

The
Florida Historical
Quarterly

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XLV

July 1966 - April 1967

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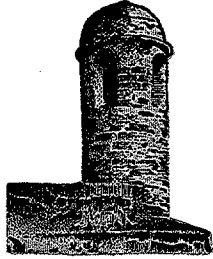
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The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly

JULY
1966

Published by
THE FLORIDA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
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by GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS, FRANCIS P. FLEMING, GEORGE
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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.

THE FLORIDA
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLV

JULY 1966

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THIS WAS FORT DADE

by FRANK LAUMER

FORT DADE was born on the twenty-third of December 1836.¹ The announcement read: "A fort will be erected. . . on the Big Withlacoochee, at the point where the Fort King road crosses it, which will bear the name of the gallant and lamented Dade."²

General Thomas S. Jesup gave the order from his headquarters at Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay. Exactly one year before, the men of Major Francis Langhorne Dade's command had stood formation at this same fort on that other Christmas Eve - then marched away to die. Now a fort would rise along their line of march, some forty miles north by east of Fort Brooke, ". . . a depot and post of observation."³

It was twelve months and four generals since the Dade Massacre, and General Jesup now had the responsibility of carrying the white man's burden against a clever, determined, and outnumbered enemy. He commanded a force, regular and irregular, of over 8,000 men against 1,660 Seminoles.⁴ But numbers alone meant very little in the Florida territory where trained soldiers had as little advantage as if they had been put in the field to combat wild animals. Closed ranks, cannon, and sabre were for killing white men, not savages. Generals Clinch, Gaines, Scott, and Call had each tried and one way or another had failed. Each had killed a few Seminoles, taken a few losses himself, and shifted troops like chessmen on the green board of Florida, but in the end everything was really just the same. Blue-clad troops of the United States Army were holed up in a few forts, with detachments sallying out at intervals to rescue or bury settlers caught by lean

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1. This article was read as a paper at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, May 1966.
 2. Orders Number 26, December 23, 1836, United States National Archives, Record Group 94.
 3. George R. Fairbanks, *Florida, Its History and Its Romance*, 3rd edition (Jacksonville, 1904), 204.
 4. John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1847), 97, 167. The estimate of Seminole strength given here refers specifically to January 1836, but the records indicate that there occurred no serious additions or depletions during the following year.

and desperate savages, detachments which were sometimes themselves cut off and thrust into wild and irrational fighting that was over before men with mortal wounds were dead.

Something more was needed. Something more was always needed to fill the desperate chasm between what the nation demanded of the military and the equipment provided them by politicians who generally were more concerned with citizens' votes than soldiers' lives. To Jesup, the whole dreary effort of "attempting to remove a band of savages from one unexplored wilderness to another . . ." was close to futile, and he felt the war was "doomed to continue for years to come, and at constantly accumulating expense."⁵ But Christian gentlemen in Washington City, who were spinning fine dreams of empire, had no time for such querulous words from a professional soldier who had little time for dreams. And as for the plight of the "savages" - the official policy on that, at least, was clear: "It is useless to recur to the principles and motives which induced the government to determine their removal. . . . They ought to be captured, or destroyed."⁶ It was simple - in Washington.

In the field there were shortages in men, weapons, and time, but bountiful nature had provided plenty of trees, and where there were trees, there could be forts. Jesup had resolved, "from a careful consideration of all the circumstances of the country and the army, . . . to establish a post on the Withlacoochee at the point where the Ft. King road crosses it. . . ." With additional bases to store the always scant subsistence and thereby shorten his lines of supply, his troops would have more maneuverability.

On the seventeenth of December the general had come down the Fort King road from Volusia at the head of volunteers from Tennessee and Alabama with 300 regular troops and 500 Indian warriors bound for Fort Brooke.⁷ He had crossed the Withlacoochee, fording past the wreckage of the high bridge, and made camp in the high pine bluff on the south shore that stretched a quarter of a mile further south and east. A forest of virgin pine towered above the white sand and heavy palmetto, ample water at its feet and bright winter sun glittering on green needles and

5. Thomas S. Jesup to J. R. Poinsett, February 11, 1838, *ibid.*, 200.

6. Poinsett to Jesup, March 1, 1838, *ibid.*, 201-02.

7. Jesup to R. Jones, December 17, 1836, *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), VII, 821.

flaking bark. Here and there stood blunt stumps, their trunks cut a dozen years before to build the stout bridge-burnt, rebuilt, and burnt again-that crossed the thirty-foot stream.⁸

Here at the crossroads of the Withlacoochee and the military highway, in the heart of the Indian settlement, was an ideal location for one of a series of outposts. Roughly forty miles from Fort Brooke and sixty from Fort King, the men of a garrison here could stay in touch with Indian movement in the interior while maintaining frequent contact with other posts. The river in this dry time of year was ten or twelve feet below the bank, and even with the normal high water of the rainy seasons in spring and late summer the fort to be built would be safe from flooding except on rare occasions. The swamps to the west should be distant enough with their attendant miasma and vapors that troops would not contract the fatal fevers that had claimed so many. In addition, a fort here would be a sign to the Seminoles that the white man had come to stay. A week later at Tampa Bay, General Jesup issued Order No. 26, instructing Lieutenant Colonel William Foster of the Fourth Infantry to proceed to the site on the Withlacoochee and establish Fort Dade.

Axes rang in the woods on Christmas Day. For two weeks Colonel Foster kept his brigade busy clearing land along the river to give the new fort a place to stand. The fragrance of pine sap was clean in the cold sunlight as log after log was cut and trimmed, sharpened like giant spears, and then set down butt ends first in a long rectangle. The wavering line of the lengthening palisade was secured and straightened by other logs, smaller, anchored horizontally to the uprights by the coarse cut nails sent up on the wagon train from Fort Brooke. Within the enclosure, supplies were piling up: "twenty-five thousand ball and buck-shot cartridges, twenty thousand rounds of rifle powder and bullets, fifty thousand rations of subsistence and five thousand bushels of corn, an ample supply of tools of every description required for service in the field as well as iron, steel, nails, and cordage. . . ."⁹

By the eighth day of the new year, 1837, General Jesup had

8. George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868), 191-93. Captain McCall was a part of the command that cleared the original course of the Fort King road, and he describes briefly the crossing of the river at this point and construction of the first bridge.

9. Orders Number 26, December 23, 1836, United States National Archives, Record Group 94.

returned and set up temporary headquarters for the Army of the South at the unfledged fort.¹⁰ Congressmen who fought a paper war in Washington wouldn't have thought much of it—just a big walled enclosure set in the pines with nothing much in it but palmetto roots, supplies, and milling soldiers—but chances were they'd never see it. The damaged bridge had been shored up and a lot of land cleared, leaving only a few big oaks here and there, but the block houses had only been started, and the troops were still encamped all over the area. The birth pains were over but the new fort had some growing to do.

A few more days and Jesup, with Colonel A. Henderson of the marines and his men and accompanied by the regular troops at the fort formed ranks and set off up the Fort King road. Jesup rode at the head of the blue column as it filed toward the river, and the three silver stars of a major general commanding¹¹ glinted on the golden epaulettes against a dark blue coat as his mount crossed the bridge and slowly passed from the sight of Colonel Foster and the others, gone from his new fort to find the Seminoles and take their land. Behind him most of his officers marched with the men, a weeks rations in their haversacks and their horses taken by the quartermaster because of the lack of forage.¹² Then the last man was gone north on the road that might lead to peace and the morning was cold and quiet.

Colonel Foster had been left to tend the young fort, new and lonely in the wilderness. His battalion was with him and Captain Lyon's artillerymen and he would need their help to make it strong. With what the general referred to as "his accustomed energy," he drove the men on, transforming a forest into a fort.¹³ A thousand logs stood shoulder to shoulder in the palisade and through the giant gate hung on iron hinges came a thousand more. Notched down, one upon another, they climbed a dozen feet to form block houses, barracks, storerooms, and a hospital. The horses taken from the officers were stripped of their black

10. Orders Number 34, January 8, 1837, *ibid.*

11. This information is drawn from the uniform regulations of the period supplied by the United States National Archives and Record Service, specifically: "1836, Article 52, Uniform, or Dress of the Army. 1. A Major General Commanding in Chief. Epaulettes - gold, with solid crescent; device, three silver embroidered stars, . . ."

12. Orders Number 5, January 9, 1837, United States National Archives, Record Group 94.

13. *Ibid.*

bridles and blue blankets with the gold lace to serve as draft teams, their ration cut to six quarts of corn and all the dry winter grass they could eat.¹⁴

And while the fort was growing, Jesup had met the Indians in one skirmish after another. Away to the north, around the Great Swamp, soldier and Seminole met and fought and broke and met again. White men in blue uniforms and red men in dirty rags glimpsed each other for the first time down the barrel of a musket and red hand or white squeezed first and one by one men died. So, with surprise and pain and death a fever of action would end and the sacrifice would enable men to talk again and peace would come a little closer.

General Jesup and his staff met with Jumper and Alligator, field officers of the Indians, on the eighth of February. The dark bold eyes of fighting men sized each other up in a field between their camps and each made his own plans while they discussed settlement of their differences. Only compliance with the Treaty of Paynes Landing, said Jesup, would end the struggle. They would put this to Micanopy replied Jumper, but he is known to want peace and he will come to you and give his word. Good, said the general, then hostilities shall cease immediately and on the eighteenth day of next month we shall meet again at the new fort by the Big Withlacoochee called Fort Dade.¹⁵ Jumper, lean, hard, and six feet tall, had directed the fire that had killed Francis Dade, and the irony of the site chosen for the reaffirmation of peace was not lost on him, but he made no comment.

With great expectations the fort and the men waited. In the interval since the meeting in the field, plans had been made for both peace and war, some forts being evacuated and convalescents sent north to Georgia, but others, like Fort Dade, were kept open and heavily garrisoned. Captain R. M. Kirby was in command of the fort now while Major A. R. Thompson of the Sixth Infantry commanded the brigade in camp nearby. Captain I. F. Lee, an officer of engineers engaged in a survey of the river, was in charge

14. *Ibid.*

15. Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, February 21, 1837; *New York American*, February 24, 1837. The latter paper carried several stories on Florida including one dealing with the surrender of Osceola, "with all the grace of a fallen hero," and stating unequivocally that "the war has terminated." Both points must have been as welcome as they were false.

of a battalion of friendly Creek Indians camped outside the palisade. The block houses had been "covered in," rations and subsistence stored, the area tidied as well as possible considering the hundreds of troops scattered in and outside the fort, and everything arranged to present a formidable and military appearance. But the lengthening day of late fall became early evening, and around the fires on the meeting day, there was hope, mingled with despondency. To some men it made no difference, for soldiering was soldiering, but to others, home had suddenly seemed near when there was talk of peace.¹⁶

And to General Jesup, prepared all day for the arrival of the Seminole chiefs, disappointment was most bitter of all, for a peace here at his Fort Dade, and now, in the third month of his command, would be a crowning achievement for him and a lesson for the future military annals of the nation. As recently as the seventh of the month, shortly after the meeting with the Seminoles and their promise to come in, he had written, "This is a service which no man would seek with any other view than the mere performance of duty: distinction, or increase of reputation, is out of of the question; and the difficulties are such, that the best concerted plans may result in absolute failure, and the best established reputation be lost without a fault."¹⁷ But in the days intervening it had come to seem possible that he might be able to wind it up after all, finish a distasteful struggle in a wilderness that could not even be said to be habitable by white men, and with his long-suffering troops, depart with honor. It would have justified his plans, mitigated his errors, and turned a dreary campaign into a brilliant victory. Fort Dade might one day have stood as a memorial where all the agony had ended.

The next day and the next preparations continued for vigorous prosecution of the war, while hope receded. Then, word came that a party of Seminoles had been sighted on the road. They looked peaceful and were headed for the fort. It was the twenty-second day of February, birthday of Francis Langhorne Dade,¹⁸

16. Information on the personnel of the fort has been taken from a microfilm copy of the Fort Dade Post Returns supplied by the National Archives and Record Service.

17. Jesup to R. Jones, February 7, 1837, Sprague, *The Florida War*, 173.

18. The date of birth of Major Francis Langhorne Dade was found in *Tylers Quarterly Magazine*, XVII (1935-1936), 55.

when Alligator and Cloud entered the fort at four o'clock.¹⁹ They were late, but perhaps not too late.

A week, and then ten days were lost in illness, procrastination, and the general vicissitudes of life while soldiers and Indians milled about, staring, talking a little, each officially scornful but perhaps in a secret way, with admiration for each other as well. Time and again General Jesup met with the assorted chiefs; Jumper, Alligator, Cloud, and Halah-too-chee (a nephew of Micanopy and heir apparent), explaining, advising, insisting that peace could only be had with emigration.²⁰

The clear cold days of winter were ending and the rains of March began. Brittle sunlight gave way to soggy clouds that rushed above the jungle and the river and transformed green and gold and blue to sodden grey. The sturdy fort, set well back from the river and the road in an acre of wet sand, presented a drooping flag above the sharpened stakes of its palisade to the swarm of troopers and their Creek allies camped about the clearing. Within the gates officers and men moved between the block houses, heads bowed against drizzle or downpour, blue coats as dark and wet as the long strips of peeling bark on the log walls.

In the general's quarters, bedraggled Seminoles in colored turbans, knee-length cotton tunics and coats, with their feet in buckskin moccasins and legs wrapped in formal leggings of woolen broadcloth, met in grand council. This was the fifth of March, a Sunday afternoon, and General Jesup and his staff sat across from the Seminoles, their uniforms with braid and sash and sword looking impressively commanding. They spoke through Abraham, the half-caste Negro, and the odor of unclean humanity was strong in the damp and heated room.²¹

Halah-too-chee opened the talk by stating that his uncle, Micanopy, hereditary chief of all the Seminoles, was old and infirm and therefore unable to attend, but had deputed Jumper and himself to act for him, and he would ratify any agreement that they might reach.

19. Jesup to B. F. Butler, February 22, 1837, *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, VII, 833.

20. *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, March 21, 1837.

21. Information on Seminole dress can be found in John M. Goggin, "Osceola: Portraits, Features, and Dress," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (January-April 1955), 161-92; Irvin M. Peithmann, *The Unconquered Seminole Indians* (St. Petersburg, 1957).

Jesup accepted this, then asked if it was understood that the primary stipulation was that they leave the country? This was the whole point - if they agreed here then all the other problems could be met and a war that might have continued for years to come could be over.

Without perceptible pause, the question was translated and answered - yes, they understood.

The questions and answers hurried on, but the only one that really mattered was met. If the Seminoles held to it, and if no over-anxious settler or careless soldier disturbed them, then here and now countless lives had been saved, a frontier opened, treasure conserved, and the names of General Thomas S. Jesup and Fort Dade, Florida, would be remembered down through the years.

The next day the papers of capitulation were ready and the chiefs made their marks. They would return to their people, gather them with all their possessions including their slaves, and come in to the camp to be set up by the military near Fort Brooke, prepared for shipment to the West.²²

Through the evening the Seminoles milled about the fort, even Jumper's wife accompanying the tall spare leader who was evidently satisfied with the arrangements, though one officer thought that ". . . all his fire is not yet extinguished. . . ." The Chief, Cloud, was still there, "soldierly in appearance; very robust, with a most benevolent countenance . . .," and Halah-too-chee with a "melancholy" look.²³ ". . . There was [not] an individual in the army but believed that the Indians were sincere . . .,"²⁴ though thoughtful men suppressed their satisfaction from the subdued and melancholy Seminoles. Time enough to gloat when they were gone-it was enough now to make plans for a return to civilization.

There was talk that the general planned to discharge the volunteers and militia immediately, send the marines north, and whatever regulars were not needed to superintend the departing

22. The text of the Capitulation is given, with comment, in Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 23, 1837, and in Sprague, *The Florida War*, 177-78.

23. Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 24, 1837.

24. T. Noel to George H. Crossman, June 3, 1837. This letter and others relating to Fort Dade were supplied by the National Archives and Record Service.

Indians during the coming months would be transferred to healthy stations where they would “find repose, and be able to recruit their strength.”²⁵ The “sickly season” would soon be on them here—already two men were dead of the fever and two more were in the post hospital. With the gradual warming and the rainy days, the river was rising to flood the winter-dry swamps and the nights were becoming more restless with the season’s first mosquitoes. These were annoyances to be borne during war, but the war was over and peace meant discharge or at least reassignment. In the North, spring was coming, and as every soldier knew, any place was better than here.

* * * *

This day, the sixth of March 1837, was the high point in the life of Fort Dade. The Capitulation, which might have taken its place among the important documents of the country was doomed to be forgotten. The nation, like a parent who has consistently lied to a child, was shocked when its child, the Seminole, was discovered in deceit. The younger chiefs had never intended to fulfill the stipulations agreed to, but used the diplomacy usually attributed only to civilized people to gain their real ends. The enemy had been made to contribute vast quantities of food and provisions, medicine, and, what was even more precious, time. For three months the bulk of the Seminole nation, including most of the chiefs from Micanopy down through Osceola, were encamped near Forts Brooke and Mellon, recovering their strength and provisioning their larders, under no restraint and allowed to come and go as they wished. Then in June they simply disappeared, melting away as only Seminoles could, back into their beloved woods and swamps in time to put in crops that would in turn carry them through another winter. And all was as it had been.²⁶

Fort Dade still stood, of course, abandoned through the summer to the fever with most of the forts in the territory, and re-occupied in September or October when civilized men could again wage war, but never did it regain the chance for glory. No battles

25. Poinsett to Jesup, May 17, 1837, Sprague, *The Florida War*, 179.

26. *Ibid.*, 178-80.

were ever fought there, no one ever said or did anything there again that would matter to history. It waited faithfully through the hot and silent summers while palmetto and weed lifted tender shoots through the sand of the compound, then once again the sound of fife and drum would drift up the Fort King Road and the gates would open to receive the autumn troops. Wild things would be flushed from block houses, the impedimenta of man would be deposited here and there, a flag slowly gathering stars would climb a weathered pole, and once more Fort Dade would live.

But it was all down hill. After the fitful struggle with the Seminoles ended in 1842, the troops remained for shorter and shorter periods. Then some years were skipped entirely, until in September 1849, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Bainbridge with a detachment of the Seventh Infantry sent up from Fort Brooke to garrison the fort, stopped eight miles short of the river where old Fort Dade waited.²⁷ Here along the military road a few settlers had put up shanties, set out crops, and even established a post office in 1845.²⁸ It isn't clear whether any structure actually stood in this location that could be called a military installation then or later, or whether the troops were simply camped in the area near what had come to be known as the Fort Dade Community, but here they stayed, filling out their post returns for "Ft. Dade, Fla." Gradually, even the old settlers who had called this place after the established military post on the river forgot, and succeeding generations never knew that there had been a "military" Fort Dade.

This post office named for a forgotten fort shifted place throughout the area, a mile this way, two miles that, depending on the residence of each succeeding postmaster. Finally it settled in the rolling land some three miles west of the Fort King road.²⁹ But this Fort Dade too, was doomed. The railroad had come by

27. "Fort Dade is located in the vicinity of the Post Office bearing the same name and in 8 miles South of the Withlacoochee River and on the direct road to Tampa." Post Return of Detachment 7th U. S. Infantry at Fort Dade for the Month of September, 1849.

28. Information on the Fort Dade Post Office has been taken from records supplied by the Social and Economic Branch of the Office of Civil Archives of the National Archives and Records Service.

29. Details of the precise location of the Fort Dade Post Office were found in a report to the topographer's office of the post office department in December 1885 by then Postmaster Robert J. Marshall.

this time and the rival community along the Fort King road that now called itself Dade City got the station and a post office of its own. Growing business in the area came to Dade City and its station and on April 15, 1889, the Fort Dade Post Office shut down for good.³⁰ By now memories of and references to Fort Dade had come to mean the peripatetic post office, and, with its demise, the tenuous tie of memory to the old fort faded and was gone.

But unknown to the early settlers who tended their cattle, orange groves, and homes in the area once made safe by the lost fort, the name had settled once more like a restless spirit on an island in Tampa Bay. Egmont Key, where Captain Dade had hunted back in 1824 even before the establishment of Fort Brooke, had been set aside as a military reservation in 1882 and now stood as the third official Fort Dade. It covered 378 acres, nearly the entire key, and contained some twenty buildings and a tennis court. As late as 1916 it was still listed as an active military base.³¹

Of the original, or "Old Fort Dade," not one log remains. The Withlacoochee River still hurries silently by the bluff, periodically filling the swamps that once bred the malarial mosquitoes that killed men named Adams, Kelly, and Knight who served at the fort in its youth and theirs.³² The palmettoes have come again, and the oaks and pines, thrusting up through silent sand where the booted feet of blue-clad soldiers stood. The Fort King Road shrunken in its age still passes, yet even it gives no sign of recognition that in this wasted field beside it a proud fort once lived. Who remembers that here a general and an Indian chief once gave their word that war had ended? Now like Adams, Kelly, and Knight, Fort Dade is dead.

30. Office of Civil Archives, National Archives and Record Service.

31. The description of the last Fort Dade, Florida, is taken from a detailed map in *Military Posts in the United States and Alaska*, quartermaster general's office, June 1905, supplied by the Office of the Chief of Military History, Washington. "Fort Dade, Florida" is listed in the 1916 edition of the *United States Military Reservations, National Cemeteries and Military Parks* (Washington).

32. Post Returns, Fort Dade, Florida.

THE NARROW WATERS STRATEGIES OF PEDRO MENENDEZ

by PAUL E. HOFFMAN

IN A LETTER to Philip II from Cadiz on December 3, 1570, Pedro Menendez de Aviles, Adelantado of Florida and Captain General of the Armada for the Guarding and Security of the Coasts, Islands, and Ports of the Indies, said that he planned to "place myself in the Bahama Channel where he [Jacques Sores, considered to be one of the best French corsairs and at the time at large in the Caribbean] could not come out without my seeing him."¹ Menendez recognized that the control of the Bahama Channel was essential for the security of the Caribbean. He said that he was afraid that Sores would "make himself ruler of Havana and Florida, so as to be able to commit his criminal acts with greater safety."² This recognition was the basis of Menendez's development of a strategy for the control of large areas of the sea by means of the control of a strategic narrow-water passage.

As Menendez developed this idea during the next four years, it became a set of strategic principles. When first advanced in 1570, they lacked precise formulation. By 1574, however, they were clearly worked out, as is demonstrated by his application of them to the similar situation in the English Channel. Because these principles are "modern" and so distinct from all other ideas advanced before 1570 for the defense of the Caribbean against corsairs, they deserve attention and a study of their possible origins.

The recognition that the Bahama Channel was a bottleneck which exposed ships to capture was made at least as early as the transfer of the official sailing route to that waterway in

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1. Pedro Menendez to Philip II, December 3, 1570, "Letters of Pedro Menendez de Aviles and Other Documents Relative to His Career, 1555-1574," translated by Edward W. Lawson, 2 vols., (unpublished Mss., 1955), 31, 400. Typescript in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida.
 2. *Ibid.*, 399.

1541.³ Nonetheless, the advantages which the channel's winds and currents conferred on ships seeking to leave the Caribbean against the northeast trade winds were so great that the corsair problem was assumed as a necessary evil. The corsairs quickly made the channel and its key port, Havanna, a favorite hunting ground for fat *naos* loaded with specie and such agricultural exports as the American possessions of Spain provided.

Until 1565, the corsair problem in the channel had been handled by convoying and an occasional patrol. In June 1564, a more serious threat than any previously known in the channel appeared in the form of Rene Laudonniere's colony at Fort Caroline. According to Menendez's report, based on interviews of prisoners taken in the capture of Fort Caroline, Jean Ribault planned in January of 1566 to take 800 men and seize and fortify "a very handsome port they say they have examined," in the Martyrs (Florida Keys). Six galleys were to be stationed there to intercept shipping as it came through the channel. That summer (1566), Ribault had hoped to take Havana and free the Negro slaves there. Next, the French planned to build a fort at the Bay of Juan Ponce, that would provide them with a base for attacks on New Spain, Honduras, and Yucatan.⁴ How much of this plan was known to Menendez and Philip II before the former sailed from Spain is not known. Even without these details, there was enough information available to the Spanish for them to conclude that a corsair base was being built on the lifeline of the empire. That belief formed the basis for Menendez's execution of the French he found in Florida.⁵

These French plans are the single most prominent source from which Menendez could have drawn his ideas of 1570. His concepts of 1570 are original, however, in that he planned to cruise in the channel at all times in *galeones* of his own design,

3. Irene A. Wright, *Historia documentada de San Cristobal de la Habana*, 2 vols. (Havana, 1927), I, 14.

4. Menendez to Philip II, October 15, 1565, "Letters of Menendez," I, 229-43b.

5. Woodbury Lowery, *Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida 1562-1574*, 2 vols. (New York, 1959 edition), II, 120-207 *passim*, acknowledges that this was the belief of the Spanish, but fails to recognize that it is sufficient to explain Menendez's actions when his instructions from 1562 respecting corsairs are taken into consideration. See Philip II to Menendez, January 23, 1562, "Letters of Menendez," I, 78-79. The religious motives and problems of military expediency are simply icing on this cake.

only taking shelter in Havana or a Florida port during stormy weather.⁶ Ribault had apparently planned to use watch towers and only row out when a fleet appeared. Menendez's plans also differed in that he planned to have eight *fragatas* in service as a cruising squadron throughout the Antilles, thereby cutting off the other passages through which corsairs were likely to try to escape.⁷ Finally, Menendez seems to have recognized that the control of this one passage through which the corsairs had to return to Europe would be enough over a period of time to discourage their coming to the Indies: "It is necessary to tie up the passages on them, so that they cannot get out with a thing they have captured, and thus make them break the thread of the design they have to come and rob the Indies."⁸ In modern terms, Menendez was placing his battleships in the Bahama Channel where he would expect the largest number of enemy efforts to get through. Fast, light cruisers were to patrol the minor exits (Windward and Mona Passages) and coastal waters.

At least in theory there should have been no problems in operating and supplying such a program of naval operations. The Spanish controlled all the land near the seas in question. The cruising squadrons would thus never be far from a port and supplies. In fact, however, the supply problem was so acute for Menendez that it seems to have prevented his system from ever being tried. He could not even get the guns he needed for the *fragatas*.

Other possible sources for Menendez's ideas of using a cruising squadron to control a strategic passage may have been the English or some of his Spanish contemporaries. From 1552-1559, he was in extensive contact with some of the foremost sailors of England.⁹ Their long experience with the control of the Narrow Seas involved similar ideas. These may well have been discussed over the after-dinner wine. Contemporary Spanish experience in the Straits of Gibraltar with the Turkish corsairs may have given some of them similar ideas, though the geographic situation was not really similar to that of the Carib-

6. Menendez to Philip II, December 3, 1570, "Letters of Menendez," II, 400.

7. Menendez to Philip II, July 22, 1571, *ibid.*, 438.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Menendez to Philip II, 1561 (?), 1564 (?), *ibid.*, I, 52-57.

bean. It is also possible, but unlikely from evidence known to the author, that Spaniards residing in the Indies had thought enough about the problem of defense and Caribbean geography to reach conclusions to which Menendez might have been privy. Certainly they knew enough about the geography of the area and the capabilities of their ships that they could have made a correct guess.

Although Menendez did not have any opportunity to put his plan into effect in the Indies, he polished it and tried again in 1574 when he advanced it in an effort to dissuade Philip from forcing him to sail under orders he correctly judged would be disastrous, as similar orders were fourteen years later for the Armada. In a letter of August 15, Menendez stated his plan. Apparently worked out and discussed with Philip's top advisors, and previously mentioned to the king in person, the plan called for the use of an armada as a patrolling squadron that winter between Ushant and the Scilly Isles (its base). This patrol would be able to intercept corsairs coming out of or returning to the channel. It would keep England's fleet (the royal fleet) mobilized and would prevent the Dutch rebels (the Sea Beggars) from dispersing their fleet along the Flanders coast because they would have to be on guard in case Menendez should suddenly sweep down on them. This plan would also allow time for the gathering of supplies at Santander and Bilbao of the correct quantity and quality for an expedition to Flanders, something which had not been done and was not likely to be accomplished by the time Philip wanted Menendez to sail. Finally, this winter patrol would keep the Indies free of additional corsairs by preventing their leaving Europe.¹⁰ Then in the spring, under secret orders, twenty shallow draft *galeotas* could be built. This, with the previous winter's damage to the English and rebel fleets, would give Spain numerical superiority in the channel that summer. These boats would, with some of the Scilly Isles fleet, serve as a

10. John H. Parry, *A Short History of the West Indies* (London, 1963), 37. Parry views the 1574 plan as "only part of an over-all plan. . . ." My reading of the documents leads me to conclude that while Menendez did recognize that "all seas are one," he did not advance the 1574 plan as part of a plan to defend the Indies. His reference to the Indies is simply an additional reason thrown into the pot in hopes Philip would listen to reason. The problem in 1574 was how to avoid disaster on the Flanders Banks, not how to defend the Indies.

second fleet off Flanders to engage the rebels. Menendez's Scilly Isles fleet would continue its patrol and sweep down to the northern coast of Spain for refitting during the summer. It would also guard the communications of the Flanders fleet, something for which Philip was making no provision.¹¹

As Menendez saw them, the operations of these two fleets would allow Spain to stop the trade of England, Normandy, Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, and Germany (the Hanse) if she desired, while causing Queen Elizabeth to spend money in keeping her fleet in order, but not in action, and provide a way to deal with the Dutch rebels in a logistically sound fashion.¹² In short, Spain could become mistress of the seas. This idea was in strong disagreement with the orders Menendez had from Philip.

The basic strategic principles of this plan are those of the plan of 1570-1571 for naval operations in the Bahama Channel and the Antilles. Like that plan, this one for the English Channel makes maximum use of a cruising fleet holding a strategic passage while auxiliary fleets performed lesser tasks. Both plans show a sound grasp of the logistical problems of keeping a fleet at sea and conducting distant operations. Both are a neat balance between a concentration of forces and their dispersal. The 1574 plan, as the more clearly enunciated of the two, is strikingly modern in strategy. It was, in fact, at least thirty or more years "ahead of its time." The principles of strategy behind it are those Nelson was to use so successfully 250 years later.

Unfortunately for Spain, the political situation in Flanders and England ameliorated enough so that Menendez's sudden death on September 17, 1574, was sufficient reason to disband the fleet. Had the fleet sailed as ordered by Philip, its fate might have been that of the Armada of 1588. On the other hand it might have changed the political history of Europe by destroying the Dutch rebels. From the Spanish point of view, the latter would have been a real boon.

In summary, it may be said that Pedro Menendez drew from a commonly-held recognition of an important bottleneck to maritime commerce, the ideas of the French corsairs under Ribault,

11. Menendez to Philip II, August 15, 1574, "Letters of Menendez," II, 505-06.

12. *Ibid.*, 506, 508.

his knowledge of the Caribbean and of ships, and possibly the experience of the English or his Spanish contemporaries to fashion a modern set of strategic principles for securing control of the Caribbean and the geographically similar English Channel-North Sea area. In both cases, his genius recognized the strategic possibilities of the narrow waters. This recognition was unique among his contemporaries.

AMERICAN SEIZURE OF AMELIA ISLAND

by RICHARD G. LOWE

IN 1817 THE United States took actions at a small island off the northeast coast of Florida which aroused protests from the Spanish government. A band of South American adventurers had occupied Spanish-owned Amelia Island in June and had been using their base as a smugglers' gateway into Georgia and the southern states. In December 1817, the United States purged the island of its invaders, apparently trying to get rid of this group of troublesome ruffians and smugglers that were agitating along the southern border. A closer examination of this event, however, reveals an additional motive as well.

Amelia Island is small, about as large as Manhattan Island. Located some fifteen miles northeast of Jacksonville, it is one of the sea islands lying off the coast of Georgia and Florida. In 1817 the only settlement was the village of Fernandina at the north end of the island.

The small Spanish garrison on Amelia Island in 1817 was soon to meet an ambitious general and adventurer, Sir Gregor MacGregor. Born of Scottish nobility in 1786, he was later attracted by the struggle of the South American colonies for independence. He journeyed to Venezuela to join the revolutionaries and there met and married Senora Josefa Lovera.¹ After some campaigning for his wife's native land, MacGregor left South America and found his way to Philadelphia.

In that city he received a military commission on March 31, 1817, from three South Americans, Lino de Clemente of Venezuela, Pedro Gual of New Granada and Mexico, and Martin Thompson of Rio de la Plata.² The commission instructed MacGregor to liberate East and West Florida from Spanish power, and called for "due observance of the laws of the United States, and particularly those regulating their neutrality. . . ." ³ Ironically,

1. T. Frederick Davis, "MacGregor's Invasion of Florida, 1817," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VII (July 1928), 3.

2. Clemente, Gual, and Thompson were *not* legal deputies of the countries they professed to represent. See fn 35.

3. Commission in *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, 6 vols. (Washington, 1833-1859), IV, 415.

MacGregor's recruiters had themselves violated United States neutrality laws by operating in an American city.

MacGregor naively believed that the American government would be pleased with his campaign against the Floridas. He intended to encourage the Florida inhabitants to attach themselves to the United States, since he believed no other power could hope to control the territory adequately. Florida's geographic position made these regions a natural extension of their northern neighbor.⁴

The Scottish adventurer left Philadelphia and began recruiting sailors, adventurers, and street brawlers in Baltimore, Charleston, and Savannah.⁵ By various means he acquired funds and patrons who promised him more men and money. One of the principal methods used to acquire resources was to offer land in Florida for a dollar an acre.⁶ After gathering his provisions and men, MacGregor sailed from southern Georgia to Amelia Island. There he and his fifty-four followers landed and marched through mud and marshes to the village of Fernandina. On June 29 the Spanish commander, Don Francisco de Morales, gave up the island and his garrison of eighty-four men without a fight. Amelia passed from the possession of the King of Spain to that of Gregor MacGregor.⁷

The Scottish leader addressed his forces on July 1, praising their accomplishments and stating their aim: "To free the whole of the Floridas from tyranny and oppression."⁸ Despite this high-sounding proclamation, MacGregor's major concern seems to have been profits rather than patriotism. He was prepared to sell the newly "liberated" territory to the United States "for the most he could get" if Spain threatened his project with force. More-

4. *State Papers and Public Documents of the United States* (Boston, 1819), XII, 390-91.

5. For a detailed description of MacGregor's activities in the United States and at Amelia written "by one concerned," possibly a participant, see *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, October 10, 1817, and succeeding issues.

6. Davis, "MacGregor's Invasion," 7.

7. Vicente Pazos to James Monroe, December 23, 1817, *State Papers and Public Documents of the United States*, XII, 408; *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, October 3, 10, 1817. For the surrender terms see *Niles' Weekly Register*, August 2, 1817, 365-66.

8. *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 1814. Cited hereafter as *Annals of Congress*.

over, during his stay on Amelia Island there were illegal sales of African slaves to American buyers.⁹

After the first days of confusion and disorganization, MacGregor began making some changes on the island. He established a post office, ordered a printing press for the publication of his many proclamations, and began issuing his own currency. He entered into negotiations with privateers and buccaneers from the West Indies, intending to make Amelia a depot to collect and sell plunder taken from Spanish vessels.¹⁰ He also planned to advance on St. Augustine, aided by the inhabitants of the "Northern Division of East Florida."

MacGregor's activities in East Florida alarmed many citizens in the United States. There had been much discussion recently of a possible cession of the Floridas to the United States. "Should a bargain have been struck between our minister at Madrid and the Spanish government, for the Floridas, how can it be carried into effect, if Sir Gregor M'Gregor takes possession of St. Augustine and Pensacola?"¹¹ Furthermore, many of the inhabitants around Amelia Island seemed opposed to the South American forces; an observer at the scene noted that settlers in that region desired a cession of the Floridas to the United States.¹² Apparently MacGregor's seizure of Amelia had added a troublesome third party to preliminary negotiations between Spain and the American government.

The Scottish general's project soon foundered, however. Disease, death, and desertion quickly thinned his army's ranks; junior officers began quarreling among themselves, and the troops became insubordinate and disorderly. When his American patrons failed to deliver the much-needed arms and reinforcements which had been promised and when he learned that Spanish

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9. For evidence that MacGregor was willing to sell out see the unsigned letter to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, January 19, 1818, *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, XII, 398. For indications of illegal proceedings at Amelia during MacGregor's control see *Charleston Courier*, July 19, 1817, and Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), IV, 75.
 10. *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, XII, 390; *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, September 5, 1817; Davis, "MacGregor's Invasion," 18.
 11. *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, July 25, 1817, reprinted from the *Alexandria (Va.) Gazette*.
 12. *Charleston Courier*, September 19, 1817.

Governor Coppinger was planning to move against Amelia Island, MacGregor decided to withdraw. He resigned his commission on September 4, 1817, and sailed away, leaving the command to Jared Irwin, former congressman from Pennsylvania, and Ruggles Hubbard, once sheriff of New York.¹³

Amelia, however, was not to be free of filibusters; another privateer, Luis Aury, was already enroute to the island aboard his brig *Mexico Libre*. Like MacGregor, Aury had been in the service of the Latin American republics for several years, and had commanded the navy of New Granada for several months in 1813-1814. From the profits gained by raiding Spanish shipping, Aury had built his own private fleet which he staffed with Haitians. In September 1816, he allied with an abortive Mexican Republic and established a base at Galveston Bay on the coast of Texas where he continued his raids on Spanish vessels in the Gulf. Following two mass desertions by some of his followers, and perhaps fearful of an American occupation of Galveston, Aury decided to continue his operations off the Florida East coast. In late July 1817, the former Cartegenan commander and Galveston raider set sail for Fernandina, planning to join Gregor MacGregor there.¹⁴

After reaching Amelia Island in mid-September,¹⁵ Aury

13. Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, October 13, 1817. MacGregor had been having similar troubles since July 1817. See the letter from Jersey Point, Georgia, to the *Charleston Courier*, July 25, 1817, and the issues of August 6 and 8.
14. Stanley Faye, "Commodore Aury," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (1941), 622-44. In actual fact, by the time Aury began operating under his Mexican commission, the so-called government which had issued it had been dispersed and dissolved by Spanish forces. Thus, Aury could not truly claim that his actions at Galveston and Amelia Island were sanctioned by any existing government. See Captain J. D. Henley and Major James Bankhead to James Monroe, January 10, 1818, *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, XII, 400-01. See also Aury's address of December 12, 1817, to the Amelia legislature in the *Charleston Courier*, January 9, 1818, and letters from Beverly Chew, customs collector in New Orleans, to Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford, August 1, 30, 1817, *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, XI, 348-52.
15. There is some disagreement as to whether Aury arrived at the island before MacGregor sailed away. An unsigned letter to Secretary of State Adams claims that the two commanders met at Amelia. According to Aury, he arrived in Fernandina after MacGregor had left. See ? to Adams, January 19, 1818, *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, XII, 399, and Aury's December 12, 1817 address to the Amelia legislature in the *Charleston Courier*, January 9, 1818.

claimed it in the name of Mexico. A Georgia planter described the buccaneer's succession to power: Aury declared that ". . . the flag of the Florida republic must be struck, and that of the Mexican hoisted; and that Fernandina should be considered as a conquest of the Mexican republic. . . ." ¹⁶ The new commander dismissed MacGregor's claim to the Floridas on the grounds that he had invaded the area without a valid commission. Jared Irwin and Ruggles Hubbard opposed Aury when he first appeared in Fernandina, but they eventually yielded to his stronger forces. ¹⁷

Under Aury Amelia Island became a base for naval assaults on Spanish shipping and a depot for contraband slaves. The Mexican freebooter commissioned privateers and sent them out into the Gulf and the Caribbean, where, according to reports received in London by the first of November, they performed so well that prize goods valued at \$500,000 had been sold in Fernandina. ¹⁸ One observer noted that even before the end of September, Aury had captured a "number of prizes of considerable value." ¹⁹ According to another resident, Aury in two months had sold more than 1,000 slaves into Georgia, utilizing the winding rivers and small inlets along the coast for this lucrative trade. ²⁰

Meanwhile, the United States became increasingly more concerned with what was going on in East Florida. In October 1817, President Monroe consulted with his cabinet on the advisability of seizing the Fernandina settlement, and preparations began for American military involvement. ²¹ On December 22,

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16. McIntosh to Crawford, October 30, 1817, *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV, 138.
 17. Conflicts between Aury and his followers on one side, and Irwin and Hubbard's group on the other, repeatedly erupted from September to November. Some observers of the activities on Amelia feared widespread bloodshed before a definite power status could be established. By early November Aury had gained enough authority to proclaim martial law on the island. See the *Charleston Courier*, October 21, 24, 1817. For Aury's proclamation of martial law see *ibid.*, November 14, 1817.
 18. Faye, "Commodore Aury," 644-45.
 19. Thomas Wayne to Benjamin Homans, September 27, 1817, *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, XI, 385.
 20. Davis, "MacGregor's Invasion," 45. See also the letter of Captain John H. Elton to the Secretary of the Navy, November 15, 1817, *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, XI, 381.
 21. For the orders preparing for American seizure of Amelia see *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, XI, 403-04, 407-08.

1817, a naval force under Captain J. D. Henley and an army detachment under Major James Bankhead appeared off Amelia Island. The commanders informed Aury that they were under orders to take possession of Amelia "as soon as it will be convenient for your troops to evacuate it."²²

Aury informed the Americans that he would submit their request to his government's representatives and would presently inform them of their decision.²³ In the meantime, he assured the commanders he would offer no resistance in force. He insisted that his government was not only genuine, but that it posed no danger to the United States: "As we consider the people of the United States as unquestionably the only free people on the surface of the globe, we cannot admit that you have now become the adherents of a tyrant [the King of Spain]; otherwise, your demand is inadmissible and unjustifiable in the eyes of the world; and if we must yield to it, all the blame rests with you."²⁴ He denied that any unlawful practices had occurred at Amelia and asked that his letter be sent on to Washington so as to convince President Monroe that his island establishment was legitimate. Aury's eloquent rhetoric did not prevent the American occupation, and on December 23, 1817, Major Bankhead's troops took control of Amelia Island without resistance.²⁵

Aury and Dr. Pedro Gual, who had earlier signed MacGregor's Philadelphia commission, protested the American occupation to the United States government. Lino de Clemente's agent Vicente Pazos, also protested in the name of Venezuela.²⁶ Clemente's letter contained an interesting observation, blustery as it was: "The motives alleged by the Government of the United States, in justification of their hostile measure, serve to prove

22. J. D. Henley and James Bankhead to Luis Aury, December 22, 1817, *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 1803-04.

23. Aury to Henley and Bankhead, December 22, 1817, *ibid.*, 1804.

24. *Ibid.*, 1805.

25. *Ibid.*, 1801. For Aury's December 23 note of peaceful surrender see *ibid.*, 1806. American forces remained in control of the island until after Spain surrendered Florida to the United States in 1821. See James G. Forbes to Andrew Jackson, May 7, 1821, *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV, 744, and Clarence Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1835-1962), XXII, 20 fn.

26. Pazos to Monroe, December 23, 1817, *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, XII, 408.

their own futility, and clearly demonstrate that the sole object was the acquisition of the Floridas. . . ." ²⁷

With the island occupied by American forces and with his diplomatic objections falling on deaf ears, Aury vacated Amelia and began making plans for an expedition against the Isthmus of Panama. ²⁸ He was last heard of in a report appearing in a Nassau paper in 1820 that his buccaneering ships were operating off the coast of Cuba. ²⁹

Meanwhile, on January 8 and 24, Luis de Onis, minister to the United States, protested the American seizure of Spanish territory. Onis insisted that the United States had no cause to sanction such acts of violence. ³⁰ Secretary of State John Quincy Adams answered Spain's objections on January 16 and March 12, 1818, and in effect claimed that the United States' actions were justified. Adams referred the Spanish ambassador to President Monroe's message to Congress on January 13 in which the President claimed that Spain's inability to control her Florida territories and the pending negotiations between the two countries for the area, were some of the reasons which compelled the United States to take this positive action. ³¹ Unofficially it was believed that Secretary Adams favored holding Amelia Island subject to continued negotiations with Spain. He also seemed to share a fear that adventurers might take the Floridas while the United States was involved in bargaining for them with Spain. Hearing of a possible re-invasion of Amelia by Gregor MacGregor in the spring of 1818, Adams " . . . urged that if we should not come to an early conclusion of the Florida negotiation, Spain would not have the possession of Florida to give us." ³²

In order to understand Washington's reaction to the Amelia

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27. William R. Manning, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations*, 3 vols. (New York, 1925), II, 1175.
 28. Luis Aury became embroiled in the Venezuelan and Granadan struggles for autonomy during the next four years. He was thrown from a horse on an island in the Gulf of Mexico and died from the fall on August 30, 1821. Faye, "Commodore Aury," 647, 697, *passim*.
 29. Nassau *Royal Gazette*, August 16, 1820, in A. J. Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands* (Indianapolis, 1950), 48.
 30. For Onis' protests see *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV, 464-68.
 31. For Adams' replies to Onis see *ibid.*, 463-64, 468-78. For Monroe's message of January 13 to Congress see the discussion on page 26.
 32. Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IV, 36, 42.

occupation, governmental proceedings from December 2, 1817, three weeks before actual American occupation, must be considered. On that day President Monroe sent a joint message to Congress in which he noted both MacGregor's and Aury's activities in Florida. He described Amelia as being ". . . a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa into the United States, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighboring States, and a port for smuggling of every kind." The President expressed the fear that conflict between Spain and her colonies would have an adverse effect on United States shipping and commerce in the surrounding area. The MacGregor expedition, Monroe stated, was an unauthorized adventure financed by sources within the United States.³³

Monroe added another point for Congress to consider. Florida, surrounded by the United States, for months had been a subject of negotiation with Spain as indemnity for spoliation losses.³⁴ The United States was surprised that the Latin American colonies countenanced the filibusters' seizure of Amelia.³⁵ Not only had American smuggling and neutrality laws been violated, but apparently efforts were being made to block possible expansion into Florida; American-Spanish negotiations would be superfluous if Florida was occupied by a third force. For this reason, and in order to protect the country's interests,³⁶ the

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33. James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902*, 11 vols. (New York, 1897), II, 13.
34. As early as August 1817, the Floridas were mentioned by a Spanish minister in Madrid as the objects of a possible cession to the United States. See Jose Pizarro to George W. Erving, August 17, 1817; and Erving to Pizarro, August 19, 1817, *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV, 447, 449. During the summer and autumn of 1817 *Niles' Weekly Register* repeatedly alluded to negotiations for a Florida cession. For example see the issues of July 19, September 6, and December 20.
35. By March 1818, Monroe was informed by the Latin American nations concerned that they disapproved of MacGregor's and Aury's activities in Florida and that the two adventures had no authority from any of the South American governments to take any action whatsoever. See Monroe's message to the House of Representatives, March 25, 1818, in Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II, 32. See also *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV, 271, 292, 412, for the opinions of Buenos Aires, Chile, and Venezuela.
36. The President was vigorously supported in his decision to seize the island by General Andrew Jackson. This future president wrote Monroe a letter on January 6, 1818, in which he urged that the suppression order . . . be carried into execution at all hazards, and simultaneously the whole of East Florida seized, and held as indemnity for the outrages of Spain upon the property of our citizens."

President concluded that the Amelia establishment should be suppressed.³⁷

Three weeks after the American landing of December 23, President Monroe sent another message to Congress. In this second report on Amelia Island, Monroe announced that the suppression had succeeded and without bloodshed. There was, therefore, "good cause to believe that the consummation of a project fraught with much injury to the United States had been prevented."³⁸ The President justified his order, saying that whenever Spain could not maintain authority and order in her own territories, "her jurisdiction for the time necessarily ceases to exist,"³⁹ but the United States did not plan to "make any conquest of Amelia Island from Spain or to injure in any degree the cause of the colonies."⁴⁰ Monroe reiterated his arguments of December 2: "When we consider the persons engaged in it, being adventurers; . . . the territory on which the establishments were made . . ., on a part of East Florida, a Province in negotiation between the United States and Spain; the claim of their leader . . . comprising the whole of both the Floridas, without excepting that part of West Florida which is incorporated into the State of Louisiana; their conduct while in the possession of the island . . ., it may fairly be concluded that if the enterprise had succeeded . . . much annoyance and injury would have resulted from it to the United States."⁴¹

Monroe cited an 1811 enactment as legal sanction for his military measures. This act authorized the president to "take possession of, and occupy, all or any part of the territory lying east of the river Perdido [present-day western boundary of Florida], and south of the State of Georgia and the Mississippi Territory, in case an arrangement has been, or shall be, made with the local authority . . . or in the event of an attempt to occupy the said territory, or any part thereof, by any foreign Government. . . ." ⁴²

J. S. Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1926-1935), II, 345.

37. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II, 32.

38. *Ibid.*, 23-24.

39. *Ibid.*, 24.

40. *Ibid.*, 24-25.

41. *Ibid.*, 23.

42. *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess., 2602-03.

In March 1818, President Monroe was still explaining the United States' action at Amelia. In his congressional message of March 26, he commented on the protest sent in by Vicente Pazos: "It appears by the letter of Mr. Pazos, agent of Commodore Aury, that the [Aury] project of seizing the Floridas was formed and executed at a time when it was understood that Spain had resolved to cede them to the United States. . . ." ⁴³

In justifying its actions in suppressing the establishment of Amelia, the United States explained that the privateers' base was a haven for smugglers and a base of illegal slave trade, that the commerce and property of American citizens were endangered by the filibusters' presence, and that the Floridas were threatened by adventurers at a time when she and Spain were negotiating for a cession of the territories. This latter is a fact that has been generally overlooked by historians. Two legal justifications were also mentioned by the United States: the filibusters had no unasailable authority from any South American government; ⁴⁴ and the law enacted by Congress in 1811 enabled the president to order the occupation of Florida.

A majority of Congress and most of the cabinet favored Monroe's actions. He also had firm support for the seizure policy from his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams. Besides the fact that he wanted Florida for the United States, Adams opposed the filibusters' designs on West Florida, a portion of which the United States had gained as the result of a revolution a few years earlier. In a report to the House Committee on Foreign Relations in January 1818, Adams claimed that because a large part of West Florida was already in the possession of the United States, the privateers' project involved designs of direct hostility. ⁴⁵

Speaker of the House Henry Clay staunchly opposed the occupation of Amelia Island on the grounds that it hindered the Latin American struggle for independence. Secretary Adams recorded in his diary that at a dinner party on December 24,

43. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II, 32.

44. MacGregor's commission had been issued in Philadelphia, thus rendering it invalid. Aury's had expired with the republic that issued it long before he reached Amelia Island. In any case, the governments of Latin America denied any connections with either of the two commanders.

45. Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 7 vols. (New York, 1913-1917), VI, 286.

1817, Clay “came out with great violence against the course pursued by the Executive upon South American affairs, and especially in relation to Amelia Island.”⁴⁶ Unfortunately for Clay, he had little support in opposing the Amelia suppression.

The subject of the occupation of Amelia Island was the main item of business for the House on December 8, 1817. According to John Rhea of Tennessee, the people of the United States were quite interested in what was happening in Florida. He stated that the establishment at Amelia had “already excited much attention throughout the country, which would be still more attracted to that point by the order given to suppress them.”⁴⁷

Representative Hugh Nelson of Virginia favored the seizure and opposed Henry Clay’s position on the subject: “Have they not themselves given further proofs, if proofs are wanting, that they are but a horde of buccaneers?”⁴⁸ Moreover, he staked, “when this course shall be calmly and dispassionately scanned and examined, the judgment of the American people, and of an impartial posterity, will applaud the course, and see in it the result of a wise, virtuous, and patriotic policy.”⁴⁹

A House committee was appointed on December 3 to report on the illicit introduction of slaves from Amelia into the United States.⁵⁰ Henry Middleton, a South Carolina representative and chairman of the committee, delivered the group’s findings to the House on January 10, 1818: “Your committee are of opinion, that it is but too notorious, that numerous infractions of the law prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States have been perpetrated with impunity upon our Southern frontier”⁵¹ Furthermore, he reported that if “the Floridas, or either of them, had been permitted to pass into the hands of such a Power, the committee are [*sic*] persuaded . . . to point out . . .

46. Allan Nevins, ed., *Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794-1845*, (New York, 1951), 190.

47. *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess., 410.

48. *Ibid.*, 411.

49. *Ibid.*, 412.

50. Members of the committee included Henry Middleton (South Carolina), James S. Smith (North Carolina), Nathaniel Upham (New Hampshire), Lemuel Sawyer (North Carolina), William Lee Ball (Virginia), George Mumford (North Carolina), and Zadock Cook (Georgia). *Ibid.*, 397-98, 405.

51. *Ibid.*, 646.

the pernicious influence which such a destiny of the territories in question must have had upon the security, tranquility, and commerce of this nation.”⁵² According to Congressman Middleton, the objects of the campaign against Amelia by the South Americans appeared to be the occupation of Florida, the spoliation of commerce by piratical privateers, smuggling, and illegal slave trading with Americans.⁵³ The opinion of his committee, then, was that the establishment at Amelia was a nuisance and menace to the United States and deserved therefore to be suppressed.

A speech that has been generally overlooked in the Amelia episode, but which should be considered for its historical significance, was one given by William Henry Harrison, congressman from Ohio, on December 8, 1817. Mr. Harrison did not think the reasons put forth for suppression by the President on December 2 were sufficient to authorize occupation of Amelia. In fact, he stated, “that which seemed to be most relied upon was, that a negotiation was pending between this country and Spain, for the cession to us of their claim to the Floridas. . . .”⁵⁴ Mr. Harrison thought that if Aury or MacGregor “had succeeded in conquering all the Spanish part of the Floridas, . . . it would be as easy to obtain it from them as from the King of Spain.”⁵⁵ Harrison’s emphasis on America’s fear of losing the Floridas was not challenged by any member of the House; all seem to have understood that the expansion of the United States into the Floridas was a matter of great importance.

The seizure and occupation of Amelia Island by the United States reveal two important facts. The inability of Spain to police her territories adequately was demonstrated once more. MacGregor’s and Aury’s meager forces could easily have been ousted from their pirates’ nest if the Spanish government had sent a force superior in numbers and equipment. Ferdinand VII was unable to do this; he could not provide enough men to control Florida and protect it from adventurers and the United States. Secondly, one of the major reasons, possibly the major reason, for United States seizure of Amelia has been overlooked or ignored by writers

52. *Ibid.*, 648.

53. *Ibid.*, 649.

54. *Ibid.*, 415.

55. *Ibid.*

of American diplomatic history. This was simply that the American government was expecting the cession of the Floridas to the United States by Spain. With the expansionist ambitions of Jefferson and other Americans so near fulfillment, the United States could not stand by and see revolutionary privateers seize their hoped-for prize and upset negotiations with Spain. Therefore, in order to obtain the Floridas and to rid the United States of a nuisance, the American government purged Amelia Island of adventurers and occupied it with troops in late December 1817.

THE HISTORICAL BEGINNINGS OF YBOR CITY AND MODERN TAMPA

by DURWARD LONG

THE STORY OF the revitalization of Tampa, Florida at the end of the nineteenth century is illustrative of many developments accompanying the expansion of cities in that era. Part of the story concerns the attempt to build Ybor City, separate from but adjacent to Tampa, based on immigrant capital and immigrant labor.¹ While Ybor City failed to retain its separateness from Tampa, its cigars - "Hav-A-Tampa," "Tampa Nuggets," "Tampa Straights," and many others - widely advertised this Florida city. Tampa became famous for cigars even though production began in Ybor City in 1886, and her reputation continues. As late as March 3, 1964, the *New York Times* reported: "Tampa continues to be the center for the manufacture of the finest and more expensive cigars."

Vicente Martinez Ybor was the founder of the city which bears his name. Born in Valencia, Spain in 1820, he began manufacturing cigars in Havana in 1856. Using "clear Havana" tobacco, his cigar makers produced the "Prince of Wales" ("*Principe de Gales*"), which gained a world-wide reputation.² Ybor's family lived in Havana, except for the older son who worked in his father's New York office.

The "Ten Years War," another of the many Cuban revolutions, which began in 1868, threatened Ybor's prosperous business. When he also discovered that his loyalty to Spain was under question, he decided to open a branch factory in Key West in 1869.³ Key West had many advantages to offer. Besides a history of cigar making, the distance to Cuba was short, pressures of the Cuban Civil War were less, the climate was sufficiently like

1. This article is a part of a general history of Ybor City which is under preparation by the author.
2. *Tampa Guardian*, October 27, 1886, gives a brief sketch of Ybor's activities before he came to Tampa.
3. A. Stuart Campbell and W. Porter McLendon, *The Cigar Industry of Tampa, Florida* (Gainesville (?), 1939), 43; *Tampa Tribune*, January 28, 1900. This was a special "Midwinter Edition" printed in magazine format. Cited hereafter as *Tampa Tribune* "Midwinter Edition," 1900.

that of Cuba to attract experienced cigar makers, and American import taxes on finished tobacco goods, however slight, would no longer be levied. Also, local officials were enthusiastic in their invitations to Ybor, who, perhaps, already had dreams of establishing a new cigar-making city. Other cigar manufacturing companies followed Ybor, and during the next twenty-five years Key West became known as the "Clear Havana Cigar Center of the United States."⁴

Ybor's younger partner, Eduardo Manrara, a Spaniard born in Cuba in 1843, was primarily responsible for managing the Key West operation and for overseeing the business generally in the United States. Manrara had lived in New York and had acquired an excellent mastery of English. Ybor spoke little English, and Manrara became the spokesman for the firm. Ybor's son, Edward R. Martinez Ybor, joined Manrara in New York to learn the wholesaling and retailing aspects of the business and to learn English as well. He mastered both, and later headed the family's business enterprises.

Ybor's branch factory in Key West prospered the first fifteen years, although there were disturbances as the continuing revolutionary struggle often generated bitter feelings between Spanish and Cuban workers in the Key West factory. Labor strikes, some over very minor issues, plagued Key West manufacturers.⁵ The island became less and less a desirable location because of its isolation from supplies, raw materials, and markets. Perhaps another factor in the firm's plans to relocate was Manrara's severe dislike of traveling by water, which he was compelled to do as long as the business was in Key West.

Manrara often went by train from New York to Cedar Keys, the farthest south that he could get by rail until 1886. When he learned that the South Florida Railroad had completed tracks to Tampa, he took the train there and stayed overnight. So impressed was he by the place, that according to one report, he decided that it "would be a much better place to make cigars than Key West."⁶ He persuaded Ybor to open a branch factory in Tampa and to consider plans for a complete relocation.⁷

4. Campbell and McLendon, *Cigar Industry*, 43.

5. *Ibid.*, 44. See also J. B. Browne, *Key West, The Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912), 126.

6. *Tampa Tribune* "Midwinter Edition," 1900.

7. *Ibid.*

There is a more accurate description of Ybor's move to the Gulf coast. Apparently he and Manrara had decided to look for another location in 1883, and became interested in the Tampa area the following year. One version has it that in November 1884, Gavino Gutierrez, a Spanish broker from New York, entered the picture. Hearing that Tampa's climate was ideal for growing guavas,⁸ he investigated the possibility of establishing a tropical fruit, paste, and jellies business there. Then, after surveying the area and deciding against the guava venture, he set out to visit his old friends V. M. Ybor and Ignacio Haya in Key West. When he learned that the two manufacturers were considering moving to Galveston, Texas, he urged them to look into the possibility of relocating in Tampa.⁹

Gutierrez had already decided to remain in Tampa. He purchased land northwest and east of Tampa, and in 1886-1887, sold part of the tract that was to become Ybor City.¹⁰

Tampa at the time was struggling for growth. After a population decrease in the period 1870-1880, there were signs of revitalization. Still, in 1884, there were few businesses, no real port, and few prospects until Henry Bradley Plant extended his South Florida Railroad into Tampa. Local businessmen, hoping to promote the city in a more effective manner, organized the Tampa Board of Trade on May 7, 1885. Dr. John P. Wall was chosen president, John T. Lesley, vice-president, and Thomas A. Carruth, secretary.¹¹

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8. Though Gavino Gutierrez' exact part in influencing Ybor to come to Tampa, and whether he was a "civil engineer" in the modern sense, is unknown, it is fairly well established that he was influential in the venture and that he was Ybor's building overseer. For a brief summary of Gutierrez' activities in Tampa, see Jesse L. Keene, "Gavino Gutierrez and His Contributions to Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (July 1957), 33-41.
 9. Quien Sabe, *Ybor City: Early Days of Ybor City and the Beginning of the Cigar Industry* (Tampa, 1929), Federal Writers Project typed copy, 29. Condensed version by Jules Frost and Felix Cannella, "History of Ybor City," (Federal Writers Project unpublished Mss. See also "Ybor City: General Description," Federal Writers Project unpublished Mss., 159-60; Emilio del Rio, *Yo Fui Uno de los Fundadores de Ybor City* (Tampa, 1950), 8-10.
 10. The map of Ybor City in 1886 shows land purchased by Ybor from J. T. Lesley, S. M. Sparkman, S. P. Haddon, C. W. Wells, J. B. Spencer, L. Siever, and G. Gutierrez. The map is on record in the office of the Hillsborough Clerk of the Circuit Court, Plat Book 1, 11.
 11. Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, May 7, 1885, 1.

In the meantime Ybor, Manrara, and Haya arrived in Tampa. They had previously investigated the Bradenton area but had not been pleased with their reception there. They were shown several tracts of land in Tampa and decided on Lesley's subdivision, a low area spotted with marshes and lagoons which lay east of Tampa and just north of the Fort Brooke military reservation which separated the tract from an extension of Tampa Bay. A strip of South Florida Railroad property also ran through the area. The asking price of the tract was \$9,000, however, and Ybor thought this too high. There was other land available, but Ybor was adamant and made plans to leave. W. B. Henderson, one of the tour hosts, thought that a compromise might be worked out.

A meeting of the board of trade was called on October 5, "for the purpose of working some arrangements in order to retain the cigar factories in Tampa." W. B. Henderson presided. During the discussion it developed that Ybor had offered Theodore Lesley \$5,000 for the land, but Lesley wanted \$9,000. The board then agreed to raise the \$4,000 and appointed W. C. Brown, A. J. Knight, W. B. Henderson, and Packwood Fessenden as the committee in charge.¹²

Henderson informed Ybor of the board's action. On October 22, 1885, V. M. Ybor, Edward Manrara, and Edward R. Martinez Ybor (known as Ybor and Company) purchased from John T. and Margaret Lesley blocks 1, 2, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35 of "Lesley's Subdivision," for \$9,000. The same day, the company bought nearly thirty-eight additional acres from Stephen and Mary Sparkman for \$1,500.¹³ Other purchases from S. P. Haddon, J. B. Spencer, C. W. Wells, Lebury Seiver, and Gavino Gutierrez followed.

The "Ybor Fund" committee proceeded to solicit from local businessmen contributions in cash or land to make up the \$4,000 subsidy. Their progress was not as prompt as Ybor or the board of governors wished. In response to a letter from Ybor, the board, on March 19, 1886, reported that "progress" was being made.¹⁴ On June 29, H. L. Crane, who had been added to the original com-

12. *Ibid.*, October 5, 1885, 15.

13. Record of Deeds, Hillsborough County, Book R, 175.

14. Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, March 19, 1886, 24; *Tampa Guardian*, March 3, 1886.

mittee, announced that \$3,687 had been committed. Although the Tampa *Guardian* reported on August 25, 1886, "We are informed that the full amount of the Ybor City debt has been made up by the Board of Trade," in fact it had not. As late as December 15, Crane stated that there was still a small amount lacking, but he had hoped it would "be completed by the following Saturday."¹⁵ Shortly afterwards, deeds for land valued at \$3,300 and nearly \$700 in cash were turned over to Ybor.¹⁶

Ignacio Haya did not commit his firm, Sanchez and Haya of New York, until his partner had an opportunity to view the setting in May 1885, when Serafin Sanchez visited Tampa at the invitation of the board of trade. On December 16, the company purchased ten acres of land from Chauncey and Caroline Wells for \$2,500,¹⁷ and construction of their factory began shortly afterward. The land, like Ybor's, was located about two miles northeast of Tampa. It was flat, densely wooded, and dotted with sandbeds, marshes, and ponds. To assume the overseeing and direction of the new branch, Haya moved to Tampa.

Gavino Gutierrez became Ybor's engineer and construction foreman. Using local labor for construction, he proceeded to lay out the land in lots and streets and to oversee the general construction of what was to become Ybor City. The new factory buildings were to be multi-story; Ybor's was to have three and Haya's two floors. Ybor first constructed a frame building for a temporary factory, then let contracts for four brick buildings on the corner of Ninth Avenue and Fourteenth Street. One of these was to be his permanent factory. Haya built a frame structure on Seventh Avenue. Stripped tobacco, ready for rolling into cigars, was transported from the Sanchez and Haya warehouse in New York to Ybor City as it was soon called. Ybor shipped bales of unstripped tobacco from Key West. While both firms opened the same day, March 26, 1886, the Sanchez and Haya firm, beginning with stripped tobacco, had the first shipment to leave the new city.

The two companies also built dwellings for their workers. By May 1886, the Ybor-Manrara interests had completed eighty-nine

15. Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, December 15, 1886, 33.

16. This total was summarized from a list of contributors made in the handwriting of William C. Brown, the Ybor Fund Committee chairman. List in private possession.

17. Record of Deeds, Hillsborough County, Book R, 256.

houses, including thirty-three two-family units. A hotel was constructed and the factory was soon in full operation. After a fire swept through Key West in early 1886, Ybor transferred all his Florida operations to the Tampa area, bringing 120 strippers to Ybor City. By May, Ybor had ninety-six cigar makers on his payroll.¹⁸ The first group of workers arrived on the *Huchinson* and had to be transferred to flat bottom boats to reach shore because Port Tampa was so shallow it was inaccessible by ship.

Within two months after operations had begun, a local newspaper editor praised the enterprise: "Tampa can not too greatly appreciate her fortune in having so immense an enterprise adjacent to her border." Attributing relief from hard times to the new industry, the paper believed that the factories spawned faith for the future in providing work for labor, business for merchants, and a market for farmers.¹⁹

In the fall of 1886, "Cuban fast mail service" was begun between New York and Havana via Tampa, largely as a result of the Plant system and the sudden growth of Ybor City. Steamship service from Tampa to Havana was inaugurated soon after completion of the South Florida Railroad to Tampa. The steamship *Mascotte* performed this service for eight months, but the volume of passengers and other business was so great that the ship had to be enlarged. The mail contract with the federal government stipulated semi-weekly trips from Tampa to Havana until November 1, after which the service was to be tri-weekly.²⁰ A second ship, the *Olivette*, was added to carry the additional traffic.

To explain this expanded activity in the Tampa area, the *Savannah Morning News* editor said: "It may sound singular to say that the Cubans are developing South Florida but it is nevertheless a fact." The newspaper described the transformation of Ybor City which was no more than "a small cigar factory and a few shanties at the beginning of the present year [1886] but is now composed of large factories and quite a village of Cubans."²¹

18. *Tampa Guardian*, May 5, 1866.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Report of the Internal Commerce of the United States, Commerce and Navigation, 1886*, Part II, Treasury Department (Washington, 1886), 408.

21. Quoted in *Report of the Internal Commerce of the United States, 1886*, 409.

Ybor-Manrara continued to expand their operations. By October 1886, they owned at least 111 acres in Ybor City, and a 1,000 acre tract east of town.²² To administer these holdings and to develop Ybor City as a cigar center of clear Havana, the Ybor City Land and Improvement Company was organized on October 10, 1886.²³ V. M. Ybor was president; Eduardo Manrara, vice-president; George T. Chamberlin, secretary-treasurer; and Peter O. Knight, attorney. It was hoped that other cigar firms would locate in Ybor City, and a policy of subsidizing new companies with land and buildings was adopted.²⁴ The company also undertook to organize the city and administer to its public needs. It sponsored a volunteer fire company called *El Cuartel de Humanidad*. It is likely that this company cooperated with fire-fighting groups organized in Tampa in 1886. It employed a man to supervise sanitary conditions, and a local paper reported that "all privies are cleaned once a week and disinfectants used." A small guard force was employed to keep the peace.²⁵ It is assumed that Ybor's firm bore the main responsibility in these matters, aided by small contributions from other manufacturers.

From the beginning, Ybor was determined to build adequate houses for his workers. According to the *Tampa Guardian*, he inaugurated a policy of selling these residences to workers on an interest-free installment plan in order to avoid a "conflict and clash between labor and capital." A frame house cost from \$750 to \$3,500.²⁶

While Gutierrez was talking with Ybor, Manrara, and Haya in Key West in late 1884, another New York cigar manufacturer, Enrique Pendas, a partner in Lozano, Pendas, and Company,²⁷

22. *Tampa Tribune* "Midwinter Edition," 1900.

23. Notice of the company's incorporation, advertised in the *Tampa Tribune* during September, 1887, stated that the company's purpose was in the "buying, improving, and selling of real estate. . . ." Its capitalization was described as \$50,000 in capital stock of shares of \$100.

24. *Tampa Tribune* "Midwinter Edition," 1900, gives a list of companies which received subsidies from the Ybor City Land and Improvement Company and the value of each subsidy.

25. "Ybor City: General Description," 164. See also *Tampa Guardian*, October 27, 1886.

26. John Cacciatore, one of the early settlers in Ybor City, recalled that he bought one such house in 1887 for \$725 with \$100 down and monthly payments. Cacciatore's reminiscences are given in "Life History of Mr. John Cacciatore," Federal Writers Project unpublished Mss., 3.

27. "The History of Ybor City as narrated by Mr. Domingo Genesta," Federal Writers Project unpublished Mss., 25.

was considering a move to the island city. Pendas was urged to join Ybor and Haya in Tampa, and the Ybor City Land and Improvement Company offered to build a three-story factory on a city block of land, and to lease it to him rent-free for ten years. An undisclosed cash bonus offered by the Tampa Board of Trade made the proposition irresistible, and Lozano, Pendas, and Company began operations in Ybor City in January 1888.²⁸ With only slight variance, this pattern was repeated during the following ten years to attract a number of cigar companies to Ybor City: the R. Monne Interests; Emilio Pons and Company; Trujillo and Venemelis, Gonzalez, Mora, and Company; Seidenberg and Company; Cuesta, Ballard, and Company; M. Perez Company; Amo, Ortez, and Company; Arguelles, Lopez and Company; Jose M. Diaz and Brothers; and the Creagh, Gudnich and Company.²⁹ Many of these moved from Key West after an extended and violent strike there in 1889. Others came from New York, and one moved there from Atlanta.

In most cases, a factory was built by the Ybor Land Company, one or two blocks of land were given, a residence for the manager was constructed - all rent-free for ten years upon the condition that the new business employ a stipulated number of workers and produce a certain quantity of cigars. Occasionally, the Tampa Board of Trade also contributed a cash bonus or other subsidy as a "sweetner." For example, Edward Manrara wrote the board on March 17, 1888, that a certain company was willing to relocate in Tampa for a subsidy of \$8,000, plus "other things."³⁰ Apparently, the Ybor City Land and Development Company was interested in far more than cigar manufacturing. It soon became the major realtor and developer of the new settlement.

According to a local newspaper, the establishment of the cigar factories increased Tampa's population from 2,308 to 3,684 during 1886-1887, while Ybor City's population at the end of

28. *Tampa Tribune*, January 12, 1888.

29. *Ibid.* "Midwinter Edition," 1900. All the companies listed were assisted by subsidies of the Ybor City Land and Improvement Company.

30. Edward Manrara to W. N. Conoley, March 17, 1888, Letter in private collection. The writer believes the company in question was the R. Monne Company. Also, the *Tampa Tribune*, June 7, 1888, stated that the business council (board of trade?) "only a few weeks ago . . . gave \$11,000 to a large New York cigar manufacturer to move" to Tampa.

its first year was approximately 2,000.³¹ Tampa was made a port of entry in 1887, and the customs collections, primarily on imported tobacco, jumped from \$2,508 in 1885-1886, to \$4,232 in 1886-1887, and to \$88,578.15 the following year.³²

No sooner had the foundations of the new city been laid than the Tampa Board of Trade proposed that it be annexed. The legislation committee of the board of trade prepared a request to the Florida legislature to permit Tampa to extend its boundaries, and suggested that Ybor City and all territory east of Nebraska Avenue be included in the second ward. The Tampa Board of Trade held a special meeting on April 11 to hear the legislation committee's report on the bill providing for a new charter for Tampa in which Ybor City would be included. The report was approved after slight amending and referred to Hillsborough County's legislative delegation.³³ Dr. John P. Wall, president of the board of trade and state senator from Hillsborough County, introduced an incorporation and annexation plan in the Florida Senate on April 14. It would abolish the corporate charters of the "towns" of Tampa and North Tampa and provide for an expanded municipal Tampa, including old Tampa, North Tampa, and Ybor City. The measure was favorably reported from committee on May 2, at which time protest petitions from Hillsborough citizens were read. Three petitions asked that their lands not be included in the new bounds of Tampa. One of these documents was signed by "H. R. Benjamin, and 30 others"; another was signed by "Wm. A. Morrison, and 75 others"; and a third, "W. Martinez,

31. Plant City *South Florida Courier*, January 15, 1887. Elizio Carbonnell Malta, an early settler of Ybor City, erred in giving 22,000 as the population of Tampa during this period. Malta stated that forty per cent of the 22,000 were Cubans. Malta's manuscript was one of the sources for the article, "Tampa at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," by Jose Rivero Muniz, translated by Charles J. Kolinski, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLI (1963), 332-42. The figures given in this "history" are much too large, even for all of Hillsborough County in 1890, at which time it was 14,941 according to the *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890*, 25 vols. (Washington, 1892-1897), 1, Part I, 84.

32. I. J. Isaacs, *Tampa, Florida: Its Industries and Advantages* (Tampa, 1905?), 11.

33. Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, April 11, 1887, Ledger I, 42. The committee on legislation had made the recommendation to the board of trade on February 16, 1887. See *ibid.*, February 16, 1887. The Ybor City interests protested the annexation in the April public meeting, *Tampa Journal*, April 14, 1887. Attempts at compromise were unsuccessful, *ibid.*, May 12, 1887.

Ybor & Company, W. Martinez, C. A. Martinez, and Gibson & Brigham.”³⁴

Ybor described his enterprise begun “twelve months ago” and his huge investment of over \$250,000 which was threatened by the annexation. He claimed that if his interests were “subjected to the municipal laws and taxes of the city of Tampa,” it could cripple his operations. Ybor also argued that his business would profit little from the incorporation since the Ybor company had “already graded the streets, laid sidewalks, erected lights, and enforced such sanitary measures and work as they have deemed necessary and proper.”³⁵ Morrison’s petition pointed out that a majority of the people affected by the proposed action had rejected it in a vote the previous year. The Benjamin grievance stated that the only purpose was to place a city tax on agricultural land cultivated for citrus. Another petition signed by “E. A. Clarke & Co. And 53 others” supported the legislation.³⁶

Senator Wall and the Clarke petition carried the day with little legislative opposition. A minor amendment concerning the new boundaries relieved a few orange grove owners, but the bill was quickly approved by the House and signed by the governor on June 2, 1887. Ybor City was thereafter a part of Tampa, comprising the fourth ward. Ordinance Number 6 (1887) described the fourth ward as “that part or portion of the city bounded on the north by the center line of Michigan avenue, on the east by the center line of Livingston avenue, on the south by the South Florida railroad and on the west by the center line of Nebraska avenue. . . .”³⁷

In the first election Candidor Ybor, son of the entrepreneur, was elected to the city council representing the fourth ward. He served on the committees on wards, sanitation, schools and hospitals, and police and fire departments.³⁸ City police were promptly assigned to Ybor City and brought such a change that the *Tampa Tribune’s* editor observed: “Sunday at Ybor doesn’t seem like the same day since the city limits have been extended and policemen appointed to that place.” The practice of “going out to Ybor City on Sundays to get on a spree,” now seemed to be ending.³⁹

34. *Florida Senate Journal* (1887), 273-75.

35. *Ibid.*, 274.

36. *Ibid.*, 273-75.

37. *Tampa Tribune*, October 13, 1887.

38. *Ibid.*, July 15, 22, 1887.

39. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1887.

Ybor City was becoming more habitable. Seventh Avenue was "paved" with small blocks of wood, board sidewalks were constructed, and the streets, wide for the time, were made more attractive by the planting of shade trees along each side. Dwellings were enclosed with white picket fences, and drainage ditches were constructed. A single-track railway, using steam-operated cars, was in operation in 1887. The cars were named for the daughters of one of Ybor's business associates. The Knights of Labor, organized in 1886, met on the second floor of the saloon at the corner of Fifteenth Street and Eighth Avenue.

Many other small saloons gave Ybor City a flamboyant reputation which the community resented. The rash of county options on the sale of liquor in 1887 threatened the drinking habits of Ybor City inhabitants. Many Tampans opposed the unrestricted availability of whiskey, but they wondered what effect prohibition might have on business. When Martinez Ybor was asked his opinion, just prior to the option election, he said, "if prohibition means to deprive our workmen of the facilities to get, at the restaurants and other places, the light wines which they have been accustomed to use in their meals from their childhood, the effect would be in our opinion a general exodus." Workmen will go, Ybor felt, to places "where people are not dictated to as to how they are to dress and what they are to eat or to drink."⁴⁰

In a full discussion of the issue, the *Tampa Tribune* asked, "What has [*sic*] the cigar factories done for us?" The paper observed that the factories had transformed "about two hundred acres of almost worthless land into improved and valuable tax-paying real estate, worth hundreds of dollars per acre." Buildings in Ybor City were worth "nearly half a million dollars," and almost 3,000 people had moved into the area, creating markets for a profitable mercantile and truck-farm business. Weekly payrolls of \$8,000 to \$10,000 added to the economy and the manufacturers helped support the steamship line. "Drive these factories away from here and we would have to depend for our money upon the crop of winter visitors," the paper concluded. Though the story had avoided a direct reference to the prohibition issue, its meaning was obvious.⁴¹ In the election, prohibition was defeated by a small margin.

40. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1887.

41. *Ibid.*

The saloons and small cafes became the major social centers for the workers. Ybor's first factory, the frame one he used temporarily until the permanent brick building was completed, was sold to a group of Cuban cigar makers and became *Liceo Cubano*, a center for amusement and recreation.⁴² An opera house was constructed, and light opera, sacred cantatas, plays, vocalists and benefit "festivals" were performed.⁴³

The first Spanish paper in Ybor City was *El Yara*, edited by Cuban Jose Dolores Poyo. *El Imparcial*, edited by Jose Naranjo, was the second.⁴⁴ A third paper, *La Revista de Florida*, edited by Ramon Rivero y Rivero, was started a year later in 1888. Little is known of these journals except that the editors were Cubans who strongly espoused the cause of independence. They had migrated to Tampa from Key West, and, to quote a contemporary, were "principally concerned with modern labor philosophy and ideology."⁴⁵

Despite the efforts to build a modern city, problems developed which to the immigrants seemed insurmountable. The prevalence of sickness and disease, particularly malaria and typhoid, coupled with the reluctance of Tampa physicians to make themselves easily available to the Cubans, made the need for medical treatment urgent. A partial solution was found in 1887, when Guillermo Machado, a Spanish doctor (the third one to come to Ybor City), organized a medical cooperative called *La Igual*. In return for a weekly premium of fifty cents, Dr. Machado offered medical services whenever needed.⁴⁶ In 1887, a yellow fever epidemic hit Tampa and took at least seventy-live lives.

42. This information was gleaned from a number of sources including *Tampa Guardian*, 1886-1887; *Tampa Tribune*, 1887-1888; del Rio, *Yo Fui Uno de los Fundadores de Ybor City*; "Ybor City: General Description."

43. The local newspapers of 1886-1888 are replete with announcements of performances in the opera house. From all indications they were patronized by a number of prominent Tampans as well as Ybor City citizens.

44. *Tampa Tribune*, July 1, 1887.

45. Ramon Rivero y Rivero published *El Ecuador* in Key West before coming to Tampa in February 1888, to look into the possibilities of a paper there. In April 1888, he announced that his paper, *La Revista de Florida*, would begin the following month. According to the *Tampa Tribune* Rivero's paper would be "devoted to the interests of Tampa, Ybor City and the laboring classes." See the *Tampa Tribune*, February 2, April 26, 1888. See also Muniz and Kolinski, "Tampa at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," 339.

46. Lindsay M. Bryan, "Fifty Years of Group Medicine in Tampa, Florida," Federal Writers Project unpublished Mss., 2.

In the following year, a group of businessmen headed by Enrique Pendas discussed the problem of providing medical treatment for the workers. These manufacturers were motivated by a desire to reduce worker absenteeism as well as by the humanitarian compassion to provide relief for the sick and needy. They agreed to sponsor an association named *El Porvenir* and to employ a physician on an annual retainer basis to treat any member requiring medical attention. Membership in the association was open to anyone at the monthly rate of \$1.25 per person.⁴⁷ The cigar manufacturers encouraged workers to join the association, but they did not contribute any portion of the monthly premium. Cooperative medicine of the contract type had begun in Ybor City.

Difficult social problems were also experienced in the city. Constant clashes between Cubans and Spaniards, between Americans and foreigners, and between capital and labor made the community dangerous and volatile. In Ybor City the scarcity of women contributed to still another cause of violence and immorality. Many workers preferred coming to the frontier town alone, leaving their families behind until the place was better established. The presence of large numbers of men and only a few women, gave rise to much prostitution. The high resultant incidence of venereal disease among the workers added to the already great need for medical attention.⁴⁸

With an increase in the number of Spaniards in Ybor City after 1889, the tension between them and the Cubans increased. Violence often erupted in a frontier saloon over the Cuban-Spanish issue of Cuban independence. The attitude of the county officials, according to one early settler, was to ignore any violence among the foreigners as long as it was isolated in Ybor City. Ybor's small guard detachment was reluctant to become involved in political controversies and to do much when it did become involved. It was because of these conditions that the Spanish organized the *Centro Espanol* in 1891. Ignacio Haya and Enrique Pendas were leaders in the effort, joined by B. M. Balbontin and Ramon F. Lopez. Its main purpose was to serve as a protective

47. *Ibid.*

48. "History of Ybor City as Narrated by Mr. Jose Garcia," Federal Writers Project unpublished Mss., 10; "The History of Ybor City as narrated by Mr. Domingo Ginesta," 15. See also del Rio, *Yo Fui Uno de los Fundadores de Ybor City*.

association, although it attempted to provide other services. The club's charter required members to be "Spaniards by birth and by patriotic inclination or that they be loyal to Spain and its prestige in America."⁴⁹

Within five years after the founding of the new town it was well established with people and industry, institutional beginnings were under way, and a structured community was developing all of which gave Tampa a unique flavor in its social and political development. More importantly, Ybor City provided the economic catalyst which launched Tampa as a modern city.

49. *Sociedades Espanolas* (Tampa, 1931), 3 ff; *La Accion Latina En Tampa, 1879-1933* (Tampa, 1933), n.p.; Stetson Kennedy, *Palmetto Country* (New York, 1942), 297 ff; "Ybor City: Historical Data," Federal Writers Project unpublished Mss., 8; "Ybor City: General Description," 168; "Mr. B. M. Balbontin's Personal Opinion Given Especially to the Ybor City Sociological Study," Federal Writers Project unpublished Mss., 2. See also *Tampa Tribune*, January 28, 1934.

AN EPISODE IN THE THIRD SEMINOLE WAR

by JAMES W. COVINGTON

THE THIRD SEMINOLE WAR covers the period from December 1855 to the spring of 1858. Although this war brought to a complete standstill nearly all economic growth in central and southern Florida and involved a large expenditure of money and men by national and state forces, it has been virtually ignored by writers who have preferred to pay more attention to the much more famous conflict which lasted from 1835 to 1842.¹ The Second Seminole War attained national attention because the Indians were not crushed and because such well-known figures as Thomas Jesup, Zachary Taylor, Winfield Scott, Richard K. Call, William S. Harney, and the Indians Wildcat and Osceola played prominent roles in the struggle.

The Third Seminole War could not duplicate the tragic spectacle of an Osceola captured while protected by a flag of truce, or 3,000 persons taken by force from their homes and transported more than 1,000 miles to Indian reservations west of the Mississippi. However, during this war of the 1850s, Ossen Tustenuggee, Billy Bowlegs, and their warriors ran virtual circles about federal and state troops and struck heavy blows against the hapless enemy. It was not until nearly two full years had lapsed after the opening skirmish that an effective American fighting machine was ready for action against the hostiles.

The war began when the Seminoles, becoming alarmed about the several surveying and scouting parties moving through their temporary reserve, attacked one such party. As it turned out, the Indians were probably right in making this drastic decision to make a last ditch fight to defend themselves, since Secretary of

1. This article is part of a general study of the Third Seminole War by the author which is soon to be published. The two best studies relating to the history of the Seminoles, Grant Foreman's *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1953), and Edwin C. McReynolds' *The Seminoles* (Norman, 1957), pay little attention to the Third Seminole War. This is equally the case with William C. Sturtevant's "Accomplishments and Opportunities in Florida Indian Ethnology," *Florida Anthropology*, Charles H. Fairbanks, ed., *Florida Anthropological Society Publications No. 4*, (1958).

War Jefferson Davis already had reached the decision to force the remaining Seminoles to leave Florida. According to one account, although not entirely trustworthy, leaders and warriors representing every Florida band were invited to participate in a general council which would determine future tribal policy.² In the past, whenever the Seminoles had faced a serious crisis, they had sought a solution by scheduling a general assembly. For instance, in a conference held in the Everglades in April 1841, the Indians had decreed that any Seminole, male or female, found communicating with the enemy would be put to death.³

The site selected for parley in the fall of 1855 was a hammock "on the east side of Taylor's Creek north-east of Lake Okeechobee, near present Okeechobee."⁴ The Indians who gathered generally agreed on an offensive policy, and decided that whenever a suitable opportunity presented itself, they would attack a survey party. According to the only account of this council, Tiger, a warrior in the "prime of life," forcefully presented the arguments in favor of military action. Chipco, on the other hand, opposed a war, and according to the same source some of his warriors refused to support him until he agreed to follow the decision of the majority.

There were approximately 400 Seminoles—men, women, and children—then living in southern Florida. Some spoke Muskogee or Creek; the remainder spoke a related but not mutually intelligible language called Mikasuki, a dialect of Hitchiti.⁵ Sometimes members of one group had difficulty communicating with persons from the other group. Villages were situated along the northern rim of Lake Okeechobee and the area which included the Kissimmee River, Fisheating Creek, Lakes Tohopekaliga, Kissimmee, Istokpoga, Hamilton, and adjacent lakes or waterways. Other villages were found in the Everglades extending south of Lake Okeechobee.

The one Seminole who was most influential and who had the

2. John O. Parrish, *Battling the Seminoles* (Lakeland, 1930), 215.

3. John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), 317. See also facsimile edition with introduction by John Mahon (Gainesville, 1964).

4. Parrish, *Battling the Seminoles*, 215.

5. John Goggin, "Source Materials for the Study of the Florida Seminole Indians," Laboratory Notes No. 3, University of Florida Anthropology Laboratory (August 1949), 2.

greatest authority and prestige was Holatter Micco or Billy Bowlegs. According to John T. Sprague, noted historian of the Second Seminole War, Bowlegs was "a bold, resolute and unyielding leader. [He is] ambitious, and cunning, remarkably intelligent, speaking English with facility."⁶ Holatter Micco was included within the ranks of the Seminole "royal family," and he counted among his ancestors such leaders as the first Bowlegs, King Payne, and Micanopy.⁷ His family connections alone, however, did not entitle Bowlegs to his leadership position among the Indians. Otulke-Thlocke the Prophet also had considerable influence within the tribe, and during the final stages of the Second Seminole War was more effective in asserting his authority in tribal matters than Billy Bowlegs. By the end of that conflict, however, the Prophet, because of his timidity and falsehoods, had lost his influence and no longer threatened Billy as principal leader.⁸

Billy Bowlegs, as the most important Seminole, and his two sub-chiefs, Fuse-Hadjo and Nocose Mathla, signed the peace arrangements with Colonel William J. Worth in August 1842. Assinwah, Billy's father-in-law and another important leader, acknowledged the guiding role of Bowlegs by rendering faithful service to him. Sam Jones or Arpeika had become so aged and senile by the time of the Third Seminole War that his influence had waned within the tribe. There were other important leaders, including Chipco, Ismathtee, and Oscen Tustenuggee, but none so influential as Billy Bowlegs.

The constant flow of visitors and the interchange of news indicated the good relationship which existed between the Muskogees and the Mikasukis. It was possible for the young people to meet at the several dances to which all members of the tribe were invited. As a result, there was some divisional intermarriage. Customarily the bridegroom and his bride lived with or near the dwelling of her parents. An informed census taken of the Seminoles in 1852 revealed that a number of Muskogee men were liv-

6. Sprague to Adjutant-General R. Jones, January 11, 1847, 526, Seminole Agency, 1846-1855, Records of Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington. This letter, edited by James W. Covington, "The Florida Seminoles in 1847," appeared in *Tequesta*, XXIV (1964), 49-57.

7. Kenneth W. Porter, "The Cowkeeper Dynasty of the Seminole Nation," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXX (April 1952), 341-49.

8. Sprague, *The Florida War*, 512-13.

ing among the Mikasuki, and some Mikasuki men were found in Muskogee villages with their wives and their in-laws.⁹

From available evidence contributed both by Seminole and white sources, it seems likely that Chipco did oppose the war, but he obviously was not able to keep his band neutral during the conflict. Since some Mikasuki warriors, including war leaders Oscen Tustenuggee and his brother Micco Tustenuggee, had married women from Chipco's band, and, in accordance with Seminole tradition were living with their m-laws, they were able to influence many of Chipco's warriors. In order to avoid suffering a Charley Emathla fate, Chipco accompanied his men on some of the raids, including the attack on the Starling wagon train. Chipco did not bear any special hatred toward the whites though, and apparently he retained their friendship.¹⁰

An opportunity to deal a crushing blow against the scouting parties was presented on December 7, 1855, when Second Lieutenant George Lucas Hartsuff of the Second Artillery, accompanied by ten men (six mounted men, two foot soldiers, and two teamsters), left Fort Myers and moved up through the center of southwestern Florida then occupied by Billy Bowlegs and his bands. Ten days later, Monday, December 17, the force encamped on a pine island approximately three miles from the camp that Billy Bowlegs had used the previous year. The following morning, Hartsuff and three men entered the deserted village. As they left "some of the party took a bunch of bananas."¹¹ The next day, December 19, the force visited other Indian villages, which they also found deserted. Hartsuff's orders were to return his force to Fort Myers the next day, and the men, knowing they had a long march ahead of them, turned in early. Meanwhile, under cover of darkness, a party of Seminoles, wearing black and white plumes in their hair, was moving toward the pine tree patch. At approximately five o'clock on the morning of December 20, just as the soldiers were saddling up their horses and packing the

9. Jacksonville *The Florida News*, August 27, 1853.

10. *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, July 15, 1956. On the grounds that he was friendly towards the whites, Charley Emathla was killed by order of Osceola and no Indian would touch his body. It was finally buried by the whites.

11. An account of the banana stealing episode and the battle is found in Ray B. Seley, Jr., "Lieutenant Hartsuff and the Banana Plants," *Tequesta*, XXIII (1963), 3-14.

wagons for the return to Fort Myers, the Indians attacked. Several men were wounded or killed in the initial firing, but the others were able to retreat to a nearby hammock where they could use their own muskets. After killing four soldiers and wounding four others, including Hartsuff, the Seminole attackers withdrew. Judging from the advantage that they had possessed, it is surprising that the Seminoles did not completely overwhelm the camp and kill more of the defenders. The Hartsuff attack on Thursday, December 20, 1855, marks the beginning of the Third Seminole War, the final Indian war in Florida. It is sometimes known as the Billy Bowlegs War.

Acting under authority of an act passed by the Florida legislature in January 1853, Governor James Broome tried to organize as many volunteer companies as possible to resist the Indian uprising. The state's finances were in a precarious condition at the time, and Broome had to check with federal authorities concerning expenditures for these forces. By January 12, 1856, Broome had accepted six companies and had ordered them to protect the frontier. These units were composed of citizens from Manatee, Hillsborough, and Hernando counties, and they had been armed, equipped, and rationed with the assistance of private funds. The force was offered to the Secretary of War, but Jefferson Davis only accepted three mounted companies and two infantry units.¹² Since Governor Broome believed that the number of men mustered into federal service was insufficient to meet both the offensive and defensive needs of Florida, he retained in active service under state control the companies commanded by Captains Francis M. Durrance, LeRoy C. Lesley, William H. Kendrick, Abner D. Johnson, and the detachment under Lieutenant John Addison - a total of 400 men.¹³

12. Each company was required to have seventy-four privates, two musicians, four corporals, four sergeants, one second lieutenant, one first lieutenant, and one captain. Captain A. Gibson to Adjutant-General, April 12, 1856. Letters received, Orders and Ordinance returns, 1856, War Department. Contemporary records indicated that it was very difficult to recruit foot soldiers.
13. The headquarters of the four state mounted companies included: Kendrick, Fort Broome (Hernando County frontier); Durrance, Fort Fraser (area east of Peace River); Wesley, site unselected (Lower Peace River and Manatee River areas), and Jernigan, Fort Gatlin (one half of the company operating east of St. Johns River and other half cooperating with Johnson's Company). See message of Governor Broome, November 24, 1856, *Florida House Journal* (1856), 12.

In anticipation of a possible outbreak of hostilities, the war department assembled in southern Florida a force of men twice as large as the state had been able to mobilize. Scattered about the peninsula were the following units from the First Artillery: Fort Capron on the Indian River, eighty-one men; Fort Dallas at Miami, 168 men; and the barracks at Key West, eighty-eight men. The garrisons of the Second Artillery included 217 men at Fort Myers, and 247 at Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay.¹⁴

By March 1, 1856, an impressive number of Indian fighters had been assembled to protect the frontier from raiders and to pursue the hostiles deep into the Florida wilderness. There were 800 federal troops stationed in South Florida; 260 state troops in federal service; and 400 troops in state service. Opposing this force of 1,460 men were about 100 Seminole warriors. The Indians were outnumbered by nearly fifteen to one.

Even with such an apparent overwhelming strength, the military units were badly disorganized. There was poor liaison between Colonel John Monroe, federal commander in Florida, and General Jesse Carter, special agent for the Florida militia. Part of the trouble developed from Carter's initial orders to each of his four company commanders late in February 1856. In a communication to Captain William Kendrick, Carter wrote: "One-half of your command will be required to rendezvous at your headquarters and be performing active frontier service, while you will encourage the remaining half to plant and cultivate crops and relieve them alternately at such intervals as you may deem practicable."¹⁵ Similar orders were dispatched to the other commanders. Carter was thus cutting his fighting strength by half.

During the first few months of the conflict, some observers noted defects in the militia and regular military organizations and expressed their concern. After a raid on Sarasota Bay in March 1856, this comment appeared in a Tampa paper: "While the Indians are committing their depredations with an audacity unsurpassed, our meager forces are engaged in guarding posts and sending out small detachments of mounted men on scouting

14. Statement by U.S. Adjutant-General S. Cooper, November 27, 1855, *House of Representatives, Executive Document I*, Part III, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 841.

15. Jesse Carter to William Kendrick, February 27, 1856, *Florida House Journal* (1856), 67. See also Carter to A. D. Johnson and Francis Durrance, *ibid.*, 67-69.

service, in an open portion of the Indian territory, where Indians can never be seen, and in *protecting* the frontier! What have they accomplished? Are the Indians to be removed by this force? The idea is as absurd as it is foolhardy . . . Billy understands all this, consequently his temerity.”¹⁶

While most Floridians by the 1850s had believed that they could easily quell the small handful of Indians if there were trouble, their initial activities against the Seminoles were feeble. Instead of moving directly into Indian territory and carrying the war into the foe's backyard, the military remained on the defensive, and, whenever patrols moved out, they generally tried to stay on travelled roads and trails, obviously the place where Indians would not likely be discovered. Oscen Tustenuggee and his friends quickly noted this lack of strategy, and began utilizing the tactics they had learned during the final phases of the Second Seminole War: ambush, a rapid volley, and a hasty retreat. This type of fighting had proved effective in the Second Seminole War, and it would work again for the Indians in 1856.

While state and federal forces were mobilizing, the Seminoles were readying a series of offensive strikes, aimed at hitting the thin line of frontier settlements and outposts. It must be understood that Seminole raids were not planned in great detail by the leaders, but were arranged more on the “spur of the moment.” During the Third Seminole War the Indians never based their forays upon a general pattern designed either to win the war or to drive the white man from Florida. The limited purposes of the raids seem to have been to revenge past wrongs or to obtain slaves, arms, and war booty.

Judging from available evidence, it appeared that war leader Oscen Tustenuggee and his friends in the Muskogee and Mikasuki bands assumed the responsibility for carrying out the offensive phases of the war.¹⁷ Angry because post commander Major Lewis Arnold and his regulars had burned their village, the Seminoles kept a close watch over Fort Denaud on the Caloosahatchee River. On January 18, 1856, a wood party consisting of a cor-

16. Tampa *Florida Peninsular*, March 8, 1856.

17. Oscen Tustenuggee had come from a village situated on Fisheating Creek some two or three miles from present day Palmdale. For an account concerning this Seminole leader see *Tampa Tribune*, June 19, 1960.

poral and five privates was returning to the fort with a load of cypress logs when suddenly a force of fifteen or twenty Seminoles rose from the palmettoes along the crude trail and began firing at the soldiers sitting atop the wagons. Five soldiers and twelve mules were killed in the ambush, and only one wounded survivor was able to make his way back to the fort where he identified Oscen Tustenuggee as the leader of the ambushers.¹⁸ Other Seminole raiding-parties burned a house at present-day Sarasota, ambushed a boat patrol on Turner's River, and attacked a settlement near present-day Miami. One such party, returning from a successful strike at the Braden plantation in present-day Bradenton, was overtaken during lunch time on Big Charley Apopka Creek (Charlo-Popka-Hatchee-Chee or Payne's Creek?) by a force of militiamen. The Indians lost two warriors, seven slave prisoners, three mules, and one pony. Oscen Tustenuggee led on this raid. While he lost his pony, he was able to escape.¹⁹

The next time the Seminoles struck again at the scattered settlements, they travelled some distance northward of their previous raids. At the tiny outpost of Darby, in the central part of present-day Pasco County, lived Captain Robert Bradley, a veteran of the Second Seminole War, his wife, several children, and his Negro slaves. On the evening of May 14, 1856, two of the younger children were playing in the passageway between the double-log cabin house. Everything seemed quiet and peaceful. Then suddenly the scene changed to one of terror. A band of some fifteen Indians had crept undetected up to the house and opened fire at the unsuspecting children. The frantic mother attempted to save her screaming youngsters and became a target herself. Before Bradley, rising from a sick bed, was able to join his older sons and return the gunfire, the two younger children were killed.²⁰ Although news of the attack was carried to a

18. Alexander S. Webb, "Campaigning in Florida in 1855," *Journal of the Military Service Institutions* (November-December 1912), 410-12.

19. For accounts of the attack on the Braden plantation see Carter to Broome, April 12, 1856, *Florida House Journal* (1856), Appendix, 85-86, and Tampa *Florida Peninsular*, April 12, 1856. Also see John Monroe to Cooper, April 16, 1856, M265, Department of Florida, 1856, Box 27, War Department.

20. Palatka *National Democrat* quoted in Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, May 31, 1856; S. Churchill to Monroe, May 15, 1856, C3, War Department Records, 1856; D. B. McKay, ed., *Pioneer Florida*, 3 vols. (Tampa, 1959), II, 566-67.

militia post and militiamen hurried to the Bradley homestead, the Indians were able to make their escape.²¹ The soldiers did find the body of an Indian killed by Bradley. It seemed odd that the Indians had attacked Darby while by-passing other more likely targets. A possible reason for the attack was that Captain Bradley had killed the brother of Tigertail during the Second Seminole War.

Indian scouts, probably from the same party that took part in the Darby attack, had been observing the traffic along the several military roads leading from Tampa into the interior, and they planned to ambush a wagon train. On Saturday, May 17, 1856, a three-wagon mule train carrying grain from Fort Brooke to Fort Fraser had stopped for water at a small creek, when the young son of Teamster John Starling noticed a Seminole hiding behind a pine tree. He quickly called to his father, but before an alarm could be sounded, the Indians opened fire. Three men escaped the ambush and alarmed the settlers at the camp-ground, but the two Starlings and a Mr. Roach were killed.²² The hero of this brief skirmish was Tom Hatfield who stood between two mules and maintained a constant fire against the foe. Realizing that he was the only living person remaining in the train, Hatfield jumped on a mule and made his escape.²³

One of the most important battles of the war took place on June 14-16, 1856, when a Seminole raiding party struck at an isolated farm and, in turn, was attacked by two militia units. In December 1855, Willoughby Tillis, his wife, and seven children moved from Tampa to a homestead site situated near Whidden Creek some three and one-half miles from Fort Meade. While their house was being built, the Tillis family occupied a makeshift storage shelter. Travellers had been warning Tillis for some time that he was exposing his family to Indian raiding

21. J. A. Hendley, *History of Pasco County, Florida* (Dade City, n.d.), 4, 16.

22. *Tampa Florida Peninsular*, May 24, 1856; *Tampa Tribune*, December 4, 1955.

23. *Tampa Florida Peninsular*, May 24, 1856; *Tampa Tribune*, October 30, 1955. The site of the wagon train ambush has been marked by the Hillsborough County Historical Commission. It is on U.S. Highway 92 between Tampa and Plant City, some thirteen miles from Tampa. Until 1932, a pine tree in which shot was embedded could be found at the site, but it was removed during a widening of the roadway.

parties, and finally he moved his wife and children to the Russell farm a mile and a half from Fort Meade. The well-constructed double-cabin pine log house, complete with connecting walkway, brick chimney, and with no visible openings between logs, was shared with another refugee family - Thomas Underhill, his wife, and three children.²⁴

On the morning of June 14, while milking her cows, Mrs. Celia Tillis saw an Indian peering at her through the pine rails of the cattlepen. Another look showed others hiding by the rails. She screamed a warning to her Negro slave Aunt Line and to her two boys, and they all raced toward the house. The Seminoles immediately opened fire at the house and its occupants. Underhill, who had been sleeping in the separate cabin connected by the walkway to the Tillis portion of the house, ran to join the others, but in his haste, left all of his ammunition in the other cabin. Since she was the smallest, it was decided that Aunt Line should crawl under the walkway from one cabin to the other for the ammunition.²⁵ The Negro slave was able to make the trip safely, but later she was slightly wounded on the forehead.

Tillis and Underhill returned an effective fire by shooting through the narrow opening between the logs and brick chimney. Underhill killed an Indian on his first shot which stopped their rush on the house. Since the gun smoke indicated their position, the two whites would fire and then jump back to a safer spot. When the battle ended, it was discovered that nearly all the Indian bullets had lodged within a half-inch of the chimney gap, and a few had passed through the opening and had lodged in the cabin walls.

In the midst of the skirmish, Lafayette Tillis ran from the barn to the house. He had returned from Fort Meade late at night and had retired to the barnloft so as not to disturb the rest of the household. Young Tillis said that the Indians had attempted to burn the barn, but since they had no matches, they were un-

24. William Hooker to Broome, June 19, 1856, Tampa *Florida Peninsular*, July 5, 1856; *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, April 4, 1954. "Original Narratives of Indian Attacks in Florida: An Indian Attack of 1856 on the Home of Willoughby Tillis: Narrative of James Dallas Tillis," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VIII (April 1930), 179-87.

25. McKay, *Pioneer Florida*, II, 574-75. The two accounts of the Tillis affairs which were given by James Dallas Tillis differ in significant detail and must be regarded with suspicion. Yet, they present valuable information not available elsewhere.

able to start a blaze. Underhill's horse was in the barn, and they cut his throat and shot the dozen horses owned by Tillis that were grazing in a nearby field.

Daniel Carlton's two young sons, driving cattle to pasture, heard the prolonged firing and informed their father, who hurried to Fort Meade with the news.²⁶ There were only a few militiamen available to answer the call for help, but Second Lieutenant Alderman Carlton from Captain Durrance's Company, who was visiting his family at Fort Meade, assumed command of a hastily-assembled relief force. It included Lott Whidden and Daniel H. Carlton, Lieutenant Carlton's son, from Durrance's Company Three, Florida Mounted Volunteers at Fort Fraser (Bartow), John C. Oats of Captain LeRoy Lesley's Company Seven, Florida Mounted Volunteers at Manatee (Bradenton), and William Parker, John H. Hollingsworth, and William McCulloch from Captain William B. Hooker's Company M, Florida Mounted Volunteers in federal service at Fort Meade. This militia group moved out quickly toward the besieged farmhouse, but hearing the soldiers approaching, the Indians retreated into a heavily wooded thicket nearby and awaited the inevitable clash.²⁷

Thickets, with their large trees and dense underbrush and vines, made excellent natural forts for the Indians. They were able to take their toll as the soldiers clawed their way through the tangled undergrowth. Once the attackers came within ten feet of each other, the engagement developed into a series of individual combats - one person stalking the other through the heavy vegetation. Usually after a single rifle or musket shot, the attacker or defender was forced to fight with the aid of a knife, or using his rifle as a club, or even wrestling.

Tillis warned Lieutenant Carlton and his men that the Indians outnumbered them two to one. Nonetheless, three militiamen raced to one side of the Indian position; the remaining four took the opposite side, and both wings closed on the enemy. When Private Daniel H. Carlton saw William McCulloch holding a

26. *Tampa Tribune*, April 4, 1954.

27. Francis Durrance to Carter, June 14, 1856, *Florida House Journal* (1856), Appendix 21. The site of the Tillis farm house battle and the skirmish between seven militiamen and the Seminoles has been worked extensively by phosphate mining operations in the area, and the exact location of these two sites is virtually impossible to determine at this time.

Seminole on the ground, he came to his aid and cut the Indian's throat. Not only were the whites greatly outnumbered, but the Indian position in the wooded area was very strong, and the militiamen were forced to withdraw. In the brief but bloody engagement, Lieutenant Alderman Carlton and two of his men, Lott Whidden and William Parker, had been killed, and John C. Oats, Daniel H. Carlton, and John Hollingsworth were wounded. One Indian had been killed, and it was believed that he was an important leader.²⁸

News of the skirmish was carried by Private Daniel H. Carlton to Fort Fraser, and Captain Francis Durrance dispatched First Sergeant F. C. M. Boggess and Second Sergeant Joseph L. Durrance with fifteen men to the scene. Another patrol of eight or ten men, led by First Lieutenant Streaty Parker of Lesley's Company, reached the Tillis place and followed the retreating Indians from the thicket where the struggle had taken place into a hammock which offered a better defensive position. The original band of Indians was believed to have been joined by one or more parties, and Lieutenant Parker decided to return to Fort Meade for reinforcements and more provisions.²⁹

After a brief rest at Fort Meade, the aroused and reinforced militiamen emerged ready for battle. On June 16, 1856, twenty-five men under Lieutenant Parker searched through the swamps along the Peace River, believed to be the hiding place of the hostiles. The following morning, five men were left to guard the horses, one went after provisions, and the remaining nineteen hunted for the elusive foe. At ten o'clock, the Seminole camp was discovered, and a quick rush gave the half-asleep sentry little chance to warn his fellows.³⁰ The two shots fired at the

28. The Seminoles were unable to recover the body of the dead Indian. Tied to the axle tree of a cart, it was carried to Fort Meade for examination by a doctor. Since the Indian carried many herbs on his person, the whites concluded that he must have been a medicine man or shaman. The body was buried within the stockade at Fort Meade. See *Tampa Tribune*, April 4, 1954.

29. Hooker to Broome, June 19, 1856, *Tampa Florida Peninsular*, July 5, 1856.

30. *Ibid.* Since the water level of the Peace River has been changed by phosphate mining operations and much of the extensive forest cover has been cut by lumbermen, exact location of the Peace River battle presents a challenge to the local historian. The author is greatly indebted to William Bevis of Fort Meade for guiding him to possible scenes of the several skirmishes.

guard aroused the Seminoles, and they quickly sought cover in the woods or tried to swim the river. War leader Oscen Tustenuggee was shot and killed in mid-stream, but his brother, Micco Tustenuggee, saved himself by diving off his horse and swimming underwater to the thickly-wooded bank on the other side.³¹

Once they had recovered from the initial shock, the Indians began returning an effective fire. A high bluff on the opposite side of the river served as a rallying spot for the hostiles. Gunfire from the higher ground killed George Howell and Robert Prine, and wounded James Whidden, William Brooker, and John Skipper. Seeing that they controlled the fighting at this point, some Indians moved across the river, hoping to create a flanking fire. With his force reduced to fourteen able-bodied men, Lieutenant Parker decided to retreat, carrying his wounded along with him. At Brooker's place, a previously-designated rendezvous point, the wounded were treated by a physician and reinforcements joined the party. The dead bodies had been recovered from the battlefield, and the wounded and dead were carried to Fort Meade. Besides Lieutenant Parker from Lesley's Company, the forces in this battle included twelve men from Durrance's Company, three from Hooker's Company, and one from Sparkman's Company. These figures show that Hooker's Company at Fort Meade was not strong enough to defend the countryside from attacking Seminoles.

After removing the dead and wounded, a small army of reinforced militiamen under Captain William Hooker made a determined effort to overtake the Indians. One force of twenty-three men marched five miles on the evening of June 16. Searching through the swamps the next two days, Hooker found the burned Chockaniola bridge, one dead Indian covered by a Starling wagon train canvas, some pools of blood left by dead or wounded Seminoles, but no live Indians. Detachments led by Lieutenants E. T. Kendrick (twenty-five men), B. S. Sparkman (thirteen men), and John Parker also searched through the same general area without finding any Seminoles. The hard pursuit through the heavily wooded country caused some men to become ill; others suffered

31. *Tampa Tribune*, June 19, 1960. Oscen Tustenuggee's body was hidden in a palmetto patch by the Indians, and several nights later two men returned and erected a log pen about his body. This pen was discovered and the body was removed by the soldiers.

from the swarms of mosquitoes prevalent during the summer. By June 20, the Florida forces had given up the pursuit and had returned to their home bases.

At first it appeared that the militia had scored a victory in the Peace River Valley battle. One observer claimed some time later that killing the Indians had been as easy as shooting ducks, and Florida Governor Broome was certain that as many as fifteen had been killed in the battle.³² Yet facts to the contrary were disclosed at the same time. M. P. Lyons wrote to Colonel Monroe presenting another side to the picture: "Hooker, instead of chasing Indians, bothered more with gathering up his herd of cattle and driving them to sale. Many Indian signs around but he ignored them. When Indians attacked Mr. Tillis house in vicinity of Fort Meade only seven men were mustered and three of them belonged to Captain Hooker's Company C. (Most of men on beef scout). Seven men dashed to relief of Tillis and three were killed and two wounded. When Hooker heard the news he came when the dead were being carried from the field."³³

The first skirmish near the Tillis house was certainly an Indian victory. Three whites lost their lives, and when the whereabouts of the Indians was discovered, a sizeable force could not be mustered against them. A determined but inadequate detail of nineteen men charged the enemy and were driven back. Finally when a larger force was organized, the Indians could not be discovered. If the militia stationed at Fort Meade had been at full or even at half strength, the Indians might have been defeated or even crushed, but most of the militiamen were engaged in the pursuit of private business of herding cattle.³⁴

Evidence concerning the wretched condition of the Florida

32. *Fort Meade Leader* in *Tampa Tribune*, October 26, 1958. For Broome's remarks see *Florida House Journal* (1856), 13.

33. M. P. Lyons to Monroe, July 7, 1856, L7, Box 27, War Department Records, 1856. Lyons preferred charges against Hooker for neglect of duty. Robert F. Prine, George Howell, Alderman Carlton, William Parker, and Lott Whidden were buried together in a common grave at Fort Meade. The spot is marked by a stone monument erected in 1964.

34. Hooker claimed that he was alerted by the full moon and moved to Manatee (Bradenton) in order to prevent a possible attack there. When the attack did not develop, he went to Horse Creek where the Indians usually obtained a supply of potatoes. At this place, two scouts sent to obtain information at Fort Green, returned and informed him about the Tillis attack. See Hooker's report as printed in *Tampa Florida Peninsular*, July 5, 1856.

militia was apparent in the messages written by General Jesse Carter during June 1856. In a letter to Captain Kendrick at Fort Broome he expressed disappointment at not having met Kendrick at the post. He was also surprised to learn that thirty-two men had been given twenty-day furloughs.³⁵ While the Indians were attacking in the South, Carter, Captain Lesley with eighteen men, and Captain Sparkman with sixteen men, were searching through the hammocks of Chochochattee and Annuttaliga in Hernando County.³⁶ When news of the Tillis attack reached Carter on June 16, he suggested that Sparkman and his force return to the southern frontier, but it was not until the afternoon of June 19 that the unit made its departure. In his report, Carter tersely noted: "I regret to say, the harmony of cooperation was on the morning of that day, disturbed by an impropriety on the part of Capt. Sparkman, followed by language very discourteous to me."³⁷

The victory claims were further deflated when several Seminole women captured a short time later alleged that only twelve warriors had been involved in the Peace River skirmish. Of this number, two were killed on shore, two in the water, and two were wounded.³⁸ The Indian account was at complete variance with the one offered by the whites, but such variations were typical in frontier history. An Indian could not be claimed as being dead until his body was seen and counted with the general total.

Although some of the poorest features of the militia system appeared during this period, substantial gains were also realized by the whites. First and foremost, the power of the Seminoles to carry out offensive strikes deep into the settled area was broken by the deaths of war leader Oscen Tustenuggee and other warriors in the Peace River fighting. No longer could the Indians carry out such raids, and even when soldiers and militiamen swarmed through their heartland, the warriors hid in the hammocks and grasslands, hoping that they would not be discovered. The Seminoles remained a threat and struck at unwary soldiers, but they did not undertake any raids in force to the north.

35. Carter to Kendrick, June 21, 1856, *Florida House Journal* (1856), Appendix, 122-23.

36. Carter to John Monroe, June 24, 1856, *ibid.*, 124-25.

37. *Ibid.*

38. W. W. Morris to Captain Page, July 26, 1857, M120, Box 30, War Department, 1857.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870. By Father Michael V. Gannon. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965. xv, 210 pp. Introduction, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index, \$5.00.)

To signal Florida's Quadricentennial, author and publisher have produced a properly handsome volume whose appearance will please every reader. Because the Roman Catholic church was planted with the first Spanish settlements, they have appropriately marked this anniversary with a history of the church in Florida from discovery to 1870. The author has unusual qualifications because he is both an historian of the church in Florida and director of the Mission of Nombre de Dios, founding site of church and state in Florida.

Because Florida was a frontier border zone, the church's fortunes depended upon the vicissitudes of empire. From 1565 to about 1700 the church was an arm of Spanish imperialism stretched out through the missions to embrace the Indians. When Florida was caught between the Anglo-American and the Spanish empires, the missions were ground to dust and the church shattered into puny fragments. When the expanding American empire absorbed Florida, the church had to find a place for itself in a new society.

The author has accepted the fact that he must work within this very undramatic framework. The climax arrived early in the story, when the missions touched the high point of their "golden age" around 1675; then followed a dreary denouement that dragged on for two centuries. Father Gannon chose to write a narrative history, but he seems to have assumed that it could not be at the same time an analytical history. Consequently, he has told an awkward story well, but he has not written a critical history.

Father Gannon has used the many excellent sources and adequate secondary studies to recount with fidelity and admiration the story of the Spanish Indian missions. Unfortunately, he has followed his sources too faithfully by sharing their con-

ventional and convenient view that the Indians were "savages" whom the missionaries rescued from depraved ignorance. This was precisely the assumption of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century missionaries who, of course, knew nothing of the concept of culture and the studies of modern anthropology. Some hard thought should have been given to the impact of the Spanish missions on Indian cultures. Statements of missionaries, who were often satisfied with appearances, must be analyzed and not simply quoted.

After the Spanish mission period the history of the church in Florida loses much of its interest simply because it comprised a tattered and unimportant minority. The author has resisted the natural temptation to exaggerate its size and influence. In these chapters appear the standard flaws of church history which is inclined to take a narrowly clerical and "institutional" approach to the subject. As a result, the reader finds scattered throughout the narrative what can only be called ecclesiastical piffle. The history of the church is reduced to an history of the clergy and buildings while major interpretive problems are either ignored or probed only from a clerical viewpoint. For example, the story of the church after the arrival of Bishop Verot becomes the story of Bishop Verot (of whom the author has published a biography). The revealing battle over lay trusteeism (which raised questions about the role of the laity in the church and about the church's adaptation to American culture) is handled, quite strangely, as a difficulty in church-state relations.

Father Gannon has given the general reader an informative and readable history of the Roman Catholic church in Florida before 1870. When he turns to the sequel for the modern period we hope that he will write a critical history as well.

GERALD J. GOODWIN

The Catholic University of America

The Catholic Historical Review, LI, No. 3 (October 1965).
(Washington: The American Catholic Historical Association, 1965. iv, pp 305-456. Maps, illustrations, miscellany, book reviews, notes and comments, periodical literature, books received. \$2.00.)

Ordinarily, historical journals are not reviewed. However, this issue of *The Catholic Historical Review*, labeled as the St. Augustine Quadricentennial Number, deals entirely with the religious and ecclesiastical aspects connected with, and ensuing from, the founding of St. Augustine in 1565. Thus, it can be treated as a book.

In "Four Contemporary Narratives of the Founding of St. Augustine," Father Matthew J. Connolly gives us an excellent bibliographical essay on the letter, dated September 11, 1565, from *Adelantado* Pedro Menendez de Aviles to Philip II; the narrative of Father Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, Menendez's chaplain, finished that momentous September; the biography of Menendez by Dr. Gonzalo Solis de Meras, his brother-in-law and companion in Florida, written in Spain after July 1567; and the biography of Menendez by Professor Bartolome Barrientos, of the University of Salamanca, finished in December 1567.

Connolly challenges two commonly accepted views. The Spanish source purporting to prohibit Florida settlement in 1561 was misinterpreted; there was no such prohibition. Also, the northern limit of Florida was Virginia, as implied by Menendez himself, in a letter, dated October 15, 1565, who advocated fortification of Santa Maria (Chesapeake) Bay. Indeed, Barcia has told us that the notion of Florida extending to Newfoundland was a post-Menendez concept. Additionally, Connolly documents the claim that the Mission of Nombre de Dios is the Menendez landing site. This is refreshing, since some parties in St. Augustine offer no documentation for all sorts of claims.

Father Michael V. Gannon's "Sebastian Montero, Pioneer American Missionary, 1566-1572" shows that the settled Florida missions are slightly older than had been supposed. Shortly after March 3, 1567, the Jesuits, Father Juan Rogel and Brother Francisco Villareal, began conversion work among the Indians of Carlos and Tequesta villages respectively. During the preceding three or four months, however, Chaplain Sebastian Montero of Captain Juan Pardo's company had already been giving religious instruction to the Indians of Juada, Quihanagi, and Guatari. This activity took place during Pardo's first reconnaissance (November 1, 1566 to March 7, 1567) of today's South Carolina.

Without prominent natural or man-made landmarks, the accurate location of historical sites is a problem. Despite Gannon's exercise, Guatari still eludes us. Likewise, students of John R. Swanton, who believe that Cufitachiqui was near Silver Bluff, Georgia, will file exception to Gannon's agreeing with Miss Mary Ross that the village was near Columbia, South Carolina. Actually, an historical event does not lose the idea or meaning that transcends it just because the event can not be connected to a definite or uncontroversial location.

"The 'Golden Age' of the Florida Missions, 1632-1674" by the late Father Charles W. Spellman challenges an interpretation of Father Maynard Geiger, who thought that the numerical increase of Indian conversions during 1632-1674 represented a full flowering of the seeds sown during *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618)*. Spellman believed that quantitative increase must be correlated with the material conditions of the missions and the natives, the jurisdictional disputes between the military and the missionaries, and the violent Indian revolts that took place. All these factors usher in a "Time of Troubles" rather than a "Golden Age." Further details are needed for appraising Spellman's reinterpretation.

Students of Florida history should feel greatly elated reading the first essay in the Miscellany. The holdings of the Mission of Nombre de Dios Library, taken together with those of Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, the St. Augustine Historical Society, and the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, actually make St. Augustine "the center" for the study of Florida history.

LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

St. Augustine, Florida

The Impeachment of Circuit Judge Richard Kelly. By Carl D. McMurray. (Tallahassee: Institute of Governmental Research, Florida State University, 1964. viii, 116 pp. Foreword, preface, appendices, tables. \$2.50.)

The political history of Florida records five cases of impeachment and two impeachment trials conducted against state officials.

Both trials involved circuit judges, and this work is a study of the last of these, the 1963 impeachment trial and acquittal of Judge Richard Kelly. In addition to presenting a factual account, including statements by the principals in the case, the author includes commentary by leading critics on the deficiencies of impeachment as a method of removing judges and a summary of their recommendation for changing the present procedure.

This volume is well organized and includes copies of the impeachment documents in the appendix. Liberal use of names of witnesses with frequent quotations from the record, makes it interesting reading. Professor McMurray's work will be helpful not only to Florida historians, but to all who are interested in improving the administration of justice in Florida.

BEN KRENTZMAN

Clearwater, Florida

Florida Votes: 1920-1962. By Annie Mary Hartsfield and Elston E. Rody. (Tallahassee: Institute of Governmental Research, Florida State University, 1963. xiii, 106 pp. Foreword, preface, tables, illustrations. \$2.00.)

Students of political science, history, and related disciplines have long cited the lack of compilations of voter registration and election data by state and county needed to facilitate research in voting behavior. Failure to collect these data from scattered and often difficult-to-use sources into convenient single or multi-volumes has severely handicapped research progress. Happily, more and more compilations are now being published. This volume is a welcome and valuable addition to the list. The authors cover the 1920-1962 period, and present data on selected major races by county. The offices included are president, United States senator, governor, and Railroad and Public Utilities commissioner. In addition, registration figures are included in so far as they were available.

Any serious researcher on Florida politics will find the voting statistics invaluable, but this volume makes a contribution beyond the simple collection and presentation of statistics. A valuable and perceptive introductory section analyzes some of the major trends

in registration and voting in Florida over the 1920-1962 period. Major factors that are analyzed include: (1) the shift in voting strength from North to South Florida; (2) the increasing participation of the Negro in Florida politics; (3) the changing shape of the two-party system in Florida; and (4) long-range trends in voter registration among both white and Negro voters. These analyses are supported by a number of maps and charts that illustrate the generalizations made. All in all, the introductory section of some thirty pages is a valuable complement to the compilation of data in the latter part of the book.

The only criticism one might make of the book is that it does not cover all of the elective offices involved during the period, nor does it cover the early period of Florida's political development. Of course, this is not so much a criticism of the authors as it is a testimony to the difficulty and sometimes impossibility of collecting these data. One would hope that the Institute of Governmental Research and the Florida Center for Education in Politics, co-sponsors of this project, will continue their interest in the matter of collecting and publishing voting and registration data. There is a great need in Florida, for instance, for county by county voting data broken down by precincts. This is a tremendous task, but one which would be invaluable to the political and historical researcher.

JOHN M. DEGROVE

Florida Atlantic University

The Wind Commands Me: A Life of Sir Francis Drake. By Erle Bradford. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965. 251 pp. Illustrations, maps, preface, selected bibliography, index. \$4.95.)

Erle Bradford has written a most readable life of Sir Francis Drake. In his account, the author traces Drake's early life in England and his initial voyages with John Hawkins to Africa and the Caribbean. At first, the English attempted more trading and less stealing in the West Indies but when the Spanish went back on their pledged word at San Juan de Ulua (Vera Cruz, Mexico), they created an enemy who would seek and obtain full satisfaction.

Drake understood well that the weakest spot in Spain's colonial empire was at or near the Isthmus of Panama, and he undertook several expeditions in that neighborhood during the 1570-1586 period. In 1570 he scouted the area and returned two years later to loot the principal city of Nombre de Dios. During the years 1577-1580, after visiting the western coast of South America, Drake decided to circumnavigate the world, and he returned in triumph to Queen Elizabeth with captured treasure valued at several million dollars. A 1585-1586 foray against Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine was not at all successful.

It was Drake who caused Philip II's plans to invade England in 1588 to collapse like a house built of cards. First, Drake attacked the harbor of Cadiz, inflicting heavy damage upon Philip's merchant fleet, and second he destroyed the very important supplies of barrels and dried tuna at Sagres, Portugal. Finally, as every English school boy should know, he was most instrumental in the Armada's defeat at sea. The 1595-1596 excursion into the Caribbean was a complete failure. During this raid everything seemed to go wrong, and to climax it Sir Francis Drake died and his body enclosed in a coffin of lead was lowered into the Caribbean.

The Wind Commands Me probably will not be the best book ever written about Drake, but it is indeed a most stimulating and provocative one. Although we think that we are now involved in the original "cold war," Bradford points out that Spain and England were engaged in a "cold war" over 300 years ago. Drake was far ahead of his time in his treatment of Spanish prisoners, in his conduct towards Negroes and Indians, and in his consideration towards his own seamen. Ernle Bradford, a man who has crossed the Atlantic three times under sail, certainly enjoyed writing about the greatest English sea commander of all time, and he has presented a most readable and exciting narrative.

JAMES W. COVINGTON

University of Tampa

Jacksonian Democracy and the Historians. By Alfred A. Cave. *University of Florida Social Sciences Monographs*, No. 22. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964. vi, 89 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments. \$2.00.)

This monograph will be most valuable to the students of the Jacksonian period, but it will be of interest to all those concerned with the historian's craft. Professor Cave, in skillfully delineating the twistings and turnings of historical interpretations of Jacksonian Democracy, has illustrated the limitations, the shortcomings, and the difficulties which often mark historians and their work. He divides his material into three periods: the nineteenth century, 1900-1945, and the period since 1945.

He sees nineteenth century scholarship as dominated by a "Whiggish" interpretation which had as its basic theme "the Jacksonian degradation of the Old Republic." The dominant figures whose works he cites are George Tucker, James Parton, William Graham Sumner, Hermann E. von Holst, and John W. Burgess. All were hostile toward the basic characteristics of the Jacksonian movement. Toward the end of the century, however, the more favorable twentieth-century view of Jacksonianism was heralded by the work of Frederick Jackson Turner. His generation tended to portray Jacksonian Democracy as a fulfillment rather than a betrayal of the nation's political tradition.

Turner was favorably inclined toward Jackson whom he viewed as a representative of the frontier, from which stemmed all that was distinctively American. Those who carried on this interpretation most notably were Carl Russell Fish, John Spencer Bassett, William E. Dodd, Charles A. Beard, Vernon L. Parrington, Claude Bowers, and Marquis James. The pro-Jackson theme was never as widely accepted in the early twentieth century as was the anti-Jackson theme in the nineteenth; and influential dissents were heard. Ralph H. Catterall was persuasive in his defense of the value of the United States Bank, while Edward Channing and Thomas P. Abernethy were bitterly critical of the basic assumptions of the defenders of Jackson.

By 1945, a new emphasis upon the urban labor support for Jackson and the role of Jacksonian Democracy as a precursor of twentieth century liberalism was assuming major proportions due largely to the popularity of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s *Age of Jackson*. Though this theme of urban labor support had been suggested as early as 1886 by Richard T. Ely and had been utilized early in the twentieth century by John R. Commons, it received widespread attention only after the Second World War and then mainly as a catalyst to new researches generally contra-

dicting the interpretation. Joseph Dorfman, Richard B. Morris, Edward Pessen, and Walter Hugins impressively attacked the claims of urban labor support for Jackson. That Jacksonian Democracy was a reactionary movement looking back toward a social and economic world that was vanishing was the theme of John H. Ward and Marvin Meyers. That Jackson's destruction of the Bank was a great setback for our economic development has been cogently argued by Walter B. Smith, Bray Hammond, and Thomas P. Govan. Richard Hofstadter and Louis Hartz attacked the class conflict on which Schlesinger had argued Jacksonianism was based and maintained that middleclass consensus had dominated American politics.

Professor Cave is wise enough, however, to see in Lee Benson one of the more important post-war interpreters, not for his dubious suggestion that ethnic and religious factors were the basis of political division, but because he has called for "multi-variate analysis" to account for the many determinants of voting behavior. As more and more researchers indicate the bewilderingly pluralistic nature of Jacksonian Democracy, historians must learn to be at home with multiple causation and to use more of the methodology of the social sciences.

Professor Cave is complimented for a good book. The University of Florida Press is censured for not providing any of the monographs of this series with an index.

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

University of Florida

Agriculture and the Civil War. By Paul W. Gates. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965. xii, 383, xiii pp. Introduction, map, illustrations, note on sources and acknowledgments, index. \$8.95.)

This book provides the first overall view of agriculture in the United States during the period from 1850 to 1870, with emphasis on changes wrought by the sectional conflict. The study is organized into three general parts - the South, the North, and the United States. While the author relies heavily on secondary

sources for his discussion of the South, the remaining two general discussions are based on extensive ground-breaking research.

One who reads this book will be impressed by the superiority of northern and western agriculture over that of the South, both in productive capacity and in war-time organization. During all the war years the North exported wheat, flour, pork, and lard. Europe's purchases of these more than offset the previous trade with the South, which ended with the closing of the Mississippi River. Shortages of sugar products and cotton were the North's principal problems. While cotton growing was attempted in southern Illinois, Missouri, and Utah, none of these efforts was a practical success. Cotton captured and traded through the lines was much more successful in ameliorating the fiber shortage. Sorghum-growing, to replace Louisiana sugar and molasses, was attempted with limited success.

While the North after 1860 actually expanded its acreage and production, with its farmers enjoying war-time prosperity, the Confederacy was plagued with food shortages, both in the army and in a few urban centers. Impressment and taxes-in-kind, combined with hasty organization and inadequate transportation, failed to improve the quality of the Confederate soldier's diet and the quantity of his rations. However, food often spoiled on the railroad sidings. The pilfering of rail fences by soldiers was one of the most damaging blows the South received.

Labor shortages in the North hastened the development of harvesting machinery and other labor-saving devices, resulting in a 300 percent increase in capital invested in farm machinery in the decade following 1860. This was in contrast to the vast destruction of equipment on the rice and sugar plantations of the South. Typical of other innovations was the development by Gail Borden of the condensed milk industry, providing the federal army and civilians with hygienic, first quality milk, and dairy farmers with an improved market. On the way out was the swill milk industry wherein cows, fed on distillery mash, produced a blueish, insipid milk, and a flaccid flesh with a tendency to putrescence.

After conservative southern congressmen left Washington following secession, the agricultural section of the patent office was elevated to the rank of a full department when, under Isaac Newton, it began a program of experimentation; it issued crop reports, and opened new lines of statistical research. Previously, northern

states had given generous support to agricultural education while the South had done little in this direction. Now came federal grants of public land for agricultural colleges, in addition to the Homestead Act, the Pacific Railroad Act, and the National Bank Act. New England, with its depressed agriculture, took the lead in the movement for land-grant colleges.

While recognizing the tendency for large quantities of the better public land to come under the control of land companies, banks, and speculators, Professor Gates sees the public land policy of the war period as a complete retreat from the conservatism of previous United States land policy. While grafted in an ill-fitting fashion upon an older system of granting large areas to railroads and to states for various purposes, "the Homestead Act cannot be called a distressing disappointment," but "constructive and far-reaching in its results."

JAMES C. BONNER

Woman's College of Georgia

Tennessee's War. Compiled and edited by Stanley F. Horn. (Nashville: Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, 1965. 364 pp. Foreword, prologue, endpaper maps, bibliography. \$5.95.)

Certainly no one more competent could have been found to compile and edit a work of this nature; Stanley Horn already has to his credit two of the finest descriptions of military operations, *The Army of Tennessee* and *The Decisive Battle of Nashville*. In addition to a foreword and a prologue, this work is comprised of participants' contemporary writings, diaries, letters, and reports. These are combined with a minimum of editorial comment. This is Mr. Horn's avowed purpose and the result is excellent.

No claim is made that newly-discovered materials have been used, but those utilized have been well selected and offer the reader many more details than are usually available. One cannot refrain, however, from disappointment over the lack of an index. The Civil War, as "described by participants," is arranged chronologically. Matter regarding a particular period may be found by reference to chapter titles.

In the prologue, Horn quotes Senator John Sherman's speech delivered at Vanderbilt University in 1887. The announcement that Sherman would address the students created a turmoil and a demonstration led by the future dean of the Law School and two future members of the Board of Trust playing Dixie on their mouth organs. One wonders why in the description of the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson the journal of Randal W. McGavock was not utilized. "Terror in Nashville" and "Shiloh," including the autobiographical remarks by Henry M. Stanley, are excellent chapters. The material on the Battle of Murfreesboro brings up the still unsettled question of the spelling of Stone (Stone's) River. "Six Months Between Battles" (Murfreesboro and Chickamauga) includes Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Freemantle's (British Cold Stream Guards) famous description of the baptism and confirmation of General Braxton Bragg at the Episcopal Church in Shelbyville.

Quotations from the pen of John Fitch, General Rosecrans' provost judge, give a flowery picture of life behind Federal lines. Rosecrans occupied a house at Murfreesboro from which a "rebel" had fled. According to Fitch, "the uncreative aristocrat" had depended on the ingenuity of the "Yankees" for the luxuries of life—the marble "fire fronts," mirrors, curtains, furniture, bed linens, books, and pictures. This indictment of the South is reiterated, but with sympathy, by Henry Grady twenty years later. Fitch and others describe the trouble Federal authorities had with camp followers, particularly in Nashville, and with thieves, profiteers, and spies. The intimate observations of events and people throughout the book are most refreshing.

"The Long Way Home," the final chapter, is appropriately taken from the Journal of Lieutenant Bromfield L. Ridley, aide camp to General A. P. Stewart, Army of Tennessee, who recounts the ordeal of traveling home across war-torn North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, from April 27 to June 12, 1865.

ADAM G. ADAMS

Coral Gables, Florida

The Union vs. Dr. Mudd. By Hal Higdon. (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1964. xii, 235 pp. Illustrations, preface, bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

Historians have written dozens of volumes relating to John Wilkes Booth's infamous deed of a century ago. But Hal Higdon believes that one very prominent and heroic person who figured in the nineteenth century's famous crime has been neglected. Samuel A. Mudd is known as the doctor who set Booth's leg and who later distinguished himself by dedicated service when yellow fever raged inside Fort Jefferson, but who was Dr. Mudd? What kind of man was he? Was he really the victim of unfortunate circumstances? Did he deserve his punishment? Hal Higdon attempts to answer these questions in *The Union vs. Dr. Mudd*.

Actually, Higdon plays a Perry Mason role. He sets out to write a biography of Dr. Mudd, and in doing so he re-examines almost every shred of evidence that was used to convict the doctor of conspiracy in the Lincoln assassination plot. Readers will conclude that the prosecution failed to establish its case—the evidence against Dr. Mudd, a victim of hysteria, was circumstantial. The defendant, a civilian, was tried by a court-martial in time of peace. The case was settled more on passion than on points of law. Dr. Mudd was not even permitted to testify on his own behalf; he attended the trial as a passive observer. His appearance in irons did not demonstrate that the government believed in innocence until proven guilty. Two of the prosecution's star witnesses were later convicted of crimes. The highest ranking officer and president of the commission, Major General David Hunter, was a close friend of Lincoln. Belligerent by nature, Hunter was an unlikely choice as an impartial jury chairman.

Dr. Mudd and seven others were convicted. As to the actual guilt of George Atzerodt, David E. Herold, and Lewis Paine, there was little room for doubt. In the cases of Samuel Arnold, Michael O'Laughlin, Ned Spangler, Dr. Samuel Mudd and Mrs. Surratt, there was contradictory testimony. There was room for much reasonable doubt in the cases of Arnold, Spangler, and Mudd. Although these men were proved to be southern sympathizers, it was not proved that they endorsed assassination. The court sentenced Arnold, O'Laughlin, and Dr. Mudd to life imprisonment at New York's Albany Penitentiary. Fearing new insurrections against the

government, Secretary Stanton decided to move these dangerous prisoners to Fort Jefferson off the coast of Florida.

Floridians will read Higdon's account of life at Fort Jefferson with real interest. He uses the letters Mrs. Mudd received from Fort Jefferson to give us verbatim accounts of two years at what has been called America's Devil's Island. The letters tell of inadequate rations, of cruel and vengeful guards, and of the life of 550 prisoners crowded into the fort. For disobedience of regulations, the guards often strung up prisoners by the thumbs, roped and dunked them in the gulf, whipped them, or tied them to tree branches and left them to swing throughout the night. A cruel sergeant named Murphy beat a French Canadian so severely with his musket butt that the prisoner died. (Murphy was promoted to a lieutenancy.) Enlisted men stationed on the island lived a life better only by a degree than that led by the prisoners.

We are indebted to Higdon for this documented attempt to shed light on Dr. Mudd's heroism when yellow fever swept Fort Jefferson. The sacrifices made by this somewhat timid doctor are surprising, when viewed in the light of his own sufferings; he volunteered to risk his own life in an effort to save the lives of fellow prisoners and guards.

The final act in this post-war drama was the appearance of Mrs. Mudd in President Andrew Johnson's office. "Mrs. Mudd," said the President, "I have complied with my promise to release your husband before I left the White House. I no longer hold myself responsible. I guess Mrs. Mudd, you think this is tardy justice in carrying out my promise made to you two years ago. The situation was such, however, that I could not act as I wanted to do." Dr. Mudd was now free. He was pardoned in 1869 four years after his conviction. But another ninety years passed before he received official vindication. In October 1959, Congress passed and President Eisenhower signed into law a bill providing for a bronze memorial at Fort Jefferson commemorating Dr. Samuel A. Mudd's service during the yellow fever epidemic.

MERLIN G. COX

Daytona Beach Junior College

Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard. By John A. Carpenter. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964. viii, 377 pp. Illustration, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

This study of a diverse and interesting career is a valuable contribution to American biography. Within relatively few pages the author brings together, for the first time outside the subject's autobiography, the strands of a life that has influenced American military history, politics, education, and the Congregational Church. The result is the most complete picture to date of a man who, though he played a major role in American history, is comparatively little known. The author has organized and used a great volume of original material well. Howard's early life and Civil War career, his activities as head of the Freedmen's Bureau, and his subsequent career are all detailed.

The course of Howard's life is illustrated in his military career: his inexperience led to the collapse of his corps on Hooker's right wing at Chancellorsville; yet, a few weeks later, he selected the Union position at Gettysburg and received, along with Meade and Hooker, the thanks of Congress for the victory. Howard commanded one-half of Sherman's army in the Atlanta campaign, earning Sherman's admiration and praise, and he ended the war as a major commander.

Howard's background and his reputation as a Christian and humanitarian admirably fitted him for his work as head of the Freedmen's Bureau. The author rightly points out that the educational work of the bureau was its most lasting contribution. Howard's belief that the Negro had a capacity to learn and that he should have an education led to the beginning of his long climb out of the slavery of ignorance.

An outstanding feature of this biography is its portrayal of the growth of a man. Howard's heavy responsibilities, coupled with almost constant criticism, had a decisive effect. This immature young officer, often self-seeking, became almost a changed person as a result, and, though always torn by a struggle between pride and humility, was able, in his maturity, to control most of his less attractive qualities. The author manifests a great admiration for Howard but does not hesitate to point out his failings. The style is lucid, and interest is maintained throughout. This work

should accomplish its author's intent: that more people would come to appreciate Oliver Otis Howard.

RALPH PEEK

University of Florida

Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965. By David M. Chalmers. (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1965. xii, 420 pp. Endpaper maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

For the historian of any organization, there is nothing more heartwarming than an approaching centennial or a resurgence of interest in his subject. Professor Chalmers had both of these factors to stimulate him to complete his study of the Ku Klux Klan, and he has produced what many readers will consider the best overall account of this movement published thus far.

Chalmers' emphasis is on the "modern" Klan. The first chapters carry the reader rapidly from 1865 to 1915, and the rest of the book deals with the more recent half century - the rebirth of the Klan on Stone Mountain in 1915, its rise and collapse in the twenties, the splintering of the organization, and the grotesque antics of the splinters in the last decade. Some of his accounts are sketchy, but here, as in no other single volume, one can see what marvels the Invisible Empire has wrought, in the nation as a whole and in state after state from Florida to Washington, from California to Maine.

Because the drama is presented on so many stages, there is a certain amount of both repetition and discontinuity in the material, but Chalmers has done an excellent job of presenting the tangled skein of events and intrigue. Three main threads appear over and over in the several developments. First, there is the struggle for power and control within each domain. Second, there is the use of the Klan as a cloak for violence; if the klaverns were sometimes built up by people with honorable motives, they were soon taken over by those who sought the anonymity of the sheet. Finally, it is noteworthy that in community after community, South as well as North, there were courageous citizens who denounced the Klan and its warped brand of Americanism. Chal-

mers has done history a service by identifying many of these persons; he also makes it clear that not all who opposed the Klan were heroes.

As he peruses this volume, it may occur to the reader to regret that such a book as this has not been available for years, or to wonder if the account might have been modified in any significant way if the author had waited to study the information coming out of the current congressional investigations, or to wish that the author had been able to find more solid documentation for some of the developments which are probably forever undocumentable. But his major reaction is much more likely to be one of gratification that Professor Chalmers has put together such a solid, readable, and inclusive account.

MAURICE M. VANCE

Florida State University

The Negro in the South Since 1865: Selected Essays in American Negro History. Edited by Charles E. Wynes (University of Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1965. 233 pp. Introduction, index. \$6.95.)

Most readers who will be interested in this book will already be familiar with these essays. Only one was written exclusively for inclusion in this work; the others have been selected from well-known journals.

Elsie M. Lewis traces the Negroes' views on national politics from 1865 to 1900. At first they were strongly Republican, but disillusionment came quickly. Neither the party of Lincoln nor the right to vote, supposedly guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment, protected them in life and property. After 1877 Negroes were disgruntled because of the Republican party's failure to grant them patronage and protect their rights. Although most Negroes continued to think of themselves as Republicans, there were some attempts at fusion with white Populists and Democrats. It soon became obvious that no major party could afford them protection and guarantee their civil rights.

The transformation of Georgia's Tom Watson from liberal to reactionary is sketched by C. Vann Woodward. Watson, who once

denounced lynching and the Klan, was for a time held "almost as a savior" by Negroes. Yet when his views were used against him in politics, Watson became a leading exponent of racial bigotry. In an article on Lewis Harvie Blair, Charles E. Wynes indicates that Watson was not the only one to experience a reactionary conversion.

Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., proves that except in an indirect way the Negro was excluded from the benefits of the national progressive movement. Some of the strongest supporters of progressivism in the South were among the most rabid Negrophobes. Thomas Dixon, Jr., who "articulated the narrow white concept of progressive morality" is discussed by Max Bloomfield. John Hope Franklin points out that although most southern segregation practices were not written into law until the 1890s, segregated schools had existed since the beginning of southern public education. In providing separate facilities for Negroes, the South simply followed a policy common in the pre-Civil War North.

Increased interest led to notable progress in southern education between 1900 and World War I, but not for Negroes. A growing white concern for education combined with a reluctance to raise taxes resulted in an even greater financial discrimination between Negro and white institutions. Much of the new interest in education was promoted by the Southern Education Board. Louis R. Harlan tells how the race issue influenced the board's policies.

One of the most fascinating essays in this book is "Negro Cowboys" by Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones. More than 5,000 Negroes played a role in the cattleman's West - doing the same jobs as cowboys of other races and nationalities.

Although this collection is somewhat uneven, most of the essays are useful. Whether there was a need to collect them into a book is questionable. The editor said it was done because articles in scholarly journals tend to become obscure, to be read only by a few willing to search diligently for them. There may be those who will deny the necessity of rescuing these particular articles from oblivion since a majority of them are well known.

JOE M. RICHARDSON

Florida State University

The Republican Party in Georgia: From Reconstruction through 1900. By Olive Hall Shadgett. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1964. x, 210 pp. Preface, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

In the election of 1896 William McKinley polled a larger percentage of the votes cast in Georgia than any Republican candidate since 1872. But the hopes and expectations stimulated by that modest achievement emanated not from a rising Republican sun in the Empire State of the South but instead from the dwindling light of a body that had long been descending and would soon slip over the horizon. Despite the continued loyalty of a sizable number of Republican adherents, the party had been unable to provide any genuine competition to the dominant Democrats since 1876; its attempts to cooperate with Independent Democrats in the late 1870s and early 1880s enjoyed only limited success; and its ventures into fusion with the Populists were half-hearted and abortive. The party had been tom by factionalism for many years and its leaders were chronically preoccupied with federal patronage and convention politics. The state-wide adoption of the white primary by the Democratic party at the turn of the century was the final blow in the demoralization of the Republican party and the institutionalization of one-party politics in Georgia.

It is this sad chapter in Georgia politics that the author, a political scientist at Georgia State College, has written. After a brief survey of the Republican party during the period of Radical control and an account of its fall from power in the early seventies, she sketches the party's course in rough chronological fashion during the next quarter-century. Her focus is rather restricted, centering upon party organization and leadership, but her work is nevertheless a cogent and useful treatment of this aspect of Republicanism in Georgia. She deals dispassionately with an era of bitter controversy, and her analysis of party factionalism and the operation of patronage cliques is illuminating. She succeeds in integrating the functioning of the state party into the larger pattern of the national Republican administrations' "southern policies." On the other hand, Mrs. Shadgett throws little light on the political ecology of Republicanism, nor does she concern herself much with Republican activities at the local and

congressional levels. The role of former Whigs in Georgia's Republican party and the phenomenon of "presidential Republicanism" might have been examined more fully. And a more extended treatment of fusionism in its various forms would have enhanced the book's value. In part, no doubt, the author's failure to explore these and other aspects of her subject more thoroughly resulted from the paucity of sources at her disposal, particularly of manuscript collections. The University of Georgia Press has produced an attractive volume, but the press showed poor judgment in relegating the footnotes to the back of the book.

Historians and political scientists will profit from reading *The Republican Party in Georgia*. In completing this study Mrs. Shadgett has prepared herself for further work in the state's political history. Perhaps she will now shift her attention to the present scene and write a book on the development of the Republican party in Georgia during the last two decades.

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

Vanderbilt University

Conservatives in the Progressive Era: the Taft Republicans of 1912. By Norman M. Wilensky. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965. vii, 75 pp. Preface. \$2.00.)

Professor Wilensky notes that the historians of the Progressive period have taken little cognizance of the Republican Old Guard machinations in 1911, which cleared the way for President Taft's renomination the next year. This behind-the-scenes activity is convincingly set forth in the first two chapters. It is significant in disclosing that Taft, supposedly inept, was capable of managerial shrewdness. The author makes extensive and judicious use of the previously inaccessible papers of Charles Dewey Hilles, secretary of the President and later chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Another theme, less ably treated, is that the regular and progressive Republicans split because of ideological differences. The author opens chapter three with statistics supposedly revealing that Richard Hofstadter and other historians are incorrect in stressing a status revolution as the key factor in the Republican schism of 1910-1912. The statistics divulge that there were no

important occupational or rural-urban differences between the regular and progressive Republicans. The difficulty here is that Hofstadter emphasized differences in corruption and the length of time that wealth had been in the family, which have little demonstrable relationship with occupation or place of residence. The statistical tables fail to establish that regular Republicans were not the corrupt "new rich" to whom Hofstadter refers.

The reviewer, however, is inclined to agree with Wilensky that the regular Republicans were not the "new rich." As the author states in scattered references to Taft, the President had trouble obtaining money from the wealthy in 1912, his wing of the party was no more corrupt than the progressive Theodore Roosevelt wing, and Taft himself came from an old-line aristocratic family in Ohio.

The author is mistaken in asserting that the Florida Republican party lacked internal dissension. There were at least three deeply divided factions in the party in 1911-1912. Such errors, however, do not detract from the usefulness of the book. It is a welcome addition to the literature of the Progressive Era.

GEORGE NORRIS GREEN

Texas Woman's University

Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century. By Kenneth K. Bailey. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964. x, 180 pp. Preface, bibliographical essay, index. \$3.75.)

Despite all the preoccupation of Southerners with their heritage, they have produced few competent studies of religion in the South. Kenneth K. Bailey's *Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century* is a promise of studies to come in this field. That Southerners are beginning to subject the piety of the region to historical and critical scrutiny may be a sign that Christians may free themselves from the sectional captivity of the Church.

Although the main line of argument has been known by scholars for some time, Bailey continues to document and to bring into sharper focus the shape of that evangelical piety which has dominated the South. This piety was produced primarily by

three denominations - Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian. The South at the turn of the century was, according to the author, rural and homogeneous, little disturbed by immigration, industrialization, urbanization, and new intellectual currents. Extra-regional ecclesiastical ties were rare, and ecclesiastical isolation fostered intraregional accommodation between religion and society. Southern Christians were preoccupied with individual repentance, a dogged insistence on Biblical inerrancy, and a tendency toward overt expression of intense religious emotions.

In successive chapters Bailey deals with his themes. The South's failure in education is connected with the channelling of social concern in the support of the panacea, prohibition. Anti-intellectualism and fundamentalist rigidity were demonstrated in the heresy trials and anti-evolution crusades in the early decades of the century. The presidential campaign of 1928 was turned by southern clergy into a defense of prohibition and an offensive against the "menace" of Roman Catholicism. The depression which followed provided the crucible in which southern Christians began to take stock of their denominational isolation and individual piety. Although things began to change, Southerners, particularly the omnipresent and omnipotent Baptists, still take some pride in the fact that they are the "Bible-believing, Bible-loving" people of the nation. Resting heavily on C. Vann Woodward's generalizations in *The Burden of Southern History*, Bailey maintains that the Protestantism of the South has been scarred indelibly with the region's sense of failure in purpose and, until recently, its unusual poverty. He does not accept another of Woodward's tentative conclusions, however, that Southerners have shown little concern with the "social gospel." Bailey weaves throughout his narrative pronouncements of Christians on social affairs and suggests that this is an area in need of much more investigation. He would have found valuable support for his contention had he probed more thoroughly the writings of Presbyterians like Alexander J. McKelway, John J. Eagan, Walter Lingle, and Ernest Trice Thompson. In this connection the author does not treat with sufficient depth the connection between increased interest in social affairs by clergy and the gap which he maintains began to emerge during the 1928 campaign and then spread between rank-and-file communicants and leaders, especially after 1940.

Valuable footnotes and a helpful bibliographical essay enrich this presentation and indicate the richness of that picture which still lies covered in the minutes and magazines of various denominational bodies. In this treatment the author, has neglected two aspects of the picture. Failure to deal more thoroughly with the Protestant Episcopal Church has robbed the study of a "churchly" dimension, the comparative study of which might throw interesting light on the shape of Protestant dissent in the South. Moreover, Bailey has limited his treatment to "white" Protestantism. Failure to deal with the developments among independent Negro denominations may have robbed the study of a dimension absolutely necessary for an understanding of the subject. How has the presence of the Negro formed white Protestantism in its view of the Bible, theology, ecclesiology, and ethics? Far more important than this, how has the presence of the Negro shaped the nature of that evangelical piety which has been so wide spread in the South? Why has not the "gospel," so consistently proclaimed, freed the Southerner from his guilt and fear, filled him with forgiveness and love, and given to him the faith and hope to overcome his obsession with the Civil War and racial purity? Why has he balked in dealing constructively and creatively with his most obvious ethical and ecumenical responsibilities? Has the presence of the Negro made the difference?

These are questions which need further probing. Bailey's book is a very helpful beginning.

JAMES H. SMYLYE

Union Theological Seminary

The Growth and Decline of the Cuban Republic. By Fulgencio Batista. Translated from the Spanish by Blas M. Racafort. (New York: Devin-Adair Company, 1964. xiv, 300 pp. Preface, appendices, index. \$6.50.)

Opening with Lincoln's maxim that "You can fool all the people some of the time . . .," this book suggests the art has not been lost. Intoning Rankian objectivity for a Miltonian grappling of Truth vs. Falsehood, Batista declares his purpose is "to present a truthful and factual account of the economic,

social and political development of Cuba during the quarter of a century between the overthrow of the Machado Administration in 1933 and the conquest of my country by Communist guile in 1959." The emphasis is on socio-economic development, and the book is divided into twenty-eight short chapters that deal somewhat abruptly with a wide variety of topics including medicine, hospitals, orphanages, fiscal and tax policies, banking, rural credit, trade, maritime, rail and air transport, electric power, land reform, the sugar industry, livestock, fishing, mining, tourism, housing, slum clearance, industrial development, and the labor movement. These chapters cover everything from the installation of an atomic reactor to the installation of parking meters, from the consumption of electricity to the consumption of rice, from fighting Gastroenteritis to fighting Castrocommunism, from promoting the Playa Azul to promoting poultry farming, from establishing the Blood Vessel Bank to establishing the Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank. The format consists of a tedious cataloguing of endless legislative acts, whereby legislation is equated with implementation. The reader is led through a statistical maze of raw figures and percentages that are piled haphazardly on top of each other in a way to obscure rather than reveal any meaningful analysis. The documentation is very uneven, with some footnotes vague and others non-existent.

The thesis is clear and repetitive: under Batista Cuba achieved "peace, progress and freedom of the people," then it fell a victim to the forces of international communism that had long conspired to take over Cuba. Under Batista's guidance, Cuba had become a "progressive, forward-looking, socially conscious and democratic society," developed by "the creative forces of private enterprise . . . within the democratic framework of a free country with free institutions," that "recognized Christian morality as the standard which should govern all human relationships," and "had made great advances in science, culture, the arts, and social justice" while boasting of the most "advanced labor, educational and social welfare institutions" in Latin America. Batista's Cuba, threatened initially by communist agitation in the early 1930s and later by communist penetration during the Grau-Prio era, was finally brought down by a "carefully contrived campaign of hatred, violence and murder launched against Cuba" by the Soviet Union, which inspired and planned the

Castro movement from the very beginning, partly to divert strategic Cuban metals from the Free World to the Soviet bloc. The communist propaganda for the vilification of Batista was "insidiously" mouthed by "ultra-liberals" and "dupes of world communism," including such "socialist" writers as Arthur Schlesinger, Robert J. Alexander, Herbert Matthews, Nathan Goodwin, and exile leaders like Dr. Jose Miro Cardona, and accepted by the U. S. State Department, which cannot escape responsibility for the disaster that overtook Cuba. The only commendable men in Batista's book are his biographers Edmund Chester and Emil Ludwig and U. S. ambassadors Earl E. T. Smith and Spruille Braden. At times it seems that *A Sergeant Named Batista* has followed Alice through the Looking-glass.

ROBERT A. NAYLOR

University of Virginia

Religion, Revolution, and Reform: New Forces for Change in Latin America. Edited by William V. D'Antonio and Frederick B. Pike. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964. x, 276 pp. Introduction, notes. \$5.95.)

Professor Frederick Pike has written a closely reasoned *Introduction* to this collection of papers delivered by distinguished collaborators at the Notre Dame Conference on Religion and Social Change in Latin America. He also presents a cogent summary of the main points developed by the other authors. He explores the challenge of simultaneous social reform and economic development, both within a democratic context. This is no mean feat. He faces frankly the unhappy reality that Latin American churchmen are not as free to speak out on national issues as are ministers or priests in the United States, because of the past bitterness and continuing strength of anti-clericalism. Another serious pitfall confronting Catholic reformers who attempt to lead their compatriots toward economic and social change is the previously enunciated doctrine that the sufferings from poverty in this world will store up merit for the hereafter. Inasmuch as an improved life on this earth is part of the revolution of expectations to which so many millions of Latin Americans have

pledged themselves, to wrench away from this earlier dogma is likewise no easy matter.

Candid evaluations of the role of the Catholic Church in the past and the present are brought out in the consideration of growing Protestantism, the unconvertible cynics and atheists, and the active Communists, who, together create a formidable adversary to the Church in an area long thought to be its private monopoly. Ways and means, therefore, are advanced by the contributing authors, that the Church should adopt at this moment of truth.

Eduardo Frei Montalva, winner of the Presidency of Chile as the leader of the Christian Democratic Party-and its electoral allies-holds that "only through reforms in land tenure, tax, educational, and other systems can all obstacles be removed to permit authentic participation of the people in civic affairs." For this, democratic planning is necessary in order to mobilize all the nation's resources of management, labor, and educational apparatus - with the addition of outside financing. This concise rehearsal of the contents of the Alliance for Progress, President Frei intones without so much as a mention of the Alliance.

Professor Quirks thesis in "Religion and the Mexican Social Revolution" is that while both the Church and the State wanted to control Mexican society, neither was willing to share the control. "It was a clash of incompatible and mutually exclusive ideologies, not of politicians:" hence the prolonged intensity of the struggle. Arthur P. Whitaker observes that the encyclical of John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra* asserts the right and duty of the Church to take a lead in the solution of social problems. In his own opinion this can hardly be kept apart from political action in modern society. The hierarchy, he adds, has tried hard to stand above the political melee.

Dr. Simon Hanson in, "Economic Difficulties of Social Reform," pleads that attention be directed to what he calls the "great issues," i.e. the population explosion, overly extravagant promises to the masses, and the Latin distrust of foreign investments. The co-editor, Professor D'Antonio writes the concluding chapter, largely devoted to the question of family planning. He asserts that married couples have it in their own power to build big or small families, and that "this is a matter of their own consciences, and nobody else's business."

The absence of an index, in view of the variety of authors who crisscross the Hemisphere and its problems, is a serious gap. Six pages of footnotes follow one chapter, while several chapters have none. At least four authors discuss Mexico, but many countries are ignored entirely. The book is forthright, informative, and free from the usual euphemisms. The volume's title inevitably makes it comprehensive rather than cohesive.

WILLARD F. BARBER

University of Maryland

HISTORICAL NEWS

Arthur W. Thompson Prize

Michael V. Gannon, director of the Mission of Nombre de Dios in St. Augustine, is the first recipient of the Arthur W. Thompson Prize in Florida History. The presentation was made by Dr. Samuel Proctor during the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Clearwater on May 6. Father Gannon received the award for his article, "Altar and Hearth: The Coming of Christianity, 1521-1565," which appeared in the special Quadracentennial number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* issued last fall.

The award is named in honor of the late Professor Arthur W. Thompson, distinguished American historian and writer, director of the American Studies Program at the University of Florida, and editor of the University's Social Sciences Monograph Series. Dr. Thompson, a nationally known authority on American intellectual history, had done considerable research and writing on Southern and Florida history. Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson and Miss Margaret Thompson of Gainesville, Florida, and Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Siegel of New York established the endowment so that an annual presentation can be made for the award-winning article, to be chosen by a panel of judges from articles published during the previous year in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The prize will consist of \$100, and the award will be announced annually at the meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

Judges for this year's award were Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, formerly of the University of Florida and now Graduate Research Professor of the University of Georgia, Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Chairman of the Department of History at the University of Miami, and Miss Margaret Chapman, Executive Secretary of the Florida Historical Society and Special Collections Librarian at the University of South Florida Library.

Florida Library and Historical Commission

An index to *Florida a Hundred Years Ago*, compiled by Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, was

released by the Historical Commission in April. Dr. Proctor edited the monthly publication "Florida a Hundred Years Ago," which was sponsored by the Florida Civil War Centennial Commission and the Florida Library and Historical Commission.

Mrs. J. D. Bruton, Jr., of Plant City, has been reappointed to the Library and Historical Commission. Mrs. Bruton was for many years a member of the Florida Library Board.

The Commission has voted to accept an offer of space in the legislative building to be constructed in Tallahassee to house the state library. The 18,000 square feet is much less than the Commission's consultant had indicated was minimal, but the Commission hopes to continue utilizing space in the sub-basement of the Supreme Court Building. It will also request the Capitol Center Planning Committee to designate a site in the Capitol Center for the building of a state library building. The new quarters in the legislative building will be used for the extension division, interlibrary loan, circulating book collections, reference department (including the U. S. government documents and the Florida collection), technical processes, and administrative offices. Facilities in the Supreme Court Building could then be used for an enlarged archives program, a documents depository program, storage for lesser-used materials, and a place for storage and printing, mailing, and shipping operations.

Florida Library Association

The forty-third annual meeting of the Florida Library Association was held in Clearwater, April 28-30, 1966. The theme of the meeting was "The Enlightened South," and Dr. John Van G. Elmendorf, president of New College, Sarasota, utilized the topic "What Is South?" as the speech at the Thursday evening meeting. Miss Evelyn Day Mullen, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, spoke on "State and Federal Cooperation in Library Development in the South," at the first general session. Mrs. Frances Gray Patton was the banquet speaker. Miss Margaret Chapman, Executive Secretary of the Florida Historical Society, was president of the Florida Library Association and presided at the meeting. Mrs. Elizabeth B. Mann of Tampa was elected as the new president.

National Park Service Projects

According to a report of its activities since May 1965, the National Park Service in Florida reveals that a program of research and development under the direction of Vincent Gannon is in progress at the De Soto National Memorial in Tampa Bay near Bradenton. At the Fort Caroline National Memorial on the St. Johns River near Jacksonville, armament reconstruction is providing replicas of sixteenth century French weapons. These include four half-culverins with their carriages. A generous donation of land by Mr. and Mrs. Howard M. Johnson has significantly enlarged the historic-site holding at the Fort Matanzas National Monument at the south inlet of the Matanzas River, and an archeological survey is in progress at this area. At the Fort Jefferson National Monument, plans for stabilization of the massive brick walls of the fort are at the project stage.

In St. Augustine, the National Park Service has completed reconstruction of the town wall between the Castillo de San Marcos and the City Gate. It has also restored a lost portion of the earthwork surrounding the Castillo. Inside the Castillo are extensive new museum exhibits. Armament restoration progresses with completion of construction drawings for period carriages which are needed for mounting the cannon on hand.

Local and Area Societies and Commissions

Alachua County Historical Commission: With the cooperation of the Gainesville Public Library, the Alachua County Historical Commission has launched a project of collecting manuscripts and pictures and of recording interviews with "old time" residents. Using some of the historical data collected, a half-hour television program was produced by students in the School of Journalism and Communications. "The Heritage We Live" was broadcast by WRUF-TV.

Bradford County Historical Society: On May 23, 1966, Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, spoke to the members of the recently organized Bradford County Historical Society. The meeting was held in the public library. Dr. Proctor discussed the need of preserving local history and making it available to the scholar and researcher.

Halifax Historical Society: "Potpourri," the Halifax Historical Society newsletter issued in March, carried the announcement of the series of Florida history lectures held in the Museum Building at 145 N. Halifax Avenue, Daytona Beach. Elam Martin, director of the Educational Media Center, Daytona Beach Junior College, was the program speaker at the March 21 meeting. The Halifax Historical Society's Museum has been exhibiting artifacts from the Civil War gunboat *Cairo*, the Union vessel sunk in the Mississippi in 1862. The Museum is open Thursday, Friday, and Saturday afternoons. William L. Corsen is president of the Halifax Historical Society and curator of the Museum.

Hillsborough County Historical Commission: The Hillsborough County Historical Commission has held two program meetings during the past few months. Congressman Charles Bennett spoke on his book *Laudonierre and Fort Caroline* at the first meeting. Harris H. Mullen showed slides of the Tampa Bay Hotel and early Tampa at the second program meeting. The Commission reports that more than 3,000 visitors, including many student and Scout groups, visited its museum this year. A number of gifts have been received, including replicas of Indian pottery which are exact copies of originals found on Weedon Island.

Mrs. Harry L. Weedon is chairman of the Historical Commission, and its members are Margaret L. Chapman, James W. Covington, Theodore Lesley, Mrs. J. H. Letton, Harry G. McDonald, Mrs. Alonso McMullen, James F. Taylor, Jr., Anthony P. Pizzo, and Mrs. Agnes R. Worthington.

Historical Association of Southern Florida: United States Congressman Charles E. Bennett was the featured speaker at the ninety-eighth program meeting of the Historical Association of Southern Florida on April 13 at the Coral Gables High School. Congressman Bennett presented a colored slide-illustrated talk entitled "The French in Florida." In addition to describing the 1564 French founding of Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River, Congressman Bennett recounted his findings relating to the various other French activities in Florida.

New officers elected at the meeting were Charlton Tebeau, president; Robert McKew, first vice-president; Ben Archer,

second vice-president; Virginia Wilson, corresponding secretary; and Adam G. Adams, executive secretary.

Jacksonville Historical Society: Dr. Joseph Cushman, Jr., professor of history at Florida State University, was the speaker at the annual meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society held in the Friday Musicale Auditorium on Wednesday evening, May 11. Dr. Cushman used the title of his recently published book *A Goodly Heritage* as the subject of his talk on the history of the Episcopal Church in Florida from 1821 to 1892. A short business meeting was held, and officers for the coming year were elected.

The Jacksonville Historical Society cooperated with the city of Jacksonville in the ceremonies held on June 15, marking the 144th year of Jacksonville's founding.

Marion County Historical Commission: Louis O. Gravely of Ocala has been appointed chairman of the Marion County Historical Commission, succeeding the late J. Edgar Blocker. Wilbur A. Willis is vice-chairman and John F. Nicholson is secretary. Research on pioneer settlers and compilation of genealogical records continues under the direction of John T. Chazal, Sr. The Commission regularly publishes a newsletter.

Palm Beach County Historical Society: Thomas L. Bohne spoke to the members of the Palm Beach County Historical Society on Thursday evening, April 21, 1966. His topic was "Colonel E. R. Bradley and His Famous Beach Club." For many years, Mr. Bohne was Colonel Bradley's aide and served as secretary for the Beach Club of Palm Beach for twenty years. At the business meeting, officers and the board of governors for the coming year were elected.

Peace River Valley Historical Society: The April 19 meeting of the Peace River Valley Historical Society was held in the Polk County courthouse in Bartow. Following the business meeting, the membership visited the official library of the Polk County Historical Commission which contains one of the largest genealogical libraries in southwest Florida. On May 28, the member held a dinner meeting at Saint Leo's Abbey. Father Jerome, the

noted Florida historian, was guest of honor, and William M. Goza, president of the Florida Historical Society, spoke on "Botany of Early Florida."

Pinellas County Historical Commission: At the March meeting, Walter P. Fuller described the unveiling of the Bayview Indian Mound Marker, March 12, and noted that sixteenth-century Spanish and Indian artifacts were displayed. It is reported that some years ago the Smithsonian Institution excavated the mound, but materials that were taken at the time have never been classified or studied. The Commission hopes that the Smithsonian Institution will return items excavated from the mound some years ago so that they can be properly assembled and identified. Efforts are being made to establish an archeological museum in Pinellas County, with the cooperation of the Safety Harbor Historical Society, the Clearwater Historical Society, the St. Petersburg Historical Society, and The Searchers.

At the April 20 meeting of the Commission, William Goza reported that he and Mr. Fuller had attended the ceremony at A. L. Anderson Park, marking the reopening of Lake Tarpon outfall canal. Part of the ceremonies took place by Boot Ranch which, according to an article in a recent issue of *Florida Anthropologist* by Lyman Warren, is a possible Paleo Indian site. Mr. Fuller announced that four charts of Tampa Bay and the Gulf coast from Boca Grande to Mobile have been secured from the Naval Library in London, England.

Mayor George McGonegal, president of the Safety Harbor Historical Society, who was a guest at the meeting, reported that Philippe Park has been named a national historical site and that a plaque will be placed in the park by the federal government shortly. At the May 18 business meeting, it was announced that efforts to preserve the McMullen log cabin on Coachman Road were being started.

Polk County Historical Commission: In collaboration with the Peace River Valley Historical Society, the Polk County Historical Commission erected a marker on the grave of Billy Bowlegs at the Ortona Cemetery and a road marker noting the burial site recently. Senator Spessard L. Holland was the speaker at the cemetery dedication. Another marker will be erected at the site of Fort Cummings to note its establishment in January 1839.

St. Augustine Historical Society: The St. Augustine Historical Society held its regular quarterly membership meeting on April 12 in the Art Association building. Following a brief business session, the members watched "*El Ultimo Suspiro del Moro*" (The Last Sigh of the Moor), an original one-act play by Thomas P. Rahner. The author is general manager of St. Augustine's 400th anniversary "Cross and Sword." On Easter Monday, April 11, the annual Minorcan Day reception was held in the gardens of the St. Augustine Historical Society. Mrs. Allen F. Powers and Mrs. Leonard J. Shugart were in charge of arrangements.

In the April 1966 number of *El Escribano*, tribute was paid to the late Leander McCormick-Goodhart, honorary citizen of St. Augustine and benefactor of the St. Augustine Historical Society. Among the many gifts of Mr. McCormick-Goodhart to the Society was an original letter from Queen Marianna of Spain, dated 1674, authorizing the expenditure of funds for the construction of the Castillo de San Marcos. In 1964, Mr. McCormick-Goodhart sponsored the reprint by the University of Florida Press of *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* by Charles Mowat. Mr. McCormick-Goodhart passed away on December 20, 1965.

The Society, which published *Florida's Menendez* by Albert Manucy, has contracted to aid in the publication of Fredrik deCoste's new work, *True Tales of Old St. Augustine*, and *The Story of New Smyrna*, the history of the Turnbull colony, by Dr. E. P. Panagopoulos.

The Society's library is used by researchers and writers of many interests, such as staff members of the *National Geographic Magazine*, whose article on the St. Augustine Quadricentennial appeared in February 1966.

In furtherance of the restoration program, the Society has reconstructed another house in the traditional architectural style of St. Augustine. This is the third reconstruction of this nature intended to re-create the historic scene in the vicinity of the Oldest House. Two of these reconstructions, with modern interiors, are rental residences. The third is the new library and administration building. Another residence is in the planning stage.

On April 2, the Society presented its Citation for Achievement in Historical Education to Professor A. J. Hanna of Rollins

College, at a luncheon held at the Ponce de Leon Hotel. A. J. McGhin, Jr., vice-president and chairman of the board of directors made the presentation.

Mariana Bonifay Fund

A campaign to secure funds to erect a memorial to Mariana Bonifay, one of the earliest pioneers of the Pensacola area is announced by T. T. Wentworth, Jr. of Pensacola. Mrs. Bonifay lived in Pensacola from 1781 until her death in 1829. Many of the early citizens of Pensacola are her descendants, and the town of Bonifay, Florida is named for her great-great-grandson, Judge Frank B. Bonifay. Mrs. Bonifay pioneered in the brick and construction industries of west Florida and was an early real-estate developer in that part of the state. Those desiring to make a contribution to the Mariana Bonifay Fund can send them to Box 806, Pensacola, Florida 32502.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING
PALM BEACH, FLORIDA

February 12, 1966

The board of directors of the Florida Historical Society met at White Hall, the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum in Palm Beach, on Saturday, February 12, 1966, at 1:00 p.m. with Judge James R. Knott, president, presiding. Present were William Goza, Margaret Chapman, Mrs. Ralph F. Davis, Samuel Proctor, Mary Turner Rule, Charles O. Andrews, James C. Craig, David A. Forshay, Walter P. Fuller, Jay I. Kislak, Frank J. Laumer, Leonard A. Usina, John E. Johns, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Frank B. Sessa, and William W. Rogers. Adam G. Adams, representing the Florida Library and Historical Commission, and Walter P. Hellier were also present.

Adam G. Adams, chairman of the nominating committee, reported that his committee was trying to straighten out the new Congressional districts and that a report would be made at the annual meeting. He invited suggestions for new directors to be elected at the meeting in May.

The board discussed the selection of a site for the 1967 annual meeting. Key West, Sarasota, Fernandina Beach, Koreshan State Park in Lee County, and Fort Lauderdale were mentioned as possible sites. William Count, representing the city of Key West and Old Island Restoration Foundation, extended an invitation to the Society to hold the 1967 meeting in Key West. The president appointed Mr. Goza as chairman of the site selection committee.

Mr. Goza gave a brief outline of the proposal to designate five regional vice-presidents from the members of the board of directors. These persons will act as a liaison between the board and the members of the Society; will promote membership and the activities of the Society; and will represent the organization at ceremonies in their own particular areas. Dr. Johns offered a motion for adoption of the proposed regional districts, which was seconded and passed by unanimous vote. The five vice-presidents nominated and elected were William W. Rogers (North-

west Florida), James C. Craig (Northeast Florida), Walter P. Fuller (Central Florida), Mrs. Ralph F. Davis (Southwest Florida), and Leonard Usina (Southeast Florida).

Each director gave a progress report on the junior and senior high school subscriptions to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* in their districts. Mr. Fuller suggested the P. T. A.'s should be approached for funds to purchase the *Quarterly* or that school libraries be urged to include subscriptions in their budgets. Mr. Kislak raised the question of whether individuals contributing to the purchase of the *Quarterly* could take advantage of the provisions of the National Defense Educational Act. Judge Knott suggested that interested persons might make a direct gift to the school system, and then the schools could negotiate the forty-five per cent deduction allowed by the law. Miss Chapman requested the board to direct its attention also to public libraries in Florida. If legislation for state aid, matched with federal funds, could be drafted and introduced by Mr. Adams of the Florida Library and Historical Commission and supported by each director in his district, Miss Chapman thought this might help eliminate part of the problem of securing needed funds for public libraries.

Miss Chapman announced that every Florida school and junior college had been notified of the junior essay contest which the Society sponsors. Forms were mailed in January to the heads of all social science departments. Dr. Rogers and his colleagues in the Department of History at Florida State University will act as essay judges.

Dr. Proctor gave a status report on the Julien Yonge Research Fund. His committee - R. W. Patrick, Miss Chapman, H. J. Doherty, Jr. - recommends that neither the principal nor the interest be utilized until a sum of at least \$15,000 is available. Then only the interest should be used to subsidize the publication of manuscripts accepted by a Board of Editors. Dr. Proctor proposed working out an arrangement with a Florida press to publish historical manuscripts with this subsidy from the Society.

Dr. Proctor suggested that since Dr. Patrick has been more closely identified with the Julien Yonge Fund than any other person, that the Society use his departure from the University of Florida to accept a position at the University of Georgia as a reason to solicit additional monies for the Yonge Fund. Dr.

Proctor and Miss Chapman were asked to draft a letter to be sent to each member to encourage contributions to the Fund. If the \$15,000 goal is soon reached, publication of manuscripts can begin.

Dr. Proctor also informed the board members of a proposed memorial fund to be endowed by the family of the late Dr. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville. This endowment would be used to award an annual prize for the best article published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* each year. Mr. Goza assured the board that under the law of Florida the Society's charter does allow it to accept and utilize such gifts and bequests. Mr. Goza moved that the Florida Historical Society through its duly constituted officers, enter into an appropriate agreement with the donors of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Fund. Mr. Fuller seconded the motion, and it carried.

Dr. Johns moved to adopt an appropriate resolution of thanks and appreciation to Dena Snodgrass and Mrs. W. S. Manning of Jacksonville for their services in editing the "Newsletter." Motion was passed by unanimous vote. Dr. Johns moved to ratify the appointment of Dr. William Rogers as editor of the "Newsletter."

Dr. Proctor suggested that at the annual meeting resolutions be read expressing the Society's appreciation for the many contributions of Dr. Rembert W. Patrick and Dr. Dorothy Dodd to the Florida Historical Society and to Florida history. Judge Knott asked Dr. Johns to draft and frame these resolutions.

Mr. Craig reported that a news story on the articles in the Quadricentennial number of the *Quarterly* had been sent to all Florida dailies and that the response had been satisfactory. Mr. Craig will prepare similar releases for each forthcoming issue of the *Quarterly*, and he has agreed to handle all pertinent news relating to the Society's activities.

Mr. Goza reported that for the third consecutive year the Florida Historical Society has increased its membership: 142 new annual, fellow, students, and life members, and 53 libraries for a gross increase of 195. Miss Chapman announced that no person is taken off the membership roll until he has received at least three delinquent dues notices.

Judge Knott reported that letters have been sent to members of the board requesting recommendations for historical marker

sites. He requested the cooperation of the board in compiling a list of marker sites which can be turned over to the Board of State Parks and Historic Memorials.

Judge Knott introduced Walter Hellier, a former director, and called attention to his book *Indian River: Florida's Treasure Coast*. Dr. Proctor announced that the review of Mr. Heller's book by Dr. Charlton Tebeau would appear in the April number of the *Quarterly*. Judge Knott announced that Mr. Fuller's history of St. Petersburg will be completed within the next few months.

Miss Chapman and Dr. Proctor informed the board of a two-day conference of historical societies from the South Atlantic states sponsored by the State and Local Historical Association and the North Carolina Department of Archives to be held in Raleigh, North Carolina on April 15-16.

Mr. Kislak, on behalf of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, invited all members of the Florida Historical Society to an exhibit in Miami of paintings and historical material belonging to Judge Knott's family. Mr. Kislak also informed the board of the current pictorial history of Florida being distributed by the Florida Savings and Loan Association.

Miss Chapman informed the board that Morris E. White of Tampa, a member of the board of directors, had recently received an honorary degree from the University of Tampa.

Dr. Proctor announced that continuing efforts are being made to secure all correspondence of Jefferson Davis and his family to be included in the Jefferson Davis Papers which are now being prepared for publication. Florida has made a contribution to help finance this scholarly project. Dr. Proctor conveyed to the board a message from Dr. Patrick upon the eve of his departure, thanking the board and the Society for the help and cooperation given him during his many years in Florida.

President Knott extended the gracious invitation of Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post to the directors to be her guests at a reception at her home, Mar-a-Lago, after the meeting. He then thanked everyone for coming and announced that the board would meet again on Thursday evening, May 5, at Clearwater Beach.

Respectfully submitted,
Mrs. Ralph Davis
Recording Secretary

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANK LAUMER is the author of a history of the Dade campaign and the Dade Massacre of 1835.

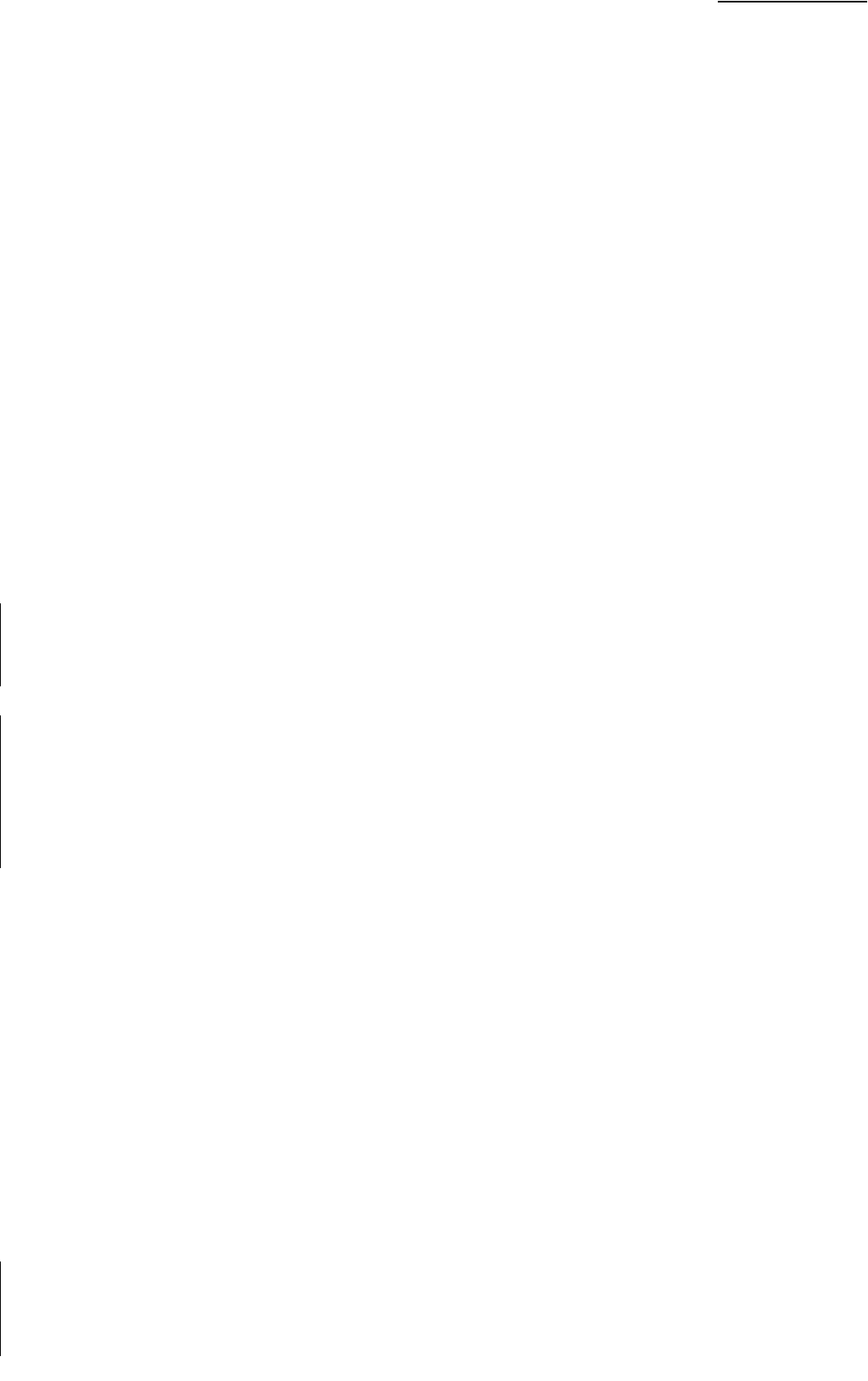
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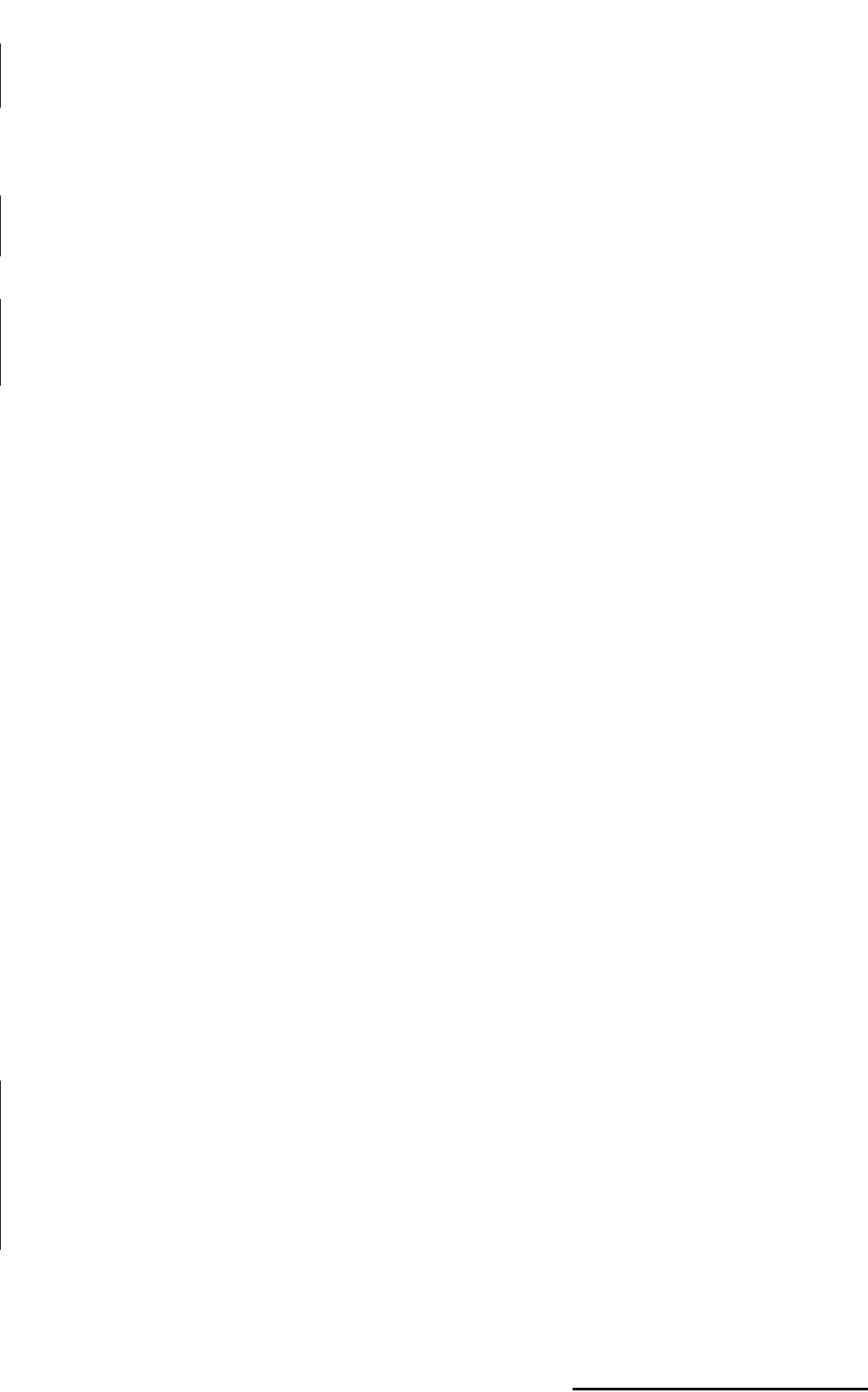
RICHARD G. LOWE is a graduate student in American history at the University of Virginia.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

*Published in July, October, January,
and April by the Florida Historical Society*

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Publication of this *Quarterly* was begun in April 1908, but after six numbers it was suspended in July 1909. In July 1924, publication was resumed and has been continuous since that date.

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. The annual membership fee is five dollars, but special memberships of ten, twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred dollars are available. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Margaret Chapman, Executive Secretary, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida, 33620.

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