



*The
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Historical
Quarterly*

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FRONT COVER

The river front in Jacksonville in 1884. The view is looking west from Liberty Street. The picture is one of several of Jacksonville by Louis Glaser, and it was printed by Witteman Bros. of New York City. The series of $2\frac{1}{2}$ " x $4\frac{1}{2}$ " views were bound in a small folder for sale to visitors and tourists. This picture is from the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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SIDNEY J. CATTS: THE ROAD TO POWER

by WAYNE FLYNT*

THE SOUTH PRODUCED a bumper crop of political demagogues between 1890 and 1920. This unparalleled but dubious array of luminaries included James E. Ferguson of Texas, Huey Long of Louisiana, James K. Vardaman and Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi, Tom Heflin of Alabama, Tom Watson of Georgia, Cole Blease, "Cotton" Ed Smith, and Ben Tillman of South Carolina, as well as many others. These politicians broke the back of conservative Bourbonism with their emotional appeals to the religious and racial intolerance of the newly powerful masses of voters. Once in office they frequently championed social and economic reform such as the abolition of the convict lease system, restriction of child labor, ameliorative labor legislation, woman suffrage, shifting tax burdens to corporations, railroad regulation, expanded educational opportunities, and many other creative measures.

Florida escaped the demagogic politics of the era with the single exception of Sidney J. Catts, who served as governor from 1916 to 1920, but who remained one of the state's most powerful citizens until 1930. When one considers the total impact that Catts had on Florida politics it seems strange that he has been so thoroughly relegated to obscurity. William T. Cash, member of the state legislature under Catts and a man whose observations on the Florida Democratic party contain remarkable intuitive insight, considers the Catts' era to be a political watershed.¹ Before this time, from William D. Bloxham's first term as governor in 1881, until the end of the Napoleon B. Broward-Park Trammell era of reform in 1916, the dominant issue had been the extent of power and function

* Mr. Flynt is associate professor of history at Samford University, Birmingham, Alabama. This paper was read at the Florida Historical Society meeting, Tampa, Florida, May 8, 1970. Research was sponsored partially by a Samford University Research Fund Grant.

1. William T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1936), 134.

of corporations and their political influence in Florida. The prosperity of the Catts era, however, directed the thrust of Florida politics to the highly controversial issues of Catholicism, prohibition, and clique politics.

Catts introduced a remarkable variety of changes to Florida politics. He was the only man in the state's history to marshal predominantly religious and moral issues to win the governorship; he was the only man between Reconstruction and Claude Kirk to defeat the Democratic party in Florida; he was the only successful candidate to bolt his political party and run as an independent; and he was the only gubernatorial candidate who stumped the state with twin revolvers prominently displayed. Never before had a Florida governor so thoroughly employed the spoils system, nor had so many public officeholders ever lived in such dread of being summarily ousted from their jobs. Never had a Florida governor faced a legislature which disliked him so thoroughly as was true of Catts, and there have been few Florida politicians who have experienced such a rapid political eclipse as he did.

Florida was cast in the mold of all the other one-party southern states. Without party cohesiveness, every man "looked out" for himself; Democratic primaries attracted a wide assortment of political novices who hoped that political gimmickry together with deadlock between experienced office seekers would propel them into public office. In such a milieu of personality politics, no one enjoyed a greater advantage than the colorful, bombastic Sidney J. Catts. Born on July 31, 1863, at the family plantation near Pleasant Hill, in Dallas County, Alabama, he attended Auburn University, Howard College at Marion, Alabama (now Samford University), and Cumberland Law School (Lebanon, Tennessee), though only the last of these awarded him a degree.² Attracted equally by preaching and law, he tried both in succession, then struck a balance between them in his political career. During the decades from the 1880s until 1910, he served as pastor of Baptist churches at Tuskegee, Fort Deposit, Sandy Ridge, and Mt. Willing, becoming a popular revivalist and a secondary power in Alabama Baptist

2. Sidney J. Catts to W. T. Cash, August 12, 1929, in Catts File, Florida State Library, Tallahassee.

convention politics.³ He married Alice May Campbell in 1886, and in 1903 he reported that children were the greatest riches in the world, and "we have a fine mess of them."⁴

Already Catts' career was characterized by his political involvements, religious bigotry, and violent temper. At the 1904 Baptist state convention, he spoke on "the Preacher and Politics."⁵ Apparently applying his own advice, he served as captain of the Macon Guards while pastor at Tuskegee.⁶ In 1903, while pastor of the Fort Deposit church, he ran for a congressional seat in the fifth district and lost to Thomas Heflin.

The racial environment of Alabama together with religious fundamentalism bequeathed Catts a rich heritage of demagogic appeals. While lecturing at the Bible Training School at Tuskegee Institute in 1900, Catts announced that he had been "struck with awful force by the cruelties of the Roman Catholic Church towards others when in her power." History was a kind of godly conspiracy to humble the Catholic church: the Protestant English had repulsed the Spanish Armada; Russia had defeated Napoleon and the French Catholics; "while in the new world every movement of Jehovah seems to be directed against the temporal power of the Pope, and for enlightenment and good government."⁷ Catts' prejudice was multi-racial, and he exposed black conspiracies with the same gleeful enthusiasm which he directed at Catholics. When two Boston pastors speaking at Tuskegee Institute advocated integrated schools, Catts proposed to "change his commentaries into works on military tactics-his pen and plow into a sword and . . . go down to Dallas and Lowndes [black belt counties] and organize the boys for war."⁸

His temper and his penchant for thoughtless reaction often made his ministerial career tempestuous. At the close of a vigorous sermon to his Fort Deposit congregation on a sultry summer day in 1904; he appealed for a mission offering. Quiet settled over the congregation as Catts wiped the perspiration from his neck and vigorously fanned himself with a palmetto

3. *Alabama Baptist*, August 27, 1902.

4. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1903.

5. *Alabama Baptist State Convention, Report for 1904*, 46.

6. *Alabama Baptist*, January 4, 1900.

7. Catts to editor, *ibid.*, February 1, 1900.

8. Catts to editor, *ibid.*, May 2, 1901.

leaf fan. Finally he announced, "I don't intend to stand here long and see you sitting like frogs waiting for it to rain. If I cannot have the support of my congregation, I shall offer my resignation." And to the dismay of the congregation, he did resign. He returned to Dallas County to farm and to preach, until he was "called" in 1911, to the First Baptist Church of DeFuniak Springs, Florida.⁹

Shortly after accepting this Florida post Catts resigned, apparently because of low salary, and entered the insurance business.¹⁰ His job took him into the small towns and hamlets of the state, and here he could view first hand the many forces which were altering Florida's political life. Casual observers might attribute the growth of religious intolerance to Catts, but it seems more probable that the rural and small town population were really sharing a common prejudice. Until about 1910 Florida had been more tolerant towards Catholics than many other southern states and had even elected a few to high public office. The changing religious climate in the early years of the twentieth century has been attributed to the influence of Tom Watson and his *Jeffersonian* newspaper which began a series of "exposes" on the "Roman Catholic hierarchy" in 1909.¹¹ Though Watson was a Georgian, his paper numbered many Florida subscribers, and excerpts were frequently reprinted in local newspapers. Secret societies such as the Patriotic Sons of America and the Guardians of Liberty began to spring up throughout the state, and their anti-Catholic bias clearly became a popular cause. The issue only awaited political exploitation.

The itinerant insurance salesman apparently decided to try his luck at Florida politics sometime in 1914, and he quietly began organizing his campaign support some two years before the 1916 Democratic primary.¹² When Catts declared his candidacy for governor in 1915, the announcement rated only small notice in the Florida newspapers. The leading candidates were Ion Farris, a Jacksonville progressive, and State Comptroller W. V. Knott of Tallahassee. Most of the so-called "courthouse ring"

9. *New York Times*, May 29, 1921.

10. John R. Deal, Jr., "Sidney Johnston Catts, Stormy Petrel of Florida Politics" (Masters' thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 16.

11. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida*, 123.

12. *Lakeland Telegram*, quoted in *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, July 17, 1916.

Democrats favored these men. State Senator F. M. Hudson of Dade County, Catts, and the other minor candidates were generally ignored by the press. Knott was considered the leading candidate, and he conducted a restrained campaign, claiming even at the height of the race that his duties as comptroller required his presence in Tallahassee.¹³ His platform—which endorsed economy in government, equalization of tax laws, larger pensions for Civil War veterans, and improved roads—was bland and uninspiring. Throughout the campaign, Knott remained on the defensive against charges that his lax policies had caused a wave of state bank failures.

Several issues dominated the campaign and propelled Catts into the governor's office. Though submerged by his more emotional appeals, Catts employed older progressive rhetoric to rail against corporations and railroads which paid less than their fair share of taxes. He also endorsed better education, particularly vocational training.¹⁴ A second issue to capture the popular fancy was Catts' attack on T. R. Hodges, the state shell fish commissioner. The 1913 Florida legislature had passed an act regulating and taxing the state's shell and oyster fishermen. The latter had angrily ignored the act, and the legislature finally authorized \$15,000 to purchase a steamer, the *Roamer*, to patrol the gulf coast. So many fishermen had threatened the life of Commissioner Hodges, that he had ordered the ship armed with two one-pound cannons. They were never fired, even though one deputy was killed by a fisherman.¹⁵ Catts made Hodges the brunt of his attacks in the fishing villages along the coast, insisting that as governor he would have vetoed the legislature's appropriation to purchase the *Roamer*.¹⁶

A third event which worked to Catts' benefit was the passage of the Sturkie resolutions. Meeting on January 6, 1916, amidst a climate of increasing religious intolerance, the state Democratic executive committee passed two resolutions written by John M. Barrs, a prominent Jacksonville attorney, and intro-

13. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 4, 1916.

14. See account of a typical speech by Catts, *ibid.*, March 4, 1916. Cash altogether ignores the continuation of this older economic theme in Catts' 1916 campaign. See Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida*, 123-33.

15. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 6, 1916.

16. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1916.

duced by R. B. Sturkie, committeeman from Pasco County. The Sturkie resolutions involved two highly controversial clauses: the fourth pledged the voter not to be influenced by any religious belief or sect with which a candidate was affiliated; the fifth pledged that the Democratic voter was not a member of any secret organization which attempted in any way to influence political action. The resolutions, adopted with only one dissenting vote, were not aimed specifically at Catts, even though he was not then considered a prime contender. However, they raised a storm of protest when made public. Spontaneous public rallies adopted scathing petitions to the state committee attacking the resolutions. County Democratic executive committees in Hillsborough, Brevard, and Gadsden counties were among those demanding repudiation of the resolutions, and the Florida State Federation of Labor, meeting in Tampa on February 2, 1916, called for the reconvening of the state executive committee and the repeal of the Sturkie resolutions.¹⁷ Conservative former Governor Albert W. Gilchrist and progressive incumbent Governor Park Trammell both declared that the resolves were discriminatory against certain candidates.

Florida newspapers sided with the state committee two or three to one, and warned that if the Sturkie resolutions were rescinded, religion would become the principle question in the gubernatorial primary. W. V. Knott blundered into an enthusiastic endorsement of the committee action, a move which ultimately helped defeat him.¹⁸ These belated efforts to save the resolutions collapsed in late February when state Chairman George P. Raney of Tampa bowed to strong pressure and summoned the state committee to reconsider its actions. When, in a heated session, the committee rescinded the resolutions by a twenty-six to fourteen vote, the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* predicted that Floridians could "now look for the nastiest, most abusive campaign that Florida has ever known, and it will probably be attended with loss of life."¹⁹ Some political analysts have concluded that Catts would not have been elected

17. *Ibid.*, January 27, 30; February 3, 6, 9, 22, 1916, for public protest meetings in Tampa, Leesburg, River Junction, Bushnell, Palmetto, and Lake Helen.

18. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1916.

19. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1916.

without the Sturkie resolutions.²⁰ The state committee action did appear, in light of the campaign being waged by Catts, to be aimed at him.

Aware of the latent religious prejudice in Florida, Catts fanned anti-Catholicism into one of the most divisive political issues to affect state politics until the ascendancy of racial arguments in the mid-twentieth century. The former minister was aided by fundamentalist revivalists such as the Reverend Billy Parker who demagogued their way across the state spreading the most outrageous tales and by the more subdued and "respectable" anti-Catholicism of responsible denominations and a number of religious newspapers.²¹ Fuller Warren, who served later as Florida governor, wrote that Catts "hanged the Pope to every oak tree in West Florida."²² The arguments of Catts and his cohorts were as ridiculous as they were sensational: Catholics planned an armed revolt to take over America and were storing arms and ammunition in the cellar of the Catholic "cathedral" at Tampa. In fact, there was no cathedral in Tampa, but that did not deter Catts. Anyone not of Catholic persuasion would be persecuted and tortured, according to the stories that spread throughout Florida. Catts attacked President Woodrow Wilson for appointing a Catholic as his secretary, and he defended the politically powerful and rabidly anti-Catholic *Guardians of Liberty*.²³

The issue threw Florida politics into a dither. The *Gainesville Sun* noted: "Never in the history of Florida has politics been worse mixed than at the present time. Personal friends hold aloof from discussing political candidates in many instances simply because religious prejudice has entered into the fitness of men for office and feeling is so tense that they realize it is useless to discuss the merits of candidates."²⁴ Although most Florida newspapers deplored the rising tide of political bigotry, the issue obviously had caught the imagination of state voters. Democratic-oriented newspapers began to publish exposes of the *Guardians of Liberty* to try to minimize its influence, but even

20. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida*, 127.

21. For one illustration, see "Catholics and the Bible," *Florida Baptist Witness*, November 2, 1916.

22. Fuller Warren, *How to Win in Politics* (Tallahassee, 1949), 175.

23. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 4, 1916.

24. *Gainesville Sun*, quoted in *ibid.*, April 12, 1916.

Ion Farris, while condemning religious prejudice, hastened to point out that he was a Methodist.²⁵

Catts effectively sold his arguments to Florida voters in one of the most colorful races in the state's history. He was the first candidate to use an automobile to campaign in Florida. Most of his rivals seldom strayed from the towns on or near the railroad lines, but Catts used his Model T Ford to visit isolated hamlets which had never heard a gubernatorial candidate before. Because of alleged plans to assassinate him, Catts claimed that he had to speak "with both hands on my pistols, which were loaded in every chamber [and prominently displayed]. Often I would have to show them to men in the audience and tell them I would not hesitate to use them, before they would let me alone."²⁶

The Democratic primary on June 6, 1916, was probably the most confused in Florida's political history. The Bryan Primary law which governed the voting provided for first and second choice ballots in lieu of a runoff. Many citizens misunderstood the procedure and cast only first choice ballots; some election officials later insisted that they were not aware that second choice votes were supposed to be counted, and over 100 precincts reported returns without tallies of second choice votes. In other precincts second choice votes were tallied in a variety of ways. Knott and Catts led the race, and each charged the other with fraud. When it was announced that Catts was the winner with 33,429 votes to 33,169 for Knott, the latter went to court demanding a recount. Catts insisted that he would run in the general election no matter what the outcome of such legal moves. Following two months of complicated maneuvering by both sides, the Florida supreme court ruled on August 9 that Knott had won by a margin of twenty-one votes.

If the Sturkie resolutions had undermined Knott in the primary, the disputed recount completely demolished him in the November election. Newspapers which had opposed Catts in the June primary now endorsed him. The *Tampa Tribune* vehemently condemned the recount, and the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* warned the state Democratic executive committee

25. Jadtsonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 27, 1916.

26. *New York Times*, May 29, 1921.

against trying to force Florida Democrats to vote a straight party ballot in the November elections. The Sanford *Herald*, which had backed F. M. Hudson in the primary, now endorsed Catts, and stated flatly that he had won the Democratic primary.²⁷

There seemed little doubt that Florida voters had favored Catts for governor, since he had led Knott by a wide margin in first choice votes. While confusion reigned among Democrats, the Prohibition party met in late June and nominated Catts for governor. Then, on October 10, he consented to have his name certified as the Prohibitionist candidate in the general election.

Catts' political organization became an amalgamation of those who had supported him from the beginning and the party regulars who joined his organization after June. His primary victory had been engineered by a variety of political amateurs: J. V. Burke managed his campaign; W. W. Flournoy, a DeFuniak Springs attorney who handled his appeal to the supreme court; W. Bryan Mack of the Pensacola *News* provided liaison with the newspapers; and Van C. Swearingen, former mayor of Jacksonville, and Dr. W. H. Cox, a member of the state Democratic executive committee from Tampa, handled his efforts in West and South Florida. Jerry W. Carter, itinerant sewing machine salesman, first had heard Catts on the Chautaugua circuit, and he enthusiastically offered his own considerable skill among West Florida "crackers." Important new recruits began endorsing Catts after the June primary. Former State Senator J. S. Blitch of Williston had been a leader in the protest against the Sturkie resolutions, and he stumped the state for Catts.²⁸ James B. Hodges of Lake City, an attorney and one of the most adept politicians in Florida, had used his influence on behalf of Knott in the primary.²⁹ He was aware, however, of Catts' appeal and was attracted to him. Concluding that Catts had won the June primary, in August he offered his full assistance.³⁰ He collected funds, circulated petitions, led the pro-Catts minority on the

27. See Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 23, October 12, 1916.

28. *Ibid.*, January 29, November 2, 1916; Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida*, 130.

29. J. B. Hodges to T. J. Appleyard, April 7, 1916, Box 13; Appleyard to Hodges, April 7, 1916, Box 13; W. V. Knott to Hodges, May 14, 1916, Box 12, James B. Hodges Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Hereinafter referred to as Hodges Papers.

30. Hodges to James B. Alexander, May 4, 1916, Box 12; Hodges to B. B. Johnson, August 26, 1916, Box 20, Hodges Papers.

state Democratic executive committee, spoke at innumerable rallies, and used his influence to neutralize Democratic office-holders in the general election.³¹

Knott had profited from the endorsement of most Florida newspapers and virtually all prominent Democratic officials, including United States Senator Duncan U. Fletcher and Governor Park Trammell. Knott charged that the Sturkie affair had been a "frameup" between Sturkie and Catts. According to him, Catts would not vote for Democratic Presidential nominee Woodrow Wilson. Knott also charged that Catts was saying in the rural areas that if he lost in November, he would march to Tallahassee with 10,000 citizens armed with rifles and take the governor's seat by force.³² A Knott lieutenant, addressing a rally in Brooksville, denounced Dr. W. H. Cox, Catts' manager in South Florida, as having been a Populist in the 1890s and a Socialist until 1912 when he had supported the Bull Moose ticket.³³

Catts redoubled his own efforts between June and November. He made seven trips across the state. With little money available, he would take up collections after an address in order to pay his car expenses to the next stop.³⁴ Crowds were enormous, and local newspaper reports called his rallies the largest ever held. His issues remained largely the same as in the primary. He attacked the Catholic church, which he alleged had provided the funds for the June recount; he claimed that a group of Catholics in Appalachicola had threatened to assassinate him. He attacked the declining morality of high school coeds who were trying to see "how low they could cut their dresses at the top and how high they could cut them at the bottom." He also advocated manual training schools. At every rally he blasted the party machine and the "Court of Supreme Contempt" which had "stolen" the Democratic primary from him.³⁵ Catts' political efforts were enormously successful; he swamped Knott by a vote of 39,000 to 30,000.

31. Lewis O'Bryan to Hodges, November 9, 1916, Box 13; Hodges to Hal W. Adams, September 21, 1916, Box 12; Hodges to W. H. Cox, October 25, 1916, Box 12; Hodges to A. W. Jackson, March 20, 1917, Box 13; J. R. Rogers to Hodges, October 10, 1916, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

32. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 7, 24, 1916.

33. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1916.

34. *New York Times*, May 29, 1921.

35. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 24, October 17, 1916.

The principle issues in the Democratic primary had been religion, the shell fish commissioner, and the Sturkie resolutions; in the general election the issue of clique politics and the questionable recount provided additional assets for Catts. But a full explanation of his triumph would have to include another factor, Catts' identification, with the common man. By his appeals against corporation rule and his endorsement of reform, he stirred the masses. Jerry Carter coined a phrase which a great many Floridians believed: "The crackers of Florida have only three friends left: God Almighty, Sears and Roebuck, and Sidney J. Catts."³⁶ In analyzing the election, the *Florida Baptist Witness* admitted that anti-Catholicism and the policies of the state executive committee had aided Catts, but it added: "Somehow the common people felt that Catts is one of them, and that he is interested in them."³⁷ Other contemporary observers noted the same phenomenon: Sidney J. Catts had reached the democratic masses, the little people, in a remarkable way.

The unusual governor's inauguration on January 2, 1917, was the first indication of the new Catts' style and program. For the first time a parade of cars replaced the buggies of earlier years, and the 5,000 persons who jammed Tallahassee witnessed the spectacle of fifty gaily decorated automobiles, including Catts' faithful Model T which carried a large sign proclaiming, "THIS IS THE CAR THAT GOT ME HERE."³⁸ As if to presage his later difficulties with the Florida legislature, the Democratic justices of the state supreme court refused to take their designated places in the parade until persuaded to do so by Catts' attorney, W. W. Flournoy.

In his inaugural address Catts claimed that his victory represented the triumph of "the everyday masses of cracker people" over political rings, corporations and railroads, the state press, Negro voters, the state judiciary, and the power of the Catholic hierarchy. He outlined his legislative philosophy in folksy terms for his listeners: no state funds for sectarian education, freedom of speech and press, no state appointments for any man "who owes his allegiance to a foreign national poten-

36. Interview with Jerry W. Carter, May 15, 1964, Tallahassee.

37. *Florida Baptist Witness*, June 29, 1916.

38. Warren, *How to Win in Politics*, 176.

tate or foreign ecclesiastical power"; prohibition of the "whiskey traffic"; rotation of public offices by "putting in new men as far as we can do so practically"; equalization of taxes so as to tax more heavily large private fortunes, corporations, and railroads; changes in the primary law; provisions for initiative, referendum, and recall; police inspection of all "closed" institutions such as convents and parochial schools; taxes on all church property other than churches and parsonages; creation of an industrial school for boys and girls where they could learn practical trades; and regulation of freight rates.³⁹ To conclude the day in the new style, the governor and his wife refused to attend the inaugural ball and excluded the traditional "punch" from the inaugural banquet.⁴⁰

The most obvious success for the program outlined by the governor was in filling state jobs. Catts' appointments are inter-related to his dismissal of state employees and his attempt to create his own political machine. The governor had the power to fill approximately 1,800 jobs with his appointments, and never before had a chief executive utilized this power as fully as Catts. He dismissed hundreds of office holders, many of whom were guilty of flagrant corruption, replacing them with his own political cronies. The sheriffs in Monroe, Citrus, Clay, and Duval counties were removed for tolerating prostitution, for drunkenness, and for "absence from the state." Dozens of local justices, county commissioners, tax collectors, and other functionaries were discharged. Investigations by J. Will Yon, state auditor, revealed widespread financial shortages among many county tax collectors. Catts even dismissed his own political allies where conditions warranted, and he frequently ignored the pragmatic advice of his lieutenants by removing powerful local politicians who were found guilty of malfeasance.⁴¹ Years later, a political observer who was a foe of Catts in the state legislature acknowledged that many of the dismissals were justifiable and that "there were grounds for complaint in nearly every case."⁴² Often

39. See inaugural text in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 3, 1917.

40. *Christian Index*, quoted in *Alabama Baptist*, January 17, 1917.

41. Catts to Hodges, April 14, 1917, Box 13; Catts to J. W. Perry, April 14, 1917, Box 13; Hodges to Catts, November 14, 1917, Box 25, Hodges Papers.

42. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida*, 132.

Catts reappointed suspended officials when investigation revealed that the charges lodged against them had been falacious.

Politics did become involved, however, in these dismissals. Catts' closest advisor, James B. Hodges of Lake City, used his newspaper to embarrass anti-Catts politicians for imbibing too freely.⁴³ Catts requested state appointees who were not in harmony with his administration to resign, and when resignations were not forthcoming, dismissals followed.⁴⁴ The most notable example of political removals was T. R. Hodges, state shell fish commissioner. Despite a pitiful letter from the commissioner to J. B. Hodges begging his help in saving his job, the governor fulfilled his campaign pledge and fired the commissioner.⁴⁵ Some discharged officials with political power persuaded the legislature to pass relief bills to continue paying their salaries. Although Catts lobbied to prevent such bills, they frequently passed.⁴⁶ The 1919 legislature alone passed acts to pay more than \$18,000 to reimburse a dozen fired officials.⁴⁷ One representative unsuccessfully proposed a constitutional amendment forbidding the governor from removing officeholders. Catts protested that opposition to his dismissals came primarily from Catholics, newspapers, the Democratic political ring, and corporations which had directed state affairs for more than thirty years.⁴⁸

Appointees to the vacancies created by these dismissals and by resignations came from the inner circle of Catts' loyalists who had engineered his election. The governor's closest advisor on patronage was James B. Hodges, who screened all applicants and evaluated their loyalty to Catts.⁴⁹ The governor leaned heavily on Hodges for political advice and gave him a

43. J. S. Smith to Hodges, June 29, 1917, Box 25, Hodges Papers. The Jacksonville *Free Press* had been established during the 1916 campaign as the official Catts' organ. Hodges assumed operation of the paper sometime in 1917, and operated it with the help of A. B. Cargile, editor of the Lake City *Florida Index* as an administration paper.

44. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 13, 15, 1917.

45. T. R. Hodges to Hodges, December 4, 1916, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

46. Hodges to Catts, February 24, 1917, Box 13; Catts to Hodges, April 3, 1917, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

47. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 1, 1919.

48. Undated pamphlet, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

49. Catts to Hodges, January 19, 1917, Box 13; Hodges to McQueen Chaires, January 11, 1917, Box 13; Hodges to Judge Otis R. Parker, January 15, 1917, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

relatively free hand on patronage in northeast Florida.⁵⁰ As reward for his loyalty and service, the governor funneled lucrative legal business to him including many pardons cases.⁵¹ He also appointed Hodges to the state board of control and the state plant board, a dual post which involved higher education and plant diseases.

Catts appointed J. V. Burke as his secretary. J. S. Blicht, a key engineer of the 1916 victory, was named state tax commissioner in 1917. Then when Burke resigned because of eye trouble, Blicht became the governor's secretary at an annual salary of \$3,000. In 1918 he was appointed superintendent of the state prison farm at Raiford. Catts named Jerry W. Carter as state hotel commissioner, but a long legal battle ensued before Carter finally assumed the office in 1919. Bryan Mack received the 3,000 a year post as secretary of the board of control, and Joe Earman, Palm Beach newspaper publisher, and W. W. Flournoy were named to the board. Despite the renomination of J. Clifford R. Foster as Florida adjutant general in the June 1916 Democratic primary, Catts refused to reappoint him, claiming that twelve years was long enough for any man to serve. Instead, he appointed his political ally, J. B. Christian, a Tallahassee watch repairman who had been a boyhood friend of Catts in Alabama. Catts renamed Attorney General Thomas F. West to the state supreme court, and offered the position of attorney general to Hodges. The latter declined, however, since he would have to stand for re-election to a full term in 1918.⁵² Van C. Swearingen, former mayor of Jacksonville, received the appointment, and he won a full term in the 1918 elections. Dr. W. H. Cox, manager of Catts' Tampa headquarters, was made state health officer, and his South Florida campaign secretary, C. T. Frecker, was appointed chairman of the state board of health. The governor also provided for his own family. K. R. Paderick, his son-in-law, became Duval County tax collector; his son, Sidney Catts, Jr., became the third man to fill the adjutant general post; and his daughter, Ruth, replaced Blicht as personal

50. Catts to Hodges, January 4, 1918, Box 25; Catts to Hodges, September 14, 1917, Box 25, Hodges Papers.

51. Hodges to Catts, February 10, 1917, Box 13; Catts to Hodges, September 30, 1918, Box 28; J. L. Kilby to Hodges, April 9, 1917, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

52. Hodges to L. E. Roberson, September 3, 1917, Box 52, Hodges Papers.

secretary. Perusal of twenty-nine boards whose members were appointed by the executive reveals that over 100 were Catts' appointees. During the last year of Governor Park Trammell's administration, 1915-1916, only five members of state boards resigned, and none were suspended. In 1919-1920, while Catts was still "cleaning house," there were fourteen resignations and four suspensions.⁵³

A torrent of abuse was directed at Catts' nepotism and his politically inspired appointments. From a more detached perspective, the analysis is hardly as bleak as the governor's contemporary critics charged. When his political appointees were found to be incompetent or corrupt, Catts summarily dismissed them, as with state health officer W. H. Cox and Adjutant General J. B. Christian. Many of Catts' appointees performed admirably even as judged by the governor's opponents. The accomplishments of Joe Earman as chairman of the board of control and later of the board of health, were universally praised, as were those of Jerry Carter as state hotel inspector, and Blich as superintendent of the state penitentiary at Raiford. W. T. Cash, no friend of the governor criticized Catts' meddling among his appointees to the state road department, but admitted that "on the whole Governor Catts' appointments averaged up to those of other governors, and he introduced a number of men who have since become outstanding."⁵⁴

There were particularly dire predictions about Catts' meddling with the board of control which had charge of the University of Florida, Florida State College for Women, the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, and Florida A. and M. College. In order to gain control of the board, Catts decided not to reappoint the very popular P. K. Yonge of Pensacola, who had served for many years as chairman, because the Knott faction would then have enjoyed a three to two margin over his own cohorts.⁵⁵ Yonge privately proposed that the incumbent board elect a new chairman before the new governor could act, but retiring member Frank E. Jennings dissuaded him with the

53. Compare board memberships listed in Florida, *Report Secretary of State, 1915-1916*, 11-19, *Report Secretary of State, 1919-1920*, 13-26.

54. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida*, 133.

55. F. F. Bingham to P. K. Yonge, June 22, 1917, Box 4, P. K. Yonge Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Hereinafter referred to as Yonge Papers.

admonition that such a move would obviously be playing politics.⁵⁶ This advice may well have prevented radical purges of university administrators by Catts. Both Presidents A. A. Murphree of the University of Florida and Edward Conradi of Florida State College for Women feared the worst with Catts' election. Murphree pleaded in private correspondence, "Ye Gods! Save the State from this horrible political autocracy."⁵⁷ The fears were unfounded, for after Catts obtained the appointment of Bryan Mack as secretary, Earman as chairman, and Hodges, H. J. Brett of DeFuniak Springs, and John B. Sutton of Tampa, as members of the board, he seldom interfered. Earman commented privately that Catts instructed his new appointees to eliminate politics from the board, and Earman guaranteed that this policy would be followed.⁵⁸ Correspondence of board members during the Catts' administration reveals little interference by the governor in their affairs. Governor Catts did honor an election promise by endorsing de-emphasis of classical education in favor of increased stress on vocational training. Hodges reflected the same philosophy on the board, but there is no indication of any Catts' pressure in correspondence with Hodges.⁵⁹

Catts' opponents actually accused him only of the heinous crime of appointing his friends, most of them novices, to public office. But given the emotion generated by the 1916 campaign, the governor certainly would not have retained friends of W. V. Knott in office, nor would he have appointed his political enemies. As for nepotism, which the governor freely admitted, it was a widespread custom of the time, and it was being practiced by every elected cabinet member with the exceptions of Van Swearingen and one other cabinet official whose children were too small to work. Since the Democratic party machinery declared war on Catts and blocked him at every opportunity, he had no alternative but to build a separate political organization.

While the storm over Catts' dismissals and appointments still raged, Tallahassee welcomed the state legislature to town

56. Frank E. Jennings to Yonge, June 11, 1917, Box 4, Yonge Papers.

57. A. A. Murphree to Yonge, July 3, 1917, Box 5; J. G. Kellum to Yonge, May 8, 1917, Box 4, Yonge Papers.

58. Joe L. Earman to Yonge, August 23, 1917, Box 5, Yonge Papers.

59. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 1, 1917; Hodges to Bryan Mack, November 22, 1920, Box 25, Hodges Papers.

in April 1917. According to one observer the new legislature, filled with old line Democratic politicians, hated Catts.⁶⁰ However, many newspapers adopted the attitude that the governor should be given a fair chance; and in perhaps the strangest development of his administration, Willis M. Ball of the conservative *Florida Times-Union* of Jacksonville requested that his paper become the "official organ" for the governor.⁶¹ Whether such an arrangement was reached or not, the *Times-Union* was remarkably sympathetic in its treatment of the Catts' administration. J. B. Hodges researched the attitudes of the new legislators toward the governor's proposals. Senator M. L. Plympton and Representative W. J. Roebuck of Columbia County pledged loyalty to Catts; Representative Arthur Gomez of Key West consistently sponsored the governor's programs in the house; and Senator James E. Alexander of DeLand, a former Catts' classmate at Cumberland University Law School, led his forces in the state senate.⁶²

In his first message to the state legislature, Catts called for statewide prohibition, the abolition of the convict lease system by utilizing prisoners on state roads, a graduated inheritance tax, enlarged power for the state tax commission in order to properly investigate large corporations which were escaping taxation, creation of boys and girls industrial schools for technical education, abolition of the Bryan primary law, adoption of initiative, referendum, and recall legislation, taxation of church property other than churches and parsonages, and adoption of a bank guarantee law to protect depositors from bank failures. He also devoted a major section of this speech to an emotional appeal for prison reform, proposing creation of the office of Friend of the Convict who would become an advocate for prisoners. He noted the paucity of pardons from the state prison system, a trend which he dramatically reversed, possibly because of bribes by convicts. In a special message in May 1917, he called for reapportionment of the state legislature, deploring the inequity caused by overrepresented rural counties.⁶³ His first address to the legislature was well received by the state press.

60. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida*, 132.

61. Catts to Hodges, April 17, 1917, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

62. Hodges to Samuel F. Flood, March 15, 1917, Box 13, Hodges Papers; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 6, 1917.

63. *Florida House Journal*, 1917, 14-34, 1679-80.

The Gainesville *Sun* reflected the attitude of many of the papers when it noted that "the chief executive is better posted concerning conditions in Florida than many supposed him to be."⁶⁴

Despite favorable comment by the press, anti-Catts forces coalesced in the early days of the session.⁶⁵ Demonstrating a noticeable conservative slant, the legislature ignored reapportionment, abolished the state tax commission, largely ignored education and labor reform, as well as most other actions recommended by the governor. J. B. Hodges played a curiously ambivalent role during the 1917 session; he provided Catts with political advice in an attempt to pressure the legislature into passing the bank guarantee bill,⁶⁶ but he hedged on equitable taxation. Hodges was closely identified with J. E. Hall, general counsel for the Georgia Southern and Florida Railroad. Even before switching to Catts in 1916, Hodges was offering advice on the best way to persuade the future governor that railroads were already paying a fair share of taxes.⁶⁷ It is conceivable that his railroad connections even influenced Hodges to climb aboard the Catts' bandwagon. In April 1917, Hodges advised Hall that Catts had no "disposition to urge any legislation that would be adverse to us, except the enlargement of the powers of the Tax Commission" He especially considered Catts sympathetic to the railroads on "organized labor bills."⁶⁸ Catts' proposals for economic reform were even less a threat than Hodges could know; the legislature not only refused the governor's request that the powers of the tax commission be broadened; it even killed the commission. Catts was able to save the commission only by vetoing the measure, a veto upheld in the house by a thirty-seven to thirty-one vote. He also vetoed a bill abolishing the railroad commission.

The 1917 legislature accomplished almost nothing. Catts got little that he wanted except the sale of the hated ship, *Roamer*, provision for a statewide referendum on liquor sales, and creation of state industrial schools. He vetoed numerous bills, including a two-primary law which he considered even more complicated

64. *Gainesville Sun*, quoted in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 7, 1917.

65. W. J. Roebuck to Hodges, April 4, 1917, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

66. Hodges to Roebuck, April 10, 1917, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

67. Hodges to J. E. Hall, June 13, 1916, Box 20, Hodges Papers.

68. Hodges to Hall, April 7, 1917, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

and unworkable that the Bryan act. The legislature spent much of the 1917 session amusing itself by passing resolutions to pay the salaries of state officials dismissed by Catts.

Several Catts' lieutenants in the 1917 legislature received tangible rewards for their faithfulness. When the session ended, Catts appointed Representative W. J. Roebuck a state convict inspector, Senator James E. Alexander circuit judge in the seventh judicial district, and Representative Arthur Gomez county solicitor for Monroe County.

On November 15, 1918, Governor Catts summoned a special session of the legislature to implement the newly adopted amendment to Florida's constitution declaring the state dry. During the special session, Catts reversed himself and endorsed the abolition of the state tax commission, saying that it allowed some counties to make very low assessments. He also reversed his earlier stance on the state railroad commission, advocating abolition because the state could thereby save \$70,000 a year. It is possible that Catts' new position was a result of the influence of Hodges who still maintained his close ties with Florida railroads.⁶⁹ Catts obtained his prohibition enforcement laws and repeal of the tax commission, but the legislature balked on the abolition of the railroad commission.

At the 1919 regular session, Catts renewed his 1917 reform program. To his earlier requests, he added a call for federal repeal of the espionage acts which inhibited free speech, university extension education to eradicate adult illiteracy, equalization of property taxation, a franchise tax on corporations (a measure heatedly opposed by railroads), an inheritance tax, stronger child labor legislation, workman's compensation, creation of a state bureau of labor statistics, compulsory universal education through the eighth grade, and a ceiling on interest rates charged by loan companies.⁷⁰ Most of these reforms died in committee, but the governor was more successful in 1919 than he had been two years earlier. Once again, J. B. Hodges provided valuable help in lobbying legislators.⁷¹ The influential *Florida Times-Union* enthusiastically endorsed most of the governor's proposals.⁷²

69. Hodges to John L. Doggett, December 26, 1917, Box 25, Hodges Papers.

70. *Florida House Journal*, 1919, 9-38.

71. Hodges to Catts, March 14, 1919, Box 32, Hodges Papers.

72. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 10, 1919.

Catts' most notable victories came with the abolition of the convict lease system, reform of state prisons, good highways legislation, and educational reform. The governor had taken a genuine interest in prison conditions, frequently visiting the boys and girls industrial schools and the state prison farm at Raiford. Catts' appointee, J. S. Blich, made Raiford a national model of penal reform. When a committee appointed by the state legislature inspected the farm, they discovered that in only nine months Blich had increased revenue by 100 percent and had cut expenditures by fifty percent. He had replaced forty paid guards with foremen selected from the prisoners, and there had been no escapes. Blich also used trustworthy prisoners as crew leaders, officemen, and watchmen. The superintendent had provided recreational activities, ball fields, and a lecture auditorium. One student of Florida prison reform concludes that the convicts were "better cared for than they had ever been."⁷³ W. T. Cash observed that by the time Blich died, he was considered "one of the outstanding prison superintendents in the United States."⁷⁴

The time seemed propitious for an end to the convict lease system, and Catts backed a bill to use Raiford convicts to construct and maintain state roads, thus obtaining \$3,000,000 in federal funds for good roads. The state would provide matching funds by the use of the convicts who would be maintained by a two mill tax for good roads. After much haggling the bill became law.

Another major Catts' triumph came in educational policy. He enthusiastically favored a proposal for Joe Earman to launch a university extension program to educate those Florida citizens who could not attend college.⁷⁵ His dream was realized in 1919 when the Turnbull university extension act appropriated \$50,000 to launch the program. The concept proved successful from its inception in 1919.⁷⁶ Thanks to the effective lobbying of Earman and pressure by Catts, the 1919 legislature also restored a \$250,000 cut in the requests of the board of control for higher

73. Kathleen Falconer Pratt, "The Development of the Florida Prison System" (Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1949), 101-02.

74. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida*, 132.

75. Catts to *Palm Beach Post*, April 10, 1918, Box 13, Hodges Papers.

76. Florida, *Report of Board of Control, 1920*, 170-72.

education. The board received virtually its entire request of over \$800,000, enabling major improvements in higher education. ⁷⁷ Finally, the legislature passed a law making school attendance compulsory for children between ages six and sixteen. Partly because of the impetus of this law, school enrollment jumped from 148,089 in 1910 to 225,160 by 1920. ⁷⁸

The legislature also passed a constitutional amendment providing for the taxation of intangible property, a child welfare bill, and established a state farm for the "feeble-minded." It rejected Catts' plea for ratification of woman suffrage, reapportionment, labor legislation, and bank guarantees. Compared to the record of former Florida governors, Catts had reason to boast of his 1919 success. Of course, his victories were qualified by the fact that he did not actually "lead" the legislature. Most legislators despised the governor, and reform was more a matter of intersecting political tangents than of executive leadership. But he was not compelled to advocate progressive programs, and when they were passed he could have vetoed them, as Governor Albert W. Gilchrist earlier had vetoed a measure abolishing the convict lease system.

Catts decided in 1919 to try to unseat Florida's popular United States Senator Duncan U. Fletcher. By this time the state party was effectively united against him, and his own political following had been decimated by his emotional outbursts of temper and unwise political blunders. Of his 1916 allies, the governor had dismissed state health officer Cox for malfeasance of office, chairman of the state board of health Frecker for disrupting the board, and Adjutant General Christian for refusing to carry out the governor's orders. Christian's replacement as adjutant general, James McCants, had been an original Catts' supporter but had resigned because of the governor's constant interference. W. W. Flournoy was so alienated from the governor by 1919 that he entered the United States Senate race to siphon votes from Catts. His Columbia County ally, W. W. Phillips, had broken with him over his handling of the state health board, and Catts almost dismissed W. J. Roebuck because of rumors that he drank whiskey. Only the con-

77. *Ibid.*, 13.

78. *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1920*, 12.

stant pacification of Hodges, Jerry Carter, and Joe Earman held the feuding remnants of his coalition together.⁷⁹ Then in December 1920, the final blow fell in an emotional confrontation between Catts and Earman. The event which triggered the breach was Catts' appointment of Edgar C. Thompson as state's attorney in West Palm Beach over Earman's objection. In an editorial entitled "Joe and Sid Have Dissolved," Earman wrote that the last man to talk with Catts was the final influence, that the governor would not honor his commitments, that he lacked "consistency" and "fidelity." "I believed in him," Earman wrote, but "at the finish, he has disappointed me. POLITICS IS HELL."⁸⁰ Hodges tried desperately to patch up the quarrel and miraculously maintained the friendship of both Catts and Earman; but the rift was too deep for healing.⁸¹ Catts ended all hopes of reconciliation by a typical emotional harangue in which he threatened to go to West Palm Beach with a "double-barrel shotgun loaded with buckshot" and have a "final settlement" with Earman.⁸²

The 1920 senatorial returns demonstrated one of the worst political eclipses in Florida history. Catts carried only three counties in his race against Senator Fletcher. The following years brought humiliating charges of peonage, bribery, and counterfitting. Catts weathered all these charges, and with his political influence revived, narrowly lost the governorship in 1924 and again in 1928. Whether judged by the criteria of personal eccentricity, political gimmickry, new departures in politics, reform legislation, religious bigotry, or juvenile temper tantrums, Sidney J. Catts emerged from Florida history bigger than life. He was an individualist who thumbed his nose at the political power structure and won.

79. Hodges to Catts, June 16, 1917, Box 25, Hodges Papers; *St. Petersburg Times*, quoted in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 1, 1918.

80. *Palm Beach Post*, December 12, 1920.

81. Hodges to Earman, December 15, 1920, Box 39; Earman to Herbert L. Dodd, December 16, 1920, Box 39; Catts to Hodges, December 17, 1920, Box 39, Hodges Papers.

82. *New York Times*, December 18, 1920.

NAZI INVASION OF FLORIDA!

by LEON O. PRIOR*

THE UNITED STATES has been invaded only twice by enemy military forces since the War of 1812. Both invasions were by small parties of German saboteurs during World War II. On June 13, 1942, four men came ashore by boat from a submarine at Amagansett, Long Island, New York. Four days later, four other Germans landed along the isolated beach some four miles south of Ponte Vedra, a luxurious resort on the upper east coast of Florida near Jacksonville. These German invasions were a part of the *Abwehr's* Operation Pastorius.¹

In the summer of 1941 the entire *Abwehr* espionage system in the United States had been destroyed by action of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and all of their principle agents had been arrested in the famous "House on 92nd Street" case. German espionage in the United States had been directed by Frederick Joubert Duquesne.² Major General Erwin von Lahousen-Vivremont, head of *Abwehr Abteilung II*, noted in his diary that the arrest of Duquesne's network had been a severe blow to the Fatherland's plans for subversive activity in the United States, and both he and Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, chief of the *Abwehr*, the German military intelligence, had been severely rebuked by Hitler for their incompetency.³ After Pearl Harbor, *Der Fuhrer* demanded that an American sabotage program be launched without delay, and Operation Pastorius was the result.⁴ American civil and military defense, although suspicious of German activity, had no warning or advance intelligence that alerted them to the Atlantic coast sabotage operations.

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1. Named for Franz Daniel Pastorius, the first German immigrant to America who landed in 1683.
2. The motion picture "House on 92nd Street" was subsequently based on the investigation and arrest of the Duquesne network.
3. Charles Wighton and Gunter Peis, *Hitler's Spies and Saboteurs, Based on the German Secret Service War Diary of General Lahousen* (New York, 1958), 19-21.
4. *Ibid.*, 43.

It was assumed that alert wartime beach patrols would detect and prevent any enemy landing or invasion. In those grim war days, with the numerous sinkings of United States vessels by German submarines, a constant patrol of the beaches was maintained by air, sea, jeep, and horseback.

The Florida and Long Island sabotage parties consisted of four German marines each. Their primary objective was to land with explosive and incendiary materials and to disperse to various parts of the country. On July 4, the two groups planned to rendezvous in a hotel in Cincinnati to coordinate their sabotage operations.⁵ Their secondary objective was to carry out the *Abwehr's* plan for Operation Pastorius. This was a two-fold mission. The first aim was wholesale industrial sabotage of aluminum and light metal plants, power plants, and water and railroad facilities throughout the east. They planned to destroy Aluminum Company of America plants in Tennessee, East St. Louis, Illinois, and Massena, New York; Hell Gate Bridge in New York City; Pennsylvania Railroad's eastern terminal in Newark, New Jersey; Horseshoe Curve of the Pennsylvania Railroad near Altoona, Pennsylvania; New York City's water supply system; and the hydroelectric power plants at Niagara Falls, New York.⁶ The second goal was to arouse popular feeling against German-Americans through nuisance and terror explosions in department stores and railroad and bus terminals. It was hoped that antagonism against German-Americans would bond this group into a fifth column movement in the United States and at the same time the activity would demoralize the American population and war effort.⁷

All of the Germans selected to invade the United States had lived and worked in this country, and they had returned to the Fatherland shortly before the beginning of the war. The leader of the Florida landing party was Edward John Kerling, a thirty-three year old mechanic. Born at Weisbaden, Germany, in 1909, he had joined the Nazi Party in 1928, the year before he came to America. He worked in a Brooklyn packing plant, was chauffeur for a time for Ely Culbertson, the bridge expert, and then secured employment with a New York oil company. He married

5. Alan Hynd, *Passport to Treason* (New York, 1943), 303.

6. *Ibid.*, 301.

7. George J. Dasch, *Eight Spies Against America* (New York, 1959), 73.

a girl who worked as a maid, and he lived with her in New York until 1939. He became very active in the German-American Bund and visited Germany several times during the 1930s. In 1939, he purchased a yawl, the "Lekala" and he and Herman Neubauer planned to sail it to Germany. However, the Coast Guard seized the vessel when it became waterlogged near Wilmington, North Carolina. The government accused the owners of planning to furnish supplies to German submarines operating in the area. Kerling managed to return to Germany by way of Lisbon in July 1940, and he played an active role in the Nazi party. He had always disliked Americans, believing that they looked down on him. Now he embraced with enthusiasm the concept of a "super race" which included himself.

Herbert Hans Haupt was an American citizen through the naturalization of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Hans Max Haupt of Chicago. They had brought him to the United States from Stettin when he was five years old. He received his education in the Chicago public schools where he had been an ROTC cadet. His father was a loyal Nazi and young Haupt drilled with the Bund. He was an apprentice optical worker until June 1941, when he fled to Mexico to avoid marriage with his Chicago girl friend after she became pregnant. The German consul there provided him with funds and arranged his passage to Germany by way of Japan. He was twenty-two when he "volunteered" for the American sabotage mission. Werner Thiel was born at Dortmund, Germany, in 1907. He came to the United States at twenty and secured employment at a hospital in Hammond, Indiana. Later, he became a toolmaker in Detroit and worked at miscellaneous jobs in Philadelphia and Los Angeles. While in Detroit he was active in the German-American Bund and in the Friends of New Germany. He returned to Germany in 1939 by way of Japan and Siberia. Herman Neubauer, age thirty-two and a native of Hamburg, entered the United States under the immigration quota while employed as a seaman aboard the *S. S. Leviathan*. Later he worked at hotels in Hartford and Chicago. His Nazi sympathies drew him back to Germany in 1940.

Recruitment and training of the saboteurs was begun in the spring of 1942 by Lieutenant Walter Kappe, a Nazi intelligence officer who was working in collaboration with the *Abwehr*. Kappe, a German-American, had been a reporter for several

German language newspapers in New York and Cincinnati and by the late 1930s was serving as New York press chief for the German-American Bund. For something less than two months, the men attended a sabotage school at Quentz Lake at Brandenburg, forty miles west of Berlin.⁸ It was a crash program and the training was technical and diversified. The men learned how to blow up bridges, railroad lines, electric power lines, and blast furnaces, and to use various types of fuses, detonators, and incendiary and explosive devices.⁹ They studied American magazines and newspapers, and brushed up on American slang and song hits. Admiral Canaris, who was later to be hanged for his part in the 1944 plot against Hitler, was never very convinced about the skill of these men or the success of their training, and he expressed skepticism about the whole mission. When, at the end of their training course, he signed their orders, he was quoted as saying, "This will cost these poor men their lives."

Each man was given a cover identity which was supported by a complete set of forged documents prepared by the *Abwehr*. They included a passport, selective service card, ration coupons, driver's license, and other identifying data. The training was completed on May 22, 1942, and the night before there was a "graduation" celebration complete with music and wines in a banquet room near the Tiergarten in Berlin. Lieutenant Kappe and General Lahousen were present, but Admiral Canaris had declined an invitation. Perhaps he was still fearful as to the future of the program.

The men were moved from Germany to the great submarine base at Lorient, France, but prior to sailing, they enjoyed a two day stopover in Nazi-occupied Paris at a hotel on the Rue de L'Opera. Young Haupt got into a midnight row with a street-walker, and the fight ended in screams and curses. Georg Johann Dasch, a member of the planned Long Island landing party, openly told a barman of their mission, and he and his friends ended a night of drinking in a free-for-all. The two groups sailed four days apart. On May 26 Kerling and his men boarded the U-584, and were soon plowing westward across the Atlantic to Florida. They landed in the early dawn of June 17.¹⁰

8. Wighton and Peis, *Hitler's Spies and Saboteurs*, 45.

9. *Ibid.*, 49.

10. *Ibid.*, 57.

This lonely beach area south of the Ponte Vedra resort had been specially selected because it was believed to be sparsely inhabited.

The saboteurs were rowed ashore in an inflatable rubber boat by one of the submarine crew. A line was attached to the craft so that it could be pulled back if the surf was too rough. This was one of the critical points of the operation; the invaders were now cut off from the Fatherland without even a shortwave radio. The men were clad only in bathing suits, although they also wore official German marine caps bearing the swastika and a spread eagle insignia. This partial uniform was a precautionary measure, or so the Nazis believed. If the landing was unsuccessful and the men were captured, they planned to claim that they were an enemy military invading force and would demand to be treated as prisoners of war. Otherwise without any military appearance, they knew their capture would mean trial and almost certain execution as foreign agents.

The saboteurs brought ashore four large wooden waterproof boxes of explosives and incendiary and detonating devices; two short-handled, military trench shovels; four American made suitcases containing United States-made clothing; forged identification cards; a large amount of United States currency; and a small rubber ball. The bulk of the currency, \$70,000, plus \$1,000 in small bills, was carried by Kerling in two money bags. The other members of the party had money belts each containing \$5,000 in fifty dollar bills and \$2,000 in small bills.¹¹

The landing was without incident or discovery. The Germans, still wearing their wet swim suits and their German military caps, hauled their boxes up on the beach away from the high tide line. Here in the sand dunes, near the ruins of an abandoned house and about 200 feet east of Highway AIA, they dug a large pit and buried the explosives. Then, some thirty feet directly north, they buried their caps and shovels. Later, when they were established in the United States, they planned to return in automobiles and haul the gear away.

The men started walking north along the beach toward Jacksonville Beach. They frolicked in the surf and played catch with the rubber ball. Thus they hoped that if nearby residents

11. Dasch, *Eight Spies Against America*, 89.

or a shore patrol happened to notice them, there would be nothing about them to arouse suspicions. This was a public beach, and it would appear, they thought, that they were just four young men out for their morning exercise. It was one of the Nazis' many small touches, and as it turned out they were not challenged and no one seems to have noticed anything unusual about them or their appearance. When they reached Jacksonville Beach they slipped clothing on over their swim suits and walked to the main highway where they boarded a bus into Jacksonville. Apparently they aroused no suspicion here either since neither the driver nor any of the bus passengers reported them to civil authorities.

Arriving in downtown Jacksonville, they enjoyed a large American breakfast—one of the few benefits, as it turned out, of their mission. Kerling, using the alias Edward J. Kelley, registered for himself and Neubauer that afternoon at the Seminole Hotel at the corner of Hogan and Forsyth streets. The men were assigned to room 402. They both checked out the following morning, June 18. The other Germans, Thiel and Haupt, registered at the Mayflower Hotel, two blocks from the Seminole, at Bay and Julia streets. Thiel only signed the register at the Mayflower, giving his name as William Thomas of New York City. They paid cash in advance for rooms 716 and 718, and both checked out early the next morning. The hotel records revealed that Thiel was charged for one telephone call to room 402 at the Seminole Hotel. Subsequent interrogation of the employees at the two hotels revealed that the saboteurs had aroused no suspicions either by action or accent.¹²

After leaving Jacksonville, Kerling and Thiel went to New York where they were apprehended on June 24. Neubauer and Haupt travelled to Chicago where they were taken into custody by the F.B.I. on June 27. All arrests were made quietly and secretly. The information leading to the identification and arrest of the Florida saboteurs had developed through investigation of the Amagansett landing party. The Long Island group had landed on June 13, and thirty hours later, Dasch, the leader, was calling the F.B.I.'s New York office. He identified himself as Frank Daniel Pastorius of Germany, and said that he had im-

12. Alan Hynd, *Passport to Treason*, 294-95.

portant information, but would have to get in touch with the F.B.I. office in Washington. It sounded like a crank call, but it was noted by the agent receiving it nevertheless. Dasch went to Washington, and after checking into the Mayflower Hotel, he called the F.B.I. and asked to be connected with J. Edgar Hoover. That was not possible, but the F.B.I. men arranged a meeting. Dasch convinced them of his identity when he dropped the \$80,000 supplied by the *Abwehr* in front of them. Dasch alerted the F.B.I. to the planned landing in Florida and he identified Kerling as the leader there.¹³ The Florida invaders were still at sea at that time.

Because of Dasch's warning the four Florida invaders were under almost constant surveillance by F.B.I. agents after they arrived in Chicago and New York. Haupt was aided in Chicago by his parents, by his uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Froehling, and by Otto Wergin, a Chicago Bund member. He also visited his former girl friend and a bartender, both of whom later turned him in. In the meantime he was enjoying movies, fun, and romance. At one point, Haupt astounded the agent following him by brazenly wandering into the Chicago F.B.I. office to inquire if he was in any difficulty over his selective service status. The agent on duty, who had been hastily warned by radio, assured Haupt that he was not wanted, which was true enough at that moment. Haupt was arrested later at a roadside inn. All of those who had incriminated themselves by aiding Haupt were also apprehended. They were subsequently tried, convicted, and sentenced to prison terms, and after the war they were deported to Germany.¹⁴ Herman Neubauer had followed Haupt to Chicago, and he was arrested on June 27 at the Sheridan Plaza Hotel.

Meanwhile, in New York, the F.B.I. was watching Kerling's close friends, his wife, and his mistress. They picked up his trail as he visited a friend, and then followed him to Central Park, where, as agents watched at a discreet distance, he embraced his mistress in what he believed was the privacy of a

13. For the story of the Long Island landing group, and the apprehension and trial of all the invaders, see W. A. Swanberg, "The Spies who Came in from the Sea," *American Heritage* (April 1970), 66-69, 87-91.

14. Dasch, *Eight Spies Against America*, 115.

cluster of bushes. Shortly afterwards federal agents arrested him in a nearby bar.

On June 24 Kerling was taken from New York to Jacksonville. The following day, in handcuffs and leg irons, he was taken to the landing point south of Ponte Vedra where he glumly pointed out the burial place of the explosive boxes. He refused for some curious reason to disclose the location of the German marine caps and the shovels, claiming that they had been thrown into the ocean somewhere between Ponte Vedra and Jacksonville Beach.

Under the direction and supervision of Donald L. Parsons, a munitions expert, the explosives were dug out of the sand. The crater was then filled in and carefully covered over and the boxes were transported to Jacksonville, and from there to the F.B.I. laboratory in Washington for examination. The waterproof wooden explosives boxes were each about the size of a medium-sized citrus crate. They contained a varied assortment and number of explosives and detonating devices. There were several hundred small blocks of TNT about the size of an old-fashioned bar of laundry soap. There were also a small number of pieces of TNT cut and blackened like lumps of soft coal. Other items included large coils of fuse, electric blasting caps, electric matches, and safety fuse lighters that would set off a charge of explosives without any telltale flare that could lead to premature discovery. There was a sulphuric acid incendiary device that could be carried like a pen. It could be laid anywhere and set off easily by breaking a small glass capsule that would release the acid and promptly start a fire. Another item in this Florida cache was a Swiss watch mechanism that could be set from one to ten days to touch off a detonator or incendiary device.

The F.B.I. activities at Ponte Vedra and in Jacksonville were carried on with great secrecy. Some of the saboteurs were still at large and under surveillance at the time in Chicago. Premature publicity would have caused them to flee, and it could have disrupted observation of their Chicago contacts and development of necessary evidence for prosecution for treason. The F.B.I. also had reason to believe that these saboteurs would make other contacts and time was needed to identify and pin down these suspects. The leaders of both the Florida and Long Island groups carried handkerchiefs upon which were written, in

invisible ink, names and addresses of trusted contacts in the United States. There was also some suspicion that three other saboteurs might be arriving from Germany by submarine, and premature disclosure of the arrest of the early parties and a Florida investigation might scare them off or make their apprehension more difficult.

It was difficult during the earliest stages of the investigation to maintain secrecy. This was particularly true when the party returned to Jacksonville Beach and Ponte Vedra with Kerling. Military personnel regularly patrolled the beach, using airplanes, jeeps, and horses. Although the F.B.I. party on the beach, including Kerling, numbered about twelve men and three auto mobiles, which were parked on AIA, fortunately the group was not discovered by the patrolling forces, although they passed close by on several occasions.

Kerling was returned to New York City from Jacksonville on the evening of June 25. Several days later on July 1, the writer, in Miami, received a telephone call from the F.B.I. office in New York, advising that Kerling had finally confessed that the marine caps and shovels were, in fact, buried in the sand a short distance from the point where the explosives had been found. Instructions were to proceed to Jacksonville immediately, and, then to the beach with another agent to locate this additional evidence. Early on the morning of July 2, the search began. Using a long-pointed iron bar, the two men involved spent several frantic hours probing the sand while at the same time trying to avoid the beach patrols from noticing them. At last a buried shovel was discovered. Another shovel and four caps were eventually recovered. Photographs of the entire area, the crater in which the shovels and caps were buried, and the articles themselves were taken. All of the items were marked for identification so that they could be used as evidence in the forthcoming trials in Washington, New York, and Chicago.

J. Edgar Hoover had kept Attorney General Francis Biddle posted on all details of the case, and the latter reported to President Roosevelt who was following all of the developments with interest. The defendants were charged with violation of the eighty-first and eighty-second Articles of War and the Law of War, and specifically the sections relating to espionage, sabotage, and conspiracy. A directive from the President on July 2,

1942, ordered their trial by a military commission of seven generals.¹⁵ He had told the attorney general that he would not authorize trial by a civil court. Two-thirds of the court would be necessary for conviction and sentence, and the President as commander-in-chief would make the final decision. There would be no appeal.

The trial of the eight saboteurs began on July 8, 1942, in a large room on the fifth floor of the justice department building in Washington. The windows were covered with black curtains and reporters were excluded. The reporters were offended by the heavy cloak of secrecy. The defendants were held in the District of Columbia jail, and they were transported daily by armored van, guarded by Tommy guns, from their cells to the court. The routes were changed with each trip.

The trial took three weeks. The case against the eight was presented carefully, and there was little doubt of the outcome. Of all of them, only Kerling did not try to implicate anyone else; he remained a Nazi to the end. Haupt swore that he had gone along with the plan out of fear, and Thiel said he thought Quentz Farm was only a training center for propagandists. He had joined in the plot, he implied, in order to get back into America. Neubauer insisted that it was his soldier's duty to carry out his orders. "As a soldier you are not supposed to think," he said, "and I did not."

On August 3 the generals gave their verdict-death for all eight defendants-to the President. On Saturday, August 8, the White House issued the following statement to the press:

The President has completed his review of the findings and sentences of the military commission. The President has approved the judgment of the commission that all of the prisoners were guilty and that they be given the death sentence by electrocution.

However, there was a unanimous recommendation by the Commission, concurred in by the Attorney General and the Judge Advocate General of the Army, that the sentence of two of the prisoners be commuted to life imprisonment because of their assistance to the Government of the United States in the apprehension and conviction of the others."¹⁶

15. The author testified against the saboteurs in their treason trials. He also served as guard for Ernest Peter Burger.

16. Wighton and Peis, *Hitler's Spies and Saboteurs*, 79.

Georg Johann Dasch received thirty years and was sent to the federal prison at Danbury, Connecticut; Burger was sentenced to life. The four saboteurs who had landed at Ponte Vedra Beach were electrocuted by the United States Army on the afternoon of August 8, 1942, at Washington. Haupt was the first to die at a little past noon. After an autopsy at Walter Reed Hospital the bodies were buried in the District of Columbia Potter's Field at Blue Plains. Operation Pastorius which the Nazis had hoped would make history, had become instead merely a fascinating historical footnote.

CHATEAUBRIAND'S FLORIDA AND HIS JOURNEY TO AMERICA

by E. P. PANAGOPOULOS *

THE AMERICAN WRITINGS of Chateaubriand have nearly been forgotten. Despite the beauty of their poetic prose and the power of their descriptions, historians now consider them obsolete. In 1968 the bicentennial year of his birth was celebrated in other parts of the world with special conferences and impressive publications, but in the United States no periodical commemorated the event, and no paper re-evaluating Chateaubriand's contribution was read in any of the numerous historical meetings.¹ And yet, Chateaubriand was not just another author. During the first half of the nineteenth century his writings played a great part in shaping French, if not European ideas about America. In the Parisian literary salons, eager young intellectuals tried to satisfy their insatiable curiosity about the New World by listening to his exotic tales. Among them was Alexis de Tocqueville, Chateaubriand's distance cousin.² And long after Chateaubriand's death in 1848, Europeans who visited this country still carried with them preconceptions and clichés derived from his writings.

America never again quite captivated the imagination of a major European literary figure so much as it did that of Chateaubriand. His important romances are staged in the American wilderness. His *Atala*, the sad and melancholy Indian tale, which played in France the same role that Goethe's *Werther* had played in Germany, was not only staged, but, as Chateaubriand asserted, it was even written "under the Indian tepees." His various discourses on politics, history, peace, war, revolutions, religion, on the great wonders he saw in his long journeys, and even his romantic literary outbursts overflow with

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1. A new translation of Chateaubriand's writings, *Travels in America*, by Richard Switzer, was published by the University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, in 1969.
2. George Wilson Pierson, *Tocqueville in America* (New York, 1966), 2.

the esthetic experiences resulting from his travels in the United States. No matter where Chateaubriand stood, whether on the Alps or by the Egyptian pyramids, in Greece or in Jerusalem, in England or in France, memories and poetic images from America sprung to the fore to offer him a metaphor, a symbol, a standard of comparison, or a way to illuminate an idea. In this manner, even a belated *in memoriam* commentary on his works related to America, and particularly to Florida, seems appropriate.

Francois Rene Chateaubriand's involvement with America began in the spring of 1791, when he suddenly found himself possessed of an ambitious desire to contribute to the discovery of an American Northwest passage and to explore the Arctic Ocean and the North Pole. He was then twenty-three years old. His humanistic education was the best a young nobleman could receive. His military training was adequate. His correspondence to the emotionalism of the new literary mood, perfect. And his romantic soul was perfectly attuned to this adventurous expression of his creative ego. This was the time when in France, as he stated, "the Revolution was marching in grand pace. The principles on which she was founded were mine [too], but I detested the violence, which had dishonored them. I was happy to go and search for an independence more conformable to my taste, more sympathetic to my character."³ So he left for the United States, arriving on July 10, 1791; five months later, on December 10, 1791, he left America to return to France.

Reading Chateaubriand's *Voyage en Amerique*, his *Memoires d' Outre-tombe*, and the innumerable references to the New World in his works, one wonders how it was humanly possible for a person to visit so many places and live so many experiences within only five months. From his own assertions, Chateaubriand's itinerary in America looks like this: he landed in Baltimore, visited Philadelphia, went on to New York and Boston, and then returned to New York. Afterwards he was off to Albany, Lake Ontario, and Lake Erie, down to Pittsburgh, and from there along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the Natchez, Mississippi area. Next he journeyed into Florida, traveling as

3. This is a free translation from F. R. Chateaubriand, *Oeuvres completes de Chateaubriand*, 12 vols. (Paris, 1827), VI, 45. Hereinafter referred to as *Oeuvres*.

far east as present-day Alachua County and New Smyrna before returning via West Florida to the Mississippi and Natchez. From there, by way of Nashville and Knoxville, he crossed the mountains and travelled as far as Salem, North Carolina. He then turned northwest, crossed the Ohio River, and reached Chillicothe, Ohio. From there he went directly east to Philadelphia, and then to Baltimore where he took ship to Europe.

According to one of his biographers, Andre Maurois, "Chateaubriand spent only five months in America, but what does a great writer need? An incense-breathing night, an Indian encampment, a few teeming and motley visions, the clang and splendor of an exotic vocabulary. Of these he can create a world."⁴ This may be so. But the problem is that the "world" Chateaubriand had created was a historical one. It is true, unlike most of his compatriots, he was more interested in the physical than in the human landscape of America. In dealing with it, however, he did not rest content with descriptions of majestic waterfalls, of the forests' imposing "kingdoms of solitude," of the desert's enchantment, and of the profound sentiments evoked by the virgin American continent. He did something more. He reported in detail on the flora and fauna he encountered, detailed enough to excite readers trained in phytology or zoology, and in several short chapters, he described beavers, bear, deer, buffaloes, wolves, foxes, fish, snakes, and many other animal and fish species. When he finally dealt with the crown of the American wilderness, the "man of nature," as he called the Indian, his elaborate discussions could satisfy any specialist of his time. He described Indian tribal organization, family, social customs, economy, religion, medicine, languages, dances and games, the Indian art of war, and their political organization. Thus, he analyzed the "despotism in the state of nature" of the Natchez; the "limited monarchy in the state of nature" of the Moscogules; and the "republic in the state of nature" of the Hurons and the Iroquois. In fact, it is difficult to find an aspect of Indian life not treated with scholarly pretensions by Chateaubriand.

According to his account he joined an Indian party and travelled through North Florida as far as Cuscowilla, the Indian

4. Andre Maurois, *Chateaubriand: Poet, Statesman, Lover* (New York, 1938), 44.

town near Micanopy and present-day Gainesville. He described Cuscowilla as "a Siminole [*sic.*] village, . . . located on a chain of gravelly hills about half a mile from a lake; the fir-trees, separate from one another and with only their tops touching, divide the village from the lake: through their trunks, as through columns, one can see the huts, the lake, and its rivers on the one side of the forest, and on the other side, the prairies. It is almost like the sea, the plains, and the ruins of Athens that can be seen through the isolated columns of the temple of Olympian Zeus." ⁵ It was here that he first heard of the Fountain of Youth, although he asked sceptically, "Who wants to live again?" ⁶ Of Apalachucla [*sic.*], which he visited enroute back to Natchez, he wrote: "It will be difficult to imagine anything more beautiful than the surroundings of Apalachucla [*sic.*], the village of peace." ⁷

Florida excited his imagination. He described its natural beauties and noted the "remarkable species of hybiscus," azaleas, magnolias, papayas, and the other flora, from the great cypress trees to the vegetation of the savannas. The large variety of fish and animals impressed him, but nothing fascinated him quite as much as the "crocodiles, floating like trunks of trees." ⁸ He spoke of them repeatedly, often with the interest of a zoologist. He noted that "the female does not distinguish her own eggs from those of another female; she guards all the egg-nests under the sun. Isn't it something entirely singular to find the communal children of Plato's Republic among the crocodiles?" ⁹ The heavy Florida rains startled him. He wrote: "the cataracts of the abyss open; the drops of rain are not separated: a curtain of water connects the clouds and the earth." ¹⁰

In Florida he discovered some Indian ruins on a mound by a lake near a grove of magnolia trees. The fragments of broken vases and other utensils scattered here and there, heaped together with fossils, shells, petrified plants, and ossified animals, created in him a strange feeling. "The contrast of these ruins with the youthfulness of nature, these monuments of men in a desert which we believed that we were the first to penetrate,

5. Chateaubriand, *Oeuvres*, VI, 98.

6. Chateaubriand, *Memoires d' Outre-tombe*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1895), I, 441. Hereinafter referred to as *Memoires*.

7. Chateaubriand, *Oeuvres*, VI, 99.

8. *Ibid.*, 94.

9. *Ibid.*, 97.

10. *Ibid.*, 98.

caused a startling impression in the heart and spirit.”¹¹ He found the Indians of Florida different from those of Canada. The men, in Florida, were larger in size, while generally the women were small. According to an Indian legend that Chateaubriand had heard, one could see the most beautiful women in the world in Florida, and this intrepid French traveler met two of these beautiful ladies. He found their elegance striking, and he used them as the prototypes for his Atala and Celuta, the two heroines in his most beautiful romances.¹² Thus, Florida was not just another place among the many he had visited all over the world; it was a unique experience for him that found an expression in most of his important works.

Chateaubriand offered his impressions of America, not as the product of his poetic imagination, but as his own experience. The world he described was one of solid facts, the authenticity of which he strongly defended. However, while he was still alive, some scholars expressed doubts about the accuracy of his descriptions. In 1827, the *American Quarterly Review* supported the argument that Chateaubriand had never visited the Mississippi River, which he had so vividly described. Later, others maintained that he had relied heavily upon literary sources and not upon his own experience in composing his American travel accounts. In 1903, after scholarly research of Chateaubriand's writings, Professor Joseph Bedier made a devastating analysis of the 1791 voyage to America. Gilbert Chinard and other historians were also critical, and it was obvious that Chateaubriand was presenting a provocative case in historiography. The re-evaluation of Chateaubriand's American writings has continued over the years.¹³

11. *Ibid.*, 92.

12. Chateaubriand, *Memoires*, I, 442.

13. Joseph Bedier, *Etudes critiques* (Paris, 1903), is an indispensable study for the understanding of Chateaubriand's American writings; Gilbert Chinard, *Notes sur le Voyage de Chateaubriand en Amerique, juillet-decembre, 1791* (Berkeley, 1915); Chinard, *L' exotisme americain dans l' oeuvre de Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1918); Chinard, *Chateaubriand, Francois Rene, Les Natchez, livres I et II: Contribution a l'etudes des sources de Chateaubriand* (Berkeley, 1919); Ernest Dick, *Plagiats de Chateaubriand* (Bern, 1905); Dick, "Quelques Sources Ignorees du Voyage en Amerique," *Revue d' Histoire Litteraire de la France*, XIII (1906), 228-45; Madison Stathers, *Chateaubriand et l' Amerique* (Grenoble, 1905). The more important recent studies include: Manuel de Dieguez, *Chateaubriand, ou le poete face a l' histoire* (Paris, 1963); Richard Switzer, ed., *Chateaubriand: Voyage en Amerique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964); Pierre Moreau, *Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1967); August Viatte,

Professor Bedier proved first that Chateaubriand had traveled only as far as Niagara Falls. There is some evidence, however, that he may have gotten to Pittsburgh, but never down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the Natchez area, Louisiana, and Florida. All of his "impressions" and descriptions of the Old Southwest and Florida were taken from other authors. Bedier also dealt with Chateaubriand's sources. Though many travelers had published books about the West and the South since the end of the seventeenth century, five of these authors are distinctly recognizable in Chateaubriand's work: Francois-Xavier de Charlevoix,¹⁴ William Bartram,¹⁵ Jonathan Carver,¹⁶ Le Page du Pratz,¹⁷ and J. E. Bonnet.¹⁸ In page after page and in parallel columns, where the text of the original author was compared with Chateaubriand's version, Bedier demonstrated the source of his descriptions.¹⁹

Other scholars suggested additional works that Chateaubriand had utilized liberally. Among them, Ernest Dick, in his doctoral research²⁰ and in an article,²¹ revealed that Chateaubriand's description of the Great Lakes and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers came from a book by J. C. Beltrami, a former Italian judge and traveler,²² and from one by Sir Alexander MacKenzie.²³ Professor Gilbert Chinard noted that Chateau-

"Chateaubriand et ses precurceurs francais d' Amerique," *Etudes Francaises*, IV (1968), 253-61; Armand Hoog, "Du mythe d' hier au reel d' aujourd'hui," *ibid.*, 349-60; Raymond Lebeque, "Realites et resultants du voyage de Chateaubriand en Amerique," *Revue d' Histoire Litteraire de la France*, LXVIII (novembre-decembre 1968), 905-33; Lebeque, "Chateaubriand, l'historien et l' artiste," *Annales de Bretagne*, LXXV (September 1968); Christian Bazin, *Chateaubriand en Amerique* (Paris, 1969).

14. Especially, Francois-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Journal de Trevoux: Histoire et description generale de la Nouvelle France, avec le journal historique d' un voyage fait par order du roi dans l' Amerique septentrionale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1744).
15. William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country* (Philadelphia, 1791).
16. Jonathan Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768* (London, 1778).
17. Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758).
18. J. E. Bonnet, *Les Etats-Unis d' Amerique a la fin du XVII^e siecle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1795).
19. Bedier, *Etudes critiques*, 199-287.
20. Dick, *Plagiats de Chateaubriand*, 1-53.
21. Dick, "Quelques Sources Ignorees du Voyage en Amerique," 228-45.
22. J. C. Beltrami, *La decouverte de la source du Mississippi et de la Riviere Sanglante* (New Orleans, 1824).
23. Alexander MacKenzie, *History of the Fur Trade* (London, 1801).

briand had relied heavily upon Baron de Lahontan's works,²⁴ and had "borrowed" large parts of Pere Lafitau's study of the American Indians.²⁵

Chateaubriand, in both the *Voyage en Amerique* and in the *Memoires d' Outre-tombe*, made general references to most of these writers and to many others as well. In the case of William Bartram for instance, he stated: "Immediately after the description of Louisiana, some extracts from Bartram's voyages are included, which I have translated with a great deal of care. With these extracts are inter-mixed my rectifications, my observations, my reflections, my additions, my own descriptions But, the whole [outcome] of my work is entangled in such a way that it is almost impossible to either separate or recognize what is mine from what is Bartram's. I leave then this section the way it is, under the title 'Description of certain sites in the interior of the Floridas.' " ²⁶ But the critical reader finds these references inadequate; the impression that Chateaubriand offered a picture of America as he himself experienced it is very disturbing.

A trained historian today might describe Chateaubriand as a plagiarist. One might even question the Frenchman's scholarly ethics. One of the most charming passages in the *Memoirs* describes Chateaubriand's meeting with George Washington. Carrying a letter of introduction from the Marquis de la Rouerie, who had fought under Washington in the Revolution, as soon as he arrived in Philadelphia, Chateaubriand went to visit the President. He learned that Washington was away, but Chateaubriand wrote that he stayed on in Philadelphia until the President returned, and this is how he described their meeting:

When I went to carry my letter of recommendation to him, I found once more the simplicity of the ancient Roman.

A small house, resembling the neighboring houses, was the palace of the President of the United States: no sentries, no footmen even. I knocked, and a young maid-servant opened

24. Baron de Lahontan, *Nouveaux voyages de M. le baron de Lahontan dans l' Amerique septentrionale*, 2 vols. (La Haye, 1703); de Lahontan, *Dialogues curieux entre l' auteur et un sauvage de bon sens qui a voyagé* (La Haye, 1703).

25. Pere Lafitau, *Moeurs de sauvages americains, comparees aux moeurs des anciens temps*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1724). Chinard discusses this matter in *Chateaubriand, Francois Rene', Les Natchez, livres I et II*, 51-54.

26. Chateaubriand, *Oeuvres*, VI, 91.

the door. I asked if the general was at home; she replied that he was in. I said I had a letter for him. The servant asked my name, which is difficult to pronounce in English and which she could not remember. She then said softly, "walk in, Sir," and led the way down one of those narrow passages which serve as an entrance-hall to English houses; she showed me into a parlour where she asked me to wait until the general came After a few minutes, the general entered the room: tall in stature, of a calm and cold rather than noble bearing, he resembles his engraved portraits. I handed him my letter in silence; he opened it and glanced at the signature which he read aloud exclaiming: "Colonel Armand!" This was the name by which he knew the Marquis de la Rouerie and by which the latter had signed himself.

We sat down. I explained to him as best as I could the object of my journey. He replied in monosyllables in English and French, and listened to me with a sort of astonishment. I remarked this and said to him, with some little animation: "But it is less difficult to discover the Northwest Passage, than to create a people, as you have done."

"Well, well, young man!" he explained, giving me his hand. He invited me to dinner for the next day, and we parted. I took great care to keep the appointment. We were only five or six guests at table I left my host at ten o'clock in the evening, and never saw him again Such was my meeting with the citizen soldier, the liberator of a world . . . my name perhaps did not linger one whole day in his memory: well for me, nevertheless, that his looks fell upon me! I felt warmed by them, for the rest of my life: there is virtue in a great man's looks.²⁷

To the impressions left on Europeans by Franklin and Jefferson, and to the other accounts about early American leaders, now was added Chateaubriand's description of Washington. It dealt with unimportant incidents, but it was so forceful a description that it strengthened Europe's image of Washington as an outstanding man of classical simplicity and republican ethos. All well and good, but there is one disturbing element; it now is certain that Chateaubriand never met George Washington at all. Scholars who have studied this incident all agree that during the whole period of Chateaubriand's stay in Philadelphia,

27. Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, transl., *The Memoirs of Francois Rene Vicomte de Chateaubriand, Sometime Ambassador to England*, 6 vols. (London, 1902), I, 210.

Washington was absent from the city.²⁸ There is among the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress the letter of Marquis de la Rouerie to the President.²⁹ But there is another letter written by Washington on September 5, 1791, to la Rouerie, noting that Chateaubriand had perhaps deposited the letter at his residence but had departed the following day for Niagara. "I did not see him," Washington wrote.³⁰

Added to these suspicious circumstances, there are several misleading inaccuracies scattered in Chateaubriand's works, which, though not on important subjects, are still disturbing. For instance, in his *Memoires d' Outre-tombe*, Chateaubriand describes Florida, which he had visited, according to his account, and he mentions the New Smyrna colony: "After the Morean insurrection in 1770, some Greek families took refuge in Florida; they could still believe themselves in that Ionian climate which seems to have relented, together with men's passions: at [New] Smyrna, in the evening, nature sleeps like a courtesan wearied with love."³¹ Later, in his *Itineraire de Paris a Jerusalem*, he describes Megara, a town in Greece, where he noted a variety of chicken he had seen before in America, but which his host thought a native of his own locality. Chateaubriand thought to enlighten him:

I told him that I had travelled in the country of these birds, a far away country, located beyond the sea, and that there were in that country Greeks established in the middle of the woods among the savages. In fact, certain Greeks, tired of oppression went over to Florida where the fruits of liberty made them forget the memories of the native land "the ones who had tasted that sweet fruit could not any more renounce it, but they wanted to live among the lotus-eaters and they forgot their country."³²

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28. Bedier, *Etudes critiques*, 178-84, points out it was impossible for the two men to have met during those days; M. Martino, "A propos du Voyage en Amerique de Chateaubriand," *Revue d' Histoire Litteraire L'exotism americain de la France*, XVI (1909), 467; Chinard, *L'exotism americain dans l'oeuvre de Chateaubriand*, 45-48.
29. Emma Kate Armstrong, "Chateaubriand's America," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXII (1907), 345-70.
30. Bazin, *Chateaubriand en Amerique*, 75; Lebegue, "Realities et resultats du voyage de Chateaubriand en Amerique," 906.
31. de Mattos, *The Memoirs of Francois Rene Vicomte de Chateaubriand, Sometime Ambassador to England*, I, 243.
32. "Itineraire de Paris A Jerusalem," in Chateaubriand, *Oeuvres*, V, 172-73. The quotation in Chateaubriand's free translation is from Homer's *Odyssey*, IX.

In reality a little more than 400 Greeks had indeed left for Florida in 1768, not *after*, but two years *before* the insurrection. They constituted a large segment of the New Smyrna colony (1768-1777), located some seventy miles south of St. Augustine. By 1791, when Chateaubriand was supposedly in Florida, New Smyrna, after a dramatic and short life, was completely deserted. Of the original number, only a few Greeks survived, and these, in 1777, had established themselves not in the wilderness "among the savages," but in St. Augustine. In 1783, when Florida was retroceded to Spain by the Treaty of Paris, the names of these Greeks were known.³³ Moreover, Father Thomas Hassett, as well as the official Spanish censuses kept after 1783, listed the names and noted the status of these Greeks. In 1791, when Chateaubriand had allegedly visited Florida and this area, the Greeks in St. Augustine owned homes, schooners, shops, and in some cases, slaves.³⁴

Similar misrepresentation of facts can justify a critical attitude toward Chateaubriand. However, this is not the way to approach his American writings. The contemporary historian who would like to appreciate the Frenchman's works should be differently "tuned." The fast reading techniques that enable him to devour volumes of historical material should be forgotten. Chateaubriand's reading requires time. His writing is a great art. The musical quality of the word, its semantic value, its "weight," and more than everything else, the word's "color" are for Chateaubriand very important matters. The descriptions of places, situations, and human beings have a "painterly" quality through which Chateaubriand creates the mood he desires to convey.³⁵ Here again, the historian must be alert and be aware of Chateaubriand's romantic subjectivity, which works against accuracy. Sainte-Beuve, who had studied Chateaubriand's writings very closely noted that as early as 1800, there was already the opinion that "Chateaubriand paints the objects the

33. Governor Vicente Manuel de Zespedes to Conte de Galvez, St. Augustine, July 16, 1784, Archivo General de Indias, Audencia de Santo Domingo. *legajo* 2660, 1-10.

34. "Census Returns, 1784-1814," *East Florida Papers*, bundle No. 323-A, Library of Congress manuscripts division; microfilm roll 55-A (reel 148), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. For details, see E. P. Panagopoulos, *New Smyrna, An Eighteenth Century Greek Odyssey* (Gainesville, 1966).

35. Thomas Capell Walker, *Chateaubriand's Natural Scenery: A Study of His Descriptive Art* (Baltimore, 1946); Chinard, *L'Exotisme américain*

way he sees them, and he sees them the way he wants to see them. Certainly this should be attributed to the magic of the talent.”³⁶

On this point one should take Chateaubriand as a distinct case. He had a passionate love for history, and he wrote voluminous studies on historical subjects. But his romantic disposition and his sensitivity to esthetic values made dull for him a mere re-creation of the reality. He found it more exciting to create this reality. “I have made the History, and I can write it,” he said.³⁷ He had a similar approach to geography; if a certain scenery fit in another location better, he did not hesitate to transplant it and to compose his own landscape. Professor Lebegue reminds us of such an incident. Chateaubriand had been profoundly impressed by Bartram’s description of the St. Johns River, with its little floating islands inhabited by alligators, snakes, frogs, and blackbirds. But Florida’s St. Johns River was not renowned enough for Chateaubriand, and so he transferred the “little floating islands” some 1,000 miles westward, placed them in the lower part of the majestic Mississippi, and there he created the exotic mood he pursued. The frogs and the blackbirds, which were too common he thought for French readers, were eliminated and were replaced with flamingoes and herons; and the beastly alligators were substituted by gentle young crocodiles that resembled large lizards. And then Chateaubriand described the scene: “The green serpents, the blue herons, the pink flamingoes, and the young crocodiles all embark as passengers on these flowery vessels, and the colony unfurls its sails to the wind to be lulled asleep in some secluded antre of the river.”³⁸

Naturally, one can always ask: “But is this a ‘reality’?” And this author is almost certain that Chateaubriand would have argued eloquently, like so many philosophers and artists, starting with the question: “Just what is historical reality, and how much do we know about it?” He would then affirm that his historical works, such as his *Essai sur les Revolutions* etc., were

dans l'oeuvre de Chateaubriand; Pius Servien, *Lyrisme et Structures Sonores* (Paris 1930); H. Lecene, ed., *Les Peintres de la nature in J. J. Rousseau, Bernandin de Saint Pierre, Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1886); Jean Pierre Richard, *Paysage de Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1967).

36. C. A. Saint-Beauve, *Chateaubriand et son groupe litteraire, cours professé a Liege en 1848-1849* (Paris, 1850), 168.

37. de Dieguez, “Chateaubriand, ou le poete face a l’histoire, 71.

38. Lebegue, “Chateaubriand, l’historien et l’artiste,” 463.

not fiction, like his *Atala* and *Rene*, but were history, based on an exhaustive research and knowledge of the revealed past. Perhaps he would also state that for himself, his kind of history, tuned on a subjective key, was more sincere and bolder than the history of so many others who claim exactitude and objectivity, and who in reality express a very subjective point of view. This might have been the resume of his defense. As far as his geography is concerned, Professor Hoog has already remarked that this is an "esoteric geography" and in accord with his nostalgic mood.³⁹

On the problem of historical fidelity and exactitude, a careful and "objective" study of his historical works paradoxically reveals that they contain no more inaccuracies than many of the historical works of his contemporaries. In connection with Florida, students of its history know only too well that almost all historical accounts, from William Stork's in the eighteenth century to John Lee Williams' in the early nineteenth, abound in inaccuracies and false descriptions. If William Bartram and William Gerald de Brahm are reliable, it is perhaps because the former was a dedicated botanist and the latter a well trained cartographer. Moreover, with wisdom, both men tended to leave history out of their accounts, at least as much as it was possible.

Then, in relation to what is termed plagiarism by our contemporary standards, one must place it in the framework of Chateaubriand's contemporary mentality. The eighteenth century concept of the intellectual contribution to a pyramidal accumulation of knowledge, made it possible for authors to offer general references or no references at all to previous works, as long as they were confident that they were adding their own small contribution to this pyramid. The author felt a certain detachment from his work which had been superimposed on the general edifice of knowledge. To contribute a list of names and works in order to justify something that had been already accepted was a mere display of erudition. It was as if one were to state that the sum of the three angles of any triangle is equal to two right angles and to give Pythagoras as a reference. On the other hand, the treatment of the background material was differently molded in the hands of Chateaubriand. There is a great differ-

39. Hoog, "Du mythe d'hier au reel d' aujourd' hui," 353.

ence between William Bartram's botanical descriptions and Chateaubriand's poetic description of the same object. To accuse Chateaubriand of plagiarism is almost the same as if one were to impute plagiarism to Virgil, whose *Aeneid* follows the Homeric pattern; or Shakespeare who re-wrote an older play and created from it his *Hamlet*; or Goethe, who used Marlow's *Dr. Faustus* and the *Faust-Book* and created his own *Faust*. With these writers, as with Chateaubriand, whatever the foundation, the outcome is a new creation, fresh and majestic like its author.

To the "practical" question of the importance of Chateaubriand's American writings for the contemporary historian, the answer is that alongside the wealth of sources on the early national period of the United States they do not offer important information. The historian, however, will be surprised to find an unexpected interest in Chateaubriand's analysis of the American and Florida scene, and he will then understand why these writings created such an impact and developed clichés that were frequently repeated by the Europeans of that time. His survey, for instance, of the American contrarities and his prophetic statements about the coming tragedy of the 1860s;⁴⁰ the clarification of the spectacular diversity of the country, an opinion expressed amid naive European generalizations and oversimplifications about America;⁴¹ his incisive observations on the socio-economic structure of the United States, with which he at least influenced his young cousin, Alexis de Tocqueville; and his analysis of the country's literary and intellectual life,⁴² all reveal a remarkable historical insight.

Thus, Chateaubriand's American writings are of particular interest to those who study the manner in which European opinions about America were shaped during the first half of the nineteenth century, and even later. No matter, however, what other "practical" use one might find in them, it seems that it is appropriate for the workers of our craft to pay some attention to the writings of a renowned author "who wrote extensively about this country and wrote *con amore*."

40. Chateaubriand, *Memoires*, I, 225.

41. *Ibid.*, 256.

42. *Ibid.*, 250-51.

FLORIDA FRONTIER INCIDENTS DURING THE 1850s

by GEORGE C. BITTLE *

FROM A MILITARY VIEWPOINT Florida's frontier at the beginning of the 1850s was relatively quiet. There was no significant warfare, but the Indian question was far from settled. Governor Thomas Brown's message to the Florida legislature in 1850 repeated many previous statements and complained about the almost total disorganization of Florida's militia. Governor Brown typically blamed this situation on the current militia law's unwieldy nature.¹ However, it should be noted, that Florida military officials had not made the militia returns required by the federal government since 1845.² There would seem to be some question therefore, concerning the state's desire to create an efficient organization, even in the face of unsettled frontier conditions.

Florida's confused military situation is clearly demonstrated by Governor Brown's dealings with Aaron Jernigan in 1851.³ Jernigan had informed the governor on December 8, 1851, that a mailrider, enroute from Orange County to Tampa, had been fired upon by two Indians. Acting under the assumption that Jernigan was a militia captain, Governor Brown, on December 18, authorized him to raise "a force" whose purpose was to protect the settlers and to return the hostile Seminoles to their reservation.⁴ Jernigan admitted that previously he had been un-

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1. "Governor's Message," *Florida House Journal* 1850, 16.
2. *House Executive Documents*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., No. 2, 1852, p. 452.
3. Jernigan, one of the first settlers in the Orlando area, arrived with his family early in 1843. He represented Orange County in the state legislature in 1846, serving on the committee on elections and the committee on the militia. In 1849, when Fort Gatlin was abandoned, Jernigan built a stockade on the west shore of what is now Lake Holden. It was a convenient stopping place for travelers and a gathering spot for the settlers of the area. In 1850 a post office designated Jernigan was established. See A. J. Breakfast, *Romantic History of Orlando, Florida* (Orlando, 1946), 13-16, and D. B. McKay, *Pioneer Florida*, 3 vols. (Tampa, 1959), II, 564, 585.
4. Thomas Brown to Aaron Jernigan, December 18, 1851, *Florida House Journal*, 1852, appendix, 33. When, in August 1842, Colonel William

officially involved in operations against the Indians.⁵ At least two of his fellow frontier residents, however, warned that Jernigan was stealing Seminole hogs and that this could easily lead to another frontier clash.⁶ Evidently Governor Brown was impressed by this evidence and seemed to have realized that Jernigan acted at best as a vigilante or at worst as an outlaw. Jernigan was informed that a properly validated company election would have to be held before any commission could be granted and that no funds were available to support active duty militiamen. Unfortunately the governor was not firm enough. Jernigan announced that he intended raising an eighty-man company and that he was going to pledge the state's credit for the necessary wagons and supplies.⁷

The state's questionable frontier situation led to an investigation by Florida Militia Major General Benjamin Hopkins. On May 24, 1852, he reported that parties of Seminoles were definitely living outside their reservation and that they were stealing settlers' cattle. Later that year, however, Hopkins described the frontier as relatively safe and recommended that any Indian cattle or hogs found off the reservation should be considered the property of the finder. He justified Jernigan's position by recommending that the reservation boundary be patrolled by a 500-member volunteer force.⁸ Both Hopkins and Jernigan were paid by the state for the time they served in the 1852 anti-Indian crusade.⁹ By dint of persistence, Jernigan also managed to get paid for chasing Indians that may not have existed, or at least were not really a serious frontier threat. In 1852 Governor Brown admitted that he was not able to get the militia officers to take the annual census as required by Wash-

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- J. Worth announced that Indian hostilities in Florida had ended, it was estimated that there were some 300 Seminoles remaining in the state. They were "assigned" to a temporary reservation that ran from the mouth of Peace River to the fork of its southern branch, to the head of Lake Istokpoga, down the Kissimmee to Lake Okeechobee, through the Everglades to Shark River, and back to the starting point.)
5. Jernigan to Brown, January 19, 1852, *Florida House Journal, 1852*, 52-53.
 6. H. E. Osteen to Brown, January 19, 1852, *ibid.*, 55; John J. Marshall to Brown, January 26, 1852, *ibid.*, 51.
 7. Brown to Jernigan, February 10, 1852, *ibid.*, 53-55; Jernigan to Brown, February 16, 1852, *ibid.*, 61.
 8. Benjamin Hopkins to Brown, May 24, 1852, *ibid.*, 74-77; August 25, 1852, *ibid.*, 86-88; December 15, 1852, *Florida Senate Journal, 1852*, appendix, 137-39.
 9. *Florida Senate Journal, 1852*, 243-44.

ington. That the Florida Militia was disorganized was obvious, and this condition may help to explain how Aaron Jernigan was able to secure payment for both his legal and illegitimate frontier activities.¹⁰

The Florida legislature passed a Seminole Indian removal bill which Governor Brown vetoed on January 13, 1853. It would have required the governor to raise a 1,000-member militia force, half of which was to be infantry. The unit's brigadier general was to be elected by joint vote of both legislative houses. Governor Brown's veto message pointed out that Florida law required all militia officers to be elected by the men they would command, and that no state under the constitution could maintain an army on active duty in peacetime.¹¹ When his veto was overridden, Brown announced that he would not execute the law as he believed it to be illegal.¹² James E. Broome, who succeeded Brown as governor in 1853, tried to fulfill the law, but he was finally forced to admit that not a single company of the proposed infantry regiment could be raised.¹³ However, Broome, faced with a potential Indian outbreak, told the state legislature that he would attempt to raise an approximate 1,000-man mounted force whose services would be offered to the regular army.¹⁴ The governor does not seem to have fielded a unified command of this size.

South Florida's caldron of troubles began boiling again in December 1855, when a United States Army survey party working in Big Cypress Swamp wantonly destroyed Chief Billy Bowlegs' garden and refused to make amends. According to the official account of this episode, the opening action of the Third Seminole War, the soldiers were attacked while preparing to return to Fort Myers.¹⁵ In response to this situation, the federal government requested that five Florida Militia companies be placed on active duty. Each unit would be independent of the

10. "Governor's Message," *ibid.*, 17.

11. *Ibid.*, 332-34.

12. Brown to M. B. Leone, 1853, "Miscellaneous Letters and Military Orders Concerning Military Affairs in Florida," Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

13. "Governor's Message," *Florida House Journal*, 1854, 12.

14. *Ibid.* 1856, 11-12.

15. Andrew P. Canova, *Life and Adventures in South Florida* (Tampa, 1906), 6-7; *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian-Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Live Oak, Florida, 1903), 11-12.

others; three were to be mounted and the other two composed of skilled "hunters and trailers" who would serve as infantrymen. No field grade Florida officer was to be placed on active federal duty.¹⁶ During early February 1856, Governor Broome said that in addition to the five companies requested for service with the regulars, Florida would provide two more companies for active frontier duty.¹⁷ Only one detachment of the requested two companies of foot soldiers could be raised however.¹⁸

During the early part of the 1856 Indian campaign, Aaron Jernigan's company became the subject of serious complaints from civilians in the neighborhood of the unit's posts. On May 23, 1856, First Lieutenant Enoch M. Moody "and other members of Captain Aaron Jernigan's company who abandoned their posts while protecting cattle," were discharged from the federal service, and the state refused to pay Jernigan for his current militia activities.¹⁹

A description of Florida Militia activities in 1856 is provided by William C. Brown who worked as a clerk in his uncle's general store in Tampa. Brown had the opportunity there to observe the volunteers arriving at nearby Fort Brooke. He described Captain William H. Kendrick's company as "the most motley looking set of men I ever saw together also their horses and ecoutrements [*sic.*]." They carried "shotguns muskets double borrell [*sic.*], fowling pieces Yegers" and every other possible type fire arm. The men, some mounted on mules, ranged "from the

16. U. S. Adjutant General to J. Munroe, January 7, 1856, *Governor James E. Broome Letterbook*, Florida State Library, Tallahassee.

17. Broome to Munroe, February 4, 1856, *Broome Letterbook*; Broome to Jernigan, February 15, 1856, *Broome Letterbook*. This latter letter adds Jernigan's company to those on state duty with the hope that Jernigan's men will be accepted by the regular army. Muster rolls of the Florida Indian Wars, Vol. 5, 89-90, located in the Florida Adjutant General's Office, State Arsenal, St. Augustine, show that Captain Jernigan commanded an active duty company in federal service from March 10, 1856 to September 10, 1856, with all officers and men serving the full time. This does not agree with the information given in *Florida House Journal, 1856*, appendix, Correspondence Relating to Indian Affairs, which says First Lieutenant Enoch M. Moody was to be discharged earlier.

18. "Governor's Message," *Florida House Journal, 1856*, 12.

19. Special Orders-No. 6, Headquarters, Department of Florida, May 23, 1856, *Florida House Journal, 1856*, appendix, Correspondence Relating to Indian Affairs, 19; Munroe to Broome, January 12, 1856, *ibid.*, 24.

Georgia to the Spanish filibuster." He noted, "a picture of the band would make the fortune of any artist."²⁰

Brown entered active militia service himself on February 15, 1856, enlisting as a commissary clerk in "Captain Siemon [*sic.*], L. Sparkman's company." The proceedings were very informal. He inquired at Captain Sparkman's house as to where the unit was located, and then, "after the Deed was done I went up home with Jake Summerlin and stayed all night." Brown spent the next nine days in routine civilian life before reporting three days late for active service. Even then he found that not all the men were present. The new soldier described his companions as "rough ungainly people . . . who look like and act like the characters we read about in Coopers Indian novels as near as I can judge."²¹

Most of Brown's military experience was in camp or moving camp, and he noted that from time to time Captain Sparkman appeared among his men. The soldiers went out on "scouts," but all reports of skirmishes came from other companies. Despite the lack of military activity the men received Yeager rifles and provisions, including forage for their horses.²²

The militia experiences of Andrew P. Canova, who served as a private soldier in the southern part of Florida during the years 1855-1858, confirm those recorded by William Brown. Canova, at the time in William Hooker's company, described one day's affairs: "We rose from an invigorating breakfast of fresh venison, . . . since for many days previous we had not been called upon to perform any serious or exciting duty . . . we had deported ourselves as hunters rather than soldiers."²³ Canova remembered that after marching two days on a scouting mission, the provisions gave out and the force gave up "hunting human beings" to "hunt something to eat."²⁴

An expedition through Big Cypress Swamp was described as "dreary and monotonous Finally we came to Ock-kollowah-

20. Brown "Diary." A typescript of the diary is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

21. *Ibid. Soldiers of Florida*, 17, notes that Brown served in Abner D. Johnston's company from December 29, 1855 through August 1856. It should be noted that *Soldiers of Florida* is not always accurate.

22. Brown "Diary."

23. Canova, *Life and Adventures in South Florida*, 5, 96-100; *Soldiers of Florida*, 13.

24. Canova, *Life and Adventures in South Florida*, 96-100.

cootchee. Long and frightful as this name may seem, it was no worse than the thing itself" which was a dense four mile wide field of saw grass "two feet higher than our heads" through which the soldiers had to pass. The men "took turns" breaking a path and "no man could endure this task for more than five minutes." Canova's misery was made worse because of "poison" water that had infected his feet, and by the sun which "shone with terrible force upon us, and not a breath of fresh air could reach us." Unfortunately, in the course of this adventure, "no glimpse of an Indian rewarded our anxious gaze The volunteers from Middle Florida . . . were almost furious" as a result of this experience.²⁵

Canova was perhaps more fortunate than Brown in that he was present when a group of squaws and Indian children were captured near Lake Okeechobee. These captives were placed in boats "loaded to the gunwales," and the party attempted a lake crossing. "A heavy wind arose, when we were five miles out. . . . The boats rolled and pitched around in an alarming manner, and nearly every Indian was writhing in the bottom of the boats, suffering the agonies of seasickness." After spending a terrible night on Lake Okeechobee and then hand pulling the boats through "a mass of floating 'lettuce' " the soldiers arrived at a regular army camp where "we were soon seated around a campfire, chatting . . . and drinking strong black coffee, such as only soldiers can make."²⁶

Apparently Governor Broome found no shortage of applicants for such a life, and between January 12 and January 26, 1856, he turned down the offers of five volunteer companies to go on active duty. The services of other volunteer companies were also later rejected.²⁷ The governor was so unsure of the militia situation that he sent Florida Militia General Jesse Carter to the southern part of the state as his personal representative. At first Carter held no military title, but later he was awarded the campaign rank of colonel so that he could en-

25. *Ibid.*, 58-59.

26. *Ibid.*, 19-21.

27. Broome to A. J. T. Wright, January 12, 1856; Broome to Paul Arnon; Broome to I. Jernigan, January 22, 1856; Broome to Oscar Hast, January 19, 1856; Broome to S. J. Thomas, John Adams, and I. M. Baker, and Others, January 26, 1856, *Broome Letterbook*. This manuscript also contains other similar letters of rejection sent by Governor Broome.

sure that Brown's orders would be carried out in the field. Colonel Carter apparently believed there were too many militiamen on active duty, and he ordered half the men to remain on their respective farms while the other half acted as soldiers. Governor Broome, however, complained that this was not the proper way to secure federal government pay for the men.²⁸ Broome needed federal aid; as of March 31, 1856, he had provided \$8,000 for militia support and said he could probably secure \$4,000 more from various state accounts. This was in addition to the \$30,000 he borrowed in Charleston, South Carolina. The governor said that as of February 20, 1857, Florida would owe approximately \$225,000 in militia bills if the current field force were maintained and beyond that point a similar sized active organization would cost around \$18,333 a month.²⁹ It appeared that the state did not have sufficient money to pay its projected military debts if the Third Seminole War were to continue for a lengthy period.

The governor also faced other militia problems. On April 26, 1856, Broome ordered Colonel Carter not to enlist or to discharge any man on active duty "who is guilty of drunkenness to such an extent as to disqualify him to pursue Indians" at a moments notice.³⁰ Another and even more serious problem was that some white men were masquerading as Indians. William Brown in his diary noted that a group of whites dressed as Seminoles scared two local women, and he suggested that there were other similar cases on record in Florida.³¹ The most serious incident of this nature involved Militia First Lieutenant Enoch Daniels who was accused of aiding two white men arrested for criminally portraying Indians. The lieutenant was technically cleared of the charge against him, but the governor called for his discharge.³²

28. "Governor's Message," *Florida House Journal, 1856*, 15-17; Broome to Jesse Carter, March 18, 1856, *Florida House Journal, 1856*, appendix, Correspondence Relating to Indian Affairs, 44-45; Broome to Carter, July 29, 1856, *Florida House Journal, 1856*, appendix, Correspondence Relating to Indian Affairs, 58-59; Broome to Carter, February 4, 1856, *Broome Letterbook*.

29. "Governor's Message," *Florida House Journal, 1856*, 14, 17; Broome to Carter, March 31, 1856, *Broome Letterbook*.

30. Broome to Carter, August 16, 26, 1856, *Florida House Journal, 1856*, appendix, Correspondence Relating to Indian Affairs, 27-28.

31. Brown, "Diary."

32. M. Whit Smith to Broome, June 26, 1856, *Florida House Journal, 1856*,

Not all of the Florida Militia's efforts during the Third Seminole War were of a dilatory nature. An Indian attack against Willoughby Tillis' home near Fort Meade illustrated the organized militia's potential effectiveness. A seven-man mounted force responded to this raid, and at the militiamen's approach, the Seminoles retired into a cornfield. The soldiers divided and rode down each side of the field firing into it. Lieutenant Carlton and two of his men were killed, and one soldier was wounded, but the Indians were routed. Captain F. M. Durrance pursued the marauders for two days and then ambushed them.³³

The war came to a gradual end. Without fanfare individual militia units were removed from active duty until Governor Madison S. Perry could announce in November 1858 that with the exception of one or two volunteer companies there was no organized Florida Militia.³⁴ Approximately twenty-four companies were called to active state and federal duty in the period from 1856 to 1858 with the bulk of the activity taking place in 1856.³⁵ This was the last major Indian campaign on the Florida frontier.

appendix, Correspondence Relating to Indian Affairs, 25-26; Broome to Smith, July 12, 1856, *ibid.*, 28.

33. James D. Tillis, "An Indian Attack of 1856 on the Home of Willoughby Tillis," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VIII (April 1930), 183-85; D. B. McKay (ed.), *Pioneer Florida*, 3 vols. (Tampa, 1959), II, 574-76.
34. "Governor's Message," (November 1858), Volume 4, Governors' Messages to the Legislature, 1845-1858, Florida State Library.
35. *Soldiers of Florida*, 12.

BOOK REVIEWS

Billion-Dollar Sandbar: A Biography of Miami Beach. By Polly Redford. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1970. 306 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, appendix, bibliography, notes and sources, index. \$6.95.)

About five years ago, says Polly Redford, Russell Pancoast, a Miami Beach pioneer and son-in-law of John S. Collins for whom the avenue at the beach was named, brought a big book of pictures and talked about them to members of the Coconut Grove Civic Club. His photographs and stories of mangroves, dredging, Flagler, Fisher, Lummus, the Brickells, Indians, Commodore Munroe, and other pioneers of Miami, Coconut Grove, and Miami Beach, gave Mrs. Redford a pungent desire to write about that desolate strip of billion-dollar sand - from the Indians to Jackie Gleason. The result is a documentary, "addressed to a hypothetical visitor to Miami Beach - the new leisure class that's on the move, inevitably, inexorably drawn to South Florida in its pursuit of happiness."

"Miami Beach," according to Mrs. Redford, "is the center of the pleasure industry, a place where prepackaged dreams automatically come true. And since the American Dream has for more than a century been one of leisure and affluence, Miami Beach has very sensibly dedicated itself to the proposition that all men should live like millionaires, if only for two weeks. And there more shoe salesmen than millionaires." "Miami Beach is the most unbelievable phenomena of the modern world!" *Billion-Dollar Sandbar* is, she says, a book about money.

Mrs. Redford proceeds with vigor to call her Indians, pioneers, gangsters, politicians, and in-betweens by name. Of the Tekesta clay pots - "Takesta, Tequeste, Tegesta, Tequesta"- she claims to have picked up broken pieces by the thousands along local beaches and creekbeds. "In our garage we have a basketful that we found on a little beach near Biscayne Bay, along with a human arm bone, and the remains of fish and sea turtle that the owner of the arm once ate."

Enhanced by her personal experiences that deal with history of South Florida and conservation, the primary subject of the book is Carl Fisher. A bonanza of Fisher Papers, moist and stuck together in a vault at the Historical Society of South Florida, were spread out and dried on the Redford lawn at Little Avenue in Coconut Grove. Fisher's second wife, Margaret, aware of his eventual place in history, although he was a pain to live with, saved "every scrap of paper - old photographs, business correspondence, town menus, check stubs, income tax forms, auditors' reports, personal letters, newspaper clippings, pictures of his early racing cars, letters from his mistresses, bankruptcy proceedings, telegrams from the elephant trainer, divorce papers of his first wife Jane, advertising copy, announcements of balloon races, family records, maps of Alton Beach, minutes of Lincoln Highway Association meetings, lists of books to read, medical reports, orders to bootleggers - no more uprorious life was ever so thoroughly documented." Carl Fisher rises and falls, just like it happened.

You will also untangle why Flagler made a deal with Julia Tuttle, why the Astors, Armours, Goulds, and Rockefellers stayed at the Royal Palm, why Miami in those years had it over Palm Beach, how Rosie Weiss established and influenced South Beach by her goodness and optimism, and how and when the gentiles became the minority. You will capture the spirit of Henry B. Lum, the near-forgotten man who started the whole thing at Miami Beach by running off the crocodiles in hopes of making a fortune on coconuts - "not alligators, but the American saltwater crocodile (*Crocodylus acutus*) now virtually extinct in the United States."

As an amused observed of people, a careful historian and good writer, *Billion-Dollar Sandbar*, Mrs. Redford's book will attract a wider audience than the hypothetical tourist. The sunburned shoe salesmen and the millionaires, however, who continue to find Miami Beach the phenomena of the modern world will like what they read about themselves.

Polly Redford's working title - *It's Been a Business To Do Pleasure With You*.

Coconut Grove, Florida

Kathryn Hall Proby

The Tampa of My Childhood, 1897-1907. By Susie Kelly Dean. (Tampa: Sylvia Dean Harbert, 1966. 53 pp. Introduction, illustrations. \$4.95; \$2.00 paper.)

On St. Andrews Bay, 1911-1917: A Sequel. By Susie Kelly Dean. (Tampa: Sylvia Dean Harbert, 1969. 67 pp. Preface, illustrations. \$4.95; \$2.00 paper.)

These two books share one thing in common: they portray the recollections of people, places, things, and experiences of a remarkably perceptive individual from her childhood to young adulthood, albeit in separate locales and necessarily of different years.

In the first of these two books Susie Kelly Dean describes in succinct manner the Tampa of some 15,000 persons immediately preceding and following the turn of the century. The streets—some deep with sand, some lighted by gas, others by electricity—along which horse-drawn carriages and wagons made their way; the blacksmith shop, livery stable, meat market, “racket” store, and other businesses and their proprietors of a bygone day: all are figuratively brought to life and identified by the author. With her parents she saw Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders as they drilled in preparation for Cuba and the capture of San Juan Hill. She recalls the day President McKinley was assassinated and the sadness of this tragedy. She recounts the names of many Tampanns who might also have shared these experiences. Few would be living today.

Her train trips to Harney and her grandfather’s farm, along with her early years of residence in the present downtown area of Tampa provide both rural and urban setting for her childhood recollections. After several years Susie Kelly moved to a new home and neighborhood of some fifteen or twenty houses on the west side of the Hillsborough River—Hyde Park was then considered the outskirts of town. Although she was a Protestant, she received her early education in the Convent of the Holy Names. She recalls with delight her recollections of these years.

The author relates other noteworthy events of the era: an all-day steamer ride to St. Petersburg, up the Manatee River to Ellenton and return to Tampa; rides by individuals and groups

in the open trolley cars; Sunday walks under the spreading live oaks of the Garrison; picnics at Ballast Point and Picnic Island off Port Tampa City; riding in the first or second Gasparilla parade; and the excitement of Tampa's first automobile. These are some of the highlights of the author's recollections of the town of her childhood.

If Tampa seemed at times provincial, what must have been the innermost thoughts of the teen-age Susie Dean as she arrived at Panama City, Florida, on a very hot day of August 1911? The final leg of her journey was the eighty-two miles from Dothan, Alabama, which took some eight hours aboard the wood-burning train known locally as the "Gallberry Special." Certain of these impressions she divulges as she begins her sequel. The author's listing of Panama City families reads like a who's who of the early settlers of this Panhandle town, if not of the entire bay area. Her references to certain establishments and early landmarks may be regarded in much the same light: the St. Andrews Bay Seminary in Cromanton, the steamer *Tarpon*, Bunker's Cove, the Magnolia Hotel, the Beach Drive to St. Andrews, and many more. In 1913, when Bay County was created, the author was present at the celebration in the city park in commemoration of the event.

It is hoped that this reviewer may be forgiven a brief personal reference. He was born and reared in St. Andrews, now part of Panama City, and has subsequently lived in Tampa for many years. Although of a later generation, he nevertheless shares with the author a first-hand knowledge of certain of her recollections of St. Andrews Bay. As an interested student of Florida history he has read much about the early days of Tampa; his knowledge of the author's observations of her childhood town is therefore of an acquired rather than of a direct nature, shared, none the less.

Religion and music have filled an important part of the life of Susie Kelly Dean, and her commitment to both are evident in her works. Her delightful little books are obviously a labor of love and deserve somewhat better organization and continuity, both geographic and chronological. Notwithstanding, they are highly readable and easily transport the mind of the reader to certain bygone days of Tampa and St. Andrews Bay,

Florida. Copies may be ordered from the author, Box 7372, Tampa 33603.

Tampa, Florida

John D. Ware

A Comparison of Formative Cultures in the Americas: Diffusion or the Psychic Unity of Man. By James A. Ford. *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*, Vol. II. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969. xvi, 211 pp. Introduction, preface, postscript, tables, figures, charts, bibliography. \$7.75.)

James A. Ford died in 1968 in Gainesville, Florida, where he had been associated with the Florida State Museum. This important book, completed just before his death, is the culminating work of a productive and very imaginative scholar of American archaeology.

Ford's topic is the spread of the culture traits which led to the development of civilization in the New World. Specifically, he is concerned with the period from about 3,000 B. C. to approximately the time of Christ, "during which the elements of ceramics, ground stone tools, handmade figurines, and manioc and maize agriculture were being diffused and welded into the socioeconomic life of the people living in the region extending from Peru to the eastern United States." Ford endorses the interpretation of the archaeologists Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans that early Formative culture traits were brought by sea from Japan to the coast of Ecuador starting about 3,000 B.C. He traces from there a series of migrations and diffusions which spread these traits over much of America during the next 2,000 years.

Two important movements were into the southeastern United States directly from the southern Caribbean. The first took place about 2,400 B.C. It brought fiber-tempered pottery, which had been developed in northern Colombia, and certain pottery decorative elements ultimately of Ecuador origin to the Stallings Island archaeological complex of the Savannah River area of Georgia. Four centuries later, a similar colonization was responsible for the "Orange" culture complex of the St. Johns River, Florida.

Such early movements transmitted knowledge of ceramic manufacture and certain other traits, but they had little effect on the ancient "archaic" pattern of living in the areas to which the traits were introduced. As Ford sees it, the real impetus for culture change came shortly after 1,500 B.C. with the spread of a religio-political system demanding great public works. Accompanying and probably responsible for this system was maize agriculture, which had developed gradually in highland Mexico.

The significant features of the new religious and social system first appeared rather suddenly as the Olmec culture of the Mexican gulf coast. The brilliant Olmec culture set the pattern for the later civilizations of Mesoamerica. Direct contact with the Olmec seems to have triggered the Chavin culture of Peru, from which stemmed the civilizations of the central Andes. In North America, Olmec influence was responsible for the cultural development represented by the mounds at Poverty Point, Louisiana, and later by the Adena-Hopewell and derived cultures of eastern and central United States.

In presenting his case, Ford marshals a great amount of data on chronology and trait distributions, and makes detailed comparisons between archaeological complexes. The arguments are directed mainly to specialists in American archaeology; though lucidly written, the book is not intended for quick or easy reading. Ford's diffusionist thesis is highly controversial. Some archaeologists will reject it almost entirely; others will have varying degrees of specific disagreement. But nearly all will agree that Ford has made a powerful argument from the interconnection of American Formative cultures, and that his work lays down a challenge which will stimulate new thinking and new research directions in American archaeology.

*Florida State Museum,
University of Florida*

William R. Bullard, Jr.

Militarists, Merchants, and Missionaries. Edited by Eugene R. Huck and Edward H. Moseley. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1970. xi, 172 pp. Introduction, appendix, notes, tables. 5.00.)

This work is an homenaje to a popular and distinguished

scholar and teacher, Dr. Alfred Barnaby Thomas, by his former students. Before retiring recently from the University of West Florida, Dr. Thomas had a long and fruitful teaching career at the universities of Oklahoma and Alabama. The sub-title of the book is *United States Expansion in Middle America*, but the topics included range more widely than the subtitle suggests.

Topics covered are "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Georgia Country, 1670-1691"; "Anglo-Spanish Negotiations Involving Central America in 1783"; "The Religious Impact of the American Occupation of Mexico City, 1847-1848"; "The Forty-Niners in Panama"; "Southern Baptists in Cuba, 1886-1916"; "United States Conquest of the Mexican Market as Seen by British Officials in 1895-1905"; "Albert Edward Bishop and the Establishment of the Central American Mission in Guatemala, 1899-1922"; "The Role of Aviation in Mexican-United States Relations, 1912-1929"; "The Caribbean-Vital Link for Western Hemisphere Air Defense During World War II"; and, "Congress Investigates Puerto Rico, 1943-1944."

The subjects thus range from colonial international frictions to religious competition to commercial rivalries to twentieth-century aviation and Puerto Rican affairs, and they reflect the wide-ranging interests of the man in whose honor they have been published. Floridians will find the first essay, on Anglo-Spanish rivalry in the Georgia country, 1670-1691, by Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., especially interesting, for seventeenth-century Georgia was part of Spanish Florida. The essay surveys Spanish and French activities in Florida, the Jesuit and Franciscan missionary efforts, and the contest for the friendship of the Indians. In 1666 a young doctor, Henry Woodward, went from Charleston to live among the Indians and learn their languages, and for a time he even served as physician to the town and garrison of St. Augustine. Woodward's knowledge of the Indians was vital to the English effort to compete for the fur trade. The Spanish countered by establishing a military post - Fort Apalachicola on the Chattahoochee river, but ordered it demolished in 1691. Though it had been built to undermine English influence, it resulted in the movement of the Apalachicola Indians toward Charleston and paved the way for English occupation of Georgia in the eighteenth century.

All of the essays are thoroughly researched and documented

in the style of Dr. Thomas's own voluminous publications and in the tradition of his own mentor on the Spanish Borderlands, Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton. It cannot be expected that every essay in so varied a collection will appeal equally to all readers, but every student of history should find something of interest to him.

Texas Christian University

Donald E. Worcester

Frenchmen and French Ways in the Mississippi Valley. Edited by John Francis McDermott. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969. xvi, 304 pp. Foreword, maps, illustrations, contributors, index. \$10.95.)

This collection of essays makes available the papers read at the 1967 conference on the "French in the Mississippi Valley," held at Edwardsville and St. Louis. The meeting was the third in a continuing series of conferences organized under the direction of Professor McDermott and sponsored by Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville. The first of these meetings was held in 1964 to celebrate the bicentennial of the founding of St. Louis; the second in 1965, on "The Frontier Re-examined," used Frederick Jackson Turner as its central theme. A fourth meeting in 1968 was devoted to "Travelers on the Western Frontier," and the last meeting, the fifth, in April 1970, dealt with "The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1763-1804." The papers from the first two meetings have already been published and those from the last two conferences will soon be in print.

Obviously, most of the essays from the third meeting deal with Frenchmen and their activities in the Mississippi Valley such as: Auguste Chouteau, the cofounder of St. Louis; the geographer, John Nicolas Nicollet; Louis William DuBourg, Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas; Jerome Phelypeaux, French secretary of state of the Ministry of Marine; the engineer, Francois Saucier of Mobile and Fort de Chartes, Illinois; and, Ignace Francois Broutin, engineer-of-the-king in Louisiana. Other French topics are about Fort Massac, the superior council in colonial Louisiana and Ste. Genevieve, Missouri.

Those interested in Spanish Louisiana will not be disappointed because of the attention focused on the 45,000-word

unpublished manuscript written by James Pitot in 1801-1802. A description of the manuscript, which covers the years 1796-1802, indicates that it should be of more than passing interest. Unfortunately, no information appeared about the prospects of seeing the Pitot memoir in print.

A number of the essays demonstrate that writing about French Louisiana frequently involves some discussion of the Spanish Floridas. The study of "Dauphin Island in the Franco-Spanish War, 1719-22," by Jack D. L. Holmes, provides a good account of the role Pensacola played during that war, including its occupation on two occasions by the French. The essay by Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams on Iberville and the final discovery of the Mississippi River contains some data on Florida. McWilliams utilized the log of Juan Jordan de Reina from the Barroto-Romero expedition of 1686 to Apalachee, Pensacola, and the Gulf coast. He also used information from the Spanish voyage of 1693 on which Dr. Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora mapped Pensacola Bay. References to the Spanish Floridas also may be found in several of the other chapters.

It is true that only a few of the participants were professional historians by vocation, but that in no way detracts from the quality of the papers. The common denominator of the "mixed bag" of authors was a "strong interest in the history of French activities in the Mississippi Valley." All of the essays make solid contributions to the study of the great American watershed during a vital era.

University of West Florida

William S. Coker

The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution. By Wallace Brown. (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1969. xi, 302 pp. Preface, footnotes, index. \$7.95.)

As the subject of a single book, the Loyalists in the American Revolution pose vexing problems of emphasis, organization, and interpretation. In contrast with Claude H. Van Tyne's classic study of legal and administrative problems created by the Loyalists for both the British and Americans, William H. Nelson's graceful essays on the Loyalists' political ideas, and North Callahan's colorful anecdotes, Professor Brown has constructed from

a wide variety of personal testimony an impressionistic examination of the Loyalists' observations and experiences. *Impressionistic*, it should be stressed in this case, is not a pejorative term. Brown has found in Loyalist sources and has sought to convey without distortion—a kind of instinctive uncomplicated conservatism and desire for self-preservation which was not very heroic but was understandable and did gauge fairly well the degree and intensity of social dislocation during the Revolution. "We are at present all Whigs until the arrival of the King's troops," one of Brown's typical figures observed. A similar urbane melancholy appeared in Reverend Jacob Duche's resolution "to follow my countrymen as far only as virtue and the righteousness of their cause would permit me." Duche "drifted on," Brown related, "not really knowing where he stood or possibly too aware of the subtleties of the situation." (p. 76)

The same thing might be said of much of this book. Rather than pressing decisive judgments from his material, Brown makes his delicate indecision into an artistic device drawing together diverse and fragmentary Loyalist sources. For this book does not present an argument supported by massive evidence, but uses individual pieces of evidence to convey in deft little sketches the flitting, changing, disconcertingly spare moods and atmospheres which Loyalist sources reveal. Where the subject is fairly compact, as in chapters on motivation and exile experiences in England, the result of this method is highly evocative and sensitive. Background chapters on the pre-Revolutionary period are, for the most part, unconcerned with recent historical writing on ideology, social structure, and political culture and therefore more diffuse. Chapters on persecution and the war fall somewhere between these two levels of concentration and explanation. Overall, Brown treats the Loyalists as men of reason and instinct—minimizing the roles of religious or political belief, irrationality, conflicting emotional and rational stresses, and simplifying neatly the whole question of the structure of Loyalist thought and feeling. While it is a bit too neat and tidy for my taste, this reconstruction is quite craftsmanlike and lucid all the same.

A chapter on "Diaspora" ably synthesizes historical writing on the dispersal of Loyalists to Canada, British East and West Florida, the West Indies, and 1,000 former Negro slaves who settled in Sierra Leone. The book makes especially good use of

Charles L. Mowat's and Cecil Johnson's monographs on British East and West Florida, showing how these natural refuges fell to Spain in 1781-1782, and describing the second dispersal of Loyalists from the Floridas variously to the West Indies, Canada, England, and back to the United States. The entire discussion of the southward migration of Loyalist exiles to the Caribbean - a tale of dislocation, disease, and disintegration - contrasts in a fascinating way with Loyalist success and regeneration in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

Robert M. Calhoun

The South: Old and New Frontiers-Essays of Frank Lawrence Owsley. Edited by Harriet Chappell Owsley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1970. xix, 284 pp. Acknowledgments, chronology, foreword, introduction, bibliography, index. \$8.00.)

This collection of fourteen previously published writings of the late Frank Owsley includes chapters from his books, articles, and book-essays. They range from the publication of his doctoral dissertation, *State Rights in the Confederacy*, in 1925, to the revision of *King Cotton Diplomacy* on which he was working at the time of his death in 1957. It is appropriate that his widow, Harriet Chappell Owsley, should edit *The South: Old and New Frontiers-Selected Essays of Frank Lawrence Owsley*, for she collaborated in her husband's scholarly pursuits and is a scholar in her own right. She has admirably fulfilled her purpose which is to present selections representing "the major fields of his research and writing."

The first two essays, "Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier" and "Plain Folk and their Role in Southern History," are reappraisals of the yeomen of the Old South to whom Owsley assigned greater importance than did earlier historians. There are selections from *State Rights in the Confederacy*, one of his more controversial books, and *King Cotton Diplomacy*, a classic economic interpretation of the Confederacy's failures in foreign affairs. Other of Professor Owsley's writings on the Civil War included in this volume are "Defeatism in the Confederacy" (first published in *The North Carolina*

Historical Review), "America and the Freedom of the Seas, 1861-1865," his contribution to the *festschrift* honoring William E. Dodd, and "The Fundamental Cause of the Civil War: Ego-centric Sectionalism," his provocative presidential address to the Southern Historical Association in which he argued that it was primarily the economic differences between the North and the South that pushed the South out of the Union. Although Owsley's contribution to *I'll Take My Stand* is omitted from this volume, included are "The Pillars of Agrarianism" and the presidential address mentioned above, both of which present his agrarian views. In "Democracy Unlimited," published post-humously, Owsley deplored the growing disregard for the natural rights philosophy embodied in the Constitution and the dangerous consequences threatening the American people. The last section of the book includes "A Southerner's View of Abraham Lincoln," originally an address to the Illinois Historical Association, and four exceptionally incisive book-essays. Appended is a complete bibliography of Owsley's writings, including book reviews.

Those well-grounded in southern history doubtlessly have read these selections, but the book nevertheless affords a convenient reference work and will be especially useful in historiography classes. The student who is first introduced to Professor Owsley through its pages should be inspired to read further in his writing.

Whether or not one agrees with all of Owsley's conclusions, it must be recognized that the man was a courageous trailblazer who did not hesitate to research new fields and present conclusions that often challenged the theses of renowned historians. In turn, Owsley was challenged, and often for writing too sympathetically of the South. His response to this criticism is to be found in the introduction to "A Southerner's View of Abraham Lincoln," in which he explained the problems an historian invariably encounters when trying to be objective and warned his audience that he was looking at Lincoln "in a room with a Southern exposure." He often wrote in such a room, but he wrote with conviction and only after extensive research seemed to support his premise.

Black Abolitionists. By Benjamin Quarles. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969. x, 310 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.75.)

Black Abolitionists is a worthy successor to Professor Quarles's penetrating study, *Lincoln and the Negro*. It is a work of scholarship and intelligence, and the subject is both timely and highly topical.

The main theme of the book is the involvement of the Negro in the crusade against slavery. The author deals with the Negro preachers, writers, and humanitarians who pioneered the abolitionist movement in conjunction with such towering white figures as William Lloyd Garrison and the Tappan brothers. Professor Quarles states that the Negro freedmen provided an appreciable part of the leadership in the movement and that they were also some of its most effective propagandists. Frederick Douglass is singled out as a leader of the black anti-slavery forces. His role as an author, speaker, and organizer of various abolitionist societies, as well as his work as a newspaper publisher, made him not only the premier black abolitionist of the era, but the peer of such leaders as Garrison, Wendell Phillips, the Grimkes, and the Tappans.

One of the most interesting aspects of the anti-slavery movement brought out by Professor Quarles is that its supporting societies were both integrated and segregated, the all black societies often being segregated at their own insistence. These organizations accepted financial aid from white sympathizers, but still wanted to wage their own private battles against the institution of slavery. The general interest in and support of freed Negroes for abolitionist activities is brought home by Professor Quarles when he cites that only one quarter of the 2,300 subscribers of the *Liberator* were white during the crucial early years of the newspaper.

Professor Quarles describes the role of Negro agitators abroad and records contemporary Negro reaction to the fugitive slave law and the electrifying news of John Brown's raid. The effect of Negro activity and opinion on antebellum political life is also carefully weighed. Benjamin Quarles is already one of the leading authorities of Afro-American history. This care-

fully researched and clearly written volume will do much to enhance further his fine reputation.

University of the South

Joseph D. Cushman

The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style. By David Brion Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970. ix, 97 pp. Acknowledgments, notes. \$4.00.)

American politics (like the politics of other democratic states) has often been characterized by over-heated exaggerations, ultra-morbid suspicions, and grandiosely conspiratorial fantasies. Taken together, these constitute a state of mind and a manner that Richard Hofstadter, in an essay in 1964, described as "the paranoid style in politics." Nearly three decades earlier Avery Craven and James G. Randall, without using the word "paranoid," had very clearly described a psychopathic state of mind built up in the antebellum era in both North and South—a state of mind that made many people in both sections altogether willing to believe and say the most monstrous things about each other. By 1861 these morbid suspicions, fears, and hatreds in the minds of Southerners made it unthinkable that they should remain in a Union that threatened their safety, their property, their culture, their way of life. Similar suspicions, fears, and hatreds in the minds of Northerners had created such a sense of alarm that it was unthinkable to them to allow Southerners to subvert the values of Christianity and democracy and to destroy the best government ever created by men. One of the most prominent features of this widespread paranoia was the belief, sedulously broadcast in the North, that slave-owners constituted a great conspiracy. These conspirators had already got control of the United States government, they were using that government to promote their own evil purposes, they intended to force slavery upon every state in the Union, and they were conspiring to enslave the whole world. This was the Slave Power - sinister, aggressive, demonic.

In three interesting essays, delivered as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in 1969, Professor David Brion Davis of Yale has examined the origins, described the development, and analyzed the impact of this conspiratorial imagery. He says that "it was a fairly small group of men—scarcely over twenty-five

or thirty-who first delineated the Slave Power in speeches, articles, and books" (p. 62); yet he is not much concerned with these men as individuals. Eventually their propaganda had a powerful effect on the northern consciousness. Yet Professor Davis is not so much interested in the effects of this propaganda as in its complex manifestations, for he says correctly that there is "no means of knowing how many Northerners believed in the Slave Power Conspiracy, or with what sincerity or intensity" (p. 6). The South too had its paranoid style. For southern propagandists believed that abolitionists were malignant conspirators aiming at subverting all law, all order, all morality, and ready to "wrap the world in fire." A part of his second essay Professor Davis devotes to the ways in which Southerners depicted abolitionists as fanatic subversives scheming "to overthrow constitutional government by force and violence" (p. 47). These are exceptionally interesting essays, but they require close reading, and even that may not be sufficient to follow every turning of Professor Davis's path (e.g., pp. 26-30).

Emory University

James Rabun

Their Tattered Flags: The Epic of the Confederacy. By Frank E. Vandiver. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970. 362 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

The author has written an engaging story of the Confederacy. His prose at times rises to heights and his battle accounts, from Sumter and Manassas to the last gasps at Appomattox, are brief and gripping. His admiration of the resolute but not always practical Jefferson Davis comes near to idolatry. Davis's critics are usually given short shrift. General Braxton Bragg, whom Davis had to kick upstairs after his lethargy following Chickamauga and failure at Chattanooga, is credited with having "shrewd strategic sense" (p. 275), when the manner in which Buell, Rosecrans, and Grant successively outmaneuvered him suggests he was about the poorest strategist of the war.

Still, the book has broad scope and ignores few aspects of the South's struggle for independence. A weakness-though the book was "long in the making" and has a formidable list of readers and helpers-is in inattentiveness to details. Lee is described as having gray eyes (p. 141) when they were decidedly brown. The

point is of some interest because Lee was one of the few great American leaders with brown eyes, which are not ordinarily associated with the leader type. (See E. Merton Coulter's *The Confederate States of America*, p. 349, reference to his "dark brown eyes," and Gamaliel Bradford's *Lee the American*, p. 23, quote of his "eyes hazel brown." The excellent Theodore Pine portrait shows them brown.)

Combat figures are at times woefully askew. Where the author says, "Twenty thousand were slain on the fields near Shiloh Church," (p. 125), the more realistic official figures are 1,754 Federals and 1,728 Confederate killed at Shiloh, an aggregate of 3,482. At Fredericksburg, "12,500 bluecoats lay dead or dying on the field" (p. 168), instead of the 1,284 actually killed. Johnston surrendered "his incredible 14,000" to Sherman (p. 306) whereas the number was above 30,000. The author's not infrequently cited source, Bruce Catton, puts it at 39,000. (*Never Call Retreat*, p. 465). Lee's effective infantry at Appomattox is given at 9,000 (p. 305), but Grant issued 28,221 paroles, which included 22,349 to Lee's infantry. Lee's army at Gettysburg is shrunk to 50,000 (p. 219) when his official campaign strength was 77,518; he had a minimum of 70,000 men on the field, and probably as many as 79,000. Stonewall Jackson was not felled by a Confederate picket at Chancellorsville (p. 201) but by a blast followed by sustained firing "with great rapidity" of the Eighteenth North Carolina, on battle line, not picket duty. The skirmishers and pickets in front of the battle line, composed of the Thirty-third North Carolina, allowed Jackson's party of about thirty horsemen to pass unmolested.

Andersonville prison was not "tucked remotely in the fastness of the Okefenokee Swamp" (p. 294), but was in Sumter County, southwest of Macon, on the western or opposite side of Georgia. The characterization of "Old Reliable" Lieutenant General William J. Hardee that he "shirked responsibility but coveted glory" (p. 276) does seem severe.

Professor Vandiver's book makes easy reading but should be perused guardedly. It does not replace the more solid contribution of E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America*, or some earlier accounts.

Fairview, North Carolina

Glenn Tucker

Their Words were Bullets: The Southern Press in War, Reconstruction, and Peace. By Hodding Carter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1970. x, 78 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

The burden of this brief survey of the southern press by the justly distinguished publisher of the Greenville (Mississippi) *Delta Democrat-Times* is that, with occasional and courageous exceptions, southern newspapers have failed to provide their section with genuine and disinterested leadership. Had Hodding Carter hailed from some other part of the country—North, East or West—he might have come to similar conclusions for, again with notable exceptions, the nation's press has lacked the spine or high-mindedness to perform the function which the framers of the First Amendment envisioned for it.

Carter's assessment of the southern press, originally delivered as a series of lectures at Mercer University, is necessarily sketchy, consisting of general observations and highlights. From antebellum days when they fanned the flames of sectional hatred, through Reconstruction when they "forgot that they were, in effect, the prisoners not only of military conquerors but of new ideas . . .," to modern times when the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions have produced a spate of defiance, southern newspapers have generally permitted emotion to outrun reason. It is an unhappy story, relieved, as Carter is careful to point out, by notable examples of editors who have faced realistically and responsibly the crises of the hour, seeking only the good of the South.

Through the entire work run the feelings of an editor who cares deeply, one who is himself in the midst of the battle. For this reason, perhaps, his observations on the recent past are the most absorbing and the most rewarding.

Albion College

Julian S. Rammelkamp

The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking. By Paul M. Gaston. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970. iii, 298, vi pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

This interesting and well-written book elaborates a minor

theme in Paul H. Buck's famous study of sectional reconciliation, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900*. Professor Gaston is concerned, at one level, with the program and ideas of those Southerners who advocated a New South during the last three decades of the nineteenth century; but at a deeper level he is interested in analyzing the New South creed as "a total mythic configuration with a history of its own." Thus he follows C. Vann Woodward and George B. Tindall in exploring what Tindall has called the "new frontier" in the history of the South, the study of southern mythology. Indeed, this volume is primarily a study of the social myth of the New South—the symbol that expressed the passage "from one kind of civilization to another."

The scheme of the work is ingenious. After discussing the birth of the New South idea, the author introduces his *dramatis personae*: a gallery of New South prophets ranging from Henry W. Grady to "Pig Iron" Kelley. He describes their rallying cry and analyzes the program they formulated for the realization of progress, prosperity, national reconciliation, and racial harmony. He shows the "vital nexus" they sought to establish between the Old and the New South through an interpretation of the past that was congenial to their new departure ideology but that also emphasized their "Southernness." One of Gaston's most important contributions is his treatment of the metamorphosis beginning in the 1880s that changed the New South image from a consciously-held creed describing what ought to be or would be to an unconsciously-held myth about what already existed. In evaluating the outcome and significance of the New South movement, he speaks of the combination of "wishful thinking and calculated opportunism" that animated its proponents. "Unable to bequeath to the next generation of Southerners a legacy of solid achievement," he writes, "the New South spokesmen gave them instead a solidly propounded and widely spread image of its success, a mythic view of their own times that was as removed from objective reality as the myth of the Old South" (p. 190). The last section of the book is an epilogue on "The Enduring Myth" which deals briefly with the New South mythology in the twentieth century. Here Gaston suggests the devastating impact the events of the Second Reconstruction have had upon the myth, whose racial aspects had long served the interests of the status quo.

The New South Creed is an instructive essay, both because of what it tells us about the realities and aspirations of Southerners-and other Americans-from 1870 to 1900, and because it represents a case study in the historical analysis of mythology. It is no disparagement of Gaston's achievement to say that, in some respects, his work has an unfinished character. The story of the 1890s appears somewhat truncated, and one wonders why more consideration was not given to the significant encounter between Populism and the New South movement. Although the author describes the New South program as the product of "a subtle interaction between national ideals and achievements on the one hand and regional aspirations and failures on the other," he does not do as much as he might in accounting for the growing acceptance of the New South creed in the North. He suggests the pervasiveness of the New South ideology in the years after the turn of the century, but he does not provide a systematic account of the development of the myth through time. Finally, despite his effort to understand the New South prophets and the period in which they lived, Gaston may not fully appreciate and convey the complexity of the human condition. Still, he has written an illuminating chapter in modern regional history, and he has made a notable contribution to our understanding of southern mythmaking.

Vanderbilt University

Dewey W. Grantham

New Orleans in the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880-1896. By Joy J. Jackson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969. xi, 355 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

Courageously setting out "to analyze a period in the city's life that has been largely neglected" and "to offer material which may be useful in placing New Orleans against the backdrop of the New South and in comparing it with other American cities in this era," Miss Jackson has done well. She devotes a considerable amount of the book to the local political factions jousting for control of the city, and in doing so presents an interesting description of the Ring, the dominant political clique, which sprang from the working class of New Orleans and which gave

rise to a group of professional politicians who relied on patronage to keep them in office. The Ring's political opponents, often calling themselves "reformers," came from the commercial and professional classes and advanced the cause of balanced and reduced budgets (usually calling for a reduction in city employees) and control of city departments by businessmen. Interestingly, neither faction had any serious interest in expanding city services at the cost of levying increased taxes. The resistance to taxes for public services both by the governed and the governors and the reliance upon private enterprise produced a sad result for the city.

Pointing to the results of Reconstruction, the author refers often to the "impecunious" city treasury which could not finance services necessary to the improvement of the city's living conditions. In this context, the story of the Louisiana State Lottery appears in one of its most complete forms. But it is the section of the book which describes the pathetic condition of municipal services that is likely to be most useful. The unhappy state of public health, education, and welfare had all of the characteristics of an unsanitary, disease-ridden medieval city in a tropical swamp. Without adequate provisions for sewerage, the city's gutters were open streams of filth; without effective garbage collection, the city was dotted with putrifying refuse; and without pure drinking water, thousands took "wiggle tails" for granted in their water or simply drank beer. The city's public schools were ill-supported and poorly attended, attributing to an illiteracy rate in New Orleans which was among the highest in the nation. With equally poor public support for hospitals and public medicine, the city's mortality rate was higher than other American cities of her size. One needs only examine this chronicle and the wealth of data included by Miss Jackson to understand why New Orleans slipped backward in the late nineteenth century from her historic place among America's great cities of an earlier period.

But there is more. A chapter is devoted to business and commercial enterprises of the city during "the Gilded Age," pointing out the various factors contributing to her decline in relative importance to other cities despite commercial growth. Then there is a chapter which attempts a brief description of the cultural patterns of the city, but unfortunately focuses on

incipient trends which emerged after 1896. Then the author analyzes sources and growth of the "Image of Romantic Old New Orleans and the Growth of the Carnival Traditions" which give G. W. Cable, Grace King, Lafcadio Hearn, among other literary and journalistic contributors, some responsibility for the romantic image which overemphasizes certain facets of the full picture of the city. And, of course, the history of Mardi Gras is given to round out the description.

The book comes to a close with the victory of a true reform group in the city election of 1896, which advances the concept of city ownership of utilities and increased responsibilities for services to improve the quality of life and living in the city. It is ironic that the reform group came to power at the same time as Negroes were disfranchised in the state. In many other ways, the book argues that 1896 was a significant watershed in the city's history.

Miss Jackson has given us a valuable contribution to the slowly growing field of southern urban history. She obviously engaged in prodigious research as evidenced by substantial notes and bibliography of other histories, official reports, manuscript sources, popular journalism, and theses and dissertations. The book survives the difficult problems of topical versus chronological organization, although barely at times, and despite spots of dissertation-like style and documentation, emerges as accomplishing its purpose.

University of Wisconsin

Durward Long

In Pursuit of American History: Research and Training in the United States. By Walter Rundell, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. xv, 445 pp. Foreword, preface, appendices, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

Professor Rundell has offered a study of graduate training in American history which will be reevaluating to students and rewarding to professors. As never previously done, the strengths and weaknesses of graduate training in the United States are systematically analyzed.

The data generated for this study is the outcome of a two-year Survey on the Use of Original Sources in Graduate History Training, inaugurated by the National Historical Publications

Commission, supported by the Ford Foundation, and directed by Professor Rundell. He relies on interview and questionnaire answers from over 500 professors, plus comparative answers from librarians, archivists, and graduate students. The study sets forth its own research method, which is exemplar and particularly appropriate, for the author concludes that inadequate methodological preparation is one of the significant weaknesses in Ph.D. training across the country. Apparently students are not as content to accept methods of research by osmosis as professors are to "osmose." Student emphasis on this weakness is reinforced by archivists and librarians who lament graduate students' ignorance of documentary finding aids. The solution to this second weakness is subsumed under the solutions to the first. Presently, methodological training within topical seminars has an edge in the country's offerings.

Analysis of the uses of different types of records for dissertations is the core of this study. Professor Rundell reveals wherein printed sources are considered adequate and wherein local, genealogical, museum, legal, and other sources remain relatively untapped. He has pointed out other major problems that need professional attention. These include lack of communication between academic and non-academic historians, too difficult access to original documents, and, as his history of university research libraries reveals, how closely history departments have to be tied to libraries that are becoming major research centers. His findings and his recommendations are equally valuable.

Professor Rundell has offered a unique contribution which can prompt improvement of the history profession. His book is indispensable for any professor self-conscious in his attempts to guide graduate students. Contrary to recent rumors, history will not die out with this book held in hand. Incidentally, dust jackets also need proofreading. I watched the author get his Ph.D. not at Yale but at The American University.

University of West Florida

ERNEST F. DIBBLE

Prefaces to History. By Bruce Catton. (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1970. 230 pp. Preface. \$6.00.)

The problem of selection has always plagued historians in

their attempt to record the past. In his newest publication, *Prefaces to History*, Bruce Catton has again demonstrated his wise judgment. Included are several of Catton's prefaces to other historical works - *Prince Napoleon in America*, *The Battle of Gettysburg*, and *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* - and some of his shorter but brilliant essays, especially from *American Heritage*.

After an illuminating preface to his *The Army of the Potomac* trilogy, Catton begins on a very positive note. He calls the first section an introduction to "John Brown's Body," because to Catton, this spirited poem by Stephen Vincent Benet best describes in a single work the Civil War years and its impact upon the emotions and human spirit of that generation. His main theme is equality for all, and now that the Civil War centennial celebrations are over, "it is time we got on with it." The second section, "History as Literature," is the strongest part of the book, because it expresses why Catton is the most widely-read Civil War author. He believes that "history is more art than science," and that it is very important for an historian "to use the skills of that art," because "good history is literature." Digressing on a variety of subjects - U.S.S. *Indianapolis*, canoes, baseball, and the state of Michigan, Catton's final section is entitled "Our American Heritage." His theme is that curiosity and diversity made America a great nation.

The only criticism is that he is repetitious. He repeats the importance of Frank Haskell, the modern war thesis, the Civil War as the watershed in American history, the generalship of Robert E. Lee, and General William T. Sherman's views of war correspondents. Catton's final essay has a very nostalgic ring to me, since I am also a native Michigander, although I do not believe that the best way to enter Michigan is through Detroit. I also think that Babe Ruth fans would object to Ty Cobb being called the greatest baseball player.

The major contribution of this scholarly work is that all young historians who must get involved in the game of "publish or perish" can receive valuable advice and assistance from a master historian.

BOOK NOTES

Peter Schaal arrived in Sanford, Florida, in 1912, to become news and sports editor of the local newspaper. He also served for many years as Seminole County correspondent for the Associated Press, the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, and the *Orlando Sentinel*. From his longtime association with the community, he has written a book, *Sanford as I Knew It, 1912-1935*. There is a chapter for each year, and Mr. Schaal has highlighted the important community events as recorded in the *Sanford Herald*. The last chapter was written as a tribute to the Sanford High School football team. This book contains an index, which certainly makes it very useful. It sells for \$4.50, and it may be ordered from the author, Box 140, Orlando 32802.

Pedro Menendez de Aviles and the Founding of St. Augustine, by Elaine Murray Stone, is one of the American Background Books series that records the lives of outstanding Catholics in American history. The book was written for a teenage audience, but an examination of Mrs. Stone's list of sources reveals that she has done her homework well. She has produced a very readable book with a minimum of historic errors. It is published by P. J. Kennedy and Sons, New York, and sells for \$4.95.

The Branded Hand: Trial and Imprisonment, by Jonathon Walker, has been republished by Arno Press, New York (\$4.50). Walker's story, originally published in 1845, was widely distributed throughout the United States and England before the Civil War by abolitionist organizations. Walker was accused of "stealing" seven slaves. He had taken the blacks aboard his small boat at Pensacola in 1844, and while enroute to Nassau, they were captured by a U. S. Navy sloop. In Key West Walker was placed in double-irons, and was later taken by steamer to Pensacola to stand trial. Found guilty, he was sentenced to stand in the pillory for one hour, to pay a sizable fine, and to be branded on the palm of his right hand with the letters SS (slave stealer). By the time Walker was released from jail in June 1845, his case had become famous. In a poem entitled "The Branded

Hand," John Greenleaf Whittier heralded Walker's anti-slave activities.

The First Baptist Church, Gainesville, Florida, 1870-1970, by George C. Osborn, records the history of the congregation from the time of its organization, August 14, 1870, when it had a total of twenty-one members. Within five years there was a church building and pastor, who served two Sundays each month for a salary of \$300 a year. Church histories are necessary if one is to fully understand and appreciate local and regional history. Professor Osborn, who has written biographies of John Sharp Williams and Woodrow Wilson, has written an adequate history, notwithstanding the difficulties of obtaining necessary papers and records. He points out in his preface the need of all religious institutions to establish "a careful and complete filing system for reference by proper persons and for use by church historians." This monograph sells for \$3.00, plus twenty cents postage. It may be ordered from the First Baptist Church, 424 West University Avenue, Gainesville 32601.

Florida Legislature, A Bibliography, by E. Lester Levine and William H. Creamer, is one of the publications in the Civic Information Series, Public Administration Clearing Service, University of Florida. As Professor Levine points out in his introduction, the Florida legislative process offers a fertile area for future research for both political scientists and historians. The pamphlet sells for twenty-five cents, and it may be ordered from the Director, Public Administration Clearing Service, University of Florida, Gainesville 32601.

Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Social Sciences, Number 16, contains two papers: "The Palmetto Grove Site on San Salvador, Bahamas," by Charles A. Hoffman, Jr., and "Archaeological Investigations on Cat Island, Bahamas," by James C. MacLaury. The monograph sells for \$1.50, and it may be ordered from the Florida State Museum, Seagle Building, Gainesville 32601.

Professor Robert B. Marcus, Department of Geography, University of Florida, has published an excellent *Geography of*

Florida. A large variety of topics are included: size and location, physiography, climate, soils, water resources, population, manufacturing, tourism, agriculture, fisheries, forestry, and mining. There are selected references at the end of each chapter and a number of maps and statistical tables. The *Geography* sells for \$3.60. Order from the University of Florida Bookstore, Gainesville 32601.

Journal of a Tour and Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796-7197, by Francis Baily, has been published by Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, in its Travels on the Western Waters series. Baily "toured" the American frontier in the 1790s. He traveled down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans and then returned North by way of the Natchez Trace. Published originally in 1846, the *Journal* gives a descriptive account of "every conceivable aspect of frontier life from the excessives of the religious procession in Spanish New Orleans to the simple campfire warming the weary travelers on the Natchez Trace." There is much in the book to interest West Florida historians. Professor Jack D. L. Holmes of the University of Alabama at Birmingham is editor of the Baily *Journal*. His introduction includes extensive biographical data on Baily, and his commentary on the *Journal's* value to history is excellent. There is also an index. The book sells for \$15.

Privateers in Charleston, 1793-1796: An Account of A French Palatinate in South Carolina, by Melvin H. Jackson, was published by the Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington 20560. Many of the attacks which the French privateersmen made against the British and Spanish in a vain attempt to save France's West Indian colonies were off the Georgia and Florida coasts. The abortive efforts of French Minister Genet and Mangourit, French consul at Charleston, to revolutionize and seize the Floridas from Spain is described in a chapter entitled "Gallomania and the East Florida Experation." Much of this is drawn from correspondence from the East Florida Papers. The interesting story which it tells and the excellent pictures which it contains make this book a rare buy at \$3.50. It is available from the United States Government Printing Office, Washington 20402.

The Negro in Maryland Politics, by Margaret Law Callcott, examines the black man's political role against the full spectrum of post-Civil War politics. Maryland Negroes gave solid support to the Republican Party, and in retaliation the Democrats launched ingenious but unsuccessful schemes to disfranchise them. This book is an important contribution to both southern and black history. Published by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, it sells for \$7.95.

Mississippi Valley Pioneers, compiled and edited by Neil J. Toups, is devoted mainly to the passenger lists of thirty-seven ships that left France for Louisiana between 1717 and 1721. In most instances the birthplaces and the occupations of the various colonists are listed. There is a description of the Western Company and the Company of the Indies together with a listing of sixteen of the larger and more important Louisiana Concessions. This book is of value to those interested in West Florida history. It sells for \$7.95, and may be ordered from Neilson Publishing Company, 118 Julian Drive, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

In 1930 the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill established the Southern Historical Collection with Dr. J. G. de Rhoulhac Hamilton as its director. With its more than 5,000,000 documents and manuscripts, the collection is generally recognized as being one of the very best in the country, not only because of the great mass of material, but also because of the breadth of its holdings. There are manuscripts and private papers of individuals, families, and institutions; no public records, books, pamphlets, or newspapers are included. In 1941, when the collection was substantially smaller than it is now, a guide was published. It is out-of-date, but a new guide is now available. It contains entries for most of the collection's nearly 4,000 groups of papers. There is also an index to selected people, places, and subjects. There are many Florida references in the collection, and it is noted that the Stephen R. Mallory Papers, the Edmund Kirby-Smith Papers, the Richard Keith Call Papers, the Brevard Family Papers, and the Hentz Family Papers are at Chapel Hill. *Southern Historical Collection: A Guide to Manuscripts*, edited by Susan L. Blosser and Clyde N. Wilson,

Jr., sells for \$6.00. It may be ordered from the Manuscripts Department, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill 27514.

A Guide to Spanish Louisiana, 1762-1806, by Jack D. L. Holmes, is in the Louisiana Collection Series of Books and Documents on Colonial Louisiana. Professor Holmes' Spanish Louisiana, examined according to eighteenth century definition, was bounded on the west by Texas and includes the posts of Los Adaes and Natchitoches, and on the north by the Louisiana settlements of St. Louis, San Carlos, and St. Andrew. On the east, the traditional eighteenth century boundary of Louisiana and West Florida, the Mississippi-Iberville River line, has been extended so as to include West Florida as far as the Apalachicola River and the Spanish post of San Marcos de Apalache. The southern boundary, of course, is the Gulf of Mexico. Louisiana was acquired by Spain in 1762 under the Treaty of Fontainebleau, and it became an American territory in 1803. This *Guide* continues through 1806 so as to include important material relating to the transfer and American settlement. While this bibliography is not definitive, and Professor Holmes never intended it so, it is very valuable. The study is intended for the general public, students, and historians, and it serves all three groups well. There are many Florida references, including several from the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The book sells for \$3.95, and it may be ordered from the Louisiana Collection Series, 720 S. 20th Street, Birmingham, Alabama 35233.

A list of references for the *History of Agriculture in the United States, 1790-1840* has been compiled and edited by Douglas Bowers for the Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis. It was prepared as another step toward an eventual comprehensive bibliographical history of American agriculture. There are more than 1,200 references, including several relating to Florida.

A Guide to Research in American Library History, by Michael H. Harris, spotlights undeveloped areas for the researcher in library history. Of particular value is a descriptive bibliography of theses and dissertations on American library

history completed through 1965. Among the Florida references are the history of the Miami Public Library system, the Four Arts Library of Palm Beach, and the Florida State Library. The book is published by Scarecrow Press, P. O. Box 656, Metuchen, New Jersey 08840. It sells for \$5.00.

The Carolina Indian Frontier, by David H. Corkran, is the sixth tricentennial booklet published for the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission by the University of South Carolina Press at Columbia. It examines the Yamasee War of 1715, Oglethorpe's utilization of the Cherokees and local Creeks against the Spaniards in the 1740 siege of St. Augustine, and the Cherokee war in South Carolina during the 1750s. The material is taken from published documentary sources, primarily from the *Colonial Records of South Carolina*. The tricentennial commission has also published a second volume in its Tricentennial Studies series. *The Bank of the State of South Carolina: A General and Political History*, by J. Mauldin Lesesne, traces the history of the bank from its establishment in 1812 until its collapse resulting from the Civil War and the bankruptcy that followed. The book sells for \$6.95, and it may be ordered from the University of South Carolina Press, Columbia 29028.

The Era of Expansion: 1800-1848, by Don E. Fehrenbacher, covers, of course, the period when the Florida territory was added to the United States. The book, published by John Wiley, New York, sells for \$6.50.

The Opening of the West, edited by Jack M. Sosin; *The Issues of the Populist and Progressive Eras, 1892-1912*, edited by Richard M. Abrams; and *Great Britain and the American Colonies, 1606-1763*, edited by Jack P. Greene, are new volumes in the Documentary History of the United States series published by the University of South Carolina Press. Richard B. Morris is general editor. The volumes each sell for \$7.95. They are also available in paperback from Harper & Row of New York.

HISTORY NEWS

Announcements and Activities

The second annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held in Pensacola, Florida, on December 4-5, 1970. The theme of the conference this year will be "The Gulf Coast: Spain and Her Rivals." Professors John J. TePaske, Duke University; Alfred D. Thomas, University of West Florida; Hale Smith, Florida State University; and Mr. Sam Wilson, New Orleans, will deliver papers. Other scholars representing universities throughout the South and Southwest are also scheduled to be present and will participate in the roundtable discussions. The conference is being sponsored by the University of West Florida, Pensacola Junior College, Escalosa Humanities Center of Pensacola, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, and the American Association for State and Local History. The proceedings of the first conference, held in Pensacola in December 1969, have been published under the title *In Search of Gulf Coast Colonial History*. The price is \$3.00, and it may be ordered from Dr. Ernest F. Dibble, Faculty of History, University of West Florida, Pensacola, 32504.

St. Augustine has been designated by the United States Department of Interior as a historic site and it is now included in the National Register of Historic Places. A formal presentation was made in August 1970, to Lawrence Lewis, Jr., chairman of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, and to Bradley G. Brewer, its director. The Arrivas House, 46 St. George Street, was the scene of the presentation. This is the first historic district in Florida to be so designated by the interior department. In addition the Cathedral, the Llambias House, and the Oldest House, all in St. Augustine, were also designated as National Historic Landmarks. St. Catherine's Island, Georgia, whose sixteenth and seventeenth century history is closely related to Spanish Florida, was also placed on the National Register.

Local Historical Societies and Commissions

Halifax Historical Society: Founders Day on November 1, 1970, will mark the settlement of Mathias Day in the Halifax River area a century ago. The Volusia County Historical Society is in charge of the program which will take place at the southwest corner of Loomis and Beach streets, site of the original Palmetto House. Speakers at recent program meetings included Mrs. Eileen Butts, Gordon Kipp, Mrs. Susann Frierson, Mrs. Alice Strickland, and Miss Natalie Lamb. Harley Freeman is president of the Society, and Mrs. Hazelle L. Fenty is chairman of the program committee.

Orange County Historical Commission: The June 1970 number of the "Orange County Historical Quarterly" carried short articles on "Orlando's First Boom" by Rolland Dean and the "South Florida Railroad." Donald Cheney, chairman, reports that several associate members have joined the organization this year and the Museum has acquired furniture, maps, the first guest register book of the New Seminole Hotel of Winter Park, and an assortment of other memorabilia.

Central Florida Society for Historical Preservation: This group was organized in 1969 in an effort to help protect the architectural and historic heritage of central Florida. Officers are Robert G. Petree, president; Dr. Edwin S. Burdell, vice-president; and Arthur D. White, project director. The restoration of the original town of Longwood in Seminole County is the major project of the Society. Restoration of the Longwood Hotel and one of the old Longwood homes on Warren Avenue has begun. Plans are under way to restore the McIntire home at Altamonte Springs. Longwood was founded about 1800, and was named after a Boston, Massachusetts, district by one of its earliest residents.

Penial Historical Society: This group was organized to help preserve the history of Putnam County, and particularly the community of Penial. Dr. Billy Graham preached what was possibly his first evangelistic sermon in the East Palatka area in 1938, and the next year he was ordained as a minister in the

St. Johns Baptist Church at Penial. The Society is planning to restore the structure and to rededicate the church.

Pinellas County Historical Commission: Dr. J. C. Dickinson, director of the Florida State Museum, University of Florida, reported on the progress of the new state museum at the September meeting. Executive Director Ralph Reed reports that the Historical Museum has acquired a number of new items, antique weapons and tools, and a variety of household goods.

Safety Harbor Area Historical Society: Charles Knight, chairman of the Florida Commission on Indian Affairs, and Dr. Marvin Moore of the St. Petersburg Junior College, Clearwater campus, were speakers at recent meetings of the Society. The following officers will serve for the year 1970-1971: Charles H. Lister, president; Hayes L. Kennedy, vice-president; Alva L. Jones, secretary; and Gustave A. Nelson, treasurer. Eleanor Diehl, William Edson, Alva Jones, Teama Pedigo, and Restaituo Rios are members of the board. Sam Prentice is museum director, and Edna Nelson is in charge of publicity.

St. Augustine Historical Society: Dr. Gordon E. Bigelow, professor of English at the University of Florida and author of *Frontier Eden*, discussed his book and the literary career of the Florida author, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, at the quarterly meeting of the Society in July. The movie, *The Sounds and Sights of Cross Creek*, was also shown. The Society has financed an archaeological investigation of the lot at 76 Marine Street. The work was directed by Robert Steinbach of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board who will report on his findings at a later date. The July 1970 number of *El Escribano* carried an article, "A Synopsis of Restoration," by Bradley G. Brewer, director of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board.

St. Lucie Historical Society: Harry Schultz, former editor of the *Vero Beach Press-Journal*, and Ernest Lyons, editor of the *Stuart News* and author of *My Florida*, were recent speakers at the monthly supper meetings. "St. Lucie County Historical Notes" have carried short articles by Walter Hellier on the

Ashley gang, Mrs. Emily Lagow Bell, an early pioneer of the area, and the founder of Ft. Pierce.

St. Petersburg Historical Society: To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Society and its museum, the week of July 19-25 was proclaimed St. Petersburg Historical Museum Week. A special parade featuring a number of antique automobiles was held on July 19, and historical exhibits were featured in all of the local banking establishments. There were also a number of special exhibits at the St. Petersburg Historical Museum. The Society has received as a gift an antebellum house originally built in Anona near Indian Rocks. The plan is to move the house to museum property, restore it, and open it to the public.

Southern Genealogist's Exchange Society: The Craig Swamp Cemetery on Old St. Augustine Road in Jacksonville has been acquired by the Society, and plans are under way to clean up the area, restore the grave sites, and record all of the marked graves. The Society holds its monthly program meetings at the Haydon Burns Public Library. Officers are James R. Boone, president; James M. Arnsdorff and Mildred P. Tomlinson, vice-presidents; Artis Kent, treasurer; Tania Ham and Helene Linberger, secretaries; and Inez McCormick, historian.

Southwest Florida Historical Society: The Society's newsletter lists a number of activities, including a trip to Koreshan State Park at Estero. It has also offered assistance to people in Hendry County in establishing an historical society there.

Notes

Dr. Robert E. Ward, Youngstown (Ohio) State University, is compiling an encyclopedia of German writers in the United States since 1675. He defines a German writer as anyone, regardless of nationality, who writes imaginative literature in the German language while residing in the United States. Information or data that might be useful to Professor Ward should be directed to him in care of the Department of Foreign Languages, Youngstown State University, Youngstown 44503.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

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|------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Nov. 11-14 | Southern Historical Association | Louisville, Ky. |
| Nov. 13-16 | National Colloquium on Oral History | Carmel, Calif. |
| Dec. 4-5 | 2nd Annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference | Pensacola |
| Dec. 12 | Board of Directors Florida Historical Society | Jacksonville University |
| March 25-27 1971 | Conference of Southern Historical Societies | Mobile, Ala. |
| March 1971 | Florida College Teachers of History | Stetson University |
| May 1971 | FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY - 69TH ANNUAL MEETING | Punta Gorda, Fla. |

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, MAY 7

REGISTRATION: Manger Motor Inn, 4:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.
MEETING OF THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS:
Manger Motor Inn, 8:00 p.m.

FRIDAY, MAY 8

Morning Session: Manger Motor Inn, ballroom, 10:00 a.m.
Presiding: Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *president of the Society*
Invocation: Rabbi David L. Zielonka, Schaarai Zedek Temple
and University of Tampa
Welcome: Honorable Dick A. Greco, Jr., *mayor of Tampa*

USES AND ABUSES OF ARCHIVES

Presiding: William M. Goza, *past president of the Society*
Edward N. Johnson, *State Division of Archives, His-
tory and Records Management, Tallahassee*
Audrey Broward, *Jacksonville University Library*
Frank Laumer, *Dade City*
Clifton L. Paisley, *Florida State University*

Afternoon Session: Manger Motor Inn, 2:00 p.m.

MEN OF THREE CENTURIES

Presiding: Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *president of the Society*
Chairman: Margaret L. Chapman, *University of South Florida*
"A Man of the Eighteenth Century: Jesse Fish"
Robert L. Gold, Southern Illinois University,
Carbondale, Illinois
"A Man of the Nineteenth Century: Jonathan Gibbs"
Bonnie Fennelly, Florida State University
"A Man of the Twentieth Century: Sidney J. Catts"
Wayne Flynt, Samford University, Birmingham, Alabama
Commentator: Dr. James W. Covington, *University of Tampa*

SATURDAY, MAY 9

Morning Session: Manger Motor Inn, ballroom, 10:00 a.m.

TAMPA BAY AREA HISTORY

Presiding: John E. Johns, *vice-president of the Society*Chairman: J. Ryan Beiser, *University of Tampa**"Tampa During the 1930s"*Durward Long, *University of Wisconsin**"Tampa Bay Through Three Centuries: A Brief Chronology"*John D. Ware, *Tampa*Commentator: Hampton Dunn, *Tampa, Florida*

Unveiling of historical marker in Ybor City: 12:30 p.m.

Annual luncheon and business meeting: Columbia Restaurant,

Ybor City, 1:00 p.m.

Presiding: Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *president of the Society**"An Introduction to Ybor City"*Anthony Pizzo, *Tampa*

Visits to Historic Sites: 3:00 p.m.

Reception: Manger Motor Inn, 7:00 p.m.

Annual Banquet: Manger Motor Inn, ballroom, 8:00 p.m.

Presiding: Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *president of the Society*Invocation: Reverend Michael English, S. J., *Sacred Heart**Parish, Tampa*

Presentations:

*Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History*Presented to Dr. Harry P. Owens, *University of Mississippi*, by Samuel Proctor, *editor of the Quarterly**Award in Excellence for Presentation of Florida history in the News Media*Presented to Hampton Dunn, *Tampa*, Milton D. Jones, *Clearwater*

Address

*"History the Hard Way"*Gloria Jahoda, *Tallahassee*

Installation of James C. Craig as president of the Society

Recognition of past presidents of the Society

ANNUAL MEETING

Minutes of the Directors Meeting

The semi-annual meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened by Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., at 8:15 p.m., May 7, 1970, in the president's suite in the Manger Inn, Tampa, Florida. It was held in conjunction with the sixty-eighth annual meeting of the Society. The following officers and directors were present: James C. Craig, John E. Johns, Mrs. Milton D. Jones, Margaret L. Chapman, Samuel Proctor, Robert Akerman, Luis Arana, August Burgard, William M. Goza, Baynard Kendrick, James H. Lipscomb, III, N. E. Bill Miller, Thelma Peters, Mrs. O. C. Peterson, James A. Servies, John D. Ware, and Clara E. Wendel. Milton D. Jones, chairman of the rules revision committee, attended at the request of the president.

After welcoming the group, Dr. Doherty made several announcements relative to the meeting. He read the names of members who had passed away since the last annual meeting. He also announced that the following former living presidents of the Society would be honored at the banquet on May 9: Alfred J. Hanna, 1939-1940; Calvin Horace Curry, 1940-1941; Philip I. May, Sr., 1944-1945; Karl A. Bickel, 1945-1946; Charlton A. Tebeau, 1949-1951; Charles T. Thrift, Jr., 1954-1956; Dena Snodgrass, 1956-1958; Albert C. Manucy, 1958-1960; Gilbert L. Lycan, 1960-1962; Frank B. Sessa, 1962-1964; James R. Knott, 1964-1966; William M. Goza, 1966-1968; and Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., 1968-1970.

Miss Margaret Chapman, executive secretary, gave her financial report. The balance at the beginning of the fiscal year, April 1, 1969, was \$27,431.28. Receipts through March 31, 1970, were \$10,314.40 for memberships and \$2,355.10 realized from dividends and sales. Total receipts were \$40,847.21. Disbursements were \$8,668.04 for the *Quarterly*, \$111.94 for the 1969 convention, and \$1,780.37, miscellaneous, totaling \$10,560.35. The net worth of the Society is \$30,286.86. Most of the funds of the Society are contained in special trusts, and only the accrued interest can be utilized. It was again noted that the Society has no paid employees. Dr. Proctor moved that the

financial report be accepted with thanks to Miss Chapman. The motion passed.

Miss Chapman announced that as of March 31, 1970, the Society had 1,522 members. The increase in dues had not adversely affected membership, and there has been an increase of membership over the 1969 total. Miss Chapman reported on gifts to the Society library, most of which were in memory of Father Jerome or were purchased with interest accrued on the Father Jerome Fund. It was moved that the membership and gift reports be accepted. The motion passed. Miss Chapman thanked Mrs. Mary Jane Kuhl and Mrs. Sylvia Baggett of her staff for all their cooperation and assistance.

Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, reported that the new format of the journal had been well received. Dr. Proctor reported that the indexing of the *Quarterly* beginning with Volume XXXVI is underway, and it is hoped that it will be completed within two years. Miss Chapman suggested that perhaps the Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund could be used to publish the index.

The editor noted that *Quarterly* articles, book reviews, and book notes covered all periods of Florida history. The *Quarterly* also serves as an instrument for publication of news of local historical organizations. Dr. Proctor recommended that the Society's newsletter be revived. Dr. Proctor thanked the University of Florida, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, the University of South Florida, Mr. Craig for his publicity reports, and his editorial board. It was moved that the editor's report be accepted. The motion passed.

Mr. Goza, chairman of the financial committee, reported on the sale of a piece of property owned by the Society with the help of former board member, Walter S. Hardin. Dr. Johns stated that there were some books belonging to the Society in the Jacksonville Public Library. Miss Chapman agreed to write an inquiry letter about the matter. Four Audubon prints belonging to the Society are at Stetson University. A full property report will be given at a later date.

Dr. Doherty stated that at the previous annual meeting a new charter had been adopted. Since that time, Milton D. Jones, chairman of the rules revision committee, has been working on revising the by-laws. Copies of the proposed revi-

sions had been distributed to officers and directors prior to the meeting, and additional copies are available for the membership at the registration desk. Mr. Jones pointed out that many items contained in the old by-laws had actually been abandoned in practice. According to theory the charter is the basic, fundamental instrument of the organization; the by-laws relate to the more specific details. Mr. Jones suggests that the board of directors be empowered to perform the functions that are necessary for the organization to operate. The most important change is revising districts from which directors are elected. Mr. Jones proposed using the four state appellate court districts: three directors from each of the four districts, and three additional directors holding "at-large" posts. He pointed out that even if the state appellate court districts change, it would not affect the Society breakdown since these are spelled out by definitive counties based on the current court districts.

The new by-laws contain a provision whereby anyone elected at a meeting who should be out of his district would be able to hold his seat unless there was a challenge at the time of election. Five directors will be elected at the 1970 meeting. The by-laws require staggered terms. Mr. Miller suggested that a specific time for a fiscal year be made a part of the by-laws, but Mr. Jones explained that this could be done by the board by resolution. Whatever is not covered specifically in the charter or by-laws will be governed by custom and precedent. Mr. Jones explained that the new by-laws contain a provision whereby the Society would have to comply with current internal revenue service regulations, which is a built-in protection to safeguard the tax-exempt status of the Society. Mr. Miller asked that the terms of office for the president and the president-elect be spelled out more specifically, but Mr. Jones felt that the minutes of the meetings would be sufficient to keep track of their terms of office.

Mr. Craig asked if the minutes of the meetings of the Society should not be attested by the president. Mr. Jones felt that the certificate of the secretary would seem sufficient. Dr. Proctor noted that the published minutes are edited from the more fuller version submitted by the secretary, and that the Society does not maintain a minute book. Dr. Doherty said

that he will call for a motion at the business meeting to approve or correct the previous minutes as published in the *Quarterly*.

Mr. Kendrick moved that the revised by-laws be submitted to the membership with the board's recommendation for adoption. The motion passed. The president thanked Mr. Jones on behalf of the board for his work on this matter.

Dr. Proctor submitted a report of a special committee (Mrs. T. O. Bruce and Mrs. Ralph Davis) which recommends that the Rembert W. Patrick junior historian's contest be abandoned, and that it be replaced with the annual Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award. A prize of \$100 would be given the author of the best book or monograph on Florida history. Original work only would be considered; fiction, drama, poetry, promotional material, and reprints would be excluded. Monographs would have to be at least seventy-five pages in length. Three judges selected by the editor of the *Quarterly* will determine the winner. Mr. Kendrick moved that the proposal be accepted. The motion passed.

Dr. Doherty reported that he had been working on the matter of preservation of the St. Marks Lighthouse in accordance with recommendations from N. E. Bill Miller. C. Edward Carlson and W. L. Towne of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, Atlanta, had informed Dr. Doherty that they were trying to secure the site from the U. S. Coast Guard. Senator Robert Williams is in the process of having the area entered into the National Register of Historic Places which would protect the lighthouse and the keeper's house from destruction.

Dr. Proctor announced that Harry P. Owens, professor of history, University of Mississippi, is the 1970 winner of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History for the best article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Volume XLVIII. Professor Owens' article, "Port of Apalachicola," appeared in the July 1969 issue. It was based upon a paper presented at the 1969 annual meeting of the Society. Dr. Owens will not be present to receive the award. Dr. Proctor expressed his appreciation to the following contest judges: Professors Joe Richardson, Florida State University; Julian Weinkle, University of Miami; and Robert L. Gold, University of Southern Illinois.

Mr. Jones reported that his committee had chosen Hampton

Dunn of Tampa to receive the "Award of excellence for presentation of Florida history in the news media." This was based primarily on Mr. Dunn's articles in *Florida Trend* magazine. The recipient will be present to receive the plaque at the annual banquet.

Dr. Doherty stated that the Volusia County Historical Commission had requested help in preserving the ruins of the home of General Joseph Hernandez. In the name of the Society, Dr. Doherty had written to the ITT Levitt Development Corporation asking them to save the site. Further word from the company is expected. The president had asked members of the board, prior to the meeting, to contact legislators to approve the budget request of the Division of Archives, History and Records Management. Dr. Doherty then reviewed some of the replies which had been received. Miss Chapman reported that she had spent \$540 to bind periodicals and books in the Society library, but that she still needed more funds to complete the project. Dr. Johns moved that \$250 be authorized for this purpose. The motion passed.

Mr. Burghard asked if anything had been done about getting the name of Cape Canaveral restored. He was informed that United States Senators Gurney and Holland had decided to delay the matter until a later date. There was a question as to the status of the bill sponsored by Representative William Bevis regarding the teaching of Florida history in the public schools, but there was no information available on this matter.

The following nominating committee for 1971 was selected: E. Ashby Hammond, University of Florida; Jerrell H. Shofner, Florida State University; Mrs. T. O. Bruce, Key West; James R. Knott, West Palm Beach; and James A. Servies, University of West Florida. In accordance with the charter the committee will select its own chairman. Dr. Doherty proposed John D. Ware's name to fill the vacancy of regional vice-president. Mr. Craig moved that this suggestion be approved. The motion passed.

Captain Ware, co-chairman of the local arrangements committee, described the convention activities as listed in the convention program, and thanked the local committee which has worked with him and Mr. Anthony Pizzo. Dr. Peters presented an invitation from the Everglades Hotel in Miami to hold the

Society's 1973 convention in that city. The convention will be held in Punta Gorda in 1971 and in Jacksonville the following year.

Dr. Doherty noted that Mr. Goza had been named "Mr. Clearwater for 1970"; that Dr. James Covington had won the Peace River Valley Historical Award for 1970; and that Dr. Johns had been appointed president of Stetson University. The President thanked members of the local arrangements committee, and the following retiring directors: Robert Akerman, Mrs. T. O. Bruce, August Burghard, James H. Lipscomb, III, and James A. Servies. The President expressed his appreciation to the entire board for their cooperation and help, and stated that he had enjoyed his term as president of the Society. Mr. Goza commended Dr. Doherty for a job well done, and the President received a standing ovation from the board. Dr. Proctor expressed the Society's regrets that Mr. Miller was leaving his post as director of the Florida Park System.

The meeting was adjourned at 10.20 p.m.

Minutes of the Annual Business Meeting

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 1:50 p.m., May 9, 1970, in the Columbia Restaurant, Ybor City, Tampa, Florida. Dr. John E. Johns gave the invocation. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., welcomed the members and guests, introduced the persons sitting at the head table and some of the dignitaries present. Mr. Theodore Lesley, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Weedon, Captain and Mrs. John D. Ware, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Pizzo, and Judge and Mrs. Harry McDonald of the local arrangements committee were recognized. Since activities of local historical groups are carried in the History News section of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Dr. Doherty invited representatives of these organizations to mail their news items to Dr. Proctor. The President noted that Mrs. Eileen Butts of Ormond Beach had requested assistance in preserving the "Casements," the winter home of John D. Rockefeller, and Joseph Shuck, State Division of Archives, History and Records Management, asked that those concerned write to the Rockefeller brothers, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, New York.

The President asked for additions and/or corrections of the minutes of the May 1969 business meeting of the Society which had been published in the October 1969 issue of the *Quarterly*. Captain Ware moved that the minutes as published be approved. The motion passed. The President reported that Punta Gorda will be the site for the 1971 convention and that the 1972 meeting will be held in Jacksonville. Dr. Doherty also announced that the directors had selected the following to serve on the nominating committee for 1971: E. Ashby Hammond, Jerrell Shofner, Mrs. T. O. Bruch, Judge James R. Knott, and James A. Servies.

Dr. Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, described the new format for the journal. He noted that a wide spectrum of history had been covered in the 500 pages printed this past year. Eighteen articles and sixty-three book reviews were included. Work has started on the index to the *Quarterly*, beginning with volume XXXVI. The editor expressed his appreciation to the board of editors, authors and book reviewers, his editorial assistants, Miss Elizabeth Alexander of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, and Miss Margaret L. Chapman and her staff at the University of South Florida Library.

Miss Chapman, executive secretary and librarian, gave her reports. The balance as of March 31, 1970 was \$40,847.21. She pointed out, however, that most of this is in special funds where only accrued interest may be used. The Society had 1,522 members as of March 31, 1970. She explained also that she is an employee of the University of South Florida Library and not of the Florida Historical Society and receives no salary or other compensation from the Society.

President Doherty stated that the rules revision committee had prepared new by-laws, as authorized by the charter. They fix the geographic areas from which the directors are elected. Three directors would be elected from each of four districts, plus three at-large directors. Five directors will be elected each year for a three-year term. The rules revision committee used the four state appellate court districts of Florida as the basis of the new districting. Mr. Milton Jones moved that the by-laws be adopted. In answer to a question about how the division was carried out in the middle of the state, Dr. Doherty gave the east-west demarcation lines by counties for the various districts.

Colonel H. D. Mendenhall, Tallahassee,
Mr. M. L. Mershon, Miami
Colonel Lewis B. Mitchell, Daytona Beach
Dr. Frank Monaghan, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Frank W. Pope, Daytona Beach
Mr. Thomas De Coursey Ruth, Lake Wales
Mrs. Eugene C. Sandstrom, Safety Harbor
Mrs. Harriet C. Skofield, Gainesville
Mr. Gerald D. Stevenson, Lynn Haven
Mr. C. D. Towers, Jacksonville
Mr. Jerome A. Waterman, Tampa.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Society extends its thanks to Mr. Milton D. Jones for his tireless efforts in revising the charter and by-laws of the Society during the past two years.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society at its annual meeting extends its grateful appreciation to the local arrangements committee, headed by Mr. Anthony Pizzo and Captain John D. Ware, co-chairmen, and their committee whose good work in preparation for this convention has been most obvious; to the news media of the Tampa Bay area for their excellent coverage of the proceedings and activities of the convention; to the Hillsborough County Historical Commission, the University of South Florida, and the University of Tampa, who have sponsored this convention; to all who have contributed to the success of this meeting; and finally, special thanks is hereby also extended to the Manger Motor Inn, the convention headquarters, for its excellent services and facilities.

Mr. Goza moved that the resolutions be adopted. The motion passed.

Theodore Lesley raised a question about the seal of the Florida Historical Society, and suggested that it might be redesigned.

President Doherty thanked all the men and women who had worked to make this annual meeting a success. He reminded the group of the reception at the Manger Inn at 7 p.m. and the banquet at 8 p.m. The business session was then adjourned.

Mr. Anthony Pizzo was introduced by the President. He

presented Dr. Doherty with a certificate, naming him "Director of the Ybor City National Archives." Mr. Pizzo gave a very interesting talk about the history, traditions, and customs of Ybor City Afterwards he announced that a guided tour of the area would begin at 3 p.m.

REVISED BY-LAWS
OF
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I. - Membership and Dues

SECTION 1. Any person may become a member of the Florida Historical Society upon payment of dues. Honorary members may be chosen by two-thirds of the membership voting at the annual meeting of the Society, but only after the recommendation of the Board.

SECTION 2. The Board may establish by resolution from time to time classifications of memberships and the conditions thereof, and shall fix the amount of dues for each classification so established. Such classifications may include life memberships. Except for life memberships dues shall be for an annual period. The amount of dues fixed by the Board shall be approved by the membership at the annual meeting of the Society.

SECTION 3. Except for life memberships, all dues shall be payable in advance at the beginning of the membership year for each member. The membership year for each member shall begin on the first day of the calendar month during which the respective member originally became a member of the Society.

SECTION 4. Any member who has not paid his dues within six months after the beginning of his membership year shall be considered as delinquent, and shall be automatically dropped from the membership roll. Memberships, after being so dropped, may be renewed by payment of dues as required for new members, and a new membership year for such renewing member shall thenceforth govern time for payment of dues.

SECTION 5. Any member who has not timely paid his dues shall not be entitled to vote.

SECTION 6. All dues shall be payable to the Executive Secretary and Librarian upon receipt of dues notice or notices.

Article II. - Officers and Duties

SECTION 1. The elected officers of the Society shall be a President, a President-Elect, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, and an Executive Secretary and Librarian, whose terms shall simultaneously run for two years from the annual meeting of the Society, or until their successors are duly elected.

SECTION 2. The Board shall appoint the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* as an officer of the Society who shall serve at the pleasure of the Board. His duties shall consist of acting as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the general supervision of the publication of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* four times yearly.

SECTION 3. The Board may designate five regional vice-presidents from directors whose residences shall be located respectively in the northwestern, northeastern, central, southeastern, and southwestern portions of the State of Florida. Such designations shall be optional with the Board, and their duties shall be as directed by the Board.

SECTION 4. The President shall call and preside at all meetings of the membership and of the Board. He shall perform all other duties usually pertaining to such office, and such other duties as may be required by the

Articles of Incorporation or these By-Laws. In the event of and during the absence or disability of the President, the duties of the President shall be performed by the President-Elect, and in the absence or disability of the President-Elect, the Vice-President. In the event of the death or resignation of the President, the President-Elect shall automatically succeed to the office of President until the next annual meeting of the Society when his successor shall be elected for the remainder of his term if any there be at the time of such Annual Meeting.

SECTION 5. The President-Elect shall assist the President in the performance of his duties and act as President under conditions provided in Section 4 of this Article II. Upon the end of the term of the President, he shall automatically succeed to the office of President. He shall have such other duties as the President or the Board may direct.

SECTION 6. The Vice-President shall have such duties as directed by the President or by the Board, and shall act as President under conditions provided in Section 4 of this Article II.

SECTION 7. The Recording Secretary shall take and prepare an accurate record and minutes of all proceedings at all meetings of the membership or of the Board, and shall furnish a transcript thereof to the Executive Secretary and Librarian and to the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* for insertion therein. The Recording Secretary shall also assist the Executive Secretary and Librarian in the performance of the duties of that office, and have such other duties as may be directed by the President or the Board.

SECTION 8. The Executive Secretary and Librarian shall

- (a) Conduct the office correspondence of the Society.
- (b) Act as treasurer of the Society, receiving and keeping all funds and negotiable property of the Society, and shall make all disbursements therefrom.
- (c) Keep all financial accounts of the Society and make a report or summary thereof annually after the close of the accounting or fiscal year of the Society, or at any other time as required by the President or the Board.
- (d) Act as custodian of the Society's Library, manuscripts, collections, and other property, and supervise the proper security, organization, and maintenance thereof. Such responsibilities, however, shall extend only to such items as shall actually be located in the Society's Library.
- (e) Aid and assist all members, and others, to conduct investigations and research pertaining to history by the use of the library and papers of the Society.
- (f) Have such other duties as may be directed by the Board.

SECTION 9. No officer shall receive any compensation from the Society for their services as officers, except that the Board may provide for compensation for actual services rendered by the Executive Secretary And Librarian. Any officer may be reimbursed for expenses incurred or advanced by them on behalf of the Society.

SECTION 10. All elected officers shall be nominated by a noninating committee as provided for in Article III, Section 5, of these By-Laws for elected directors. Such officers shall be elected by majority vote of the membership present and voting at the annual meeting of the Society, and shall take office upon their election.

SECTION 11. Except as otherwise provided for succession of offices, any vacancy in the office of any officer shall be filled by appointment of the

President until the next meeting of the Board, or the next annual meeting, whichever is the sooner. Should a meeting of the Board occur first, such vacancy shall then be filled by the Board. At all events, such vacancy shall be filled for the unexpired term of the office so becoming vacant by vote of the membership at the annual meeting of the Society next following the date of such vacancy.

Article III. - Board

SECTION 1. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Board, consisting of the officers and directors, all of whom shall be entitled to vote at all meetings of the Board.

SECTION 2. There shall be fifteen elected directors whose terms shall be for a period of three years. Directors shall be elected at such times so that the terms of five directors shall expire at each successive annual meeting of the Society.

SECTION 3. The immediate past President and the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* shall be ex-officio directors.

SECTION 4. Insofar as is practicable the elected directors shall be nominated and elected from members whose principal residence is within the following districts or areas: Three from District One; Three from District Two; Three from District Three; Three from District Four; Three at Large. District One shall comprise the counties of: Alachua, Baker, Bay, Bradford, Calhoun, Clay, Columbia, Dixie, Duval, Escambia, Flagler, Franklin, Gadsden, Gilchrist, Gulf, Hamilton, Holmes, Jackson, Jefferson, Lafayette, Leon, Levy, Liberty, Madison, Marion, Nassau, Okaloosa, Putnam, St. Johns, Santa Rosa, Suwannee, Taylor, Union, Volusia, Wakulla, Walton, and Washington. District Two shall comprise the counties of: Charlotte, Citrus, Collier, DeSoto, Glades, Hardee, Hendry, Hernando, Highlands, Hillsborough, Lake, Lee, Manatee, Pasco, Pinellas, Polk, Sarasota, and Sumter. District Three shall comprise the counties of: Dade and Monroe. District Four shall comprise the counties of: Brevard, Broward, Indian River, Martin, Okeechobee, Orange, Osceola, Palm Beach, St. Lucie, and Seminole.

SECTION 5. Elected directors shall be nominated by a nominating committee of five members of the Society to be elected by the Board at its meeting immediately preceding the annual meeting of the Society. Such nominating committee may choose its own chairman. Nominations for elected directors shall be made at the annual meeting of the Society, and they shall be elected by majority vote of the membership present and voting. Nominations for elected directors may also be made by any member entitled to vote at the annual meeting of the Society at a call therefor by the President. Unless challenged prior to vote by the membership, the election of any nominee for elected director shall be conclusive, and such elected director shall be fully qualified to hold such office regardless of residence requirements provided for in Section 4 of this Article III.

SECTION 6. No member may be nominated as an elected director until after one year next following the expiration of a previous term for which such nominee has served as an elected director.

SECTION 7. Any vacancy of the office of an elected director shall be filled by appointment by the President until the next meeting of the Board, or the annual meeting of the Society, whichever is sooner. In the event a meeting of the Board is first held, the Board shall fill such vacancy until the next annual meeting of the Society. The unexpired term of the vacant office of elected director shall be filled by election of the membership at the annual meeting as provided herein.

SECTION 8. No elected director shall receive any compensation for such services, but may be reimbursed for actual expenses advanced on behalf of the Society.

Article IV. - Meetings

SECTION 1. There shall be one annual meeting of the Society, the time and place for which shall be determined by the Board, and shall be appropriately announced to all of the members of the Society.

SECTION 2. A special meeting of the membership of the Society may be called by the Board at a time and place fixed by the Board upon extraordinary or emergency occasions, upon not less than thirty days written notice thereof to all members furnished by mail to their addresses as recorded with the Executive Secretary and Librarian. The purpose or purposes of such special meeting and the nature of the matters to be considered shall be stated in such notices.

SECTION 3. The Board shall meet twice annually. One such meeting shall be held immediately preceding the annual meeting at the place of the annual meeting. The other such meeting shall be held at a time and place as fixed by the President, upon notice to members of the Board reasonably given.

SECTION 4. A special meeting of the Board, in addition to the two regular meetings of the Board as provided in Section 3 hereof, may be called by the President. A special meeting of the Board shall be called by the Executive Secretary and Librarian upon the written request of any five directors. Special meetings shall be called by written notice to all members of the Board stating the time and place thereof.

SECTION 5. No quorum shall be necessary at any meeting of the members of the Society duly called for the conduct of business. At all meetings of the Board a quorum of one-half of the members of the Board shall be necessary.

Article V. - Committees

SECTION 1. The Board may establish such committees as it may from time to time find appropriate. Committees may be composed of members of the Board or of members of the Society not members of the Board, and they shall be appointed as directed by the Board.

SECTION 2. The Board shall appoint a nominating committee as required in Article III, Section 5, of these By-Laws.

SECTION 3. Except where established by the Board as provided in Section 1, and except as required in Section 2, the President may constitute and appoint such committees as he shall deem necessary or suitable in aid of the administration of the affairs of the Society. Committees formed by the President need not be Board members.

SECTION 4. All committees shall report to the Board.

Article VI. - Amendments

SECTION 1. These By-Laws may be amended by majority vote of the members of the Society present and voting at the annual meeting of the Society upon and after the recommendation of the Board.

SECTION 2. No amendment of these By-Laws shall be valid where contrary to any provisions of the Articles of Incorporation of this Society, or any amendment thereto.

Article VII. - Other Provisions

SECTION 1. No provisions of these By-Laws shall be construed as contrary to the Articles of Incorporation of this Society, or any amendments thereto, and where any conflict appears to exist, the provisions of such Articles of Incorporation shall in all instances govern.

SECTION 2. Matters not provided for in these By-Laws shall be governed by any applicable provisions of the Articles of Incorporation, or any amendment thereto, and any matters not expressly or implicitly provided for by either shall be governed by custom or precedent.

SECTION 3. Any requirement, prohibition, or condition required by the United States Internal Revenue Code, pertaining to exempt organizations, as now existing or hereafter amended, applicable to this Society in order to retain its status as an exempt organization thereunder, are incorporated into these By-Laws by reference and shall apply in full force as if particularly set forth herein. Any other provisions of these By-Laws in conflict thereto shall be inoperative and suspended to the extent of such conflict.

SECTION 4. All previous By-Laws of this Society are hereby repealed.

NEW MEMBERS

April 1969-March 1979

Jim Adams, Lakeland
John R. Allison, Punta Gorda
Henry E. Barber, Bristol, Virginia
Mrs. Stewart Barron, Key West
Fordman J. Beach, Jr., Clearwater
Dorothy Beil, St. Petersburg
Harold Bell, Madison
Mrs. William W. Bennett, Jacksonville
A. M. Burns, III, Gainesville
W. A. Campbell, Fort Lauderdale
F. W. Casey, Tampa
Joseph V. Ciriaco, Sarasota
Louis V. Coleman, Jr., Eau Gallie
Earl Creel, Eau Gallie
Eleanor M. Diehl, Safety Harbor
Mrs. Robert L. Dormer, Sanibel Island
Ellen A. Edelen, Miami
D. Gerald Evans, Gainesville
Adrian C. Fidler, St. Petersburg
Ellis Fowhand, Panama City
Jane Gibson, Tampa
William W. Gilkey, Clearwater
Thomas J. Goggin, Pompano Beach
* D. Robert Graham, Miami Lakes
Tom Graham, Gainesville
Julian Granberry, Rochester, New York
Enid F. Grandish, Ozona
Jean Ann Hall, Clearwater
Robert L. Hall, Tallahassee
Suzanne T. Hall, Orlando
C. Colburn Hardy, East Orange, New Jersey
Harry H. Harkins, Jr., Durham, North Carolina
Joyce Elizabeth Harman, St. Augustine
Wade T. Harrison, Gainesville
Mrs. Howard G. Hawk, Dade City
Rusty Hopper, Tavernier
Newman A. Hoopingarner, Dunedin
Mrs. Billie A. Howard, Tampa
A. G. Hendrickson, Jacksonville
Ronald H. Hodgson, St. Petersburg
Jack D. L. Holmes, Birmingham, Alabama
Howard Holt, Maitland
John P. Ingle, Jr., Jacksonville
James R. Insko, Tampa
Mrs. Milton D. Jones, Clearwater
George E. Jorgenson, Dunedin
Harry Keefe, Clearwater
Elizabeth Kieffer, Penny Farms
William E. Kilgore, Clearwater
Carl D. King, Bradenton
Clarence G. King, Jr., Jacksonville
Alan M. Kirshner, Pensacola
Mrs. I. B. Krentzman, Tallahassee
Frank Kress, Hollywood
Mary Jane Kuhl, Dunedin
George H. Kunde, Miami

Jill Lasser, Hialeah
 W. Sperry Lee, Jacksonville
 M. C. Bob Leonard, Tampa
 Eugene Lyon, Miami
 Ernest F. Lyons, Stuart
 Philip S. May, Jr., Jacksonville
 R. M. Moore, Winter Park
 Margaret W. Morris, Largo
 Idelle Murphy, Tallahassee
 Jon Nelson, Miami Beach
 Lorraine A. Normand, Melbourne
 Maynard S. Northup, Clearwater
 Mrs. Marion Pace, Clearwater
 Clifton L. Paisley, Tallahassee
 Pat Parks, Summerland Key
 Sister Francisca Planas, Soller, Baleares, Spain
 Dan A. Polo, Tampa
 Mrs. Raymond G. Preece, Indialantic
 Dr. Robert R. Rea, Auburn, Alabama
 David K. Reddick, Gainesville
 James P. Reddick, Jr., Sanford
 Mrs. Nelle M. Rinaldi, Tampa
 Martin Roberts, Jr., Crescent City
 W. Hal Robinson, Cocoa Beach
 Carl Ross, Boone, North Carolina
 Robert G. Sellers, St. Petersburg
 John R. Shirley, Fort Meade
 Curtis H. Stanton, Sr., Fort Lauderdale
 Claude C. Sturgill, Gainesville
 Mrs. Jess Wilder Thacker, Clearwater
 Francis J. Thompson, Tampa
 * Donald G. Topping, Ponte Vedra Beach
 William O. Van Brunt, Clearwater
 H. Fred Varn, Dade City
 Edith B. Watson, Quincy
 Donald L. Webb, Tampa
 Kenneth B. White, Winter Park
 Mrs. Otto F. Wiedemann, Dunedin
 F. E. Williams, St. Augustine
 Frederick Williams, Jacksonville
 Robert W. Williams, Tallahassee
 Donald Wilson, Cocoa
 Robert W. Wilson, Clearwater
 George E. Wolff, Gainesville

Alabama A. & M. College, Normal, Alabama
 Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina
 Bethune Elementary School, Miami
 Mary M. Bethune Elementary School, Jacksonville
 Biltmore Elementary School, Jacksonville
 Isaiah Blocker Elementary School, Jacksonville
 Boston Athenaeum Library, Boston, Massachusetts
 Chicago State College, Chicago, Illinois
 Cornstock Elementary School, Miami
 De Vaughn Elementary School, Pensacola
 Duval County Board of Public Instruction (Materials Center), Jacksonville
 Escarosa Humanities Center, Pensacola
 Exceptional Child Education, West Palm Beach
 Henry M. Flagler Elementary School, Miami
 Flamingo Elementary School, Hialeah

FL 4808, Library, Hurlburt Field
 Florida Baptist Schools, Inc., Library, Lakeland
 Florida Department of Agriculture, Tallahassee
 Benjamin Franklin Elementary School, N. Miami
 Georgia Southern College Library, Statesboro, Georgia
 Hialeah Junior High School, Hialeah
 Huntsville Public Library, Huntsville, Alabama
 J. W. Johnson Junior High School, Jacksonville
 Key Biscayne Elementary School, Miami
 Lake Shore Junior High School, Jacksonville
 Livingston University, Livingston, Alabama
 Martin County Public Library, Stuart
 Mays Junior-Senior High School, Goulds
 Paul Meek Library, Martin, Tennessee
 Miami Beach Senior High School
 Miami Edison Junior High School
 Miami Edison Senior High School
 Miami Gardens Elementary, Opa-Locka
 Miami Jackson High School
 Miami Lakes Elementary School
 Miami Northwestern Senior High School
 Miami Shores Elementary School
 New York University Libraries, New York
 North Glade Elementary School, Carol City
 Northwestern Junior High School, Jacksonville
 O. J. Semmes School, Pensacola
 Olive Elementary School, Pensacola
 Ormond Beach Public Library
 Ortega Elementary School, Jacksonville
 Palm Beach Atlantic College Library, West Palm Beach
 Palm Springs Junior High School, Hialeah
 Pine Ville Elementary School, Goulds
 Professional Library, Bartow
 William M. Raines High School, Jacksonville
 Roosevelt Junior High School Library, Roosevelt, Utah
 Santa Fe Junior College Library, Gainesville
 South Dade Senior High School, Homestead
 South Miami Heights Elementary School
 South Miami Junior High School
 Spencer Bibbs Elementary School, Pensacola
 Spring Park Elementary School, Jacksonville
 Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California
 Temple University Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Vineland Elementary School, Miami
 Washington Senior High School, Pensacola
 Edward Waters College Library, Jacksonville
 West Laboratory School, Coral Gables
 West Miami Junior High School
 Workman Junior High School, Pensacola
 Putnam County Historical Society, Palatka

* FELLOW MEMBERS

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 1, 1969 - March 31, 1970

TREASURER'S REPORT

Balance, April 1, 1969		\$27,431.28
Location of Balances:		
Florida National Bank (Gainesville)	\$3,031.63	
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville)	8,686.40	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan (Gainesville)	2,837.95	
(Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Fund)		
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan	1,661.02	
(Father Jerome Acquisitions Fund)		
University of South Florida		
Account No. 95003	43.51	
Petty Cash	38.09	
Volusia County Property	120.00	\$16,418.60
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund:		
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville)	\$10,576.28	
Pennzoil United (Thirty Shares)	200.00	
Middle South Utilities (Six Shares)	126.00	
Florida Growth Fund (Fifteen Shares)	110.40	\$11,012.68
		\$27,431.28
Receipts:		
<i>Memberships:</i>		
Annual	\$ 5,858.50	
Fellow	845.00	
Sponsor	100.00	
Historical societies	290.44	
Student	5.00	
Contributing	155.00	
Libraries	3,060.90	\$10,314.40
Other Receipts:		
Quarterly Sales	\$1,330.72	
Postage	52.55	
First Federal Savings & Loan dividends	408.73	
Mail permit refund	7.54	
Register of copyrights refund	4.00	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. Dividends	126.43	
(Arthur Thompson Memorial Fund)		
Father Jerome Memorial Fund:		
Contributions	60.00	
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan dividends	81.75	
Transfer of Funds:		
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan (Father Jerome Fund for books) to Florida National Bank (Gainesville)	78.46	
Guaranty Federal Savings &	200.00	
Loan (Thompson Memorial Fund) to Florida National Bank (Gainesville)		

Florida National Bank	5.00		
(Gainesville) to Tampa Federal Savings & Loan (Father Jerome Acquisitions Fund Contributions)		\$2,355.18	
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund:			
Contributions	\$5.00		
Pennzoil United dividends	40.00		
Middle South Utilities dividend	5.40		
Florida Growth Fund dividends	9.28		
Royalties:			
<i>Aristocrat in Uniform</i>	75.07		
"Osceola" number of the <i>Quarterly</i>	9.00		
Miscellaneous	10.00		
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan dividends	502.60	\$746.35	\$13,415.93
Total Receipts			\$40,847.21
Disbursements:			
<i>Florida Historical Quarterly</i>			
Printing (E. O. Painter)	\$6,954.11		
Reprints	431.86		
Index	218.92		
Copyrights	40.00		
Mailing List	137.72		
U. S. Post Office (postage)	117.23		
Envelopes	265.20		
Editor's expense	300.00		
University of Florida Libraries	1.00		
(microfilm enlargement for <i>Quarterly</i>)			
University of Florida Teaching	6.00		
Resources Center (photos for <i>Quarterly</i>)			
P. O. Box Rental	3.00		
Storter Printing (Stationery)	24.00		
Kodak (Microfilm)	169.00	\$8,668.04	
<i>Annual Convention:</i>			
Rinaldi Printing Company	\$63.00		
(Programs)			
Ramada Inn	10.40		
James A. Servies	38.54	\$111.94	
Other Disbursements:			
Thompson Memorial Prize	\$100.00		
Patrick essay contest	90.00		
U.S.F. Account No. 95003	246.04		
(postage, telephone, and supplies)			
Supplies	176.77		
Petty cash (stamps)	131.42		
Herbert J. Doherty (Clinch Biography)	15.45		
Income tax preparation (C. P. Saclarides)	35.00		
Returned checks	12.50		
Property tax (Volusia County)	2.80		
Mickler's Floridana (books for Father Jerome Collection)	74.21		
The Insurance Center (three year premium)	45.00		
Dobbs Brothers Library Binding	547.22		

(binding for periodicals)		
Reimbursements for overpayment:		
McGregor Magazine Agency	\$1.50	
Dade County Board of Public	7.50	
Instruction		
Faxon	7.50	
Tom Knotts	4.00	
Transfer of Funds:		
Florida National Bank	5.00	
(Gainesville) to Tampa Federal Savings & Loan (Father Jerome Acquisitions Fund)		
Guaranty Federal Savings &	200.00	
Loan (Thompson Memorial Fund) to Florida National Bank (Gainesville)		
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan	78.46	
(Father Jerome for books) to Florida National Bank (Gainesville)		
	\$1,780.37	\$10,560.35
Net Worth		\$30,286.86
Location of Balances:		
U.S.F. Account No. 95003	\$102.47	
Petty Cash	38.09	
First Federal Savings & Loan	9,095.13	
(Gainesville)		
Florida National Bank	4,683.45	
(Gainesville)		
Guaranty Federal Savings &	2,764.38	
Loan Thompson Memorial Fund (Gainesville)		
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan	1,724.31	
(Father Jerome Fund)		
Volusia County Property	120.00	\$18,527.83
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund:		
Guaranty Federal Savings &	\$11,322.63	
Loan		
Pennzoil United (Thirty Shares)	200.00	
Middle South Utilities	126.00	
(Six Shares)		
Florida Growth Fund	110.40	\$11,759.03
(Sixteen Shares)		
Ending Balance March 31, 1970		\$30,286.86

Gifts to the Society Library

- Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vols. 1-11, 13-25 Florida School for the Deaf and Blind
- Books and microfilm of newspapers and records and documents from the National Archives and the British Public Records Office James W. Covington
- Is There a Full Moon Tonight?*, (1968); *Watchie-Esta/Hutrie*, (*The Little White Mother*), (1968) August Burghard
- Descendents of Joseph Ware, Immigrant, 1675, His Successors in Florida*, edited by John D. Ware (1969) John D. Ware



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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