted oranges on it, but it looked rough and a little dirty.) There were a number of rough benches around the sides of the room. In the kitchen was an old stove, but no other equipment. There were bedrooms but no beds, and I have to admit that our blankets, on the uncompromising boards of the floor, were not equal to our beds out on the Myakka even though we brought in many palmetto leaves to put under them. "If we had brought a tablecloth," we said. "*If* we had another sauce-pan," etc. Perhaps LaRoux was tired of our "ifs." At least he said, "*If* we hunt this afternoon, I will drive you past a little country store where you may be able to get what you want." LaRoux said no more just then and when

finally that afternoon we drove past a neat but unpretentious country house, I had no reason to guess that it belonged to his uncle, Mr. Jonathan Knight.

We drove on around the house and stopped in front of a building which looked like a small warehouse. There were no windows, but a wide door was partly ajar. LaRoux jumped out, closely followed by Al. They helped Esther and me out of the wagon then LaRoux said, "The door is open; you girls go on in. I'll go send someone to wait on you." Then LaRoux and Al disappeared toward the front of the house. Esther and I stepped inside of as curious a store as I ever saw. There were shelves along one side and a crude sort of counter. Otherwise the space was filled with barrels, boxes and crates. There were piles of blankets, coils of rope and cord of all sizes and some hardware; there were also a few farm implements and plentiful supplies of tobacco. We saw little that looked like drygoods. Before we had time to wonder much, certainly before the boys could have reached the house, a back door opened and a man dressed in a coarse shirt and over-alls appeared and asked politely if he could serve us in any way. We told him we wanted some red table-cloth. "I have two pieces," he said and he began looking through as strange a collection of yard goods as one could imagine. He soon found his two pieces and handed them to us to select from. We asked for two yards from the piece we chose. After a brief but fruitless hunt for some shears, he took a hunting knife from his pocket and began sawing off a much larger piece than we had asked for, remarking, "You can even it up when you get it home." Our store-keeper friend had become very friendly and chatty by this time and he now asked, "What part of the North are you from?" When we said we were from Detroit, his face lighted up, and he said, "Detroit? Now that's queer! I've got a niece in Detroit. I wonder if you have ever met her!" Esther and I were much amused - we glanced at each other and I was about to explain how very many persons there were in Detroit whom we did not know; before I could speak, however, he went on to say, "She married a young fellow by the name of Brush." Just before this exchange of information there had been a brief interruption. The back door of the shed flew open for a minute and a girl's head appeared. Was it a brief ray of sun-light, or did all the radiance come from that glorious mass of red hair? Now I

realized in a flash that the drab appearing farmer was Jessie's wealthy uncle and the girl who vanished so quickly when she saw strangers with her father was the pretty younger cousin, Addie Lou, whom I had heard of. Fortunately for me Al and LaRoux appeared just then; introductions were made and the conversation became general and very animated. We did not stay long however; Esther and I had our tablecloth and the boys wanted to hunt. When, later in the afternoon, we got back to our little white house, my husband remarked, "We haven't enough birds to pay to cook them tonight. If you and Esther can get us something to eat, LaRoux and I will be back in time to eat it. I saw something as we passed the oyster-bar which I want to investigate." He brought their shot-guns in and stood them in the corner but took the rifle out with him.

I paid little attention but I wondered what was up. Esther and I made fresh coffee and put a picnic lunch on the table, and then we waited. We didn't have to wait too long; before we had a chance to get nervous, we heard a great commotion outside; trappings, thrashings, and shouts to a frightened, snorting horse. We hurried out and found a very nervous and uneasy Rattler being forced-much against his will - to drag the body of a big alligator to a position before our porch. Al had seen the eyes and nose of this creature-its body entirely submerged-swimming around in the shallow pool beyond the oyster-bar. That was what he had wanted to go back and investigate. It was still there when they got back and Al got a shot between its eyes. It sank at once and Al, thinking it was a small one, waded in after it.

"When my foot first struck it," he said, "I thought I had stumbled on a log, but I soon realized that it was an alligator-and a big one! It was stunned, but it might come to, and make me trouble. The thing to do was to get more lead into it- *quick!*" He went on, "I got my foot under the fore part of its body and lifted. It came to the surface easily. My revolver was in my hand and I fired several shots. The alligator went down with a grunt and I knew he was harmless for the present. LaRoux came in to help me; we got hold of its tail and pulled it ashore. The 'gator didn't make us any more trouble, but Rattler did. That's why we are so late. Horses hate the smell of wild creatures." This might seem to be the end of our alligator story, but there is a little more. The next morning Al held out the rifle toward

Esther and said, "Don't you want to be able to say that you have shot an alligator?"

"When I shoot an alligator," said Esther, "I want it to be a live one, not a *dead* one."

"This one seems dead," said Al, "and it practically is, but 'gators are reptiles, you know, and like snakes they do not die quickly. Let me show you something." He walked to the edge of the porch and jumped down onto the creature's back. Its mouth flew open and it emitted a sound, something between a grunt and a bellow. I heard the sound and hurried out to see what was going on. After several more such demonstrations, both Esther and I added a shot to make sure this big reptile was really dead, and when twenty-four hours later than this it attempted to crawl away, we were horror struck. "Al," I said, "isn't there any such thing as killing such creatures?"

"My dear," said my husband, "don't worry! That alligator was practically dead after my first shot between his eyes, but one has to be careful. I wouldn't like to get too close to his wicked jaws for a while, and his tail could still give a mighty wallop." This particular alligator ended by being the very beautifully tanned skin which hung on the wall of our recreation room in Sherwood Forest for many years.

As Esther and I explored our surroundings and wandered back into the orange grove, we discovered that the little house had a garden. Our special delight was a big rose-bush we found in full bloom. Such blossoms would have been expensive up North but here we had great bunches of them every day. To be sure their pale pinkish yellow petals clashed somewhat with the intense red of our new table-cloth - but you cannot have everything when camping out; some things you must forget. We would forget our coarse red cloth and enjoy the beauty of our Marechal Niel roses.

Up to this time I had not met Uncle Fred; he was just a name to me, but he had known the Brush family when they lived in Sarasota and "Daddy" Brush taught the Venice school. He had never forgotten Al, and then hadn't one of his favorite nieces married Al's brother, Will? At any rate, I soon found myself adopted into the circle of nieces he was so fond of. Our later trips to Florida never seemed properly started until we had been greeted by Uncle Fred, and I came to count on a kiss and a hug from him as if I had been a really, truly niece.

(Continued in the next number)

CONTRIBUTORS

REMBERT W. PATRICK is Julien C. Yonge Research Professor at the University of Florida.

EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON is Assistant Professor of History and Political Science at Auburn University.

FRED W. WALLACE is a resident of Casey Key who for several years has been researching his pet project, the life of John C. Casey.

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

CECIL D. EBY, JR., is Assistant Professor of English at Washington and Lee University.

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