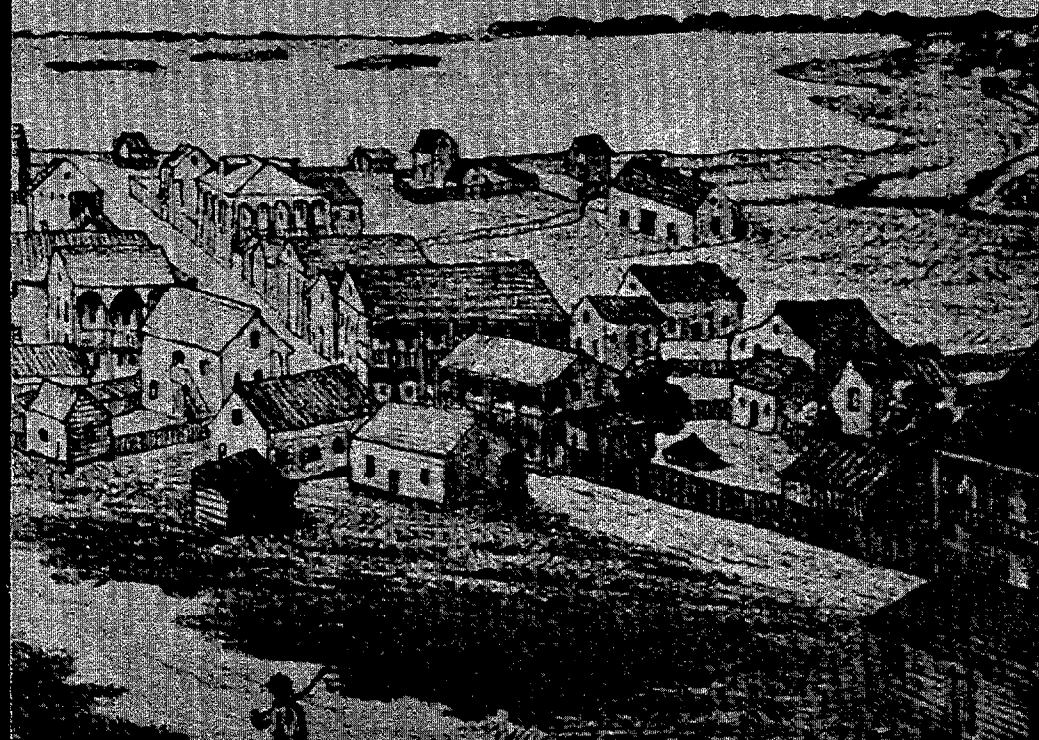


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FRONT COVER

Francis de La Porte, Comte de Castelnau, eminent nineteenth century naturalist and traveler, made an extended journey to America (1837-1841), and spent four months-November 1837 to March 1838-in Florida. His "Essai sur La Floride du Milieu," published in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages et des Sciences Geographiques* in 1843, describes the Middle Florida area that he visited. Eleven lithographs of Florida scenes appeared in Castelnau's *Vues et Souvenirs de l' Amerique du Nord* which was published in Paris in 1842. Seven of these important lithographs and the translations of Castelnau's Florida writings appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (October 1947-January 1948).

There is nothing in Castlenau's writings to indicate that he was ever in Key West. This lithograph is undoubtedly a copy of a small pencil sketch made by William Adee Whitehead in June 1838. It is looking north toward the business section of Key West. Whitehead, a civil engineer who had made an official survey of the island in 1829, and who had served as collector of customs, made this sketch from the cupola of the A. C. Tift & Co. warehouse. Where Castelnau saw Whitehead's sketch is not known, but it is likely that it was in New Jersey or New York. Whitehead took the sketch with him when he went North in 1838, and he did not return it to Key West until 1872. It is believed that the sketch was later destroyed in a fire. The 1838 sketch is reproduced in Walter C. Maloney, *Historical Sketch of Key West, Florida* (Newark, 1876).

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THE FLORIDA TREATY AND THE GALLATIN-VIVES MISUNDERSTANDING¹

by LOUIS R. BISCEGLIA *

FROM THE TIME IT was announced by His Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII in August 1820, that he was sending a minister plenipotentiary to the United States to conduct further negotiations with President Monroe, to the moment General Francisco Vives disembarked in New York on April 7, 1820, from the packet ship *James Monroe*, an aura of mystery had enveloped Washington as to the disposition of the Spanish government toward the Florida treaty.² For during this time there had been virtually no official communiques exchanged between the two governments. John Forsyth, the American minister in Spain, was for all intents and purposes *persona non grata*, and for months he had been given almost no information by the Spanish government.³ The question being asked in Washington was: Did Vives bring along a ratified treaty?

This question was quickly answered, for accompanying Vives were dispatches from Albert Gallatin and Richard Rush, respectively, American ministers to France and England, where

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1. There are several good secondary sources from which the background to this problem can be obtained. Best among these are Samuel Flagg Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Founding of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949); George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* (New York, 1952); Charles C. Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822* (New York, 1937); Philip C. Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (Berkeley, 1939). Both Brooks and Griffin widely utilized unpublished Spanish sources. Most of the correspondence dealing with the ratification problem can be found in *Annals of Congress, 1789-1824*, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., 42 vols. (Washington, 1834-1856), XXXVII, appendix, "Spain-Ratification of the Treaty of 1819," 1337-1469.
2. John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams: Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795-1848*, edited by Charles Francis Adams, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), V (April 7, 1820), 59-60; John Quincy Adams, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Worthington C. Ford, 7 vols. (New York, 1913-1917), VII, 5, fn. 2. Ford erroneously places Vives' arrival in Washington on March 9, 1820.
3. For the problems facing Forsyth in Spain see Alvin L. Duckett, *John Forsyth: Political Tactician* (Athens, 1962), 42-64.

Vives had stopped for short conferences on his way to the United States.⁴ On February 12, 1820, Gallatin had met and discussed the situation with Vives, although the Spaniard did not have a ratified treaty with him. Gallatin's letter to the state department of February 15, 1820, answered one question, but it raised another equally important issue: Could Vives authorize the United States immediate possession of Florida upon verification that Washington would pursue a neutral policy with regard to Spain's rebellious colonies in South America? In his letter Gallatin said that Vives had the authority,⁵ but the latter denied this authorization and denied that he had ever remotely suggested anything to that effect while in Paris. The whole affair had to be a misunderstanding.⁶ Yet it can be reasonably well established that as long as the issue was to remain important, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams believed what Gallatin said was true—especially in view of the extenuating circumstances that were to arise out of his own “verbal discussions” with Vives. But before turning to the substance of Vives' meetings in Paris and subsequent negotiations in the United States, it is of considerable importance that more be known about Vives himself, his instructions, and the situation that prompted his departure from Spain in January 1820.

Major-General Francisco Dionisio Vives was a much decorated soldier.⁷ He had achieved a distinguished record during the Peninsular War. At the time of his appointment he had no diplomatic experience. Normally this would have disqualified him from being selected to undertake such an important mission, especially since his opposite number was to be a person so highly seasoned in the intricacies of diplomacy as John Quincy Adams. However, it seems that Ferdinand VII distrusted diplomats for displaying the same devious qualities which

4. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 7, 1820), 59-60.

5. Albert Gallatin, *Writings of Albert Gallatin*, edited by Henry Adams, 3 vols. (New York, 1960), II, 133-36. This letter is also reproduced in *American State Papers, Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States, Foreign Relations*, 6 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), IV, 678-79. Hereinafter cited as *ASPFR*. See *Annals of Congress*, XXXVII, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1407-09.

6. Adams to Vives, *ASPFR*, IV, 681-82; Adams, *Writings*, VII, 5-8; Vives to the Secretary of State, *ASPFR*, IV, 682-83 [translation].

7. See *Enciclopedia universal Espasa*, LXIX, 712, article, “Francisco Dionisio Vives,” as cited by Griffin, *United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire*, 221; Vives' Credentials, *ASPFR*, IV, 677-78.

he himself exhibited.⁸ Other more qualified individuals were advanced for the mission, but few wanted the task of presenting impatient American leaders with further possible delays.⁹ Don Francisco was himself reluctant.¹⁰

At the time of his appointment in August 1819, Vives was in Andalusia with the forces being readied for South America. For over two months he was quarantined because of a yellow fever epidemic. Forsyth made inquiry after inquiry into the matter of the Florida treaty, but the court was then so occupied with the King's marriage and the bestowal of the *gracias*, that the special nature of Spanish-United States relations was forgotten.¹¹

Vives finally reached Madrid on November 15, 1819. Another month passed, however, before Forsyth was officially informed of Vives' appointment, and it was not until January 1820, that he got off a letter to the state department with this information.¹² Consequently, the United States government was very much in the dark with respect to Spanish intentions. Monroe's message of December 7, 1819, called for Congress to grant him discretionary powers to occupy Florida if the need arose, but he was willing to postpone any consideration of the matter until the new Spanish minister arrived. Three weeks later Secretary of State Adams sent a note to the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations that he was expecting the arrival of the Spanish minister before the end of December 1819.¹³ Hence it was with a note of utter despair for his Florida treaty that Adams advised Monroe to tender another postponement to Congress. Then on March 18, 1820, he received Forsyth's notes. Vives was not expected to reach the United States before May 1820, and the Americans knew no more about his instructions than the fact that he possessed "competent" and "ample" powers.¹⁴

8. Griffin, *United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire*, 221.

9. *Ibid.*, 221-22.

10. Forsyth to Adams, *ASPFR*, IV, 671.

11. *Ibid.*, 664, 666-67, 668-70.

12. Forsyth to Adams, *ibid.*, 671, 674-75.

13. Adams to Lowndes, *Annals of Congress*, XXXVII, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1398. See James Monroe, *The Writings of James Monroe*, edited by Stanislaus M. Hamilton, 7 vols. (New York 1898-1902), VI, 106-13. Also, James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 10 vols. (Washington, 1896-1902), II, 54-58.

14. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (March 18, 1820), 23-26; Forsyth to Adams, *ASPFR*, IV, 674-75.

Vives' instructions were essentially the same as those drawn up for him six months before. After a preliminary summary of the dispute with the United States, they state that the Florida treaty was not acceptable because of the large concession it provided without giving Spain the guarantee that the President would not recognize "Buenos Ayres." The chief aim of the negotiations was to prevent America from either recognizing or giving aid to the rebel governments. After this point was settled, Vives would then be willing to discuss the land claims and financial stipulations. He had also been told to try to secure aid from England by offering it commercial advantages and not to worry about concluding an agreement with the United States. If he could induce the state department to reopen negotiations, Spain would consider the mission a success.¹⁵

From the time these instructions were first drawn up in August 1819, until after Vives arrived in Madrid, the Spanish government had been procrastinating—waiting for a more favorable turn of events before acting. Overtures were made to the European powers for aid in resolving the difficulties with America. While the Spaniards confidently expected more favorable conditions, they could not induce the European powers to support her cause. The Russian, French, and British governments were all in favor of immediate ratification of the Florida treaty; delay was regarded as a threat to peace. The favorable winds Spain had expected were not forthcoming. On the contrary, in their stead a veritable gale blew and threatened not only the properties of the Spanish colonies in South America, but also the lands beyond the Sabine River in North America. Even at home the liberal insurgents were restless under the tyrannical controls imposed upon them by Ferdinand and his reactionary ministers. Throughout the late fall and early winter of 1819-1820 hurried reports reached Spain of American filibuster expeditions and rumors of other trouble. Indeed storm warnings were posted all along the southwestern frontier and might just as well have been posted at Cadiz.¹⁶ Mateo de la Serna (charge d'affairs at Washington, and ranking Spanish official in the United States upon the departure of Luis de Onís

15. The instructions to General Vives are summarized in Griffin, *United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire*, 222.

16. Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands*, 185.

in May 1819) reported on Monroe's tour of the southern and western states in the summer of 1819. The charge issued frantic reports of the belligerent tone of public opinion which was advocating forceful seizure of Spanish lands "even going to the point of capturing of Texas." Similar expressions of concern for Texas were voiced by the consul at St. Louis with regard to the exploring expedition of Major Stephan H. Long into Missouri country. Fears were further compounded by the reports of the Spanish consulate at Natchitoches with regard to the abortive efforts of Dr. James Long to "liberate" Texas. Reports also reached Spain from Mexico. Fear then of losing the *Provincias Internas* to the land-ambitious Americans was paramount. Affairs appeared in such a state that in late December 1819, Luis de Onís, who had returned to Spain, was asked to prepare a detailed statement of the United States' naval forces which might be called out in the event of war.¹⁷

It is possible to conceive that Vives might very well have been issued some form of verbal instructions to authorize the occupation of the Floridas by the United States, and in this manner bind the United States to occupy only the lands stipulated in the treaty, thus preserving the Spanish land beyond the treaty line from forceful seizure. Certainly neither Vives nor the Spanish government, in view of the reports received, had any inkling that the entire tenor of feeling in the United States had been greatly exaggerated. Furthermore, Spain had vivid recollections of the sorties launched by James Wilkinson, Andrew Jackson, and General George Mathews, into East and West Florida prior to the signing of the Adams-Onís treaty.

Vives left Madrid on January 25, 1820, and arrived in Paris on February 11, 1820. The following day he met with Baron Pasquier, the French foreign minister. Pasquier in turn invited Albert Gallatin for an interview the same day to describe the meeting with Vives. Gallatin pointed out to the Frenchman that President Monroe would need a more solid guarantee of Spain's good faith than simply the same verbal promises that Luis de Onís had given Adams. "This observation forcibly struck Mr. Pasquier who said that he would make further inquiries upon that point."¹⁸ That same evening Gallatin visited

17. *Ibid.*, 185-86, 200, fn. 61.

18. Gallatin, *Writings*, II, 134.

the Duke of Fernan-Nunez, Spanish ambassador to France and in the course of conversation, Fernan-Nunez suggested "that the grants in dispute might be set aside, the grantees not having fulfilled certain conditions of formalities; and, after acknowledging that General Vives was not the bearer of the King's ratification, he hinted that he was authorized to give the United States satisfactory security that Spain would fulfill her engagements."¹⁹

Gallatin did not meet General Vives face to face until the evening of February 13 at a dinner given in honor of Vives by Pasquier. After dinner Gallatin had a short conversation with Vives in which the general "repeated in substance what he had said to Mr. Pasquier."²⁰ What next followed was to be of utmost significance: "I then repeated what I said to Mr. Pasquier respecting the importance of being authorized to exchange the ratifications of the Florida treaty. He answered that, although he was not [the bearer of a ratified treaty], he could, in case of an agreement, give satisfactory security to the United States, and that it would consist in consenting that they should take immediate possession of Florida, without waiting for the ratification of the treaty."²¹ When the festivities were over Gallatin got together with Baron Pasquier to compare notes.

"General Vives repeated in the course of the evening the same thing to Mr. Pasquier. He [Pasquier] seemed extremely astonished that the Spanish Government should have adopted that course rather than to authorize their minister to exchange at once ratifications, and ascribed it to the singular policy of that Cabinet [Ferdinand's reactionary ministers] and their habits of procrastination, which had been evinced at Vienna, and in every subsequent negotiation to which Spain has been a party."²²

It hardly seems conceivable that with such interwoven sources, Gallatin's report could be based simply upon a "misunderstanding." To borrow from the logical mind of John Quincy Adams,²³ the contents of Gallatin's letter of February 15, 1820, can be summarized in this manner: First, the Spanish

19. *Ibid.*, 134-35.

20. *Ibid.*, 135.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, 135-36.

23. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (May 5, 1820), 96-98.

ambassador to France told Gallatin that Vives could give the United States a satisfactory pledge for security in lieu of a delay in ratification. Secondly, Vives confirmed this to Gallatin himself, specifying that the security consisted of giving the United States possession of Florida without waiting for ratification of the treaty. Thirdly, Vives gave the same information to Pasquier at separate conversations when Gallatin was not present. And finally, Gallatin and Pasquier at a subsequent meeting both agreed in their understanding of what the general had separately said to them; and likewise, both agreed that the matter was of such immediate importance that the information should be made known to the United States at once.²⁴

Vives was no diplomat, and it is entirely possible that in his meetings in Paris he played his trump card prematurely, as he was to do later on in his meeting with John Quincy Adams.²⁵ Vives left France for England on February 14, 1820. Gallatin sent along his dispatch on February 15 to reach the United States the same time Vives did. Arriving in England, Vives then proceeded to comply with his instructions by arranging two interviews with Castlereagh through the services of the Duke of San Carlos, the Spanish ambassador to Great Britain. The whole affair backfired. Instead of consummating an agreement for British aid, the Spaniards were "roundly lectured" by the British Prime Minister.²⁶ Thus finding little reason to remain in London, Vives sailed from Liverpool at the end of February.²⁷

While Vives was enroute to New York, Monroe had to send

24. Nevertheless Griffin states, ". . . it is probable that Gallatin counted too heavily on some vague remark made by the Spanish diplomat. Fernan-Nunez . . . added to the confusion by hinting Spain might give way on the land grants, and it also appears that Pasquier misled Gallatin as to the extent of Vives' powers. . . ." Griffin, *United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire*, 223. Professor Griffin places emphasis therefore upon Gallatin's disclaimer letter of August 7, 1820. See Gallatin, *Writings*, II, 165-67.

25. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 29, 1820), 79-83.

26. Griffin, *United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire*, 224.

27. Rush had reported Vives' visit to London but evidently was not informed of the meetings with Castlereagh, for when later Hyde de Neuville, the French minister in the United States, apprised Adams of this fact Adams expressed disbelief and chalked it up to French meddling. See Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 7, 1820), 59-60; (May 1, 1820), 83-88.

another message to Congress on March 27, 1820.²⁸ This was necessitated by the issuance of the report of the House Committee on Foreign Relations which claimed that since Spain had not kept its part of the bargain, the United States should immediately take possession of the Floridas and demand the lands of Texas as an indemnity.²⁹ Meanwhile Adams and Monroe had received numerous calls by the French and Russian ministers to the United States, Hyde de Neuville and Count Pierre de Poletica, urging them to settle the Spanish matter amicably.³⁰ Advised by Adams, who had received Forsyth's notes of early January 1820, which placed Vives' arrival no sooner than May,³¹ and urged on by a letter from the Russian Tsar, President Monroe responded by calling for a postponement of the issues until the next session of Congress.³²

Upon the arrival of Vives and the accompanying correspondence from Gallatin, Adams' position changed somewhat from the stand he had previously held. Since trouble developed over Spanish ratification of the Florida treaty in the summer of 1819, Adams' position had been fairly consistent. He wanted the whole affair settled peacefully, but he was also growing impatient. His position was that the President should call on Congress to grant him discretionary powers to occupy the treaty lands if the need arose. Adams, continually worried about presenting a united front in the foreign policies of the United States, tried to keep the legislature's actions in line with what the executive was doing. With Hemy Clay as speaker of the house, this was no small task.³³

28. Monroe, *Writings*, VI, 117-18; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II, 69-70.

29. At this time there was no distinction between Committee on Foreign Relations and Committee on Foreign Affairs. The terms were used interchangeably in the house. See *Annals of Congress*, XXXVI, 16th Cong. 2nd Sess. Vol. 2, 1618-20, Report of the Committee, March 9, 1820.

30. Monroe, *Writings*, VI, 117-18; Adams, *Writings*, VII, 2-5.

31. *Supra*, 250; Forsyth to Adams, *ASPER*, IV, 671, 674-75.

32. Monroe, *Writings*, VI, 119-23.

33. For Adams' ideas on these matters see Adams, *Memoirs*, V (March 21, 1820), 28-31; (March 29, 1820), 45-48; Adams, *Writings*, VII, 2-5. On many occasions Clay voiced his disagreement with the administration's policies toward Spain and tried to get resolutions adopted supporting his own ideas. In the first place he felt that Congress alone had the power to cede territory, and that no treaty could relinquish territory without its sanctions. Secondly, he held that the Adams-Onís treaty ceded territory without an adequate equivalent given in return, and

Adams immediately took the Gallatin and Rush dispatches to the President and told him that the situation had changed considerably. He felt the negotiations with Vives should be brought "to a speedy close." Monroe replied that he "really did not think we ought to go to war for Florida, or that the nation would be willing to proceed to that extremity." Adams agreed, but now that he had read Gallatin's letter, he decided the Floridas might be occupied without risking war. His plan was one of confident over-reaction. A force should be put together of such size and magnitude that it would make any Spanish opposition or retaliation unfeasible; in other words, obviate the necessity of declaring war by simply overwhelming the Spaniards in Florida. This plan "would deserve consideration whether any other course could be taken consistently with the honor of the nation."³⁴

Meanwhile, Vives had quickly observed, and was informed, that the rumors that the United States was about to take Texas were greatly exaggerated.³⁵ Possibly Mateo de la Serna, who had been around Washington long enough, told him that it being this late in the session, that Congress would do nothing.³⁶ Even if he had been authorized to grant possession of Florida, any need for now stating so had obviously passed. Vives officially announced that Forsyth's conduct had necessitated his trip, and alluded to unneutral acts by the United States.³⁷ But in a "candid" conversation with Adams on April 29, he was more explicit, and revealed Spain's apprehension over rumors of American designs on Texas. He told Adams that "when he arrived in the United States he had been informed that the expedition of last summer against Texas [the Dr. James Long expedition] had been broken up and dissolved . . . that the hostility against Spain, which had been represented in such strong colors to the King, seemed to have been greatly exaggerated."³⁸

therefore it should be abrogated. From the beginning he never liked the idea of relinquishing claims to Texas. See Henry Clay, *The Papers of Henry Clay*, edited by John F. Hopkins, 3 vols. to date (Lexington, 1959), II, 803-16, *passim*.

34. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 7, 1820), 59-60.

35. *Ibid.*, (April 29, 1820), 79-83.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Vives to the Secretary of State, *ASFR*, IV, 680-81 [translation].

38. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 29, 1820), 79-83.

Prior to this informal meeting, Vives' mission had almost ended before it began. On April 11, he saw Adams for the first time and asked to present his credentials to Monroe. These formalities were performed the next day. On April 14, the secretary of state received a letter from Vives "opening and almost closing his negotiations."³⁹ In this communication Vives' position was one of intransigence and made little reference to his powers.⁴⁰ Adams was irked and his official reply requesting a copy of Vives' powers was toned down by President Monroe.⁴¹ On April 19 Adams received a copy of Vives' powers, to which the Spanish minister attached a note specifically stating that he was able to assure the United States that he was "fully authorized to offer a solemn promise, in the name of the King," that if the differences were cleared up satisfactorily, ratification of the Florida agreement would be attained with no delay other than the time required to send a message to Madrid and back. These were the same empty promises of Luis de Onis.⁴²

From this point on, the administration's policy was clearly influenced by Gallatin's letter of February 15, 1820. In a top level meeting held on April 20, members of the cabinet expressed their belief that Vives did not identify his full powers. Adams was directed "to prepare a note inquiring whether Vives was authorized, in the event of satisfactory explanation being given him, to consent that Florida should be occupied by us as a pledge for the ratification of the treaty at Madrid."⁴³ Adams went even further; in his note he asked Vives to consent to the United States possessing Florida before continuing with negotiations.⁴⁴ Vives replied on April 24, denying that he possessed the powers reported by Gallatin and categorically rejecting Adam's proposal for a Florida occupation. At a cabinet meeting the following day, it was apparent that Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford felt that the French and Russian ministers had advised Vives "to deny his having this authority, and told him that Congress would do nothing at all

39. *Ibid.*, (April 11, 12, 13, 1820), 62-70.

40. Vives to the Secretary of State, *ASPFR*, IV, 680-81 [translation].

41. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 15, 1820), 70-71; Secretary of State to Vives, *ASPFR*, IV, 681.

42. Vives to the Secretary of State, *ASPFR*, VI, 681 [translation].

43. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 20, 1820), 72-73.

44. Adams to Vives, *ASPFR*, IV, 681-82; Adams, *Writings*, VII, 5-8.

events, this session." In his *Memoirs*, Adams launched into a long tirade condemning Crawford's suspicions; yet he himself speculated that Vives had gotten the same views from Charge Mateo de la Serna. Yet Adams also wondered if it was still possible "that no person has given him any expectations."⁴⁵

By April 27 the negotiations had reached an impasse.⁴⁶ Rumors in Washington had it that an actual rupture had occurred, and even Vives became alarmed. Just then the French minister, Hyde de Neuville, stepped in, offering his good offices and suggesting a personal meeting between Adams and Vives. Monroe advised his secretary to do the same.⁴⁷ Adams agreed, even though he thought such a meeting would prove fruitless, since Vives denied that he had any power. Adams informed de Neuville of the information that he had received from Gallatin, but this came as no surprise to the Frenchman since he had received a similar estimate of Vives from Pasquier.⁴⁸ A meeting between Adams and Vives was set up for April 29.

45. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 25, 1820), 74-75.

46. Little did Adams or Vives know that on this very day in Madrid acting Secretary of State Juan Jabat told acting American Charge Thomas L. L. Brent if the United States did not extend its occupation beyond Florida, amicable relations could still be retained with Spain. Brent to Adams, *ASPF*, IV, 683. This seems to have borne out Forsyth's observations of March 30, 1820, after his own conversation with Jabat. Forsyth hoped that before Vives communicated the change of government in Spain, Florida would be occupied by the United States, or at least that Congress would pass a law "in such terms as to render it obligatory upon the President to take it." A delay in taking it might be injurious because "everybody here expects it will be seized" with no ill effects in Spain. "It is important that Florida should be in our possession when the Cortes deliberates on the treaty." [Ferdinand had accepted the Constitution of 1812, which transferred sovereignty from the King to the people. The problem of ratification was now in the hands of the Cortes (*Gazette Extraordinary of Madrid*, Sunday, March 12, 1820, "Proclamation of the King to the Nation," *Annals of Congress*, XXXVII, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess. 1433-34).] Forsyth to Adams, *ASPF*, IV, 679-80. However, neither Forsyth's nor Brent's dispatches were to reach Washington until after the decision for postponement had already been made. Professor Brooks feels that both Jabat and the new Liberal minister returning from exile, Evaristo Perez de Castro, had little influence upon these affairs. See Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands*, 188, cf., Forsyth to Adams, *Annals of Congress*: XXXVII, 16th Cong. 2nd Sess., 1436-38.

47. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 26, 27, 28, 1820), 75-79.

48. On two occasions de Neuville expressed his belief that Vives possessed such powers; *ibid.*, (April 27, 1820), 77-79, (May 1, 1820), 83-88. Adams now abandoned any previous reservations he had had about taking possession of Florida. These reservations might have stemmed partly from Forsyth's earlier intimations that if the United States occupied Florida by force, Spain would advance the land grant claims

Up to this time Vives had conducted all negotiations by correspondence. Adams thought this in itself unusual in view of the importance of the matter,⁴⁹ but he was powerless to do anything since diplomatic protocol dictated that Vives select the negotiating instruments. The Spanish minister was no diplomat, and he was at a decided disadvantage in any verbal confrontation. By means of correspondence, however, he could carefully select his words while at the same time solicit help from his more experienced aides. The validity of this contention is clearly borne out by his conference with Adams. He began by informing the secretary that he "was a soldier, and had never been employed before in diplomatic negotiations," and that he "wished to go directly to his purpose."⁵⁰ In the next few minutes he committed an irretrievable blunder that plagued him for the entire negotiations. He had been cautioned not to discuss the Florida land grants until the United States pledged its neutrality towards South America.⁵¹ Vives, however, not only discussed the grants prematurely, but exposed his entire hand by telling Adams that they had only been a pretext and that he himself felt that they were "null and void." Several days later, when Adams put the Spaniard's statement into writing in an official communique, Vives balked. Ashamedly, the general claimed he had been speaking at the conference in "his individual capacity" and not as a diplomat. Adams reported: "He said he had told me the [Florida] grants were null and void; as a man of honor, he would not deny what he had said; but he was afraid he had been too quick in making the concession."⁵² Could not he have made the same concession in Paris? Although he gave the Spaniard the benefit of the doubt in most of these matters, it is fairly obvious, as will soon be shown, that before the affair was over, Adams felt very uneasy in dealing directly with Vives.

more vigorously and gain European approval for its action. See Forsyth to Adams (marked private), *ASFR*, IV, 678. Before March 1820, Forsyth also believed that Vives had authorization to grant the United States possession of Florida, but at that time he felt it was a scheme to ensnare the United States.

49. Monroe was equally concerned. Monroe, *Writings*, VI, 118-19. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 27, 1820), 77-79.

50. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (April 29, 1820), 79-83.

51. *Supra*, 249-50.

52. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (May 1, 1820), 83-88.

With the help of the French minister, who was delivering messages back and forth, Vives and Adams attempted to work out a compromise as to just what their official communiques should contain. They failed, however, largely because neither could agree upon what the other had said in what Vives called their "verbal discussions." The spectre of Gallatin's letter was also still before them. On May 4, along with other matters, Adams asked de Neuville to inform Vives that because of the nature of the American Constitution their negotiations would have to be transmitted to Congress and would therefore be made public. Vives retorted, "you may print whatever you please," and he continued to insist that he had "never told either Baron Pasquier or Mr. Gallatin any such thing."⁵³

De Neuville now changed his position in the matter. He told Adams that he was convinced that the Spaniard was speaking the truth, and that after rechecking his own dispatch from Paris he discovered that Pasquier had simply stated *he had reason to believe* Vives possessed this power, and had not given it as positive. Moreover, de Neuville continued, he had seen Vives' "Journal," written immediately after his conversation with Pasquier, and it contained nothing like such an assertion. De Neuville described it as a "misunderstanding" that had originated with the Duke of Fernan-Nunez. According to Adams, this was "scarcely possible,"⁵⁴ and he proceeded point by point to refute de Neuville's contention. The French minister had no reply.

With respect to the origin of the statement of Vives' powers, de Neuville was correct. As far as all evidence has revealed, the alleged authorization did not begin with Vives, but rather with Fernan-Nunez or even Gallatin's suggestion for solid guarantees.⁵⁵ There is no answer as to why Fernan-Nunez would create such a distortion. If his conversation with Gallatin is recalled, it bears mentioning that he was correct in the other two points that he elaborated upon - that Vives was not the bearer of the King's ratification of the Florida treaty and that the lands grants there were not an important stumbling block

53. *Ibid.* (May 4, 5, 1820), 93-98; for Adams' reply see Adams to Vives, *ASPF*, IV, 683; Adams, *Writings*, VII, 8-14.

54. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (May 5, 1820), 97-98.

55. Gallatin, *Writings*, II, 134.

to ratification. Also, the confirmations and counter-confirmations lessen the weight that would be placed on the origin of the statement of powers. Vives was the guest of Fernan-Nunez while in Paris; the two obviously had an intimate consultation about Vives' mission. How else could Fernan-Nunez correctly state the Spanish position with respect to ratification and the land grants?

It should also be noted that de Neuville's conclusions, drawn after having seen Vives' "Journal," are not as substantial as they at first appear. When Vives wrote his record of the conference with Adams on April 29, the difference between his account and Adams' account is so great that one historian has termed it "ludicrous."⁵⁶ Did Vives record his *faux pas* on the land grants? Would he have recorded a similar blunder in his Paris "Journal?"

With the meeting between Adams and de Neuville on May 5, the Adams-Vives negotiations broke down altogether. Matters now *referred* back to the stalemate that existed prior to the April 29 session. Both negotiators decided to send their reports, written shortly thereafter, unchanged.⁵⁷

The second session of the sixteenth Congress was drawing to a close, and Monroe had to present an appraisal of the situation and proffer recommendations. On May 6, 1820, he gathered his cabinet together to help make a decision.⁵⁸ He presented his message to them with three different concluding paragraphs: (1) recommending immediate occupation of Florida, (2) recommending giving the President discretionary power to take possession in the event of non-ratification of the treaty by Spain, (3) asking Congress for a postponement of final action until the next session. After persuasive arguments by Crawford and Adams in favor of either the first or second recommendations, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun seems to have swung the

56. Griffin, *United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire*, 233.

57. Adams, *Writings*, VII, 15-27.

58. Monroe was much concerned about the effects upon the Missouri Compromise; see Monroe, *Writings*, VI, 113-14, 123. Count Poletica had written as early as February 1820 that the Missouri problem would interfere with a settlement of the Florida question. See Worthington C. Ford, "Correspondence of the Russian Ministers in Washington, 1818-1825," *American Historical Review*, XVIII (January 1913), 318-23.

pendulum back toward the side of peace ⁵⁹ and the third conclusion, the course Monroe took three days later. ⁶⁰

At this point Gallatin's letter becomes of secondary importance. It had greatly contributed to the failure of the negotiations, but it was the changing situation in Spain that gave most substantial backing to the postponements. ⁶¹ In view of the upper hand gained by the liberals in Spain, the legality of dealing further with Vives became questionable. Nonetheless, repercussions from Gallatin's letter of February 15, 1820, were not ended. This dispatch had to accompany Monroe's message to Congress of May 9. Adams sent it in, and the President was not too pleased with his secretary for doing so, especially since Vives' and Gallatin's reputations were at stake. Gallatin had no small part in making the era one "of good feeling," and certainly was not one to make an enemy. ⁶² On the other hand, Vives appeared unfazed by the whole matter, and Monroe encouraged him to reply publicly to Gallatin's letter. This he did officially on May 11, after the dispatches had been printed. ⁶³ An unexpected source-Hyde de Neuville-protested, claiming that if proven false, Baron Pasquier would lose face. De Neuville soon acquiesced, however, after Adams lectured him on the nature of the American Constitution. ⁶⁴ A more important repercussion ensued when Henry Clay, to his own surprise, managed to have the house pass a resolution by five votes favoring recognition of "Buenos Ayres." Adams attributed this success primarily to Gallatin's and the other dispatches sent to the house the day before. ⁶⁵

59. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (May 6, 1820), 98-103, (May 8, 1820), 105-06. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II, 70-72; Monroe, *Writings*, VI, 123-26.

60. Had the administration known of Forsyth's and Brent's dispatches in which the new liberal Spanish government acknowledged the expectation that Florida would be occupied by the United States, even Monroe might have been influenced to act more positively.

61. Monroe explained his reasons for postponement and the problems associated with the acquisition of Florida and Texas many times; see Monroe, *Writings*, VI (Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, May 1820), 119-23; (Monroe to General Jackson, May 23, 1820), 126-30; (Monroe to Albert Gallatin, May 26, 1820), 130-34.

62. It is no mere coincidence that Gallatin received letters dated May 26, 27, 28, 1820, respectively, from Monroe, Crawford, and Adams: see Gallatin, *Writings*, II, 140-46; Adams, *Writings*, VII, 34-36.

63. Vives to the Secretary of State, *ASPF*, IV, 689 [translation].

64. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (May 9, 1820), 106-108.

65. Gallatin had stressed in his letter of February 15, 1820, that the United States used much more circumspection in its dealings with South

Historians have omitted or passed quickly over Gallatin's report, largely as a result of Gallatin's subsequent disclaimer letter of August 7, 1820.⁶⁶ In this communication Gallatin labeled the whole affair a misunderstanding. In a discussion with Baron Pasquier, seven months after Vives' meeting of February 1820, Gallatin learned that he had misunderstood the French minister of foreign affairs. Pasquier now claimed that he had derived his information from Fernan-Nunez and not General Vives. Gallatin further attributed the misunderstanding to the confusion of a crowded dining room in which the meeting took place and to the fact that Vives did not speak perfect French. It is important to remember, however, that in the intervening seven months a good deal happened which could have influenced the stories then told. Hyde de Neuville undoubtedly wrote to Pasquier about the publication of Gallatin's letter with its references to the Baron. Indeed, newspaper accounts had already reached Gallatin in Paris. Also Fernan-Nunez had long since departed from Paris and could not answer these allegations. It is also important to remember that Pasquier did speak perfect French and that Gallatin had confirmed his report with Pasquier before he had left the room. A further point worth mentioning is that when Gallatin reported to John Forsyth in Spain the substance of his conversation with Vives, Forsyth wrote back in a letter of May 11, 1820, "that the government of Spain expected and would not complain of the occupation of territory."⁶⁷

Probably equally as important as to whether or not the whole affair was a "misunderstanding," is the fact that Adams believed what Gallatin had reported to be true, and he distrusted Vives not because he questioned his veracity, but because of the uncertainty in dealing with a diplomatic novice in matters of such magnitude. In justifying his sending of Gallatin's letter of February 15, 1820, to Congress, Adams wrote, "I thought it indispensable to make the case for Congress to consider, and did

America than either England or France; Gallatin, *Writings*, II, 131. Clay used this reference to draw attention of the house to the timidity of Monroe's policy toward the rebellious Spanish colonies. Henry Clay, *Papers*, II, 853-60; cf., Adams, *Memoirs*, V (May 11, 1820), 111.

66. Gallatin, *Writings*, II, 165-67.

67. *Ibid.*, 166.

not believe that Gallatin had misunderstood Vives.”⁶⁸ Furthermore, in his letter to Gallatin of May 28 (to which he appended Vives’ published denials) Adams clearly indicates that he does not want to experience the same embarrassment felt by Jefferson in his verbal dealings with Citizen Genet.⁶⁹ Adams informed Gallatin that it was of vital importance that the very fact that Vives had been “misunderstood” in Paris should be made public in case another “misunderstanding” occurred about the Spaniard’s negotiations in Washington. Undoubtedly, Adams was thinking of his own conferences with Vives, especially the one of April 29, and the subsequent references to their “verbal discussions.”⁷⁰

In summary, then, one can see that it is fairly clear General Vives’ mission was speeded up because of the reported threats to Spanish lands beyond the Sabine River. Because of the confusion in Spain it is possible that Vives had a verbal authorization to yield the Florida territory to save Texas. It follows that there is a possibility that the meeting in Paris was not based upon a “misunderstanding,” and that Gallatin’s report was accurate at the time; but upon reaching the United States, Vives saw and heard that the reported aggressions had been greatly exaggerated and had little to do with the official policy of the United States government. It is also clear that Vives was not a qualified diplomat. Given these factors it is possible to construct a case that Vives might have had verbal authorization. Unfortunately, no document as such has been found to build a proven case. One thing is certain, however, that Gallatin’s letter of February 15, 1820, by reinforcing Adams’ own ideas and those of some other members of the cabinet, helped shape the course and final impasse of the Vives negotiations.

68. Adams, *Memoirs*, V (May 10, 1820), 110.

69. Monroe had earlier cautioned Adams about this when inquiring what Vives meant by “verbal discussions,” *ibid.* (May 6, 1820), 98-103.

70. Adams, *Writings*, VII, 33-36.

"A TALE TO TELL FROM PARADISE ITSELF"

George Bancroft's Letters from Florida,
March 1855

Edited by PATRICIA CLARK*

ALTHOUGH THE DEVELOPMENT of Florida as a resort for wealthy northern vacationers saw a product of the post-Civil War era, the decade preceding the war was the beginning of a modest influx of travelers, particularly to the northeast region which bordered on the St. Johns River and its tributaries. The subtropical climate, which proved to have a beneficial effect on those suffering mainly with chronic respiratory and bronchial ailments, lured the invalid, while the variety of bird and animal life attracted the hunters. In addition, there were the inveterate travelers—those disposed to adventure or goaded by curiosity as to customs and mores—who came and were usually captivated.

But the tourist of the 1850s confronted certain hazards, not the least of which were wretched traveling conditions. There were no railroad connections out of Florida, so that those who ventured southward usually did so by steamer, a semi-weekly packet which carried both passengers and mail, from Savannah and Charleston to Jacksonville, Palatka, and other points along the rivers. As a consequence, exposure to stormy seas, often accompanied by seasickness, or, as sometimes happened, temporary immobilization when the ship ran aground, were an accepted part of any voyage. Nor was overland by coach any better. Passengers electing this method of transportation faced a rough journey over sandy roads punctuated with pine and palmetto knots and roots, which pitched the occupants of the coach about in a most disagreeable manner. Yet, despite all these discomforts and the inadequacies of accommodations, the number of travelers attracted to Florida increased.¹

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1. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "Florida in 1856," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXV (July 1956), 60-70; Benjamin F. Rogers, "Florida Seen Through the Eyes of Nineteenth Century Travellers," *ibid.*, XXXIV (October 1955), 177-89; Olin Norwood, ed., "Letters from Florida in 1851," *ibid.*, XXIX (April 1951), 261-83.

In the spring of 1855, George Bancroft, the diplomat-historian, his latest manuscript completed ² and in the hands of his publishers, joined this growing list of distinguished Florida visitors. Curious and interested, a maker as well as a writer of history, Bancroft spent the greater part of several years during the fifties in travel. He had returned from England in 1849, where he had served the Polk administration as American minister and had settled in New York City to continue his work on his multi-volume history of the United States. ³ He gave occasional lectures and traveled as time and his inclination dictated. In the summer of 1854 he visited Chicago and went as far west as St. Louis. His southern trip in March and April 1855, was followed that fall by a return to Yorkville, South Carolina, for a celebration commemorating the Battle of King's Mountain. He repeated his western tours in June 1857, and in the summer of 1858, he went South again, stopping at the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston and the University of Georgia in Athens. His biographers, observing that this decade was the quiet time of his life, were either unaware of or failed to mention the full extent of his travels, particularly his trip to Florida. ⁴

These letters written from Florida to his second wife, Elizabeth Davis Bliss, whom he married after the death of his first wife, Sarah Dwight Bancroft, are a part of the George Bancroft Papers in the Cornell University Collection of Regional History. ⁵ The correspondence is personal - family and friends are mentioned - as Bancroft shared his impressions with his wife, whose health and distaste for travel kept her home. There are only a few scattered letters from her in this part of the Cornell collection. Perhaps Bancroft's rapidity of movement was the

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2. George Bancroft, *Literary and Historical Miscellanies* (New York, 1855).
 3. George Bancroft, *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1834-1874).
 4. Mark Anthony De Wolfe Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft*, 2 vols. (New York, 1908); Russel Blaine Nye, *George Bancroft: Brahmin Rebel* (New York, 1944).
 5. The present editor is indebted to the Cornell University Library for the use of these letters, and especially to Herbert Finch, archivist and editor of the microfilm edition of the George Bancroft Papers. Dr. Finch and his staff kindly assisted in transcription and with helpful suggestions in editing.

cause, for he nearly always mentioned where he next expected to find her communications to him.

Sailing from New York in the afternoon of March 3, Bancroft arrived two days later in Savannah, Georgia, where he stayed at the Pulaski House. On March 8, "having made a compact with the Ocean, & fear him no more," he boarded a packet for Florida.⁶ Letters were dispatched from Palatka, Ocala, and Jacksonville. Mechanical failure delayed his return voyage, but he reached Charleston on March 31. From April 3 until April 9 he visited Columbia, South Carolina, thence to Guilford Courthouse, Raleigh, and Charlotte, North Carolina, arriving back in New York in mid-April.

Everywhere Bancroft traveled, he met acquaintances, many of whom remain unidentified in his correspondence. Often he was recognized or sought out. On one occasion, on his return through Charleston, a gentleman "stepped into the cars to offer me a trunk of papers of his grandfather's who was a great patriot of Pennsylvania."⁷ His reflections, mirrored in his correspondence, while brief, attest to his insatiable curiosity about the human experience. As his descriptions appear more factual than poetic, his comments on conditions are also more objective than judgmental. This is especially so when one considers his remarks on the "peculiar institution," in which he was keenly, if not passionately, interested. Despite the usual traveler's malaise, Bancroft was obviously enchanted with much of what he saw - "a large turtle sunning himself . . . alligators from infant size to those that to my unpracticed eye seemed twelve feet long . . . the yellow jessamine in full bloom. . . . I have seen nothing like it."

An anti-slavery Democrat, he observed that "Know nothingism has found its way here. . ." and that the antagonism toward the North was so "very strong and very bitter" that even "the north star crouches downward to the horizon, as if half afraid to tell the people of the South that there is a North." The people he found "remarkably temperate, cold water . . . the common beverage;" the slaves fared well "but this condition makes them stolid."

6. George Bancroft to Elizabeth Davis Bliss Bancroft, March 3, 1855, George Bancroft Papers, Cornell University Collection of Regional History.

7. Bancroft to Elizabeth Bancroft, April, 1855, *ibid.*

Unfortunately, some of his letters have been lost or mutilated, in some cases only fragments remain. The letters are reproduced here with a minimum of correction or emendation. Brackets have been used to clarify words, supply missing periods, or to warn the reader of the uncertainty or illegibility of transcription. The ellipses in the documents are Bancroft's, not the editors.

Florida. Pilatka, 10 March 1855. Dear wife, Today I find myself really in the sunny south; the air is soft and balmy, though the evening is cool as becomes the season. The *Darlington* which should have started on its trip up the river at 9 o'clock, delayed its departure, vainly awaiting the *Florida*; which we more fortunate people had left behind.⁸ At last we got under way, ascending up this wonderful river through the strange unparalleled country. The stream reminds me of the St. Lawrence river below Montreal, wide, deep, and majestic;⁹ but with banks but just lifted above its waters; and a back country every where so flat that it would seem as if the land were but just removed above the sea. I have asked many persons how high is the highest land in Florida I mean the Peninsula, and I can get no one to say more than 126 feet.¹⁰ And from such a dividing ridge flows this stream with waters fresh or brackish, always full; and supplied (except what it gets through the tides from the ocean,) by subterranean Springs. From all the accounts I get, this is the very land of Fountains. The St. Johns you know is the River May of the first French discoverers:

8. The *Darlington*, a 298-ton packet built in 1849 in Charleston, started its Florida runs from Palatka to Enterprise in 1853. Owned and operated by Jacob Brock, a Florida entrepreneur who built a tourist hotel at Enterprise, the *Darlington* could carry forty passengers in modest comfort. Used by Brock for Confederate service, both ship and shipper were captured and the steamer became a Federal yacht. The *Florida*, the second steam packet of this name on the St. Johns, was built in New York in 1851. She was used for direct service to Charleston. Her owner-skipper, Louis M. Coxetter, was one of the most famous of the early coastal skippers. During the Civil War, the *Florida* was used as a Confederate blockade-runner. Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna, *The St. Johns: A Parade of Diversities* (New York, 1943), 238-39, 266-68; Edward A. Mueller, "East Coast Florida Steamboating, 1831-1861," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XL (October 1961), 254-56.

9. A similar comparison to the St. Lawrence was made by William Cullen Bryant after a trip down the St. Johns in 1843. Cabell and Hanna, *The St. Johns*, 198-99.

10. The highest point, 345 feet above sea level, is in Walton County.

and the murder of the Huguenots took place on its banks, just above the mouth of the river in an enchanting spot, which I passed yesterday. They call the spot now St. John's bluff, it being a sandy knoll, rising a few feet more than common above the water. I met on the wharf at Jacksonville this morning D^r Baldwin,¹¹ who has an historical turn; and in commemoration of *three* centuries which will have elapsed since the discovery of the river in 1562 he proposes a celebration in 1862. As to the river I must own its banks have great sereneness; but as we stopped at Flamingo island, I saw the deciduous trees putting out their beautiful foliage; the gum tree, the maple, and a tree with thick foliage which I did not know. The cypress tree is swelling; but not yet in full leaf. The water of the St. John's not being fit to drink, we steamed five miles up the Black River. This was to me the greatest novelty yet. Fruit trees in leaf, the dogwood a sheet of white, the oaks covered with thick beards of moss, hanging down lower than Aaron's beard; then often on a log by the side of the stream a large turtle sunning himself in solitude, or sometimes in company; and alligators from infant size to those that to my unpracticed eye seemed twelve feet long, & were said to have been so. The region is as quiet as in the days of Adam: no sign of the residence of man was to be seen; the dense woods came down to the water's edge; the yellow jessamine in full bloom almost hung on the water. I have seen nothing like it.

Arriving at Picolato¹² at noon, I encountered D^r Stevens who, in pure despair, had that morning resolved to ascend the St. Johns. I at once let him know, that it was predestined & fore ordained that he should do so in my company. He gave in, & with nurse & baby & charming daughter just from the Boarding School & wife, entered the Boat. At [] we made rather a long halt to take in freight. I went on shore into the thickest

11. Abel Seymour Baldwin (1811-1898), New York physician, founder and first president of the Florida Medical Association, came to Jacksonville in 1838 for his health. In addition to his practice, he also served in the state legislature and as president of the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad. Webster Merritt, "Physicians and Medicine in Early Jacksonville," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (April 1946), 277-82; Webster Merritt, *A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County* (Gainesville, 1949), 11-16.

12. Picolata was the debarking point for St. Augustine which was then reached by stage or horse over the remaining forty-eight miles.

clump of orange trees and from the bitter oranges shook ripe fruit, of which the quantity was infinite, saw the green fruit, and cut a heap of orange blossoms; not a sprig, but an armful of large boughs. The coming on of evening was beautiful, but the smoke from the prairie fires fill the air & make it hazy, so that the splendor of the sun was very much dimmed at its decline.

At Pilatka where we arrived after dark, I found Mr. & Mrs Strong and baby all famously well. Mr. Strong had been out shooting English snipe and duck.

In the evening a bright light attracted me; it seemed as if a large enclosure was illumined: but it was only a fire made of light wood in a slave's shanty. On going in we found the man and his wife sitting like models of conjugal. love before the bright flame; he a blacksmith, well educated, made to pay his boss twenty dollars a month; she a laundress, who is forced to earn seven dollars a month for her owner. The man was intelligent & could read. He sometimes exhorts, but complains that the "colored people," so he was careful to call them, are too much broken into sects. On the whole it was a very sad scene.

Love to Sandy. ¹³

Good wife I hope to find many letters at Savannah. To this one you may send your answer to Charleston.

G. B.

Mch. [16] 1855

Ocala, Friday 4 P. M.

I came over to this place, the county seat of Marion county in the heat of the day, which I must call the hottest day in March I ever encountered. I passed under a boiling sun through Caldwell's ¹⁴ large sugar & cotton plantation; but the cotton is not yet up; & the slips & the rattoons of the sugar cane have nothing very dazzling to the eye; & indeed I am told that the sugar cane when it is tallest, looks like a field of Indian Corn.

13. Sandy was Bancroft's stepson, Alexander Bliss. Mrs. Bancroft was a widow with two sons when she married Bancroft in 1838. Nye, *George Bancroft*, 120.

14. Caldwell was one of the wealthy plantation owners, most of whom were from Georgia and South Carolina. Eloise Robinson Ott, "Ocala Prior to 1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VI (October 1927), 94.

And so I came to this little town, a bantling of seven or eight years having they pretend about 500 inhabitants,¹⁵ a courthouse and a state Seminary.¹⁶ In the street is a tall oak, capped by mistletoe; in a garden opposite me, orange trees laden with the golden fruit, (sour, the sweet oranges disappeared months ago); in the lowland just off the small table on which the town stands is a hammock, that is, a thick duster of trees other than the pine. My landlord at Silver Spring drove me over to Ocala, and on the way made the usual defence of slavery; that there must be employer & employed; that the slave is better fed & clad, than poor white men; that a hired free person may be turned off when sick; that the feeble slave must be nursed by his master, both from interest and humanity. On the other hand it is admitted that slavery stands in the way of the white mechanic and laborer, and repels them. - Thus far I have seen no signs of cruelty or harshness. I see slaves faring well, singing & chattering; but this condition makes them stolid. When you receive this letter write to me at Columbia. Consider of the present you propose making in our joint behalf to Fanny - to whom if she is with you give my love. Of the great chest of tea, *send twenty pounds* as a present from me to *Lucretia*, & *twenty to Eliza*.¹⁷ You probably have a 40 pound tea chest; fill it & send it to one of them with directions to divide with the other. Love to Sandy

Your affectionate husband
George Bancroft

Ocala 17 March 55

I have said nothing of discomforts. Why should I tell you of the rubbish & slatternly smells & piles of dirt, ducks, pigs, little negroes & all things huddled together round the house

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15. Estimates of the town's population ran as high as 1,000 but, inasmuch as the 1870 census showed a population of 600, Bancroft's figure was probably fairly accurate. *Ibid.*, 102-03.
 16. East Florida Seminary, a coeducational institution chartered in 1853, was later moved to Gainesville. It is a parent of the University of Florida. *Ibid.*, 101; Samuel Proctor, "The University of Florida: Its Early Years, 1853-1906" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1958), 51.
 17. Lucretia (Mrs. Welcome Farnum) was Bancroft's sister, who often served as his able critic. Eliza, another of Bancroft's sisters, was the wife of John Davis, Whig governor of Massachusetts and brother of the second Mrs. Bancroft. Howe, *George Bancroft*, I, 17; Nye, *George Bancroft*, 120.

in amiable fellowship. The distance from Pilatka to this place is fifty five miles: the road level is passible [*sic*], but sandy & made rough by the knotty tough fibrous roots of the palmetto or the roots of the pine; the stagecoach a stout vehicle of wood, made to encounter the roads. The weather is a hot as our hottest midsummer weather, thermometer 84 or 87. Last night I slept with a window directly at the head of my bed wide open, & had nothing to hide me but a rugged sheet. The parts abound in cattle which are raised here very easily; and yet I could not for love or menace or importunity or money get a drop of milk or black tea at most places there is none; though at Pilatka a decoction of an article sold in the village at \$1.25 per pound is served up as such. Even at Pilatka we had no milk, till we made a noise about it. One night the buz[z] of a mosquito was most distinctly & long continuously audible. And yet with patience & discretion one gets along. You sleep on a thin hard mattress made of the native moss; and I do not object to its hardness; eggs & hominy are enough for any body; breakfast & bath in perfection; at dinner there is a plenty of venison and wild turkey. This morning I was helped to a piece of squirrel. Corn bread & hot cakes are universal; and then when the west wind from the gulf does blow, it has a tale to tell from Paradise itself. At night the sky is bright and cloudless; the north star crouches downward to the horizon, as if half afraid to tell the people of the South that there is a North.

[The following fragment probably describes Silver Springs which Bancroft visited when he was in Ocala.]

following up the stream to which it gives supplies, and being itself dark from shadows of the tall rock at whose foot it rises. Think here of flat sand, with magnolias, sweet berry trees, palmettos, wild cherry, live oak, cypress, black jack & hickory; & walk down a little and you come upon a place that looks for all the world like a cave; its outline not clearly defined; its diameter a hundred & twenty yards or more; and here you have a river rising up from the earth. Rowing upon the water the depth of the spring was about thirty five feet, some say forty seven feet four inches, the water is miraculously clear. The smallest matter at the bottom is perfectly distinct; every fish

is visible far as the eye can reach. The sun's rays play all kinds of fantastic tricks, as when they pass through the prism. Peering steadily you see a chasm in the white limestone through which the water bubbles up; and after learning to know them, you can discern several [springs]. The whole pool & every fountain & the large river that flows aft are thus transparently clear, the most perfectly pellucid that you can imagine. The water that boils up or rather flows up, for it comes in quiet majesty & fullness, the many fissures in the limeston, meets together-already having from the first a strong current, and flows aft in a broad full stream of great depth, scarcely ever less than ten or fifteen feet, and 80 feet or more wide for six miles to the Ocklawaha. The river is from the fish gushing up, at the fountain head so broad & deep, that steamboats may come up to a landing on the bank at the head of the fountain. Pity that the outline of the fountain is ragged & ill shaped; the land round about after rising a few feet is a []pine forest, though nearer the spring there is the variety of trees which I have mentioned. From Pilatka to the edge of the Spring I remember nothing but a sand plain with here & there a hammock. Such is this floating peninsula of Florida.

I believe I have not mentioned the mistletoe, that gathers in dense green clusters in the topmost bough of the tallest trees high above the moss; & looks as if it might serve for the nest of a condor

Orange Springs Saturday 9¹/₂ P.M. Leaving Ocala at about nine in the morning, it was long after the usual dinner hour, when we arrived at this place, where I find the best hotel thus far discovered in Florida. The place takes its name from one of the thousands of fountains for which the peninsula is famous. I should have been much struck with it, had I not already seen Silver Spring. There Sulphur water bubbles up, in a large sheet of transparent water, which flows off in a little brook. The hotel is crowded; the place has a great name as a safe winter's resort for invalids for all the physicians now send their patients in countless numbers to Florida. Know nothingism¹⁸ has found

18. Know-Nothingism, an anti-foreign and anti-Catholic political movement, reached its peak in the mid-1850s. Organized as the American party, in Florida it was an outgrowth of the Whig party and had less of an anti-Catholic bias than its national counterpart. Although it did

its way here and is regarded, (my authority is a baptist clergyman Mr Jones) as inspired by God to preserve the union and to overthrow & destroy the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. The feeling here against Massachusetts is very strong and very bitter; and generally there prevails a subterranean current of discontent with the North.

Sunday March. 18. at Pilatka. I got back to this place through heat, that would be frightful in July; often over sandy dusty roads. A covey of partridges started up on the right; a mocking bird perched without singing or making a note on my left: here & there a clump of fresh honey suckle was in full bloom; in some places the pitchy woods were on fire, and the heat uncomfortable. But I have got back at last, & hope tomorrow night to sleep in St. Augustine. I find the house in this place full of persons come on to honor Miss Bronson's ¹⁹ wedding. Mrs Emmet & daughters peer above other visitors at the hotel.

I have nothing to add about Florida, except that its people are remarkably temperate. Cold water is the common beverage: and a law almost as efficient in practice as the Maine liquor law, throughs [*sic*] invincible obstacles in the way of grog shops. There are none.

I have a little request: in your next letter which you will address to Columbia, S.C., let me know if a volume of Force's *American Archives* ²⁰ has been sent me since I left home, & if so, what volume it is. Dinna forget. If none has come I need to know it, in order to get one at Washington.

I find the Strongs have left this place: I go tomorrow to Picolata, thence to St. Augustine; returning to Picolata, I shall make for Darien - thence to Savannah and Charleston with every effort I cannot reach Charleston before the 27th. After

not win the state and presidential vote in 1856, the Florida party successfully challenged Democrats in local elections in 1855 and 1856. Doherty, "Florida in 1856," 66-68; Arthur W. Thompson, "Political Nativism in Florida, 1848-1860," *Journal of Southern History*, XV (February 1949), 39-65.

19. Probably a daughter of Judge Isaac H. Bronson (1802-1855), whose home in Palatka was a social center. The residence is now referred to as the Mulholland House.

20. Peter Force's *American Archives* (Washington, 1837-53), was never completed, the last volume appearing in 1853.

a few days there I shall go to Columbia, if Mr. Preston ²¹ has returned.

Write me at once on receiving this & very fully to Columbia. My letter has grown long from the want of a mail. I have had no chance before to forward letters since Wednesday. Love to Sandy.

Ever dear wife your affectionate husband
George Bancroft.

St. Augustine P. M. 21 March '55. This dear wife will be my last missive from Florida. After putting my letter to you into the Post office, I joined a little party got up for my express benefit, & took a sail in the harbour & out towards the bar of St. Augustine, for I have lost my dread of the ocean. Mr Dorman, an invalid who comes to Florida-for health, owns a nice sailboat, & with his wife, Mrs. Baldwin & D^r Wheeler, we embarked together. The wind was brisk; the sea a little rough; we ran down the harbor rapidly, and landed on the beach on Anastasia Island. Here is abundance of the coquina the rock made of shells. The shore is one mass of broken shells; we saw many blocks, which if hewn out & put in a grotto would need no addition-they are already one mass of shells; those on the outside large & in beautiful state of preservation. Ascending the lighthouse, which is a revolving one, & is provided with one of the new french lamps, ²² we could see old ocean breaking in the long line of the bar, & the narrow passage through which Vessels

21. John Smith Preston (1809-1881) was born in Virginia, attended the University of Virginia, and studied law at Harvard. He moved to South Carolina in 1840 and served in the state senate. From 1856 to 1860 he lived in Europe. A radical champion of state rights, he returned to South Carolina on the eve of the war, was appointed commissioner to Virginia to urge that state to secede, served in various commands in the Confederate army, and was finally made superintendent of the Bureau of Conscription. His wife, Caroline Martha Hampton, daughter of Wade Hampton (1751-1835), inherited considerable wealth along with the Hampton mansion in Columbia. She entertained often and lavishly and the Hampton-Preston home was rarely without guests. Along with his brother, William Campbell Preston, John was a patron of the sculptor, Hiram Powers. Bancroft was interested in this artist's work as well as in the society and economic structure of the South Carolina upcountry. J. G. de Rouliac Hamilton, "John Smith Preston," in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 202-03; Helen Kohn Hennig, ed., *Columbia: Capital City of South Carolina, 1786-1936* (Columbia, 1936), 188, 244-45, 268-69; Bancroft to Elizabeth Bancroft, April 3, 5, 7, 9, 1855, Bancroft Papers.

22. This is probably a corruption for Fresnel, a lens named for the French physicist and optical pioneer, Auguste Jean Fresnel (1788-1827).



Bancroft is identified as fifty-four at the time of this picture which would make it contemporary with his Florida expedition. It is a reproduction of an engraving from *Memorial Exercises/George Bancroft, Worcester, Massachusetts*, reprinted from *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity*, October 1900.

enter. Then with a descending tide & a lee shore, we had to encounter some tail to set our boat into the water, for we had run it upon the beach where it was left high and dry. At last we were under weigh [*sic*]. The city nowhere shows to so good advantage as from the sea; for it lies so low, nothing but the water is lower. The old fort ²³ had a grave and venerable look, like well preserved mediaeval walls; the long narrow town seemed to loom up. My lady companions were excellent sailors, having perfect confidence in Mr. Dorman who managed helm & sail with great ease & skill. I never go about but I meet reminiscences: Mrs. Dorman, a fair, blue eyed, light haired, ringleted young woman was the daughter of good old Parson Guild of Southampton, at whose house I once passed a day when she was a child; & I a Northampton Schoolmaster. ²⁴

6 P. M. But time flies; I must hasten to close this letter. This afternoon Mr. Fairbanks ²⁵ called & took me to his own place & to Fort Moosa, ²⁶ so that now I have seen all the [ruins]. The abundance of oysters is one of the curiosities. I have just returned from a last look at the seaside. "Is your name Bancroft."

Because of their greater effectiveness in reflecting light, the lamps equipped with these lens were being installed in all lighthouses as required by act of Congress in 1851.

23. The Castillo de San Marcos was renamed Fort Marion in honor of General Francis Marion of Revolutionary War fame after the United States acquired Florida.
24. In 1823 Bancroft had been a co-founder of the Round Hill School, a boys school in Northampton, Massachusetts, with which he was affiliated until 1830 when he sold his interest. Nye, *George Bancroft*, 67-82.
25. George R. Fairbanks (1820-1906), lawyer and newspaper editor, was born in Watertown, New York, and in 1842 moved to St. Augustine, where he established a law practice. Onetime clerk of the territorial superior court and of the U.S. district court, and a member of the state senate (1846-48), he was a founder and a president of a number of organizations, including the Florida Historical Society, the Florida Fruit Growers' Association, and the Florida Press Association. He published numerous articles and books on Florida history. As a founder, lecturer, and for many years a trustee of the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tennessee, he wrote a history of that institution. During the Civil War he was a major in the Confederate Commissary Department. Watt Marchman, "The Florida Historical Society," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (July 1940), 49-50.
26. Fort Moosa, site of an outpost on the North River, lay about two miles north of St. Augustine. It was occupied by James Oglethorpe in 1740 during his Florida campaign. In the 1850s there was still a road from St. Augustine to the site, and it could be reached by a tide-creek through the Maubes. See George R. Fairbanks, *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine, Florida* (Jacksonville, 1881), 77.

It is; & pray what is yours? "K. B. Gibbs.²⁷ I have your six volumes of history.²⁸ Fort Caroline was Aux Caroline I once thought at St. John's Bluff. I now think five miles higher up the Saint Johns. I built a mill at its mouth, & called it Mayport Mill, because Laudonniere called the place the river May." Make up your mind definitely & write me word. "I will."

Enclosed is a clipping from the Pilatka or as the fashion now is the Palatka paper; also a billet doux, which you are not to throw into the fire, but save for me; from my fellow sailor this morning Mrs. M. E. Dorman. Save it for me without fail.

Affectionately yours
George Bancroft

I suppose you know that the shale formations & other things prove Florida to be *at the least* 250,000 years old; how much more who can tell? I hope you are getting a good welcome ready for me. Long as I have life, I shall not forget the cordial one you gave me once on my return from France.

Write me *once more* to Columbia, S. C., & send some newspapers. Tis said Nicholas is dead;²⁹ people here wish he had first beating [*sic*] the unholy alliance of France & England.

Pray buy me a chaldron of Kennal coal at once; to be in readiness for me.

St. John's River. On board the Seminole.³⁰ Thursday
22 March 1855.

The streets of St. Augustine are much narrower than the people told me. I paced three of them, & found the widest twenty five feet; of the two others, one was scant twenty, the other hardly fifteen. After tea last evening, Mrs. Sophia Dunbar made me a present of a beautiful sort of plate, which she had been busy all day long in making for me out of the bits

27. Kingsley Beatty Gibbs was a native of Charleston. He had moved to Florida with his parents in 1821, because of his mother's poor health. Gibbs lived with his uncle, Zephaniah Kingsley, and helped manage Kingsley's plantation on Fort George Island. He inherited this property in 1843. He moved to St. Augustine in 1847. Marchman, "The Florida Historical Society," 51; Margaret Gibbs Watt, ed., *The Gibbs Family of Long Ago and Near at Hand, 1337-1967* (np., 1968), 29.

28. The sixth volume of Bancroft's *History of the United States* had appeared in 1854. Nye, *George Bancroft*, 190.

29. Czar Nicholas I of Russia died March 2, 1855.

30. The Seminole traveled between the St. Johns and Savannah. In service less than two years, she was destroyed by fire in December 1855, at her Jacksonville wharf. Mueller, "East Florida Steamboating," 255-56.

that go to make up the pine bur[r]. In the evening under a drenching shower, I made one or two farewell visits, especially to Mrs Carr, Sophia Blake that was, who has grown stout & is the mother of five girls & one boy. . . . I was very anxious not to miss the boat, paid my passage in advance; got the most solemn promises; & was told to be ready at 5 so I arose at half past four; lighted a pine knot: made a warm bright Haze, enjoyed it awhile & was ready to proceed. Not till 6¹/₂ did the coach appear; and the boat was on the point of starting, after having waited ³/₄ an hour, as I rushed on board. A moment later, & I must have waited two days at Picolata . . . Our point for today is Jacksonville. On board the Seminole I find the minister who tied the nuptial knot for Miss Bronson & who gave me some account of the wedding. He represents first Mrs. Bronson's health is wretched. One incident only of variety has transpired today. We went up the Black River as far as a boat can go; the banks all pink with a complet[e] flush of Azaleas; & the woods here & there showing a dogwood tree, one mass of white blossoms. Mr. Hoffman, the minister interested me very much by the account of the mission of which he forms a part at Cape Palmas. His self-devotedness to his office must be very great to sustain him in his solitude among the wild desolateness of African untamed luxuriance, with a thousand free negroes from Maryland as the only civilized residents outside of the mission;³¹ & for natives, the negro race in all the stupidity of heathenism.

Friday 23 March. We were to have left the wharf at Jacksonville at 3 A. M. I think it was nearer day break, when we got under way, & steamed magnificently down the St. Johns. Just before reaching the bar at the mouth of this wonderful river, the crank pin of one of our engines broke; & then we were luckily within the bar. Had we been at sea, the accident would have been more awkward. This brings with it a loss of two days, which I had appropriated; but heaven's will be done. We turned back with one engine moving slowly towards Jackson-

31. The colony of freedmen at Cape Palmas in southern Liberia, was established by the Maryland Colonization Society. After twenty years, the colonists asked for and in 1854 received their freedom. Beset by financial difficulties and exhausted by native uprisings, the Republic was forced to seek annexation by Liberia and, in 1857, became the Country of Maryland in the Liberian Republic. J. H. T. McPherson, *History of Liberia*, vol. IX of John Hopkins' University Studies (Baltimore, 1891), 31-36.

ville where alone we could hope to repair our loss. The morning was delightful: the sea very calm: it seemed to invite & promise a prosperous trip; but our poor boat was disabled. On this return I passed very near St. John's bluff, & also the spot where Gibbs of St. Augustine found the ruins of fortifications; I am persuaded that Laudonniere's party raised their Aux Carolina, on the St. John's bluff. It answers to their map & their whole account: only as the river washes the shore, it is probable that the exact spot on which the fort stood has been washed away. We reached this place at dinner. You would get a letter from me daily: but there is no mail to take one oftener than twice a week; & this week one of the two chances fails. This is the reason my dates run over so much time.

This evening was superbly beautiful. Before Sundown I strolled down the town and up; seeing the saw-mills & the glorious river, & the magnificent sunset, & enjoying the air which if a little cool was balmy & fresh, and full of the feeling of spring. After dark the river rose superbly, & the stars twinkled with tropical brightness. Goodnight. My bed-room has a window which will not shut; & a pane broken. But welcome the night-breeze.

Your affectionate Geo. Bancroft.

Jacksonville March 24/55. Still detained at Jacksonville. Our boat cannot be ready 'till tomorrow; & the Florida does not arrive. Well, it is no use to repine. I began a stroll into the Forest, when who should pass but Dr. Baldwin in his gig. "I have finished my morning's round with my patients; let me now drive you into the woods." The very thing. So I have been to see the Sand Hills, for said he a Northerner likes so to see hills. These are thirty feet, possibly forty five feet high. The swamp at their base was full of Azaleas in full bloom, of dogwood (*cornus Florida*) of magnolias brilliant in their shining green, but not yet budded; various kinds of bay-tree; moss; & an air plant, a grass which bears a very pretty flower as he says. It was already budded. We visited also a spring, one of the many in this land of Fountains, bubbling up in a running brook.

25 Left Jacksonville got aground after passing Simon's Island[.]

26 1¹/₂ P. M. After a succession of [mishaps] I am arrived near Savannah where I hope to find letters. G. B.

DEPRIVATION, DISAFFECTION, AND DESERTION IN CONFEDERATE FLORIDA

by JOHN F. REIGER *

THE FEDERAL BLOCKADE, departure of most breadwinners for the military, removal of large quantities of food, clothing, and supplies for troops on every southern battlefield, disregard of desperate appeals of Confederate and state officials urging the planting of food rather than money crops, and great speculation, caused widespread suffering for most Florida families during the Civil War.

Many Floridians consistently ignored the advice of Confederate political and military officials. There appeared to be a propensity on the part of too large a percentage of the people to pursue a course clearly contrary to the best interests of the South and Florida. Governor John Milton and others repeatedly appealed to planters and farmers to discontinue planting cotton in favor of food crops, especially corn and wheat, to provide food for the armies. Their pleas fell on deaf ears; people seemed to be more interested in profits than in feeding Confederate soldiers. When Major General John C. Pemberton visited Tallahassee in March 1862, he found that in spite of attempts to get planters in that area to sow food crops, many had "a disposition to plant cotton the coming season."¹ Similarly, a Tallahassee newspaper the following winter, reported that there is a dangerous propensity "founded upon the supposition of early peace, to plant less corn and more cotton this year than last." The paper warned: "Look at the present prices of meat and bread and only imagine what would be the condition of things if the crop of last year had been divided between corn and cotton. Obviously, the result would have been famine in the land. As it is, meat is almost denied to the poor and even the rich have

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1. John C. Pemberton to Samuel Cooper, March 18, 1862, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. I, VI, 409. Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.

none to spare. . . . Plant corn, raise provisions, make cloth and the fight will go on.”² This matter of planter indifference to both the Confederate war effort and the general well-being of Floridians reached ominous proportions. J. M. Doty, a resident of Lake City, wrote a friend outside Florida that “You can expect to hear of trouble in the State if the planters persist in their determination to plant cotton. There is strong excitement on the subject.”³

Because of the combination of an efficient Federal blockade and the Confederate impressment of provisions, prices of most goods - necessities and luxuries alike - were exorbitant. As early as January 1862, a blockade runner reported, “the whole country is greatly distressed by the blockade; coffee, \$1; tea, \$2 per pound; pork, \$60 per barrel, and other articles in proportion and extremely difficult to procure at even these prices.”⁴ The situation had worsened considerably by the next year. Medicine, soda, molasses, and rice were almost impossible to obtain; as for alcoholic beverages, “delicacies,” mustard, black pepper, sugar, and tea, there were none at all. Typical prices in Confederate currency were quinine, twenty dollars an ounce; castor oil, twenty dollars a gallon; a reel of cotton, fifty cents.⁵

Those who had goods to sell, either because they produced them themselves or had run the blockade, were in a position to demand inordinate prices. This is just what many Floridians did. While high prices prevailed and conditions in the state worsened, unscrupulous blockade runners were buying rum for seventeen cents per gallon in Cuba and selling it for twenty-five dollars a gallon in Florida.⁶

Speculation in necessities of life was a major problem in Florida throughout the war. Like all manifestations of indifference toward Confederate war aims, this evil increased and

2. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, January 6, 1863.

3. J. M. Doty to George R. Fairbanks, March 8, 1863 (xerox copy), mss. box 32, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

4. Samuel Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, January 6, 1962 (Coral Gables, 1960-1965).

5. For a description of the rapid increase in commodity prices in the Confederacy, see John Beauchamp Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1866), I, 47-172; II, 5-349.

6. Joseph Finegan to John Milton, May 8, 1863, John Milton Papers, Florida Historical Society Collection, University of South Florida Library, Tampa. Hereinafter cited as Milton Papers.

spread as it became more and more obvious that the South was headed for defeat. By the fall of 1862, the problem had already reached vast proportions:

Speculation and extortion are the great enemies of the Confederate cause. The rage to run up prices is going to ruin us if anything does. It is impossible to overrate the degree of uncertainty, insecurity and alarm felt by the masses of the people from this cause alone. . . . Who can do business unless he happens to be among the infamous crew of harpies who boast of making their thousands out of universal scarcity and distress. . . . The unholy thirst for money making seems to render men deaf alike to the voice of public opinion [or] the calls of patriotism. . . . If, as seems too probable, our people prefer heaping up gains in Treasury notes to their own self-preservation from a cruel, licentious, rapacious, and remorseless foe, the great God himself will and must say to such a people: "THY MONEY PERISH WITH THEE!" ⁷

Speculation and extortion were indeed "the great enemies of of the Confederate cause" simply because they increased privation. The latter was one item Florida had in great abundance. When the Federals visited Apalachicola on May 10, 1862, they found the inhabitants in an "almost starving condition." By autumn, 1863, the situation had worsened to the point that Governor Milton had to inform General Beauregard that if for any reason communication with Apalachicola were stopped, "it will expose to famine nearly 500 loyal citizens who are suffering for bread." ⁸

The conditions under which most Floridians lived were appalling, and suffering was not restricted to any one region. After Baldwin was taken by the Federals in early 1864, a *New York Herald* correspondent reported that "wretched desolation is written over the face of the country," ⁹ and a Federal officer stationed in the same area wrote his mother: "The whites who are living here are *wretchedly poor*. They are women and children -hardly enough clothing to cover their backs-and food, I cannot tell you what they live on. It is a pitiful sight, I assure

7. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, November 18, 1862.

8. Milton to G. T. Beauregard, October 15, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. I, XXVIII, Pt. 2, 452.

9. *New York Herald*, February 9, 1864.

you.”¹⁰ The *New York Tribune* on February 20, 1864, reported that wherever Federal naval forces landed, “the inhabitants throng into our camp, asking for food.”

Conditions were probably worst of all in South Florida. Milton wrote Confederate Secretary of War Seddon that in this region many “families of soldiers in Virginia are threatened with starvation.” In his efforts to help these people, the governor was hampered by profiteers. Milton told Seddon that even though the state had purchased supplies for those suffering in South Florida, “we cannot get teams to haul [them]. The speculators interested in the blockade are using these teams.”¹¹ Florida’s upper class suffered along with the “poor whites.” On April 7, 1864, Miss Susan Bradford Eppes, of one of Tallahassee’s leading families, noted in her diary: “Today, I have no shoes to put on. All my life I have never wanted to go bare-footed, as most Southern children do.”¹²

In January 1863, Governor Milton began a conscientious campaign to relieve the widespread misery. He ordered judges of probate and justices of the peace in each county to compile lists of soldiers’ families in need of state aid.¹³ After receiving these compilations, he ordered county commissioners to “secure immediately, by purchase, the amount of corn, syrup, potatoes and peas which will be needed for the soldiers’ families.”¹⁴

In 1863, of Florida’s total free population of 78,679, 3,398 soldiers’ families or about 11,673 persons were found to need state support.¹⁵ By 1864, the number of those needing relief rose to over 13,000.¹⁶ The state’s attempts to aid these families were never very successful. On January 11, 1864, Governor Milton wrote Secretary Seddon, informing him that in several

10. Charles M. Duren to mother, February 15, 1864, Duren Letters, mss. box 6, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

11. Milton to Seddon, September 6, 1863, quoted in Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, September 6, 1963.

12. Susan Bradford Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years* (Macon, 1926; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1968), 238.

13. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, January 13, 1863.

14. Proclamation of Governor Milton to “Citizens of Florida,” October 21, 1863, Milton Papers.

15. *American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1863* (New York, 1864), III, 413.

16. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, 1855-1865* (Tallahassee, 1855-1866), 1864, 31, cited in William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 262.

counties "the corn necessary to support the soldiers' families" could not be procured. Milton asked for permission to obtain "10,000 or 12,000 bushels of corn" from the Confederate government.¹⁷ Three months later, it was reported that the situation of these families had continued to worsen-Major C. C. Yonge, chief Confederate quartermaster for Florida, informed Governor Milton in April that many families in the state were "perilously near starvation."¹⁸

Thus, citizens of Confederate Florida had to endure acute suffering, and this widespread privation greatly increased both anti-war and pro-Union sentiment. Three factors - high taxes, impressment, and conscription - would bring this disaffection almost to the point of revolt. Floridians heartily disliked taxes and particularly the three imposed by the Confederate government: War Tax of August 19, 1861;¹⁹ Impressment Act of March 26, 1863; and General Tax Act (Confederate tithe) of April 24, 1863. Collection of imposts was entrusted to state tax collectors and Confederate commissary agents. Many Floridians considered all of them "speculators" and resented the fact that though of conscript age, they were exempt from military service.²⁰

The tithe caused great indignation, and for good reason. To people who often went hungry and who needed everything they produced to keep themselves at subsistence level, this tax was looked on as nothing less than oppression. In May 1864, the citizens of Marianna were bitterly complaining to the governor that in addition to the tithe, they were being called on to

17. Milton to James A. Seddon, January 11, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. IV, III, 15.

18. C. C. Yonge to Milton, April 2, 1864, quoted in Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, April 2, 1964.

19. The Confederate war tax levied an impost of one-half of one per cent on all real and personal property, a yearly levy of eight per cent on the value of naval stores, salt, wines, liquor, wool, sugar, cotton, tobacco, molasses, syrup, and other agricultural products; an annual license tax of from \$50 to \$500 on occupations such as butchers, bakers, bankers, innkeepers, lawyers, and doctors; an income tax of one to fifteen per cent on all incomes; a ten per cent tax on profits from the sale of provisions, iron, shoes, blankets, and cotton cloth; and a tax in kind of one-tenth of all agricultural products that became known as the Confederate tithe. See John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 109.

20. Jones, *Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, II, 132.

supply an amount of meat equal to one-half the usual amount needed by farm families.²¹

The law that caused the greatest disaffection was the Impressment Act. It authorized seizure of food and other property useful to the military at prices arbitrarily fixed by "boards" created by the war department and governors.²² Impressment agents and quartermasters took anything they thought useful to further the war effort - which, by 1865, included just about everything. Though the fixed prices were usually substantially below market price, owners had no other choice but to sell. Payment was in depreciated Confederate currency which many Floridians disliked accepting. Confederate refugees streaming into Jacksonville in February 1864, informed the Federals that Confederate money had always been held in ill repute, never passing at par. According to a New York paper: "Those who had gold and silver at the commencement of the Rebellion have held on to it, only selling occasionally a little at an enormous rate of premium to blockade-runners. The latest sale quoted in Jacksonville was on the 5th of February . . . when \$100 in gold brought \$2,400 in Confederate money."²³

Opposition to impressment can scarcely be overemphasized. Even though impressment had not been legally sanctioned until March 1863, it had become common much earlier. In November 1862 President Davis received several irate letters from citizens in West Florida. One complained that "the most immediate enemy . . . is starvation, and unless there can be some changes in the administration of the military authority here, the people must suffer. No one will bring wood for fear his boat will be seized; no one corn or meal."²⁴ Unscrupulous men who posed as real impressment agents were another problem. Governor Milton, in a letter to Major P. W. White, chief commissary of Florida, predicted "the deleterious effect upon the Army, if during their absence in military service, their families shall be made to suffer by impressments unnecessarily or illegally made."²⁵

21. Nich. A. Long and others to Milton, May 3, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. I, LIII, 349.

22. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 186.

23. *New York Tribune*, February 20, 1864.

24. Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, November 23, 1962.

25. Milton to Pleasant White, December 12, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. IV, III, 20.

When other sources of beef in the Confederacy had been cut off by the enemy, Florida's herds became crucial, and impressment of cattle increased apace. On December 20, 1863, the Reverend John R. Richards inquired of the governor, "if it is law for these 'pressmen' to take the cows from the soldiers' families and leave them to starve." He wrote: "Colonel Coker has just left my house with a drove for Marianna of about 200 or 300 head. Some of my neighbors went after him and begged him to give them their milch cows, which he . . . refused to do, and [he] took them on. . . . There are soldiers' families in my neighborhood that the last head of cattle have been taken from them and drove off, and unless this pressing of cows is stopped speedily, there won't be a cow left in Calhoun County. . . . Several soldiers' families in this county . . . haven't had one grain of corn in the last 3 weeks, nor any likelihood of their getting any in the next three months; their few cows taken away and they left to starve; their husbands slain on the battlefield at Chattanooga." Richards indicated increasing hostility for the Confederacy and called for an end to the cattle seizures.²⁶ Similar situations existed elsewhere in the state. From Hernando County came the report that starving soldiers' families "are becoming clamorous for meat, and are killing people's cows where ever they can get hold of them."²⁷

Anti-war and pro-Union sentiment reached great proportions. Governor Milton informed Secretary of War Seddon that "The wave of indignation concerning impressment will drive even greater numbers into the enemy camp if the evils of the system are not immediately corrected."²⁸ According to Milton, "The effect of the impressment made in West Florida was the desertion of a large number of the troops in that part of the State, a portion of whom have joined the enemy. From one company, which was considered the best drilled and most reliable company in West Florida, fifty-two men deserted with their arms, some of whom were known to be brave men, who, indignant at the heartless treatment of the rights of citizens, have joined the enemy. . . . The citizens . . . in many parts of the State are indignant at the unnecessary abuse of their rights . . ., and the

26. John R. Richards to Milton, December 20, 1863, *ibid.*, 47.

27. P. G. Wall to Milton, January 12, 1864, *ibid.*, 48.

28. Milton to Seddon, January 26, 1864, quoted in Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, January 26, 1964.

lawless and wicked conduct of Government agents in this State has produced serious dissatisfaction" ²⁹

The Confederate Conscription Act (April 16, 1862), the first draft law in American history, authorized the enrollment of all white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years for a period of three years. ³⁰ On September 27, 1862, conscription was extended to include all between the ages of eighteen and forty-five; in early 1864, the law was further revised to include men between the ages of seventeen and fifty. ³¹

The majority of Floridians loathed conscription. ³² On October 5, 1862, the governor informed the secretary of war that the act "cannot be wisely or successfully enforced in this State." ³³ Florida's "poor whites" were angered by the substitution system which allowed an affluent man to hire someone to do his fighting for him. In a letter to Jefferson Davis, Milton argued that substitution was also being opposed because the \$500 to \$5,000 bounty substitutes received lured overseers away from the plantation regions, making the possibility of slave revolt a grim reality. ³⁴ John S. Preston, superintendent of the Bureau of Conscription, admitted that the act tended to favor "wealthy farmers, enterprising manufacturers and mechanics," and that Florida was one of the states from which came many "complaints of the evils and failures of conscription." ³⁵

The exemption of large slaveholders was objectionable to the small farmers ³⁶ and was regarded as another piece of evidence that the effort mainly benefitted the rich. Many Floridians resented, not merely exemption of slaveholders, but the very notion that exemption would be allowed at all. There were others, however, all too glad to take advantage of it when it served their own purposes. For instance, when salt workers were given exemption from military service, employment in that industry suddenly became immensely popular. In September 1862, Gov-

29. Milton to Seddon, January 26, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. IV, III, 46.

30. *Ibid.*, Ser. III, V, 694.

31. *Ibid.*, 695.

32. Milton to John H. Forney, October 11, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. I, LII, Pt. 2, 373.

33. Milton to George W. Randolph, October 5, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. I, LIII, 258-59.

34. Milton to Davis, May 23, 1863, quoted in Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, May 23, 1963.

35. Preston to Seddon, April 30, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. III, V, 697.

36. James Garfield Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1937), 265.

ernor Milton noted that "Since the enactment of the conscript act, many able-bodied men from adjacent states and this State have repaired to the coast of Florida, under the pretense of making salt, and to be secure in their labor some have been treacherous enough to hold intercourse with the enemy; others have been lazy loungers, more anxious to avoid military service than to make salt."³⁷

Even those who legitimately made salt did so with the idea of selling it at exorbitant prices. The Tallahassee paper complained that manufacturers were often selling their product at twice the legitimate price.³⁸ In February 1863, Michael Raysor, a Florida soldier, wrote his wife that he disliked the idea of her able-bodied relatives making salt, especially "when they sell it as high as they do. The conscript officer ought to go down there and take all of them between eighteen and forty-five. If they were up here [in Tennessee], I'll insure they would be conscripted and that soon."³⁹

There were other reasons for opposition to conscription. The *Tallahassee Sentinel* complained that in spite of the "inalienable" right of Floridians to enter regiments of their own state and their own choosing, conscript officers under General Howell Cobb were drafting men from Taylor, Madison, and Lafayette counties and refusing to let them join Florida units, insisting instead that they enlist in the First Georgia Regulars. The paper called such treatment "an outrage upon the rights of Floridians, not to be submitted to quietly."⁴⁰

One aspect of conscription that caused great disaffection was the order requiring the sick to be brought to the camp of instruction to ascertain whether they were fit for any sort of military duty. Governor Milton complained of this in a letter to President Davis: "They never will be able to render efficient service upon the field, in hospitals, or in any of the departments of the Government, but [at home they] would be of some service in taking care of and comforting women and children. The

37. Milton to "Honorable Senators and Representatives of the State of Florida at Richmond," September 11, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. IV, II, 94.

38. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, August 18, 1863.

39. Raysor to wife, February 5, 1863, Michael O. Raysor Civil War Letters, mss. box 6, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

40. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, April 28, 1863.

camp of instruction has more the appearance of a camp provided for those afflicted with lameness and disease than a military camp.”⁴¹

Opposition encountered by Confederate enrolling officers increased.⁴² Floridians began “laying-out,” hiding when the “conscript officer” came around.⁴³ Not all who tried to evade conscription were pro-Union, though some in bitterness would later become ardent Unionists. At first, most of them, besides obviously being anti-war, were more interested in being with and providing for their families than in fighting. The ease of one George Carter, a citizen of Alachua County, was typical. He was the father of “15 or 16 children, none of them old enough to properly provide for the others.” Because he thought his family came before the war effort, “he was hunted by conscription parties, and had to hide in the woods at night without fire, despite the inclemency of the weather. . . . Mr. Carter always spoke of his experience with great bitterness.”⁴⁴

At an early date, “lay-outs” began organizing against the Confederacy. The *Quincy Semi-Weekly Dispatch* in 1862, denounced “some 50 or 60 men [in Calhoun County] who need their necks stretched with stout ropes.” Hoping to avoid conscription, “they have armed and organized themselves to resist those who may attempt their arrest.” They were in communication with the blockaders from whom they received arms.⁴⁵

With Florida in “far greater danger of being overwhelmed from the want of food and a viciated [*sic*] currency than by Lincoln’s Armies,”⁴⁶ many Floridians sympathized with the predicament of the conscription evader, particularly if he was trying to provide for his family. Even the “lay-outs” who actively opposed the Confederacy were often tolerated or even aided. The governor of Alabama, in a letter to the Confederate commander at Quincy, noted the numerous “lay-outs” inhabiting the area around the Chattahoochee River: “The impunity of these men, and the extension of the age of conscription, will tend to in-

41. Milton to Davis, September 23, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. IV, II, 92-93.

42. Milton to Forney, October 11, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. I, LII, Pt. 2, 373.

43. Henry D. Capers to J. L. Cross, March 27, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, LIII, 316-18.

44. John Francis Tenney, *Slavery Secession, and Success: The Memoirs of a Florida Pioneer* (San Antonio, 1934), 21.

45. *Quincy Semi-Weekly Dispatch*, September 2, 1862.

46. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, November 3, 1863.

crease their numbers.”⁴⁷ General Cobb was also concerned over this “disloyal feeling” and felt that it “should be crushed.” Cobb’s admission, based on past experience, that “to turn them over to the civil authorities, is simply to provide for a farcical trial,” goes a long way towards revealing the extent of anti-war and pro-Union sentiment in West Florida.⁴⁸

After 1863, opposition to conscription accelerated even further in Florida. A Jacksonville newspaper claimed in the spring of 1864 that “nearly half the soldiers in the Confederate army . . . whose term of service will expire this spring, have not re-enlisted, and will not do so. . . . They hold the measure [conscription] to be unjust, and will suffer no chances of escape to pass unproved.”⁴⁹

As one observer put it, the most dramatic manifestation of disloyalty in Florida came from “an enemy . . . with whom we were unable to cope, *the diabolical deserter*.”⁵⁰ The reasons for large scale desertion in the state were many and complex. Many probably had little real love for the Union, but they did have a sense of responsibility for their families. When soldiers became aware of the awful conditions under which their families lived, they often chose to desert in order to help them. Soldiers frequently received letters like the following:

My dear Mike, I think of little else but your selfe. . . . I have looked at [every] sound to see you coming. I was so confident you would use every means to come to see your deare wife. I have been sick for the last month [and] have seen scarcely a well day. . . . Mike, you must come home. I can not, I will not, stande it no longer. If you do not come, I will come down there [to the Florida coast] to see you if I know all the Yankees was down there. . . . I do not expect to be well, not again till you come home, Mike.⁵¹

In other letters, Mrs. Raysor repeatedly tried to get her husband to desert and return home. His wife’s pleading had a distinct effect on Raysor as seen by the letter he wrote from a Confederate hospital in Chatanooga:

47. John G. Shorter to Howell Cobb, August 4, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. I, XXVIII, Pt. 2, 273.

48. Cobb to Thomas Jordan, August 11, 1863, *ibid*.

49. Jacksonville *Peninsula*, April 7, 1864.

50. Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years*, 221-22.

51. Sallie Raysor to husband, December 26, 1861, Raysor Civil War Letters.

Oh how I wish I could be at home, but it is no use. I believe furlough is stoped [*sic*]. I believe I could run away but I do not care to do it, but if I am not exchanged [to a Florida hospital] in two or three months, I will.⁵²

Wives were often incredibly naive about military procedures. Elizabeth Ward wrote her husband at Pensacola: "I have got no corn nor no meel, nor any way of giting of hit. . . . I want you to send sum corn soon or fetch hit." In a postscript she added: "Let your Captain reade this."⁵³ Obviously she thought the captain would feel sufficient sympathy to release Ward temporarily from military duty. James J. Nixon summed up the feelings of thousands of Confederate soldiers when, in a letter to his Florida wife, he asked: "What must I do, my country calls me on one hand, my *dear family* and interest on the other."⁵⁴ Probably a majority of the desertions from the Confederate army were caused by wives' letters describing dire circumstances at home.⁵⁵

Some soldiers were undoubtedly influenced by friends at home who advised them to give up a lost cause and return to their families. In the closing weeks of the war, General Lee complained that Confederate soldiers, "are influenced . . . by the representations of their friends at home, who appear to have become very despondent as to our success. They think the cause desperate and write to the soldiers, advising them to take care of themselves, assuring them that if they will return home, the bands of deserters so far outnumber the home guards that they will be in no danger of arrest."⁵⁶

Many Confederate soldiers, especially in frontier areas like Florida, had thought they would only have to serve in their home states, even their home districts. When told they would have to leave the state, many who had never been away from

52. Raysor to wife, September 3, 1863, *ibid.* Rather than deserting, Raysor "died in [the] service." Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Tallahassee, 1903), 115.

53. Mrs. Ward to husband, June 2, 1861, mss. box 6, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

54. Nixon to wife, February 19, 1862, James J. Nixon Letters, 1861-1863, mss. box 28, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

55. Gainesville Cotton States, April 16, 1864.

56. R. E. Lee to Secretary of War, February 24, 1865, *Official Records*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 2, 1254.

home before panicked and thought desertion preferable to forced "emigration." One officer admitted that he doubted whether half the Florida troops would obey orders to leave the state.⁵⁷

To serve in the region of their own choosing was an "inalienable right" that large numbers of Confederate soldiers insisted upon. They also wanted to elect their own officers and receive adequate pay, decent food and clothing, and furloughs of specified length - regardless of the necessities of war. Brigadier General Richard F. Floyd, in command at Apalachicola, advised Tallahassee in 1862 that his troops considered a thirty-day furlough "their right."⁵⁸

For men who looked to their government for help and found that it was not available there was disillusionment. The war was hardly a month old when a soldier stationed at Pensacola found that the men's horses were suffering for lack of feed.⁵⁹ This situation grew steadily worse, not only for the soldiers' horses, but for the soldiers themselves. It is not surprising that General Bragg informed Richmond in December 1861, that he was having great difficulty in persuading his men to re-enlist.⁶⁰

A similar disenchantment with military life appeared elsewhere in Florida. In March 1862, Major Pemberton reported that his troops were "in a state of mutiny, positively refusing . . . to move [out of the state] until the arrearages [*sic*] of pay due are received and until satisfied that a sufficient army is left in Florida for the protection of their families."⁶¹

Life for the Florida soldier became increasingly intolerable. An officer of the First Florida Infantry reported in March 1864; "My men have no shoes; their rations consist of Florida beef and corn. The beef is so poor that the men cannot eat it The spirit of the army is in favor of peace. The men re-enlist only to get furloughs and never return."⁶²

Conditions under which the Florida soldier had to live and

57. Samuel Jones to Cooper, May 17, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. 1, 118.

58. Richard F. Floyd to Milton, February 9, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. I, VI, 378.

59. Joseph Dill Alison Civil War Diary, May, 1861-July, 1863 (typescript copy), mss. box 26, p.2, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

60. Bragg to Confederate War Department, December 10, 1861, quoted in Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, December 10, 1961.

61. Pemberton to Cooper, March 18, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, VI, 408.

62. Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, March 8, 1964.

fight continued to worsen. Many men reached a breaking point and decided to desert. Curiously enough, the soldier did not always consider this action a drastic step. As the soldier was rather naive about his supposed rights, he was even more unsophisticated as to the seriousness of desertion. In the early years of the war Governor Milton stressed the need for moderation in apprehending deserters and conscription evaders, because he knew that few of these men had any real conception of the enormity of their crimes.⁶³

The *Tallahassee Sentinel* in 1862 complained that "thousands of stragglers and deserters are permitted to skulk about the country and hide themselves about their homes." The paper reminded its readers that "the soldier who is absent without a furlough, or who allows his furlough to expire without joining his company, is a *deserter*."⁶⁴ In Confederate Florida, deserters, often joined by conscription evaders, refugees, and sometimes fugitive slaves, were numerous in every locality. In 1863 a citizen wrote Brigadier General Joseph Finegan that something had to be done "to check the accumulation of deserters in Taylor County. . . . Disloyalty is very general in that county, and they are not disposed to disguise their sentiments The immunity enjoyed by the deserters in producing a very bad effect, and if not checked soon, will be difficult to deal with."⁶⁵

Anti-war deserters threatened to overrun Taylor County where they organized into bands and terrorized all who differed with them.⁶⁶ By 1864, they had effectively disrupted the functioning of local government, the sheriff had defected, and the new sheriff, Edward Jordon, was soon reporting to the comptroller: "I am driven to the necessity of informing you that I am compelled to stop collecting or assessing Taxes for the present, in consequence of the Enemy . . . and having rece'd a message from a Squad of Persons that call themselves *Union men*. I have thought it best to desist . . . until there is a force in the county to check them, if not I shall have to leave, I

63. Governor's message, November 1862, cited in Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 264. Also, Milton to Randolph, August 5, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, LII, Pt. 2, 337.

64. *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, December 9, 1862.

65. John C. McGehee to Finegan, October 5, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. I, XXVIII, Pt. 2, 403.

66. John F. Lay to Jordon, February 16, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, LIII, 309.

cannot say how soon for safety, for I have rece'd orders to join them or I cannot stay in the County." ⁶⁷

Deserters also existed in large numbers in Lafayette and Levy counties. In the latter county a Confederate officer promised local citizens "to clear your locality of Yankees, deserters, and outlaws" at an early date. ⁶⁸ Organized deserter bands often raided plantations in Jefferson and Madison counties. ⁶⁹ Deserters, sometimes from as far away as Virginia, "collected in the swamps and fastnesses of Taylor, LaFayette [*sic*], Levy, and other counties, and . . . organized, with runaway negroes [*sic*], bands of the purpose for committing depredations upon the plantations and crops of loyal citizens and running off their slaves. These depredatory bands have even threatened the cities of Tallahassee, Madison, and Marianna." ⁷⁰

In the area west of the Apalachicola River, deserters were still more numerous. Governor Shorter of Alabama found that the swamps of the Chipola River and its tributaries were being used as hideouts. ⁷¹ Governor Milton noted in a letter to Richmond in 1864 that deserters in West Florida "had contaminated a large portion of the citizens," including the sheriff of Washington County. The deserters were "in constant communication with the enemy," Milton said, and will "pilot . . . [them] in any raid which may be attempted." ⁷² In the Chattahoochee area, a band of forty-three deserters "surrounded and disarmed part of a [Confederate] cavalry company." Milton argued that without drastic action to free the western region "from traitors and deserters, it will be in the possession of the enemy, and the lives and property of loyal citizens will be sacrificed." ⁷³

Though South Florida was sparsely settled, it also had its bands of deserters. They were especially numerous in the

67. Jordon to Walter Gwynn, February 12, 1864. Comptroller's Letter Book, Letters Received, 1860-1865, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Hereinafter cited as Comptroller's Letter Book.

68. Patton Anderson to J. M. Mills, May 15, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. I, LIII, 337.

69. Anderson to H. W. Feilden, May 14, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. I, 368-69.

70. John K. Jackson to Cooper, August 12, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. 2, 607.

71. Shorter to Cobb, August 4, 1863, *ibid.*, Ser. I, XXVIII, Pt. 2, 273.

72. Milton to Seddon, January 11, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. IV, III, 16.

73. Milton to Beauregard, February 5, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. 1, 564.

triangle formed by Tampa Bay, Charlotte Harbor, and Lake Okeechobee.⁷⁴ Sheriff J. J. Addison of Manatee County reported, "There is over half the Taxpayers of this County gone to the Yankee. . . . One of our County commisioners has gone to the Yankees, two of the outhers taken and Prisiners [*sic*]." ⁷⁵ A Confederate courier, Thomas Benton Ellis, had to travel at night in South Florida "so as to dodge the sneaking deserters." ⁷⁶ At first the problem was not quite as great in East Florida as elsewhere in the state. However, after the Union army gained control of the coast and the region east of the St. Johns River down to Lake George in 1862, deserters crossed into Federal lines and generally became members of the large pro-Union minority.

The deserters not only exerted a demoralizing influence upon the civilian population, but also acted as a "fifth column" against the Confederacy. They helped the Federals by giving them important military information, acting as guides, stealing supplies meant for the Confederates (10,000 blankets and 6,000 pairs of shoes were captured in May 1864), and by destroying railroad trestles, burning bridges, and cutting telegraph lines in an attempt to disrupt communications.⁷⁷

Some deserters enlisted in the United States army. As early as December 1861, Federal commanders agreed to accept into service any who enlisted according to United States military regulations under the volunteer system.⁷⁸ Two years later, a Federal commander claimed that if given proper assistance to come within the Union lines, "not only one but several regiments could be raised in Western Florida."⁷⁹ Deserters trying to reach Federal lines to enlist were often intercepted by Confederate guerrilla bands, who meted out savage punishment to

74. Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, December 14, 1963.

75. J. J. Addison to Gwynn, July 5, 1864, Comptroller's Letter Book.

76. Thomas Benton Ellis Diary, July, 1861-April, 1865 (typescript copy), p. 11, mss. box 26, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

77. *New York Times*, April 2, 1862; Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, November 11, 1862; Gainesville *Cotton States*, March 19, June 18, 1864; Alexander Asboth to Charles P. Stone, April 22, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. 2, 64; John P. Hatch to J. G. Foster, August 4, 1864, *ibid.*, 215; Lay to Jordan, February 16, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, LIII, 308; Capers to Cross, March 27, 1864, *ibid.*, 316-19; and Anderson to Mills, May 15, 1864, *ibid.*, 336-37.

78. Lorenzo Thomas to John W. Butler, December 6, 1861, *ibid.*, Ser. III, I, 730.

79. Asboth to Stone, December 27, 1863, quoted in Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, December 27, 1963.

captured Unionists. Union General Alexander Asboth, in command at Barrancas, wrote a fellow officer in April 1864: "Very few recruits can reach our lines at present, as all West Florida is swarming with rebel cavalry hunting refugees and deserters. In Walton County seven citizens were hung last week for entertaining Union sentiments, and a woman, refusing to give information about her husband's whereabouts, was killed in a shocking manner, and two of her children caught and torn to pieces by bloodhounds."⁸⁰

The Federals were fairly successful in recruiting deserters. For example, late in the war they landed a company in South Florida composed entirely of deserters, and sent it on a raid in the direction of Brooksville.⁸¹ At the same time that Florida was furnishing the United States army with 1,290 white recruits, 2,219 Floridians, officers and men—a figure probably too low—were recorded as deserting from the Confederate army.⁸²

The boldness of the "diabolical deserter" reached incredible heights. In early February 1864, about 100 of them, learning of Governor Milton's travel plans, hid themselves in ambush along the road leading out of Tallahassee. They hoped to capture Milton and turn him over to one of the blockading vessels in the Gulf. A pro-Confederate citizen of Calhoun County, one Luke Lott, happened to learn of the deserters' scheme and, at the last moment, was able to warn the governor. To keep from being captured or killed, Milton stayed in Tallahassee.⁸³

It was not long before Confederate authorities and other loyal Southerners in Florida decided that unless the evil of desertion was wiped out, internal collapse would be imminent. At first, moderation was tried. Newspapers defined the term "desertion" and warned their readers of the consequences for anyone committing the offense. When this tactic failed to produce

80. Asboth to Stone, April 22, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. 2, 64.

81. Thomas Benton Ellis Diary, p. 9-11.

82. *Official Records*, Ser. III, IV, 1269; *House Executive Documents*, Cong., 1st Sess., No. 1, IV, Pt. I, p. 141, cited in Ella Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (New York, 1928), 231. Probably there is some overlapping between these two categories.

83. Milton to Beauregard, February 5, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. 1, 564; Luke Lott to Milton, February 3, 1864, *ibid.*, 566; Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, February 3, 4, 1964.

results, papers began running notices of rewards for information leading to the apprehension of deserters or conscription evaders.⁸⁴

State and Confederate authorities soon decided to employ harsher methods. One was use of guerrilla companies composed of loyal Southerners. Though not part of the regular army, these forces were countenanced by Confederate military authorities to whom the leader of the guerrilla band reported. In April 1862, the chief of the "Ochlawaha Rangers" reported to the Confederate commander at Lake City: "I am now a guerrilla in every sense of the word; we neither tell where we stay nor where we are going, nor when we shall return; [we] assemble the Company at the sound of a cow's horn. We have made some arrests of both white and black, and hung one negro [*sic*] last week belonging to Mays. . . . I regret very much to have to report to you that at least three-fourths of the people on the Saint Johns River and east of it are aiding and abetting [*sic*] the enemy; we could see them at all times through the day communicating with the [Federal] vessel in their small boats. It is not safe for a small [Confederate] force to be on the east side of the river; there is great danger of being betrayed into the hands of the enemy."⁸⁵

The job of the guerrilla forces was not easy, for deserters also organized disciplined companies. One of the strongest bands was the "Independent Union Rangers" of Taylor County, led by William W. Strickland. Its constitution demanded that members "cheerfully obey all orders given by the officers we elect over us; that we will bear true allegiance to the United States of America; that we will not . . . give any information or speak in the presence of anyone, even though it be our wives and families, of any expedition, raid, or attack that we may be about to undertake; that we agree to shoot or in some other way destroy any person or persons who are proven to be spies of the enemy, or any person who . . . may desert or entice others to do so."⁸⁶

Deserters were often successful in their efforts to elude the Confederate military and help Federals who supplied them with

84. Gainesville *Cotton States*, May 7, 1864.

85. John W. Pearson to Floyd, April 8, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, LIII, 234.

86. Capers to Cross, March 27, 1864, *ibid.*, 318-19.

food and arms. They knew their regions perfectly, and could hide in the most impenetrable tangles and swamps. Because deserters in East Florida and the coastal areas were difficult to approach due to the nearness of Federal forces, the Confederates decided to concentrate on Middle Florida, especially Taylor County. Lieutenant Colonel Henry D. Capers and his men proceeded to the heart of deserter territory. Finding them gone, he ordered all houses on both banks of the Econfinia and Fenholloway rivers put to the torch. At William Strickland's house, the Confederates found the "Rangers" constitution and "2,000 rounds of fixed ammunition for the Springfield musket, several barrels of flour from the United States Subsistence Department, and several other articles which evidenced the regularity of their communication with the enemy's gunboats." ⁸⁷

Capers' raid netted two deserters and sixteen women and children, dependents of some of the hiding deserters. It is uncertain what happened to the captured deserters, but the others were taken to a "camp," just outside Tallahassee, where they were "housed" in nine, crude, "double-pen log houses." ⁸⁸ Other such raids were made. One involved a train of wagons, dubbed "the wagon brigade," which traversed four counties, forcing women and children to evacuate their homes, which were put to the torch, and to move in to the "deserters' camp" in Leon County. ⁸⁹

Colonel Capers was the master huntsman of deserters. He thought the best way to get the job done was "with dogs and mounted men under the command of an experienced woodsman . . . familiar with the country." ⁹⁰ This was nasty business; one Confederate soldier from Florida, James M. Dancy, remembered that "the most disagreeable service I was called upon to render was hunting deserters." ⁹¹ The harsh methods used in apprehending deserters helped to build up sympathy for them among the general population. Governor Milton wrote Secretary of War Seddon that the "lawless and cruel violence" exerted against deserters and their families has "increased the number

87. *Ibid.*, 317.

88. Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years*, 223-24.

89. *Ibid.*

90. Capers to Cross, March 27, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. I, LIII, 318.

91. James M. Dancy *Memoirs of the War and Reconstruction* (typescript copy), p. 9, box 27, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

of deserters and prevented many from returning to their commands.”⁹² Milton had learned that the number of deserters in East, South, and part of Middle Florida had increased, and that they sought revenge for the cruel methods used against them: “An increased force [is] necessary to protect the lives and property of loyal citizens from the retaliation threatened and now being executed by deserters and by those . . . in the immediate localities where the injuries were inflicted, [who] sympathize with or fear them.”⁹³

In their efforts to stamp out or control the problem of desertion, Confederate authorities failed miserably. Of the more than 2,219 Florida soldiers recorded as deserters, only 220 were ever returned to the army.⁹⁴ In fact, the situation in Florida had become rather ludicrous by 1864. One Confederate general promised the chief commissary of the state that the next group of soldiers sent to South Florida to fight deserters would be Confederate regulars; the last force was composed of local irregulars and when they were given arms to fight deserters and Federals, fifty-seven of the eighty immediately deserted themselves and joined the Union forces.⁹⁵

In the spring of 1865, the internal collapse of Confederate Florida was fast approaching. Much of East Florida was already in Federal hands, and here Union sentiment prevailed. West, South, and Middle Florida were overrun with deserters, conscription evaders, refugees, and fugitive slaves. Throughout the state, the desire for peace - even without victory - was dominant. The events at Appomattox Courthouse would soon mean the fulfillment of that desire.

92. Milton to Seddon, June 30, 1864, *Official Records*, Ser. I, LIII, 349-51.

93. Milton to Anderson, June 20, 1864, *ibid.*, 343.

94. *Official Records*, Ser. IV, III, 1109.

95. William G. Barth to P. W. White, April 19, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. 2, 444.

FLORIDA WOMEN GET THE VOTE

by KENNETH R. JOHNSON*

FLORIDA WOMEN WORKED long and hard to secure the right to vote. In 1912 Mrs. Roselle Cooley, Miss Frances Anderson, and a few other energetic women in Jacksonville organized the Florida Equal Franchise League.¹ The idea spread to other communities, and in 1913 a small group of suffragists from all parts of the state, led by Dr. Mary Safford, met at Orlando and organized the Florida Equal Suffrage Association. This organization carried on the main fight for woman suffrage in Florida.² It was composed of twenty-eight local leagues, five of which were men's leagues. They were organized between June 1912 and November 1920 in thirteen different counties. Apathy among the women was such, however, that total membership in all these leagues never exceeded 1,000. Sympathizers in other communities carried on some suffrage activities but never formed organizations.³

While suffrage leagues might be organized anywhere, most were located in places that were new or had a very rapidly growing population. Except for Pensacola, the suffrage leagues were almost entirely in the central, south, and east coast areas of Florida. No rural leagues were organized; all members apparently lived in urban areas. Most of the women active in the suffrage movement were already involved in other community social and professional activities.

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1. Roselle Cooley, "Suffrage in Florida," *Suffrage in the Southern States*, (comp.) Ida Clyde Clark (Nashville, 1914), 21; *Jacksonville Florida Times Union*, June 20, July 9, 24, 1912; *Proceedings of the National American Woman Suffrage Association*, 1914, 159.
2. *Jacksonville Florida Times Union*, November 2, 5, 1913; *Florida Equal Suffrage Association Bulletin*, I, No. 1 (July 1914), 1, 2. While the FESA led the fight for woman suffrage, the Florida Federation of Womans Clubs also played a significant role. In 1915 it endorsed woman suffrage and in 1917 made woman suffrage one of its legislative goals.
3. Suffrage leagues were organized at Jacksonville, Pensacola, Orlando, Lake Helen, Zellwood, Pine Castle, Winter Park, Milton, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Tarpon Springs, Miami, Davis, Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, Coconut Grove, Stuart, Orange City, Tallahassee, Ruskin, Florence Villa, and Winter Haven.

The Florida suffragists carried their fight to the state legislature four times. When the legislature met in 1913, 1915, and 1917, the ladies were there asking that a constitutional amendment granting the full franchise be submitted to the people.⁴ While their efforts were unsuccessful, they gained friends and came closer to their objective each time. They were much more successful in securing the passage of local legislation authorizing municipal suffrage. By 1920 Florida women in twenty-three municipalities located in ten different counties were voting in local elections.⁵ All these municipalities were in the southern part of the state and all in the first and fourth congressional districts. In 1919 the suffragists, better organized than ever before; went to Tallahassee a fourth time requesting that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the people and also requesting legislation permitting women to vote in primary elections. Their dreams were crushed by recalcitrant legislators in the early part of the session.⁶ It became increasingly evident that fulfillment of their dreams would depend on the action of the national Congress.

At a special session of Congress, May 19, 1919, President Wilson urged passage of the woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution.⁷ Quickly reported out of committee, the measure was brought before the House for a vote on May 21. Representative Frank Clark of Gainesville, representing the second congressional district in Florida, led the opposition. He was a long-time suffrage opponent, and offered a variety of arguments against the amendment. He frequently quoted the Bible to

4. A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (July 1957), 42-60; Kenneth R. Johnson, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1966), 182-217.

5. Johnson, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida," 237-61. Women could vote in the following municipalities: Fellsmere, Palm Beach, Moore Haven, Pass-a-Grille, Fort Lauderdale, Florence Villa, Orange City, Daytona, DeLand, Daytona Beach, Aurlantia, Delray, Clearwater, Miami, West Palm Beach, Winter Park, Orlando, Tarpon Springs, St. Petersburg, Dunedin, Ormond, Cocoa, and Coconut Grove.

6. Johnson, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida," 225-37.

7. The woman suffrage amendment, commonly known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment, was first proposed in 1878, and it was kept constantly before the Congress thereafter until passage. It included two simple provisions: Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex; Section 2. The Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provision of this article.

support his point of view. Speaking in 1915, he claimed that God intended woman to be the "helpmeet" in the Christian home, silent in the churches, and always subject to her husband's wishes. No Christian, he argued, could believe in equal rights for men and women. Later, he maintained that the whole woman suffrage movement was dominated by a socialist-Negro-radical element which aimed at overthrowing the United States government. Woman suffrage, especially if granted by the constitutional amendment would, according to Congressman Clark, destroy state rights, let an avalanche of Negroes vote, destroy the American home, pull woman down from her high and honored position, and soil her noble character with the filth of masculine politics. Clark once dramatically concluded an anti-suffrage speech with the statement, "Let us then leave woman where she is - the loveliest of all creation, queen of the household and undisputed dictator of the destiny of man."⁸ But as the House of Representatives moved toward the final vote, Clark conceded that "the cards are stacked and the decree is written," meaning that the "dictator of the destiny of man" had the votes to pass the amendment. On May 21, 1919, the measure passed the House by a vote of 304 to 89.⁹ Florida Congressmen Herbert Drane and William Sears, representing the central and southern part of the state, supported the measure while Congressmen John H. Smithwich and Frank Clark, representing north and west Florida, opposed it.

The Senate acted more slowly but with the same sureness. Florida Senators Duncan U. Fletcher and Park Trammell joined most other southern senators in opposing the passage of the amendment. Fletcher had taken such a firm stand against woman suffrage and the amendment that the leaders of the National American Woman Suffrage Association "blacklisted" him and had urged his defeat in 1914.¹⁰ But with the passage of time and a change in public opinion, his attitude toward woman suffrage became more moderate, and in April 1919, he

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8. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, January 29, 1915; *Tampa Tribune*, January 16, 1918; Maud Wood Park, *Front Door Lobby* (Boston, 1960), 145-46.
 9. *Tampa Tribune*, May 22, 1919; *New York Times*, May 22, 1919; *Woman Citizen*, III (May 3, 1919), 1150. *Woman Citizen* was the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.
 10. James Wayne Flynt, "Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Florida's Reluctant Progressive" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1965), 83.

expressed the hope that the state legislature would submit an amendment to the people extending full franchise to Florida women.¹¹ His opposition to the federal amendment, however, never wavered.

Fletcher gave many reasons for opposing the nineteenth amendment. He felt that woman suffrage was a question which should be settled by the people of each state, and he noted that the national Democratic Party platform in 1916 had urged extension of woman suffrage by the states rather than the federal government. He also pointed out that neither the Florida Democratic Executive Committee, state legislature, nor the people of Florida had endorsed woman suffrage. Moving closer to the heart of his opposition, Fletcher stated that this amendment would enfranchise 2,000,000 Negro women and authorize federal intervention into the registration of voters and elections as a means of protecting them in the exercise of their right to vote. He believed the fifteenth amendment which enfranchised Negro men was a mistake and that the woman suffrage amendment would simply compound this grievous error. Related to this, Fletcher offered as his "most controlling reason" the belief that, "each state should have and preserve the absolute right to say who shall vote for its state officers. . . . If we fail to keep this principle of local self government inviolate, the republic . . . cannot long endure. . . . I hold that the people of Florida . . . are capable of prescribing the manner of conducting elections, the proper system of holding them in the state, and I am not willing to transfer to other authority the power to fix a different registration system, or to put on us a primary law, which our people might find highly objectionable."¹²

Senator Trammell's position was identical with that of his colleague, except that he spoke out more clearly on the race issue: "In our state at present our elections are participated in almost exclusively by our white men and the negro is not a factor in the selection of our public officials. I am opposed to

11. Duncan U. Fletcher to Mrs. William S. Jennings, published in the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 23, 1919.

12. Quoted in the *Tampa Tribune*, September 6, 1918. Also see the *St. Petersburg Times*, October 22, 1918; Senator Duncan U. Fletcher to Reverend A. G. Adams, January 26, 1918, and Fletcher to Mrs. Frank Stranahan, January 28, 1918, May Mann Jennings Papers, Box 12, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

any proposition which would possibly invite greater and more extensive participation in our election on the part of the negro population. I am also opposed to any policy that may invite and probably stimulate citizens of other states who do not understand and appreciate our race problem in making an effort to bring the negroes of Florida into politics.”¹³ While Trammell never altered his position, he was not above using his vote in bargaining for committee assignments he wanted.¹⁴ This seemingly flexible position resulted in extensive but futile efforts by the Florida suffragists to win his vote.

The position of the Florida senators was typical of most southern Democrats in Congress. With the strong support of President Wilson and the leaders of a Republican-controlled Senate, the amendment was brought to a vote on June 4. It passed by a vote of sixty-six to thirty.¹⁵ It was estimated that ratification by thirty-six states could add 25,000,000 names to the lists of voters in this country.

While Congress was acting on the amendment, the Florida legislature was closing its regular session in Tallahassee, with adjournment scheduled for June 6. Florida thus had the opportunity to be the first state to ratify the amendment. But speed was essential. When the Florida Equal Suffrage Association made no move, the initiative was seized by a small group of Jacksonville suffragists, Governor Sidney J. Catts, and Mrs. William S. Jennings, the chairman of the legislative committee of the Florida Federation of Womans Clubs.¹⁶ Some members of the Florida Equal Franchise League called a meeting in the Seminole Hotel in Jacksonville on June 4. Realizing the need for haste, they dispatched a telegram to the Duval County legislative delegation urging ratification of the amendment.¹⁷ Governor Catts sent a special message to the legislature the following day, urging ratification and pointing out that Florida

13. Quoted in the *Tampa Tribune*, March 24, 1918.

14. Park, *Front Door Lobby*, 199.

15. *Tampa Tribune*, June 1, 5, 1919; Carrie Chapman Catt and Neillie

16. Mrs. William S. Jennings was the wife of former Governor William S. Jennings (1900-1904). Both were loyal, active Democrats. Mrs. Jennings was past president of the Florida Federation of Womans Clubs and currently the state representative to the National Federation of Womans Clubs.

17. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, June 1, 4, 6, 1919.

could win for itself "a unique and lasting honor" by being the first state to act. While he had not yet received official word that Congress had taken final action on the amendment, he pointed out that the newspapers and the Associated Press "would not dare publish something of such vast importance as this if it were not true."¹⁸

No ratification resolution was introduced in the Florida legislature, however, notwithstanding the efforts of Governor Catts and the suffrage supporters. This failure to act was later explained in many ways. Representative S. H. Strom of Gadsden County claimed that the matter was not brought up because defeat was certain.¹⁹ Representative Edgar W. Waybright of Duval County stated that a majority of the legislators favored ratification, but had failed to act because such action would have violated article sixteen, section nineteen of the state constitution, which provided that no convention or legislature should ratify an amendment to the federal Constitution unless it was elected after the amendment was submitted.²⁰

Mrs. William S. Jennings, who was in Tallahassee at the time lobbying for the legislative program of the womans clubs, urged the legislature to ratify the suffrage amendment, but the hour of adjournment came before any action was taken. Mrs. Jennings claimed that Waybright had polled the house and could have gotten the majority which it would take to ratify the amendment, but he would not have been able to secure the necessary two-thirds needed to waive the rules, which prohibited the introduction of new business so late in the legislative session. Senator W. L. Hughlett of Cocoa County had polled the senate, but he found that there were only three of his colleagues who would agree to allow the ratification question to be brought up

18. *Tampa Tribune*, June 6, 1919; *Florida Senate Journal* (1919), 2264.

19. *Woman Patriot*, III (October 25, 1919), 5. This magazine was the official publication of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

20. *Ibid.* (October 4, 1919), 4. While this constitutional question was much talked about, it probably had little influence on the legislators. This same legislature had violated this provision of the constitution in ratifying the eighteenth (prohibition) amendment. Later, in June 1920 the United States Supreme Court ruled in the case of *George S. Hawke v. Harvey C. Smith* that a referendum provision of the state constitution could not apply to ratification or rejection of amendments to the federal Constitution. See U. S. Supreme Court, *Reports, Lawyers Education*, Vol. 253 (Rochester, 1921), 871-77; *Tampa Tribune*, June 2, 1920.

for consideration. In view of the results of these decisive polls, Mrs. Jennings insisted that she "would not permit the introduction of the amendment feeling sure of defeat. It would have given the whole cause a set back throughout the United States and there was nothing to be gained by it."²¹ In view of the hectic rush during the closing hours of a typical Florida legislative session, Mrs. Jennings' explanation seems most reasonable.

Rather than becoming the first state to ratify the nineteenth amendment, the Florida legislature won for itself the unique honor of being the last state to take action on the measure. Finally in 1969, after a fifty-year delay, and long after American women-black and white - were voting and playing an active role in politics and government, the legislature unanimously ratified the amendment in 1969.²²

After the regular session of the legislature in 1919, there was some talk of a special session. The Equal Franchise League in Jacksonville on July 19 adopted a resolution urging Governor Catts to call a special session to act on the suffrage amendment.²³ The Jacksonville suffragists, calling themselves the Woman's Non-Partisan League, continued to discuss a special session until April 1920, but they took no positive action. At that time Carrie Chapman Catt, president of National American Woman Suffrage Association, advised that no further action be taken in Florida and assured the women that the amendment would be ratified in time for them to vote in the general election.²⁴ The National Woman's Party also sought a special legislative session. Early in 1920, Helen Hunt of Jacksonville, chairman of the Florida branch of the National Woman's Party, polled the legislators and reported that a majority would ratify the

21. Mrs. William S. Jennings to Mrs. Edgar Lewis, June 7, 1919, May Mann Jennings, Papers, Box 15.

22. In May 1969 both houses of the Florida legislature unanimously adopted Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 1172 which ratified the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution. This action was taken at the request of the Florida League of Women Voters as a means of recognizing the fiftieth anniversary of the League of Women Voters of the United States and the thirtieth anniversary of the League of Women Voters of Florida. Also see Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 1168 as filed in the office of the secretary of state, May 22, 1969.

23. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, July 20, 1919.

24. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1920. A few Florida women including Mrs. John T. Fuller, president of FESA, continued their effort by joining the NAWSA campaign in other states. See *Tampa Tribune*, May 14, 21, 1920.

amendment if called together.²⁵ Governor Catts, however, refused to issue the call; it was believed that he had told the suffragists that there was no purpose in a special session unless the suffrage sentiment changed after the regular session.²⁶ There was never any real indication of such change, but the National Woman's Party was conducting another poll of the legislators when the amendment became law.²⁷

By the end of March 1920 thirty-four states had ratified the amendment, and it seemed certain that two other states would ratify it in time to permit Florida women to vote in the Democratic primary in June. Gradually, problems of voting began to be more widely discussed than ratification. Was a special session of the legislature needed to permit women to vote when the amendment was ratified? How could women vote if registration books were already closed? State law required that poll tax be paid two years before an election. How could this legal requirement be avoided? The National Woman's Party, fearing that opponents of woman suffrage would use these technicalities to prevent or relay the ladies voting, were especially active in raising these questions for consideration. These problems were widely discussed by the newspapers and the Democratic leadership. Buford Rivers, Democratic nominee for attorney general, took the lead in demanding a special session of the legislature. Many Democratic leaders, including Attorney General Van C. Swearingen, Circuit Judge and former United States Senator Nathan P. Bryan, State Senator J. T. Butler of Jacksonville, assured the women that no special legislation was needed to supplement the nineteenth amendment.²⁸ This public debate resulted in clearing away many obstacles that might have interfered with women voting. The papers pointed out that under existing laws, if a man became of voting age after the registration books closed and before an election, he could still vote. Also, the poll tax requirement did not apply to per-

25. *Tampa Tribune*, April 7, 1920. The National Woman's Party was a highly centralized organization with headquarters in Washington. Its objective was the adoption of the nineteenth amendment; its activities in Florida were intended to contribute to that end.

26. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, July 2, 10, 1920.

27. Eunice Wald, National Woman's Party headquarters secretary, to Helen Hunt, June 24, August 27, 1920, Helen Hunt West Papers, Arthur Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

28. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, August 20, 21, 1920.

sons voting for the first time.²⁹ It gradually became clear that once the amendment became law, all other barriers were removed.

Senator Fletcher agreed that no legislative action was needed, but he suggested that the Democratic Party alter its requirements for membership in order that all white women could become members.³⁰ Others voiced the same views. In response to these opinions, George P. Raney of Tampa, chairman of the state Democratic Executive Committee, announced that under recently adopted rules for membership, white women could join the party and participate in the party primary.³¹

But the Democratic primary was held without their participation, as Florida women sat impatiently waiting for other states to act. Finally, in August 1920, Tennessee, after a long, dramatic fight, became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the suffrage amendment.³² Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby signed the proclamation making the woman suffrage amendment a part of the federal Constitution.

Early on the morning of September 7, 1920, Helen Hunt entered the Duval County courthouse and registered to vote. She was the first woman to register in Duval County and one of the first in Florida.³³ Women registered according to the same procedure as men, except the registration forms were on blue paper rather than white. The problems encountered by women were few and mainly of their own creation. Some of the ladies resented having to tell their age, but diplomatic supervisors of registration refused to make an issue of this matter; they simply permitted the women to register as "twenty-one plus."³⁴ Other women objected to revealing their party affiliation. This matter was settled when the attorney general announced that no law compelled the women to give party affiliation in order to vote in the general election.³⁵ But everyone

29. *Tampa Tribune*, March 14, 18, 1920; Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, August 20, 1920; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, March 28, August 21, 29, 1920.

30. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, March 24, 1920.

31. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, March 30, 1920.

32. A. Elizabeth Taylor, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee* (New York, 1957), 104-25; Catt and Shuler, *Suffrage and Politics*, 422-61.

33. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity 1513-1924* (St. Augustine, 1925; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 277.

34. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, September 23, 1920.

35. *Ibid.*, September 6, 1920.

was not so considerate. A few gullible women in Jacksonville, eager to exercise their newly won privilege but ignorant of procedures, were relieved of two dollars each when they bought a "permit to vote" from men posing as government officials. The "permit" was a printed document bearing what appeared to be the signature of R. A. Newman, Duval County supervisor of registration. The city and county authorities moved quickly to halt "this newest member of the confidence fraternity."³⁶

While the women's preparation to vote proceeded smoothly, the Democratic leaders were concerned with how they would vote. The Republicans in Florida had avoided woman suffrage as a political issue, giving no encouragement to the suffragists. On the national level suffrage leaders had found the Republican Party more friendly than the Democratic Party. While most leading suffragists claimed to be unpartisan, some were known Republican sympathizers. This led many Southerners to claim that an alliance existed between the woman suffrage movement and the Republican Party.³⁷ A Republican-controlled Congress had passed the nineteenth amendment which seemed to confirm these suspicions.³⁸ In 1919 and 1920 the National Republican Committee led by Chairman Will H. Hays started a drive to break the solid Democratic South in the 1920 general election.³⁹ The surge of population in Florida after World War I, particularly in the resort areas along the Gulf and Atlantic coasts, had swelled the number of registered Republicans. The *St. Augustine Record* announced that if a real Republican Party was formed in Florida, it would certainly win in the fourth congressional district.⁴⁰ Other Florida papers reported enthusias-

36. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, August 28, 1920.

37. Mrs. William S. Jennings on one occasion refused to help organize or support a branch of the National Woman's Party in Florida, claiming that it was in effect the Republican Party. See Mrs. William S. Jennings to Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, May 25, 1917, May Mann Jennings Papers, Box 10; Laura Clay to Kate Gordon, April 12, 1916, Laura Clay Papers, University of Kentucky Libraries, Lexington.

38. In the national House of Representatives, 200 Republicans and 102 Democrats voted for the proposed nineteenth amendment while nineteen Republicans and seventy Democrats opposed it. In the Senate, forty Republicans and twenty-six Democrats favored the amendment; nine Republicans and twenty-one Democrats opposed.

39. *Tampa Tribune*, February 23, 1919, quoting *New York Herald*, and June 19, 1919, quoting *Savannah Press*.

40. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1919, quoting *St. Augustine Record*.

tic meetings and activities by local Republicans.⁴¹ While there was no indication that Florida Republicans expected to gain very much as a result of woman suffrage, no one knew how the women would vote. Negro women were expected to register in large numbers and to vote Republican. If many white women also voted Republican or if they simply stayed away from the polls, Democratic supremacy might be threatened.

While Democratic Party officials had been hesitant about extending the ballot to women, they now took some definite steps to bring the ladies into the party. Immediately after the amendment was ratified, the Cox-Roosevelt Club of Leon County held a large meeting at the county courthouse to which all white women were invited.⁴² Many state and county leaders made speeches urging the women not to organize separate political bodies but to "unite and cooperate with the men of the county and to stand together as fellow citizens." A resolution adopted by the men of the club seemed to express their thoughts very well:

... also all white women of Leon County, irrespective of their views upon the necessity or advisability of the ratification of the federal amendment and regardless of the past indifference or opposition to the cause of woman suffrage, [are urged] to qualify and vote in all elections and party primaries. And we urge upon all white voters, irrespective of sex, the necessity of casting a solid vote in the November election, in view of conditions prevailing throughout portions of the Southern states of our Union more especially, as the surest and most effective way to preserve by peaceful and lawful means the security of life, person and property: to forestall the possibility of a return of conditions which prevailed in these Southern states a generation ago, and to obviate provocation to the extraordinary measures which were necessary at that unfortunate period to rescue Florida and other states similarly situated from the demoralizing and revolutionary conditions then existing.

And in this connection we feel justified in respectfully soliciting the support of the white women of Florida to now

41. *Tampa Tribune*, December 18, 25, 1919; *Tampa Tribune*, January 18, 1920, quoting *Miami Metropolis*.

42. James M. Cox of Ohio and Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York were the Democratic Party nominees for president and vice president, respectively. The Cox-Roosevelt Club was organized to secure the election of the Democratic candidates at all levels.

become citizens in the fullest political sense of the word, for the party which has made the state safe for womanhood, under whose administrations their personal property and civil rights have been cherished and protected and which regardless of individual opinion as to collateral questions of method or policy, has faith that its women will measure up to the highest standard of civic responsibility.⁴³

As the Tallahassee meeting drew to a close, the women present unanimously expressed their desire to become members of the Cox-Roosevelt Club. The club membership committee was immediately expanded to include six men and six women. The ladies selected for this service were Mrs. John G. Kellum, Mrs. Charles A. Gay, Mrs. George Davis, Mrs. H. B. Rea, Mrs. L. M. Lively, and Mrs. Benjamin A. Meginnis.⁴⁴ Later Robert A. Gray, then assistant state comptroller, was appointed by the club president to help the women leaders organize and run a school to instruct white women in Leon County how to vote.⁴⁵

In Duval County a similar effort was under way. By early October 1920, almost as many Negro women as white had registered. Fear of the Negro vote stimulated the organization of the Duval County League of Democratic Women Voters. Mrs. Roselle Cooley, president of the new club, worked closely with state and county Democratic leaders.⁴⁶ At the first meeting of the league, George M. Price, chairman of the Duval County Executive Committee, urged the women to support the Democratic Party. He reminded them that if the Republicans were elected, many Jim Crow laws might be repealed.⁴⁷ Most of the Negro women who had registered were Republicans, which made the appeal very meaningful to the whites. The leaders of the new women's movement made it clear that they would leave "no stone unturned to preserve white supremacy."⁴⁸ The League of Democratic Women Voters spent much effort getting white women registered to vote before the registration books closed. This was followed by a series of "schools for women voters" which were conducted in all wards of Jacksonville and

43. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, August 22, 1920.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, October 22, 1920.

46. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, October 5, 1920.

47. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1920.

48. *Ibid.*, October 5, 1920.

in many parts of the county. All white women were invited to attend, and transportation and babysitting services were made available to them. County officials spoke at the "schools," and sometimes state officials would appear before the larger groups.⁴⁹

The action taken in Leon and Duval counties was typical of what the Democratic Party wanted in every other county in Florida. Mrs. William Jennings was appointed associate chairman of the National Democratic Executive Committee for Florida. At the request of the national committee, she set out to secure a county chairman to organize the women into the Democratic Party.⁵⁰ In some instances the white women were already organized and had begun working for the Democratic Party. For example, in St. Petersburg where the Negro women were registering faster than white women, the Democratic women launched a house-to-house campaign to get the white women registered to vote. The woman's club in St. Augustine started a systematic drive to register all white women in that city.⁵¹ Completely new organizations were launched in other areas. In late October Mrs. Jennings announced that a chairman had been appointed for every Florida county and that organizational efforts were under way. While the Democratic drive for the women's votes probably was not influential in some counties, it exceeded any appeal the other political parties were making.

Actually the Democratic leaders had little cause for concern. Voters tend to vote their economic interests and social preferences; the Florida women were no exception. Their economic interests were the same as those of the Florida men. Also, their social positions were often dependent upon the positions of their husbands and fathers. Hence no independent political movement was seriously considered. The women suffragists were mainly Democrats and, like their men folk, favored maintaining a solid Democratic state and white supremacy.⁵² The great mass of Florida women never sought the ballot. And the results of the 1920 general election strongly suggests that they

49. *Ibid.*, October 13, 18, 21, November 1, 1920.

50. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1920.

51. *Ibid.*, October 5, 1920.

52. Mrs. Frances Ewell (formerly Miss Frances Anderson) to Kenneth R. Johnson, May 20, 1966, Kenneth R. Johnson Papers, in possession of the author, Florence, Alabama.

were not greatly interested in using it. The Florida census of 1915 reveals that about 139,000 white and 88,000 black women could qualify to vote.⁵³ In the 1916 general election, when the women could not vote, there were 80,885 votes cast for governor and 83,264 cast for president. In the election of 1920 with women voting, there were 132,672 votes cast for governor and 155,799 for president.⁵⁴ While these figures do not reveal the exact number of women voting in 1920, it does show that at least two-thirds of the potential women voters did not cast a ballot. It thus appears that the nineteenth amendment did not satisfy any great need felt by the Florida women. But it did help complete the democratic system in this country and provided Florida women with a political weapon they could use at will.

53. Florida *The Fourth Census of Florida* (1915), 54-55.

54. Compiled from Allen Morris (comp.), *The Florida Handbook* (3rd ed., Tallahassee, 1952), 186-91.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Florida Atlantic University

Allan Craig (faculty)-study of the ethnoecology of the Seminole Indians.

Donald Curl (faculty)-edited Charles Pierce's *History of the Early Years of Palm Beach County and the Southeast Florida Coast*. Introduction by Theodore Pratt.

Christopher Peebles (faculty)-study of Seminole sites on the lower Suwannee River originally excavated by John M. Goggin.

William Sears (faculty)-excavation of the prehistoric aboriginal ceremonial complex center at Fort Center.

Audrey Sublett (faculty)-demographic and pathologic analysis of bone matter from Fort Center.

Florida Southern University

Robert H. Ackerman (faculty)-study of "Race Relations and Politics in Florida."

Florida State University

Richard J. Duckworth (M.A. thesis)-"The Administration of Governor Fred Cone."

Bonnie E. Fennelly (M.A. thesis)-"Negro Education in Florida From 1877-1900."

James Gaskins (Ph.D. dissertation)-"The Agrarian Movement in Florida."

Rogers C. Harlan (M.A. thesis)-"A Military History of East Florida During the Governorship of Enrique White."

Melvin Edward Hughes (Ph.D. dissertation)-"The Florida Election of 1928."

Stuart Mandel (M.A. thesis-completed)-"The Republican Party in Florida."

Janice B. Miller (M.A. thesis)-"Spanish East Florida under Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 1789-1795."

Michael Schene (Ph.D. dissertation)-"The Political Career of Park Trammell of Florida."

Hale G. Smith (faculty)-"Factors Heading to Ecological Changes in Florida, 1512-1821"; "Pathological Analysis of Bones from a Mound Excavation by C. B. Moore in 1906."

J. Barton Starr (Ph.D. dissertation)-"The American Loyalists in West Florida, 1775-1785."

Orlando Public Library

Robert Johnson-Catalogue of Central Florida Floridiana collections.

Samford University, Birmingham, Alabama

Wayne Flynt (faculty)-"Biography of Sidney J. Catts." Dr. Flynt is directing to M.A. theses: "The Socialist Party in Florida, 1900-1914," and "Jerry Carter and the Townsend Movement in Florida."

Stetson University

Royce Beasley (M.A. thesis)-"The Republican Party of Florida: Control and Disunity, 1932-1952."

University of Arizona

George R. Adams (Ph.D. dissertation)-"William Selby Harney: Frontier Soldier."

University of Florida

Patricia Bassett (M.A. thesis)-"A History of Alachua County Journalism in the 1800s."

James T. Brooks (Ph.D. dissertation)-"A Rhetorical Study of the Speaking of Governors Napoleon Bonaparte Broward of Florida, Hoke Smith of Georgia, and Charles B. Aycock of North Carolina."

George E. Buker (Ph.D. dissertation - completed)-"Riverine Warfare: Naval Combat in the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842."

- Jean C. Chance (M.A. thesis)-"Sidney J. Catts and the Press: A Study of the Electoral Coverage of the 1916 Governor's Race by Selected Florida Newspapers."
- George B. Church, Jr. (M.A. thesis - completed)-"Henry Laurens Mitchell."
- Merlin G. Cox (faculty) and Baynard Kendrick-"A History of the Citrus and Vegetable Industries in Florida."
- Gaylon D. Currie (M.A. thesis)-"A History of Academic Freedom at the University of Florida, 1946-1965."
- Manning J. Dauer (faculty)-"Effects of Reapportionment on the Florida Legislature, 1963-1971."
- James Dennis (Ph.D. dissertation)-"Socioeconomic Aspects of Florida Reapportionment, 1962-1972."
- Virginia B. Fishpaw (Ph.D. dissertation)-"The Uncommon Daughter of the Great Commoner: A Biography of Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde."
- Gregory Johnson (M.A. thesis)-"Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives."
- Martin LaGodna (Ph.D. dissertation)-"History of the Florida Department of Agriculture."
- Eugene Lyons (Ph.D. dissertation)-"The Crown in Spanish Florida, 1565-1605."
- Victoria Harden McDonnell (M.A. thesis - completed)-"The Businessman's Politician: A Study of the Administration of John Welborn Martin, 1925-1929."
- Joseph M. Perry (faculty)-"The Economic Determinants of Frontier Movement in Nineteenth Century Florida"; "The Relationship Between Staple Goods Prices and Homesteading in Florida, 1865-1974."
- Jerry C. Ray (Ph.D. dissertation)-"The Rhetoric of David Levy Yulee, Florida Statesman."
- Father Thomas A. Robinson (M.A. thesis)-"The Administration of Governor Spessard L. Holland."
- Bruce Rosen (Ph.D. dissertation)-"Negro Education in Florida Reconstruction."
- Lewis E. Shelley (M.A. thesis)-"The Administration of Governor William Sherman Jennings."
- Richard D. Shelton (M.A. thesis)-"A Critical Analysis of How Selected Florida Newspapers Reported the Cuban Invasion and Missile Crisis."

Claude C. Sturgill (faculty)-"British Garrisons in Eighteenth Century Florida."

University of Miami

Clayton Rich (M.A. thesis)-"Military and Navy Defenses at Key West During the Nineteenth Century."

Edward Sofen (faculty)-"A Profile of Miami."

Joseph A. Tatol (M.A. thesis)-"Illegal Maritime Activities in Florida Waters in the Nineteenth Century."

Thomas J. Wood (faculty)-"An Analysis of Voting Records in the Florida Legislature."

University of West Florida

William S. Coker (faculty)-"The Bruins and the Formulation of Spanish Immigration Policy for the Old Southwest, 1787-1788," in *Spain in the Mississippi Valley* (University of Illinois Press).

A. B. Thomas (faculty)- *Report of Father Alonso Posadas, 1686.*

BOOK REVIEWS

From Saddlebags to Satellites: A History of Florida Methodism.
Edited by William E. Brooks. (Florida Annual Conference,
United Methodist Church, Maitland. 268 pp. Preface, ap-
pendix, notes, illustrations. \$4.00; \$1.75 paper.)

In its 1962 session the Florida Annual Conference of the Methodist Church adopted a resolution to observe the 125th session of the conference (later changed to the 125th year). As part of its celebration, the conference ordered the writing of a history of Methodism in Florida. William E. Brooks, then chairman of the conference's historical society, was named editor. The original plan proposed to expand Charles T. Thrift's *The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider* from 1944, the date of publication, to 1969. According to the acknowledgment page, eleven clergymen, three laymen, and four college students of journalism contributed essays that have been included, in whole or in part, in *From Saddlebags to Satellites*.

As the project progressed, the plans were altered. About a fourth of Thrift's book was used at random. An attempt to build anew around the framework of a book often results in a scissors and paste job that is unsatisfactory and unacceptable to a critical reader. Such a process requires strict editing. In this case many sections fail to have cohesion. Despite its lack of unity the book is rich in details and in facts which have great interest for Methodists in Florida. But even the most interested reader will question the value of such notations as naming the donor of "the fan over the dishwasher" at a youth camp or acknowledging the gift of Thrift's book by the historical society. The inclusion of such trivia, of which there are many, indicates a lack of discernment in evaluating materials.

This history covers the years from 1814 to 1969. It traces the growth of the Methodist church in this area from the arrival of the first preacher of this denomination to the formation of the annual conference in 1845. In showing the later development of the conference, attention is given to the accompanying prosperity of World War I and to the effects of the disastrous hurricanes of 1926, 1928, and 1935. About two-fifths of the book is devoted to the period since 1950, in which the church made signal contributions to a social welfare program. The co-

operation among several denominations in assisting the government to locate 90,000 Cuban refugees in this area is noteworthy. About midway of the period under consideration the circuit rider had definitely dismounted; the saddlebags were inadequate for the church's needs. It must be recognized, however, that the church has not yet adjusted itself to the modernity of the satellite age.

Methodism in Florida is not lacking in good historical material; but this publication has not done justice to the subject. Such a history needs the skill and scholarship of a man like the late William Warren Sweet, whose *Virginia Methodism* is a model for others to follow.

WALTER B. POSEY

Agnes Scott College

The Amphibious Campaign for West Florida and Louisiana, 1814-1815: A Critical Review of Strategy and Tactics at New Orleans. By Wilburt S. Brown. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1969. xiv, 233 pp. Preface, maps, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

This work is probably the most complete account of the New Orleans campaign thus far published, and although it is no more detailed than Charles Brooks' *The Siege of New Orleans*, its use of manuscript material makes it a far more satisfactory study.

General Brown did not follow the pattern of the usual historical narrative. He starts the book with a very useful series of biographical sketches of the persons involved in the battles for New Orleans on both sides. Brown provides brief accounts of the Creek war and the British activities among the Indians and then describes in some detail the conditions in Louisiana just prior to the British attack. In addition to excellent background material he gives the reader a brief but useful description of the British efforts in West Florida and the capture of Pensacola by Jackson, all of which Brown rightly considers to be preliminary maneuvers in the New Orleans campaign. The accounts of the night battle on December 23, of the artillery duel, and the sinking of the *Carolina* are especially

well done and show General Brown's excellent understanding of the technical side of the artillery of that day. The author made one surprising error in his otherwise good description of the British grand assault of January 8. In explaining the battle Brown indicated that all Americans were armed with rifles, which they were not. Other authors have made this error, but considering Brown's high degree of technical information, it is surprising that he did not distinguish between rifles and muskets.

Purists will no doubt complain that the author has introduced new material in his conclusion, but the nature of the material does much to show the importance of the American victory at New Orleans. Perhaps Brown's most controversial view is that the New Orleans campaign was vital to the outcome of the war in spite of the Treaty of Ghent, but the author has excellent evidence based on British official manuscripts which give strong support to his conclusions. Brown also concludes that the British commanders such as Admiral Alexander Cochrane did not fail because they were incompetent but because of bad luck, bad support from Britain, and the outstanding work by Andrew Jackson.

In spite of the statement to the contrary on the dust jacket, General Brown has *not* "studied all of the extant primary sources," but he has used far more of the British manuscript materials than any other historian so far, including Henry Adams. Because of his familiarity with these little used manuscript sources, the author has made a very significant contribution to the knowledge of the New Orleans campaign. While there is still room for more research and writing on the War of 1812 in the South, this work is certainly the best narrative of the Battle of New Orleans published so far. The book is very well printed and contains numerous excellent maps.

FRANK L. OWSLEY, JR.

Auburn University

Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple-Nation Transfer of Florida. By Robert L. Gold. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969. xvi, 258 pp. Preface, maps, tables, appendices, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

This book concerns the transfer of French and Spanish Florida to English control, 1763-1766. As the author points out, the Treaty of Paris gave strong direction to British imperial policy. Rather than fragmenting her American colonies by taking the Caribbean possessions of Spain and France, England chose Canada and Florida in order to dominate the extensive north Atlantic coastline and to secure her southern colonies. But assuming control over Florida posed many problems, which have become the foci for Professor Gold's perceptive analysis.

Transfer of private property caused many difficulties. Although the Treaty of Paris gave the Spaniards eighteen months to dispose of their holdings, they found few English buyers. Then, after the final Spanish exodus in February 1764, property owners in St. Augustine had to put their estates in the hands of an agent, Don Juan de la Puente, but he, too, could not turn up purchasers. Finally, to prevent these properties from falling to the British by default, Puente turned to Jesse Fish, an English entrepreneur. For a commission Fish agreed to act as the trustee for the holdings, to sell what he could, and to send what he obtained to the former Spanish owners in Cuba. Like Puente he did not have great success, in part perhaps because of the English system of land grants totaling 1,650,000 acres in East Florida, between 1765 and 1775. In fact during the entire British period, Fish sold properties at some 14,000 pesos, a third of which he kept for himself.

Evacuation of Florida was another problem. Between February 1763, and February 1764, 3,104 Castilians, Catalans, Canary Islanders, creole Floridians, Germans, Yamasees, blacks, and mulattos left St. Augustine. All but forty-three who went to Yucatan settled in Cuba, but here they suffered from starvation and neglect. By September 1766, 663 of the refugees were dead. At Pensacola 600 residents and Indians departed for Vera Cruz, while at Mobile the French showed less inclination to leave. In all forty of ninety-eight families rendered fealty to George III and remained in the French settlement.

Religious conditions were no better under the Anglicans than under the Spanish Catholics earlier in the eighteenth century. Although a meager handful of Anglican priests and schoolmasters replaced Spanish secular clergy and Franciscans in St. Augustine, religious or educational life did not improve much, except

perhaps that the British showed more tolerance in allowing Catholicism to prevail at the Minorcan settlement of New Smyrna.

For both Christianized and infidel Indians the transfer was also unsettling. Yamasees who emigrated to Cuba saw one-third of their number perish by 1766. Of the 108 Yamasee Apalachinos migrating from Pensacola, only sixty-five survived the land-sea journey to settle near Vera Cruz in New Spain. According to Gold's estimates, pro-French and pro-Spanish Indians on the Florida frontier killed some 4,000 whites and Indians in reaction to the English takeover; and it was not until after John Stuart became active in the Southeast and after a series of conferences with Indian leaders at Mobile, Pensacola, and Picolata that relations improved.

This book is well researched and clearly written with excellent tables and maps. Although covering only three crucial years, it describes in detail the institutional and diplomatic problems which arose in the transfer of Florida to English control and the painful human costs as well. In sum this work marks still another significant scholarly contribution to the history of colonial Florida, which so desperately needs practitioners like Robert Gold.

JOHN J. TEPASKE

Duke University

Swamp to Sugar Bowl: Pioneer Days in Belle Glade. By Lawrence E. Will. (St. Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Co., 1968. 235 pp. Maps, illustrations, index. \$2.75 paper.)

"I have seen it . . . from those days when the first canal was being dug where Belle Glade is, and when this country was nearabout inaccessible, when it was inhabited only by varmints and mosquitoes, right up till now when Belle Glade is a right nice city, and these Everglades are the bread basket and the sugar bowl of the nation. Things have changed a right smart in just one lifetime, and that's for sure."

The folksy dialect is like a cardboard carton encasing priceless contents. Lawrence Will's sixth book is a solid contribution to local history in Florida. Who else has recorded, for example,

the debate and the parliamentary trick that incorporated Belle Glade April 9, 1928? "I was right there in the church house and I saw it all happen," Mr. Will relates. He names the protagonists, for and against, and quotes what they said. He starts with mounds left by Calusa Indians believed to have lived on the shore of Lake Okeechobee from about 1,000 to 1,700 A.D. Mr. Will has lived near the lake since 1913, in Belle Glade since 1927. His zestful narrative covers every major, and many a minor, event in the city's history to now.

The illustrations include more than six dozen photographs. Some of the scenes never will be seen again, such as white-flowered moon vines blanketing the custard apple forest which originally filled 33,000 acres south and east of the lake. The author's personality and viewpoint are a natural part of his story. Unselfconsciously, he tells where he was, what he did, and how he felt about what was happening. The deceptively simple method brings history to life in a human dimension.

JEANNE BELLAMY

Miami, Florida

Florida's Hibiscus City: Vero Beach. By J. Noble Richards. (Melbourne: Brevard Graphics, Incorporated, 1968. 480 pp. Foreword, acknowledgements, illustrations, bibliography. \$6.95.)

Vero Beach is blessed to have had such a dedicated chronicler as J. Noble Richards-and historians will find his book a treasury of factual data on the Indian River County area.

Who built the shell mounds along the coast where modern subdivisions rise? Who founded Fellsmere, Sebastian, Roseland, Gifford, Wabasso, Viking, Oslo, and the fascinating colony of Orchid on the sea island? But mostly, who had the good taste to conceive and design and build the attractive modern city of Vero Beach, the envy of its sister cities along Florida's East Coast? Mr. Richards answers those questions and many more. A native of Washington, D.C., he retired to Vero Beach after a long legal career-and had a successful "transplanted love affair" of civic service with this favored Florida community. The book's title shares his pride in being a member of the city

council which designated Vero Beach as the "Hibiscus City" by resolution of October 17, 1967.

The book opens with a view of the primitive Indians whose bones and artifacts are frequently turned up by today's bulldozers. Richards reviews Spanish, French, and English rule, and the perilous era of the Confederacy and American frontier days. The reader finds a continuity from prehistoric times through the "ox cart and trade boat days" to the bright and shining city of today.

Included is much civic data ordinarily neglected, chronologies of city and county government, a history of the airport-base of Piper Aircraft and the Brooklyn Dodgers-the growth of agriculture, and banking and cultural facilities.

Some historians forget that "people are the vital ingredient" but Richards appended more than 100 full-page biographies of the leaders of Vero Beach, including "that giant genius of a man," the late Waldo E. Sexton, "a living legend in his own time," who "will remain a part of Vero Beach through it existence." Sexton co-operated with Arthur G. McKee of Cleveland, Ohio, in creating Vero's prime tourist attraction, McKee Jungle Gardens, built the fabulous Driftwood Inn and other artistic buildings, featuring weathered driftwood, mahogany planks, and wrought iron, with decor gleaned from ruined castles of Europe and the demolished mansions of Palm Beach. Sexton's love of natural beauty is reflected in Vero's avenues of stately Royal palms, bougainvillea, and hibiscus.

A conscientiously listed bibliography is of interest to the researcher and collector of Floridiana. Many old photographs were supplied by the *Vero Beach Press-Journal*. Original art work on the early Indians is outstanding. The book's lasting impression with this reviewer is that any community's greatest asset is people who love it-as the late J. Noble Richards loved Vero Beach.

ERNEST F. LYONS

Stuart, Florida

Pocahontas. By Grace Steele Woodward. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969. xv, 227 pp. Acknowledgments, bibliography, index, illustrations. \$6.95.)

For more than 350 years the gentle character of Pocahantas has provided a heart-warming link between the doomed civilization of the American Indian and the triumphant culture of the acquisitive whiteman. The innocent young maiden who interposed her tender body between the savage club and Captain John Smith's bared head was the first romantic heroine of American history. The blushing bride of honest John Rolfe symbolically united the two races on this continent. Her early death in England tragically proved the salubrious superiority of the western wilderness.

There is little enough to remember with pleasure in the relations of whitemen and redmen, and it is good of Grace Steele Woodward to have left the nostalgia of our childhood unsullied while placing the Indian Princess most precisely in history and painting her in most attractive colors. Beyond a doubt, the salvation of John Smith was also the salvation of Jamestown-and that was but one of Pocahantas' many early kindnesses and services. Certainly John Rolfe deserved the reward of her hand in matrimony, for he was the founder of the great American tobacco industry, and his dusky wife's descendants still link the old world with the new. Much more than this Mrs. Woodward makes clear: the gross ineptitude of those first English settlers that made them beggars for Powhatan's corn before they were strong enough to steal it; the cold-blooded kidnapping of the unsuspecting girl who was betrayed to Captain Samuel Argall for a common copper kettle; the callous calculation of the Virginia Company which used her as a lure for the gold of tight-fisted Jacobean investors. Poor Pocahantas! She deserved every memorial ever erected to her memory!

Her latest biographer does her justice. With meticulous care she describes the woodland scene of Pocahantas' childhood, the trials of the colonists, the courtship of the Rolfes, and their brief sojourn in England. All that may be said historically of Powhatan's daughter is judiciously set forth. If the woman herself fails to come alive, only the license of the novelist could further catch and hold her flitting shadow. Grace Woodward's book enriches the literature of American colonial history and does honor to one of the first great ladies of Virginia.

Auburn University

ROBERT R. REA

Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys. By George C. Rogers, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969. xv, 160 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, bibliographical note, index. \$2.95.)

Historian Rogers writes with affection (and criticism) about his native Charleston's "Golden Century" - 1730s to 1830s. These were also the years when the Pinckneys were in the forefront of political movements within South Carolina. This excellent monograph consists of six separate essays, whose titles indicate the scope of the work: "The Economic Base," "The Open City," "The Sensuous City," "The Mind of the City," "The Pinckney Family," and "The Closed City."

From 1730 onward Charleston grew rapidly, prospering from rice, indigo, long-staple cotton, commerce, and wars. The city was well situated to dominate the southern ocean-going commerce until the nineteenth century. The last great wealth to be gained by Charlestonians in the carrying trade came between 1793 and 1808. Until 1780 the merchants dominated this turbulent city of plagues, fires, hurricanes, and enemy threats. Charleston society was fluid, open, and possessed an international outlook. The center of the city's intellectual life was its Library Society, and Professor Rogers believes the Congregationalists may have been more important in pre-Revolutionary Charleston society than the Anglicans.

The most romantic period of Charleston's history, says Rogers, was the 1780-1782 years of British occupation, "a time of noble deeds and mysterious actions." After the Revolution, the mercantile community, tarnished by Tory connections, "never regained the standing it had had before the war." Eventually, the city was dominated by its resident planters, and its society became less mobile.

The slavery issue profoundly frightened Charlestonians. Their open-mindedness yielded to a glorification of the past. Simultaneously, the coming of steam transport and the opening of cotton lands to the West led to Charleston's relative economic decline. Professor Rogers concludes that the crucial battle of 1832 and 1833 was not so much an issue of tariff or slavery "as it was whether or not the city should be of the world." The Charleston homes built in the 1840s and 1850s "lacked some-

thing in taste" and were "less refined than their earlier neighbors." Even so, Charlestonians, by the eve of the Civil War, believed they had the perfect society. Today, Charleston's tourist attraction is not its history; rather, it is its sensuous aspects—its sights, smells, sounds, trees, marshes, rivers, islands, beaches, old buildings.

Professor Rogers has spent years researching Charleston sources. As a result, this little book is delightful reading and a storehouse of valuable information. But when the author describes the city's important landmarks, he needs maps to aid those readers who are not well acquainted with Charleston—my only criticism.

ERNEST M. LANDER, JR.

Clemson University

Letters From Alabama, 1817-1822. By Anne Newport Royall. Edited and annotated by Lucille Griffith. *Southern Historical Publications No. 14.* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1969. 292 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$7.50.)

In looking beyond innovations in spelling, punctuation, and sentence structure, *Letters From Alabama* provides an extraordinary insight into conditions in that area during the 1817-1822 period. Some distinctive regional folkways, mores, and political and economic institutions were developing. Some of these are mirrored in their emerging or embryonic stage, often vividly, in Mrs. Royall's perceptive letters. They preserve some sharp-eyed observations about travel, road conditions, personalities encountered, and the overnight accommodations available. Many of her accounts stem from conversations that took place at the inns. These deal with such subjects as politics, religion, science, public figures, and the activities of land seekers and other travelers. She frequently spices her accounts with her opinions, displaying throughout a sense of justice and a sense of humor.

She deals too briefly perhaps with the conditions surrounding the removal of the Indians and the land-grabbing that followed. That which she did record, however, is a valuable addition to that sad chapter in our nation's history. The letters

speak eloquently of the white man's injustice to the Indian, and briefly, but with equal moral consistence, against slavery.

In commenting on the emotion-oriented revivalism of that era, Mrs. Royall undoubtedly "told it like it was," as sacriligious as that must have seemed to some readers. Her ability to "tell it like it is-or was," however, is in the final analysis what sets her work apart. Her recurring remarks about religion, despite the grains of truth embedded therein, betrayed a prejudice that lessens somewhat the credibility of her comments. It was indeed such comments, heightened by strident controversy, that brought her the dubious distinction later of being branded by a jury as a "common scold." She hated hypocrisy as exemplified by the "holier than thou set," and she missed few chances to take them to the verbal woodshed.

Students of that era are indebted to Mrs. Royall for descriptive and biographic comments about such public figures as Generals Andrew Jackson, John Coffee, William Carroll, and Chief William Weatherford, among others. She ascribed to Jackson and Coffee, in particular, qualities of perfection that few men have ever attained. Her heroes have few faults and her villains few virtues. Mrs. Griffith's introduction, dealing with Mrs. Royall's background and career, shows evidence of extensive research and tends to sharpen the reader's interest and appreciation of the letters that follow.

E. W. CARSWELL

Chipley, Florida

Surfboats and Horse Marines: U. S. Naval Operations in the Mexican War, 1846-48. By K. Jack Bauer. (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1969. xii, 291 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

It would almost seem futile for an historian to research and write about naval operations during a war in which there were no at-sea naval engagements, in which there was no naval challenge for control of the ocean, in which, for all practical purposes, there was no enemy navy. Yet that is exactly what Professor Bauer has done in his study of United States naval operations during the Mexican War. The author points out that the

navy accomplished the prime objective of all wartime navies, that of gaining supremacy of the seas, by default, and it also established and maintained an effective blockade of the Mexican coasts, although continually hampered by an inadequate number of vessels.

The war saw the employment of the U. S. Navy's first amphibious assault. It was accomplished under Commodore David Conner's direction when he landed General Winfield Scott's 8,600 man army on the enemy's shore near Veracruz in less than five hours. Later the Home Squadron, based in the Gulf of Mexico and now under Commodore Matthew C. Perry, sent a Naval Brigade ashore with guns and crews drawn from the various ships present to man a portion of the line engaged in siege warfare around the Mexican stronghold at Veracruz. This was also a unique development, for the Naval Brigade, "with its own artillery, engineers, medical parties, and so forth," was organizationally and operationally quite different from previous small boat landing parties utilized by the navy. Meanwhile, the Pacific Squadron, on a much smaller scale, employed its sailors as soldiers in land operations which were instrumental in securing upper California for the United States. These events demonstrate the nascent trend away from the older naval philosophy of *guerre de course* towards the more modern navy's concept of operations on land, sea, and in the air.

Professor Bauer stresses the fact that the naval officers in high command had received their wartime gunnery and seamanship training thirty years earlier during the War of 1812, a war which taught caution, according to the author. Thus, by the time of the Mexican War these men were, for the most part, overly wary commanders; however, the middle grade naval officers, who later held important commands during the Civil War, received valuable training on land and sea during the conflict.

This work deals with Florida and southern history only in its geographic setting, the Gulf of Mexico, for the facilities at Pensacola and Key West were not significant in supporting the Home Squadron. However, many of the naval officers who had participated in boat expeditions in Florida during the Second Seminole War performed similar functions in the Mexican War.

For clarity of narrative, the book is divided into two parts

with the development of the Home Squadron's operations discussed before the Pacific activities are related. The navy's role is not distorted by this device because there was no cooperation between the two units, yet it is an asset to the reader (who has enough difficulty keeping track of the arrivals and departures of the vessels of one squadron at a time). This is a new presentation of the Mexican War, and, for the naval buff, a well researched study which fills a long standing void in naval history. Prior to its publication such operations could be found only in general historical works where they were treated in a sketchy and ancillary manner.

GEORGE E. BUKER

Jacksonville University

Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat. Volume I: Field Command. By Grady McWhiney. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969. xiv, 421 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, selected bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

This is volume one of a projected two-volume biography of Braxton Bragg, one of the South's more controversial generals. Professor McWhiney covers Bragg's career from his birth in 1817 in Warrenton, North Carolina, to the spring of 1863. The theme of the work is how Bragg as commander of the Army of Tennessee contributed to Confederate defeat. The author's purpose, however, is neither to defend nor defame his subject, "but to untangle many of the exaggerated opinions about him, to present him as his contemporaries saw him and as he saw himself, and to analyze his successes and failures."

No one doubted Bragg's ability when the Civil War began. As a West Point graduate and Mexican War hero he was one of the most distinguished soldiers to offer his services to the Confederacy, serving first as commander of the forces at Pensacola. He quickly rose in rank from colonel to full general, but with these promotions came responsibilities Bragg could not handle. His decline in prestige and popularity began with the Kentucky Campaign of 1862. This operation, in the opinion of many historians caused nearly every Confederate except President Davis to lose faith in Bragg. Yet the author thinks

it would be a mistake to conclude that he had completely lost the confidence of his army by this time. Of the twenty generals serving under him during the campaign apparently only Polk and Hardee openly expressed dissatisfaction with their superior. Bragg's usefulness as a field commander, concludes Professor McWhiney, was not destroyed until the Murfreesboro Campaign (December 1862-January 1863) and its aftermath when he decided to ask his subordinates what they really thought of his military ability.

It is the opinion of this reviewer that few students of the Civil War will challenge the author's conclusions as to why Bragg failed as a field commander. Though courageous and at times imaginative, resourceful, and bold, he was "never patient, either with his men or with the enemy and he lacked that imperturbability and resolution so necessary in field commanders. Handicapped by poor health he had no taste for combat. And he was not lucky. Nor did he have the ability to inspire confidence in his subordinates A mediocre tactician, he seemed unaware of the technological changes that had outdated pre-war assault tactics and strengthened the advantages of defensive combat." (p. 390) On the other hand Bragg possessed characteristics which the Confederacy needed badly. He was intelligent, diligent, patriotic, and was recognized as an excellent organizer and disciplinarian.

"One of the great ironies of Confederate military history is that Jefferson Davis, who prided himself so on his knowledge of the capabilities of those former regular army officers who fought for the South, failed early in the war to assign Bragg to a position where his talents could be used best. Instead, the President had placed and retained Bragg in a post-as commander of the Confederacy's second most important army-where he made a major contribution to Confederate defeat." (pp. 391-92)

This is a thoroughly researched, well-written, valuable work. It is hoped that volume two will be completed soon.

JOHN G. BARRETT

Virginia Military Institute

Strange Enthusiasm: A Life of Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

By Tilden G. Edelstein. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968. xii, 425 pp. Preface, manuscripts cited, bibliography of Higginson, index. \$11.00.)

For the biographer who is also an historian, the life of Thomas Wentworth Higginson offers special challenges and opportunities. Evaluating the achievements of a major American reformer who happened to live to be nearly ninety in an age of reform, was surely no small task, but Mr. Edelstein's result amply justifies his effort. Not only a sensitive biography, this life of Higginson is in fact a good history of reform in the nineteenth century. Higginson is best known for his part in the anti-slavery crusade, but he was also identified with feminism, temperance, labor, anti-imperialism, and other reforms associated with the early Progressives. Among his contemporaries the reformer was known as a literary figure as well. His friendship with Emily Dickinson has been exaggerated, concludes Mr. Edelstein, and his influence on the editing of Dickinson's work was not salutary. But in his poetical tastes as in his life, Higginson was at once a man of his times and a unique individual. It is Mr. Edelstein's special achievement that he sustains a dynamic tension between Higginson the representative reformer and Higginson the slightly neurotic and insecure victim of his own childhood.

A failure to appreciate the austere and sometimes startling effects of Emily Dickinson's verse was but one reflection of the lesser side of Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Our reformer was affected by a banal romanticism, a tendency to strike poses, especially military and "manly" ones, even such small failings inconsistent with a completely candid character as fibbing when necessary, and reading the diaries of his friends without their knowledge.

It is the wealth of diary material and personal letters that lends the special note of authority to this biography. Young Higginson went home after reading those diaries of friends, and confided the whole business in his own diary. The insecurity and desperation Higginson revealed for the approval of others developed in him, over the years, a paternalistic view of the world, and he always felt most comfortable with those who

seemed to need him and depend upon him: women, children, slaves. This psychological insight constitutes a major theme in Edelstein's biography. Though he does not say that Higginson became a reformer because of his particular psychological structure, Edelstein does demonstrate that he became the kind of reformer he became because of it. Higginson's humanitarianism was paternalistic, and his crusading militant and romantic. Or perhaps it is best turned around: Higginson was a crusader as long as crusading could be militant and romantic. After the Civil War being a crusader was not romantic, and Higginson settled for being a reformer, a rather dull business in those times.

Inevitably there will be questions from those fatigued by the application of psychological techniques to the study of reformers. It is inherent in modern biography that the "hero" will be in some degree flawed, and the writer who stresses influences other than outrage at social wrongs, when he is writing about a reformer, stands to be taken for envious, or at the best, ungenerous. Mr. Edelstein frankly avows the psychoanalytic purpose, however, and stands responsible for any injustices he may have done. But before passing judgment, the reader will do well to follow through Higginson's career to the end, for then Higginson requires some mercy and understanding from posterity. The day came when he had more in common with Booker T. Washington's view of the racial situation than with W. E. B. DuBois', and he even fell into the trap of romanticizing the Old South. Somehow Mr. Edelstein, with his psychological insight, helps us understand all that, which is not bad.

WILLIE LEE ROSE

University of Virginia

Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings. Edited by Kenneth M. Stampp and Leon F. Litwack. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969. xii. 531 pp. Foreword. \$12.00; \$4.25 paper.)

Although Florida and the other Confederate states lost the military contest of the 1860s, in many ways they won the peace. Not the least of the southern victories came when Clio assumed

a distinct southern accent. By the early 1900s Robert E. Lee had become a hero to both North and South, and the brief period known as Reconstruction was being interpreted by historians as a time when "Radicals," "carpetbaggers," and "scalawags" used the voting strength of ignorant Negroes to control public offices and plunder the resources of southern states while a helpless native population suffered in silence. Although black historians W. E. B. DuBois and John R. Lynch questioned this interpretation as early as 1909 and 1913, they were almost wholly ignored. Meanwhile, the idea that Reconstruction was an era of unrelieved corruption, mismanagement, and error for which Radical Republicans were responsible permeated historical writing of the first half of the twentieth century. Most United States history textbooks incorporated this point of view until recently and many still do.

While noting the early revisionist efforts of the black writers, Professors Stamp and Litwack argue that wholesale re-examination of many facets of the Reconstruction story has taken place within the past thirty years, beginning with Francis Butler Simkins in 1939 and Howard K. Beale in the mid-1940s. In this process the revisionists have rejected much, though certainly not all, that the earlier southern-oriented writers had said. The editors of this anthology feel that these revisionists are no longer in the minority, but are well on the way to becoming the proponents of the orthodox position on Reconstruction. Admitting that the revisionists have concerned themselves with differing aspects of Reconstruction history and that some of them disagree with each other, the editors have arbitrarily selected twenty-three articles and book-excerpts as representative of revisionist writing. In the first of five parts, their selections deal with Lincoln, Johnson, and Reconstruction. Part two examines the motivations and activities of the Radical Republicans in Congress. Part three contains two articles on the freedmen, including a significant argument by Joel Williamson that Reconstruction was a period of "unequaled progress" for South Carolina Negroes. Part four reassesses "Radical Reconstruction in the South." Included among its ten selections are considerations of the terms "carpetbagger" and "scalawag" and their historical significance. Floridians will read with special interest the articles by Jack Scroggs and W. E. B. DuBois, both of which

deal with prominent Florida personalities. Part five, "The Collapse of Reconstruction," shows how the "Mississippi Plan" was executed to draw the color line and eliminate Republicans and Negroes from office, at the same time that Radicalism was declining in the North.

Despite two recent publications by E. Merton Coulter and Avery O. Craven, this reviewer agrees that the revisionists are in the majority among historians. Although other editors might have made different selections from the rich sources of revisionist writing, this anthology is representative and will be useful to anyone interested in this complex period.

JERRELL H. SHOFNER

Florida State University

The Negro in Reconstruction. By Robert Cruden. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969. ix, 182 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. \$5.95; \$2.45 paper.)

Great Lives Observed: Booker T. Washington. By Emma Lou Thornbrough. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969, 184 pp. Introduction, afterword, bibliographical note, index. vii, \$4.85; \$1.95 paper.)

Books which are written by historians specifically for "interested laymen and students" bear a special burden. Implicit in these works is the belief that somehow history written for historians cannot be read with profit by the beginning student or the non-specialist. Thus, Robert Cruden informs his readers that his book on the Negro in Reconstruction "aims to provide, in compact and readable form, an interpretation, based on recent scholarship, of a crucial period in our history." His task, Cruden asserts, is to present in a short book a view of many aspects of black-white relationships growing from war, emancipation, and the problems presented to the postwar South and nation. One would hope that in format such a book would be a model of the historical method, illustrating to "interested laymen and students" not only what historians purport to do, but the techniques of their craft. This, then, is the special burden—that books written for general readers maintain their integrity as

works of history. Unfortunately, Cruden's work does not conform to such a hope. In 168 pages of text there are but eleven footnote citations, even though block quotations are scattered liberally throughout the book. Nor is the problem mitigated by the bibliography, which simply lists twenty-eight books with a one-sentence annotation of each. In short, a beginning student would find Cruden's use of sources mystifying.

Cruden's theme is revisionist, and he has familiarized himself with much recent Reconstruction scholarship. Moreover, his attempt to place the Negro's response to Reconstruction within the broader framework of that complex period is admirable. Again, however, he is betrayed by an effort to oversimplify for his limited audience. As one example of many, he uses the term "Black Power," which he does not define precisely, in discussing the freedman's political role in Reconstruction; surely such a value-laden phrase obscures more than it reveals, particularly for those whose understanding of the past is shaped on present terms. Finally, the book is awkward in form and style, ranging from convoluted sentences to obscure reasoning; the book's good intentions are marred further by flawed internal logic and unproven assertions which are needlessly argumentative.

By contrast, Emma Lou Thornbrough's brief Booker T. Washington reader can be consulted with profit by almost any audience. She introduces Washington's words with a reasoned and coherent essay, admirably giving Washington's life the perspective it needs. The selections from Washington's writings and speeches are judiciously chosen; she has included and carefully edited articles by his contemporaries and historians which present a rounded picture of this complex figure; and her bibliographical essay is excellent. The book should prove popular in undergraduate classrooms.

AUGUSTUS M. BURNS, III

University of Florida

Democracy in the Old South and Other Essays. By Fletcher M. Green. Edited by J. Isaac Copeland. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969. x, 322 pp. Foreword, introduction, index. \$8.50.)

Fletcher M. Green, former Kenan Professor and chairman of the department of history at the University of North Carolina, has been widely recognized as the dean of southern historians. During his career Professor Green directed the studies of a prodigious number of graduate students. A count made two years before his retirement showed that ninety persons had received the Ph.D. under his direction, 150 had completed the M.A. degree, and twenty-five were still working with him on dissertations. Green students have taught in half the states of the Union, and in England, Germany, France, Japan, Korea, and India. In Florida they count among their number the late Rembert W. Patrick, James Leon Alderman, Vaughn Camp, Margaret L. Chapman, Katherine Chatham, J. E. Dovell, John E. Johns, Jr., Evans C. Johnson, William Warren Rogers, and this reviewer.

The twelve essays reprinted here were written by Professor Green over a thirty-year period and to some degree reflect his growth as an historian. They show also his interest in varied aspects of American history. They touch upon gold mining in North Carolina, the attempts of Duff Green to promote nineteenth century American industrial development, the growth of political democracy in the Old South, the broadening and growing practice of democracy on the national scene, the evolution of Fourth of July celebrations in the century after 1776, the presidential tours of Andrew Jackson, the wide degree of literacy among Confederate soldiers, the availability of higher education for women in the Old South, the writings of Thomas P. Kettell on economics and history, the development of the convict lease system in southern states, and the renewal of southern sectionalism in mid-twentieth century.

Florida readers will look especially for Professor Green's essay on William Watson Davis. Though he grew up in Alabama and spent most of his professional life at the University of Kansas, Watson Davis was born in Pensacola and authored the monumental volume, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* in 1913. In 1964 the University of Florida Press reprinted the Davis book in a facsimile edition and Fletcher Green was asked to prepare the introduction. It is that thoughtful, carefully prepared essay which is reprinted here.

Like all that Fletcher Green undertakes to do, these essays,

distributed over a life-time, are marked by honesty and thoroughness. As editor Isaac Copeland put it, in his research, in his writing, in his teaching, in any assessment of Green, "the most impressive quality is the man's absolute integrity." This volume stands as another monument to a sound scholar, an inspiring teacher, and a good man.

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

University of Florida

Joel Chandler Harris: A Biography. By Paul M. Cousins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. xiv, 237 pp. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

Fire From the Flint: The Amazing Careers of Thomas Dixon. By Raymond Allen Cook. (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1968. ix, 255 pp. Foreword, illustrations, bibliography. \$6.00.)

Even though the two books under review are biographies of fiction writers, they should interest historians of the South. Both subjects grew up in the South during the Reconstruction period. Both men wrote extensively of that time and expressed the desire to "put the record straight." While they both had national reputations for their fiction, Harris earned his living as a newspaperman in Atlanta, and Dixon was at various times a clergyman, Chautauqua lecturer, and pioneer movie-maker.

Cousins' biography of Joel Chandler Harris is a well-rounded portrait of a personally-shy newspaperman and story-teller who was widely admired for his wit and for his creation of some of the most delightful characters in American fiction. In the first quarter of the book, Professor Cousins lays the foundation for Harris' personality development by describing the Civil War and Reconstruction conditions in Harris' section of Georgia. He also delineates the personalities of some of the persons who influenced Harris' maturation.

Then, he describes Harris' parallel development as an Atlanta newspaperman and raconteur of Negro legends and tales of the antebellum and post-bellum South. It is a smoothly-

narrated story of a southern writer's struggle for national recognition. In the process, Professor Cousins provides insights into the gradual healing of the wounds inflicted by the North and South on one another.

By contrast, *Fire from the Flint* concerns a Southerner whose sectional bias was vividly expressed through all of his "amazing careers." For example, there was Dixon's racial prejudice in his novel, *The Clansman*, and the movie, *The Birth of the Nation*. Professor Cook rationalizes it with references to the "high purpose" of the Ku Klux Klan. However, he does not state what that purpose was, except in rather vague and general terms.

The book is a perceptive examination of the social ferment of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Professor Cook does an especially good job of describing Dixon's role in the controversies of those times. However, he sketches most of these issues with a frustrating lack of analysis of Dixon's motivations other than his desire to justify white supremacy. What is somewhat puzzling is that the book lacks a critical appraisal of Dixon's creative works. While there are quotations from contemporary critics reviewing Dixon's novels and plays, Professor Cook does not judge the literary achievements of Thomas Dixon.

The biography of Joel Chandler Harris comes off better than that portraying the careers of Thomas Dixon. Dixon is more fascinating than Harris, but Professor Cook does not capture the vibrancy of his subject as does Professor Cousins. Nevertheless, both books make interesting reading for the historian of the South.

GERALD E. CRITOPH

Stetson University

History Under the Sea: A Handbook For Underwater Exploration. By Mendel Peterson. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969. xvi, 208 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction map, illustrations, charts, selected bibliography, appendix. \$5.95.)

History Under the Sea, according to Mendel Peterson, curator of Armed Forces History at the Smithsonian, was written to fill

at least partially the need for a single volume to which a "serious underwater explorer" might turn for information "on the techniques by which a site may be systematically explored and by which objects from it may be recovered, preserved and identified." The introduction and first chapter of the book, the latter explaining where and why Historical Period shipwreck sites may be found, make interesting reading. Subsequent chapters range in topic from details of several interesting but dated (the most recent in 1959) finds and "expeditions" to underwater sites in this hemisphere, through techniques for locating such sites and preserving recoveries, to various means of identification.

Probably the major shortcoming of the book as it was apparently conceived by the author as a guide of sorts for the diver with an interest in archeology and history and the treasure hunter, is that the discussion, particularly of the latter topics mentioned above, does not reflect the development and refinement of techniques which have taken place since 1965 when the work was released in soft cover as Smithsonian Publication 4538.

However, an even more disturbing aspect of this book, from the point of view of the archeologist, has to be its purpose. Faced with the rampant and increasing destruction of the scientifically and historically valuable but limited number of underwater sites occurring at the hands of the growing numbers of sport and treasure divers, the author, whose formal training is in history, completely oversteps his area of competency and prepares a "handbook" of rudimentary archeological field techniques and aids to identification of artifacts which, in effect, offers encouragement to the "explorers" to continue their depredations. By attempting to make "archeologists" out of the divers the author indicates that he does not or cannot draw the distinction between the scientific recovery of artifacts from underwater archeological sites by or under the immediate supervision of qualified archeologists which constitutes "underwater archeology" and the indiscriminate "salvage" of artifacts even by well-meaning divers which typically results in at least the partial destruction of the site and the loss of a very significant portion, possibly all, of the scientific value of the artifacts. In fact there is nothing in the book to indicate that the author's

concept of archeology goes beyond what an archeologist would describe as basic field techniques, the necessary initial steps in gathering data to evaluate. The book's major theme appears to be that recovered artifacts serve simply as tools to date the shipwreck and determine its nationality, narrowing the historical research necessary to identify the vessel so that its history can be determined and written, rather than as elements of material culture which can be used to trace the development of, for example, certain aspects of science, technology, and commerce. Most archeologist would hold that a more complete view of the wreck as a cultural entity would result from a combination of adequate historical research and archeological analysis.

Whatever Peterson's book may be, it is not a "handbook of underwater archeology" as the text inside the jacket of the book states. It does provide the reader with an interesting blend of mid-twentieth century technology and nineteenth century antiquarianism spiced with a dash of romantic adventure. This book in its previous and present editions will continue to be of more than passing interest to the underwater hobbyist, particularly the treasure hunter, for the purpose of identifying shipwrecks which may prove of commercial value. However, it is of limited value to the professional archeologist or historian except possibly as an introduction to some of the special problems encountered in recovering and handling materials from underwater sites.

CARL J. CLAUSEN

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BOOK NOTES

Shipwrecks in Florida Waters (Scott Publishing Company, Eau Gallie) was written by Robert F. Marx, director of research for the Real Eight Company of Satellite Beach. The purpose, according to the author, is "to help both the amateur and professional underwater archeologists." One of the difficult things after an historic shipwreck has been located, he points out, is to identify it properly. This he sets out to do in this monograph and in a larger work recently published. He lists references to 281 losses of vessels in Florida waters covering the period from 1525 to 1856, and another seventy-two "possible" wrecks. Mr. Marx's belief as to the value of the amateur archeologist in terms of salvaging artifacts from underwater Historical Period shipwreck sites is somewhat at variance with those held by professional archeologists who work underwater. The scientifically trained archeologists warn us repeatedly that historically valuable underwater sites, are rapidly being destroyed by sport and treasure divers. Mr. Marx's monograph contains a number of illustrations. It sells for \$2.50.

On September 1, 1867, John Muir, naturalist, botanist, and explorer, began his famous walking expedition to Florida. He set forth from Indianapolis and travelled by train to Jeffersonville on the banks of the Ohio River, where he began his trek. He walked across Kentucky and Tennessee to Savannah, then journeyed by boat to Fernandina, where he continued his walk to Cedar Key. Along the route, he kept a journal, noting in it the plants, the places, and the people that he saw and encountered. Because the state was "so watery and vine-tied that pathless wanderings are not easily possible in any direction," he followed the right-of-way of the Florida Railway Company. Stricken by fever, he remained at Cedar Key for almost three months before taking passage on a ship bound for Cuba. Houghton Mifflin Company published Mr. Muir's journal, *A Thousand Mile Walk to the Gulf*, in 1916 in a limited edition. It has now been reprinted by Norman S. Berg, "Sellanraa," Dunwoody, Georgia 30338. The reprint includes all of the original illustrations and the introduction by William Frederic Bade.

The library edition lists for \$11.90; trade edition, \$12.50; and uncut edition, \$15.00.

Louis and Vernon Lamme have written and published a pamphlet entitled *Stephen Foster: A Florida Minstrel*. There is a short biographical sketch of Foster and a brief history of several of his songs. These include not only the most familiar, "Old Folks at Home" (Florida's state song), "Oh, Susanna," "Old Uncle Ned," "Camptown Racers," "Ring, Ring De Banjo," "My Old Kentucky Home" and "Jeanie With the Light Brown Hair," but ones which are not quite so well known. All are part of the history of American music. The illustrations are by Bob Lamme. The monograph sells for \$1.25; it may be ordered by writing Box 1106, Boynton Beach, Florida.

America's first lighthouse, the Boston Light on Little Brewster Island was put into service September 14, 1716. Since then lighthouses have been erected all over the United States, from Key West to Alaska and Hawaii. *Keepers of the Lights: A History of American Lighthouses* by Robert Carse is published by Charles Scribner's Sons of New York, and it sells for \$3.95. It recounts the story of these lighthouses, including three in Florida: Cape Florida, Dry Tortugas, and St. John's. Keeper John W. Thompson's harrowing experiences at the Cape Florida Light in July 1836, when he and an assistant were attacked by Seminoles, and when the lighthouse was set afire is described in Carse's book. Excellent photographs of the Florida lights are included.

The late Frank J. Roos, Jr., published the first edition of *Writings on Early American Architecture* in 1943. Now a revised and updated version of his bibliography has been published by the University of Illinois Press of Urbana. The construction termination date of 1860 has been retained for the listings as was true of the original edition. The bibliography is divided geographically, limiting itself to the eastern and central United States, which of course, includes Florida. Most of the Florida references are to St. Augustine, but the Gregory House in Torreya State Park, the Addison Blockhouse, Fort Gadsden, and the *Grove* (Governor Call's home), and *Goodwood* of Tallahassee are also included. There are no references to any Florida

literature which has appeared since 1948, and as a result articles describing historical structures in Pensacola, Key West, St. Augustine, Palm Beach, and other communities are not listed. The book sells for \$12.50.

Louis D. Rubin, Jr., is editor of the *Bibliographical Guide to the Study of Southern Literature*, published by the Louisiana State University Press in its *Southern Literary Studies Series*. The bibliography is divided into "general topics" and "individual writers." All of the important literary periods from the colonial to the present are examined. A timely essay is "The Negro in Southern Literature" by Professor Seymour L. Gross. The Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Collection at the University of Florida is noted in "Manuscript Collections and Holdings," and Mrs. Rawlings and James Weldon Johnson are two of the Florida authors included. The book sells for \$10.00; \$3.95 paperback.

Ralph Waldo Emerson: A Profile, edited by Carl Bode, is a paperback edition of a volume in the *American Profile Series*, and it is published by Hill and Wang of New York. In the essay, "Emerson and the South" by Jay B. Hubbell, Emerson's visit to Charleston and St. Augustine during the winter of 1826-1827 is described. Emerson was a friend of Achille Murat, and the latter accompanied him on the journey to Charleston. The book sells for \$1.75.

Storm Over Savannah: The Story of Count d'Estaing and the Siege of the Town in 1779 is by Alexander A. Lawrence. Published originally in 1951, the University of Georgia Press has reprinted this valuable study of the valiant but vain effort of the French and Americans to take Savannah during the Revolution. Charles-Henri, Comte d'Estaing, commanded the French land and naval force, some 4,000 troops, which had come up from the West Indies. The proximity of Savannah to East Florida and particularly St. Augustine, a British stronghold during the Revolution, adds to the interest of this book for Floridians. The book lists for \$6.00.

The Geography of Life by Wilfred T. Neill is published by

the Columbia University Press and it sells for \$12.95. Professor Neill, formerly a biologist for Ross Allen's Reptile Institute at Silver Springs and associated with the University of Florida and Florida State Museum, has traveled extensively in the last two decades studying the relationship of plant and animal distribution to geography. At the Florida State Museum he wrote *A Historical Biogeography of Present-Day Florida*. His special interest has been Florida, particularly the Everglades. He discusses in his *Geography of Life* the flora and fauna of Florida and compares it with the Baja California peninsula. These two areas are not completely similar, Neill points out. Unlike California, Florida combines low elevation with high rainfall. There are few areas in South Florida that rise more than fifteen feet above sea level. Handsome photographs, some of them in color, are used to illustrate this volume.

Florida's Spanish River Area by Theodore Pratt is a short monograph published by Boca-Hi, Inc., 4720 South Ocean Boulevard, Highland Beach, Florida 33444. Mr. Pratt, one of Florida's most prolific writers, tells the story of Boca-Hi, which gets its name because half of it is in Boca Raton and half is in the town of Highland Beach.

Florida continues to be utilized as an ever popular setting for adult novels and children and teenager books. Included in the latter category is a narrative by Mel Ellis. *Ironhead* is published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston of New York, and it sells for \$3.95. It is a tale of a young boy's effort to capture a rattlesnake in the Florida Everglades.

With two widely acclaimed novels to his credit, Harry Crews, member of the English faculty at the University of Florida, is being included by many critics in the prestigious Southern Gothic School, which includes such writers as Truman Capote, Eudora Welty, and Carson McCullers. Mr. Crews' first novel was *The Gospel Singer*. His latest is *Naked In Garden Hills*, published by William Morrow and Company of New York. The phosphate mining area of Polk and Hillsborough counties is the locale for the town of Garden Hills, the scene of the story, where once flourished the worlds largest phosphate mine. Mr. Crews' sus-

penseful story moves swiftly and with assurance. It is one of the better novels utilizing the Florida scene to appear in the last few years. The book sells for \$5.95.

The Day of the Dolphin by Robert Merle, published by Simon and Schuster of New York, is a fictional account of efforts by scientists to establish human communication with dolphins. The government-sponsored laboratory in this book is located in Florida. There is an involved plot having to do with the United States being saved from nuclear war, at least in part by the dolphins. This book lists for \$5.95.

The Promised Land, by Carol K. Rothrock Bleser, is the history of the South Carolina Land Commission. It covers the period from 1869 when the South Carolina legislature established the commission, until 1890 when the program was abandoned. The idealistic concept was to sell land tracts at purchase price to blacks and whites on a long-term payment plan. Fraud and corruption helped destroy the program. A few farmers retained their holdings and their descendants still own the properties today. The "Promises Land" near Greenwood, South Carolina, is the most successful and enduring example of what the Land Commission had hoped to achieve. Published by the University of South Carolina Press, the book sells for \$6.95. This is the first volume of the South Carolina Tricentennial Studies that will commemorate the founding of South Carolina in 1670.

The War in the South, by Donald Barr Chidsey, is described as an informal history of the Carolinas and Georgia in the American Revolution. Published by Crown Publishers of New York, the book sells for \$3.95.

James R. Morrill's *The Practice and Politics of Fiat Finance* is a study of the financial and political considerations that shaped North Carolina's financial policies during the Confederation Period after the American Revolution. The economic difficulties which confronted North Carolina during the 1780s were the economic difficulties facing all the southern states. There was the mountainous problem of the Revolutionary debt, the impossibility of coping with the paper currency issued during

the war, and the ever increasing complexities of developing a working relationship between the states and the United States. This is a University of North Carolina Press publication, and it sells for \$7.50.

Among the recently issued paperbacks is *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* by Richard C. Wade. It was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* in April 1966. The paperback edition is published by the Oxford University Press, and it sells for \$1.95.

Under the general editorship of August Meier, Athenum Press of New York has republished three important titles in its *Studies in American Negro Life Series*. Of particular importance to Floridians is *Black Manhattan* by James Weldon Johnson, who was born in Jacksonville and who received his early education in that community. This is not a history book in the traditional sense, but is rather an impressionistic evocation of Harlem as Mr. Johnson viewed it during the 1920s. The Athenum edition carries an introduction by Allan H. Spear which includes a brief biographical sketch of Johnson. The book sells for \$3.75. *Sea Island to City: A Study of St. Helena Islanders In Harlem and other Urban Centers* by Clyde Vernon Kiser is a sociological study of the migration of Negroes from St. Helena, South Carolina, to the North during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Seeking a "promised land" which always seemed to elude them, these blacks found themselves caught up in the American process of ghetto-building. This book lists for \$3.45. *Negro Political Leadership in the South* by Everett Carl Ladd, Jr., was published in 1966. It is reprinted now with a short preface by Andrew Haaker. The thesis of this study is that southern Negroes, unlike their northern counterparts, have used the franchise in the last twenty years to develop party organization, leadership, and political spirit which is not subservient to the white establishment. The Julian Bonds and the Charles Evers of the South, it is argued, have given better service in terms of both ideology and ability to their followers, than do most of the black public officials of the North. This book sells for \$3.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Sanchez House

The nineteenth-century St. Augustine home of Francis Xavier Sanchez, shipowner and cattleman, has been restored by the Independent Life and Accident Insurance Company of Jacksonville. The home, constructed around 1809, is located on St. George Street, just south of Casa de Hidalgo. Purchased two years ago from Anna Burt, daughter of George Burt, a prominent St. Augustine merchant, the house was restored and furnished under the supervision of Jacob Bryan III, president of Independent Life and a member of the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission. One of the rooms is an insurance museum. Daily hours of the home are available. The history and illustrations of the Sanchez House by James C. Craig, president-elect of the Florida Historical Society, appeared in the company's house organs, *Password* (May 1969) and *The Field News* (June 1969).

Pensacola News-Journal Certificate of Commendation

The American Association for State and Local History, at its annual convention held in St. Paul, Minnesota, August 1969, recognized the *Pensacola News-Journal* for its outstanding and continuing support for historical programs in the West Florida area. The recommendation for the award was made originally by Earle W. Newton, executive director, Pensacola Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission. The award was presented to Earle W. Bowden, editor of the *News-Journal* at a ceremony in Pensacola, December 5, 1969, by Dr. A. R. Mortensen, president of the American Association for State and Local History, and by Mr. Newton.

Historical Markers

On November 15, 1969, the Gainesville chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution rededicated a marker noting the construction of the Bellamy Road, Florida's first east-west highway, during the 1820s. The marker, originally dedicated in 1944, was moved during the construction of Interstate 75. It is

now located immediately west of the High Springs-Lake Butler interchange. John Bellamy was one of Florida's most prominent planters and political figures during the territorial period.

A marker noting the graves of Prince and Princess Achille Murat in the Episcopal Cemetery in Tallahassee was dedicated on November 23, 1969. The Florida Society of Colonial Dames XVII Century, in cooperation with the Florida Department of Natural Resources and the Department of Recreation and Parks, was in charge of the program. The marker is located at the corner of Call and Boulevard Streets, Tallahassee.

A marker commemorating "Rabbit Hill," the home of Dr. John H. Brelsford of Palm Beach, was unveiled on Sunday, December 7, 1969. The house, built in 1891, is one of the oldest in that area of Florida. The property was acquired by Henry M. Flagler in 1901, and it was purchased in 1944 by James Y. Arnold. It is the site of his famous orchid collection. The Palm Beach chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and Mr. and Mrs. James Y. Arnold were hosts at the marker ceremony.

American Revolution Bicentennial

An American Revolution Bicentennial Office has been established by the Library of Congress in preparation for the observance of the bicentennial of American Independence. The office will compile publications and plan exhibits and other special events that will disseminate knowledge of the Revolution throughout the nation. A staff of professional historians has been assembled, which includes Professor Paul H. Smith, formerly a member of the history faculty at the University of Florida, John R. Sellers, Gerard W. Gewalt, and Robert A. Rutland.

Southern Colonial History Symposium

The South Carolina Tricentennial Commission and the University of South Carolina are sponsoring a three-day symposium on March 19, 20, 21, 1970, on "The Place of the Southern Colonies in the Atlantic World." Slave trade, church attitudes towards war and slavery, West Indian expansion into the southern mainland colonies, an economic comparison of Rio, Brazil, and Charleston, and the transfer of English legalism into the

American colonies are the topics that will be discussed. For further information, write Dr. George C. Rogers, Jr., Department of History, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Local Historical Societies and Commissions

Jacksonville Historical Society: Dr. Frederick A. Aldridge, chairman of Social Sciences, Jacksonville University, spoke to members and guests of the Society at their November 1969 meeting, on the topic, "Is There Urban History?" The Jacksonville Historical Society *Papers*, Volume V, has been published. It is a compilation of articles by Miss Dena Snodgrass which appeared in the *Florida Times Union*. The *Papers*, edited by James C. Craig, has an index prepared by Miss Audrey Broward. The *Jacksonville Historical Society*, which this year is celebrating its fortieth anniversary, was largely responsible for selecting the name Henry Holland Buckman for the new St. Johns River Bridge. The bridge was dedicated on September 22, 1969.

Orange County Historical Commission: The Commission has added its support to the movement to restore the historic name to Cape Canaveral, and resolutions endorsing this move have been forwarded to Washington. In the September 1969 number of the "Orange County Historical Quarterly," there appeared articles on Orlando's first boom, the origin of Kissimmee's name, and the history of early Winter Park real estate transactions.

Peace River Valley Historical Society: Dr. James W. Covington, professor of history at the University of Tampa, spoke at the September meeting in Arcadia; State Representative William H. Bevis of Fort Meade was the speaker at the October meeting in Fort Meade; and Mitchell Hope of Wauchula presented the program at the November meeting at Bowling Green. An historical essay committee has been appointed, and Vernon Peebles serves as chairman.

Pinellas County Historical Commission: "Fifty-Year Certificates" are being given to the newspapers and other commercial establishments which have operated in Pinellas County for half a century. The Commission has acquired the Old Law Library, and

it is being utilized for added museum space. Three rooms are being furnished as a pioneer bedroom, a late nineteenth century newspaper editor's office, and a general display room.

Safety Harbor Area Historical Society: Recent program speakers included Calvin Taylor and Chris Rasmussen of the Tampa Trident Club; Captain John D. Ware, who described the Florida Historical Society's trip to Spain; and Hampton Dunn, who presented an illustrated lecture entitled, "Florida From Huguenots to the Astronauts." At the annual picnic in November, Walter Fuller of St. Petersburg was the speaker. The Society has converted its workshop into a museum, and on display are artifacts from some of the archaeological digs that the Society has participated in. The major current activity is the archaeological dig at the Stauffer Chemical Company property, Tarpon Springs. Officers of the organization are Gustave A. Nelson, president; Hayes L. Kennedy, vice-president; Alva L. Jones, secretary; and Martha J. Sandstrom, treasurer.

St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission: Joyce Elizabeth Harman, graduate of Ohio State University, has been named Commission historian. Her monograph, *Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763*, has been published by the St. Augustine Historical Society. The many and varied activities of the Commission were reported in an illustrated insert in the *St. Augustine Record* (September 10, 1969). Herbert E. Wolfe of St. Augustine recently resigned as Commission chairman and Lawrence Lewis, Jr., has been appointed chairman. Dr. Michael V. Gannon of the University of Florida has also been appointed as a member of the Commission.

St. Augustine Historical Society: At the regular quarterly meeting of the Society in October, J. Carver Harris, the Society's business manager, showed a forty-five minute color movie of some of the recent St. Augustine historical activities, including the dedication of the Mission of Nombre de Dios Chapel, restoration of the Catholic Cathedral, and the work of the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission. The Society has presented citations to the Independent Life and Accident Insurance Company of Jacksonville for the restoration

of the Sanchez House on St. George Street and to the *St. Augustine Record* for its program of microfilming the newspaper.

Santa Fe River Area Historical Society: Mallie Strickland of Alachua, whose father was a member of the Second Florida Confederate Cavalry, was guest speaker at the November meeting. He related some of his father's recollections and presented family records to the Society for its archives. The members are undertaking a project of tape recording interviews with local pioneers and their descendents.

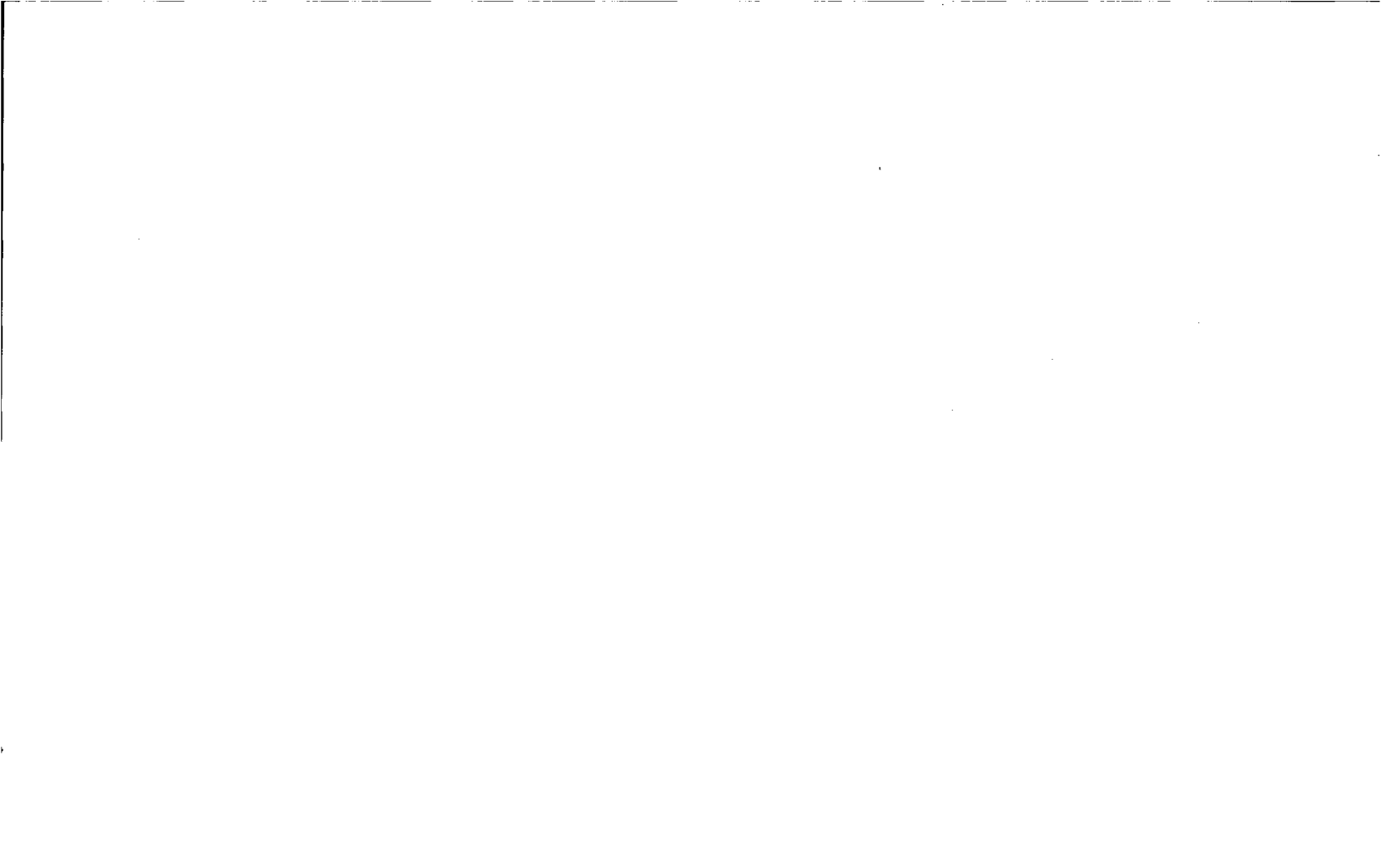
OBITUARY

George Albert DeVane, Sr.

Recognized for more than half a century as historian of the Florida Seminoles, George Albert DeVane of Lake Placid died Sunday, August 19, 1969. Albert, as he was affectionately called, was one of Florida's best-known researchers, historians, and genealogists. A long-time friend of the late Billy Bowlegs, Seminole hunter and guide, Mr. DeVane began collecting Indian history after returning from service in World War I. Many thought that he knew more about the Seminole and Miccosukee Indians and their ancestry than did any other white man. Mr. DeVane was a native of Plant City, where his great-grandfather settled shortly before the Civil War. While he himself never wrote a book on Florida or the Florida Indians, he shared his information graciously with writers and students of Florida history. Several of his Indian friends attended the funeral services. Mr. DeVane was a member of the Florida Historical Society and a number of other local Florida history organizations. He was the recipient of the Peace River Valley Historical Society's Florida History Award in 1965.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

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|-------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| Feb. 20-21 | Historical Architecture | University of |
| | Preservation Workshop | Florida, Gainesville |
| April 3-4 | Florida Conference of | |
| | College Teachers of | |
| | History | Pensacola |
| April 4-5 | Florida Conference of | |
| | Teachers of History | Pensacola |
| April 15-18 | Organization of American | |
| | Historians | Los Angeles, Calif. |
| May 7-9 | Florida Historical Society | Manger Hotel |
| | 68th Annual Meeting | Tampa |
| Nov. 11-14 | Southern Historical | |
| | Association | Louisville, Ky. |
| Nov. 13-16 | National Colloquium on | "Asilomar" |
| | Oral History | Carmel, Calif. |



THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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