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

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

*Saint Augustine, April, 1857.*

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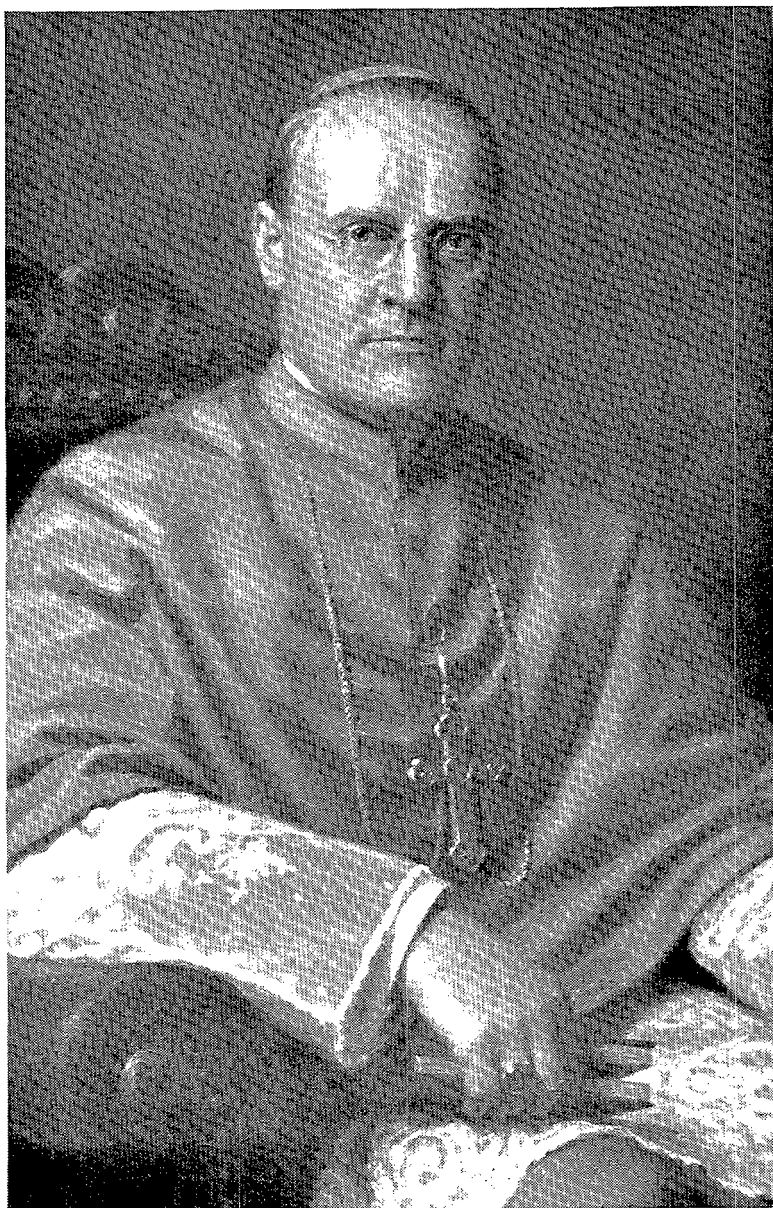
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BISHOP MICHAEL J. CURLEY  
1879-1947

## BISHOP MICHAEL J. CURLEY AND ANTI-CATHOLIC NATIVISM IN FLORIDA

by DAVID P. PAGE

THE FOUR-HUNDRED YEAR history of the Catholic Church in Florida, beginning with the Spanish settlements of the sixteenth century, and continuing through successive English, Spanish, and United States occupations of the peninsula, has not been an entirely peaceful passage. It has been marked by periodic conflicts between Indians and missionaries, missionaries and Spanish officials, missionaries and English raiders, parish priests and governors, parishioners and United States officials, and, finally, during the first half of the nineteenth century, between parish trustees and pastors. In the years between the Civil War and World War I, the church in Florida enjoyed a consoling peace both within her household and without. A particularly amicable relationship was formed between the bishops of this period and the officials of the State of Florida.

In the World War I years, however, a new conflict arose in the church's life which threatened at one point to be as ruinous to Florida Catholicity as any of the earlier conflicts had threatened to be. An outbreak of anti-Catholic nativism in Florida during the years 1910-1917 seriously ruptured church-state relations, and ended in a confrontation between a remarkable young bishop, Michael J. Curley, and a mercurial and colorful anti-Catholic politician, Governor Sidney J. Catts. The hysteria that resulted from this wave of religious nativism became so intense that three Sisters of St. Joseph in the city of St. Augustine were imprisoned in their convent in 1916 on the charge of teaching Negroes in violation of state law. The same movement was a contributing, if not indeed the major, factor in that year's election of Sidney J. Catts as governor of Florida (1917-1921).

Numerous studies have been published on anti-Catholic nativism in the northern United States, but comparatively little has appeared on anti-Catholicism in the South.<sup>1</sup> The truth is that

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1. For the best studies of nativism on the national level see Ray Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860* (New York, 1938); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns in American Nativism*,

the South, Florida included, was relatively unaffected by the waves of anti-Catholicism that swept intermittently during the nineteenth century over much of the eastern and midwestern regions of the nation. Unquestionably, the Catholic Church was generally viewed in an unfavorable light in the South, where distrust and suspicion of Rome were always present, but these sentiments did not give rise to any significant anti-Catholic movement in that area until the twentieth century. Thus, during the Know-Nothing movement of the 1850s, the bitter anti-Catholic campaign in the North had no counterpart in the South. Again, during the 1893-1894 period, when the American Protective Association was growing throughout the North and Midwest, Southerners were generally apathetic to the anti-Catholic bait and disdained the APA as a Republican tool.<sup>2</sup>

The absence of a militant anti-Catholicism in the South throughout the nineteenth century was undoubtedly due to the small number of Catholics in that area. Yet, with no significant change in the content of southern population, the twentieth century scarcely reached its second decade before the South witnessed an anti-Catholic crusade, so widespread and so intense that its reverberations are still painfully audible in these recent, more ecumenical times.

The sudden appearance of this anti-Catholic ferment is difficult to explain. John Higham thinks that it was an outlet for the expectations that the progressivism of the early twentieth century had raised and then failed to fulfill. The progressive movement, moreover, gave further impetus to the American feeling that the pope was a "reactionary despot, hostile to liberty and progress alike."<sup>3</sup> It may also be remarked that Protestantism and Orthodoxy, particularly in the South, felt threatened by the combined forces of the large city and the labor union, both of which smacked of foreign and Catholic influence.<sup>4</sup> Each of these influences had a greater or lesser part to play in forming the background for the 1910-1917 anti-Catholic campaign, but we have to look elsewhere for its immediate cause.

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1860-1925 (New Brunswick, 1955). For a more recent study that touches on this issue in the South see Kenneth K. Bailey, *Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1964).

2. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 81.

3. *Ibid.*, 178-79.

4. Thomas D. Clark, *The Emerging South* (New York, 1961), 252.



A frustrated radical politician, the noisy Populist leader of the 1890s Tom Watson of Georgia, was the main instigator of the movement that set Florida and the South aflame against Rome. In the August 1910 issue of his *Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine*, the Georgia firebrand published the first chapter of an inflammatory series entitled, "The Roman Catholic Hierarchy: The Deadliest Menace to Our Liberties and Our Civilization." When this series ended Watson started another, an even more virulent one, "The History of the Papacy and the Popes." Each series, upon its completion in the magazine, was published in book or pamphlet form and distributed by the thousands. Thus began a deliberately planned campaign that was to last for seven years.<sup>5</sup>

In 1911, Wilbur Phelps founded the most devastating of all the anti-Catholic periodicals of the period, *The Menace*. Within a year, circulation rose to 120,000; in two years to 500,000; in three years to a million; and at its peak in 1915, to a million and a half copies each week.<sup>6</sup> A crop of other nativist sheets sprang up all over the rural South. The burden of their message was the danger of placing in office Catholics who invariably put loyalty to Rome ahead of loyalty to America. It was firmly and constantly alleged that Rome was scheming to undermine American institutions and to place Catholics in key political positions so that the Vatican's take-over of the White House would be quick and decisive. The pope's secretly organized band of traitors, the Knights of Columbus, were well armed with rifles and were training nightly in church basements. Had not the Knights pledged their fourth degree members to a war of extermination against all Protestants?<sup>7</sup>

Watson and his fellow anti-Catholic propagandists, relying heavily on Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures*, concocted fantastic and bewildering accounts of the goings-on in the popish Church: adult enslavement and infant murder in convents; moral iniquities behind the confessional screen; and nocturnal adventures of lecherous priests who were variously and imaginatively described as "foot kissers" and "bull-necked convent keepers."<sup>8</sup>

5. C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1938), 419.

6. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 180-84.

7. Washington Gladden, "The Anti-Papal Panic," *Harper's Weekly*, LIX (July 18, 1914), 55; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 178-80.

8. Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States* (New York, 1960), 194; Woodward, *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel*, 421.

Secret societies, aimed ostensibly at defending American institutions against political candidates who owed superior allegiance to a foreign power, mushroomed throughout the rural South. Chief among these societies was the "Guardians of Liberty," founded in upstate New York in 1911. By 1912, the Guardians had spread to the South and soon wielded strong political power, particularly in Florida.<sup>9</sup> The compass of religious nativism pointed now to the rural South, just as in the previous century it had pointed to the large cities of the North and the eastern seaboard. John Higham has written: "What had issued from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia in the 1840's radiated from the smaller cities of the Middle West in the 1840's and finally found its most valiant champions among the hicks and hillbillies."<sup>10</sup>

Not surprisingly, the history of anti-Catholicism in Florida is similar to that in other parts of the South. Prior to 1910, religion had been a negligible issue in Florida politics.<sup>11</sup> The Florida legislature of 1897 had elected a Catholic, Stephen R. Mallory, II, to the United States Senate.<sup>12</sup> Again in 1902, in the first state-wide primaries ever held in Florida, Mallory was renominated without opposition. As far back as 1878, at the request of Bishop John Moore, second Bishop of St. Augustine (1877-1901), the free schools operated by the Sisters of St. Joseph in St. Augustine were recognized as public schools and supported from public funds. In 1892, St. Joseph's Day School in Mandarin, south of Jacksonville, was recognized and supported as a public school of Duval County.<sup>13</sup>

9. William T. Cash, *History of The Democratic Party in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1936), 124.

10. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 181.

11. Cash, *Democratic Party in Florida*, 123.

12. Sections three and four of article one of the United States Constitution provided that two senators from each state should be elected by the state legislature. The attempt to free the United States senatorial elections from the dictation of city bosses and the corrupt activities of the railroads and other lobbyists was initiated by the progressives in the late nineteenth century. By 1912, twenty-nine states had adopted laws providing for the direct popular nomination of senators with the practical result that nomination was, as a general rule, in the South equivalent to election. The direct popular election of senators was enacted into federal law by ratification of the seventeenth amendment on May 31, 1913.

13. Sister Mary Alberta, S.S.J., "A Study of the Schools Conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Diocese of St. Augustine, Florida, 1866-1940" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1940), 40-41.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that anti-Catholic prejudice was non-existent in Florida prior to 1910. On the contrary, an account by Father Patrick J. Bresnahan, a diocesan priest, of his 1904-1910 missions to the non-Catholics of rural Florida provides ample witness to their host of latent suspicions, animosities, and misconceptions concerning the Church of Rome.<sup>14</sup> The attitude of the backwoods people may be gathered from an incident during a 1905 mission conducted by Father Bresnahan at Brady's Farm near Madison. The priest recounts with amusement how a little girl, on returning home after the first night of the mission, told her mother that she had seen the priest and that "he looked just like a man."<sup>15</sup> The missionary found during the early years of this century that this prejudice was seldom belligerent. The bigots were always in the minority in every community, and only when they happened to have financial or political prestige did they succeed in gathering a number of residents to their standards and thus deny the priest a place in which to preach.<sup>16</sup>

More often than not, the Protestant community welcomed the Catholic missionary. Frequently, the use of the local Baptist or Methodist church was volunteered to him. The ministers themselves would occasionally attend and show a "great deal of interest."<sup>17</sup> On reading Father Bresnahan's account of his gracious reception during 1908 in such places as Osteen, where only one Catholic was known to reside, it is difficult to understand how Florida, only eight years later, could select its governor largely on the basis of his anti-Catholicism. The good people of Osteen offered the missionary the use of their Methodist church, and as Father Bresnahan recalled: "They were delighted, too, when I requested their choir to assist me. Night after night I called out the number of hymns . . . and we all joined in singing as best we could such hymns as . . . 'Onward Christian Soldiers'. I do not think that any one in town missed the mission; and oh! didn't they ask some interesting questions! The attendance and attention were simply wonderful. On the farewell day I was earnestly begged to come back again very soon."<sup>18</sup>

14. Patrick J. Bresnahan, *Seeing Florida With a Priest* (Zephyrhills, 1937), *passim*.

15. *Ibid.*, 20.

16. *Ibid.*, 22.

17. *Ibid.*, 28.

18. *Ibid.*, 50-51.

After 1910, however, the rural population's attitude toward the Catholic Church was being changed by such publications as *The Menace* and *Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine*. To the simple country people of Florida, most of whom had never laid eyes on a priest or a nun, Roman Catholicism, as it was portrayed by the masters of vilification, seemed a weird and sinister thing. Little wonder they were "agin it." During the 1915 session of the Florida legislature, a body that was predominantly rural, a so-called "garb bill" was proposed, the alleged purpose of which was to regulate the "garb or dress to be worn by teachers in the public schools, while performing their duties as such teachers."<sup>19</sup> The real purpose of the proposed legislation, however, was not lost on the Sisters of St. Joseph; they quietly arranged that their three schools at St. Augustine and nearby Elkton and Loretto no longer be considered or supported as public schools.<sup>20</sup>

At the very time that the anti-Catholic forces in Florida were becoming strong and coordinated, the Church herself, in 1914, gained a strong leader in the person of Michael J. Curley. Seven years later, on his promotion to the Archdiocese of Baltimore, Curley would leave behind him a diocese and a state that bore the distinctive impress of his courage and leadership. Born in Athlone, Ireland, on October 12, 1879, Michael J. Curley began his studies for the priesthood at Mungret College, Limerick, and completed them at the Collegio Propaganda, Rome, in which city he was ordained for the Diocese of St. Augustine on March 19, 1904. Upon his arrival in Florida later that year, Father Curley was assigned to be pastor of the large missionary parish of St. Peter's, DeLand. From there, on April 3, 1914, at the age of thirty-four, he was appointed bishop of his own Diocese of St. Augustine.<sup>21</sup> Seven years later, on August 10, 1921, he was promoted to succeed the late James Cardinal Gibbons as Archbishop of Baltimore. On June 22, 1939, he also became archbishop of the newly created see of Washington, and thereafter

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19. House Bill No. 325 (introduced by W. J. Gray of Gadsden County) *Florida House Journal* (1915), 316, 389.
  20. Sr. M. Alberta, "A Study of the Schools Conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph," 41-42. Contrary to the above writer's assertion, this bill was not enacted into state law.
  21. Before the creation of the Diocese of Miami, August 13, 1958, all of Florida, except the area west of the Apalachicola River, was embraced by the Diocese of St. Augustine, which had been established on March 11, 1870.

until his death on May 16, 1947, Curley had the rare distinction of ruling concurrently over two archdioceses.

If there was any one feature that distinguished the character of Michael J. Curley one might say it was his courage. As the *Catholic Review* of Baltimore wrote after his death: "By temperament he was a leader of battle, and love of truth gave rise to a zest for battle, whenever he saw that the cause of truth was at stake."<sup>22</sup> The prelate, who on several occasions did not hesitate to condemn the policy of the federal government towards the revolutionary forces in Mexico, who in the 1930s castigated the radical and ultra-liberal advocates of the anti-France forces in Spain, had earlier battled courageously and successfully the forces of religious bigotry in Florida.

From the beginning of his episcopal career, Bishop Curley expressed alarm at the growing menace of anti-Catholic literature. In a letter written to all pastors of his Florida diocese on January 28, 1915, he stated: "We Catholics of the United States are victims of organized vilification and the government itself [through the mails] takes a hand by the distribution of lewd and lascivious anti-Catholic filth. It is high time for the sixteen million Catholics of the United States to assert their rights and claim that protection which their citizenship and demonstrated loyalty should guarantee them." He went on to ask all pastors to call a special meeting of their people in each parish for the purpose of sending to their respective senators and congressmen a formal resolution of protest against the use of the mails for such purposes.<sup>23</sup>

On the occasion of a public reception tendered him in Jacksonville in the spring of 1915, the newly consecrated bishop took the opportunity to defend the patriotism of Catholics. "Patriotism of the highest order," he assured his mixed Catholic-Protestant audience, "flows from the very essence of Catholicism." No man who had ever read American history, he added, unless he were blinded by prejudice, could ever "stultify himself before public opinion . . . by stating that America ever had in the Catholic Church other than a friend. . . ." Yet the people were being told that because a Catholic policeman was on the force or in the city council, the country was on the verge of ruin. "Today that

22. *Catholic Review*, May 30, 1947.

23. Archives of the Diocese of St. Augustine, box 4 (x)-A-4. Cited hereafter as ADSA.

spirit is abroad, a wave of anti-Catholic hysteria is passing over the land. Men are organized to set citizen at citizen's throat." Curley went on to warn his audience: "If ever you make a man's religion a bar to public office, that moment you prove traitor to the greatest and most fundamental principle of our country's glorious constitution."<sup>24</sup>

Well known as a powerful orator, Curley always drew large crowds wherever he spoke. In July 1915, he again visited Jacksonville, the center of much anti-Catholic agitation, especially against the Knights of Columbus. Here he urged an overflow Catholic audience to band itself together in such societies as the Knights of Columbus to protect itself against "the hydra-headed monster of bigotry and prejudice which ever and anon rises up in this land of liberty."<sup>25</sup> In March of that same year, ex-Congressman Charles D. Haines of New York lectured in Tampa on the topic, "Whether . . . civic and religious liberty . . . is to continue in this nation, or is it to become only a chapter of past history, through the machinations of the Roman hierarchy?" Haines charged that Rome had its eyes on Florida and that the recent trip of Bishop Curley throughout the state had actually been planned at Rome and ordered from there. Every Knight of Columbus, he asserted, was a soldier of the pope, "an insidious influence for the destruction of your liberties," and like every good Catholic, "he votes for a Roman Catholic, regardless."<sup>26</sup> Curley lost little time in answering Haines. Addressing a specially called meeting after confirmation ceremonies in San Antonio, Florida, he assured Haines that he was in Tampa purely to discharge his episcopal duties and to administer the sacrament of confirmation. He went on to declare that he had nothing but contempt for the Catholic who would "vote for a Catholic candidate simply because he is a Catholic."<sup>27</sup>

The intensity of anti-Catholic feeling in Florida at this time may be gathered from an incident that occurred during the summer of 1915 in Fort Lauderdale. A young Catholic girl had been appointed by the Broward County school board to teach in the Fort Lauderdale public grade school. On the discovery that she

24. AD5A, 4-D-5; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 9, 1915.

25. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 29, 1915.

26. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 21, 1915.

27. *Ibid.*, March 28, 1915.

was a Catholic, the local school trustees refused to accept her appointment, and petitioned the school superintendent for her removal: "We are opposed to hiring and placing in charge of any of our school work any but Protestants."<sup>28</sup> Reaction to this move quickly came from Catholic and liberal forces in Miami, and Fort Lauderdale School Superintendent Robert E. Hall, in concert with local school trustees, shifted responsibility of the question to a mass convention of the people of the community. A Miami Catholic described the convention to Bishop Curley as "a quasi-lynching mob."<sup>29</sup> At this meeting, a Baptist minister and a Catholic layman both spoke up against the patent discrimination practiced against the teacher. The sentiment of the meeting, however, was indicated by the storm of applause that broke when a woman back in the crowd asked: "What I want to know is why we should have Catholic teachers when there are so many Protestants?" By a vote of 181 to seven, the citizens of Fort Lauderdale decided to back their local school trustees in rejecting the Catholic teacher.<sup>30</sup>

The *Miami Daily Metropolis*, leaving little doubt where its sympathies lay, editorialized: ". . . When 181 out of 188 citizens express their wishes not to have a teacher of the Roman Catholic faith in their school, it may be assumed that neither the teacher herself-or none of her fellow churchmen-would desire to have the situation."<sup>31</sup> The *Fort Lauderdale Sentinel* defended the action of its citizens: "Individually we have no prejudice against the Catholic, but we fear the power and influence of hierarchy. We know . . . that a Catholic's allegiance is first to his church and next to his state." The editorial went on to assure its readers that, "if any protestant church had a great organization behind it such as the Catholic Church has, we would feel toward it, just as we do the hierarchy."<sup>32</sup> The *Miami Herald* on the other hand was vehement in its denunciation of Fort Lauderdale's action. Believing that no appeal to fairness or loyalty would reach those who "displayed such narrowmindedness," the newspaper reflected

28. Copy of letter from taxpayers committee to public school official R. E. Hall, July 17, 1915, ADSA, 4-G-22.

29. James J. McLaughlin to Bishop Curley, August 25, 1915, ADSA, 4-H-12.

30. *Miami Daily Metropolis*, August 25, 1915.

31. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1915.

32. *Fort Lauderdale Sentinel*, quoted in the *Miami Herald*, August 29, 1915.

on the economic effects that such bigotry would have on Broward County, and, by association, on Dade County, both of which at that time were eagerly seeking new settlers: "No such blow to the welfare of the southeast coast of Florida has ever been dealt than that which those assembled at the mass meeting gave on Tuesday night."<sup>33</sup>

Of all the incidents involving Bishop Curley and the forces of bigotry, none attracted such widespread attention as the arrest on Easter Monday, 1916, of three Sisters of St. Joseph in St. Augustine. Three years previously, on June 7, 1913, the Florida legislature had passed a law making it unlawful for "white teachers to teach negroes in negro schools, and for negro teachers to teach in white schools."<sup>34</sup> William J. Kenny, Bishop of St. Augustine at the time, was advised by his attorney that the law was unconstitutional.<sup>35</sup> Deciding to await a "test case," Bishop Kenny had asked the Sisters of St. Joseph to continue teaching in their four colored schools at St. Augustine, Fernandina, Jacksonville, and Ybor City.<sup>36</sup> The test case came on the morning of April 24, 1916, when, on the orders of Florida Governor Park Trammell, the principal of St. Benedict's School for Negroes in St. Augustine, Sister Mary Thomasine, and two companion-teaching sisters were arrested and charged with the violation of the 1913 law. Two of the sisters were released under their own recognizance, but Sister Thomasine would not accept her liberty under this ruling, and refused to pay a bond of twenty-five dollars. As a result, she was imprisoned in her convent. Father John O'Brien, rector of the Cathedral, assumed the responsibility of her custody and appearance in court when her case should come up.<sup>37</sup>

On May 20, upon a writ of habeas corpus, Judge Cooper Gibbs, circuit court judge for St. Johns County, ordered Sister Thomasine set free on the grounds that section I, chapter 6490, *Laws of Florida, 1913*, did not apply to private schools. In his accompanying opinion, Judge Gibbs reasoned that just as a white doctor has the right to sell his services to Negro patients, so a white

33. *Miami Herald*, August 26, 29, 1915.

34. *Laws of Florida (1913)*, 311.

35. Alston Cockrell to William J. Kenny, September 3, 1913, ADSA, 3-W-22.

36. Sr. M. Alberta, "A Study of the Schools Conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph," 44.

37. *St. Augustine Evening Record*, April 24, 1916.



teacher has the right to teach Negro pupils. While the judge's decision was undoubtedly hailed as an enlightened one for that time, the closing statement of his opinion would grate discordantly on the ears of more recent jurists: "To say that such teaching [of Negro pupils by white teachers] would tend to promote social equality among races and thus be opposed to the good morals of the State is to insult the superior race and ignore the relative status of teacher and pupil."<sup>38</sup>

Curley viewed the sisters' arrest as an attack against the Church and especially against Catholic education. The dedication of a new Cathedral School in St. Augustine, at a time when the sisters' trial was pending, was the occasion of a spirited defense of the parochial school system by the youthful leader of the diocese: "Today a propaganda of deception is being carried on, and it is focusing all its engines of attack against the Catholic School. The parochial school, they assert, stands as a monument to Catholic enmity and antagonism towards the public school. The parochial school is un-American, they cry. If religion and morality are un-American, and destructive of free institutions, then indeed the parochial school is un-American. But George Washington thought differently." Having explained at length the Catholic philosophy of education, Bishop Curley went on to defend the role of the parochial schools as well as the patriotism of their students. The fervor of his discourse as well as the enthusiasm of his audience may be judged from the newspaper references to the frequent outbursts of applause that greeted the bishop's words.<sup>39</sup>

Such frank and vigorous defense of the Church not only won for Bishop Curley the undying loyalty and glowing admiration of his own flock, but it attracted notice in higher places. From the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, Archbishop Giovanni Bonzano, came these encouraging words: "I have followed with great interest the accounts in the newspapers of your fight against the enemies of our holy religion and am gratified by the results you have obtained. I offer you my hearty congratulations and

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38. Docket No. 3, 97. Law No. 778, Circuit Court House of St. Augustine, Florida. Filed May 22, 1916. Recorded in Circuit Court Minute Book, 267.

39. *St. Augustine Evening Record*, May 1, 1916.

shall be pleased to see you on the occasion of your trip to the north next October.”<sup>40</sup>

Nowhere were the forces of bigotry so active or so productive of results as in the field of politics. Feelings ran high in Jacksonville in 1914 when United States Senator Nathan P. Bryan, a Methodist, recommended Peter Dignan, a Catholic, for the office of postmaster of that city. Billy Parker, a firebrand from Pennsylvania, was imported to Jacksonville to spearhead an anti-Catholic campaign. The Guardians of Liberty and other secret societies gained so many members and such influence they were able successfully to use the religious issue against Senator Bryan in his 1916 bid for re-election.<sup>41</sup>

It was obvious that much of the anti-Catholic prejudice was being aroused and exploited for monetary purposes. *The Menace* and a host of other hate periodicals were doing a booming business. Bishop Curley informed a St. Augustine audience that anti-Catholic sentiment was becoming so intensive and widespread that despite the pitifully small number of Catholics in Florida, “a stranger in the State today might be justified in concluding that Catholics form seventy-five per cent of the total population if he were to judge the strength of the Church from the organized bitter opposition and vilification that are carried on against it from one end of the state to the other.”<sup>42</sup>

With this background in mind, the reader can now be introduced to Sidney J. Catts, the central figure in what the *New York Times* called at the time “the stormiest political fight in the history of Florida.”<sup>43</sup> Early in 1916, Catts stood as a rather lonely and forlorn figure on the outer rim of Florida politics. Utterly inexperienced in statecraft, he had never held a public office. As pastor of an obscure Baptist church in DeFuniak Springs, and a comparative new comer to Florida, he was all but unknown to the electorate of the state. During most of the primary campaign for governor, his candidacy was almost completely ignored. In fact, he himself was often jeered at, or treated as a joke. With practically all the newspapers and the powerful Democratic state

40. Giovanni Bonzano to Curley, August 25, 1916, ADSA, 4-K-19.

41. John R. Deal, Jr., “Sidney Johnston Catts, Stormy Petrel of Florida Politics” (unpublished Masters thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 33-34.

42. *St. Augustine Evening Record*, May 1, 1916.

43. *New York Times*, September 17, 1916.

machine and its local bosses arrayed against him, Catts, against hopeless odds, conducted a one-man campaign throughout the backwoods of Florida. That he overcame these seemingly insurmountable obstacles and became the only man in Florida history since Reconstruction to defeat the Democratic party's gubernatorial candidate stands as a monument both to his innate shrewdness and to the bigotry of his time.<sup>44</sup>

Catts was widely regarded as an oddity and as an ignoramus, but he was far from being either. He was rather a shrewd observer of the swelling tide of anti-Catholic prejudice. He quietly decided to make political profit out of this widespread sentiment. With consummate timing he made his entrance into Florida politics. Long before the gubernatorial primary elections, Catts began visiting the backwoods regions of Florida, where he played upon the fears and prejudices of the people. Apart from his denunciation of what he called the dictatorial method being used to enforce a 1913 Florida fish and oyster conservation act, Catts devoted his time and energy almost exclusively to the Catholic issue.<sup>45</sup> Combining invective with humor, Catts tiraded against the "papist church," which he denounced as a growing "menace" to the nation, to public education, and to good morals.<sup>46</sup> His program was put forward briefly as follows: "Nothing in Florida above the Nation's flag; the red school house against the Parochial school; all closed institutions in Florida to be opened by process of law and America for Americans first, last and forever."<sup>47</sup>

Early in 1916, the Florida Democratic Executive Committee, alarmed over the growing influence of the Guardians of Liberty and other similar secret societies, unwittingly played into the hands of Sidney Catts by passing the so-called Sturkie Resolutions, proposed by R. B. Sturkie of Pasco County where a large proportion of the population was Catholic. These denied voting qualifications in the primaries to those who would refuse to swear that they were not influenced by nor affiliated with such secret societies. It was now relatively easy for Catts to convince voters, many of whom had little interest in the religious issue, that their

44. Deal, "Sidney Johnston Catts," 1-2.

45. Cash, *Democratic Party in Florida*, 124.

46. Deal, "Sidney Johnston Catts," 52.

47. Pat Murphy, *Legislative Blue Book 1917* (Tallahassee, 1917), 62.  
Murphy was at that time one of Florida's best known lobbyists.

free political institutions were indeed being menaced by the Church of Rome.<sup>48</sup>

It should be emphasized, however, that most newspaper editors and responsible people, even in areas where Catholics were practically unknown, came out strongly against Catts' rabble-rousing anti-Catholic antics. The *Ocala Banner* lamented: "We confess that we were humiliated and mortified when this candidate to the highest office. . . , making the most vicious reference to the Catholic Church, should have received the wild applause, not of the rabble, but of supposedly good, cultured Christian women. Mr. Catts, in our judgment, is endeavoring to ride into the gubernatorial office of Florida by appealing to the religious passions of the ignorant and fanatical. It seems to us that he is a dangerous man."<sup>49</sup> The *Bradford County Telegraph*, denouncing the voices of bigotry, explained that numerically the "Catholic Church in Florida is a very weak affair," and that it was making "no effort whatever to exercise control over our state affairs."<sup>50</sup>

Catts' warm personality, together with his unique method of campaigning, were perhaps as important as the religious issue itself in accounting for his upset victory in the Democratic primaries of June 1916. His campaign tactics were unusual, not only because he concentrated on areas that the other candidates considered out of the way and insignificant, but also because he was among the first to introduce the use of a portable loudspeaker mounted on top of his Model-T Ford.<sup>51</sup> He boasted to an audience in Tallahassee that he had been in places where the voters were ignorant of the names of his opponents; that he slept in the beds "used by crackers and bedbugs;" that he had stopped to plough with the country folk, and noticing that they wore no shoes also went barefoot; and that he had kissed their clean babies and patted the others. He became all things to all men to such an extent that whenever he addressed an intelligent urban audience he omitted his usual tirades against the Catholic Church.<sup>52</sup>

Catts' narrow primary victory was disputed in court by his nearest rival, William V. Knott of Tallahassee. After re-counts

48. Cash, *Democratic Party in Florida*, 127.

49. *Ocala Banner*, May 12, 1916.

50. *Bradford County Telegraph*, May 26, 1916.

51. Deal, "Sidney Johnston Catts," 40.

52. Bresnahan, *Seeing Florida With a Priest*, 73-74.

had been made in several counties, Knott was declared the winner and the Democratic nominee for governor. The undaunted Catts would not give up without a fight. Gaining a place on the general election ballot as the nominee of the rather insignificant Prohibition Party, he faced formidable odds, but he had the psychological advantage of being "the people's choice" over Knott who was commonly referred to as the "court's nominee." By the time of the November election, the people were by and large convinced that the Democratic nomination had been stolen from Catts.

Up to election day itself Catts carried his crusade with unrelenting vigor against the Roman Church, which he termed the greatest menace that the country had ever known. He continually charged that his opponent, like himself a Baptist, was receiving campaign funds from Roman Catholics through Cardinal Gibbons.<sup>53</sup> Unlike the result of the primaries, the November elections left no doubt as to who had won. Sidney J. Catts, the Baptist preacher, had successfully exploited religious prejudice to become governor of Florida. Yet it should not be readily assumed that he was a rabid anti-Catholic bigot. Probably his true inner motive was revealed in a chance encounter with Father P. J. Bresnahan the morning after his primary victory. In reply to the priest's charge of spreading falsehoods about Catholics, Catts replied: "But, brother, it was all politics. Didn't [Napoleon B.] Broward tell the people during his Campaign [of 1904] that he would drain the Everglades and give them land for nothing if they elected him; and he was elected on that issue."<sup>54</sup>

Those who had expected Governor Catts to harass the Catholic Church after his election were for the most part disappointed; his bark was worse than his bite. Yet there were occasions when he lived up to his reputation and fulfilled at least some of his campaign promises with regard to the Church. The most notable demonstration of anti-Catholic feeling that occurred during his term of office was the enactment in 1917 of what came to be known popularly as the "convent inspection law." As might have been expected, Bishop Curley reacted strongly when this bill was proposed, calling it "this implied and outrageous insult to women who rank with the best, purest and noblest on God's earth." In

53. Cash, *Democratic Party in Florida*, 129; *Bradford County Telegraph*, September 1, 1916.

54. Bresnahan, *Seeing Florida With a Priest*, 74.

a letter to Speaker of the House Cary A. Hardee, he described the legislation as a "veritable crime." The bishop tried to disarm the proponents of the bill: "I state here and now that there is no such thing in this State as a Catholic institution that is closed to Florida laws, or to anyone representing lawful authority. Nay, more-every Convent in this state is open to every man, woman, and child residing in any town or city where such an institution is located, and I hereby invite any representative or body of representatives to go through any Catholic school or convent-when-ever they desire to honor us with such a visit."<sup>55</sup>

Notwithstanding this forceful note of protest, the bill was passed. It provided for the appointment by the governor of a commission of six members in each county. It was the duty of this body to visit at least once a year "All Hospitals . . . Public and Private Schools and Institutions, Nunneries and Houses of the Good Shepherd" for the purpose of "ascertaining the treatment of the inmates of said institutions and the general conditions."<sup>56</sup> These inspecting bodies were to be appointed in each county upon the recommendation of the board of county commissioners, but the law was never enforced.<sup>57</sup> It was finally repealed in 1935.<sup>58</sup>

Soon after Governor Catts' inauguration, the Guardians of Liberty began agitating for the removal of the Benedictine Sisters as public school teachers in San Antonio, Florida. Although the school building belonged to the Church, the sisters were paid as public school teachers and many non-Catholics attended.<sup>59</sup> The matter came to a head in September 1918, when the sisters were denied their salaries from public funds. Bishop Curley immediately directed that the building be used as a parochial school, and wrote a forceful letter to the people of San Antonio, with the result that not one Catholic pupil transferred from the school even though it was no longer supported by public funds.<sup>60</sup>

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55. Quoted in Vincent de Paul Fitzpatrick, *Life of Archbishop Curley* (Baltimore, 1929), 32-33. This was a popular work written to commemorate Archbishop Curley's silver sacerdotal jubilee.

56. *Laws of Florida (1917)*, 239-40.

57. Francis Sadlier, O.S.B., "The Catholic Church in Florida," Ellwood C. Nance, (ed.), *The East Coast of Florida: A History, 1500-1961*, 3 vols. (Delray Beach, 1962), II, 443.

58. *Laws of Florida (1935)*, 647.

59. Mother Rose Marie, O.S.B. to Curley, August 9, 1917, ADSA, 4-M-26.

60. Father Albert, O.S.B to Curley, September 12, 1918, ADSA, 4-N-19.

By this time, however, the fervor of religious bigotry was waning in the South and throughout the nation. The ravages of World War I and its accompanying economic upswing diverted the people's interest elsewhere. Anti-Germanism replaced anti-Catholicism. On the completion of his four-year term as governor in 1920, Sidney Catts ran for the United States Senate. Carrying only three counties, he experienced one of the most devastating eclipses in political popularity ever suffered by a former Florida governor. For the scattered Catholics of Florida who had lived through this anti-Catholic nativism, it was reassuring to discover that the ugly tree of bigotry in the South had but shallow roots. Planted and nourished on ignorance rather than on malice, those roots in large part had their origin no earlier than the present century, and they seem now to have been extirpated.

## HENRY BRADLEY PLANT AND FLORIDA

by DUDLEY S. JOHNSON

FLORIDA WAS A FERTILE FIELD for developers during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Lumbermen were at work in the northern part of the state; the citrus industry was in its infancy; phosphate mining was just beginning; and northern vacationers and some invalids were discovering the restorative powers of Florida's climate. Railroads were needed to serve and to further develop these diverse interests. Many men dreamed of building a network of rails in the state, and some began the project. Most failed, although a few succeeded. Henry Bradley Plant was one of the more successful. He constructed railroads, hotels, and steamship lines, and in the process served the various business enterprises in the state while earning a respectable profit for himself.

Plant was born in Branford, Connecticut, in 1819. At an early age he entered the employ of a steamship company, and within a short time he was put in charge of all the company's express business. He took a short leave of absence in the summer of 1853, and carried his wife to Florida for her health. The next year the Adams Express Company, which had undergone several mergers, established a southern division and made Plant superintendent with headquarters in Augusta, Georgia.<sup>1</sup> Plant established residence in Georgia, and for the rest of his life he was intimately connected with southern investment and development.

Officials of the Adams Express Company, wary of the impending conflict between the North and the South and hoping to retain

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1. G. Hutchinson Smyth, *The Life of Henry Bradley Plant* (New York, 1898), 42-53; Lafayette McLaws, "Henry Bradley Plant," Federal Writers Project, unpublished mss., 1. (typed copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida); Franklin Q. Brown to A. J. Hanna, January 24, 1938, mss. collection, box 6, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; *New York Times*, June 24, 1899; Alexander L. Stimson, *History of the Express Business: Including the Origin of the Railway System in America, And the Relations of Both to the Increase of New Settlements, and the Prosperity of the Cities in the United States* (New York, 1881), 57; Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Waybills: The Romance of the Express Companies* (New York, 1934), 66-67.



company assets in case of a civil war, authorized Plant in 1861 to organize the Southern Express Company to be composed of all stockholders living south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers. Plant was very successful during the Civil War, and, although loyal to the North, he was entrusted with the transportation of all Confederate funds. After the war he re-established the disrupted routes of his company, and extended them into Texas where he formed the Texas Express Company. He began adding railroads to his interests, and, in 1879, he purchased a Georgia line, the Atlantic and Gulf, at a foreclosure sale. This road, extending through the fertile cotton and timber lands lying between Savannah and Bainbridge, connected with Florida lines by an extension from Lawton, Georgia, to Live Oak, Florida.<sup>2</sup> Plant immediately reorganized this road into the Savannah, Florida and Western Railway Company. He bought a second bankrupt line, the Savannah and Charleston Railroad, on June 7, 1880, for \$300,200 and reorganized it as the Charleston and Savannah Railway Company. Associated with Plant in these ventures were William Cutting, B. F. Newcomer, W. H. Brawley, C. G. Memminger, and A. F. Ravenal. Brawley, Memminger, and Ravenal were Charleston men and the others were from the North.<sup>3</sup>

Plant and his friends acquired stock in other railroad and steamship lines, and in 1882 they formed the Plant Investment Company under the laws of Connecticut, in order to manage these new properties separately from the Southern Express Company and the Savannah, Florida and Western Railway Company.<sup>4</sup> The Plant company eventually controlled railroads, hotels, real estate, and steamship and telegraph lines. In addition to the above named men, three wealthy individuals participated in the ventures of the investment company. They were Henry M. Flagler, a partner of John D. Rockefeller in Standard Oil; Morris Ketchum Jesup, banker and owner of a railroad supply house; and William

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2. Brown to Hanna, January 24, 1938, mss. collection, box 6, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Smyth, *The Life of Henry Bradley Plant*, 54-58; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle and Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, November 8, 1879, 488; December 6, 1879, 608; Stimson, *History of the Express Business*, 160.

3. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, June 12, 1880, 625.

4. Brown to Hanna, January 24, 1938, mss. collection, box 6, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

Thompson Walters, a commission merchant and heavy investor in southern railroads.<sup>5</sup>

In an interview published in 1884, Colonel Henry S. Haines, general superintendent for the Plant System, explained the company's method of operation: "We speak of the Plant Investment Company-do you know what the Plant Investment Company is? It is Mr. Plant and his friends who have money, cash, to invest. When it is decided to do a certain thing, build a piece of road for instance, they figure out what each is to pay and send in their checks for the amount. They have no bonds, no indebtedness, no interest to pay; they build railroads to operate them and not for bond and stock speculations."<sup>6</sup>

Plant's first railroad entered Florida at only one point, but he and his associates made every effort to shorten the time it took to travel to the North. This was essential since many Florida vegetables and fruits arrived at their destination unfit for use. To help remedy this situation, the Plant group incorporated the Waycross and Florida Railroad Company in 1880 to construct a line from Waycross, Georgia, to the Florida line in the direction of Jacksonville. The East Florida Railroad Company was incorporated in Florida to build a road from Jacksonville to a junction with the Georgia concern and was granted land by the 1881 state legislature for this purpose.<sup>7</sup> The two roads were completed on April 25, 1881, and the route, called the Waycross Short Line by newspapers and railroad men, considerably shortened train time between Jacksonville and Savannah. The Savannah, Florida, and Western operated the Waycross Short Line from the time of completion to 1884 and then absorbed it.<sup>8</sup>

The Plant System's third entrance into Florida occurred in the Apalachicola River valley in early April 1883, when a thirty-one mile branch line was completed from Climax, Georgia, just east of Bainbridge, to Chattahoochee, Florida.<sup>9</sup> This gave the Savannah, Florida, and Western greater access to freight shipped

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5. For biographical information on Flagler, Jesup, and Walters, see Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 22 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), VI, 451-52; X, 61-62; XIX, 400-01.

6. Jacksonville *Florida Dispatch*, January 21, 1884.

7. *Laws of Florida* (1881), 131-32.

8. Tallahassee *Floridian*, April 26, 1881; Ralph G. Hill and James H. Pledger, comps., *The Railroads of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1939), A-5.

9. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, April 14, 1883, 427.

down the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers, and placed it in direct competition with the Florida Railway and Navigation Company which owned the line extending through northern Florida from Chattahoochee to Jacksonville. Plant's road seems to have been the most aggressive and successful. Much of the traffic originating in West Florida was shipped over the Georgia line. This is amply illustrated by the route followed by William Henry Davison, a civil engineer and Pensacola resident, in February 1886. He was hired to do certain work in the region of the upper St. Johns River in conjunction with two friends, one of whom lived in Tallahassee. Davison's trip to Jacksonville proceeded as follows: Pensacola to Chattahoochee on the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad; Chattahoochee to Waycross on Plant's Savannah, Florida, and Western; and Waycross to Jacksonville on Plant's Waycross Short Line.<sup>10</sup> If Davison had followed the route through Tallahassee he could have met his friend in that city and he would have shortened his trip by at least thirty miles.

The Plant System's three entrances into the state gave it an advantage that other lines did not have. The eastern route offered fast passenger and freight service; the central connection at Live Oak dealt mostly in timber and farm products, although some perishables were shipped over this route; the western entrance at Chattahoochee secured a large amount of the traffic that came down the river as well as that from the area west of the river.

Plant was interested in buying old roads and building new ones. He and his friends chartered the Live Oak and Rowlands Bluff Railroad Company in 1881 to construct a line from the town of Live Oak to Rowlands Bluff on the Suwannee River. The company, capitalized at \$100,000, completed the road in 1882.<sup>11</sup> The Live Oak, Tampa, and Charlotte Harbor Railroad Company was incorporated in 1881 and capitalized at \$5,000,000. This company proposed to construct a line from Rowlands Bluff to Charlotte Harbor by way of Tampa Bay.<sup>12</sup> It built a five-foot gauge road to Newnansville, northwest of Gainesville. Work was

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10. Diary of William Henry Davison, February 17, 1886, 1, mss. collection, box 25, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
  11. *Laws of Florida (1881)*, 145-48; Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A-15.
  12. Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A-15; *Cedar Key Journal*, quoted in *Fernandina Florida Mirror*, September 10, 1881; *Florida Senate Journal (1883)*, "Report of the Secretary of State, 1881-1882," 222.

halted here because any further construction would compete with the Florida Southern, formerly the Gainesville, Ocala and Charlotte Harbor Railroad, a company that proposed to build a narrow gauge railroad from Lake City to Charlotte Harbor with a branch to Palatka.<sup>13</sup>

The South Florida Railroad Company was incorporated in 1879 by Dr. C. C. Haskell, B. R. Swoope, James E. Ingraham, E. W. Henck, and others. They planned a line from Sanford via Orlando to the Gulf coast at Charlotte Harbor. Surveys began on November 10, 1879. Groundbreaking ceremonies were held on January 10, 1880 with former President Ulysses S. Grant turning the first spade of dirt. Dr. Haskell was able to interest the owners of the *Boston Herald*, which included his brother, E. B. Haskell, a Mr. Halsted, and R. M. Pulsifer, in the company. These men provided most of the capital needed for construction and the route was opened from Sanford to Orlando on December 1, 1880.<sup>14</sup> Construction continued and the road was completed to Kissimmee in March 1882. It was at this time that Plant first indicated an interest in the line.

James E. Ingraham, president of the South Florida, was associated with Henry Sanford in the production of oranges near Sanford, Florida. General Sanford was also associated with Plant as a director of the Savannah, Florida and Western and as a stockholder in the Adams Express Company. Just prior to the opening of the road between Orlando and Kissimmee in early 1882, Ingraham and Sanford were strolling along Bay Street in Jacksonville when they happened to meet Plant. Sanford introduced the two men, and Plant was invited to join the official party making the first trip over the new line. Plant, who had recently purchased the steamer *Henry B. Plant* to operate on the St. Johns River between Jacksonville and Sanford, was interested in making a connection with the railroad at the upper port. He accepted the invitation and asked if his wife and several associates could also make the trip. As the train moved through the Florida pine-woods, Plant and Ingraham discussed the possibility of extend-

13. *Laws of Florida (1879)*, 119-80; George W. Pettengill, Jr., *The Story of Florida Railroads 1834-1903*, Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin No. 86 (Boston, 1952), 120; *Florida Senate Journal (1883)*, "Report of the Secretary of State, 1881-1882," 224.

14. *The South Florida Railroad Company* (New York, 1887?), 16, pamphlet in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

ing the road to Tampa and connecting it with a steamship line that would reach Key West and Havana. Eventually the Plant Investment Company purchased three-fifths of the stock of the South Florida Railroad Company.<sup>15</sup>

The Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Railroad was incorporated in 1878 to construct a line from Jacksonville to Tampa.<sup>16</sup> The company was unable to raise the funds to complete the Kissimmee to Tampa branch and its land grant was due to expire in January 1884. Alfred H. Parslow, a company official, negotiated a sale of rights and land grants to this section to Plant's South Florida Railroad for \$30,000.<sup>17</sup> Deeds were transferred in June 1883, just seven months before the grant was due to expire. No one but Plant and his friends expected the South Florida Railroad to be able to complete the road to Tampa in time to save the land grant.

Construction was commenced at both ends of the route. Rails and supplies were sent up the St. Johns River to Sanford and from there were carried to end of track. Other supplies and equipment, even a locomotive, were dispatched by water to Tampa and work began at that point. Feverish activity ensued with all available contractors and laborers used to speed the work. End of track became Plant City, the second largest town in Hillsborough County. Construction proceeded rapidly, and on January 22, 1884, three days before the grant expired, the rails of the South Florida met thirty-eight miles east of Tampa, near the present city of Lakeland. Appropriate ceremonies were held a short time later with Governor William Bloxham and his entire cabinet present.<sup>18</sup>

The inhabitants of the Tampa Bay area had desperately wanted the railroad. They had anticipated spectacular growth with the completion of the track, and they were not disappointed. Prior to construction, Tampa had a population of 700; seven years after the road was completed the population had increased to approximately 7,000.<sup>19</sup>

15. F. H. Glover, "Henry B. Plant - Genius of the West Coast," *Suniland*, I (February 1925), 36-37.

16. Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A-12.

17. Ernest L. Robinson, *History of Hillsborough County, Florida* (St. Augustine, 1928), 56-57; *Tampa Tribune*, October 22, 1961.

18. Robinson, *History of Hillsborough County*, 57-58; *Tampa Tribune*, October 22, 1961; Glover, "Henry B. Plant," 38; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, January 24, 30, 1884; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, February 5, 1885.

19. Glover, "Henry B. Plant," 38; *Tampa Tribune*, October 22, 1961.

The Plant Investment Company continued to play a major role in the development of the region. The railroad was built on to Port Tampa where a wharf, large enough to berth twenty-six ships at once, was built. Ample loading facilities were provided, and within a few years Port Tampa was the busiest phosphate port in the world and more tobacco was imported through this harbor than any other place in the country. Plant established a steamship line to Key West and Havana, and he secured the mail contract from Tampa to those points which insured bi-weekly sailings. A branch of the railroad was extended to Pemberton's Ferry and another to Bartow. Connections were made at these points with the Florida Southern which had constructed its line to Pemberton's Ferry. This company then suspended construction between the above point and Bartow so as not to compete with the South Florida. However, the Florida Southern immediately commenced construction at the latter city on a route to Charlotte Harbor. These various routes gave Plant a monopoly on the railroads on the West coast of Florida. After converting the South Florida to standard-gauge in 1886, his system had an even greater advantage: it was now possible to send a Pullman all the way from New York to Tampa, eliminating the necessity for changing trains.<sup>20</sup>

Tourism increased in Central Florida after completion of the South Florida Railroad. Orlando became known as a health resort for persons suffering from rheumatism, asthma, and lung ailments. When tourists complained of the poor accommodations in Tampa, Plant decided to construct a hotel. Jerry T. Anderson owned a two-story hotel on Water Street called the H. B. Plant, but this was not the elaborate structure needed to attract wealthy visitors from the North. Plant had plans drawn for a lavish 300-room hotel building. The cornerstone was laid on July 26, 1888, and construction commenced immediately. It took three years to complete. Plant and his second wife went abroad to select the furnishings and decorations. Estimates of the cost of the hotel vary from \$1,500,000 to \$4,000,000.<sup>21</sup> The cost may have

20. *The South Florida Railroad Company*, 16; Glover, "Henry B. Plant," 39.

21. Brown to Hanna, January 24, 1938, mss. collection, box 6, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Glover, "Henry B. Plant," 38-39; Robinson, *History of Hillsborough County*, 58; *Tampa Tribune*, October 22, 1961; *The South Florida Railroad Company*, 16; Karl H.

seemed excessive, but Florida gained an enormous amount of free publicity, and many northern investors were attracted to the state. The Tampa Bay Hotel opened February 5, 1891, with elaborate ceremonies similar to those conducted by Henry Morrison Flagler when the Ponce de Leon Hotel opened in St. Augustine. Special trains carried the guests, which included Flagler and other noted persons, into Tampa. For many years tourists visited Florida's West coast just to stay in this "Palace in the Wilderness."<sup>22</sup>

Plant's officials, through their activities and business interests, were aware of the growing tensions in Cuba during the 1890s. Franklin Q. Brown, one of Plant's associates, visited the island in 1897, and upon his return was invited to the White House to discuss his views with President McKinley. Brown played a major role in the decision to make Tampa the port of embarkation during the Spanish-American War.<sup>23</sup> The war brought added prosperity to the Tampa Bay area and to Plant's interests throughout Florida and the South. The Tampa Bay Hotel was used as a headquarters by the army, and Theodore Roosevelt supposedly drilled his Rough Riders on the hotel's grounds. War correspondents and artists filed dispatches from the city.<sup>24</sup>

Other Plant hotels included an elaborate structure on the waterfront at Belleair north of St. Petersburg, which was completed in 1897. It reputedly served more railroad and corporation presidents in its day than any other hotel in America.<sup>25</sup> Plant bought the Ocala House in Ocala in 1896, Hotel Kissimmee in Kissimmee, Seminole Hotel in Winter Park, the Inn in Port Tampa, and hotels in Fort Myers and Punta Gorda.<sup>26</sup>

Although Plant constructed hotels and established steamship lines, he and his associates continued to invest in those railroads which they considered an asset to their company. The Gainesville, Ocala and Charlotte Harbor Railroad was chartered in 1879 to build a line from Lake City to Charlotte Harbor with

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Grismer, *A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 179.

22. Glover, "Henry B. Plant," 39; *Tampa Tribune*, October 22, 1961.
23. Brown to Hanna, January 24, 1938, mss. collection, box 6, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
24. *Ibid.*; *Tampa Tribune*, October 22, 1961.
25. *St. Petersburg Times*, January 29, 1964.
26. Smyth, *The Life of Henry Bradley Plant*, 88; John C. Blocker, "Henry Bradley Plant," *Papers: The Jacksonville Historical Society*, II (1949), 69-70.

a branch to Palatka. The company began construction in 1881, and the name of the corporation was changed to the Florida Southern Railroad Company. By the end of the year the branch line between Palatka and Gainesville was completed, and some work had been done on the main line south in the direction of Ocala. The road to Lake City was not constructed until the citizens of the town secured a court order forcing the company to carry out the provisions of its charter. The Plant System then constructed a line from a point near Fort White to Lake City.<sup>27</sup> It is impossible to determine the exact nature of the interest the Plant group had in the Florida Southern at that time. Plant bought an interest in the road bed in 1883, but he does not appear to have had the strongest voice in the management of the company.<sup>28</sup> But Plant's railroads and the Florida Southern never competed with each other.

The Florida Southern continued to build its road down the peninsula at a rapid rate. By the middle of August 1885, the line had connected with the South Florida Railroad at Pemberton's Ferry. The officials intended to terminate the road there; but, when the citizens of Brooksville raised \$20,000 for the railroad, company officials reconsidered and constructed a line to that community. The Florida Southern, in accordance with the agreement with Plant not to compete with the South Florida, then moved its operations to Bartow. Construction on the branch to Charlotte Harbor began, and it was finished in record time.<sup>29</sup>

The business decline in the late 1880s caused the failure of Florida Southern. The Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Railroad Company, having purchased over nine-tenths of Florida Southern's bonds, announced in November 1888, plans to take over operation on January 1, 1889. The Florida Southern could retain its own identity and select its own president, but company policy would be determined by Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West officials. Conditions became worse and a receiver was appointed for the Florida Southern on March 18, 1890. Final

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27. *Laws of Florida (1879)*, 119-20; *Tampa Sunland Tribune*, quoted in *Fernandina Florida Mirror*, September 10, 1881; *Gainesville Weekly Bee*, December 8, 1883; Pettengill, *Story of Florida Railroads*, 67.

28. *Gainesville Weekly Bee*, December 8, 1883.

29. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, August 22, 1885, 215; Pettengill, *Story of Florida Railroads*, 73.



decrees of foreclosure were issued in 1891, and a public sale was set for March 7, 1892. The Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West purchased the 307-mile network at the sale, and two years later resold it to the Plant System.<sup>30</sup>

The Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Company, after selling Plant the rights and land grants between Kissimmee and Tampa in 1883, constructed a line from Jacksonville to Palatka the next year.<sup>31</sup> The section between Palatka and Sanford was opened in 1886. The company then purchased a line of steamers operating on the Halifax River, and, in order to connect them to the main-line, leased the Atlantic Coast, St. Johns and Indian River Railroad, extending from Enterprise to Titusville. In addition, the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West constructed a six-mile branch from Deland to Deland Landing and a twenty-nine mile railroad, the Sanford and Lake Eustis, between Sanford and Tavares. Connections were made with several log roads along the route which served as feeders to the larger system. The company, after leasing the Atlantic Coast, St. Johns and Indian River for four years, purchased it in 1890.<sup>32</sup> It sold the Sanford and Lake Eustis under foreclosure during the same year to the Plant System.

The Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West should have been a success. Its route followed the St. Johns River, and, although the company was in direct competition with river traffic, it could offer faster service than the steamboats. It also had connections in Jacksonville with all the rail and steamship lines to the North. For several years the company appeared to be prosperous. Then it became involved in legal action and a receiver was appointed in 1893. The depression of the 1890s, plus severe freezes, led to a worsening financial condition. The courts ordered the line sold in January 1894, but because of the unstable money market no buyers appeared. The road was offered for sale a number of times. Finally, in 1899, the Plant System purchased the main line and merged it into a new company, the Jacksonville and St. Johns River Railway Company, which then became part of the

30. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, November 3, 1888, 531; December 19, 1891, 922; October 27, 1894, 738.

31. Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Duval County, Florida* (St. Augustine, 1928), 180.

32. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, May 28, 1887, 681; Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A-2, A-19.

Savannah, Florida and Western. The Sanford and Lake Eustis section of the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West was operated by the Plant System under lease until 1900, when it was absorbed by the parent system.<sup>33</sup>

The Plant group obtained other railroads during the depression of the 1890s. The fifteen-mile Winston and Bone Valley passed under the dominance of the South Florida Railroad in 1894, and it was completely absorbed two years later. The Plant System later lengthened this line to thirty miles. The Florida Midland Railway, extending from Longwood to Kissimmee, was made part of the Plant System in 1896, the same year that Plant bought the St. Johns and Lake Eustis Railway.<sup>34</sup> These were short lines, serving as feeders to the main system. A longer line, the Sanford and St. Petersburg Railway, was leased by Plant in 1895, and was later absorbed. This road connected St. Petersburg to the rest of Florida, but Plant was not interested in developing that city as a competitor to Tampa and made no effort to improve the bad service rendered by the railroad.<sup>35</sup>

The Savannah, Florida and Western announced in January 1893, that it would guarantee the bonds of the Silver Springs, Ocala and Gulf Railroad, which began to operate as part of the Plant System, although the official merger did not occur until 1901.<sup>36</sup> The St. Cloud and Sugar Belt Railway, extending from Dunnymede to Kissimmee, was merged into Plant's South Florida Railroad in 1893.<sup>37</sup> Plant was also interested in the Tampa and

33. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, March 10, 1888, 320; May 5, 1888, 573; August 24, 1889, 235; July 16, 1892, 101; July 23, 1892, 146; July 30, 1892, 177; April 15, 1893, 621; September 8, 1894, 470; January 26, 1895, 177; April 17, 1897, 754; September 3, 1898, 479; July 15, 1899, 132; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1889, 582; 1899, 416, 1417; Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A20-A21.

34. Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A-8, A-28; *Annual Report of the Comptroller of the State of Florida, 1894* (Tallahassee, 1894), 59; (1896), 41; (1901), 65; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, November 3, 1888, 531; September 14, 1895, 470; March 21, 1896, 548; August 29, 1896, 357; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1900, 383.

35. *Miami Herald*, September 28, 1952; Karl H. Grismer, *History of St. Petersburg* (St. Petersburg, 1924), 45-50; *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, 1893-1894* (Tallahassee, 1893), 64; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1895, 200, 739; 1896, 883-84.

36. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, January 7, 1893, 43; Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A-21.

37. Hill and Pledger, *Railroads of Florida*, A-22.

Thonotossasa Railroad, a short line extending a distance of fifteen miles northeast of Tampa. It was incorporated and constructed in 1893. It was operated by the Plant System from the date of completion, and was officially merged into the larger network in 1902. The company appeared to be more of a liability than an asset, however. The Plant System presented evidence to the Florida Railroad Commission in 1899, showing that earnings averaged twenty-two cents per passenger mile while expenses averaged ninety-three cents per mile.<sup>38</sup>

The Plant System was the most profitable transportation network in Florida during the 1880s and 1890s. One reason was its interest in freight development. Agents urged farmers to plant earlier in order to get the best prices on the northern market. Management officials sought the best methods for handling vegetables and other perishables so the products would arrive in peak condition.<sup>39</sup> Modern equipment was used wherever possible to speed shipment. Steel rails gradually replaced the iron rails. Comfortable equipment was used on passenger cars, and the dining cars, designed by George M. Pullman, provided excellent meals. The system was operated as a benefit to shippers and passengers and the owners received a good profit.<sup>40</sup>

The Savannah, Florida and Western Railway was hurt financially by the freezes of 1894-1895 and by the depression of the 1890s, but its sound financial condition enabled the company to survive and to grow when lesser lines failed. The company paid a two percent dividend in 1887, four percent in 1889, two percent in 1891, three and one-half percent in 1893, six percent in 1894, four percent in 1895, and two percent in 1896.<sup>41</sup> These were the worst depression years and only sound management made such payments possible. Not every road in the Plant System flourished, but they also seemed to enjoy earnings better than average.

Plant died in 1899, and was succeeded to the presidency of the Plant Investment Company, the Savannah, Florida and Western Railway, and several smaller companies by Robert G.

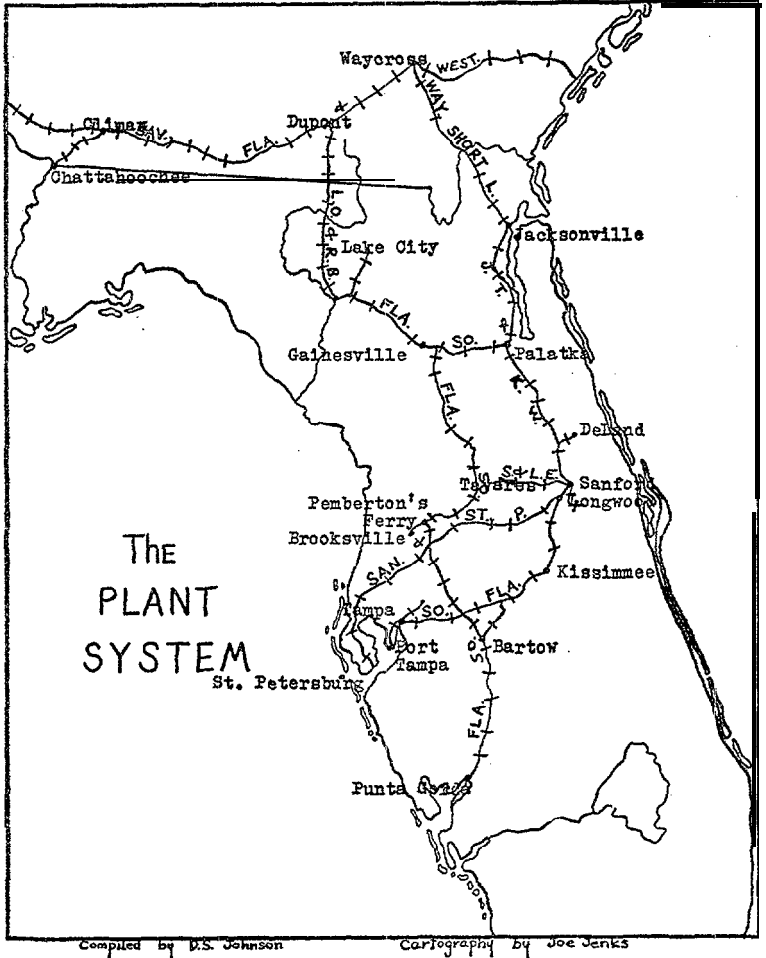
38. *Ibid.*, A-26; *Second Annual Report of the Railroad Commission of the State of Florida, 1899* (Tallahassee, 1899), 21.

39. *Jacksonville Florida Dispatch*, January 21, 1884.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle, Investors' Supplement*, April 1899, 129.

Erwin, his long-time associate. His only son, Morton F. Plant, was elected vice-president of the Plant Investment Company and president of some of the smaller companies. Other associates retained their positions in the system.<sup>42</sup>



42. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 8, 1899, 82.

It was Plant's desire to keep his property in trust until his grandson, four years old in 1899, reached the age of twenty-one. His will directed Robert Erwin, Morton F. Plant, Margaret Plant,<sup>43</sup> George H. Tilley, and Lynde Harrison to administer the estate until that time. Margaret Plant did not like this arrangement and brought suit to dissolve the trust created by the will. After three years of litigation she was successful, and in 1902, the Plant System's railroads were sold to the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company. The Plant Investment Company retained control of hotels, real estate, and other property until it was liquidated in the twentieth century.<sup>44</sup>

The Plant System included more mileage, had a greater valuation, and paid more taxes than any railroad network in Florida in 1901, the last year of its existence. It included 1,196 miles of main track, was valued at \$7,475,883, and paid a total state, county, and school district tax of \$132,770. The next largest system, the Florida Central and Peninsular, already a part of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, had 689 miles of main track. It was valued at \$4,491,844 and paid a total tax of \$76,516. The Florida East Coast Railway consisted of 466 miles of main track, was valued at \$2,719,144, and paid a tax of \$52,423.<sup>45</sup>

Plant was Florida's greatest nineteenth century railroad developer. Other individuals spent more money and developed more extensive areas of the state, but in the railroad field no one surpassed Henry Bradley Plant.

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43. Plant's second wife. His first died in February 1861.

44. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 8, 1899, 82; Brown to Hanna, January 24, 1938, mss. collection, box 6, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; *New York Times*, November 15, 1899; December 17, 1903.

45. *Report of the Comptroller of the State of Florida, 1901* (Tallahassee, 1901), 65, 67-68.

## EARLY HISTORY OF THE CROSS-FLORIDA BARGE CANAL

*by* CHARLES E. BENNETT

THE DREAM OF constructing an all-water route across the peninsula of Florida to carry freight and passengers has often been discussed and debated in the past history of this state. Many plans were projected and discarded, surveys were made, and work even began on a canal during the 1930s. However, only now is the Cross-Florida Barge Canal actually underway with completion scheduled for sometime after 1970.

The story of the canal and the men who have dreamed of its great potential is one of the most exciting and rich dramas of Florida history. Four hundred years ago the ruling powers of Europe were locked in a power struggle for domination of the New World. France, Spain, and England vied for rule of the sea and a piece of what now is the United States. The first decisive conflict between Europeans on our shores was the battle over Fort Caroline on the banks of the St. Johns River in 1565.

Almost as soon as the first Europeans began the exploration of Florida they realized the importance of a water route big enough for a small vessel to travel across Florida.

Fort Caroline, established by the French on the banks of the St. Johns River in 1564, was regarded by Spain as a threat to her security. It also brought about the first recorded mention of a waterway across Florida. Pedro Menendez de Aviles, Spain's great commander, attacked Laudonniere's withering forces and defeated the French, leading to the establishment of St. Augustine.

One of the men at Fort Caroline was Roberto Meleneche, a seaman and a soldier, who was captured by the Spanish prior to their attack in 1565. As a prisoner Meleneche gave a deposition which greatly influenced Menendez' thinking. In the first place, he felt that a land attack on Fort Caroline would likely be more successful than one from the river. Apparently taking this advice, Menendez followed this strategy in his operations against the fort. Meleneche also claimed that the St. Johns River had "two mouths," one on the Atlantic and the other to the southwest on

the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>1</sup> Because the mapmaker at the Fort Caroline settlement did not show a natural channel across Florida, not all the French supported Meleneche's contention.

After capturing Fort Caroline, Menendez explored the St. Johns and the west coast of Florida, seeking to substantiate Meleneche's claims. He planned to erect a fort at or near the southwestern "mouth" of the river to protect the water route from the Gulf to San Mateo and St. Augustine. In January 1567, Menendez set about acquiring specific information about the water course, but he failed to verify its existence. He was also afraid of arousing the hostility of the Indians if he pursued his quest with too much enthusiasm.<sup>2</sup>

Several mapmakers supported this theory of a Florida waterway. One map dated around 1595, in the Spanish Archives of the Indies in Seville, shows rather imperfectly the water course across northern Florida, the places visited by Menendez, and the forts established by him, including St. Augustine, San Mateo, and Ays.<sup>3</sup> "A New and Accurate Map of East and West Florida Drawn from the Best Authorities," published in the *London Magazine*, March 1765, outlines a waterway from the St. Johns to a point just above Tampa Bay; a map made by Juan de la Puente in 1768 plainly shows a channel across the peninsula.<sup>4</sup> A map dated 1775 found aboard a Spanish ship in the eighteenth century, shows many water routes across Florida, including several which link the Gulf of Mexico with the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>5</sup> The earliest detailed map of the canal area in the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers files is a sketch of the country between Pensacola and St. Augustine which was drawn in 1778.<sup>6</sup>

From the very beginning, the Cross-Florida Barge Canal has been debated and discussed in the highest echelons. Yet the

1. Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere & Fort Caroline* (Gainesville, 1964), 87-93.
2. Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements, Within the Present Limits of the United States*, 2 vols., (New York, 1905), II, 226, 278.
3. *Ibid.*, 286.
4. *The London Magazine*, CXXXIV (March 1765), 120; mss., Dep de la Guerra, 9a-2a-a, 14, 1768, Madrid, Spain.
5. Thomas Jeffreys, "Pais Cedés, containing the Peninsula and Gulf of Florida with the Bahama Islands" (map), Old Print Shop, New York, Florida, 1775.
6. Corps of Engineers, "Sketch of country between Pensacola and St. Augustine, July to August," 1778, Record Group Number 77, HQ map file (L-S), National Archives.

period between the time of Menendez and the first governmental action taken in the 1800s to actually construct the canal is barely recorded except by mapmakers, many of whom believed there was already such a waterway in existence. John G. Ruge of Apalachicola and chairman of the Florida State Canal Commission during the 1920s wrote: "The Florida Cross-State Canal project, covering a distance of about two hundred and fifteen miles from Fernandina to Saint Georges Sound, has been discussed since the days of Washington. The project was proposed initially in 1763, when the British took over Florida, and again in 1821, when the United States got possession."<sup>7</sup> Exploratory missions were conducted by the British who also believed that the waterway existed.<sup>8</sup>

Government officials, beginning with Jefferson's administration, favored construction of a canal. Jefferson was concerned with Florida's proximity to Cuba and Cuban influence on navigation in the Gulf of Mexico. A canal across Florida would destroy Cuba's power over trade around the tip of the peninsula.<sup>9</sup> Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, was interested in waterway development, as was George Washington earlier. Their interest is said to have inaugurated the waterway policy of the United States.<sup>10</sup> On April 4, 1808, Gallatin presented a report on roads and canals to the Senate and outlined a program for development of waterways throughout the eastern seaboard. While he did not propose a waterway across Florida, he called for a system which would link the "Atlantic and western waters."<sup>11</sup> Florida at the time was a Spanish territory, and obviously the secretary would not have proposed construction of a canal through the area.

In 1830 the *Southern Review* reported: "Mr. Gallatin suggested the inquiry into the feasibility of uniting the St. Mary's and the Mississippi, and on the temporary occupation of Florida,

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7. Quoted in Harry G. Cutler, *History of Florida*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1923), I, 75.

8. Don Manuel de Montiano to Don Manuel Joseph de Justis, February 23, 1740, *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*; 10 vols. (Savannah, 1840-1916), VII, part I, 44.

9. Joseph M. White to Charles F. Mercer, *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess., No. 61, p. 68.

10. "Preliminary Report of the Inland Waterways Commission," *Senate Documents*, 60th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 325, p. 535.

11. *Ibid.*



by the American troops, in 1818, Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, seized the occasion of directing some partial examinations near the head waters of the St. Mary's and the Suwannee, with the view to inland communication between the Atlantic and the Gulf." <sup>12</sup> It is believed that Andrew Jackson was an early proponent of a Florida canal. He had led an American force twice into Florida, once during the War of 1812, and again in 1818, at the time of the First Seminole War. He must have realized then the military value of a communication route between East and West Florida. John C. Calhoun, while Secretary of War in the Monroe administration, concerned himself with construction of roads and canals for defense purposes, but in 1820 he seemed cool to the idea of spending the money on a canal in an area which was largely unexplored and which the United States was still in the process of acquiring. In a letter to Jackson, he noted that "it will require much economy and good management to meet the ordinary expenditure of the year. You will accordingly take no measure in the present state of the business which will increase the expense of your division." <sup>13</sup> While Jackson may have evidenced interest in the canal idea when he served as territorial governor of Florida, as president he opposed Federal support for such projects. His pocket veto of 1832 is evidence of this. <sup>14</sup>

In his 1821 study of Florida, William Darby included a letter written by a proponent of the canal to a resident of Charleston, South Carolina: "Canals connecting this river [St. Johns] with the Mexican basin, by the bay of Tampa, or with more expense, but with more importance, by the bay of Appalachy, could be effected. The herculean prospect that such an undertaking might, at the first view, carry with it, will be greatly softened down on only comparing with it the commercial advantages of an inland navigation between the Atlantic shores of the United States and the Mississippi; totally avoiding the circuitous and perilous route around the Cape and Keys of Florida, where more disasters annually occur, than on any other equal extent of the coasts of North and South America . . . . I

12. *Southern Review* (November 1830), 414.

13. Letter of March 15, 1820, Andrew Jackson Papers, LVI, Library of Congress, Washington.

14. James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 11 vols. (New York, 1891-1897), II, 601-03, 638-39.

have laboured considerably in the theory of this project, and expect, at some early period, to lay it before a community, sufficiently large and enterprising to appreciate its many and obvious advantages.”<sup>15</sup>

On December 28, 1824, the Florida legislative council presented a memorial to Congress requesting assistance in several areas. It called for the “opening of a canal across the Peninsula of East Florida from the river Suwannee to St. Johns or between such other points as on examination may prove to be more eligible . . . . Such a canal, by opening a passage from the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic would in an eminent degree, develop the agricultural resources of Florida, enhance the value of public lands, promote the intercourse and enlarge the commerce of the Atlantic and western states and in time of war would give celerity and energy to the operations of the general government; and it is believed that in no part of the United States could an object of so much public utility be promoted with less difficulty or expenditure, the Peninsula being intersected at various parts by water courses, the connexion of which would render the expense of this work an object of comparative insignificance.”<sup>16</sup>

In 1824 a group of citizens of Camden County, Georgia, presented a memorial to Congress calling for “a canal within the boundary lines of this state and county from the waters of the St. Mary’s River, along the southern extremity of the Okefenokee Swamp, to the waters of the Suwannee River.” The estimated length of this waterway would be about 300 miles, with only twenty-five miles actually to be dug. According to the petition, this canal would both protect commerce and “open a safe inland communication . . . of the highest importance to our country.”<sup>17</sup> The route for the proposed canal was based on a map of the territory by Charles Vignioles.<sup>18</sup>

Richard Keith Call, Florida’s territorial delegate to Congress, submitted plans to cut a waterway across Florida to the House Committee on Roads and Canals in February 1825. His letter,

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15. William Darby, *Memoir on the Geography and Natural and Civil History of Florida* (Philadelphia, 1821), 74-75.

16. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1834-1962), XXIII, 136.

17. *House Executive Documents*, 18th Cong., 1st Sess., II, No. 4, p. 54.

18. *Acts of the General Assembly, Senate, State of Georgia*, November 8, 1823.

outlining the proposal to connect the Mississippi with the Atlantic by an internal communication extending along the northern margin of the Gulf of Mexico, was included in the report of the committee of February 26, 1825. "It is believed to be practicable, and by no means at an unreasonable expense, compared with the high importance of the subject," the report said, "to make an inland water communication from Boston to St. Mary's, and to connect the waters of the Atlantic with those of the Gulf of Mexico." The committee referred to the 1808 report by Secretary Gallatin, which indicated that a canal could be opened from the Mississippi to the Atlantic Ocean through the state of Georgia. "But, since the acquisition of Florida," the report noted, "a new route presents itself, to commence on the Mississippi, at the mouth of the river Iberville, and terminate at the mouth of the St. John's River, of the coast of Florida. . . . The whole distance is 700 miles, but the distance to be canalled would not exceed 120 miles, and would save a distance of navigation of 1,500 miles. The cost of this undertaking, from the information received, would be about six millions of dollars."

On December 8, 1825, the Florida legislative council named a three-man committee - James Gadsden, Edward Gibson, and William R. Simmons - to examine "the expediency of opening a canal from the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic, by the most admissible route, through the peninsula of Florida."<sup>19</sup> On December 8, 1825, a canal memorial was approved by Governor DuVal and sent to Congress. The memorial stressed the potential national aspects, rather than the local interests of the canal: "While the American commerce, but particularly the coast trade between the East and West, will be relieved from a heavy tribute annually exacted in the form of shipwrecks and insurance; while the dangerous shoals of the Florida Keys will be avoided, and the distance from the Atlantic ports to the mouth of the Mississippi greatly reduced; the increased facilities to certain and rapid communications along an exposed frontier, adding to the national security by augmenting the means of national defense, will be a result the no less imposing." The memorial asked for a study of the canal "whether as a national work to be constructed exclusively with the public funds for general benefit, or as a work

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19. *Niles Weekly Register*, April 9, 1825, 89.

to be undertaken by private enterprise, under a charter of incorporation. . . .”<sup>20</sup>

On December 19, 1825, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts submitted a House resolution calling “for the examination and survey of the Peninsula of Florida, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it be practicable to unite the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, by a ship canal, to run from the neighborhood of St. Augustine, or from the mouth of the St. John’s River, on the Atlantic coast, to the neighborhood of the mouth of the Suwannee River, in the Gulf of Mexico.”<sup>21</sup> In the Senate a bill was introduced on January 10, 1826, calling for an appropriation of \$20,000 for the canal survey.<sup>22</sup>

While the Congress was taking this action, interest in the Florida canal was developing elsewhere in the country. Cadwallader D. Colden of New York, at the request of the Committee of the Florida Company in the City of New York, wrote a letter to the *National Intelligencer* in December 1825, supporting the canal: “As it will be entirely within a Territorial government, no state rights are in the way. It will be more connected with commerce, and may be more connected with military operations than any work of the same nature in the United States can be. In these points of view it seems fit that it should be made at the expense of the nation, and not only be a ship canal, but be capable of passing vessels of war.”<sup>23</sup> Colden stressed the dangers of the coast around Florida and outlined the advantages of the shorter route.

While the advantages of a Florida canal were obvious, there were questions of its cost. The *New York National Advocate*, however, contended that the canal was, “a project, though of trifling cost, of more real value and importance to our commerce than any yet conceived or executed.”<sup>24</sup> The *National Intelligencer* claimed the canal was of “great importance” and that lives and property would be saved by the safe navigation across the peninsula rather than around the tip of Florida.<sup>25</sup>

20. *Senate Documents*, 19th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 15, p. 3.

21. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 382 fn.

22. *Pensacola Gazette*, February 4, 1826.

23. *Washington National Intelligencer*, December 1825, reprinted in *ibid.*, February, 1826.

24. *New York National Advocate*, December 13, 1825.

25. *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, February 17, 1826.

The first government survey was approved by Congress on March 3, 1826, with an appropriation of \$20,000.<sup>26</sup> Major General Alex Macomb, head of the U.S. Army Engineers, instructed Brigadier General Simon Bernard, once Napoleon's principal military engineer, to send a brigade to make the survey for the canal route.<sup>27</sup>

Joseph M. White, who succeeded Richard Keith Call as Florida territorial delegate, in December 1826, wrote a highly optimistic letter to Congressman Charles F. Mercer, chairman of the House Committee on Roads and Canals, giving the historical background of the canal and emphasizing the need for its construction: "These are some of the advantages of a work I have ventured to pronounce, in national importance, paramount to all others. To suppose that it will not, at a period not far distant, be accomplished, would be to suppose the nation hoodwinked, or destitute of that energy and enterprise that has produced its present glory, and the prospects of its perpetuity."<sup>28</sup>

The survey authorization contemplated two routes to be studied for both a ship channel and small boat canal. One was from the St. Johns River to Vassasousa Bay, the other from the St. Marys River to the Appalachicola River, and both would connect the Atlantic Ocean with the Gulf of Mexico. General Bernard ordered Major Paul H. Perrault, a U. S. topographical engineer based in New York, to conduct the surveys in two parties, one on the eastern side of the peninsula and one on the Gulf coast.<sup>29</sup> The Perrault survey team reached Florida in July 1826 and started work. General Bernard visited Florida in June 1827, and upon his return to Washington reported to President John Quincy Adams that a ship canal across Florida was impracticable, and that the most that could be effected was a canal six feet deep for steamboats. Perrault also returned to Washington to work on his report and maps.<sup>30</sup>

In the Florida election campaign of 1827, Joseph M. White defended himself against the claim that his opponent, James Gadsden, could get the canal project through Congress at a quicker

26. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 382 fn.

27. Alex Macomb to Simon Bernard, March 15, 1826, *ibid.*, 471.

28. *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess., No. 61, 67.

29. Bernard to Paul H. Perrault, March 18, 1826, Carter, *The Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 476.

30. *Ibid.*, fn. 855.

pace. White wrote the secretary of war in March 1827 that one of the engineers working on the canal survey "declared in a tavern in St. Augustine, that he had been out electioneering for my opponent Col. Gadsden, & that the canal would never be completed, if he were not elected." White also complained that the work was not going fast enough on the survey completion, and that more competent engineers should be sent to the territory to finish the job.<sup>31</sup> White was re-elected delegate and continued his efforts for the canal. In addition to his work in Congress, he wrote articles for newspapers in Florida and New York showing the need for the waterway.

General Bernard reported in February 1829 to President Adams on the partially completed survey. On February 26, 1829, the President, in transmitting the engineer's report to the Congress, described the canal as a "great and most desirable national work."<sup>32</sup> The report, signed by Bernard and Captain William Tell Poussin, included a general map of the area and traced several possible routes for the canal. One, known as the St. Marys route, ascended that river from its mouth to Alligator Creek, and then across the Okefenokee Swamp in a more or less straight course to the Gulf coast at the mouth of the Aucilla River. The St. Johns route ascended that river from its mouth to Black Creek, then across Trail Ridge and down the Santa Fe River to the Suwannee River, following this stream to its mouth. The board of engineers recommended the St. Johns route, but because of a lack of funds, it was unable to prepare the necessary cost estimates. Up to this time both ship and barge canal projects had been considered, but this survey called for a lock-barge canal, five feet deep with locks thirty three feet wide. The survey argued that a ship channel across Florida was "not practicable."

Congress, on May 31, 1830, approved legislation providing for the completion of the survey and appropriated \$10,400 to carry out the work. Major Poussin was in charge of this survey until the summer of 1831 when he left on a visit to France; on July 31, 1832, he resigned.<sup>33</sup> The lock-barge report of March

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31. Joseph M. White to the secretary of war, March 4, 1827, *ibid.*, 785-86. See also fn. 786.

32. *House Documents*, 20th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 147, February 26, 1829.

33. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 446 fn.

6, 1832, described in detail the area surveyed, but it did not answer the question of the canal's practicability, give an estimate of its cost, or point out its economic advantages. The survey was forwarded without comment to the House Committee on Roads and Canals by President Jackson on December 9, 1833.<sup>34</sup>

Three more canal surveys were authorized by Congress during the late 1800s. An act of August 30, 1852, provided for the completion of the old line of survey, or a new line, for a canal across the Florida peninsula. Two routes were surveyed by Lt. L. M. Smith of the U. S. Topographical Engineers, both having Tampa Bay as their Gulf terminus and the St. Johns River as their Atlantic terminus. One route entered the upper St. Johns through the Wekiva River, four miles below Lake Monroe. The other entered the St. Johns through the Oklawaha River a few miles south of Palatka. The estimated cost for this canal was \$3,697,000, and it was to have a depth of six feet, a top width of sixty feet, and locks 110 feet long and sixteen feet wide. The route via the Oklawaha River was the favored of the two, but Secretary of War Jefferson Davis in his December 3, 1855 report called for additional surveys and an appropriation of \$12,000 to finance the study.<sup>35</sup>

On December 16, 1872, a Senate Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard was established, and it made a two-year study of the rail and water transportation system in the United States. This committee, known as the Windom Select Committee, recommended surveys made to determine the Practicability and probable cost of a canal across Florida, so as "to enable sea-going vessels to avoid the dangerous passage around the Florida keys."<sup>36</sup> Senator Simon Barclay Conover of Florida was a member of this committee.

Florida Congressman Josiah T. Walls, a Negro born in Virginia and living in Gainesville, strongly endorsed the canal project in testimony before the Windom Committee in 1874: "In peace, it will give to the United States government a prestige and power that will place the nation in an advanced position; and in

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34. *House Documents*, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess., No. 61, December 9, 1833.

35. *Senate Executive Documents* 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., No. 83, p. 1.

36. *Senate Documents*, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., No. 307, Part I, 235.

war, a land-locked channel and secure passage for our Army and Navy.”<sup>37</sup>

The two surveys in 1875 and 1878 were concerned with a possible route from the mouth of the St. Marys River through the Okefenokee Swamp to the Gulf of Mexico. Both a barge-type and ship-type canal were considered, and efforts were made to determine if the Okefenokee Swamp would be adequate for the water supply needed for the canal. The barge canal, measuring nine feet deep by eighty feet wide, would cost \$8,250,000; the lock ship-canal, measuring twenty-five feet deep and eighty feet at the bottom, would cost \$50,000,000. Lieutenant Colonel Q. A. Gilmore of the U.S. Corps of Engineers was a principal participant in these surveys and the results drawn from these two studies were known as the “Gilmore Report.” No specific recommendations were made at this time.<sup>38</sup>

Many persons over the years had proposed that Florida or a group of private investors rather than the Federal government might be able to build the canal. In April 1878, a group of Floridians formed The Atlantic and Gulf Transit Canal Company, with capital of \$20,000,000, for the purpose of “constructing, maintaining and operating a canal across the peninsula of Florida.”<sup>39</sup> Nothing came of this venture.

There were several private surveys for a canal route, including one by Robert Gamble of Tallahassee which reported on the advantages of a barge canal connecting the Mississippi River with the Atlantic Ocean. This report had been referred to the Windom Committee.<sup>40</sup>

Five Congress-authorized canal surveys over a period of fifty years had been made, but without any recommendations by the engineers. The distance of the suggested canal routes varied from 100 to more than 200 miles, and the costs were just as indefinite.

President Theodore Roosevelt, in March 1907, endorsed increased Federal support for the country’s waterways network and

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37. Speech by Congressman Josiah T. Walls before Senate Transportation Committee, January 28, 1874, Library of Congress.

38. *Senate Executive Documents*, 46th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 154, April 21, 1880.

39. Charter of the Atlantic and Gulf Transit Canal Company, secretary of state of Florida, April 1, 1878.

40. Major Robert A. Gamble, “Exposition of Advantages of a Canal Through Florida,” *Senate Documents*, 53rd Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 118.



named an Inland Waterways Commission to consider improvement and control of the rivers system. Railroads, the President claimed, could no longer handle the movement of crops and manufactured items rapidly and efficiently enough to meet demand, and "the cost of improving the waterways system would be . . . small in comparison with the \$17 billion of capital now invested in steam railways in the United States."<sup>41</sup> A report by the commission was made in 1908, and Roosevelt said: "The inner passage along the Gulf coast should be extended and connected with the Atlantic waters."<sup>42</sup> No plans or recommendations were submitted for the Florida canal, but a year later Congress authorized its sixth survey of a "continuous inland waterway across the State of Florida," a barge canal with a maximum depth of twelve feet. The recommendation that came from this survey was unfavorable to the construction of such a waterway. Canal backers were disappointed again in 1924 when the report was reviewed and a similar conclusion was reached.<sup>43</sup>

In Florida, enthusiasm for the canal continued, and in Congress, Representative Frank Clark of Gainesville kept up the fight for the canal. In 1921, the State legislature created the Florida State Canal Commission to promote construction of the waterway. In 1921, President Warren G. Harding declared himself in favor of the broadest development of the nation's inland waterways, and his successor, Calvin Coolidge, on January 21, 1927, signed into law the rivers and harbors act, authorizing the secretary of war to make a preliminary examination and survey of the "Waterway from Cumberland Sound, Georgia and Florida, to the Mississippi River."<sup>44</sup>

It was this legislation that began the serious reconsideration of a ship canal across Florida and led to the first concrete efforts to complete the 400-year-old dream. It has been called the "dividing" date between the earlier and later history of the project.<sup>45</sup>

The bitter struggle in the Senate for the canal in the 1930s the winning of the authorization for construction in 1942, and

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41. Inland Waterways Commission Report, March 14, 1907, *Senate Documents*, 60th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 325, p. 16.

42. *Ibid.*, February 26, 1908, p. vii.

43. *House Documents*, 75th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 194, p. 44.

44. *Ibid.*, 40.

45. Henry Holland Buckman, "Documentary History of the Florida Canal, 1927-1936," *Senate Documents*, 74th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 275, p. 1.

the first Congressional appropriation which came in 1963, are later stories of the building of this important waterway. Menendez' dream is becoming a reality in the same place in Florida where he thought it existed 400 years ago.

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## POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION IN FLORIDA

by JERRELL H. SHOFNER

UNTIL WELL INTO the 1930s historians accepted as standard the interpretations of Reconstruction offered by the "Dunning school." Professor William A. Dunning and his students at Columbia University had undertaken extensive research in preparing scholarly monographs on the Reconstruction period in each southern state. But they wrote at a time when most Americans considered Negroes as inferior beings and their studies usually began with this basic assumption. It usually followed that the Congressional Radicals had been wrong in all they attempted. Helpless white populations had been subjugated by selfish outsiders who plundered the states, using ignorant Negro voters to maintain control. Since it was fundamentally wrong to assume the Negroes should vote, it had been regrettably necessary that the native whites employ severe measures including violence to "redeem" their states from "Radical rule."

This interpretation has since been revised and many historians now agree that Republican administrations, faced with overwhelming obstacles, contributed much that was beneficial to the southern states. The argument is that Radical Republicans brought improved constitutions, tax-supported education, and recognition of government responsibility for certain limited welfare services to the South, but all at an exorbitant cost. It further implies that Republicans formulated policy without interference from the native white population whose only alternative was total, violent resistance. This generalization still imposes a universally applicable interpretation on an era during which conditions seem to have varied considerably from state to state. Whatever conditions may have been in other states, the Reconstruction of Florida does not fit very accurately into these interpretations. While events in one small, frontier state may have limited significance for the Reconstruction era in general, they seem worth considering if only in contrast to the accepted generalization.

Reconstruction in Florida was radical from the point of view that great changes were attempted in the state's political, economic,

and social arrangements. Yet Republican policy was not formulated between 1868 and 1876 by men who were sympathetic with such Congressional Radicals as Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner. That group lost out to their moderate colleagues in the 1868 constitutional struggle. Those who formulated party policy in Florida were business-oriented men who recognized that the state needed to be developed if the problems created by the Civil War were to be permanently solved. These men were interested in Negro rights because the vast majority of their voting supporters were Negroes and because solving the problems created by emancipation was a necessary preliminary to stable political and social conditions. Without this stability, development of the state's economic resources could not succeed. This kind of Republican wished to establish the Negro in Florida society without alienating powerful native leaders whose support was considered essential. Reconciliation of these conflicting aims almost shattered the Florida Republican party in its infancy.

Because of major concessions to them by the moderate Republicans during the 1868 constitutional maneuvers and the subsequent Republican factionalism, native Democrats influenced governmental policy during the Reconstruction era far more than they would admit after they had regained control of the state in 1876. One of their major campaign weapons became the charge of Republican extravagance and corruption, although the Democratic minority contributed to the situation which made these charges possible. Democratic citizens benefited along with Republicans from the generous grants of state aid to internal improvement corporations.<sup>1</sup> For years after the Republicans ceased to command majorities, the threat of a return to "Radical Reconstruction" was sufficient to overcome major differences of interest between white groups in Florida. The willingness of white Floridians to accept almost any alternative to this threat was incongruous because their own leaders had exercised a voice during Reconstruction. There was amazingly little immediate policy change between the Republican administration of Marcellus L. Stearns and the "redeemer" administration of George F. Drew.

The first and probably most important struggle for control

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1. Native Floridians who opposed the Republicans called themselves variously Conservatives, Conservative-Democrats. They are referred to in this paper as Democrats.

between Radical Republican and Republican moderates came during the 1868 constitutional convention and subsequent election. When it became clear that President Johnson's Reconstruction policy would be replaced by the Radical program, several individuals began organizing potential voters in Florida. Thomas W. Osborn, a Freedmen's Bureau official, established the Lincoln Brotherhood with a large Negro membership, but his position was soon usurped by a group ostensibly sent into the state by the Republican National Committee. Daniel Richards, a white Radical from Illinois, William U. Saunders, a Negro barber from Maryland, and Liberty Billings, a New Hampshire minister who had been a chaplain in a colored Union regiment, had organized the Union League by late 1867, which commanded broad Negro support. Another organization was the Jacksonville Republican Club largely composed of local businessmen. Some, like future Governor Ossian B. Hart, were Southern Unionists; others, including future Governor Harrison B. Reed, were recently arrived federal officials. The Jacksonville Republican Club considered a startling resolution by J. C. Greeley but failed to take any action. The club member's plan was to draft a platform upon which certain Democrats would be willing to unite with them in carrying out Congressional Reconstruction.<sup>2</sup>

During the registration of voters and election of convention delegates in 1867, these groups contended for Republican leadership. Failure to reconcile Southern Unionists and Radicals led to a realignment and Osborn lost most of his Negro support. With his remaining followers, he soon joined the moderate Jacksonville Republican Club. One Massachusetts-born Floridian, with eleven years residence in the state, complained that Radical insistence on a no-compromise policy regarding Negro suffrage and civil rights had split the Republican party and encouraged the opposition to enter the race for convention seats.<sup>3</sup> This mattered little in the

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2. George R. Bentley, "The Political Activity of the Freedmen's Bureau in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII (July 1949), 29; *New York Tribune*, February 5, 1868; Daniel Richards to Elihu B. Washburne, November 11, 1867, Elihu B. Washburne Papers, Library of Congress; "Proceedings of the Union Republican Club of Jacksonville," May 16, 1867, mss. in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida; David H. Overy, Jr., *Wisconsin Carpetbaggers in Dixie* (Madison, 1961), 30.
  3. C. D. Lincoln to William Pitt Fessenden, September 20, 1867, William P. Fessenden Papers, Library of Congress.

election. With 15,441 Negroes and 11,151 whites voting, forty-three Republicans and three Democrats were elected to the convention. About eighteen of these were Negroes.

The Radicals dominated the convention organization which assembled in Tallahassee on January 20, 1868. The forces of Richards, Billings, and Saunders were strengthened by Jonathan C. Gibbs, a well-educated and able Northern Negro; "Bishop" Charles H. Pearce, a Negro minister just arrived from Canada; Eldridge L. Ware, a white Key West citizen; and J. H. Goss, a white Ocala lawyer. They made a determined effort to write a constitution guaranteeing full citizenship to the Negroes. To prevent Billings and Richards from controlling the new state government, Osborn, whose convention spokesman was Freedmen's Bureau official William J. Purman, allied with the Jacksonville Republicans against the Radicals. Purman and a few delegates used dilatory tactics to delay the Radical leaders until they could build up voting strength. Outside the convention, Harrison Reed and William H. Gleason, both from Wisconsin, were lobbying for support for the "moderate" Republican faction. Richards and his allies complained that these "minions of the devil and A. Johnson" had received money from outside the state while their own funds had been cut off.<sup>4</sup>

A crucial vote on January 31 showed that Billings and Richards still controlled a small majority in the convention.<sup>5</sup> During the following weekend, nineteen Osborn delegates left the convention and convened their own rump session in nearby Monticello. They were joined there by two Democratic delegates, John L. Campbell of the second district and W. Rogers of the fifteenth, who had not yet claimed their convention seats. With advice from such prominent Florida Democrats as Charles E. Dyke, editor of the Tallahassee *Floridian*, and McQueen McIntosh, former federal judge and ex-Confederate, the "seceders" drafted a con-

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4. Richards to Washburne, February 2, 1868, Washburne Papers; A. A. Knight to Salmon P. Chase, November 13, 1867, Salmon P. Chase Papers, Library of Congress; "Letter of Solon Robinson," *New York Tribune*, February 8, 1868.
  5. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida Began and Held at the Capital, at Tallahassee, on Monday, January 20, 1868* (Tallahassee, 1868), 30.

stitution which they hoped would be acceptable to the Democratic state leadership.<sup>6</sup>

With their opponents absent, Billings and Richards ruled that their twenty-two delegates comprised a quorum and promptly adopted a constitution embodying the Radical program. A copy was dispatched to General George G. Meade at Third Military District headquarters in Atlanta, and the convention adjourned to await his instructions. At a public meeting, Billings and Saunders were nominated for governor and lieutenant governor. Then, on February 10, around midnight, the Osborn group quietly returned from Monticello, moved into the convention hall, and despite the late hour, reorganized the convention. With the two Democrats and two Negro delegates, whose support was secured when C. M. Hamilton, acting as a Freedmen's Bureau agent, ordered them to the convention, the moderates now commanded a narrow majority.<sup>7</sup>

Billings and Richards were blocked from entering the hall, and they were prevented from taking it by force by the federal troops stationed there at the request of Democratic Governor David S. Walker over Richard's vehement protests.<sup>8</sup> Colonel John T. Sprague, military commander in Florida, had been closely acquainted with prominent Floridians since his participation in the Seminole Wars, and he willingly complied with the governor's request.

The resulting confusion mystified General Meade and he informed Colonel Flint at Tallahassee: "Richards telegraphs he has been dispossessed of the hall . . . by a mob, and that the military is protecting the mob. I presume there is some error . . . . You will see that order is preserved."<sup>9</sup> Restoring order, Colonel Sprague presided temporarily over still another reorganization of the convention. The moderates were in control and they approved their own version of the constitution, dispatching a copy to Meade.

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6. Jacksonville *Florida Union*, March 7, 1868, quoting *Pensacola Observer*; Edward C. Williamson (ed.), "Florida's First Reconstruction Legislature: A Letter of William H. Gleason," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (July 1953), 41-43.

7. *St. Augustine Examiner*, February 22, 1868; *U. S. House Miscellaneous Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 109, p. 2-3.

8. *New York Tribune*, February 17, 1868; *Pensacola West Florida Commercial*, February 18, 1868.

9. George G. Meade to F. F. Flint, February 16, 1868, Letters Received (1868), Department of the South, Record Group 98, U. S. Army Command, National Archives.

The General submitted both drafts to the Congressional Committee on Reconstruction, but recommended approval of the moderate document since it had majority approval of the convention. In the interim, the moderates nominated Harrison B. Reed for governor and William H. Gleason for lieutenant governor. The congressional committee accepted Meade's recommendation and authorized an election for ratification and selection of officers for the new government.

The two draft constitutions differed in only three important matters; in each, the Monticello version reflected the moderate Republican effort to appease Democratic leaders.<sup>10</sup> The Billings-Richards draft made most state and county offices elective; the Monticello document provided more offices and made them appointive by the governor. The latter provision would enable the governor to control the number of Negro officials in the black belt counties. The Radical draft required a lengthy loyalty oath which excluded from office everyone who had supported the Confederacy; the Monticello version omitted any reference to the rebellion and required a simple oath of loyalty for officeholders. The most significant difference between the two drafts pertained to apportionment of legislative representation. The Radical draft provided representation in proportion to population which would have benefited the large, predominantly Negro counties in the north-central part of the state. Leon County would have had seven representatives, while Orange, Volusia, Brevard, and Dade would have shared one. The Monticello document modified equal representation and guaranteed each county one representative and no county more than four. By this method, approximately one-third of the voters would elect a majority of the representatives. The favored counties were predominantly white, virtually assuring white control of the assembly.<sup>11</sup>

The campaign for ratification revealed great differences of opinion in both parties regarding the proposed constitution. Both had members who were willing to accept the constitution and other unalterably opposed to it. Eventually there emerged three

10. John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888), 350-94. See also the facsimile edition with introduction by Allan Nevins (Gainesville, 1964).

11. Washington *Weekly Chronicle*, March 28, 1868; Richard E. Bain, "Legislative Representation in Florida: Historic and Contemporary" (unpublished Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1960), 93-94.



slates of candidates for state offices. *New York Tribune* reporter Solon Robinson protested that the Negro voters had been sold out by the convention. Proof of this, he said, was nomination of a "conservative" like Harrison Reed for governor.<sup>12</sup> The Radicals kept their state ticket in the field and urged voters to repudiate the constitution. Evidently Richards hoped to force appointment of a governor with federal military support.

Numerous Democratic newspapers favored ratification and election of Reed, and others expressed satisfaction with the moderate Republican effort to attract Democratic support for the new government.<sup>13</sup> William Kirk, patronage-hungry editor of the *Pensacola Observer*, declared that the constitution had been adopted with support from Governor Walker and other state leaders and that "Radicalism has been sent howling from our midst."<sup>14</sup> Democratic leaders were divided. Some refused to concede any compromise with Republicans regardless of proffered concessions, and a few thought opposition was hopeless and did nothing. Still other influential persons believed they had achieved a favorable constitution. Edward M. L'Engle declared, "The proposed constitution will if adopted not absolutely ruin us."<sup>15</sup>

With Republicans feuding and running two slates of candidates, some Democrats decided to run a state ticket of their own. Charles Dyke of Tallahassee protested that this was a short sighted policy. He reminded them that he had worked long and hard to bring about the Republican split, "abusing the one side and patting the other on the back." Now those Democrats who desired the whole loaf or none might force Florida Republicans to coalesce once more. His own plan was to eschew the gubernatorial and ratification issue and exploit the generous apportionment provision by concentrating on election of Democratic legislators.<sup>16</sup>

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12. *New York Tribune*, February 12, 1868.

13. *Pensacola West Florida Commercial*, March 10, 1868; *Jacksonville Florida Union*, March 7, 1868, quoting *Jacksonville Mercury*, and *Jacksonville Florida Union*, March 21, 1868, quoting *Pensacola West Florida Commercial* and *Quincy Commonwealth*; *St. Augustine Examiner*, March 21, 1868.

14. *Jacksonville Florida Union*, March 7, 1868, quoting *Pensacola Observer*; William Kirk to Edward McPherson, February 5, March 28, 1868, Edward McPherson Papers, Library of Congress.

15. Letter of Edward M. L'Engle, March 5, 1868, E. M. L'Engle Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. Microfilm copies in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

16. C. E. Dyke to Edward M. L'Engle, March 23, 1868, *ibid.*

Dyke reluctantly supported the Democratic ticket which was entered against his advice.

After a bitter campaign and an election in which irregularity abounded, the constitution was ratified by a vote of 14,520 to 9,491. Moderate candidate Harrison Reed was elected governor with 14,170 votes to 7,852 for the Democratic candidate and 2,262 for the Radical. By a combination of extra-legal maneuvers and generous concessions, the moderate Republicans had gained control of the new government. In doing so they gave Florida a constitution which satisfied Congressional Radicals but at the same time gave the ex-Confederates an active place in state affairs. These moderates preferred to collaborate with native state leaders who were their economic allies rather than with their own Radical political associates. Once the Radicals were defeated, the Negroes would be left without leadership and could be won over later. Even such Radicals as William U. Saunders and Jonathan C. Gibbs deserted Billings and Richards to support Reed and the constitution in the election campaign.

If no permanent coalition of moderate Republicans and Democrats resulted, at least some members of both parties had worked together and continued to do so afterwards whenever it was mutually beneficial. The support of two Democratic delegates in the closely divided constitutional convention had been crucial. Governor Walker's efforts in keeping the Radicals from recapturing the convention hall had helped give a legal appearance to the moderates inside that bastion. General Meade, primarily concerned with peace and order, was impressed by the good relations between Osborn's group and some of the local leaders. A huge asset was Democratic willingness to limit campaign activities to vocal and editorial criticism. They preferred this constitution to another which might be drafted if the constitutional convention was forced to reconvene.

The most important Democratic gain was the apportionment provision. With the party still disorganized and many white voters not yet participating in politics, the first legislature had eight Democrats to sixteen Republicans in the senate and fifteen Democrats to thirty-seven Republicans in the assembly. Two years later, in 1870, the Democrats narrowly missed controlling both houses. With the Republicans usually divided, the large Democratic minority was a power with which to reckon. Governor Reed

tried to keep the support of Democrats by appointing several of them to state and county offices. Robert H. Gamble was Reed's comptroller and James D. Westcott, Jr., was attorney-general first and then state supreme court justice. Thomas T. Long, William A. Cocke, and Pleasant W. White—all Democrats—became circuit judges. Perhaps some Democratic officials accepted their office, as one Madison County judge said, to keep it from a "miserable scalliwag [*sic*] carpetbag Radical," but most realized that these offices gave them a far more effective voice than mere defiance.<sup>17</sup>

The Reed administration was responsible for implementing the new constitution in a state whose free population had been nearly doubled by addition of the emancipated Negroes, a social change bitterly resented by many native citizens. The treasury was empty and the state had poor credit. Florida's repudiation of more than two million dollars in state bonds in the 1840s had never been settled. Because the Walker administration left a half million dollar debt, the economy was not strong enough to command respect for new bond issues. It was necessary to borrow money for operating expenses before a new tax system could be implemented. Bankruptcy, poor state credit, and increased government commitments under the new constitution, along with inexperienced administrators, were the major reasons for an increasing state debt during Reed's administration.<sup>18</sup> One Republican journal explained that its party spent money on education and replaced the "whipping post and pillory" with courts of law and a penitentiary thus rendering meaningless any comparison of expenditures with prior administrations.<sup>19</sup>

The problems facing Governor Reed would have been difficult enough even with the support and cooperation of the major interest groups. But Reed not only had political enemies who tried to block his legislative program, but he was forced to spend much of his time fighting off efforts to remove him from office. The extra-legal power play by which his faction had vanquished the

17. E. J. Vann to D. H. Hamilton, January 19, 1869, Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

18. *Florida Assembly Journal (1868)*, 76; Edward Haslewood to W. H. Gleason, November 17, 1870, William Henry Gleason Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; William A. Scott, *Repudiation of State Debts* (New York, 1893), 54.

19. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, January 8, 1876.

opposition set an example which plagued the Republican party and Florida for years. At the same time, Reed's attempts to achieve broad support by making concessions to the Democrats alienated many fellow Republicans. Radical leaders like Richards and Billings were reduced to impotence, but their followers sought new alignments. Opposition to Reed soon centered around Thomas W. Osborn who was elected to the United States Senate by the first Republican-dominated legislature. The Radical versus moderate division became less important as the party divided between Osborn and those depending on federal patronage on the one side and Governor Reed on the other. The governor's position was complicated because many Osborn supporters headed county organizations and held state senate seats.

Nor did all the Democrats support Reed. Former Governor Walker opposed him personally and did whatever he could to marshal Democratic opposition. Charles Dyke of the *Floridian* was bitterly critical and his columns were always open to dissident Republicans wishing to attack the administration. But the Democrats were not unanimously opposed to Reed; they were opposed to the Republican party. Some supported Reed as the lesser of the evils.<sup>20</sup> During his administration the Democratic party did not always act as a "loyal opposition" willing to criticize administrative policy within the existing frame of government. The constitution guaranteed full citizenship to all persons, but most Florida Democrats wished to oust Republicans from power, exclude Negroes from political participation, and restore a white governing elite. Many were willing to rely on parliamentary and editorial tactics to discredit the Republicans, but others applied violence, including murder, to drive the "party of the Negro" from the state.<sup>21</sup>

One of the least defensible acts of those Democrats who later

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20. George P. Raney to Edward M. L'Engle, February 8, 1872, L'Engle Papers.
21. *U. S. House Report*, No. 22, Part 13, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess.; William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913) 566, *passim*, see also the facsimile edition with introduction by Fletcher M. Green (Gainesville, 1964); J. Randall Stanley, *History of Jackson County* (Marianna, 1950), 201-02; E. M. Cheney to Ulysses S. Grant, with affidavit, November 18, 1871, Papers of Attorney General, Records of Department of Justice, Record Group 60, National Archives (henceforth cited as Justice Dept. Records); Daniel Gillis letter, December 10, 1871, Robert Bigelow Burton Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

claimed to have "redeemed" the state from a corrupt, Negro-dominated Republican party was the methods used to win control in counties such as Columbia and Jackson where the population was large and almost evenly divided between the races. About 150 persons were killed in Jackson County, most of whom were Negroes and white Republicans. John Q. Dickinson, the last white Republican in the county, was gunned down on the main street of Marianna in April 1871, without a single witness to the shooting.<sup>22</sup> Violence in the county subsided in late 1871, but only after President Grant threatened to use military force. By that time Governor Reed had agreed to appoint local officials recommended by native white leaders.<sup>23</sup>

Reed exhausted skill, energy, and time fighting the attempts to impeach him. In 1868 he angered many Republican legislators by vetoing an unauthorized mileage appropriation they had voted themselves. A mild public accommodations bill, which he declared unnecessary, was also vetoed.<sup>24</sup> Hastily drafted and poorly supported impeachment charges were brought against him, setting a precedent which would be followed three more times. The governor managed to outwit the impeachers and served out his full term. His support in these incidents changed from time to time. Negro legislators and Democrats voted both for and against him on occasion.

Evidence behind the impeachment charges was usually absent or inconclusive, but on the third attempt in 1870, a damaging letter was produced indicating that Reed had accepted a bribe from George W. Swepson, a North Carolina railroad developer.<sup>25</sup> But even on this occasion, Reed's defenders maintained that Senator Osborn had blackmailed Swepson into writing the letter. The last impeachment attempt in 1872 came nearest to success. Reed was removed from office and Lieutenant Governor Samuel T. Day replaced him, but the Senate voted ten to seven against convic-

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22. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 2, 1871; Ralph L. Peek, "Lawlessness in Florida, 1868-1871," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXX (October 1961), 182.

23. *Florida Assembly Journal (1872)*, 21-22; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 6, 27, 1871.

24. *Florida Senate Journal (Extra Session, 1868)*, 23.

25. George W. Swepson to Harrison Reed, May 31, 1869, quoted in Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 119; State v. Milton S. Littlefield, cases 30 and 31, fall term, 1870, Circuit Court Records, Leon County, Florida.

tion, and Reed was restored. Because Democrat William D. Bloxham was then successfully challenging Day in the courts for the office which had been fraudulently awarded to him, it has sometimes been concluded that the Republicans closed ranks and supported Reed to prevent a Democrat from becoming governor.<sup>26</sup> There was no such party unanimity. Six Democrats joined four Republicans for acquittal, while three Democrats and four Republicans opposed.<sup>27</sup>

In time Reed was criticized for complicity in the "Swepson-Littlefield bond fraud." The Republicans were condemned for giving away millions of acres of the public domain, while later Democratic Governor Bloxham was hailed as a state hero when he sold 4,000,000 acres of public land for twenty-five cents per acre. Reed and Bloxham were both acting according to the generally accepted economic policies of their day. To prosper, the state had to grow, and it could grow only if it became a desirable place to live. The state should use its abundant public lands to encourage railroad and canal development and open up unsettled areas, thus attracting capital investment and new citizens.

Both parties voted for state-supported internal improvement projects, and members of both parties participated in this kind of economic activity. Many Democrats were connected with railroad schemes as directors, managers, legal counsellors, bondholders, and receivers. They competed and collaborated with Republicans in the legislature and courts, as well as the bond markets and business offices.<sup>28</sup>

The largest state-supported enterprise was the Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile Railroad Company, incorporated in 1869-1870 by George W. Swepson of North Carolina, General Milton S. Littlefield of Maine, and John P. Sanderson, a Florida railroad man who had supported the Confederacy. Swepson and Littlefield, it turned out, were unscrupulous manipulators who had already

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26. Hilary A. Herbert, *et al*, *Why the Solid South?* (Baltimore, 1890), 159.

27. *Florida Senate Journal* (1872), 68.

28. Prominent among them were John P. Sanderson, Mariano D. Papy, F. B. Papy, A. J. Peeler, J. M. Peeler, Edward M. L'Engle, D. P. Holland, Edward Houstoun, Franklin Dibble, Wilkinson Call, Silas L. Niblack, A. B. Hawkins, David Levy Yulee, John G. McGehee, and T. W. Brevard.

swindled a North Carolina railroad.<sup>29</sup> They were guilty of unethical practices, and their railroad failed because of wasteful financing and poor management. Their methods were patterned after generally accepted railroad financing in post-Civil War America. They failed and their activities became known as the "notorious Swepson-Littlefield fraud," but if they had succeeded they would have been hailed as great developers of the state. In 1876 a bitter Republican editor, exasperated at Democratic charges against his party, claimed that both Governor Reed and General Littlefield were poor men, while the big houses and fortunes of the Democrats spoke for themselves.<sup>30</sup>

The legislation authorizing state-support for the Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile Railroad resulted in the issue of \$4,000,000 in state bonds. The disposition of these securities raised the most volatile political issue of the Reconstruction era in Florida, but at the time all interests favored the venture. Edward Houstoun, a Florida railroad builder, publicly endorsed Swepson, and John Sanderson became a company vice-president. The Tallahassee *Floridian* approved the essential east-west road and the company's incorporators, and congratulated Littlefield for his efforts in promoting the state.<sup>31</sup>

Unfortunately, this unanimity did not last. After Reed's abortive impeachment in 1870, when he was charged with accepting a bribe, and many legislators were similarly charged, opposition to the bond issue rapidly developed. Former United States Senator David L. Yulee, a Democratic railroad man, called the bonds unconstitutional, and the Democratic *New York World* claimed that Floridians would not support taxes for redeeming these bonds.<sup>32</sup> When their sale in the United States was made impossible, they were heavily discounted to foreign investors. Most of the proceeds were used to pay lobbyists, lawyers, and brokers, although about twenty miles of track was built. In 1876 the

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29. *Florida Acts and Resolutions (1869)*, 29; C. K. Brown, "Florida Investments of George W. Swepson," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V (July 1928), 279-80; Paul E. Fenlon, "Notorious Swepson-Littlefield Fraud: Railroad Financing in Florida, 1868-1871," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (April 1954), 245-46.

30. *Fernandina Observer*, January 1, 1876.

31. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 1, 1870; Fenlon, "Swepson-Littlefield Fraud," 248.

32. David L. Yulee to C. E. Dyke, July 15, 1870, David Levy Yulee Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

Florida Supreme Court, with a Republican majority, declared the bond issue unconstitutional, and the state took over the road until it could be sold on behalf of the innocent investors.<sup>33</sup>

A perplexing problem resulted from a court injunction prohibiting the sale of public land by the trustees of the Florida Internal Improvement Fund. Francis Vose, a northern iron manufacturer, had furnished rails for the Florida Central Railroad built by Senator Yulee in the 1850s, and held a large amount of the road's bonds as payment for the iron. After the war, the Internal Improvement Fund trustees took over the road and sold it, using the proceeds to redeem the bonds at a fraction of face value. Vose refused to accept less than the full amount. These bonds were backed by state lands which in the late 1860s were being sold or granted to internal improvement enterprises at a rapid rate. Vose sued to prevent further sale of this security until his claim was satisfied, and the circuit court issued an injunction against further disposition of land except by cash sale, the proceeds from which had to be applied against Vose's lien.

Everyone agreed that a large cash sale was needed to free state lands of any encumbrance. Williams, Swann, and Corley, a Fernandina land company with bipartisan membership, was commissioned to sell enough land to pay the judgment. A buyer was found who offered thirty cents per acre for 1,000,000 acres if Vose would accept this as full payment. Vose refused, and no large sale was made until 1881, when Governor Bloxham sold 4,000,000 acres to Hamilton Disston of Philadelphia for twenty-five cents an acre.<sup>34</sup> While this encumbrance probably retarded development during the 1870s, it was not a problem created by Republican government. It resulted from railroad ventures which failed because of the Civil War. Members of both parties were economically affected by Vose case, and efforts to resolve it were bipartisan.

Despite the economic obstacles and political struggles which continued within and between the parties, Florida's economic situation improved during its second Republican administration.

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33. 15 *Florida Reports* 533 (1876); George P. Raney to Edward M. L'Engle, January 21, 23, 1876, L'Engle Papers; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridan*, December 21, 1875.

34. W. H. Gleason to Trustees of the Florida Internal Improvement Fund, n.d., Gleason Papers, box 4, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Jacksonville *New South*, March 6, June 2, 1875.



In the midst of a major national depression, Florida's population was increasing as people took up lands offered by the government, as well as private land companies. Members of both parties advertised the wonders of Florida and insisted that peace and order prevailed. Immigration gained momentum during the 1870s under both Republicans and Democrats.<sup>35</sup>

Tax rates were high in comparison with earlier administrations, and factional strife convinced many Floridians that their taxes were being squandered by selfish politicians in their struggle for position. Despite opinions to the contrary, state finances improved after 1873, although it would be some time before this became noticeable. Careless record keeping, complex bond transactions, and inefficient tax collection created confusion. A special legislative session in 1873 enacted a funding bill providing for issue of \$1,000,000 worth of thirty-year gold bonds at six percent. A four-mill property tax was levied for their interest and ultimate retirement. Most of this issue was sold or exchanged for old bonds which brought some order to state finances.<sup>36</sup>

Reed's administration had inherited a debt of more than \$500,000, and by 1873, state liabilities were estimated at \$1,900,000. When the second Republican administration ended in 1877, the debt was about \$1,580,000. The \$4,000,000 in railroad bonds was not included because it never obligated the tax system and was invalidated by the state supreme court in 1876. Yet, according to the Tallahassee *Floridian*, by 1870, Reed had increased the debt from \$523,856.95 to \$14,999,544.41.<sup>37</sup> For years after Reconstruction, Democrats campaigned against Florida's Republican administrations of the 1870s. One charge was the Republicans had almost destroyed the state's credit before Democrats assumed office. Yet, state bonds were negotiated during the period for eighty percent of face value, and state scrip,

35. New York *Florida New Yorker*, December 1875; Samuel A. Swann to J. M. Wing and Co., March 5, 1875, Samuel Ashe Swann Papers, Letterbook 6, 309, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; George J. Alden, *Florida: Information For Those Who Desire To Know of the State, Its Climate, Resources, etc.* (Jacksonville, 1875), 7; L. D. Huston to Menifee Huston, March 17, 1874, L. D. Huston Letters, Box 7, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Palatka *Eastern Herald*, April 13, 1874; Jacksonville *New South*, January 27, 1875; *Fernandina Observer*, January 5, 1876.

36. *Florida Senate Journal (1877)*, Appendix, Report of the Comptroller, January 1, 1877, 5.

37. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 20, 1870.

which was acceptable for tax payments, was selling for eighty cents in many cases and ninety-five on occasion. Even United States currency was not circulating at par during this period. County scrip, in demand for county tax payments, sold for as much as eighty cents, although some purchases were made for less.<sup>38</sup>

There were major changes in political methods after 1873. Democrats utilized violence much less as a political weapon than in the past. Partly, this was because of better enforcement of federal election laws. Democrats were also finding that they could achieve their purposes through more acceptable legislative and campaign tactics. But if violence did not cease altogether in 1873, it was not abandoned entirely in 1876 either. Democratic violence did not abate because of any willingness to accept the social changes brought about by the Civil War and Reconstruction, but because party members and conservative Republicans had largely mitigated the effect of these changes. Continued division in the Republican party enabled Democrats to effectively influence legislative policy.

The 1872 election showed that the degree of Republican cohesion was the key to control of Florida politics. Apparently the Democrats believed they had eliminated enough Negro voters to assure victory without any concessions to dissatisfied Republicans. When the Democrats met in their Jacksonville convention, a loosely organized Liberal Republican convention met on the same day, apparently hoping for an alliance. The Democrats completely ignored them and nominated a ticket which, according to Senator Osborn, was "straight out radical rebel."<sup>39</sup> Bloxham, who had run successfully for lieutenant governor in 1870, headed this ticket. The Liberal Republican movement collapsed, and most of its participants returned to the regular party, which nominated Ossian B. Hart, a native of Jacksonville, for governor. Marcellus L. Stearns, Republican boss of Gadsden County and a former Pennsylvanian, was selected for lieutenant governor. These men

38. Edwin W. L'Engle to Edward M. L'Engle, November 23, 1875, and Henry S. Elliott to Edward M. L'Engle, November 25, 1875, L'Engle Papers; Samuel A. Swann to J. C. Greeley, June 2, 1875, VII, 7, and Swann to David L. Yulee, January 30, 1877, Letterbook 13, 114, Swann Papers.

39. T. W. Osborn to W. E. Chandler, August 22, 1872, William Eaton Chandler Papers, Library of Congress. Microfilm copies in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

represented the strongest party factions, and it was hoped that Hart, an ex-slaveholder and native Floridian, would appeal to Southern Unionists who were strongly attracted to Bloxham. The convention tried to appease Governor Reed by resolving to elect him to the Senate in 1873, but apparently he was not sufficiently impressed. When he did not come out strongly for the ticket, several partisans asked the national committee to make concessions to him.<sup>40</sup> In response, National Secretary William E. Chandler contacted Reed who promptly demanded that his long-time enemies, United States District Attorney Horatio Bisbee, and United States Marshal Sherman Conant be removed and replaced with his own followers. Chandler complied and immediately was overwhelmed with protests from the persons who had encouraged him to appease Reed in the first place.<sup>41</sup> Bisbee and Conant had reputations for successfully enforcing federal laws against Democratic intimidators of Negro voters. Republican leaders declared that they must be retained if Negro Republicans were to have the chance to vote in the 1872 election. The two were quickly restored, and most Republicans continued to complain that Reed was indifferent, and some accused him of supporting the Democrats.

The Democratic ticket headed by Bloxham was soundly defeated. Negro voters had come to the polls in larger numbers than the Democrats expected, and the Republican factional division had caused less damage than was anticipated. The Democratic ticket and campaign had left dissatisfied Republicans little choice but to support their party. Furthermore, many native white Floridians did not even register or vote.<sup>42</sup> Unable to muster a majority at the polls, Democratic leaders resolved to improve their efforts at exploiting the Republican factional situation.

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40. W. J. Purman to Chandler, August 22, 1872, and A. A. Knight to Chandler, September 15, 1872, *ibid.*

41. J. O. Townsend to George H. Williams, October 7, 1872, Chandler to Ulysses S. Grant, September 24, 1872, Justice Dept. Records, Record Group 60; A. A. Knight to Chandler, October 6, 1872, Osborn to Chandler, October 18, 1872, Josiah T. Walls to Chandler, October 16, 1872, Chandler Papers; Horatio Bisbee to Henry S. Sanford, October 9, 1872, Sanford Papers, Sanford Memorial Library, Sanford, Florida.

42. *Bronson Weekly Artery*, October 24, 1874, quoting the Tallahassee *Floridian*; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 9, 1876; Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Sun*, April 25, 1876; *Savannah Morning News*, July 8, 1876; Quitman [Ga.] *Independent*, January 23, 1876.

Because the organization was almost fragmented at times, it is difficult to generalize, but it is still possible to identify broad divisions in the Republican party. Governor Hart died in 1874, and was succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Stearns, an able politician who had built up strong support. His most dependable allies were county leaders and most federal officials. The officials had been appointed by Osborn but owed no allegiance to his replacement, Simon B. Conover, former state treasurer and state senator. Conover was supported by some of the Negro leaders and the few Radicals who remained in Florida. He also managed to keep good relations with the Democrats who were associated with Charles Dyke of the Tallahassee *Floridian*.

Old-line Republicans recently arrived in East Florida made up a segment of the party that became increasingly important. They were interested primarily in orderly, economical state government under which they could settle land and establish their business enterprises. They were also influenced by independent Florida Republicans like J. S. Adams, former Commissioner of Immigration and editor of the Jacksonville *New South*, and Solon Robinson, one-time agricultural editor of the *New York Tribune* and now associated with the Jacksonville *Weekly Republican* and the *Florida Agriculturist*. Both men published materials for farmers and citrus growers and at the same time recommended independent political action. Robinson advised his readers to vote the national Republican ticket and the Democratic state ticket because of the corruption in the Florida Republican party.

The growth of Democratic strength was demonstrated by the senatorial elections of 1873 and 1875. The 1873 legislature was composed of thirteen Republican and eleven Democratic senators, with twenty-nine Republicans and twenty-three Democrats in the house. Its first important duty was to elect a successor to Thomas W. Osborn. There were several hopefuls in both parties, and the election required twenty-two ballots. During early balloting, Republicans scattered their support while the Democrats mustered all their strength behind leading Democrats, especially William Bloxham. But when it became clear that they could not elect their choice, the Democrats settled on Republican Simon B. Conover as an acceptable alternative. The last ballots were between Conover and Democratic Supreme Court Justice James D. Westcott, whose most consistent support came from a group of Repub-

licans. Conover was elected with forty-three votes to twenty-one for his opponent. More Democrats voted for Conover than Westcott, but Democrats explained that this was because they wished to keep the judge on the state court where he had been beneficial to the party.<sup>43</sup>

The Democratic *Floridian* praised the legislature for electing Conover. Independent Republicans, opposed to Osborn, added their approval because Conover was sympathetic with "those who labored to redeem the State from the iron hand of an irresponsible and tyrannical ring."<sup>44</sup> Unable to elect one of their own, the Democrats had thrown their strength behind the Republican who seemed least objectionable.

By 1874 economic depression had replaced Reconstruction as a major national issue, and it was becoming more difficult to find common ground on which Negroes and their friends might stand with Republicans who were more interested in the material benefits of party hegemony. After unruly nominating conventions, highlighted by a furniture-destroying brawl in Tallahassee, Florida Republicans waged a campaign which gave them both congressional seats but little party harmony. In the state legislature the senate was tied with twelve members of each party, while the Democrats had a twenty-eight to twenty-five majority in the house.

With a small majority on joint ballot it appeared that the Democrats could easily elect their choice to the senate seat to be filled in 1875. Four Democrats who considered themselves independents thwarted party plans. Led by William Watkins Hicks of Dade County, the independents cast their early votes for Samuel B. McLin, a Republican official and editor of the *Tallahassee Sentinel*. After a long deadlock during which the regular Democrats consistently voted for one prominent Democrat after another, Hicks nominated Charles W. Jones, a relatively obscure Democratic state senator from Escambia County, who was elected on the twenty-fourth ballot. Both Democrats and independent Republicans applauded the choice. The Jacksonville *New South* cautioned Governor Stearns against trying to fix the blame for

43. *Florida Senate Journal* (1873), 97; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, February 4, 18, 1873.

44. Jacksonville *Florida Republican*, February 5, 1873; John R. R. Polk to Thomas F. Bayard, April 2, 1873, Thomas F. Bayard Papers, Library of Congress.

Republican defeat, since "the real cause was the years of disgraceful squabbling within the party."<sup>45</sup>

Democratic legislative influence was also apparent during this period. In 1873 a civil rights bill provided equal treatment in public accommodations but specifically authorized continued school segregation. An 1874 law granted a five-year tax exemption on property of persons or corporations engaged in manufacturing. Constitutional amendments were submitted to the people in 1875, providing for abolition of county courts and substituting expensive annual legislative sessions with biennial meetings. The legislature in 1875 awarded the state printing contract, one of the most lucrative of all patronage jobs, to staunch Democrat C. E. Dyke.<sup>46</sup>

Certification by a county returning board did not always mean that an official had actually won the election. Every legislative election was challenged. Probably the most famous case involved E. T. Sturtevant, Republican incumbent senator from the twenty-first district, and Israel M. Stewart. Although the senate was tied in 1875, the Democrats controlled its organization, and they appointed a committee to investigate the contested election. It reported that Sturtevant, acting as an election official, had thrown out Democratic votes in Dade County, and the returning board had refused to count the Brevard County return, which was Democratic, on the grounds that it arrived too late. A struggle followed the committee's recommendation to oust Sturtevant. When Republicans sought to delay action by refusing to enter the senate chamber, the sergeant-at-arms forced them in, but only after a gun battle with two senators. Every member supported his party and a deadlock resulted. Despite tremendous excitement over the matter, Sturtevant was still in the senate when the 1875 legislature adjourned.<sup>47</sup>

Francis M. Weeks contested the seat filled by Elisha G. Johnson from the fourteenth district on grounds that Johnson had

45. *Jacksonville New South*, February 10, 23, 1875; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, February 16, 1875.

46. *Florida Acts and Resolutions* (1873), 25, and *ibid.*, (1874), 104; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, April 20, 1875; *Florida Senate Journal*, (1875), 351; *Fernandina Observer*, January 1, 1876.

47. *Florida Senate Journal* (1875), 262-63; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, February 2, 1875; Henry A. L'Engle to Edward M. L'Engle, July 23, 1875, L'Engle Papers.

committed fraud at a Columbia County precinct. No action was taken against Johnson, a controversial Republican leader who had received numerous threats on his life. Then, on July 21, 1875, he was killed near his home by a shotgun fired by an unidentified person. Democratic newspapers deplored the murder but noted that Johnson was in office as the result of his own fraud. His removal gave the Democrats a majority in the senate. Privately, Henry A. L'Engle exulted, "In his death is our gain, . . . That gives us a clear majority without putting out Sturtevant. . . . In losing Johnson we gain a county. . . . If I was on a jury of inquest I should say shot by persons unknown and served him right. . . ." <sup>48</sup>

The reason for his assassination was never established, but Republicans used the incident to label the Democrats as the party of murder and violence. Harney Richards of Alachua County was arrested on scanty evidence for the midnight murder. After a long controversy and widespread publicity, the grand jury released Richards who had "proved an alibi by some of the very best citizens of the state." <sup>49</sup> He was released after the 1876 election campaign had gotten underway, and the case became another of the election issues.

In 1876 the citadel of Republicanism was the governorship, and bitter intra-party battles threatened their hold on that office. Governor Stearns, Senator Conover, and other Republicans hurled charges at each other which furnished the Democrats with campaign material. Congressman William J. Purman and Leon County Senator John Wallace, an influential Negro, accused Stearns of dishonesty, while others denounced Conover for embezzlement and Democratic collusion. Although arrested, Conover was exonerated of embezzlement charges. At a convention in Madison, Stearns was renominated for governor. Many delegates refused to accept the result and held their own convention to nominate Conover. Despondent Republicans pleaded with Conover to withdraw from the race. "Florida Republicans must 'Unite or Die!'" the *Tallahassee Sentinel* prophesied. A disgusted Jacksonville

48. Henry A. L'Engle to Edward M. L'Engle, July 23, 1875, L'Engle Papers; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 3, 1875, quoting *Tallahassee Sentinel*; *ibid.*, August 10, 1875, quoting *Fernandina Observer*; *ibid.*, September 7, 1875, quoting *Key West Dispatch*.

49. *Thomasville [Ga.] Times*, November 6, 1875; Palatka *Eastern Herald*, September 25, 1875.

Republican announced that he and his friends would vote the Florida Democratic ticket while supporting the Republican presidential nominee. The Jacksonville *Florida Agriculturist* also endorsed this policy. General Henry Sanford, a conservative Republican and large Central Florida grove man and land developer, financed a Florida campaign for Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes, but did not support the state ticket. Conover withdrew in September but did not actively support Stearns.<sup>50</sup>

The Democrats launched a "reform" campaign, calling on all parties to support good government and get rid of the corrupt Republicans. Bloxham and other native Democrats were passed over, and George F. Drew was nominated for governor. The Democrats intended to give dissatisfied Republicans every incentive to split their ticket in 1876. Drew later became known as the man who "redeemed" Florida from the Republicans, yet he was one of those New South leaders who was far more concerned with economic development than reactionary politics and preservation of a social system. Originally from New Hampshire, he had lived many years in Georgia and Florida. He had been a Unionist during the Civil War, but Southerners could overlook this since he had sold essential supplies to the Confederacy. He had voted for Grant in 1868 and Greeley four years later. In 1876 he was a successful lumberman with a large mill at Ellaville in Madison County. The *Sentinel*, incensed at his nomination, said, "He must have been nominated to give the 'Lost Cause' a Union flavor. . . . His nomination is a wicked fraud to catch Union men and Northern Republicans coming into the state. We would rather have the most bitter Bourbon. . . ." Democrat Edwin W. L'Engle thought Drew's chances of election were good but that he would not be much better than a "Radical." Columbia County Democrats endorsed Drew even though he was "recently of the Radical party." The Republican Jacksonville *Sun* was willing to support Drew if he were free of the "Bourbons."<sup>51</sup>

50. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, July 15, 1876; John F. Rollins to Chandler, August 9, 1876, Chandler Papers; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, October 10, 1876; Sanford to John Friend, December 31, 1877, Sanford Papers.

51. Quitman, [Ga.] *Reporter*, June 8, 1876; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, June 10, 24, 1876; Edwin W. L'Engle to Edward M. L'Engle, May 19, 1876, L'Engle Papers; *Savannah Morning News*, May 28, 1876; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, August 22, 1876, quoting Jacksonville *Sun*.



In an exciting campaign Democrats called on voters to bring about much needed reforms at the national and state levels, while Republicans declared that victory was essential to prevent the undoing of all that had been accomplished since the war. Both tried to reach every potential voter and see that he was registered and willing to go to the polls. Tempers flared but there was relatively little violence. There was fraud and intimidation, but it was kept to a minimum by constant patrolling at key points by both parties. Because Florida was one of the three southern states upon whose electoral votes the presidential election depended, every scrap of evidence hinting at irregularity was gathered and aired in the national press.

Early returns in the November election indicated that the outcome would depend on a few votes. National political dignitaries rushed to Florida to obtain a favorable decision from the official canvassing board. The state board, responsible for compiling the county returns and certifying the victorious candidates, was composed of two Republicans and one Democrat. Subjected to pressure from both sides, these men ultimately decided the outcome strictly according to party affiliations. The Republican majority threw out enough Democratic votes to elect the Republican presidential electors and the Republican state ticket as well. With less than 100 votes separating the presidential tickets, there were enough questionable returns so that the board could probably have declared for the Republicans without anyone challenging its decision. But the Republican state ticket was running several hundred votes behind and the Republicans on the canvassing board desperately wanted a state victory. In throwing out enough votes to accomplish this, their flagrant action opened the way for court intervention.

Drew obtained a court order directing the board to count returns exactly as received from the counties, a procedure which would result in a Democratic victory. The board ignored the court order and declared Stearns the victor. A long count battle followed, during which the Republican canvassing board members were threatened with contempt citations. The Florida Supreme Court, with one Democrat and two Republican members, unanimously issued a writ of mandamus requiring the board to count all county returns as received. This gave Drew the governorship although the recount did not pertain to presidential electors. After a lengthy

dispute before the electoral commission in February, Florida's four electoral votes were counted for Hayes and helped make him president. Long before that, on January 2, 1877, Drew had been peacefully inaugurated as Florida's governor.<sup>52</sup>

Stearns and the Florida Republicans who lost offices as a result of the recount were disappointed but refused to pursue the matter further in court because of the damage it might do to the national ticket.<sup>53</sup> Many Negroes regarded Stearns' defeat as a repudiation of the Radical program, although much of that Radical program had failed as early as the 1868 constitutional convention. At the same time, many members of both parties were satisfied with Drew's election. Wilkinson Call complained that some Florida Democrats felt a Republican president was acceptable as long as they had a Democratic governor. Consequently the Democrats had not demanded an electoral vote recount under the court order which had benefited Drew. Northerners were amazed at the speed with which Florida Democrats dropped Tilden in exchange for the governorship.<sup>54</sup>

Frank Sherwin, Stearns' secretary and an associate of Republican officials of the Southern Inland Navigation and Improvement Company, predicted Drew's administration would be satisfactory: "My friends and business associates control Drew to a great extent. . . . I have a very positive influence and I believe it possible to have this incoming State administration thoroughly in accord with the Hayes government. . . . Three of the cabinet just confirmed and are excellent selections. . . . The Bourbon element is nowhere."<sup>55</sup> The Jacksonville *Florida Union*, which often represented the views of East Florida business interests, approved

52. *Rome*, [Ga.] *Courier*, December 13, 1876; C. Gibson to Samuel J. Tilden, December 9, 1876, Samuel J. Tilden Papers, Box 13, New York Public Library; 16 *Florida Reports* 19-29, 52-63 (1876); *New York Times*, December 24, 1876; R. B. Hilton to Manton Marble, December 23, 1876, Manton Marble Papers, Library of Congress; A. A. Sargent to O. P. Morton, December 22, 1876, M. L. Stearns to Chandler, December 22, 1876, S. B. McLin to Chandler, December 24, 1876, Chandler Papers.
53. D. Montgomery to Chandler, March 25, 1877, Stearns to Osborn, February 21, 1877, Chandler Papers.
54. Wilkinson Call to Marble, January 5, 7, 1877, R. B. Hilton to Marble, December 27, 31, 1876, January 4, 7, 1877, Tilden Papers, Box 13; Thomas Donaldson to Rutherford B. Hayes, December 18, 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes Papers, Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio. Microfilm copies of Hayes Papers in Library of Congress.
55. F. B. Sherwin to Chandler, January 3, 1877, Chandler Papers.

Drew's cabinet appointments and praised the new governor for exhibiting a "liberal Republican disposition." "If we have got to have a Democratic State government we rejoice that there is so little of the old Democracy in it," the *Union* remarked.<sup>56</sup>

Whatever new departures may have resulted at the national level from the disputed election and compromise of 1877, in Florida the election was just one more step toward Democratic supremacy. It is indicative of the political struggle during this period that Florida's "redeeming" Democratic governor was from New Hampshire, while the state's first native born governor, Ossian B. Hart, was a Republican. By 1880 the Democrats would have enough strength to win with Bloxham, but in 1876 they wanted a man who would attract the Northerners who felt that they could not support an ex-Confederate.

There seems to be little justification for the old assertion that white Floridians were helpless under a corrupt government staffed with outsiders and supported by ignorant Negro voters until a determined native movement threw the intruders out in the 1876 election. It seems that Democrats bargained with more or less success for concessions at every possible point during the period and arrived at the 1876 election in a position of strength nearly equal to their Republican foes. Although the Florida Democrats sometimes used methods which are not acceptable for a loyal opposition in a two-party arrangement, Florida came nearer to having an operating two-party system in 1876 than it has had since.

The Reconstruction era was a period in which economic, political, and social institutions, devastated by the war and its consequences, had to be repaired or replaced. The Radicals emphasized replacement while native Democrats wished to apply minor repairs. Moderate Republicans steered a middle path and gained control of the new government. Because of internal differences and the magnitude of their undertaking, this group was unable to execute an effective program. They must bear the responsibility for the chaos and inefficiency which has marred this period of Florida history, but with the state in a phase of great change and rebuilding, any government would have had difficulty. The Democrats must share the responsibility. Whether they were destroying Republican control in the northern counties by terror

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56. Jacksonville *Florida Union*, January 5, 1877.

and murder, resisting unfavorable legislation by dilatory tactics, or helping to formulate a positive program in alliance with moderate Republicans, they were a limiting factor on Republican policy makers.

Shouting "the bottom rail is on top," Florida Negroes hailed the Radicals who first controlled the constitutional convention, but these men did not survive their first major struggle. They influenced Florida Reconstruction only to the extent that they could muster opposition to moderate Republican policy and therefore increase disorder. While they may have obstructed a cohesive program, these men did not have a major voice in the government. No propertyless class legislated against a helpless, propertied class in Florida. The Negroes were always a minority in government offices. Some served in the state senate and house, and others were county officials, but only Jonathan C. Gibbs as secretary of state and superintendent of public instruction, and Josiah T. Walls, as congressman, attained high office. Both Gibbs and Walls were qualified for their offices. While the "bottom rail" may have been temporarily lifted a notch or two during Reconstruction, no Negro-controlled party dominated Florida. The Democrats of the 1890s who called for white solidarity to prevent a return to the terrible days of Reconstruction were distorting the history of Reconstruction in Florida.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Florida: From Indian Trail To Space Age.* By Charlton W. Tebeau and Ruby Leach Carson. 3 vols. (Delray Beach: Southern Publishing Company, 1965. xxxiv, 1,618 pp. Introduction, preface, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$82.50.)

Volume I of the narrative history compiled by Dr. Tebeau and Mrs. Carson, covering the years of Florida's history from discovery to 1896, includes all facets of the story, in addition to the usual relation of political activities. Special sections at the end of this volume by R. S. Chauvin and Ripley and Adelaide Bullen describe the natural features of Florida, its prehistory, and Indians of the past and present. Volume II covers the period from the Spanish American War through 1965. There are also a number of chapters in this volume dealing with a diversity of topics ranging from religion to constitutional revision and legislative apportionment. These special topic chapters are excellent additions.

Volume III, containing personal and family history sketches and some accompanying portraits, may well become the *MOST* valuable item of the three. Information on hundreds of individuals who have contributed to Florida history can often be located *only* in the biographical volumes of these subscription histories, hence their great value. Historians condescendingly refer to these as "mug histories," but let the student of Florida history remember the sparsity of enough good historical data.

The authors in their preface state that their history is "an attempt to synthesize all of the work that others have done and to bring the studies up to date." That the authors have succeeded in their self-appointed chore is very evident. For example, in chapter fifteen, describing the activities of the armed forces in the Civil War, many of the references cited have become available only since 1951. What is true of this chapter dealing with a nineteenth century subject is even more evident with twentieth century subjects.

While the selection of references is generally good, the omission of footnotes or chapter notes is unfortunate. A formal bibli-

ography would also have been useful. The three volumes are separately indexed and the illustrations offer a good selection and usually accompany the narrative as related to the text. Special mention should be made of the fine pen and ink drawings of Norval E. Packwood, Jr. Credit should also go to the publisher who has maintained the high quality of his earlier books: D. B. McKay's *Pioneer Florida* and E. C. Nance's *East Coast of Florida*.

Viewed as a whole, this narrative history is well-related, although there is an unevenness which is always present when multiple authors contribute their efforts in publishing a general history. A few mistakes inevitably find their way into any publication. No doubt Allan Nevins will be amazed to find that he collaborated with former Governor Fuller Warren on *How to Win in Politics in 1949*.

J. E. DOVELL

*University of Florida*

*Okeechobee Boats and Skippers.* By Lawrence E. Will. (St. Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 1965. 166 pp. Maps, illustrations, index. \$1.95.)

*Okeechobee Catfishing.* By Lawrence E. Will. (St. Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 1965. 159 pp. Illustrations, index. \$1.50.)

Lawrence E. Will is perhaps Florida's most unique "amateur" historian. He "grew up" in the Lake Okeechobee-Everglades country. The story of that region since white men began to settle there early in this century is also his own story. He was history-conscious from the first. A keen observer, he kept notes and photographs. Because he became known as the local historian he was the recipient of other stories and pictures, all of which he uses to good effect. He writes in an excellent narrative style or resorts to the dialect appropriate to the character he is describing. He began by writing stories for the local paper and making talks mostly at gatherings in the lake region. In 1959, his article, "'Digging the Cape Sable Canal,'" appeared in *Tequesta*. It was based upon material and pictures he made while working on that project in 1921-22. He started another article which grew

into a book, *Okeechobee Hurricane and the Hoover Dike*. A second, *A Cracker History of Lake Okeechobee*, followed. The two small volumes reviewed here might easily have been chapters in the larger book for they are integral parts of the Lake Okeechobee story and one must read all four books for a complete account.

*Boats and Skippers* is largely about steamboats and their gasoline-powered successors which operated on the big lake and its navigable arms, natural and artificial, until highways and railroads reached the lake in the nineteen-twenties. The stories of the boats and their almost legendary owner-captains are reminiscent of Mark Twain tales of steamboating on the Mississippi a half-century earlier. They make a colorful picture of the coming and the passing of an era in Florida history.

Though Lake Okeechobee is a big lake, second only to Lake Michigan of lakes lying wholly in the United States, it stretches the imagination to realize that the lowly catfish, likely to be considered a nuisance by fishermen interested in sport and unaware of its delightful flavor, was the basis of an industry on the lake that ranked in importance with carrying passengers and freight, and indeed, outlived the other two waterborne activities. At its height, it yielded as much as a million dollars a year. It began conveniently for recording in the year 1900, when Captain Benjamin Franklin Hall brought a refrigerator box and some trot lines from Kissimmee and set some alligator hunters on the lake to fishing. The catch proved so good that Captain Hall brought down a seine to increase the haul. The fish were carried to the nearest market served by a railroad, at first to Kissimmee which always remained the capital of the business, but later also to Fort Myers. When the New River Canal opened to Fort Lauderdale it became an outlet. Finally, when the railroad reached Tantie (Okeechobee) in 1915, it became the most convenient shipping point. Others joined Hall in the business. Tom Bass became the biggest operator with forty-five boats and eight refrigerated railroad cars. In 1945, the Florida legislature put an end to the business, and now catfish may be taken only with wire traps. But there is more to the story than catfishing. There are stories of people and places from Miami to Kissimmee and Palm Beach to Fort Myers, all by way of Lake Okeechobee and associated with catching, dressing, and marketing the catfish.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

*University of Miami*

*The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877.* By Joe M. Richardson. (Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1965. xi, 255 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. \$7.00.)

In this excellent monograph, Professor Richardson fully describes the role of the Negro in the Reconstruction of this southern-most state. Writing in an open, lucid style, he depicts Negroes as they emerge from slavery into freedom, and traces their progress in the areas of economics, religion, and education, and in civil and political affairs. Progress is indeed a proper word for Professor Richardson's findings. Negroes came to relish their freedom early, he asserts, and they used that liberty to become money-saving laborers and landowners, to establish independent churches as forces of moral uplift, to provide the state with a program for public education, and to become full and useful citizens in the courtrooms, at the polls, and in public offices. "By the end of Reconstruction," Richardson concludes, Negroes "were probably as good citizens as any race of similar economic standing." To say that Negroes were in any sense as good as whites does injury enough to the ideals of the white fathers and grandfathers of the South, but Professor Richardson soon moves forward to add insult by questioning the divinity of redemption. "As far as the future of the Negro was concerned," he declares, "and perhaps the state at large, it was unfortunate that Republicans lost office in 1876." Strong words these, and words which place the author in the very vanguard of a revisionist interpretation that maintains, to the screaming horror of its elders, that Reconstruction was a positive good rather than an unmitigated evil.

The reader might surmise that behind such boldness there lies a polemical purpose, that upon this tastefully executed volume there stands an orator of the new abolitionist school. Such is the case, I think, but unlike many of his more prolific colleagues, Professor Richardson rests his case upon a prodigious amount of basic research-particularly in the manuscripts and newspapers. The presumption is that his conclusions represent something more than wishful thinking. If one is inclined to disagree with him, his evidence will have to be met, not dismissed. Challenge is further daunted by the ring of truth about the study. The Negro observed in the rapid flow of the Second Reconstruction makes the author's image of the Negro in the First fully credible. But,



more centrally, one senses that Richardson has touched the pulse of the South as he recounts the vital determination of white Floridians to keep theirs a white man's country. As we read the book we seem to hear an off-stage chorus chanting in slow and steady measure the constant reminder that "white is right." And it is difficult to decide from where this music comes: from the substance of the volume we hold, or from the distilled words and deeds of racist fundamentalism still rampant in our own day, from the horrendous violence of Birmingham, of Oxford, and of Philadelphia, Mississippi, which hangs about our necks as a symbol of our sin and our suffering.

Professor Richardson has produced an argumentative history, but it is good history, and it is a rock which will not, I think, be broken in our time.

JOEL WILLIAMSON

*University of North Carolina*

*A Goody Heritage: The Episcopal Church in Florida.* By Joseph D. Cushman, Jr. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965. xiii, 219 pp. Illustrations, foreword, preface, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

The author of this fascinating volume has written a definitive and factual history of the beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Florida. Expertly he traces the development of the church from the first Anglicans, the first clergy, and the first buildings, through the formation of the Diocese of Florida in 1838, its vicissitudes during the Civil War, its rapid growth in the post-war years, to the happy necessity in 1892, of having to divide itself into two dioceses. *A Goody Heritage* not only takes its place in Americana, making a vital contribution to the national scene, but also becomes one of those indispensable additions to the growing interest in producing the history of Florida and its people. Professor Cushman has told his story of the Episcopal Church in Florida mainly around the episcopates of its first three bishops, each dynamic in leadership in his own right.

The author's style is easy flowing and makes for interesting reading. For the casual reader he enlivens his history with the

various ways men in the early days overcame the difficulties of travel and communication. For the historian he lines the bottom of every page with explanatory footnotes as well as keeping his narrative strictly consistent with the facts and evidence. He has taken the broad, diocesan, state-wide point of view, and has not lost himself in the details of any individual parish or mission. He had at his disposal the annual Journals of the Episcopal Diocese of Florida, newspapers of the period, and the works of former writers of elements of Florida Episcopal Church history. He also had the advantage of living in Florida and being able to visit many of the places of which he wrote. Dr. Cushman has kept a good balance in the amount of attention given to each of the critical periods in the life of the church.

HAMILTON WEST  
Bishop of Florida

*Jacksonville, Florida*

*The British Empire before the American Revolution. Volume XI. The Triumphant Empire: The Rumbling of the Coming Storm, 1766-1770.* By Lawrence Henry Gipson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965. lxix, 579, xxxv pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, index. \$10.00.)

*The British Empire before the American Revolution. Volume XII. The Triumphant Empire: Britain Sails into the Storm, 1770-1776.* By Lawrence Henry Gipson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965. lvii, 372, xxx pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, index. \$10.00.)

With the appearance of Volumes XI and XII of his monumental *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, Lawrence H. Gipson has finally traveled the last miles of the long road from 1748 to 1776. Now we have for the first time a full scholarly examination of the origins of the Revolution from the point of view of the imperial school of historiography. The two volumes under consideration (along with volume ten that appeared in 1961) cover the momentous developments that divided the thirteen mainland colonies from the mother country following the Great War for the Empire. Many of the conclusions presented

are largely elaborations of Mr. Gipson's opinions expressed in his *Coming of the American Revolution, 1763-1775*. For, as the author acknowledges, "I have long been convinced, along with John Adams, that the Revolution was completed before the outbreak of what should properly be called the War for American Independence." Here in vivid, panoramic form is the story of the gradual separation of the English speaking peoples. According to Mr. Gipson, the clash was not so much over different theories or principles but over conflicting interests. Britain, confronted with enormous territorial acquisitions after 1763, and saddled with a staggering debt, endeavored to create more efficient administrative machinery, just as she attempted to get the provincials to contribute to the upkeep of the expanded empire. But the mature colonies, no longer threatened by French forces in Canada, were eager to pursue their own ends without interference from Parliament and the king's ministers.

As is customary of Gipson's work, these studies are rich in detail, well documented, well organized, and written in a smooth, readable style. In *The Rumbling of the Coming Storm, 1766-1770*, the author begins by tracing the efforts on both sides of the Atlantic aimed at reconciliation following the repeal of the Stamp Act. He then launches into the new controversies that soon erupted, emphasizing New York's opposition to the Quartering Act, the origins of the Townshend program, the Revenue Act of 1767, and the American response led by the radicals of Massachusetts Bay. The colonists could generally agree on their opposition to British taxes and other aspects of imperial reorganization, including western lands; but they could simultaneously disagree about a great many things, as the chapters on boundary disputes and East-West friction make abundantly clear.

Some readers may feel that the companion volume, *Britain Sails into the Storm, 1770-1776*, lacks balance. For these important six years are treated in only 372 pages, whereas the four years embraced in the previous tome are accorded 579 pages. It may be, however, that the author considers the concluding aspect of his story more familiar than the period of the Chatham and Grafton administrations. Even so, Mr. Gipson has revised his original plan of ending the narrative in 1775 by extending his account down to the Declaration of Independence.

A final volume in this remarkable series, *The Empire beyond*

*the Storm*, will deal with the British dependencies that did not revolt, in addition to offering sections on the historiography and bibliography of the "Old Empire." Historians will disagree among themselves on many of Mr. Gipson's findings, but they will never be able to ignore them. And few if any would deny that The British Empire before the American Revolution is one of the finest historical achievements of the twentieth century.

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

*Louisiana State University*

*The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution.* By H. Trevor Colbourn. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, 1965. viii, 247 pp. Preface, appendices, index. \$7.50.)

As in recent major studies by Caroline Robbins and Bernard Bailyn, Trevor Colbourn's book explores the American colonial understanding of the rights of Englishmen. His special *forte* lies in investigating the sources of that understanding and the historical perspective those sources provided. He therefore devotes considerable attention to the reading habits of the revolutionary intellectuals (and in a long appendix lists historical volumes in eighteenth-century American libraries—a significant contribution). The author finds that the colonists were selective in their use of history. They took seventeenth-century arguments against the Stuart kings and directed them against the eighteenth-century Parliament. The colonial achievement thus involved the adaptation of English historical writing to the exigencies of Anglo-American politics: "They used whig history, they used whig arguments, but their borrowing fed ideas and led to decisions appropriate only to the colonial circumstances."

Colbourn has structured his material into two parts. The first treats "the English heritage and the colonial historical view." The second, and longer section, discusses "the revolutionary use of history." There are chapters on New England and the South; but the most satisfying chapters treat the historical minds of John Adams, James Wilson, Dickinson, Franklin, and Jefferson. In

sum, the book adds to our recent rediscovery of the English libertarian tradition; and even more, it augments the current reformulation of the American Revolution as an intellectual movement.

It is perhaps ungracious to suggest that Colbourn's good book might have been better; but two points warrant some attention. The first involves the colonization issue. When the Great Debate raged between 1765 and 1775, one of the major questions in the dispute over the proper relationship of the colonies to the mother country hinged upon opposing conceptions of the nature of English colonization. Colbourn touches upon this obliquely in discussing John Adams and George Mason; but a more systematic treatment would have illuminated the interpretive use of historical knowledge in the colonies.

A second problem emerges from the need for clearer usage of the term "whig history," especially as it is the pivotal concept for this study. It is defined sketchily on page six, again on page 128, and then more adequately at the end of the book (pp. 183-189). Colbourn casts a broad net in describing reading habits and patterns of influence, and at times his catch would seem to include elements extraneous to True Whiggery. Can Hume *and* Mrs. Macaulay (who wrote a multi-volume history to refute Hume) both be part of a whig tradition in historical thought? Perhaps; but it requires some explanation. What about Jefferson's concern for Hume's "Jacobite outlook"? And in what tradition does Bolingbroke stand? He has customarily been labelled a defender of Tory thought. Yet his historical perspective unquestionably influenced John Adams, Josiah Quincy, Jr., and James Wilson. Possibly Bolingbroke has been cavalierly categorized in the past; but does that justify lumping him with the libertarian "True Whigs," whose reading of seventeenth-century history was quite different? Finally, if whig ideas were devoted to the preservation of parliamentary integrity at the expense of the Crown, what is to be said of the colonial position commonly held by 1774—that the only imperial bond was the Crown and not Parliament? These and other minor ambiguities might have been clarified at the outset by a more precise definition of "whig history" and the determinative patterns of thought embraced by it.

MICHAEL G. KAMMEN

*Cornell University*

*The Formative Period in Alabama, 1815-1828.* By Thomas P. Abernethy. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1965. 220 pp. Prefaces, maps, charts, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

Students of southern history, particularly those interested in Alabama and states like Florida which adjoin Alabama, will welcome the reprinting of Professor Abernethy's pioneering work. Brought out as one of the University of Alabama Press' new series of Southern Historical Publications, the book is slightly different from the original edition, and new maps and charts add to its value. The object, according to the author, was "to amend, rather than to change, the presentation of the subject."

Although relatively brief, the study neglects few facets in the state's history, effectively exploring everything from Indians to bank notes, from public lands to journalism. In short, the book introduces a land, raw but full of challenging potential, and traces its complicated initial development. Events in these early years established patterns and shaped the future. Any one of the chapters either has been or should be the subject of a separate monograph—slavery, agriculture, politics, immigrants, to name but a few.

The book's organization is logical and the style uncomplicated and concise. Much new material not available to Professor Abernethy has since been found and exploited by historians. Yet his work remains important, useful, and, fortunately, once more easily available in an improved, well-packaged edition.

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

*Florida State University*

*John James Audubon.* By Alice Ford. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. xiv, 488 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations, chronology, art miscellany, Audubon classics, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

Few modern scientists have stirred more popular interest than has John James Audubon and few have been more complex. These facts have combined to evoke since his death in January

1851 a vast assortment of biographical literature, some merely romantic and some laudably sound and scholarly. To the latter category belongs this splendid biography by Alice Ford.

Miss Ford's book may not be presumed to supersede Francis Hobart Herrick's notable work, published in 1917 and somewhat out of date, but it is a significant addition to the Audubon literature. Most noteworthy is the author's success in searching out the details of Audubon's ancestry, parentage, and childhood, hitherto generally enshrouded in uncertainty. While Miss Ford is supplying the substance of fact for some aspects of Audubon's life, she rejects as without basis certain legends which have become a part of the Audubon story.

Relying heavily on letters and journals, both published and unpublished, the author has followed Audubon's almost continual peregrinations. It is not in the nature of a naturalist to remain settled for very long. This can be the despair of those who would trace his steps. It may multiply the responsibilities of the conscientious researcher. If Miss Ford's book has a weakness, it is that she has in the course of a relatively brief treatment attempted to leave no expedition unmentioned, no vicissitude unrecorded, no incident unnoticed. It tends to become a recital of facts. One might almost wish that with her vast resources and her undeniable skill, she had attempted to provide more insight into the personality of her subject. He was an amazing man, and who knows him better than Miss Ford?

Since these remarks are addressed most particularly to students of Florida history, the reviewer may be pardoned for concluding on a parochial note. Without doubt Audubon's collections of birds and animals were tremendously enriched by his Florida specimens. Florida readers will perhaps be pleased to find six pages of this biography devoted to the expedition of the winter of 1831-32 into the St. Augustine and St. Johns River area. (As readers familiar with the Audubon letters will recall, he found the rigors of the Florida terrain exhausting and troublesome.) On the contrary, however, it may be disappointing to discover only half a page dealing with the expedition to the Florida Keys in May 1832. This latter trip, so productive of specimens that five carts were required to transport them through the streets of Charleston, and so provocative as to have prompted at least four of Audubon's absorbing essays delineating American scenery and

character, would seem to have merited more attention. An occasional local historian may carp when he notes that Major James M. Glasell, army commandant, first at Fort King and later at Key West, and so esteemed by Audubon as to be entrusted with a sample folio volume of his "Birds," is identified only as "a Major Glassel."

But Miss Ford is writing for a much wider audience. She has produced a very valuable book. The University of Oklahoma Press is to be commended for adding this to its already lengthy list of distinctive offerings and the Ford Foundation for subsidizing its publication.

E. ASHBY HAMMOND

*University of Florida*

*War Within a War: The Confederacy Against Itself.* By Carlton Beals. (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1965. xi, 177 pp. Foreword, maps, selected bibliography, index. \$3.95.)

Carlton Beals, one of the nation's most prolific book-writers, had his interest aroused in the common folk of the South by his grandfather, an Ohio volunteer, who told a small boy how, in northern Alabama, they warmly greeted invading Union troops. This did not fit the myth of "The Lost Cause;" and for years as journalist, traveler, and researcher, he tracked down the true story.

This book is the result, and in it Beals tells "of those who refused to conform to the patriotic slogans of the Confederacy and suffered their own Golgotha, [those] who resisted a vigilante terrorism rarely paralleled in history." The account of these people, Beals tells us, has largely been lost. The veil was drawn over them by contemporary Civil War mythology, and suppression is only now being lifted somewhat.

All historians are aware of resistance inside the Confederacy, usually at the upper political levels involving the likes of men like Governor Brown of Georgia and Governor Vance of North Carolina. A similar struggle among the common people is less easy to see, but this book shows that many unknown citizens were greater heroes than the famous rebels against rebellion.



Despite the grimness of the subject, the book is delightful reading. The author tells his story well and supplies much source material for fiction writers, television melo-dramatists, and movie scenarists.

The book includes the sagas of William G. Brownlow, the Knoxville editor, Reverend John H. Aughey of Mississippi, and Parson Brownlow. John Aughey's obscure feats are particularly worthy. A Presbyterian minister in Mississippi, he asked for a Union ballot on election day in 1860. Since nobody had seen one, he wrote his own. When a vigilante band summoned him to answer to the charge of treason, he defended himself eloquently. Later, vigilantes attacked his home, but the preacher was there, shotgun cocked. The attackers, blundering in the dark, became entangled in a clothesline, fell into the well, fired on one another, and ignominiously fled. This was the Battle of Wyandotte, in which, wrote Aughey, "probably the first blood of the war was shed." Aughey lost his pulpit, and southern "patriots" went gunning for him, but killed another man by mistake. He was later arrested with other Unionist refugees, jailed, and was condemned to death, but he kept arguing that he was loyal to Mississippi and that secession was unconstitutional. He finally managed to escape to Union lines after adventures worthy of Anthony Adverse, Don Quixote, Gil Bias, or Tom Jones.

WILLIAM E. BARINGER

*University of Florida*

*The Black Codes of the South.* By Theodore B. Wilson. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1966. 192 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

This is an uneven book about an important subject. Appearing at a time when analogies with recent southern segregation laws will inevitably be drawn, it deals with a controversial phase of "Black Reconstruction" with control and discretion. Its balance and objectivity do credit to the author and to Professor Rembert W. Patrick who encouraged the writing of this study.

The so-called Black Codes were loose collections of laws and regulations passed by southern provisional legislatures in the months after Appomattox to regularize and regulate the new

circumstances of the Negro freedmen. Quite clearly something had to be done. The freedmen, after all, had to be protected and their new status had to be defined. Marriages had to be legalized, rights of property had to be established, citizenship privileges and responsibilities had to be delineated, and, finally-or so most people thought-economic relations had to be regulated. No, the issue that aroused public controversy then, and arouses historical controversy now, was not whether some rules were needed, but whether the codes were discriminatory, and-the stronger charge-whether they were designed to restore *de facto* slavery.

Mr. Wilson's answer to the first question is yes. In a section distorted by an unnecessary amount of do-it-yourself sociology, he develops the notion of the "gray institution"-his name for the complex of attitudes and behavior worked out long before the Civil War to govern relations between whites and blacks in the South. This "gray institution" made it impossible for whites after 1865 to see that the Negro was a social being, the product, like other men, of his social milieu, and entitled, like other men, to fair and impartial treatment. Under the circumstances, the codes were neither "just" nor "discreet"; but they were, he says, "predictable." To the question of whether the codes were designed to re-enslave the Negro or reduce him to peonage, Wilson's answer is no. Only in Florida, perhaps, where the legislative committee appointed to frame a code presented "a voluminous report ridiculous for its pompous bigotry," did anything approaching an attempt to revive the "good old days" occur. In general, he insists, Southerners were glad to be rid of the incubus of slavery, and had no intention of reimposing it, even in covert form.

In the end we are left with a monograph which metes out praise and blame with equal, objective hand. Northern Radicals are criticized for exaggerating the iniquities and the evil intent of the Black Codes. As Wilson notes, the Freedmen's Bureau-the darling of the Radicals-imposed its own "vagrancy laws" on its charges to encourage them to work for economic independence. Southerners are called to account for the bigotry and brutality which the newly emancipated slaves frequently encountered in the months after the war. Law-abiding citizens of the South, he notes disapprovingly, were willing to tolerate the abuse and murder of Negroes by the lawless elements in the war-ravaged section.

On the score of judgment, then, the book is a model. Un-

fortunately its execution is not equal to its balance. The book is marred by digressions into the history of slavery and the genesis of Northern Radical opinion which are far longer than necessary to establish the background for some of Wilson's major themes. The writing is indifferent in quality. Wilson is given, for one thing, to piling up long, indented quotations. His excursion into amateur sociology and his use of some of its jargon strikes a sour note. Still, when all this is said, *The Black Codes of the South* is a worthy addition to our knowledge of a significant chapter of Southern history.

IRWIN UNGER

*University of California, Davis.*

*Atticus Greene Haygood: Methodist Bishop, Editor, and Educator,*  
By Harold W. Mann. (Athens: University of Georgia Press,  
1965. viii, 254 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, selected  
bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

The period of Reconstruction in the South following the Civil War was a time of drastic change and frustration for her institutions. In the throes of these difficulties, none was more deeply affected than the church, particularly the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which was caught up in this furor of reappraisal and readjustment.

This biography of Atticus Greene Haygood, preacher, denominational editor, college president, and Methodist bishop, presents an on-balance concept of the structure and struggles of the church and its surrounding culture in the southland of the second half of the nineteenth century.

One of the most thoroughly researched religious biographies that this reviewer has examined, this book introduces a well-trained and articulate historian to the reading public. This volume should find a conspicuous place on the shelves of those ministers, educators, and interested laymen who desire a proper frame of reference for ante-bellum Methodism.

Good fortune attended Haygood throughout his life, inasmuch as he was blessed with being in the right place at the right time. His rise in the ministry was meteoric. That he was pastor to the

powerful Bishop George Foster Pierce in Sparta, Georgia, at the age of twenty-one was a measure of his ability as orator and preacher. It was equally indicative of the sponsorship accorded him by the highly-regarded Lovick Pierce, the bishop's father. At twenty-seven, Atticus was a district superintendent, three years later he was appointed secretary of Sunday School for his denomination, an office that gained him southwide attention. At the age of thirty-six, he became president of Emory College. No one was surprised when the Methodist Church elected him a bishop in 1890.

Atticus Haygood's major contributions to his age centered around the thrust he gave to public and Negro education. He was an "evangelical echo" of his contemporary, Henry W. Grady. Although beset with personal financial problems in his latter years, his earlier acumen in this field saved Emory College from a possible disastrous collapse and pointed the institution toward its present prominence. As writer, preacher, and church administrator, his impact upon the life of Georgia Methodism is still felt today.

Throughout this volume, one is impressed with the extraordinary range of fact garnered about this man. Wistfully, one wishes that the personality of Atticus Greene Haygood were more clearly revealed. Perhaps the lack lies not so much with the author as it does with the enigmatic character of the bishop himself. Nevertheless, such observation in no way nullifies the value, vitality, and scope of this biography.

RICHARD E. BLANCHARD

*Tampa, Florida*

*Jim Crow's Defense: Anti-Negro Thought in America, 1900-1930.* By I. A. Newby. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965. xv, 230 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

"From the late 1890's to the late 1920's," writes Newby, "the South, with Northern acquiescence, found and established the Negro's 'place.'" Chronologically bounded by what C. Vann Woodward has called the "capitulation to racism" and by stirrings of

discontent with the American caste system among educated Negroes and a growing number of white allies, the first three decades of this century saw national acceptance and general approval of the Southerner's answer to the "Negro problem." The years that encompassed the democratic reformism of the progressive movement, the idealistic internationalism of the First World War, and the advent of unprecedented material well-being for most Americans, also saw the flowering of intellectual racism in the United States. Paralleling, perhaps outstripping, the development of racial and religious nativism, which culminated in the 1920s in the imposition of stringent national origins quotas on European immigration, was the growth of an intellectual system designed to rationalize and thus consolidate the segregation and disfranchisement of southern Negroes accomplished in the 1890s. Contrary to what Rayford W. Logan has written, perhaps the early twentieth century, not the immediate post-Reconstruction decades, marked the "nadir" of the Negro in American life and thought.

Newby divides his study into sections on "development" and "application" of anti-Negro ideas and attitudes. In the former he discusses the racist ideology elaborately constructed after 1900 by ethnologists, anthropologists, geneticists, eugenicists, psychologists, social scientists, historians, and religious leaders. Largely the product of intellectuals living in the northern states, this ideology supposedly gave the authority of science, statistics, and theology to the traditional emotional reactions of Southerners. Although much of this body of thought consisted of resurrected ante-bellum pro-slavery theories, the outstanding characteristic of racism after 1900 was the development of a new "racial science" that furnished a systematic basis for both white supremacy and immigration restrictionism. Partially applying scientifically established concepts of Negro inferiority to southern social and political affairs, but mainly expanding on longstanding popular prejudices, was a host of journalists, educators, clergymen, and politicians. These people, mostly Southerners, can be divided into "extremists," "moderates," and "reformers," says Newby, but they were united in a belief that the Negro was an irremediably inferior being and that only his social isolation and political suppression would insure the maintenance of white civilization.

Newby is at his best in summarizing and analyzing the con-

tributions of the many scholars in various academic disciplines to the intellectualized racism of the early twentieth century. While the theories of such figures as John W. Burgess, Nathaniel S. Shaler, William MacDougall, and Madison Grant are often mentioned in treatments of American race-thinking, it may surprise some that the mulatto, William Hannibal Thomas, was one of the most vigorous exponents of anti-Negro doctrines and that early in his career Howard W. Odum stoked the fires of racism with his *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*. Newby's discussion of the role that the so-called "Dunning school" of anti-Negro historians of Reconstruction played in abetting the southern drive for white supremacy and northern abandonment of the Negro is the best yet written. As Newby rather masterfully shows, although there was a close interrelationship between anthropological, psychological, and sociological findings on race, "Academic historians were unimpressed by the theories of intellectual racism. . . ." Newby, however, offers little explanation of why scholars in the biological and social sciences failed to have more influence on professional historians during this, the golden age of "scientific" history.

In the portion of his book dealing with the application of anti-Negro thought, Newby occasionally allows rhetoric and misplaced originality to substitute for strict accuracy. The result is a few questionable assertions. He accuses political leaders like Benjamin Tillman, James K. Vardaman, Hoke Smith, or Cole Blease of being "interested only in their personal fortune. . . ." He carelessly equates lynchings of Negroes with anti-racial hysteria in 1919, and these two developments with the Ku Klux Klan, which, contrary to what Newby says, did not begin to "spread throughout the nation" until the fall of 1920. His thesis that Southerners' growing concern for federal special-interest legislation after 1900 weakened their argument for non-interference in southern race relations ignores the pre-1900 efforts of southern congressmen to secure sectional benefits in the form of railroad subsidies, railroad regulation, and currency inflation. Finally, my own research on the Ku Klux Klan has revealed no evidence that white supremacy was an important issue in the South during the presidential campaign of 1928, as Newby contends, and his citations on this point are three rather obscure southern newspapers.

But these are minor matters. Newby has written a fine book

on a highly complex phase of recent American intellectual history. He has searched through an enormous quantity of published material. His treatment is well-written and deftly organized, and he has commendably avoided arguing with the intellectual racists, whose errors and inconsistencies are self-evident. In an epilogue, Newby sketches the factors moderating anti-Negroism since the 1920s, as well as the limited resurgence of racial science since 1954. He raises questions that furnish a good starting point for a sequel to this admirable study.

CHARLES C. ALEXANDER

*University of Georgia*

*A Little Girl is Dead.* By Harry Golden. (New York: World Publishers, 1965. xv, 363 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, appendices, bibliography. \$5.00.)

*A Little Girl is Dead* is perhaps the best book Harry Golden has ever written. Presenting a vivid and exciting report of the Leo M. Frank case, this book surprisingly has hardly caused a ripple North or South. Perhaps to a public preoccupied with the civil rights struggle, the miscarriage of justice in Georgia during 1913 seems somewhat inconsequential.

When fourteen-year old Mary Phagan was found murdered in the basement of the National Pencil Company in Atlanta one Sunday morning in 1913, the crime presented an opportunity to the yellow press, especially the *Georgian* recently acquired by William Randolph Hearst. The Hearst paper put out an extra with the screaming headline: THE STRANGLER HAS BEEN CAUGHT, when Leo Frank, manager of the pencil company, was taken to the police station for routine questioning. Public excitement was whipped up to such a frenzy that it terrorized even the jury which brought in a verdict of guilty. Mr. Golden shows how Judge Leonard S. Roan was also affected by the hysteria.

There are phases of the case that still appear strange, even after a lapse of fifty years. Frank, a college graduate, was highly respected, married, and holding a responsible position. This was the first, perhaps the only instance of a white man convicted in the South on the uncorroborated testimony of an illiterate, low-

grade Negro sweeper with a criminal record who admitted lying on the witness stand.

While the jury might be excused for being stampeded by a howling mob, greater blame attaches to the courts, state and federal, for refusing Frank a new trial. The testimony against him was highly circumstantial, and even the appellate judges expressed doubt, and yet they allowed the conviction to stand. Supreme Court Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and Charles Evans Hughes held that due process of law had been denied when the jury had been terrorized by a raging Atlanta mob.

The denouement was horrible and reflects little credit on Georgia. When Governor John M. Slaton, who believed in Frank's innocence, commuted his sentence to life imprisonment, it almost brought on Slaton's lynching. The atmosphere had been charged by Tom Watson, the talented demagogue whose pen was dipped in vitriol. Week after week he spewed forth in his *Jeffersonian* a barrage of the most vicious, inflammable propaganda. This pernicious brew consisted of poisonous slander, race prejudice, lies and half truths, southern chivalry, class resentment, and state pride. The catalyst of this witch's brew was anti-Semitism.

Shortly after Frank was transferred to the prison at Milledgeville, twenty-five mobsters seized him, drove him to Marietta, Georgia, and there, near the dead girl's home hanged him to a tree. These vigilantes, founders of the resurrected Ku Klux Klan, were not lawless hoodlums; even a preacher was present. They were never sought by the authorities, although their identity was known, and no one was ever indicted or tried for the Frank lynching.

HARRY SIMONHOFF

*Miami, Florida*

*The Deep South in Transformation: A Symposium.* Edited by Robert B. Highsaw. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1964. 175 pp. Foreword, \$5.95.)

As was remarked by someone recently, a Southerner might "fret that he is oppressed, maligned and misunderstood," but he could never "complain that he is ignored," for the "urge among historians and journalists to interpret the South and its people is



irresistible." The occasion for this, another book about the South, was the dedication of a new social sciences building, Marten ten Hoor Hall, on the campus of the University of Alabama. The exercises consisted of a symposium, participated in by eighteen people: college presidents (present and former), a newspaper editor, historians, political scientists, sociologists, professors of English, a former state governor, directors of research, and the retired dean for whom the hall was named.

The central theme, as suggested in the title of the book, was the transformation of the South now going on, and how the South might meet it. In addition to a prologue, the subjects taken up and around which discussion took place were these: "Training for Responsible Leadership," "Challenge to Research," "Its Development, Past and Present," and "Its Changing Literature."

Dean Marten ten Hoor set the pace in the prologue in a learned and, at times, a whimsical discussion of the part the social sciences should play in higher education, with no fixed suggestions as to just how the professor in the classroom should present them, but with the belief that in "such a society as ours there is strength in variety quite as much as there is in unity, for, as the old saying has it, our goal is unity in variety." Luther Hodges, former governor of North Carolina and at the time of the symposium United States Secretary of Commerce, gave a run-down on the economic situation.

Oliver C. Carmichael, in relating the social sciences to citizenship, declared that the "overwhelming preoccupation with science and technology, to the neglect of other subjects, is a characteristic fault of our times," and that in the humanistic-social studies field the counterpart to the atom was the idea.

The South in transformation as an outstanding challenge in the field of research was discussed from the sociological point of view by Everett C. Hughes; from the political science point of view by Donald S. Strong; and from the view of needs and potentialities by E. William Noland. Rembert W. Patrick gave a historical resume of southern history from antebellum times down to the present, quite factual, but with emotional overtones in discussing the evils of slavery, and giving a dreary picture of southern statesmanship before, during, and after the Civil War, but in the best tradition of most modern writings about the South.

One of the most interesting parts of the program was the principal discussion of the South's changing literature made by Louis D. Rubin, with comments by Hudson Strode and others. The book as a whole brings together an excellent summary of the best thoughts of the experts in the fields discussed.

E. MERTON COULTER

*University of Georgia*

*Human Capital in Southern Development.* By Marshall R. Colberg. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. xv, 136 pp. Preface, appendix, index. \$5.00.)

Dr. Colberg has carried out a careful piece of statistical exploration to provide a useful report on the nature of and changes in human capital in the South. The work is in the tradition of recent research on the economics of education and human capital by other economists such as Friedman, Kuznets, Schultz, Becker, Miller, and Weisbrod. The focus in this volume is specifically upon human resources in the South.

One distinctive characteristic of this book is the distinction that the author makes between labor and human capital. As a practical means of carrying this distinction into his empirical work, Colberg considers only post-elementary schooling to build human capital. This is not defended on philosophic grounds but is justified as a surrogate for more sophisticated but unattainable measures.

The author attempts to test in a loose way the following set of hypotheses: (1) human capital is much more mobile than labor and much more likely to be well allocated with reference to its combination with other resources; (2) labor, being in surplus in the South, should be moving from the South and material capital should be moving to the South to take advantage of the labor surpluses; (3) human capital in white persons is more complementary to material capital than that embodied in the Negro, leading to increases in the stocks of white human capital and decreases in the stocks of non-white.

He examines the relationship between income and education by age, race, and sex for both the South and non-South, as well

as estimates of human capital and such related topics as professional workers in southern manufacturing, college graduates, and the teaching profession. The data are, in general, consistent with his hypotheses. The data yield a number of interesting observations such as the fact that segregated schooling in the South has been a favorable factor in the employment of educated Negro women. The author suggests that this will pose special problems during the coming period of adjustment.

In the view of the reviewer the effect of an interesting and informative little book is somewhat tainted when the author gratuitously brings into his summary the observation that the problem of labor unemployment in the South would be made easier without federally sponsored minimum wage legislation, farm price supports, fair trading, and all such interferences with the price system. These conclusions do not grow in any way out of the research materials in his study and are expressed with conviction without reference to a very large body of literature on the subject, much of which takes an opposing view. Whatever the relative merits of the author's position, it is a topic that belongs to some other volume from the one that he offers.

EDGAR S. DUNN, JR.

*Washington, D. C.*

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### *Florida Historical Markers Program*

To facilitate the proper marking of important historical sites and places in Florida, N. E. Bill Miller, director of the Florida Board of Parks and Historical Memorials, has appointed a three-man committee to receive and transmit recommendations for markers submitted by local communities and local and county historical societies and commissions. The committee includes William M. Goza of Clearwater, president of the Florida Historical Society; Judge James R. Knott of West Palm Beach, immediate past president of the Florida Historical Society; and Dr. Samuel Proctor of Gainesville, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The state will pay one-half the cost of markers approved by the director of the park board and will supervise their installation. Any group interested in having markers placed in its locality, should communicate directly with the office of the Florida Board of Parks and Historical Memorials, 101 West Games Street, Tallahassee, or with any member of the Historical Markers Committee.

### *San Marcos de Apalache Museum*

The Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials dedicated the new museum at San Marcos de Apalache, the old Spanish fort site at St. Marks, on Wednesday, July 27, 1966. Director N. E. Bill Miller of the park board was in charge of the afternoon reception and program.

### *Historical Symposium*

The Library of the Mission of Nombre de Dios of St. Augustine and the St. Augustine Foundation are sponsoring an historical and religious symposium on October 29, 1966, in the Gold Ballroom of the Ponce de Leon Hotel in St. Augustine. The theme of the symposium will be "Explorations and Settlements in the Spanish Borderlands: Their Religious Motivations."

Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley is presiding and the Rev. Dr. Robert Trisco, editor of *The Catholic Review*, is chairman of the first session. Dr. Lewis Hanke, professor of history at Columbia University will speak on "Religious Principles Behind the Exploration and Settlement of Spanish America." Dr. John K. Mahon, head of the Department of History at the University of Florida, will chair the second session. Father Michael V. Gannon, director of the Mission of Nombre de Dios, will speak on "The Conquistadors of Florida;" "The Florida Missions" is the subject of a talk to be given by Father Matthew J. Connolly, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Winter Haven. Dr. John A. Harrison, Dean of the Graduate School, University of Miami, will serve as chairman of the third and final session. The Rev. Dr. John Francis Bannon, S.J., St. Louis University, will speak on "The Spaniards in the Southwest: With An Appreciation of Herbert E. Bolton." The Rev. Dr. Maynard Geiger, archivist of the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California, will discuss "The Spaniards in California." The sessions are open to the public and the proceedings of the symposium will be published.

The Great Cross "The Beacon of Faith," that has been erected on the grounds of the Mission of Nombre de Dios in St. Augustine to commemorate the establishment on September 8, 1565, of Christianity in North America, will be formally dedicated on Sunday afternoon, October 30, 1966, at 2 p.m.

#### *Henry S. Sanford Grant*

The Henry Shelton Sanford Memorial Library and Museum Association, 520 East First St., Sanford, Florida, is offering an annual research grant of \$100 to a graduate student of any accredited Florida college or university who uses the life of General H. S. Sanford or the early history of Sanford, Florida as the subject of his thesis. The Association has catalogued and placed on microfilm the Sanford Papers covering the period from 1823 to 1891. The original papers are available at the Florida State Bank and the Sanford Memorial Library in Sanford. Communications concerning the grant or the use of the papers or the microfilm should be directed to the office of the Association.

*St. David's Mission*

When the Episcopal mission St. David's is built in the near future, it will be located adjacent to Fort Caroline and St. Johns Bluff on the St. Johns River. It was here in 1563 that the first Protestant worship service in what is now the United States was held. In July 1565, in ships anchored off Fort Caroline, the Anglican Book of Common Prayer was used for the first time in North America. In clearing for the mission site, traces of old roads and a footpath down to the spring at the head of Shipyard Creek were uncovered. This spring is known to have been used by the Indians and the early settlers in the area.

*Local and Area Societies and Commissions*

*Alachua County Historical Commission:* The History of Gainesville, the new book by Jess Davis, chairman of the Alachua County Historical Commission, has been published and is available for sale. The Commission is continuing its efforts to collect documents, pictures, and letters relating to the history of the area. These, together with taped interviews, are being deposited at the Gainesville Public Library.

*Pinellas County Historical Commission:* The Half-Century Club for persons who have lived in Pinellas County for fifty years or more was set up recently under the auspices of the Historical Commission. At the June meeting a membership card for the club was approved. At the July 20, 1966 meeting, a resolution memorializing George Ward McMullen was adopted. Mrs. R. R. Meador reported on the Commission's continuing efforts to secure the James McMullen log cabin on the Coachman property so that it can be properly preserved. It was also noted that the 1830 census book being prepared by Harvey Wells is nearing completion.

*Safety Harbor Area Historical Society:* In cooperation with *The Searchers, Inc.*, members of the recently organized Safety Harbor Area Historical Society helped to excavate the Bayview Indian burial mound at Clearwater. Artifacts were displayed at the Safety Harbor Festival in the spring and afterwards at the Pinellas Coun-

ty Historical Museum. There was also a display of these artifacts, arranged by George Donatello of *The Searchers*, at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Clearwater in May 1966. At a joint meeting of the Safety Harbor Area Historical Society and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Mrs. R. R. Meador, a member of the Pinellas County Historical Commission, gave the history of Bayview and the Bayview Mound.

*St. Augustine Historical Society:* The Society held its regular quarterly membership meeting in the Art Association Building on Marine Street on the evening of July 12. After a short business session, Frederick E. Williams who owns the Pedro Fornells House in St. Augustine spoke on the history of gunmaking in Spain from 1530 until the middle of the eighteenth century. Displaying guns from his collection, Mr. Williams described the kind of firearms employed by the Spaniards in early Florida history.

To fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Albert Manucy, Dr. Luis Arana, chairman of the committee on research, was elected to the board of directors. It was announced that the annual meeting of the St. Augustine Historical Society would be held October 11, 1966.

The Society is continuing its active publications program. It aided in the publication of Frederick deCoste's *True Tales of Old St. Augustine*, and has contracted for the publication of E. P. Panagopoulos' *The Story of New Smyrna*.

*St. Petersburg Historical Society:* To mark the forty-sixth anniversary of the founding of the St. Petersburg Historical Society, the Historical Museum, 335 Second Avenue N.E., held an open house on July 20, 1966. An exhibit of maps, water colors, post cards, and pictures showing the history of St. Petersburg and Pinellas County was displayed in the Mary E. Apple Room of the museum. At the evening program, Walter P. Fuller, president of the St. Petersburg Historical Society and former member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, described the eighteenth-century map of the Tampa Bay area that he recently acquired. Frank J. Laumer of Dade City, member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, was the other speaker, and he used the history of Fort Dade as the subject for his talk.

According to the July 1966 issue of "The Sea Breeze," the St. Petersburg Historical Society's publication, the Haas Museum, under the supervision of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph F. Miller, and the Grace S. Turner House have received 2,000 teachers and students as visitors this past year. Short articles by Dr. Lyman O. Warren, second vice president of the Society, Milton D. Jones, member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, Walter P. Fuller, and William M. Goza, president of the Florida Historical Society, are published in this number of the "Sea Breeze." Mr. Goza's article deals with the history of the Florida Historical Society since its organization in 1856.

Officers of the St. Petersburg Historical Society are Walter P. Fuller, president; Paul Mowrer, first vice president; Lyman O. Warren, second vice president; Mrs. Charles Locklin, recording secretary; Mrs. Robert Massey, corresponding secretary; Ruth Leatherman, treasurer; and Page S. Jackson, historical research secretary. Directors are Harold Anderson, T. David Anderson, A. Franklin Green, Arthur D. Miller, Jr., Lorin B. Smith, Mrs. J. B. Starkey, Harold Steele, and Larry Welke. Mrs. Oma M. Cross, Mrs. Alma S. Jones, and Joseph F. Miller are curators..

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Past copies of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are available for sale. For information and prices write Miss Margaret Chapman, Executive Secretary, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida, 33620.



## THE ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 5-7, 1966

### MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS MEETING

President James R. Knott presided over the meeting of the officers and directors of the Florida Historical Society, Tuesday evening, May 5, 1966, at the Lagoon Motel in Clearwater. Board members present were William M. Goza, Margaret Chapman, Ann Davis, Mrs. Ralph F. Davis, Samuel Proctor, Mary T. Rule, Frank J. Laumer, Allen C. Crowley, William W. Rogers, James C. Craig, Jay I. Kislak, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Morris E. White, Walter P. Fuller, and Frank B. Sessa. Gilbert L. Lycan was present as a guest.

Dr. Proctor informed the board that the Arthur W. Thompson Fund is a gift to the Society from Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Siegel of New York City and their daughter, Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville. The fund will be invested and the interest will be used to make an annual award to the author of the best article on Florida history published each year in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The winner will be selected by a panel of judges appointed by the editor of the *Quarterly*, and the annual presentation will be made at the banquet. Dr. Thompson, a distinguished member of the history faculty of the University of Florida was the author of a number of historical articles, monographs, and books on Florida and the South. His Ph.D. dissertation was a study of Senator David Levy Yulee. Mr. Goza called for adoption of the resolution establishing the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize. His motion carried by unanimous vote.

Dr. Proctor informed the board that Father Michael V. Gannon, director of the Mission of Nombre de Dios in St. Augustine and a former student of Dr. Thompson, was the first recipient of the Arthur W. Thompson Prize in Florida History. His article, "Altar and Hearth, the Coming of Christianity, 1521-1565," was published in the special Quadricentennial number (1965) of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor was asked to make the presentation of the award to Father Gannon at the annual banquet. This year's judges were Miss Chapman, Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, and Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau.

Miss Chapman distributed copies of the treasurer's report. She

explained that the Society has adopted a policy of charging a \$50.00 royalty for permission to make reprints of articles from the *Quarterly* by any person or agency other than the author. The latter can order reprints at cost of printing. The royalty fee will be divided equally between the author and the Julien Yonge Publication Fund. Dr. Proctor was designated co-signator of the Yonge Fund with Miss Chapman, replacing Dr. Patrick.

Dr. Lycan informed the board that the lots (a gift from John B. Stetson) owned by the Society at De Leon Springs have a natural scenic beauty and could have a resale value. Dr. Lycan was asked to investigate the status of the property in the event the Society wants to sell the lots.

Judge Knott appointed Mr. Kislak and Mr. Usina as chairmen of the Society's finance committee. Other members will be appointed later. He also appointed Dr. Doherty as chairman of the resolutions committee.

Judge Knott reported the Florida State Board of Parks and Historic Memorials requests the Society's cooperation in screening historic markers. Director N. E. Bill Miller, director of the park board, has appointed Mr. Goza, Judge Knott, and Dr. Proctor as a state committee to work with him in approving markers. Possible marker sites suggested are Jacksonville, Fort Lauderdale, Naples, Vero Beach, Dade City, Tallahassee, and Tampa.

Mr. Craig, chairman of the publicity committee, reported that the news releases had been mailed to papers throughout the State describing the articles in the July number of the *Quarterly* and the date, place, and program of the annual meeting. Mr. Craig was commended for his excellent copy and the good results that he is getting. It was suggested that the *Newsletter* be sent to a number of editors to acquaint them with the Society's work and program. Dr. Rogers was commended for his work as the new editor of the *Newsletter*.

President Knott, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Goza reported that the Florida legislature had authorized establishment of an antiquities commission, and that it had formulated rules for recovery and salvage, with particular emphasis on sunken treasure and historical artifacts recovered on submerged lands. Historians are represented on the commission, and it is believed that certain areas will be reserved for historical purposes and future state excavation.

Dr. Rogers announced the following winners of the essay

contest: first place, Ann Touchton of Pasco High School, Dade City, for her paper "Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings"; second place, Lorraine Thomas of T. R. Robinson High School in Tampa, for the study of "Hamilton Disston's Effect on Florida's Economic History and Development"; and, third place, Christina Fult for "The Early Development of St. Lucia County, Fort Pierce." Several recommendations were made by board members to create additional interest throughout the school system in the essay contest. An announcement will henceforth appear in the *Quarterly* when Miss Chapman sends out contest announcements, and district vice-presidents will contact local school principals and heads of history departments in an effort to promote the contest. Mr. Goza plans to discuss the contest with State Superintendent of Public Instruction Floyd T. Christian.

A motion was passed setting the 1967 annual meeting at Key West on May 5-6. Mr. Goza recommended that the board also consider with favor but take no immediate action on the invitation of the New Smyrna Historical Society to hold the 1968 meeting in that area.

Mr. Fuller announced the availability of early Florida maps that he has recently secured from London. Judge Knott asked Dr. Lycan to draw up a resolution requesting the State to provide proper archival facilities and to secure the services of an archivist.

The board of directors then adjourned.

#### MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The membership of the Florida Historical Society met for its annual business session in the Convention Room of the Lagoon Motel, Clearwater, at 9:30 A.M., May 7, 1966. President James R. Knott presided.

After introducing his officers and directors, Judge Knott called upon Mr. William Goza to present an honored guest. Mr. Goza recognized Father Jerome: "We have with us today a man of such unusual stature and ability, a man who has contributed so much to Florida History and so much to my personal enjoyment of it. The person of whom I speak is a scholar; he is a man who is gentle without weakness; he is scholarly without ostentation. I speak, of course, of the Dean of Florida History, Father Jerome of St. Leo's Abbey."

Judge Knott commended Dr. William W. Rogers, editor of the Society's *Newsletter*, and Mr. James C. Craig, publicity chairman, for their excellent contributions for the past year.

Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., chairman of the resolutions committee, presented the following resolutions on behalf of his committee, Dr. Gilbert L. Lycan and Dr. Frank B. Sessa:

#### RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, Arthur W. Thompson, who died on July 12, 1965, was a valued member of the Florida Historical Society, and made many contributions to the fields of education and historical writing, and WHEREAS, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Siegel of New York City, and Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville, Florida, desiring to perpetuate the memory of the said Arthur W. Thompson, have made a contribution to the Florida Historical Society of the sum of \$2,600.00 to be held and disbursed by it as hereinafter set forth, NOW THEREFORE, in consideration of the gift aforesaid, the Florida Historical Society does hereby establish

#### THE ARTHUR W. THOMPSON MEMORIAL PRIZE

for the following uses and purposes, and under the following conditions:

- 1) \$2,500.00 of said sum shall be invested or deposited in a separate interest or dividend bearing account in a commercial bank or savings and loan association, which shall provide insurance against loss in at least such amount by an instrumentality of the Federal Government, subject to check or draft of the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the Executive Secretary of the Society; or, shall be invested in securities issued by the United States Government.
- 2) Three individuals shall be appointed annually by the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and they shall constitute the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize judges; such judges shall select, before the date of the annual meeting of the Society, the most scholarly article on Florida history which shall have been published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*

during the year preceding the annual meeting at which such award is made.

- 3) The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize judges shall then designate the payment to the individual whose article was selected of any portion of the income accrued and payable upon the prize fund, not to exceed \$100.00. In the discretion of the Judges, more than one award may be made, provided the total value of the prizes awarded shall not exceed the income accrued and payable on the prize fund. If in the opinion of the prize committee, the income of the fund or the quality of the articles appearing in the *Quarterly* shall not justify the payment of an award, the award may be withheld for any such year. In the event a designation of award is made, announcement of the name of the winner of the award shall be made during the annual meeting of the Society held nearest to the date of the publication of the last number of a complete volume of the *Quarterly* within which volume the winning article shall have been selected, and payment of the prize shall be made at such convention.
- 4) In no event shall the principal of the fund be disbursed, and in the event the fund cannot, at any future time, be administered in accordance with the terms herein outlined by the Florida Historical Society or its successors, Irene S. Thompson (Mrs. Arthur W.) or a majority of her heirs at law if she be deceased, shall have the absolute right and power to designate a non-profit educational or charitable institution, other than the Florida Historical Society, as recipient of said fund, and the said Florida Historical Society or its successors are hereby irrevocably bound to comply with such request and designation.
- 5) The sum of \$100.00 (being the difference between the \$2,600.00 gift and the \$2,500.00 fund hereby established) shall be paid to the writer of the most scholarly article appearing in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* during the year preceding May 1, 1966, as selected by three judges designated by the present Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and the name of the recipient of the first annual Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize shall be announced during the annual convention of the Florida Historical Society in Clearwater, Florida, May 5-7, 1966.

- 6) The terms of this resolution may be amended by a unanimous vote of the directors at a duly constituted meeting of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society, with the exception that the name and general purpose of the award shall not be altered; authorization shall not be given for the deposit; or investment of the funds in any manner not herein authorized, or in accordance with the laws of the State of Florida pertaining to the investment of trust funds; and de provisions of paragraph "4" hereof may not in any circumstance be amended, modified, or rescinded.

#### RESOLUTION

On October 1, 1965, Dr. Dorothy Dodd retired as State Librarian of Florida. Trained in both journalism and history with degrees from Columbia University and the University of Chicago, she is known and admired by a generation of historians.

WHEREAS, Dr. Dorothy Dodd served the State of Florida twenty-five years in its State Library, being the State Librarian since 1952; and WHEREAS, Dr. Dodd was active in this Society as a member, officer, and one of the Board of Editors of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and, by action of the Board of Directors, as a Life Member since 1963; and WHEREAS, in her writings Dr. Dodd has made signal contributions to the history of the state, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society publicly express its appreciation to Dr. Dorothy Dodd for her historical contributions and for her faithful efforts to preserve the sources of Florida history despite budgetary handicaps and an almost complete lack of facilities afforded by the state government for its library.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the members of this Society through their secretary send all good wishes to Dr. Dodd for the enjoyment of her retirement and a reminder of the perpetual welcome she will receive at all functions of the Society.

#### RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, Dr. Rembert W. Patrick has devoted more than a quarter of a century to the study and writing of Florida history,

during which time he was chairman of the University of Florida history department, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, president of the Southern Historical Association, and occupant of many offices in this society; and

WHEREAS, Rembert W. Patrick was a quiet but steady bulwark of this Society in difficult times lending his talents without praise or publicity; and WHEREAS, Rembert W. Patrick founded a publications fund to honor the memory of the late Julien Chandler Yonge and worked unceasingly in its promotion; and WHEREAS, Professor Patrick after twenty-five years of devoted service to the University of Florida has accepted an invitation to move to the University of Georgia,

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Florida Historical Society in convention at Clearwater, Florida, on May 7, 1966, that the heartfelt gratitude of the members of the Society be expressed to Dr. Patrick and his good wife for their impressive contributions to the history of our state; and

BE IT RESOLVED, that at all future functions of this Society Dr. and Mrs. Patrick shall be received with all the respect, honor, and hospitality which we may extend to distinguished citizens.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be forwarded to Dr. and Mrs. Patrick by the secretary.

RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society strongly recommends that there be erected a Florida State Archives Building in which to store and preserve the papers, records, and documents of value to Florida government and history and to provide a proper place for the study and examination of such documents. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that there be appointed a State Archivist with an adequate staff, budget, and equipment to systematically collect, preserve, classify, and make readily available to public offices and other researchers said documents and records, with authority and resources to publish guides, bibliographies, and documents of significance. AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this Resolution be forwarded by the secretary to the governor, the secretary of state, the chairman of the

Interim Committee on Governmental Reorganization, the chairman of the Florida Library and Historical Commission, and the Florida Antiquities Commission, requesting each of these persons or agencies to lend support to the implementation of this resolution.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society congratulates the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior of the United States upon its fiftieth anniversary, and confirms the special interest of the Society in the Parks, Monuments, and memorials of Florida which are part of the National Park System. AND WHEREAS the year of 1972 is another anniversary of special historical significance for two units in the National Park System, being the centennial of the birth of the National Park idea at Yellowstone, and the tricentennial of Castillo de San Marcos, the noted Spanish fort at St. Augustine;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society encourages the National Park Service to undertake suitable commemoration of these anniversaries in 1972, and offers cooperation in furthering such observances in the State of Florida.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society express their gratitude to Miss Dena Snodgrass for the outstanding service which she has rendered to the Society as co-chairman of the *Newsletter*. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society express their gratitude to Mrs. W. S. Manning for the outstanding service which she has rendered to the Society as co-chairman of the *Newsletter*.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society extends its grateful thanks to the Pinellas County Historical Commission, the Clearwater local arrangements committee, Mr. and Mrs. William M. Goza, Mr. and Mrs. Milton Jones, Mrs. Thomas of the Clearwater Chamber of Commerce, and to those who have made this May 1966 annual meeting a memorable one.



## IN MEMORIAM

WHEREAS, Mr. Lucius Ruder was a faithful officer and member of the Florida Historical Society, serving last as a vice-president, and quietly but efficiently lending aid and support to historical projects of many kinds; and WHEREAS, Lucius Ruder was known and loved by countless members of this Society for his warm personal qualities,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that the members of this Society in Convention assembled at Clearwater, Florida, on May 7, 1966, do express their grief and sense of loss at his death and extend their sincerest sympathies to the family of this gallant gentleman. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this Resolution be forwarded by the secretary to the Ruder family.

RESOLVED that the Florida Historical Society express its regrets upon the death of the following esteemed members:

Mrs. Winchester Bennett, Delray Beach, Florida  
Mr. C. Edgar Blocker, Ocala, Florida  
Mr. Sam Brammar, St. Cloud, Florida  
Judge F. C. Dame, Fort Pierce, Florida  
Mr. E. N. Davis, Frostproof, Florida  
Mr. E. Story Hallock, Vero Beach, Florida  
Mrs. B. B. Lane, Chapel Hill, North Carolina  
Mrs. F. J. Meigs, Bronxville, New York  
Mrs. A. M. Porter, Pompano Beach, Florida  
Mr. John W. Rabb, Ocala, Florida  
Mr. R. V. Rickord, Orlando, Florida  
Colonel William M. Robinson, Jr., Quincy, Florida  
Mr. Lucius S. Ruder, Clearwater, Florida  
Judge Bayard B. Shields, Jacksonville, Florida  
Dr. Arthur W. Thompson, Gainesville, Florida  
Mr. William T. Weeks, Lynn Haven, Florida

The resolutions were duly approved.

Judge Knott announced that beginning this year the annual essay contest awards would be presented in the local schools of the winners in order to recognize them in their own communities.

In the absence of Mr. Adam G. Adams, chairman of the

nominating committee, Dr. Frank B. Sessa submitted the committee's report. Dr. Sessa passed on to the membership an observation of Mr. Adams to be acted upon by the membership. Mr. Adams suggested that because of a difficulty created by congressional reapportionment in Florida, that the directors whose terms have not expired be retained and that they be assigned to the districts in which they now reside. The nominating committee's report is as follows:

#### Officers - 1966-1967

President ..... William M. Goza, Clearwater  
 First vice-president ..... Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Gainesville  
 Second vice-president ..... James C. Craig, Jacksonville  
 Executive secretary and treasurer ..... Margaret Chapman, Tampa  
 Recording secretary ..... Mrs. Ralph F. Davis, Sarasota

#### Board of Directors

District 1 ..... Earle Bowden, Pensacola  
 District 3 ..... Judge Frank H. Elmore, Jacksonville  
 District 6 ..... Judge James D. Bruton, Jr., Tampa  
 District 7 ..... Walter S. Hardin, Bradenton  
 District 8 ..... Milton D. Jones, Clearwater  
 District 9 ..... Mrs. Henry J. Burkhardt, West Palm Beach  
 District 10 ..... Leonard A. Usina, Miami  
 District 11 ..... Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Coral Gables  
 District 12 ..... Julian I. Weinkle, Miami  
 At Large ..... Dr. John E. Johns, DeLand

#### Nominations Committee, 1966-1967

Adam G. Adams, chairman, Coral Gables  
 Dr. Charles W. Thrift, Lakeland  
 Judge Frank H. Elmore, Jacksonville  
 Dr. Gilbert L. Lycan, DeLand  
 Dr. Frank B. Sessa, Miami

It was moved that nominations be closed, and the motion was seconded and it carried. The president declared the slate presented by the nominating committee to be the elected officers and

directors for 1966-67. Judge Knott then turned the rostrum over to Mr. Goza.

Mr. Albert C. Manucy, former president of the Society, called for a standing vote of appreciation for Judge Knott. After a standing ovation, Mr. Goza remarked, "This is one motion that needs no second, by acceptance we certainly all agree. I know I speak for all the officers and directors when I say that the last two years have been very pleasant for us. We have seen the guiding genius of Judge Knott manifest itself in many ways and certainly we are appreciative of the work he has done. I would like to add my own appreciation for all the splendid cooperation and assistance we have received from everyone."

Mr. Goza announced that the convention site committee had recommended that the next annual meeting be held in Key West, Florida, on May 4, 5, 6, 1967. The board of directors had accepted this recommendation. He also informed the membership that New Smyrna had extended an invitation to hold the 1968 annual meeting in the Daytona Beach-New Smyrna area as part of the celebration of the bi-centennial of the founding of the Andrew Turnbull Colony.

Mr. Goza announced that the membership of the Society is more than 1,300, the largest in its history. He noted there had been a number of suggestions for Society projects for the coming year: establishment of a speakers bureau; increased solicitations for membership in schools, junior colleges, and universities; a fund for the acquisition of new books and the repair of old books for the Society's library; election of the president for a two-year term of office and the designation of a president-elect; establish a means whereby local societies can affiliate closer with the Florida Historical Society; wider and more complete publicity; acknowledgements in the Florida Historical Quarterly of gifts made to the Society; a more democratically-appointed nominating committee; inventory the assets of the Society, with a continuing inventory program; up-date the index to the Florida Historical Quarterly; condense local Society reports at the annual meeting; and operation of workshops for local historical societies.

Dr. Lycan called for the continuance of local society reports at the annual business meeting.

Judge Knott thanked all the members and the officers and directors for the work that they had done in making this annual

meeting and the past year's activities so successful. He expressed his gratitude to our hosts in Clearwater: the Pinellas County Historical Commission, the St. Petersburg Historical Society, the Hillsborough County Historical Commission, Searchers, Inc., and to William M. Goza and Milton D. Jones and the members, of their committees on local arrangements. He extended an invitation to all to attend the annual meeting in Key West next year.

The meeting was then adjourned.

In July 1966, President Goza announced the election of the Board of Directors as regional vice-presidents:

Dr. William W. Rogers, Tallahassee-Northwest Florida

Judge Frank H. Elmore, Jacksonville-Northeast Florida

Mr. Frank J. Laumer, Dade City-Central Florida

Mr. Milton D. Jones, Clearwater-Southwest Florida

Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Coral Gables-Southeast Florida

Mr. Goza has appointed the regional vice-presidents as membership chairmen for their respective districts, and has asked them to watch the news media for announcements of historic significance, such as dedications of historic markers, etc., and to identify themselves as representatives of the Florida Historical Society, offering the cooperation of the Society.

## FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## TREASURER'S REPORT

APRIL 1, 1965 - MARCH 31, 1966

Balance, April 1, 1965 .....			\$15,826.15
Location of Balance:			
Florida National Bank at Gainesville .....	1,469.94		
First National Bank of Tampa .....	144.71		
First Federal Savings and Loan Assn. ....	7,200.59		
University of South Florida Account #95003 ..	96.53		
Petty Cash .....	4.52		
Julien C. Yonge Fund:			
Guaranty Federal Savings and Loan Assn. ..	6,477.36		
United Gas Corp. 20 Shares (Par Value) ..	200.00		
Middle South Utilities 3 Shares .....	126.75		
Florida Growth Fund 15 Shares .....	105.75		
			<u>\$15,826.15</u>
Receipts:			
Memberships:			
Annual .....	3,860.50		
Fellow .....	570.00		
Contributing .....	175.00		
Sponsor .....	50.00		
Student .....	38.00		
Life .....	100.00		
Library .....	1,416.37	6,209.87	
Other Receipts:			
Quarterlies Sales .....	627.15		
Reprints .....	357.22		
Royalties .....	200.00		
First Fed. Savings Dividends .....	310.10		
Real Property			
St. Johns County .....	280.00		
Volusia County .....	20.00		
Julien C. Yonge Fund:			
Individual Contributions .....	700.00		
United Gas Dividends .....	42.50		
Middle South Dividends .....	3.81		
Florida Growth Dividends .....	6.68		
Royalties:			
Aristocrat in Uniform .....	125.21		
“Osceola” Issue of			
Quarterly .....	67.73		
“Quadricentennial” Issue			
of Quarterly .....	100.00		
Guaranty Federal Interest .....	286.41		
Petty Cash .....	6.09		
Miscellaneous:			
Refund from Post Office .....	10.00	3,142.90	9,352.77
			<u>\$25,178.92</u>
Total Receipts .....			\$25,178.92
Disbursements:			
Quarterlies:			
Printing .....	5,433.62		
Copyrights .....	12.00		
Editing Expense .....	300.00		
Telephone & Box Rent .....	28.20		
Stationery and Envelopes:			
Convention Press .....	107.47		
Pepper Printing .....	25.32	5,906.61	

Petty Cash .....	167.94		
U. S. F. Account #95003 .....	279.16		
Bank Charges			
(Non Par checks only) .....	1.00		
Newsletter .....	164.18		
Essay Contest Prizes .....	62.50		
Resolutions filed in Tallahassee	13.00		
Income Tax Return			
(C. P. Saclarides) .....	25.00		
Property Tax:			
St. Johns County .....	3.33		
Volusia County .....	1.85		
Fire Insurance on Collection .....	15.00		
Miscellaneous:			
Judge Knott (Xeroxing) ....	6.50		
Deposit at Post Office .....	50.00		
Flowers for Funerals .....	31.42		
Directory of Historical			
Societies .....	2.00		
Reimbursements:			
F. A. Owen .....	1.12		
Newton Perry .....	2.50		
R. D. Carter .....	1.50		
Rubber Stamp .....	1.24		
Royalties for Authors:			
Luis R. Arana .....	25.00		
Kenneth H. Beeson .....	25.00		
Fr. Michael V. Gannon .....	25.00		
Mrs. Helen H. Tanner .....	25.00		
Royalties for Julien C. Yonge			
Fund .....	100.00	1,029.24	6,935.85
			<u>\$18,243.07</u>

## Locations of Balances:

Florida National Bank			
at Gainesville .....	2,038.70		
First National Bank of Tampa .....	29.59		
First Federal Savings			
and Loan Assn. ....	7,510.69		
St. Johns County Property .....	280.00		
Volusia County Property .....	20.00		
U. S. F. Account #95003 .....	117.99	9,996.97	
Julien C. Yonge Fund:			
Guaranty Federal Savings			
Assn. ....	7,809.70		
United Gas Corp.			
(20 Shares Par) .....	200.00		
Middle South Utilities			
(3 Shares) .....	126.00		
Florida Growth Fund			
(15 Shares) .....	110.40	8,246.10	
			<u>\$18,243.07</u>

## REPORT ON JULIEN C. YONGE MEMORIAL FUND

Balance Forward .....	\$6,477.36
Contributions received .....	1,045.00
Dividends on stock .....	54.01
Bank Interest Guaranty Federal .....	368.35
Royalties .....	<u>292.94</u>
Balance on Hand .....	\$8,237.66
Contributions received since Judge James Knott's letter .....	\$ 800.00

## FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## NEW MEMBERS

April 3, 1965 - March 31, 1966

George J. Albright, Orlando, Florida  
James M. Allen, Miami, Florida  
Roy H. Amidon, Lakeland, Florida  
Richard J. Amundson, Clemson, South Carolina  
Evelyn Anderson, Sanford, Florida  
Charles W. Arnade, San Antonio, Florida  
Mr. and Mrs. Rudolph E. Atmus, East Longmeadow, Massachusetts  
Hubert A. Barge, Miami, Florida  
James A. Baxter, Clearwater, Florida  
Robert S. Beardsley, Madeira Beach, Florida  
Kenned H. Beeson, St. Augustine, Florida  
Mr. and Mrs. Carl A. Benson, Orlando, Florida  
Clinton S. Berrien, Gainesville, Florida  
Ralph W. Bickham, Gainesville, Florida  
Mrs. William P. Bivins, Maitland, Florida  
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Botkin, Fort Lauderdale, Florida  
Maury A. Bromsen, Boston, Massachusetts  
Elizabeth S. Brown, Bartow, Florida  
Mrs. Henry I. Burkhardt, West Palm Beach, Florida  
Governor Haydon Burns, Tallahassee, Florida  
J. Fred Campbell, Clearwater, Florida  
E. E. Carter, Vero Beach, Florida  
Alfred M. Carvajal, Coral Gables, Florida  
Betty Chadwick, Sarasota, Florida  
Helen Chase, Ozone, Florida  
Floyd T. Christian, Tallahassee, Florida  
Terry L. Christie, Tallahassee, Florida  
Mrs. C. A. Clayton, New Port Richey, Florida  
Mrs. L. W. Clements, Bartow, Florida  
I. B. Cole, Wharton, New Jersey  
Edythe E. Coler, Safety Harbor, Florida  
Doyle Conner, Tallahassee, Florida  
Mrs. LeLand R. Cooper, Ocala, Florida  
Walter F. Cordes, Miami, Florida  
Mrs. Ora Burney Cox, Fort Pierce, Florida  
Rita G. Crabtree, Tallahassee, Florida  
Terry Crawford, Ocala, Florida  
Allen Crowley, Sarasota, Florida  
E. D. Currence, Lake Worth, Florida  
Marilyn B. Deariso, Tallahassee, Florida  
Ann Denson, Ocala, Florida  
Fred Donaldson, Jr., Waldo, Florida  
Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth W. Dow, St. Augustine, Florida  
Herbert J. Drew, Live Oak, Florida  
L. D. DuBois, Clearwater, Florida  
Dr. and Mrs. Kenned Dunham, Frostproof, Florida  
Lucien Y. Dyrenforth, Jacksonville, Florida  
W. R. Edson, Safety Harbor, Florida  
Helen C. Ellerbe, Gainesville, Florida  
Earl Faircloth, Tallahassee, Florida  
Mrs. R. W. Ferguson, Tampa, Florida  
Charles Fetherston, St. Petersburg, Florida

Mary Theodora Fleming, Jacksonville, Florida  
Dorothy J. Flood, Fort Meade, Florida  
Mrs. A. H. Gaede, DeLand, Florida  
Michael V. Gannon, St. Augustine, Florida  
Mac J. Goethe, Bradenton, Florida  
W. J. Grant, Tampa, Florida  
Donald L. Green, APO, New York  
C. J. Haire, West Palm Beach, Florida  
Lloyd Harman, Homosassa, Florida  
Screven T. Hart, Jacksonville, Florida  
Harold C. Haskins, Tallahassee, Florida  
Scott P. Hertel, West Palm Beach, Florida  
C. Howard Hill, Jacksonville, Florida  
Nanci Hoard, Oxford, Florida  
W. M. Ives, San Antonio, Texas  
Robert M. Jernigan, Fort Pierce, Florida  
Larry Johnson, Hawthorne, Florida  
Nelson T. Jones, Tampa, Florida  
Mary Keith, Ocala, Florida  
H. Jeanne Kelton, Ocala, Florida  
Timothy D. W. Kerns, Satellite Beach, Florida  
Mrs. Max Kettner, St. Augustine, Florida  
Mrs. C. Jack King, Tampa, Florida  
John B. Kirby, Jr., Holden, Massachusetts  
Mr. and Mrs. Otto R. H. Knopp, Nokomis, Florida  
Thomas Knotts, Yankeetown, Florida  
Effie Knowles, Miami, Florida  
Janie Kuppers, Lakeland, Florida  
Martin M. LaGodna, Gainesville, Florida  
Ann M. Land, Coral Gables, Florida  
Alice Lawton, St. Augustine, Florida  
R. A. Liggett, Tampa, Florida  
James S. Lindsley, St. Augustine, Florida  
Leo A. Lorenzo, Tampa, Florida  
Leonard W. Lorenzo, Sr., Tampa, Florida  
Broward Lovell, Ocala, Florida  
Kenneth Luther, Gainesville, Florida  
Thomas C. MacDonald, Jr., Tampa, Florida  
James C. McKay, New Port Richey, Florida  
Arlene M. McKee, Jacksonville, Florida  
Mary O. McRory, Tallahassee, Florida  
D. R. (Billy) Matthews, Washington, D. C.  
D. Richard Mead, Miami, Florida  
Rob Roy Meador, Leesburg, Florida  
James Stewart Milner, Pensacola, Florida  
Albert Moseley, Daytona Beach, Florida  
James K. Mueller, Fairfax, Virginia  
Curtis R. Newsome, Gainesville, Florida  
Lynn Newsome, Gainesville, Florida  
John J. Nolan, Gainesville, Florida  
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Martha Oelsner, New Port Richey, Florida  
Arthur H. Park, Orlando, Florida  
Ronnie Parker, McIntosh, Florida  
Mrs. Henry U. Parrish, Jr., Rockledge, Florida  
Leonard W. Payne, Dunedin, Florida  
Chester Harvey Peacock, Jacksonville, Florida  
Newton A. Perry, Ocala, Florida



Richard Perry, Crystal Beach, Florida  
 Mrs. Thruston Pettus, Ponte Vedra Beach, Florida  
 Mrs. Donald R. Porter, Fort Pierce, Florida  
 Eugene J. Proulx, St. Petersburg, Florida  
 Ella Ralls, Arcadia, Florida  
 Kay Rankin, Tallahassee, Florida  
 Mrs. Ralph Reddy, Dunedin, Florida  
 Earl D. Regan, Daytona Beach, Florida  
 E. Dawson Roberts, Nassau, Bahamas  
 George D. Robinson, St. Petersburg, Florida  
 George C. Rogers, Jr., Columbia, South Carolina  
 Paul G. Rogers, Washington, D. C.  
 John H. Romfh, Miami, Florida  
 Mary Turner Rule, Pensacola, Florida  
 Dale Russell, Ocala, Florida  
 Maxwell B. Sackheim, Clearwater, Florida  
 Frederick H. P. Schuck, Clearwater, Florida  
 Manuel Serkin, Coral Gables, Florida  
 James J. Short, Palm Harbor, Florida  
 Elizabeth F. Smith, Crawfordville, Florida  
 Jo Hill Smith, Miami Springs, Florida  
 Norman Somberg, Miami, Florida  
 Charles R. Speh, Tallahassee, Florida  
 John R. Stackhouse, Winter Park, Florida  
 Thomas A. Stanford, Maitland, Florida  
 Corrine Stepp, Oklawaha, Florida  
 Annie Bell Stevenson, Ocala, Florida  
 John B. Stoddard, Jacksonville, Florida  
 William M. Straight, Miami, Florida  
 Roy L. Struble, Bal Harbour, Florida  
 Carolyn Thompson, Tallahassee, Florida  
 Ralph J. Tompkins, Tampa, Florida  
 Judge and Mrs. M. W. Treiman, Brooksville, Florida  
 Kenned Treister, Miami, Florida  
 H. M. Turnburke, Clearwater, Florida  
 Louise Turner, Ocala, Florida  
 Rachel Van Berkum, Riviera Beach, Florida  
 Elizabeth V. Vernon, Orlando, Florida  
 Robert L. Wagner, Orlando, Florida  
 Harold B. Wahl, Jacksonville, Florida  
 David S. Walker, St. Petersburg, Florida  
 John D. Ware, Tampa, Florida  
 Fannie Budge Waters, Winter Park, Florida  
 William L. Webb, Fernandina Beach, Florida  
 Barney White, St. Petersburg, Florida  
 Roger S. White, Clearwater, Florida  
 Edmund S. Whitson, Clearwater, Florida  
 Lura Williams, Archer, Florida  
 Charles L. Williamson, Seminole, Florida  
 Col. and Mrs. A. G. Wing, Bradenton, Florida  
 Douglas J. Witham, Stuart, Florida  
 University of Alabama Library (Huntsville Campus), Huntsville, Alabama  
 Attucks High School Library, Hollywood, Florida  
 Ball State University Library, Muncie, Indiana  
 Boca Raton Library Association, Inc., Boca Raton, Florida  
 Boynton Beach Junior High School Library, Boynton Beach, Florida  
 Texas Christian University Library, Fort Worth, Texas  
 University of California Library (San Diego Campus), LaJolla, California  
 Chamberlain High School Library, Tampa, Florida

Cocoa Beach High School Library, Cocoa Beach, Florida  
W. J. Creel Elementary School Library, Eau Gallie, Florida  
Deerfield Park Elementary School Library, Deerfield Beach, Florida  
DeLand Public Library, DeLand, Florida  
Delaura Junior High School Library, Satellite Beach, Florida  
Ponce de Leon Junior High School Library, Coral Gables, Florida  
Dillard Elementary School Library, Fort Lauderdale, Florida  
Eastern New Mexico University Library, Portales, New Mexico  
Eau Gallie High School Library, Eau Gallie, Florida  
Eau Gallie Junior High School Library, Eau Gallie, Florida  
Edgewood Junior High School Library, Merritt Island, Florida  
Freedom 7 Elementary School Library, Cocoa Beach, Florida  
Forest Hill High School Library, West Palm Beach, Florida  
Frostproof Public Library, Frostproof, Florida  
Groveland Public Library, Groveland, Florida  
Gulf High School Library, New Port Richey, Florida  
Harbordale Elementary School Library, Fort Lauderdale, Florida  
Hillsborough High School Library, Tampa, Florida  
Holland Elementary School, Satellite Beach, Florida  
Howey Academy Library, Howey-in-the-Hills, Florida  
Indialantic Junior High School Library, Satellite Beach, Florida  
Indian River City Junior High School Library, Titusville, Florida  
Jupiter High School Library, Jupiter, Florida  
Kathleen Senior High School Library, Lakeland, Florida  
Lake Alfred Junior High School Library, Lake Alfred, Florida  
Lake Worth Junior High School Library, Lake Worth, Florida  
Lake Worth Senior High School Library, Lake Worth, Florida  
Lakeland Senior High School Library, Lakeland, Florida  
Lantana Junior High School Library, Lantana, Florida  
Lehigh University Library, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania  
Louisiana State University Library, New Orleans, Louisiana  
Dan McCarty High School Library, Fort Pierce, Florida  
Meadowlane Elementary School Library, Melbourne, Florida  
Merritt Island High School Library, Merritt Island, Florida  
Miami Coral Park Senior High School Library, Miami, Florida  
Monroe Junior College Library, Key West, Florida  
North Fort Myers Junior-Senior High School Library, Fort Myers, Florida  
Notre Dame Academy Library, Miami, Florida  
Ormond Beach Junior High School Library, Ormond Beach, Florida  
Ohio University Library, Athens, Ohio  
Palatka Senior High School Library, Palatka, Florida  
Palm Beach Junior College Library, Lake Worth, Florida  
Palmetto Center Library, Miami-Dade Junior College, Miami, Florida  
Northern Illinois University Library, DeKalb, Illinois  
Parkway Junior High School Library, Titusville, Florida  
Pineda Elementary School Library, Cocoa, Florida  
Embry Riddle Library, Aeronautical Institute, Daytona Beach, Florida  
Rockledge Elementary School Library, Rockledge, Florida  
Rockledge Junior High School Library, Cocoa, Florida  
St. Anthony School Library, San Antonio, Florida  
St. Bernard College Library, St. Bernard, Alabama  
St. Johns River Junior College, Palatka, Florida  
Samford University Library, Birmingham, Alabama  
Santa Fe High School Library, Alachua, Florida  
Seabreeze Junior High School Library, Daytona Beach, Florida  
Seminole High School Library, Sanford, Florida  
South Sumter High School Library, Bushnell, Florida  
Southwest Junior High School Library, Melbourne, Florida  
State University of New York Library at Stony Brook, Long Island, N. Y.

Temple Terrace Public Library, Temple Terrace, Florida  
Titusville High School Library, Titusville, Florida  
Vero Beach Senior High School Library, Vero Beach, Florida  
University College of Wales Library, Abersytwyth, Wales, Great Britain  
Winthrop College Library, Rock Hill, South Carolina  
W. J. Woodham High School Library, Pensacola, Florida  
Hernando deSoto Historical Society, Bradenton, Florida  
Lake County Historical Society, Tavares, Florida  
Safety Harbor Area Historical Society, Safety Harbor, Florida  
Southwest Florida Historical Society, Fort Myers, Florida

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### CONTRIBUTORS

FATHER DAVID P. PAGE is executive editor of *The Florida Catholic* and is vice-president of the St. Augustine Foundation.

DUDLEY S. JOHNSON is professor of history at Southeastern Louisiana College.

CHARLES E. BENNETT is Congressman from the Second Florida Congressional District and is the author of *Laudonniere & Fort Caroline*.

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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

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SAMUEL PROCTOR, *Editor*

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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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