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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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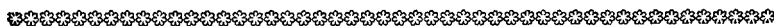
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\* \* \* To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate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

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

*Saint Augustine, April, 1857.*





# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## C O N T E N T S

TEXTBOOK WRITERS AND THE FLORIDA "PURCHASE" MYTH .....	<i>Harris G. Warren.....</i>	325
TAMPA AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.....	<i>Jose Rivero Munz .....</i>	332
JACKSONVILLE DURING THE CIVIL WAR.....	<i>Samuel Proctor.....</i>	343
THE CONSTITUTION OF 1868 .....	<i>Jerrell H. Shafer .....</i>	356
BOOK REVIEWS .....		375
NEWS AND NOTES .....		400
THE EDITOR'S CORNER "NOTES ON MILLER HALLOWES," by <i>Elise Dancy Davis</i> ; "TALES OF OLD FLORIDA," by <i>Jane D. Brush</i> .....		405
CONTRIBUTORS .....		424

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## BOOK REVIEWS

Havard and Beth, <i>The Politics of Mis-Representation</i> , by Paul Douglass .....	375
Sutton, <i>Gonzalia, 1770-1880</i> , by Occie Clubbs .....	376
Bishop, <i>Murder Trial of Judge Peel</i> , by George E. Wolff .....	377
Hatcher, <i>Georgia Rivers</i> , by Alexander A. Lawrence .....	378
Nelson, <i>The American Tory</i> , by E. James Ferguson .....	379
Metzger, <i>Catholics and the American Revolution</i> , by Fr. Michael V. Gannon .....	380
Perkins, <i>Prologue to War</i> , by Alan D. Aberbach .....	381
Litwack, <i>North of Slavery</i> , by Joseph D. Cushman, Jr. ....	382
Hall, <i>Reflections of the Civil War in Southern Humor</i> , by Evans C. Johnson .....	383
Thomas and Hyman, <i>Stanton, the Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War</i> , by William E. Baringer .....	384
Franklin, <i>Reconstruction: After the Civil War</i> , by F. Bruce Rosen .....	386
Durden, <i>Reconstruction Bonds and Twentieth Century Politics</i> , by Paul E. Fenlon .....	387
Overy, <i>Wisconsin Carpetbaggers in Dixie</i> , by Edward C. Williamson .....	388
Bagby, <i>The Road to Normalcy</i> , by David M. Chalmers .....	390
Clark, <i>The Emerging South</i> , by Dewey W. Grantham, Jr. ....	391
Dorough, <i>Mr. Sam</i> , by Frank Freidel .....	392



## TEXTBOOK WRITERS AND THE FLORIDA “PURCHASE” MYTH

by HARRIS G. WARREN

THAT TEACHERS AND writers of history must strive for accuracy is a proposition hardly open to debate. Our textbook writers labor under an especially heavy charge to keep us abreast of research which corrects misinterpretations and presents newly discovered facts. They must not call true those myths or fables which once masqueraded as sober fact. No history professor would be likely to adopt a text which presented the cherry tree myth as a true incident in Washington's life. Yet many textbooks contain explanations which do not conform with the published results of careful research. A case in point is the failure of many writers to be accurate in their discussion of the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819.

The facts in the acquisition of Florida are presented clearly by Philip Coolidge Brooks in his *Diplomacy and the Borderlands -the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939). This splendid monograph should be required reading for all writers of textbooks in American history, and for all teachers who use them, until the myth of the Florida “purchase” has been buried in the rubbish with the parson's silly little cherry tree.

The facts are, briefly, as follows. Many American officials insisted that the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 included both West Florida and at least part of a vaguely defined Texas. By 1813, the United States had seized West Florida as far as the Perdido River. Spanish authority in the rest of Florida was only nominal, and many American officials took for granted that the acquisition of Florida east of the Perdido was inevitable. The Jackson invasion emphasized the weakness of Spanish control, and the Spaniards certainly knew that they could not, without European aid, retain title to the Floridas.

American citizens had accumulated a large number of claims for damages against Spain. These claims varied widely in origin. Some had accumulated before the Convention of 1802; others originated in “unlawful seizures at Sea, and in the ports and ter-



ritories of Spain or the Spanish Colonies." Some were on account of "Prizes made by French Privateers, and condemned by French Consuls, within the Territory and Jurisdiction of Spain." There were indemnities claimed "on account of the suspension of the right of Deposit at New-Orleans in 1802," and there were still others, not specified in the Adams-Onis Treaty as were these. Spain, too, had legitimate claims which a stronger government might have pushed to advantage. Most of these claims Spain renounced without assuming any obligation to compensate her own citizens, but there were claims of Spanish citizens and officers in Florida which the United States promised to pay.

The boundary between the United States and New Spain had to be negotiated because the France-Spanish boundary had never been delineated. Moreover, Spain also had claims to the Oregon country which conflicted with those of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia.

These, then, are the three principal matters involved in the Adams-Onis negotiations: Florida, the western boundary, and the damage claims. Florida and the western boundary were linked in the negotiations, not Florida and the claims. There is one exception to this statement. Before Adams took over the negotiations, Monroe reported that Onis had "intimated that his Government . . . might be willing to cede its claim to territory on the eastern side of the Mississippi, in satisfaction of claims, and in exchange for territory on the western side."<sup>1</sup> This, apparently, is the basis for Fuller's statement that "The United States received the Floridas in return for an agreement to settle the disputed claims of certain of her citizens against Spain to an amount not more than \$5,000,000 . . ." <sup>2</sup> But, as Brooks demonstrates, in the Adams-Onis negotiations the claims were not linked with the cession of territories. There was, rather, a mutual renunciation of claims except for the obligation undertaken by the United States in Article IX.

Even so, both Monroe and Adams sought the territory east of the Mississippi in exchange for a manufactured claim to territory west of the Mississippi. In 1816 and 1817, Monroe "tried

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1. James Monroe to George W. Erving, March 11, 1816, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 6 vols. (Washington, 1832-1859), IV, 433.

2. Herbert Bruce Fuller, *The Purchase of Florida - Its History and Diplomacy* (Cleveland, 1906), 307.



to persuade Onís to accept the Colorado River of Texas as the boundary line, the United States thereby offering to yield the region between that and the Rio Grande *in exchange*, so it was stated, *for all Spanish lands east of the Mississippi.*" <sup>3</sup> On June 10 and 11, 1817, the Spanish Consejo de Estado considered a plan to *exchange* the Floridas "for all the territory west of the Mississippi." <sup>4</sup> This offer was made to our minister in Spain who rejected it. The Spanish government then authorized Luis de Onís, its minister in Washington, to make a similar offer. <sup>5</sup> Onís on December 18, 1817, informed Adams that the King had decided to cede the Floridas. Brooks summarizes the whole thing clearly and accurately: ". . . the United States received the almost abandoned Floridas and the valid Spanish claim to Oregon *in exchange for her own debatable claim to Texas.*" <sup>6</sup>

Then what about the damages claims? "The third dispute involved one of the most common misinterpretations which historians have made of the treaty. *There was no 'purchase' of the Floridas.* The claims discussion, . . . was kept quite separate during the whole course of the negotiations from that on the boundary. Adams always spoke of sacrifices in other sections of the frontier, particularly in Texas and the Northwest, as the price of the Floridas, and never mentioned the claims assumption in that connection." <sup>7</sup> The fact is, of course, that in settling the claims dispute, the United States absolved Spain from liability for damages claimed by American citizens to the date of the treaty. The \$5,000,000 mentioned in Article XI was simply a limitation on the amount that the United States would itself pay to its own citizens and was included against Spanish wishes.

It would be difficult, and, one hopes, impossible to find any treaty in our history that has been so badly mangled by some textbook writers. The facts are clear. The United States did not buy Florida; the United States did not exchange the damages claims for Florida. The United States did exchange a manufactured territorial claim to Texas for Florida and the Spanish claim to Oregon. Getting such a good bargain in this, and know-

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3. Philip Coolidge Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands-the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (Berkeley, 1939), 77. Italics mine.

4. *Ibid.*, 81.

5. *Ibid.*, 85.

6. *Ibid.*, 194. Italics mine.

7. *Ibid.*, 162. Italics mine.



ing that the damages claims could never be collected anyway, the United States assumed a limited liability for the monetary claims of its citizens against Spain, and promised to pay for damages caused by its operations in Florida. Yet, despite the fact that Brooks long ago conclusively proved these points, some historians prefer to perpetuate the Florida "purchase" nonsense and to make deplorably inaccurate statements about the nature of the monetary claims.

Article XI of the treaty provided that the President would appoint a commission of three United States citizens to consider the damages claims. This commission "reported on June 8, 1824, after having considered eighteen hundred claims for a wide variety of damages to United States citizens, chiefly those incurred in maritime shipping, and many resulting from the blockade of the South American coast by the Spanish royalists. . . . The commission finally adjudicated all the claims at a total of \$5,454,-545.13 . . ." but each award was reduced by  $8\frac{1}{3}\%$  to bring the total down to \$5,000,000.<sup>8</sup> Our text and encyclopedia authors almost invariably ignore another group of claims mentioned in Article IX. These were claims of Spanish citizens and officers for damage done "by the late operations of the American Army in Florida." To satisfy these claims, the United States paid \$1,024,-741.44.<sup>9</sup>

A sampling of the old masters reveals practically all of the misinterpretations repeated by our contemporaries. Albert Bushnell Hart asserted: "East Florida was ceded for a payment of about \$5,000,000, and at the same time the western boundary of Louisiana was settled."<sup>10</sup> The Beards, too, were off the track: "In exchange the United States agreed to pay five million dollars to its own citizens, discharging claims for damages to American commerce committed by Spanish authorities during the recent European war."<sup>11</sup> David Saville Muzzey has Onís signing the treaty "on condition that our government would accept responsibility up to \$5,000,000 . . ."<sup>12</sup> Homer Carey Hockett links the claims and

8. *Ibid.*, 192.

9. John Bassett Moore (ed.), *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a Party* . . . , 6 vols. (Washington, 1898), IV, 4519-30.

10. *Formation of the Union 1750-1829* (New York, 1911), 234.

11. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, New ed., 2 vols. in 1 (New York, 1933), 432.

12. *The United States of America*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1922), I, 303.



the cession of Florida.<sup>13</sup> All of these writers committed themselves long before Brooks published *Diplomacy and the Borderlands*. There are some who have no such excuse.

How many thousands of school children have read that "In 1819, the United States purchased Florida from Spain for \$5,000,000. No money actually was paid to Spain. The Federal Government agreed to pay for damages to the property of American settlers which had been caused by the Spanish during the battles over Florida."<sup>14</sup> Except for the second sentence, which contradicts the first, this entire statement is incorrect. Henry Bamford Parkes commits the "purchase" error.<sup>15</sup> John D. Hicks uses "Purchase of Florida" as a marginal heading, then avoids that error in the text, but joins Muzzey: ". . . the Spanish agreed to the cession on condition that claims of American citizens against Spain, amounting in all to five million dollars, should be met by the United States."<sup>16</sup> Harold Underwood Faulkner incorrectly describes the claims as being "for damages to commerce during the Napoleonic wars."<sup>17</sup> The claims were much broader than this. Williams, Current, and Freidel are essentially correct in their treatment. They point out that "we did not 'purchase' Florida, as is sometimes said,"<sup>18</sup> But they link the claims too closely with Florida. Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron are far off base: ". . . she agreed by treaty in 1819 to cede all Florida in exchange for payment by the United States of the \$5 million owed to American merchants who had lost their ships to Spain during the Napoleonic wars."<sup>19</sup> Michael Kraus has Spain "transferring Florida to the United States for \$5,000,000."<sup>20</sup> Malone and Rauch do much better, but fall into the error of ascribing the claims to "depredations against American commerce."<sup>21</sup> This, of course, is far too

13. *Political and Social Growth of the United States, 1492-1852*, Rev. ed. (New York, 1937), 449-50.

14. *The World Book Encyclopedia* (Chicago, 1952), VI, 2618.

15. *The United States of America, A History* (New York, 1953), 169.

16. *The Federal Union-A History of the United States to 1877*, 3d ed. (Boston, 1957), 337.

17. *American Political & Social History*, 7th ed. (New York, 1957), 229.

18. T. Harry Williams, Richard N. Current, and Frank Freidel, *A History of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1959), I, 290.

19. Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, *The American Republic*, 2 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, 1959), I, 350.

20. *The United States to 1865. The University of Michigan History of the Modern World*, edited by Allan Nevins and Howard M. Ehrmann (Ann Arbor, 1959), 337.

21. Dumas Malone and Basil Rauch, *Empire for Liberty: The Genesis and Growth of the United States of America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1960), I, 398.



limited, but it is not a serious error. Carman, Syrett, and Wishy should know better: "In 1819, the Spanish minister at Washington signed a treaty ceding the Floridas to the United States in exchange for \$5,000,000, the sum due American citizens for damages to their commerce by Spanish authorities during the Napoleonic wars."<sup>22</sup> Bailey, correct in his diplomatic history, unnecessarily confuses the issue in his popular survey text: "The Spaniards . . . wisely decided to sell the alligator - infested area. . . ." <sup>23</sup>

Morison and Commager like their version so well they repeat it in the fifth edition: "General Jackson was forced to disgorge his rather generous bites, but his invasion of the province in 1818 convinced Madrid that Florida had better be sold before it was seized. Accordingly, Spain sold all her lands east of the Mississippi, together with her claim to the Oregon country, in return for \$5 million. . . ." <sup>24</sup> Of course, the decision to cede Florida preceded Jackson's invasion. Perkins and Van Deusen perform some interesting arithmetic: "The latter country assumed up to \$5 million of the claims of its citizens against Spain, thus adding 37,931,520 acres to the national territory at a cost of \$.171 an acre."<sup>25</sup> Assuming that the \$.171 is a typographical error, these authors erroneously link Florida and the claims and also ignore the \$1,024,741.44 paid by the United States under Article IX. Textbook writers, including authors of diplomatic histories, generally ignore the Article IX claims.

It is a relief to turn to one author, Leland D. Baldwin, who handles the treaty skillfully and almost correctly:

Spain was convinced that sooner or later it would be seized and decided to get what she could and turn to the far more serious problems posed by her rebellious colonies. The Adams-Onís Treaty, often known as the Transcontinental Treaty, of 22 February 1819 made a clean sweep of boundary controversies with Spain. Florida was ceded in exchange for a definition of western boundaries; the United States gave up its

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22. Harry J. Carman, Harold C. Syrett, and Bernard W. Wishy, *A History of the American People*, 2 vols. (New York, 1960), I, 387.

23. Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 2d ed. (Boston, 1961), 237.

24. Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, 5th ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1962), I, 454.

25. Dexter Perkins and Glyndon Van Deusen, *The United States of America: A History*, 2 vols. (New York, 1962), I, 298.



manufactured claim to Texas and accepted a boundary which followed the Sabine River, ascended in steps to the forty-second parallel (the northern boundary of California), and ran thence westward to the Pacific. . . . Actually no purchase money was paid for Florida, but the United States assumed \$5,000,000 in claims of American citizens against Spain."<sup>26</sup>

This last sentence is unfortunate in an otherwise exemplary statement. There is a genuine difference between *assuming* \$5,000,000 in claims and in *limiting* one's liability to not more than \$5,000,000. Baldwin, too, ignores the Article IX claims.

Another excellent and accurate discussion of the acquisition of Florida appears in Chitwood, Patrick, and Owsley. After a masterful summary of antecedents, these authors conclude: "By this treaty Spain ceded East Florida to the United States and recognized the latter's right to West Florida. The United States agreed to pay the claims of its citizens against the Spanish government to the amount of \$5,000,000 and gave up her claim to Texas."<sup>27</sup> The Article IX claims are not mentioned. These authors, moreover, do not fall in the common error of showing Florida as having been acquired in 1819; the date, of course, is 1821.

Our diplomatic historians generally are far more accurate than the authors of general surveys. Thomas A. Bailey and Samuel Flagg Bemis, authors of widely used diplomatic histories, present the Adams-Onís Treaty accurately, although Bailey errs in saying that "the United States agreed to assume the claims of its own citizens against Spain to the tune of \$5 million."<sup>28</sup> The "tune of \$5 million" may be colorful and colloquial, but it is not the same as "to a maximum of \$5 million." Bemis is accurate to the last detail.<sup>29</sup>

Since writers of textbooks are unblushing borrowers, let us hope that in the matter of the Adams-Onís Treaty they will follow the excellent models provided by those who have both read and heeded the Brooks monograph.

26. *The Stream of American History*, 2 vols. (New York, 1952), I, 425.

27. Oliver P. Chitwood, Rembert W. Patrick, and Frank L. Owsley, *The American People, A History*, 3d ed., 2 vols. (Pnnceton, 1962), I,

28. Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 6th ed. (New York, 1958), 173.

29. Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, 4th ed. (New York, 1955), 189-90, 193.



# TAMPA AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by JOSE RIVERO MUNIZ

Translated by CHARLES J. KOLINSKI

BEFORE THE ADVENT of the tobacco industry, Tampa was a population center of slight importance in the State of Florida. Fishing, wood-cutting, and the cultivation of certain vegetables were the principal occupation of its few inhabitants. Located on sandy and relatively arid ground which was covered by few trees other than stunted pines and unexploitable palmetto palms, the extensive prairies of the region were marked principally by numerous marshes and a few sulphur springs. It was not an infrequent occurrence among the isolated thickets to stumble upon an apparently sleeping alligator or a scarcely less dangerous rattlesnake or water moccasin.

Lacking both important industries and natural resources, the inhabitants of the future city existed in conditions which were necessarily modest. In spite of such obstacles, however, these early inhabitants persisted and little by little a city commenced to appear which by the second half of the nineteenth century could be considered as the principal center along the west coast between Cape Sable and Apalachicola Bay. A railway constructed in 1883 provided connections with Plant City and the interior of Florida, while the Hillsborough River provided access to the Gulf of Mexico.

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1. The sources utilized in the preparation of this article include: (1) the manuscript left by Eligio Carbonell Malta entitled *Cuba en Tampa*, written in 1897, which contains information which he had contemplated for inclusion in his projected book; and (2) the *Proceedings of the Club Ignacio Agramonte, 1891-1894*, the originals of which are now in the library of the Universidad Central de Las Villas in the city of Santa Clara, Cuba.

Aside from these sources without which it would have been wholly impossible to prepare this work, I have also availed myself of my own memories of Tampa in 1899. As mentioned previously, the documents cited may be examined at the library of the Universidad Central de Las Villas, Santa Clara, Cuba. With respect to my memory I might add that I still retain the most vivid and pleasant recollections of the city in which I resided in those long-past years when I still possessed that divine treasure of youth.

JOSE RIVERO MUNIZ

Havana, Cuba, October, 1961.



Although several authors have sought to describe the Tampa of that remote era, it may prove of interest in the following pages to present the impressions of a person who had the opportunity to reside in the Tampa of that time and whose stature as a cultured observer lends exceptional significance to his comments. Eligio Carbonell Malta was born in 1869 at Palo Alto, near the city of Sancti-Spiritus in what was then the Province of Santa Clara—today Las Villas—in the central region of Cuba. The son of a Cuban patriot, Nestor Leondo Carbonell, young Eligio inherited from his father a love for *belles lettres*. It was probably for this reason that shortly after his arrival at Ybor City in 1889, about three years after the inauguration there of the tobacco industry, he began to compile information for a projected book to be entitled *Cuba en Tampa*, of which he was to leave only a few short chapters completed.

Only few details have survived of the childhood of Eligio Carbonell Malta. His mother died while he was still quite young. With the end of the so-called “Guerra de los diez años” in 1878, the first of the wars waged by Cubans to achieve their independence from the yoke of Spain, the young man left his native land with the remaining members of his family and went with them to Key West, then the principal refuge of people fleeing from Spain’s subjugation campaign in Cuba. At Key West, as the small island had long been known, Nestor Leonolo applied himself to the teaching profession and established a school in which the children of the Cuban tobacco workers living there could be educated.

An honest man possessing strong principles, culturally and intellectually superior to the majority of immigrants who then resided at Key West, he was not understood by his fellow countrymen. Because of his refusal to accept the aid of gunmen-bandideros—with whose aid Spain had succeeded in Cuba, protests were voiced in which neither questions of dignity nor morality were considered. As a result, Nestor Leonelo contemplated moving to New York. His friend Cornelio Brito, however, who was living in relatively well-off circumstances, encouraged him to move to Tampa where he might find a community with stronger ideals and less disunity. He made the change and recommenced his teaching career. In 1890 he also founded the newspaper *La*



*Contienda*, which championed the ideals which in 1868 had stimulated Cuban patriots to rebel against Spain.

Nearly all of the people then residing in Ybor City were tobacco workers. Unlike the majority of laborers at that time, the Tampa tobacco worker was not an individual possessing little knowledge other than of his profession. Due to the practice of having the texts of books and newspapers read aloud in the factories for the benefit of the labor force, the tobacco worker possessed a level of culture somewhat higher than that of other laborers. Shortly after the establishment of the new factories at Tampa the "readers" of the several companies were able to acquire reading material, principally newspapers and novels, from Nestor Leonelo Carbonell, who either sold or rented the material from a small library called La Galeria Literaria, which he had organized in his own home in thriving Ybor City.

Eligio, who assisted his father in this activity, enjoyed a direct and constant contact with the readers and discussed with them the problems and events of the new sector of Tampa. It was not unusual, therefore, that he should have experienced the urge to prepare a book of his own authorship which might depict the history and development of Ybor City including a description of major events, the role played in them by his neighbors, and the gradual trend toward prosperity in the city. With these objectives in mind he commenced writing *Cuba en Tampa*, a work of which he left only six chapters completed as well as numerous and interesting details which were to serve him in the completion of the historical survey which he had contemplated. Unfortunately, it was not possible for him to finish his study since other, more urgent tasks, particularly of a patriotic nature, began to demand his full attention. Moreover, his untimely death was to occur when it appeared he would finally have the leisure to complete his study.

The following material has been taken from the unedited first chapters of the proposed book. It is also believed pertinent to reproduce the text of the brief introductory note to the original manuscript which was written by the author's half-brother, Jose Manuel Carbonell Rivero, a contemporary poet known both for his intellect and as President of the Academia Nacional de Arte y Letras. The note reads as follows: "These original manuscripts belong to my brother, Eligio Carbonell Malta, who died at Ha-



vana, August 5, 1899, almost on the termination of the war against Spain. He faced life with unparalleled virtue and tenacity; death struck him down in the flower of his youth just as he was about to reap the harvest of his many years of sacrifice." In a separate paragraph Jose Manuel Carbonell Rivero added the following: "Eligio contemplated writing a book covering the revolutionary activities of the immigrants, and almost all these papers are concerned with that project."

In the first chapter, entitled "Political and Biographic Notes," the author writes first of Eduardo Manrara, partner of Vicente Martinez Ybor in the latter's multiple commercial enterprises. He attributes to Manrara the initiative of establishing the tobacco industry in Tampa where Cubans arrived "not as the vast number of luckless Europeans did - without a goal in mind, but rather bringing with them a rich industry and an alert and creative initiative which have since resulted in the establishment of societies, schools, and newspapers, and have both aided in the development of other industries and in the stimulation of a prosperous level of commerce."

"Tampa at the beginning of 1886," according to Eligio, "was still a small city with only a little over 1,500 inhabitants whose residences were spread over a wide area. This area did not reflect the aspect of a compact urban center. Neither commerce nor industry were sources of livelihood for the inhabitants who existed on the returns from a rudimentary agriculture. At the time of the commencement of this narrative the railroad constructed by Mr. Plant had been in operation to Tampa for about two years. Tampa had thus begun to attract the attention of the inhabitants of the surrounding area who were engaged in growing and shipping oranges. The city therefore reflected the process of considerable growth. These features, however, were not sufficient in themselves to have produced such a rapid population increase, nor such an expansion in general prosperity - almost as though by magic - had it not been for the opportune arrival of the tobacco industry with its hundreds of Cuban workers who tended each Saturday to spend and squander their sizable week's earnings."

Eligio then continues his narrative of the progress of the city which by October, 1887, possessed about 22,000 inhabitants including more than 8,000 Cubans (about 40 per cent of the to-



tal). It was now the foremost manufacturing center of Cuban tobacco in the United States. Among the many large new buildings which had been constructed there was the Tampa Bay Hotel, property of the Plant family-built at a cost of over \$2,000,000 and reputed to be one of the finest in the world. "Others were the *Casa Corte*, of extraordinary luxurious appointments, and the First National Bank, of superb appearance with a magnificent facade of marble and granite." The author also noted, "that Tampa possessed one of the highest levels of receipts from its customs house of any in the southern part of the United States."

The remainder of this first chapter is devoted to censure "of the barbarous government of Spain," which by virtue of its incredible tax demands had obliged many manufacturers to move their factories away from Cuba. As could be expected of the son of a patriot who had suffered the persecution of such a government, Eligio had harsh words for the Spanish regime. He also points out that many members of the extensive Cuban community at Key West had looked with much displeasure at the transfer of these factory workers and manufacturers to Tampa, which then became a rival of Key West in the nation's markets. As is well known, this development originated the decline of Key West, where the tobacco industry had been practically the only source of livelihood for the population. Many of these people emigrated to Tampa, especially following the major fire disaster of April, 1886, which almost caused the total destruction of the homes of the island's inhabitants.

"Ybor City; Its First Inhabitants," is the title given by Eligio Carbonell Malta to the second chapter of his projected book. In my opinion, its contents represent the part which is of greatest interest for students of the history of the so-called "latin" district of Tampa. It is for this reason that the chapter has been transcribed almost in its entirety, with omission being made only in the case of relatively unimportant paragraphs or those devoted by the author to matters of a personal nature not pertinent to the central theme of the overall work. With this reservation, therefore, I shall begin with the presentation of a direct transcription of Eligio's work.

"The first Cubans who arrived to live in this desert and fever-infested region of Florida were beyond doubt authentic heroes. The early inhabitants enjoyed few of the comforts provided by



modern civilization and none which might render their existence a pleasure. In order to walk from one end of the village to the other a person had to resign himself to suffer as though he were contemplating a difficult journey across a desert. In reality, Ybor City was almost like such an area since from the moment of leaving their homes the inhabitants found themselves at face with a variety of inconveniences, not the least of them being the necessity of traversing the thick sand which blanketed most of Florida.

"Neither in that era nor for some considerable time later did sidewalks or paved streets exist which might have facilitated transit. Likewise, there was no municipal lighting system in the village; for the person who ventured out at night, therefore, it was indispensable to carry a lantern or lamp which might permit him to avoid dangerous spots. It was also advisable to carry a rifle or revolver for protection in the event of meeting any dangerous animals or similar unexpected threats. In addition to these features there was the persistent menace of deadly malarial fevers spread by microbes in the air emanating from the neighboring swamps and marshes, and accentuated by the forest-clearing and land removal projects carried on in all directions preparatory to the building of homes. Life in this area involved difficulties at every hand.

"The few business and commercial establishments literally made hay while the sun shone by selling their wares at prices triple their value to the Cuban inhabitants who, as it was known among the Americans of the locality, were earning large salaries and tended to be both extravagant and generous. As a result of these several factors Ybor City in its early days did not possess a stable, fixed population. There was a constant migratory movement. Attracted by high salary employment opportunities many laborers from Key West and Cuba passed through the growing city on their way to and from the North. They stayed only as long as it was necessary to amass a quantity of money, or until they contracted malaria. Such was the appearance, in general terms, of the isolated sector of Tampa known as Ybor City. It had been founded on the one hand by the Spanish financier Vicente Martinez Ybor-a Cuban by sentiment. On the other it had been founded by honorable and hard-working Cuban immigrants whose progressive spirit is demonstrated by the many achievements performed by them on foreign soil since the time that the heavy hand



of the Spanish government had forced a large sector of them to flee abroad. These people had departed with no assistance other than that represented by their own virtues and with no hope other than for the future redemption of their native land. They had moved from country to country searching for a hospitable place where they might build anew the homes which had been denied them on their own soil by the corruption and evil of the Iberian conqueror.

"Only a short time transpired before the new tobacco factories began to increase their operations and to hire a constantly greater number of workmen. The population grew rapidly. There were now social needs which required satisfaction. The Logia de los Caballeros del Trabajo was established by the enterprising and cultured Cuban, Carlos B. Balino, who came from Key West on an express assignment authorized by the organization. Balino also founded two societies of the same type among the Americans residing in Tampa. Somewhat later *El Yara*, the first newspaper in Spanish, commenced publication. It had also been imported from Key West and its editor, the well-known Cuban Jose Dolores Poyo, had moved to Tampa for that purpose. The political views espoused by the new paper were invariably concerned with the absolute independence of Cuba.

"The appearance of social organization and publication of the first newspaper were followed by the natural complement of these two important factors of modern civilization and human progress -the school. The first school was established by a long-time Cuban emigre, Carlos Zequeira, who moved from Baltimore to Tampa with this project expressly in mind. The number of schools soon increased. Among these new institutions mention may be made of that directed by Mrs. Sainz de la Pena, and of the school offering both elementary and secondary instruction which was directed by Nestor Leonelo Carbonell.

"Within a short time the first political society or club appeared which became an important and indispensable factor in the life of the Cuban immigrants still dreaming of independence for their country."

This club was the *Crombet* and was presided over by Antonio V. Ramos. Although Eligio presents details regarding its organization it is not believed pertinent to include them here since they bear no reference to the development of Ybor city. The author



also states that "the first Cuban newspaper in Tampa, *La Union Cubana*, did not exist long," - an assertion which contradicts his earlier statement that *El Yara* was the first Spanish-language periodical in the area. My own investigations into this matter confirm that *La Union Cubana*, mentioned by Eligio, never reached printed form. The only evidence concerning this paper appeared in the form of an announcement regarding its future publication. The project was carried no further since Ybor City in that era lacked both a printing establishment and type-setters who could handle Spanish. The first persons capable of such activity were those who came with Jose Dolores Poyo and who helped him to publish *El Yara*. But let us continue with Eligio's account.

"Some time was to pass until Ybor City again possessed a periodical. In mid-1887 Ramon Rivero Rivero, who had previously visited Tampa, arrived from Key West and began publishing *La Revista de Florida*. Although this weekly was principally concerned with modern labor philosophy and ideology, it nevertheless did not overlook propaganda efforts on behalf of Cuban independence."

The most important sections of the second chapter of interest from a historical point of view have now been transcribed. The remaining portions of the second chapter add nothing to the foregoing material. Likewise, in the remaining chapters which were completed, there is little information other than material related to the political activities of the Cubans resident in Ybor City in their efforts to procure funds with which to initiate the struggle against their hated enemy the Spanish government.

Before continuing further with the discussion of Eligio Carbonell Malta it is believed pertinent at this point to relate my own impressions of Tampa in 1899. It was in this year that I first traveled there in order to visit some family friends. The ship which brought us from Havana was the old *Mascotte*, the same which appears on the official seal of the city and which transported so many thousands of Cubans to Tampa. This was still the period during which a person could travel freely without the need of any passport. On the arrival of the ship men could be seen on the dock who had been sent by the tobacco factories to offer immediate employment to those arriving. We landed without anyone asking either me or my older brother where we intended to go or how long we planned to stay in the city.



At this time Ybor City possessed several streets, though sand had still not given way to paving. Most of the sidewalks were of wood planks - a detail which I found to be rather curious since neither in Cuba nor in Spain, where I had previously resided, had I observed wood employed for such a purpose. The commercial center of the Ybor City area was situated on Seventh Avenue in the sector between Thirteenth and Sixteenth streets. Here were located the most important stores: clothing and shoe shops, several cafes, and a number of stores selling alcoholic beverages. The *bodegas* or food stores were scattered about the city - a further unusual aspect for me since they sold both vegetables and fish and thus obviated the necessity for customers to travel long distances in order to obtain such items.

We also had opportunities to attend some picnics-outdoor excursions participated in by the latin young people, Cuban and Spanish, which featured lunches and dancing. I recall clearly that one of these fiestas which took place on a Sunday afternoon was held at a point along the shores of the bay where a large bower or kiosk had been erected. The occasion in Tampa which pleased me most, however, was the visit to the Tampa Bay Hotel whose minarets reminded me of the Moorish style. It was in fact a hotel such as few have seen-it was surrounded by beautiful gardens and trees with thick vegetation along the trunks and branches in which agile squirrels could be seen climbing and jumping about. At the rear of the hotel a large incubator placed near the kitchen area hatched thousands of small chicks.

And now, leaving aside this digression which caused me to deviate from the basic theme of this study and which I hope may be pardoned by the reader, I shall resume the subject of Eligio Carbonell Malta. Almost precisely at the very time I was engaged in exploring the streets of Tampa he was dying in Cuba. The data and other material left by him refer principally to the activities of the Cuban revolutionary clubs in Tampa during the years which preceded the war of 1895. In spite of some discrepancies, it can be deduced from these notes that the majority of his countrymen continued united in the project for the liberation of their native land. Before any concrete efforts could be undertaken, however, it was essential to unify opinion, collect financial resources, and acquire arms for the use of those ready to com-



mence the fight. Young Eligio cooperated efficiently in these projects.

Let us see how. Apart from his duties as the only employee in his father's bookstore, which involved attending to the public and distributing periodicals received from Havana, the young man figured among those immigrants who displayed the most enthusiasm in the meetings and other events sponsored by the Cubans. In his spare time he wrote articles which were published in Spanish in the local press, and occasionally he also sent his works to the periodical *El Porvenir* which was published in New York. His greatest effort in this field, however, was that which culminated in the founding of the Cuban revolutionary club *Ignacio Agramonte*. Due to its initiative, Jose Marti, the Apostle of Cuban liberty, visited Tampa at the close of November, 1891.

Marti's presence in Tampa revived the faith of the Cubans residing in Ybor City; his vigorous and patriotic speeches succeeded in unifying the patriots of the district and in convincing them that the moment was at hand for the commencement of the epic struggle. Eligio acted as a guide or companion for Marti during his stay in the "latin" district and from this connection a friendship was born which existed until Marti's death. The last decade of the nineteenth century saw the Cuban immigrants in Tampa aroused and willing to undertake the greatest sacrifices in favor of their native land. Many new clubs and societies were organized and measures were initiated in the tobacco factories for the collection of donations to be used for the purchase of arms and supplies for the future combatants. When the struggle finally began on February 24, 1895, Spain came to realize that the strongest focal point of the rebellion was in Tampa—since it was from Tampa that the expeditions were leaving which would challenge the Spanish army.

Though Eligio Carbonell Malta was now old enough to accompany the expeditions to Cuba, his request to be included among the volunteers was not approved by the Cuban Revolutionary Party. He was ordered to remain in Tampa where his services were considered necessary in the best interests of the liberation movement. In collaboration with Fernando Figueredo Socarras, chief of the party branch in Tampa, and with Ramon Rivero Rivero, he prepared communications, declarations, manifestos, and all the other varied types of material of benefit to the



course of the revolution. The enthusiasm of the Cuban immigrant showed no signs of declining, and the employees of the tobacco factories agreed to contribute one-sixth of their salaries - a procedure which up to then had no parallel in the history of the Cuban labor movement.

In a recent book entitled *Los Cubanos en Tampa*, I have included references to the life of the Cuban immigrants in Tampa during the period of the Second War of Independence, 1895-1898, which ended with the active participation of the United States. It is suggested that anyone interested in obtaining more details regarding the subject may wish to consult this book. Since, however, it does not elaborate fully on the activities of Eligio Carbonell Malta it was felt that this present article might serve to present a more detailed description of his life and role. As indicated by its heading, this article is concerned with a description of Tampa at the close of the last century-a city whose development was especially aided by the efforts of Cuban and Spanish immigrants in establishing an industry which, through its fame and success, made Tampa the most thriving and prosperous city along Florida's west coast.



# JACKSONVILLE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

by SAMUEL PROCTOR

THE YEAR 1860 was one of political unrest and agitation in Florida. Most Southerners argued with an unyielding passion that secession had become a matter of necessity and that independence was the only possible course of action for the South. A political meeting in Jacksonville on May 15, 1860, overwhelmingly resolved: "We are of the opinion that the right of the citizens of Florida are no longer safe in the Union and we think she should raise the banner of secession and invite her southern sisters to join her." <sup>1</sup> The *Jacksonville Standard*, on July 26, 1860, announced that if "in consequence of Northern fanaticism the irrepressible conflict must come we are prepared to meet it."

The presidential election of November 7, 1860, climaxed this year of fierce political strife. The southern Democratic party's candidates, Breckinridge and Lane, carried Florida by a vote of 8,543 out of a state total of 14,347, <sup>2</sup> while not a single Floridian voted for Lincoln. But he was now president-elect of the United States and for most Southerners this was the "beginning of the end." <sup>3</sup> Shortly after election results were published, a Fernandina newspaper printed on its masthead the program which most Floridians supported: "The Secession of the State of Florida. The Dissolution of the Union. The Formation of a Southern Confederacy." <sup>4</sup>

The legislature assembled in Tallahassee on November 26, and four days later Governor Madison Starke Perry signed the bill calling for a secession convention to meet January 3, 1861. <sup>5</sup> On December 22, 1860, special elections were held to select convention delegates. A few days later, the editor of the *St. Augustine Examiner* confidently predicted that 1861 would witness the "onset of war." It would be a tempest, he said, that Southern-

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1. William Watson Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 41-42.

2. Cited in *Ibid.*, 46. See also Dorothy Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida, 1850-1861," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XII (October, 1933), 51.

3. Tallahassee *Floridian*, November 10, 1860.

4. Fernandina *East Floridian*, November 14, 1860.

5. *Florida Senate Journal* (1860), 59. A. A. Canova represented Duval County in the House and A. S. Baldwin in the Senate.



ers would meet "with stout hearts and armed nerves," and without fear or trepidation.<sup>6</sup>

Duval County was represented at the secession convention by J. M. Daniel, court clerk, and John P. Sanderson, attorney. The latter represented the sixteenth Senatorial District.<sup>7</sup> Sanderson, a moderate secessionist and one of the wealthiest men at the convention, was chairman of the thirteen-man committee appointed to prepare an ordinance of secession.<sup>8</sup>

In a matter of just one week the delegates had prayed, listened to inflammatory speeches by Florida citizens and by secessionists from Alabama, South Carolina, and Virginia, and had drawn up the ordinance that took Florida out of the Union. By a vote of 62 to 7, at exactly 12:22 P.M., on January 10, 1861, the convention declared that all political connections between Florida and the United States had been severed and whatever legal ties existed were now broken. Florida became by this dramatic action a sovereign and independent nation.<sup>9</sup>

The state Convention reassembled in Tallahassee on Tuesday, February 26, and two days later unanimously adopted the ordinance, introduced by Mr. Daniel of Jacksonville, which ratified the provisional constitution of the Confederate States of America.<sup>10</sup> The Confederate Congress, March 6, authorized President Jefferson Davis to accept 100,000 volunteers for twelve-month enlistments for a force that would be used "to defend the South and to protect its rights."<sup>11</sup>

Governor Perry received Florida's first troop requisition on March 9.<sup>12</sup> The call was for 500 men, but volunteer enlistments

6. *St. Augustine Examiner*, December 29, 1860.

7. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Florida, Begun and held at the Capitol in the City of Tallahassee, on Thursday, January 3, A.D., 1861* (Tallahassee, 1861), 6.

8. *Ibid.*, 21. In the December 22, 1860, election Sanderson had defeated Stephen Bryant, a strong secessionist, and a Mr. Hendricks, a Unionist. See Francis P. Fleming, *Memoir of Capt. C. Seton Fleming, of the Second Florida Infantry, C.S.A.* (Jacksonville, 1884), 22.

9. *Ibid.*, 29, 110.

10. *Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Florida at Called Sessions, Begun and Held at the Capitol in Tallahassee, on Tuesday, February 26th, and Thursday, April 18th, 1861* (Tallahassee, 1861), 6-7.

11. *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Washington, 1904), I, 110.

12. The note from the Confederate Secretary of the Army, L. Pope Walker, to Governor Perry is cited in Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 90.



were so spontaneous and overwhelming that this request could have been met several times over.<sup>13</sup> Among the many volunteer Florida military companies formed were several from Duval County. One was the Jacksonville Light Infantry whose captain, Dr. Holmes Steele, was a man of wide interests and many talents. One of Jacksonville's earliest physicians, he was also editor of the *Jacksonville Standard* when that newspaper started publishing in 1858, and the city's mayor in 1859.<sup>14</sup> The Jacksonville Light Infantry was mustered into Confederate service on August 10, 1861, as Company A, Third Florida Infantry. Another well-known fighting unit from Jacksonville was the Duval County Cow Boys. The organization was first commanded by Captain Lucius A. Hardee and later by Albert Drysdale. Mustered in as Company F, Third Florida Infantry, August 10, 1861, it was stationed at St. Johns Bluff.<sup>15</sup> The St. Johns Greys, Captain J. J. Daniel commanding, became Company G, Second Florida Infantry when it was mustered in at the Brick Church, corner West Church Street and Myrtle Avenue, July 13, 1861.<sup>16</sup> The Milton Artillery, Captain George A. Acosta, was organized early in the war for the defense of Jacksonville and the St. Johns River.<sup>17</sup> Company H, First Florida Cavalry, was still another Duval County unit. Its commander was Noble A. Hull, later clerk of the court in Jacksonville.<sup>18</sup>

In January, 1861, Southern enthusiasts took over a good bit of federal property in Florida, including Fort Marion in St. Augustine on January 7, and Fort Clinch on Amelia Island the following day. It was expected that these would become important defense posts if the North "insisted upon war" and if Florida became a theater of military operations. By the summer of 1861 several small forts had been established in the state, including one

13. The First Florida Infantry, numbering about 500 men, was mustered into Confederate service at the Chattahoochee Arsenal on April 5, 1861.

14. Webster Merritt, *A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County* (Gainesville, 1959), 50-51; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, July 31, 1858.

15. F. L. Robertson, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Tallahassee, 1903), 110. See also James C. Craig, "Colonel Lucius Augustus Hardee and Honeymoon Plantation," *Papers of the Jacksonville Historical Society*, III (1954), 62.

16. *Soldiers of Florida*, 89.

17. *Ibid.*, 41.

18. Lee Eugene Bigelow, "A History of Jacksonville, Florida" (typed MS in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Fla.), 102.



constructed of palmetto logs at Jacksonville Beach near the south jetties. Fort Steele, as it was named, lay about a mile east of Mayport located so as to protect the entrance into the St. Johns River. Captain John L'Engle, a retired United States Army officer, supervised construction.<sup>19</sup> The Jacksonville Light Infantry was stationed at this post until March, 1862.

Other forts built in the Jacksonville area early in the war were Yellow Bluff Fort, situated on a triangular-shaped peninsula jutting out into the St. Johns River at Dames Point; the fortification at St. Johns Bluff, five miles directly east of New Berlin; and breastworks on Talbot Island.<sup>20</sup> These were planned as defenses for Jacksonville and to keep federal ships out of the St. Johns. Later in the war, the Confederates located a fortification at McGirt's Creek about twelve miles west of Jacksonville, at the point where the wagon road and railroad crossed the creek. It was named Camp Milton in honor of Florida's Civil War governor.<sup>21</sup>

The federals, during their third occupation of Jacksonville, in March, 1863, erected two forts within the city, to protect the terminus of the railroad and to defend the approach on the south to Jacksonville by the St. Johns River. Fort Higginson, named for Colonel T. W. Higginson, commander of the federal First South Carolina Volunteers, was at the intersection of what is now Broad and Bay Streets. Fort Montgomery named for Colonel James Montgomery, Second South Carolina Volunteers, was farther along the railroad tracks.<sup>22</sup> According to a contemporary report in the *New York Tribune* "a large forest of pine and oak trees" was cut down and about fifty small buildings, mostly houses, were demolished during the construction of these two forts.<sup>23</sup>

The invasion of Florida's east coast was first recommended in July, 1861, by a board of Union naval officers meeting in Washington to plan the overall strategy of the blockade.<sup>24</sup> Ports on the South Atlantic coast were needed as coal depots for the blockad-

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19. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville, Florida* (Jacksonville, 1911), 156.

20. James C. Craig, "New Berlin and Yellow Bluff Fort," *Papers of the Jacksonville Historical Society*, III (1954), 146.

21. Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville*, 187.

22. Katherine Sproull, "The Forts of Duval County," *Papers of the Jacksonville Historical Society*, I (1947), 73.

23. *New York Tribune*, March 29, 1863.

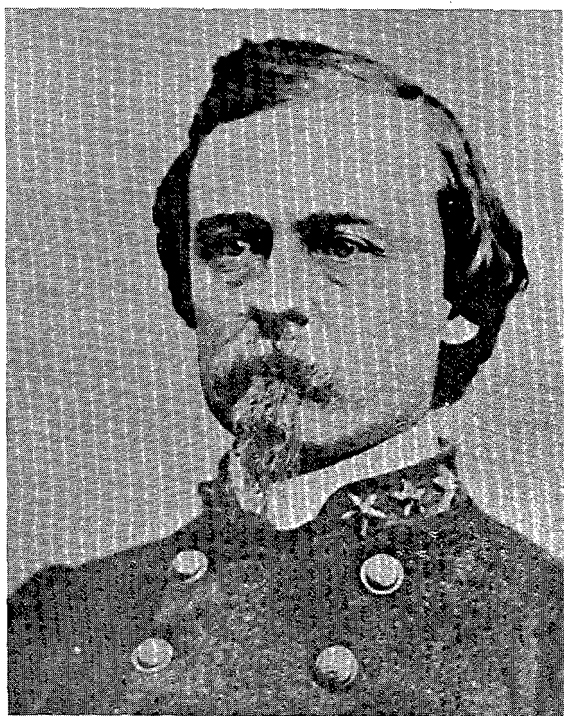
24. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*. Ser. I, Vol. XII, 195. Cited hereafter as *ORN*.





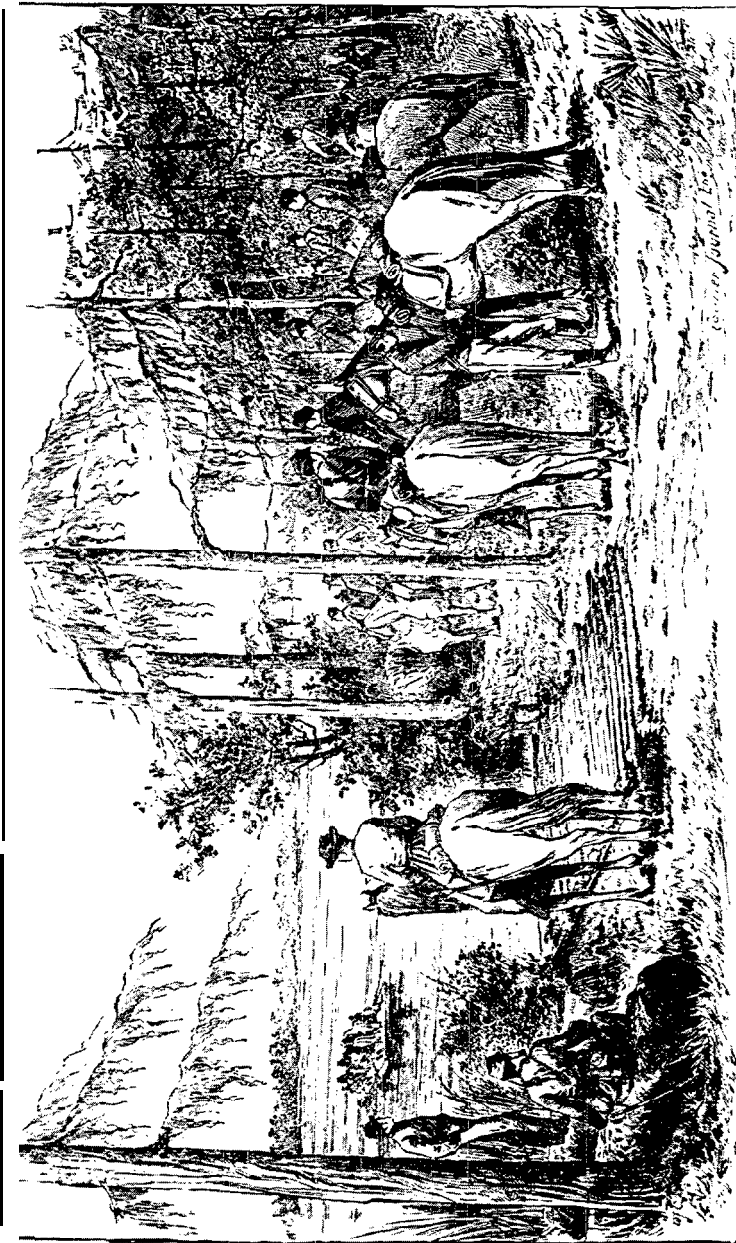
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

*A Federal sentry is silhouetted against the sky during an occupation of Jacksonville. On the waterfront street are loaded Army wagons, presumably just brought ashore from a transport in the St. Johns river.*



GENERAL JOSEPH T. FINEGAN, C.S.A.





CONFEDERATE CAVALRY CROSSING THE ST. JOHNS RIVER TO THE EASTERN SHORE



ing squadron and Fernandina and St. Augustine were excellently located for this purpose. When Flag Officer Samuel F. DuPont captured Port Royal, South Carolina, on November 7, 1861, the attack against Florida was imminent. "It is only a question of ships," Commodore DuPont said in January, 1862, and remedied this need by calling in vessels from the blockade.<sup>25</sup>

Two other developments had a direct effect upon the federal invasion of Florida. The state Convention, which had called itself into special session in January, 1862, to consider the embarrassed financial condition of Florida, passed an ordinance requiring the transfer on or before March 10, 1862, of all state troops to Confederate service. Any force failing or refusing to make this transfer would be disbanded.<sup>26</sup> It was obvious that if the Confederate government assumed entire responsibility for Florida's defense it would save money, but, as Governor Milton had pointed out, it also mean that state troops would not be available for defense when needed.

Confederate military reverses in Tennessee in February, 1862, also added to Florida's security problems. On February 6, Ft. Henry was captured by Union gunboats and ten days later a Union army, commanded by General Grant, captured Ft. Donelson. "This great triumph for Federal arms," as the *New York Herald* described it, placed all of the lower South in jeopardy. On February 24, General Robert E. Lee ordered all available army units in East Florida to Tennessee without delay.

Without either Confederate or state troops to resist an invasion, Florida was vulnerable to attack. On February 28, Commodore DuPont sailed from Port Royal with twenty-six ships, including seven transports carrying a battalion of marines and a brigade of the Fourth New Hampshire Infantry under Brigadier General Horatio G. Wright. There was no opposition to the landing on Amelia Island, March 4, and Fernandina and Ft. Clinch were immediately occupied. Six days later Federal gunboats approached St. Augustine and municipal authorities, bowing to the inevitable, agreed to the peaceable surrender of the city the following day.

The final decision to proceed against Jacksonville was not

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25. *Ibid.*, 477.

26. *Proceedings of the Convention of the People of the State of Florida held at Called Session, January 14, 1862* (Tallahassee, 1862), 107.



made until after the federals were already in Florida. They learned that several guns from Fernandina had been evacuated there, and they wanted to destroy the fortifications along the St. Johns between Mayport and Jacksonville. It was agreed, however, that "the permanent occupation of Jacksonville would not be judicious," and that the city would be occupied for only a few hours for reconnaissance purposes.<sup>27</sup> Thus, on the afternoon of March 8, a federal squadron consisting of four gunboats, two armed launches, and a transport with six companies of New Hampshire troops aboard sailed from Fernandina for Jacksonville. When it arrived at the mouth of the St. Johns a few hours later, its officers learned that the Confederates were evacuating the whole area, up to and including Jacksonville, and that the city was being destroyed.

The Confederate military, realizing that with the forces at hand Jacksonville could not be defended, ordered the city evacuated. On March 7, Mayor H. H. Hoeg announced this decision in a proclamation, but he counseled citizens to remain in their homes and to pursue their ordinary business activities.<sup>28</sup> Notwithstanding the Mayor's efforts, there was panic and hysteria. Scores of families hurriedly packed their belongings into wagons to move inland, at least as far as Baldwin where the Confederates planned to establish a line of defense. City offices were closed and all public records were buried.<sup>29</sup>

Upon orders of Brigadier General James H. Trapier, commanding Confederate forces in East Florida, the following property was destroyed: eight sawmills, a large quantity of sawed lumber, an iron foundry and workshops, a machine shop, and a gunboat under construction for the Confederate Navy Department.<sup>30</sup> One mill was saved when the owner, a Mr. Scott, raised the British flag over it.<sup>31</sup> The famous racing yacht *America*, which had recently run the blockade into Jacksonville, was taken

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27. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 239. Cited hereafter as *ORA*.

28. *ORN*, Ser. I, Vol. XII, 500; Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville*, 158-59.

29. According to Bigelow "A History of Jacksonville, Florida" 105; the records were not properly wrapped and "when exumed after the war, were found to be so badly damaged by water and decay, as to be illegible."

30. *ORA*, Ser. I., Vol. VI., 414-15. Itemized list of property destroyed, *New York Herald*, March 20, 1862.

31. Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville*, 161.



up the St. Johns to Black Creek and sunk there at Taylor's Landing to prevent its being captured.<sup>32</sup> The rails, bolts, and spikes of the Florida Railroad from Fernandina to Callahan, and the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central from Jacksonville to Baldwin were ordered taken up and the crossties burned.<sup>33</sup> It is questionable that this order was fully carried out.

A few hours before the Union forces arrived, a mob of Confederate "regulators," many of them refugees from Fernandina and St. Augustine, came into Jacksonville to loot and plunder property and businesses belonging to suspected Northern sympathizers. Stores and warehouses along Bay Street and the waterfront were broken into and a building at the corner of Bay and Hogan Streets was burned. The mob also set fire to the Judson House, a large four-story wooden hotel on Bay Street.<sup>34</sup>

Jacksonville was surrendered on March 12 by Sheriff Frederick Leuders, and the Fourth New Hampshire Infantry quickly occupied the city. Guards were posted at street corners and in front of public buildings, and pickets were stationed in the outlying areas to guard against attack. Shortly after the landing, a deputation of Unionists, many of whom had been hiding with their families in the woods along the south side of the river, presented themselves as a welcoming committee. These people, for the most part prosperous merchants, lumbermen, and real estate dealers recently moved down from the North, claimed that many Floridians were really anti-Confederate but were afraid to voice their true feelings. Now that the federals had arrived, they would flock "to the protection of the American flag."

General Thomas W. Sherman arrived in Jacksonville on March 19, and at a public reception held in the town square (now Hemming Park) the Unionists urged him permanently to occupy Jacksonville and to fortify it as a stronghold. Calling themselves "The Loyal Citizens of the United States of America," these sympathizers held a meeting in the county courthouse and drafted resolutions which they presented to General Sherman. Denouncing secession and protesting the "forced contributions of money, property, and labor enlistments for military service pro-

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32. Bigelow, "A History of Jacksonville, Florida," 116-17.

33. Dorothy Dodd, "Florida in the War, 1861-1865," in Allen Morris, *The Florida Handbook, 1959-1960* (Tallahassee, 1959), 42.

34. Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville*, 134.



cured by threats and misrepresentations," they asked for protection.<sup>35</sup>

At first, the Federal occupiers considered remaining in Jacksonville for political reasons, hoping perhaps to encourage anti-Confederate feeling throughout Florida.<sup>36</sup> General Sherman even attempted to institute some rather premature reconstruction policies, and invitations were issued to a number of Florida counties to send delegates to a meeting in Jacksonville April 10, 1862, to discuss the organization of a new state government.<sup>37</sup> The Union high command, however, considered a permanent occupation to be a military mistake, and Jacksonville was ordered evacuated.<sup>38</sup> The Unionists were bitterly disappointed and many, fearful of remaining in the area without military protection, were happy to accept the invitation to accompany Union troops to Fernandina. There they became the responsibility of Lieutenant Colonel Horatio Bisbee, Jr., who after the war settled in Jacksonville.<sup>39</sup> The evacuation created a controversy in the northern press and even in Congress. The House of Representatives demanded "all the facts and circumstances" of the withdrawal from Secretary of War Stanton, but the request was denied. Lincoln, according to Stanton, did not believe that it was "compatible with the public interest at present to disclose" the reasons for the military evacuation.<sup>40</sup>

There had been very little military activity in Jacksonville during the occupation. On the evening of March 24, Confederates captured two federal pickets who strayed beyond their defense lines. Early the next morning Confederate Lieutenant Thomas E. Strange, Company K, and Lieutenants William Ross and Charles Ross, Company I, Third Florida Infantry, supported by ten volunteers, attacked federal pickets at Brick Church along the western edge of town. Three federals were killed and four were captured. Lieutenant Strange was a Confederate casualty. On the night of March 27, a federal picket fired on a strange looking party discovered hiding in the woods, killing one person and

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35. *ORA*, Ser. I., Vol. VI., 251-52; *New York Herald*, March 31, 1862.

36. *Ibid.*, 129, 255.

37. Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville*, 166.

38. *ORA*, Ser. I., Vol. VI., 124.

39. *Ibid.*, 130.

40. Pleasant D. Gold, *History of Duval County, Including Early History of East Florida* (St. Augustine, 1929), 136.



wounding another. An investigation revealed that it was a group of runaway slaves from Lake City.<sup>41</sup> Another brief skirmish occurred March 31 between detachments of Union and Confederate troops near Three-Mile Creek just outside Jacksonville. No casualties were reported.<sup>42</sup>

Jacksonville was occupied for a second time by an amphibious force which left Hilton Head, South Carolina, on September 30, 1862. It consisted of 1,573 men aboard four transports conveyed by six gunboats. Earlier that month the federals, employing artillery fire from two gunboats, had made two unsuccessful attempts to dislodge Confederates occupying St. Johns Bluff.<sup>43</sup> But now, superior Union firepower forced the Confederates to abandon their positions on the high bluffs overlooking the river, and on October 5 federal troops landed at Jacksonville.<sup>44</sup>

It was a desolate, nearly empty city that they occupied. Captain Valentine Chamberlain of the Seventh Connecticut Volunteers described it as a city where "Grass and weeds grow rank and tall in the principal streets. Houses with blinds closed attest the absence of inmates. Stores with shelves but no goods. Churches deserted and gloomy. Depot, but no cars. . . . About the streets you see darkies, a few women, and a very few men. The men you are told, are away up the country, but you know they are in the rebel army. Provisions are very scarce and consequently dear." Captain Chamberlain reported that his soldiers broke into a drug store and carried off whatever they could find. He also said that he "saw for the first time a woman chewing snuff or 'dipping.'" <sup>45</sup>

A company of the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers, aboard the *Darlington*, and a convoy of gunboats made a quick sortie up the St. Johns in search of rebel steamers. They captured the eighty-five foot steamer *Governor Milton* hidden in a creek near Enterprise and burned and raided a number of plantations and farms, particularly along Trout River and Cedar Creek.<sup>46</sup>

On March 11 the Union forces evacuated Jacksonville, taking back with them to Hilton Head, South Carolina, "several white

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41. Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville*, 167.

42. Gold, *History of Duval County*, 133.

43. *Ibid.*, 137-39.

44. *ORN*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 363, 369.

45. "A Letter of Captain V. Chamberlain, 7th Connecticut Volunteers," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV (October, 1935), 93.

46. *ORA*, Ser. I., Vol. XIV, 131.



refugees, and about 276 contrabands including men, women and children.”<sup>47</sup>

Again, in March, 1863, a large detachment of federal troops occupied Jacksonville. It included two regiments of South Carolina Negro volunteers under Colonel Thomes W. Higginson and reinforcements from the Sixth Connecticut and the Eighth Maine. The purpose of this occupation, according to one report, was “to collect Negro recruits, to plunder, and probably to inaugurate some vague plans of ‘loyal’ political reconstruction.”<sup>48</sup> The northern soldiers pitched their camp in west Jacksonville in the pine woods between Broad Street and Myrtle Avenue. The Brick Church became a picket station and guards patrolled the area along the edge of the cemetery that adjoined the church. Fort Higginson and Fort Montgomery guarded the terminus of the railroad and gunboats patrolled the river. A large number of trees were cut down in the city to make barricades and abatis, and field pieces were mounted at strategic street corners.<sup>49</sup>

The presence of Negro troops particularly infuriated the Confederates under command of General Joseph Finegan who were stationed about ten miles west of Jacksonville. Confederate scouts and raiders frequently attacked pickets, ambushed reconnaissance groups, and shot lone soldiers wandering in the woods.<sup>50</sup> Federal soldiers, meanwhile, ransacked private property and sometimes unnecessarily abused non-combatants. The Union command agreed to the evacuation of Jacksonville’s women and children, and on March 17 they were transported safely to Lake City.<sup>51</sup> During the next few days there were several skirmishes between Union and Confederate forces in the outlying areas west of the city.

General Finegan lacked sufficient troops for a full-scale attack on the city, but he thought he had enough guns to bombard it. His chief ordnance officer, Lieutenant Thomas E. Buckman, later a prominent Duval County official, suggested mounting a thirty-two pound rifled gun on a railroad car to be backed by a loco-

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47. *Ibid.*, 131.

48. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 171-72; *New York Times*, March 22, 1862; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (Boston, 1870), 97-129.

49. Bigelow, “A History of Jacksonville, Florida,” 120.

50. Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville*, 177.

51. *ORA*, Ser. I., Vol. XIV, 839.



tive to the western edge of Jacksonville. The Confederate command approved the idea and about three o'clock on the morning of March 25, Buckman and Private Francis Sollee, First Special Battalion, Florida Volunteers, took a detachment of gunners down the railroad to a point about a mile and a half from town and started firing. The gun did very little damage and its future effectiveness was diminished when the Federals destroyed much of the track leading into Jacksonville.<sup>52</sup>

Plunder and booty were no longer readily available in Duval County and the surrounding area and by the end of March preparations were being made again to evacuate Jacksonville. Before the soldiers were loaded aboard their transports, however, someone set fire to the Catholic Church, the parsonage, and two private homes, all of which were completely destroyed. The next day several other buildings were fired including St. John's Episcopal Church. By April 2 at least a third of Jacksonville's main business area was in ashes. Perhaps the damage would have been greater had not General Finegan arrived shortly after the federals moved down river. His men extinguished the flames and saved a good bit of property.<sup>53</sup>

The fourth and final occupation of Jacksonville, in February, 1864, was conceived by Major General Q. A. Gilmore commanding at Port Royal, South Carolina, and was sanctioned by President Lincoln. The plan was to occupy Jacksonville with a sizeable force and establish a supply base there. The federals hoped to push into interior Florida, capture Lake City, and the railroad across the Suwannee, and thus control the eastern approaches to Tallahassee. They wanted to sever Florida and thus destroy the vital food supply lines to the other Confederate states. Florida had become the "Breadbasket of the Confederacy," and was shipping a vast quantity of pork, beef, molasses, corn, potatoes, and other foodstuffs, to the Confederate military. The federals hoped that the Unionists in East Florida could organize a loyal state government, and to put this part of the plan into operation Lincoln sent John Hay as his personal representative to Jacksonville. Hay, however, was not very successful; the federals consistently overestimated their strength in Duval County. General Truman A. Sey-

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52. T. Frederick Davis, "First 'Steam' Gun in Action," *The Journal of the American History Foundation*, II (Fall, 1938), 172-74.

53. *ORA*, Ser. I, Vol. XIV, 232-35.



mour commanded the expedition which landed at Jacksonville on February 7, 1864. It consisted of about 5,500 men aboard launches, transports, and gunboats. While the main body of the army was landing, a Union gunboat hurried up to McGirt's Creek and there captured a rebel steamer being loaded with cotton.

The bulk of the Union army did not tarry in Jacksonville but pushed on toward Baldwin, which was important as a rail head. They occupied that hamlet on February 9. Meanwhile, raiding parties marched southwest as far as Gainesville, north to Callahan and the St. Marys River, and south to Palatka on the St. Johns. Confederate forces commanded by General Finegan had meanwhile secured sizeable reinforcements, and on February 13 moved into a position near Olustee Station, on Ocean Pond just east of Lake City, which seemed to offer a maximum of natural protection.

Continuing their advance through the little village of Sanderson, forward units of the United States Army made contact with the Confederate outposts shortly after noon, February 20. The federal skirmish line kept advancing and by two o'clock a major battle was underway. By late afternoon the tide had turned in favor of the southern troops and the federals were retreating from a bloody battlefield. Losses were large on both sides, but there was no doubt but that the Confederates had scored a victory.<sup>54</sup> The Confederates pursued the retreating federals until they reached McGirt's Creek, just a few miles from Jacksonville. General Beauregard himself had come to Florida to lead a final assault on Jacksonville, but then decided that he lacked sufficient troops to continue the offensive.

Meanwhile, the federals brought scores of wounded soldiers back into Jacksonville where they turned churches and private homes into hospitals. They quickly erected fortifications to protect themselves against an expected Confederate attack. A line of breastworks was erected from Hogan's Creek to the area around Union and Beaver streets, then west to Davis Street, and southwest to McCoy's Creek. Seven batteries were placed along this

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54. The Battle of Olustee has been described many times. See Luis F. Emilio, *A Brave Black Regiment, History of the Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1863-1865* (Boston, 1891), 148-185; Mark F. Boyd, "The Federal Campaign of 1864 in East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (July, 1950), 3-36; Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 268-95.



line. On the St. Johns River, Yellow Bluff was fortified and Mayport was garrisoned.<sup>55</sup> Additional reinforcements were rushed in, bringing the total of Union troops stationed in Jacksonville to about 12,000.

A Union officer in Jacksonville described conditions in a letter which he wrote his wife. "Peach trees," he said, "are in full bloom. People are planting corn, and in the city they get early garden sauce,<sup>56</sup> such as green peas and the like from St. Augustine every day. . . . This is a rich country, . . . and [it is] the place to make money in times of peace. . . . A good many are finding it out . . . and when the war is over, very many Northern men will move *South*. . . ." <sup>57</sup>

By the end of March heavy drafts were being made on northern forces encamped in Jacksonville and an evacuation order was issued. Between April 8 and May 15 transports loaded with soldiers moved down the river every day, until there was only a force of about 2,000, mostly Negro troops, remaining. On the night of May 31-June 1 the federals attacked and captured Camp Milton, forcing the Confederates to withdraw their lines to Whitehouse and Baldwin.<sup>58</sup>

On July 26, 1864, the last troops were withdrawn from Jacksonville and, except for occasional raiding parties from Fernandina and St. Augustine, there was no further military activity in Jacksonville for the remainder of the war.

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55. Bigelow, "A History of Jacksonville, Florida," 130-131.

56. A colloquial expression for "garden vegetable eaten with meat."

57. Vaughn D. Bornet (ed.), "A Connecticut Yankee After Olustee," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (April, 1949), 386-87.

58. Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville*, 189-90.



## THE CONSTITUTION OF 1868

by JERRELL H. SHOFNER

ON MARCH 2, 1867, CONGRESS enacted a law declaring that no legal government existed in Florida. As a part of the Third Military District, Florida was placed under a commander whose authority was superior to the outlawed state government. The law provided that the state could resume normal relations with the Union when it had adopted the fourteenth amendment and formed a constitution in conformity with the Constitution of the United States. This instrument was to be drawn up by a convention of delegates elected by all eligible male citizens, ratified by the people, and approved by Congress. No persons excluded from political activity by the fourteenth amendment could participate in the formation of this constitution.<sup>1</sup>

The old state leaders had been given an opportunity to reform Florida's political and economic structure under the mild reconstruction plan advocated by President Andrew Johnson. They had been unable or unwilling to make an equal place for the newly freed Negroes in their new regime. Meanwhile, President Johnson had lost his Reconstruction leadership to the radical-controlled Congress. The Reconstruction Acts of March 1867 were intended to give the Negro equal political status. These edicts left Floridians the problem of meeting Congressional demands and at the same time devising a working arrangement between the divergent elements of Florida society.<sup>2</sup>

Native whites were in dire economic straits, bitter in defeat, and alarmed that their social structure was about to be destroyed. Most of their leaders were prohibited from political participation by Congressional laws. Almost half the population were freedmen who had been uprooted from their old life and had not yet found a new place in the state's economic or social structure. With little conception of a free citizen's role in a free society, most Negroes were dependent on Freedmen's Bureau agents for advice and as-

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1. United States *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 428; Caroline Mays Brevard, *A History of Florida*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1925), II, 133-134.
  2. Walter L. Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox* (New Haven, 1919), 115-116; Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida Land of Change* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 296.



sistance in both economic and political matters. Other than Freedmen's Bureau agents, groups interested in the Reconstruction Acts included military officers and federal officials stationed in Florida, a few recent immigrants, and a small number of native whites of Republican persuasion. Among this latter group were some who wanted to help the freedmen gain full political rights to protect themselves. Others hoped to use Negro suffrage to establish control of the state. Some wanted to turn Florida society upside down, while others were willing to work out agreement with the old state leaders if such a course might achieve their ends.

The two extreme elements of the political spectrum were the radical Republicans, who wished to exclude native whites from state politics, and the native Conservatives, who desired continued white control of the state at all costs. These Conservatives were former Whig and Democratic political leaders. As political alignments took shape during the summer and fall of 1867, a group of moderate Republicans was formed. This group, opposed to the radicals and willing to compromise with native whites, became strong enough by early 1868 to dominate the formation of the new state government.

Contrary to popular belief, the Constitution of 1868 was not a radical document imposed on a helpless white population by "carpetbaggers" and Negroes. Unique methods were employed to meet a unique situation. An examination of this document reveals the compromises and concessions that were made to various interests in Florida's population. Though many of them were disfranchised, the Conservative leaders of Florida exerted considerable influence on the constitution-makers.

The Reconstruction Acts confused and divided Conservative leadership. Some Conservatives tried to unite the party and secure support from the newly-enfranchised freedmen, but their efforts generally failed.<sup>3</sup> Many native whites, thinking the situation hopeless, refused to participate in politics. Others were wholly

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3. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, April 23, October 27, 1867; *St. Augustine Examiner*, September 21, 1867; *American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of 1868*, (New York, 1869), XIII, 312-313; William W. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 487; Joe M. Richardson, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Florida," (unpublished Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1959), 63.



concerned with earning a livelihood and could not afford the time. Their greatest obstacle, however, was inability to mingle with Negroes as political equals. While the Conservative group remained weak and divided, vigorous factions were evolving based on support from the new Negro electorate. Negroes were being reached effectively by northern politicians and Freedmen's Bureau officials who had no qualm about rubbing shoulders with colored voters.

Thomas W. Osborn, an assistant to the head of the Florida Freedmen's Bureau, organized Negro voters through a secret fraternal organization called the Lincoln Brotherhood. The Negroes were attracted to this Brotherhood which employed an elaborate system of secret signs and passwords. With a parent lodge in Tallahassee, the Lincoln Brotherhood spread to other communities. By mid-summer of 1867, Osborn headed an organization claiming the fidelity of thousands of Negro voters. The oath of this league read in part, "and I will not vote for . . . any person for any office who is not a brother of this league."<sup>4</sup>

Daniel Richards, William U. Saunders, and Liberty Billings organized the Loyal League of America in Florida to counteract Osborn's political force. Similar in form to the Lincoln Brotherhood, the Loyal League replaced that organization. Richards, a white radical from Illinois, and Saunders, a mulatto ex-barber from Baltimore, were sent by the Republican National Committee to organize the party in Florida. They arrived in late spring of 1867, although Richards had previously been in Florida as a tax commissioner. Liberty Billings was from New Hampshire and had been an officer in a colored Union regiment but was living at Fernandina in 1867. Negroes were told that they could not be recognized as Republicans unless they joined the Loyal League. Using this League as a basis, these three men organized the radical faction of the Republican party. By November of 1867 Richards could write that "Colonel Liberty Billings, Colonel Wm. U. Saunders, and myself have literally created the Republican party in Florida. . . ."<sup>5</sup>

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4. John Wallace, *Carpentbag Rule in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888), 42-44; Richardson, "Freedmen's Bureau," 58-59.

5. George C. Osborn (ed), "Letters of a Carpentbagger in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (January, 1958), 239, 263; Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 470; John T. Shuften, *A*



A moderate group centered around the Republican Club of Jacksonville began a humble existence in March of 1867.<sup>6</sup> Consisting mostly of white federal officeholders from the North and native white Republicans, this group gradually gained strength until it became a dominant force in Florida politics for a brief period. The Republican Club drew support from dissimilar groups because it was pliable and willing to compromise, while the Billings-Richards faction was unswerving in its devotion to radical principles.

During the fall of 1867 voters were registered for an election to decide whether a Constitutional Convention would be held. Conservatives controlled the press and their opposition to a convention was expressed vigorously. With their number badly divided and apathetic, the Conservatives were hardly regarded as a threat to the Republicans who controlled the Negro electorate. When registration was completed, 26,582 persons had registered to vote- 11,148 whites and 15,434 Negroes. In the election, 14,503 voted, with all but 203 favoring the Convention. Since this was a majority of the total registration, the Convention was scheduled for January 20, 1868.<sup>7</sup>

Forty-six delegates elected at the same time the Convention was approved were named to the Convention by the Third Military District. There were forty-three Republicans and three Conservatives on the list; about eighteen were colored. John Wallace, a Negro who served as a page at the Convention, observed that most of the delegates were either grossly ignorant or bent upon self-aggrandizement. According to one historian, "enlightenment and honesty were more than balanced by stupidity and dishonesty." Solon Robinson, a *New York Tribune* reporter, was pleasantly surprised by the parliamentary ability and conduct of a few Negroes, but expressed disgust at the selfish motives of the more able whites. Although these indictments are too critical, there was some justification for them. Some of the Negroes were illiterate and served only as a pool of votes for the contending factions to struggle over. If there were those willing to sell votes, there were

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*Colored Man's Exposition of the Acts and Doings of the Radical Party South, from 1865 to 1876 and its Probable Overthrow by President Hayes' Southern Policy* (Jacksonville, 1877), 8.

6. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 472.

7. Samuel S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation* (Providence, Rhode Island, 1894), 517-518.



also those willing to buy them. If the Convention was attended by delegates pursuing selfish motives, there were some notable exceptions. Jonathan C. Gibbs, a Negro from the North; J. H. Goss of Marion County; and Eldridge L. Ware of Key West were three such men. There were probably others genuinely interested in framing a good constitution, but their aggregate voice was weak in the din of the Convention.<sup>8</sup>

Location of the Convention in Tallahassee benefited the Billings-Richards faction which drew its support from the heavily populated black-belt counties near the state capital. The delegates of this faction arrived early and Billings and Richards lodged them in a rented house where free liquor and quarters were available. On Saturday before the Convention opened, this faction held a caucus and selected a prospective slate of officers. Richards had written, "we have secured a majority of friends in the Constitutional Convention. . . ." His prediction was borne out when twenty-nine of the forty-six delegates met in Convention on January 20, 1868, and organized according to Richards' plan. C. H. Pearce, a Billings-Richards man and leader of the African Methodist Episcopal Church organization, was made temporary chairman. H. Ford, a Negro from Baltimore, was made temporary secretary. A committee on permanent organization, headed by William U. Saunders, immediately reported Daniel Richards for president. It seemed that the Osborn supporters would be defeated at the outset. Osborn's Negro support had diminished since the Loyal League had been organized. The only resistance to the Billings-Richards group came from W. J. Purman, an ex-Union officer and Freedmen's Bureau agent, who moved for a postponement until the other delegates arrived. This motion set off a long quarrel but Richards was finally seated.<sup>9</sup>

Early in the Convention, J. H. Goss introduced a resolution suspending the collection of taxes and the laws providing punishment for their nonpayment; all who were confined for this offense

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8. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention Begun January 20, 1868* (Tallahassee, 1868), 17; Cox, *Three Decades*, 518; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 53-57; Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 497; *New York Tribune*, February 5, 1868.

9. Philip D. Ackerman, "Florida Reconstruction from Walker Through Reed, 1865-1873," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1948), 108; Osborn, "Letters of a Carpetbagger," 261; Dorothy Dodd, "Bishop Pearce and the Reconstruction of Leon County," *Apalachee* (1946), 5-6; *Journal of the Convention*, 3-4, 5.



were to be released. This resolution was directed at a law of January 10, 1866, which levied a three dollar per annum head tax on all adult males. If a person failed to pay it, he could be arrested and sold out for labor until enough money was earned to pay the tax and expenses incurred.<sup>10</sup> The law had operated harshly on the freedmen and the Goss resolution quickly passed with support from all the Negro delegates.

Purman held up progress for three days with dilatory tactics, but the Convention was finally organized in favor of the radical faction. Radicals controlled each of the seventeen committees. The committee on privileges and elections was made up of Saunders, Billings, and C. H. Pearce, the three delegates whose eligibility was most doubtful. Their eligibility had been questioned by Conservatives in a protest to General George G. Meade prior to the Convention but Meade had refused to act. The struggle now shifted to the eligibility question. The group led by Osborn and Purman demanded the ouster of Richards, Billings, Saunders, and C. H. Pearce because they were not residents of the districts from which they were elected. Since one of them was Convention president and the other three comprised the committee on privileges and elections, this was an ambitious request. The committee on privileges and elections ruled that delegates previously approved by the Third Military District could not be questioned. Then, by shrewd parliamentary procedure, the eligibility question was tabled.<sup>11</sup>

The question was raised once more, however, when George J. Alden moved that John W. Butler, an Osborn supporter from the first district, be seated in place of George W. Walker, a Conservative delegate elected from that district who had not claimed his seat. A renewed debate was thus set off which lasted several days. Parliamentary duels between Purman and Saunders got out of control on several occasions and the sergeant-at-arms was called on to restore order. Solon Robinson observed that the Convention resembled a gladiatorial arena more than a solemn meeting of human beings.<sup>12</sup> This stalemate was caused by the Osborn faction

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10. *Ibid.*; *Florida Acts and Resolutions* (1865), 65.

11. Ackerman, "Florida Reconstruction," 112; Brevard, *History of Florida*, II, 138; Hanna, *Florida*, 307; *Pensacola West Florida Commercial*, January 24, 28, 1868.

12. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 54; *New York Tribune*, February 8, 1868.



which wanted to hold up progress until all the late-arriving delegates were seated. Osborn had been gaining support through a coalition with other federal officeholders and the moderate group from the Jacksonville Republican Club. He had acquired support from two lobbyists with money to spend: Harrison B. Reed, a federal mail agent, and William H. Gleason, a Freedmen's Bureau agent.

Although they had used the same methods successfully, the radical Billings-Richards faction denounced the opposition's tactics. Richards wrote:

We have had a desperate struggle. . . . They are constantly canvassing and using money and whiskey to corrupt the delegates. . . . They have been very confident of . . . turning me out of the chair. . . . All our delegates are poor. . . . All those of easy virtue soon fall prey to these minions of the devil and A. Johnson who has plenty of money.<sup>13</sup>

Reed and Gleason boasted that they had the power to reorganize the Convention and intended to use it. The battle reached a climax on January 31. If Butler were seated, the Osborn faction would have a majority of one. Solon Robinson wrote that Billings and Richards were losing their fight and that the Osborn faction "might make an acceptable constitution, but if they do I will hereafter believe in miracles. . . ." On January 31, N. C. Dennett, an Osborn supporter, was called home on an emergency. This gave the radicals confidence that they could muster a majority and the seating question was brought to a vote. By skillful maneuvering Billings removed the seating question from the debate by a vote of twenty-one to twenty.<sup>14</sup> This demonstrated that the radicals still controlled the Convention. An Osborn delegate moved for adjournment until Tuesday, February 4, and some Negro delegates, misunderstanding his motive, voted for the motion. This temporarily saved the day, but the Osborn group was desperate. Extreme measures were now in order.

After almost two weeks of procedural debates, the radical leaders believed that they could now turn to constitution-making.

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13. Osborn, "Letters of a Carpetbagger," 264-265.

14. *New York Tribune*, February 8, 1868; *Journal of the Convention*, 30; *New York Times*, February 2, 1868; *New York Tribune*, February 10, 1868.



When they met on Tuesday, February 4, however, the entire opposition was absent. During the weekend the Osborn group had moved in a body to Monticello to prevent a quorum. The twenty-two remaining members decided that they constituted a majority of the forty-one delegates who had been seated in the Convention. Five of the forty-six delegates elected had never been seated. This "rump" Convention asked Colonel F. F. Flint, commander of the fort at Tallahassee, to arrest fourteen of the seceders. After voting themselves a generous pay bill, the remaining delegates adopted a constitution within two days. Its length lends strength to the story that it was brought from Chicago by Daniel Richards. The twenty-two members present signed the document and dispatched it by messenger to General Meade in Atlanta. The Convention then adjourned until February 15, awaiting instructions from General Meade. Meanwhile, the members organized as a state nominating convention and named a radical ticket for the forthcoming election.<sup>15</sup>

At midnight on February 10, the Osborn faction returned from Monticello, entered the capitol, and reorganized the Convention during the night. They had acquired the support of several delegates who had not been previously seated in the Convention.<sup>16</sup> A majority of twenty-four was rounded out by Charles M. Hamilton, a recently-resigned Freedmen's Bureau official. Hamilton ordered two colored radical delegates out of their beds and told them to report to the Convention. Unaware that he was no longer a Bureau official, the two complied.<sup>17</sup>

In the earlier part of the Convention, Billings had prevented defection of the less enlightened radical delegates by making in-

15. Osborn, "Letters of a Carpetbagger," 267; Jacksonville *Florida Union*, February 8, 1868; Ackerman, "Florida Reconstruction," 118; *American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1868, 267; Memorial to Congress from Daniel Richards and William U. Saunders, quoted in Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 69; *ibid*, 57; *New York Times*, February 7, 1868; Hanna, *Florida*, 307.

16. *St. Augustine Examiner*, February 22, 1868; Osborn, "Letters of a Carpetbagger," 268; William T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1936), 55-56; John L. Campbell of the second district and W. Rogers of the fifteenth district were Conservative who joined the Convention at this time. A third Conservative, George W. Walker of the first district, never claimed his seat but was replaced by John W. Butler, a moderate Republican, when the Convention was reorganized.

17. *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 109, p. 2.



flammatory speeches to the crowds of freedmen gathered outside the capitol. The delegates who lived among the freedmen were thus discouraged from deserting for fear of bodily harm. The success of his speeches was demonstrated the day after the two dele-



DAVID S. WALKER  
GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA, 1866-1868

gates attended the midnight reorganization. They were mobbed in the street by freedmen and escaped only after one of them shot and wounded an assailant.<sup>18</sup>

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18. *St. Augustine Examiner*, March 7, 1868; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 58.



Richards was deposed as president and replaced by Horatio Jenkins, Jr. A new committee on privileges and elections assumed authority to rule on eligibility of delegates and quickly vacated the seats of Billings, Richards, Saunders, and Pearce. These radicals were replaced by Marcellus L. Stearns, J. E. A. Davidson, Richard Wells, and Ossian B. Hart who were much more pliable than their predecessors.<sup>19</sup>

During the next few days both groups met, each claiming to be the lawful Convention. Osborn had the assembly hall in the capitol while Billing and Richards held their meetings in a Negro church or on the public square. The freedmen wanted to storm the capitol building in behalf of Billings, but Conservative Governor David S. Walker had secured support from federal troops to prevent this. Billings and Richards realized that they would lose by default unless they assumed the initiative. Richards called on Governor Walker to arrest those who had usurped the powers of the Convention. Walker replied that he had no authority or desire to intervene in the contest, but assured Richards that peace and order would be maintained. Richards then appealed to Colonel Flint who also declined to interfere. As a last resort, he wrote a long report to General Meade explaining that the governor and the commander of federal troops would not give their support to the legitimate Convention. Meanwhile, Jenkins had proposed to Meade that both contending presidents resign so that a new one might be elected. General Meade informed Richards that he favored this course.<sup>20</sup>

The General arrived in Tallahassee on February 17 and accepted resignations from both Jenkins and Richards, though Richards rendered his under protest. Meade ordered all original delegates back to the Convention where Colonel John T. Sprague, in full dress uniform, was temporarily presiding. A roll call showed

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19. *Journal of the Convention*, 42-47; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 62.

20. *New York Tribune*, February 17, 1868; *Pensacola West Florida Commercial*, February 18, 1868; D. Richards to Governor Walker, February 5, 1868, quoted in Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 371-372; Jacksonville *Florida Union*, February 28, 1868; Walker to Richards, February 15, 1868, quoted in Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 372; Richards to Colonel Flint, and Flint to Richards, February 15, 1868, *ibid.*, 372-373; Richards to Meade, February 17, 1868, *ibid.*, 373; H. Jenkins to Meade, February 17, 1868, *ibid.*, 373-374; Meade to Richards, February 17, 1868, *ibid.*, 374; *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 109, pp. 21-24.



forty-five delegates present. Jenkins was elected president by a vote of thirty-two to thirteen. The "ineligible" delegates were ousted and their replacements were seated. The newly-organized Convention adopted another constitution. The work was again simplified by using a document prepared at another location, this time at Monticello. In drafting this constitution the moderates at Monticello had consulted with such prominent Conservatives as Charles E. Dyke, editor of the Tallahassee *Floridian*, and McQueen McIntosh, a former federal judge who had resigned to support the Confederacy.<sup>21</sup>

With minor corrections this document was accepted on February 25 by a vote of twenty-eight to sixteen. After an ordinance was passed which denied pay to those refusing to sign, nine more delegates signed under protest.<sup>22</sup> Of the two constitutions before him, General Meade selected this more moderate one on the grounds that it was signed by a majority of the Convention. He had previously informed Richards that the first document would be acceptable if two more signatures could be obtained.

Another nominating convention was held and Harrison B. Reed was nominated for governor with William H. Gleason for lieutenant-governor. Charles M. Hamilton was nominated for Congress. In the ensuing campaign, this became the regular Republican ticket. The radical candidates remained in the race, but their campaign was hampered by Saunders' defection to the opposition and Liberty Billings' arrest for making incendiary speeches.<sup>23</sup>

The Conservatives, encouraged by the split in the Republican ranks, nominated a Union Conservative ticket at Quincy on March 31, 1868. Some Conservative leaders questioned the wisdom of running a Conservative ticket. Editor Dyke of the *Floridian* complained that this would force the Republican factions to coalesce after he had abused one wing and praised the other to promote

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21. *St. Augustine Examiner*, February 29, 1868; Jacksonville *Florida Union*, February 22, 1868, and March 7, 1868, quoting *Pensacola Observer; Journal of the Convention*, 34; Edward C. Williamson (ed.), "Florida's First Reconstruction Legislature," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (July, 1953), 41-43; Hanna, *Florida*, 265.

22. *Journal of the Convention*, 130-132.

23. Fernandina *East Floridian*, March 5, 1868; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 57-58; Ackerman, "Florida Reconstruction," 126; Jacksonville *Florida Union*, April 11, 1868.



the split. Their candidates were George W. Scott, an ex-Confederate, for governor and former Whig James W. Hall for lieutenant governor; John Friend, a Northerner, was nominated for Congress. The Conservatives campaigned against the constitution. Most white natives supported this ticket, but others were willing to accept the moderate constitution and the moderate Republican ticket.<sup>24</sup>

Before an election could be held, the Joint Committee on Reconstruction in Congress had to approve one of the constitutions. George J. Alden and William H. Gleason presented the case for the Monticello document. Daniel Richards and William U. Saunders presented a bitter memorial denouncing the moderate version, both on its merits and method of adoption.<sup>25</sup> On April 4, 1868, the Committee decided that only one constitution should be submitted to the people of Florida and selected the Monticello document which had the endorsement of General Meade. The Constitutional Convention had been in session for more than a month and most of its time was spent in a struggle between two factions for control of the new government. Yet both documents were creditable works reflecting significant concepts on the role of government. They differed markedly in only three matters and in each the Monticello document reflected the influence of Conservatives who had helped draft it.<sup>26</sup>

The radical version made most state and county officials elective. The Monticello constitution created more offices and made them appointive by the governor. The radical document excluded from suffrage all who had held federal office and afterward en-

24. G. E. Dyke to Edward M. L'Engle, March 23, 1868, L'Engle Papers microfilms, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida; Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 520-521; Pensacola *West Florida Commercial*, April 23, 1868; Jacksonville *Florida Union*, March 7, 1868, and March 21, 1868, quoting *West Florida Commercial* and Quincy *Commonwealth*. Both of the latter papers were Conservative. See also Pensacola *West Florida Commercial*, March 10, 1868, and letter of Stephen R. Mallory, A. E. Maxwell, and General William Miller to J. P. Sanderson, D. P. Holland, John A. Henderson, and Edward M. L'Engle, March 26, 1868, and Mallory to L'Engle, April 3, 1868, in L'Engle Papers.
25. *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 109, *passim*.
26. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 350, 358-362, 382-385, 393-394; Jack B. Scroggs, "Carpetbagger Constitutional Reform in the South Atlantic States, 1867-1868," *Journal of Southern History*, XXVII (November, 1961), 492.



gaged in rebellion, and required a lengthy loyalty oath excluding everyone who had supported the Confederacy. The Monticello document was much milder on this point, omitting any reference to the rebellion and requiring a simple oath of loyalty. In apportioning representation, the radical constitution joined some small counties into districts with one representative. The larger counties, which were mostly dominated by Negroes, were given multiple representation according to their population. For example, Leon County was to have seven representatives while Orange, Volusia, Brevard, and Dade shared one. The Monticello constitution modified equal representation in favor of the small white counties. It provided each county with at least one representative and no county more than four. By this method approximately one-third of the voters would elect a majority of the representatives. Since Negro strength was concentrated in about nine counties in the north central part of the state, such apportionment would insure white control in the assembly.<sup>27</sup>

Daniel Richards was the most vociferous opponent of the Monticello constitution. He was incensed by the failure to proscribe ex-Confederates and the apportionment which distorted numerical representation. He accused Reed and Osborn of selling out to the "vilest rebels." Richards looked on the ex-Confederates as criminals. This sincere hatred was amplified by his defeat in the convention. If the constitution was voted down by the people, Richards hoped to secure appointment as provisional governor under military control.<sup>28</sup>

Conservatives opposed the constitution mostly on principle because it had theoretically been imposed on them by a hostile Congress and by a convention which they had not selected. They attacked such specific provisions as the increased number of government offices, and increased salaries. Predominantly white counties opposed the appointment of county officials by the governor, but Conservatives in black-belt counties favored this pro-

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27. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 362; Richard E. Bain, "Legislative Representation in Florida: Historic and Contemporary," (unpublished Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1960), 93-94, 114; Scroggs, "Carpetbagger Constitutional Reform," 489.

28. Osborn, "Letters of a Carpetbagger," 275-277; Jacksonville *Florida Union*, April 11, 1868.



vision. The constitution was as favorable as anything which could have reasonably been expected at the time.<sup>29</sup>

Complying with a Third Military District order, an election for ratification of the constitution and election of state officers was held on the first Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in May of 1868. Since the Osborn faction controlled the election machinery by virtue of its Convention victory, it was accused of gross fraud and manipulation of the returns. According to Samuel Pasco, the three day duration of the election was advantageous because election officials could build majorities at night in their homes. Moderate Republicans were accused of openly boasting that they would make the returns show a majority for Reed and the constitution. Conservatives published affidavits "proving" fraud. The Republicans denied this and countered with different affidavits from the same persons. Finally, a Conservative committee appointed to investigate the charges concluded that it would be impossible to ascertain the number and quality of frauds. The election returns showed a majority favoring the constitution - 14,520 to 9,491. Reed was elected governor with 14,170 votes. Scott, the Conservative candidate, received 7,852, while Samuel Walker, the radical, received only 2,262.<sup>30</sup>

The Constitution of 1868 satisfied no one entirely, yet it made concessions to the divergent groups in the state. Although some of these concessions detracted from the excellence of the document, it was a good Constitution. It embodied the views then prevailing in America concerning the scope and responsibility of government.<sup>31</sup> It was by far the most liberal organic law up to that time in Florida. The Constitution extended equal rights to all men, guaranteed protection of these rights, and obligated the state to a system of free public instruction so that these newly-granted rights could be exercised effectively. It provided for a

29. Pensacola *West Florida Commercial*, January 13, 1868, March 10, 1868; *St. Augustine Examiner*, March 28, 1868. Edward L'Engle wrote a friend that "the proposed constitution will if adopted not absolutely ruin us." Letter of March 5, 1868, in L'Engle Papers.

30. *American Annual Cyclopaedia, 1868*, 270; Hilary A. Herbert, *Why the Solid South?* (Baltimore, 1890), 141-142; Osborn, "Letters of a Carpetbagger," 278; Cox, *Three Decades*, 517.

31. Rowland H. Herick, *Memoirs of Florida*, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), I, 304; W. E. Burghardt DuBois, *Black Reconstruction* (Philadelphia, 1935), 516; C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction*, revised edition (Garden City, 1956), 15.



uniform tax burden on all citizens and state-supported institutions for the physically and mentally handicapped. Its most objectionable features were the provision for disproportionate representation, and the long list of appointive offices to be filled by the governor.

The declaration of rights was expanded and made inclusive. The phrase in the 1865 Constitution "That all freemen, when they form a government, have certain inherent and indefeasible rights . . .," was changed to read "All men are by nature free and equal. . . ." In view of the provisions for representation, however, it would seem that equal political rights were modified by the ante-bellum principle that territory as well as people deserved representation in the legislature.<sup>32</sup>

The governor was to hold office for four years and could succeed himself.<sup>33</sup> He could call extraordinary sessions of the legislature and, in cases of disagreement between the two houses, could adjourn them to such time as he thought proper. He had veto power which could be overcome only by a two-thirds vote of both houses. He was to be assisted by a secretary of state, attorney-general, comptroller, treasurer, surveyor-general, superintendent of public instruction, adjutant-general, and commissioner of immigration, all of whom he appointed with the consent of the senate. In each county he was to appoint an assessor of taxes and collector of revenue, a county treasurer, county surveyor, superintendent of common schools, and five county commissioners.

The judicial article expanded the court system to provide justice for the increased free population, but it also added to the list of offices to be filled by gubernatorial appointment. The governor was to appoint three supreme court justices for life or during good behavior and seven circuit judges for eight year terms. In each county he would appoint a county judge, a sheriff, a clerk of the court, and as many justices of the peace as necessary.<sup>34</sup> The voters were to elect constables, but no other local officials. The gov-

32. Declaration of Rights, Constitution of 1865, in *Compiled General Laws of Florida* (Atlanta, 1928), V, 4921; Declaration of Rights, Constitution of 1868, in *ibid.*, 4947-4949; Bain, "Legislative Representation," 25-26. The constitution of 1838 had guaranteed each county at least one representative. This was extended in 1868, not to insure representation for isolated counties, but to limit the voting power of the Negroes.

33. Article V, Constitution of 1868, *Compiled General Laws*, 4954-4956.

34. Article VI, Constitution of 1868, *ibid.*, 4956-4957.



ernor was to be a powerful official and the party controlling that office would have a strong position in the state.

The state recognized its responsibility to provide adequate education for all children without distinction through a uniform system of common schools and a university with free instruction. It was to be a unified system under control of the state superintendent of public instruction. A common school fund was established with revenue from a variety of sources including a percentage of the proceeds from public land sales. There was also provided a property tax of at least one mill for support and maintenance of common schools.<sup>35</sup>

A state prison and state-supported institutions for the insane, blind, and deaf were to be established.<sup>36</sup> A homestead exemption provided that 160 acres of land, or one-half acre of city property, with improvements, and \$1,000 worth of personal property was to be exempt from forced sale under any process of law.<sup>37</sup> A capitation tax was authorized but it could not exceed one dollar.<sup>38</sup> Taxes were to be uniform on all citizens and no taxes could be used in support of companies chartered by the state.<sup>39</sup> Incorporation of eleemosynary and other useful corporations was to be by general law.<sup>40</sup>

A bicameral legislature would hold annual sessions. A census would be taken in 1875 and every ten years thereafter.<sup>41</sup> Representation would be apportioned according to this census except that each county would have at least one representative and no

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35. Article VIII, Constitution of 1868, *ibid.*, 4961-4962. These basic provisions for a unified school system have not been greatly altered. This provision stimulated the practice of undervaluing property. By low assessment and high millage the county could reduce the state's share of its tax receipts.

36. Article X, Constitution of 1868, *ibid.*, 4963.

37. Article IX, Constitution of 1868, *ibid.*, 4962.

38. Article XII, Constitution of 1868, *ibid.*, 4964. This poll tax had borne heavily on the freedmen under the 1865 constitution and one of the radicals' first acts was to abolish it. See *ibid.*, p. 6. Although they limited the amount, the moderates incorporated the poll tax in their constitution. It was used in 1885 to disfranchise Negroes. See Eldridge R. Collins, "The Florida Constitution of 1885," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1939), 125, *passim*. This thesis is badly biased in favor of Democratic white supremacists and contains many factual errors, but it remains one of the few sources for this period.

39. Article XII, Constitution of 1868, *Compiled General Laws*, 4965.

40. Article IV, Constitution of 1868, *ibid.*, 4952.

41. Article XIII, Constitution of 1868, *ibid.*, 4965.



county more than four. Senators would number no less than one-fourth nor more than one-half the number of representatives. The old provision for counting Negroes by a ratio of three-fifths their number was dropped.

Suffrage was extended to every male person twenty-one years of age or over regardless of race, color, nationality, or previous condition of servitude. Each voter was required to take an oath to support the State of Florida and the United States Government. There was also a provision that "The legislature shall enact laws requiring educational qualifications for electors after the year 1880, but no such laws shall be made applicable to any elector who may have registered or voted at any election previous thereto."<sup>42</sup> A miscellaneous provision reiterated the prohibition against civil or political distinctions for reason of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.<sup>43</sup>

This Constitution was not imposed on a reluctant and helpless population, nor was it the work of benevolent Northerners who wisely provided an equalitarian organic law for the protection of the newly-freed Negroes. It was the product of a struggle between groups of men with widely differing interests. The struggle took place within the framework laid down by the Congress controlled by radical Republicans, but this framework left room for compromise and concession. For reasons of their own the radicals in the Constitutional Convention were unbending in their demands for Negro equality and punishment of ex-Confederates. Native Conservatives, though deprived of participation in the Convention, constituted an important part of Florida's population. They were unwilling to be subjected to domination by northern radicals supported by a Negro electorate.

The normal political process of open debate and open voting broke down in this extreme circumstance. Thereafter, compromise and concession occurred behind the scenes. The unbending radicals lost out to a group of moderate Republicans who were willing to collaborate with certain Conservative leaders, and the Monticello constitution was drafted to their mutual benefit. The two Conservative delegates who joined the Convention only after the Monticello secession were important to the moderates in the close-

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42. Article XIV, Constitution of 1868, *ibid.*, 4965-4966.

43. Article XVI, Constitution of 1868, *ibid.*, 4973.



ly divided Convention. Governor Walker's efforts to keep the radicals from recapturing the Convention hall were also vitally important. Less tangible, but just as important, was Conservative willingness to rely on vocal and editorial criticism rather than more extreme forms of resistance.<sup>44</sup> Osborn had maintained good relations with the military, but General Meade was probably impressed by Osborn's support from some of the local leaders.<sup>45</sup>

Considering their political disability, the Conservatives were well rewarded for favoring the moderates. The apportionment provision insured continued white control, and the mild proscription feature against ex-Confederates enabled them to resume political activity. Wide appointive powers resting with the governor aided both Conservatives and moderate Republicans as long as they could elect the chief executive. Willingness to vest such power in the chief executive indicates their confidence in an election victory.<sup>46</sup> When moderate candidate Harrison B. Reed became governor he rewarded prominent Conservatives with appointments to cabinet positions.<sup>47</sup>

The radical leaders lost because they asked too much and could not accept less since their entire support came from Negroes. Numbering less than half of Florida's population, Negroes were unable to control the government. To do so they would have had to form an agreement with some element of the white population more numerous than that represented by the radicals. Unlike the radicals, the moderate Republicans were willing to seek support wherever it could be found. If the radicals were defeated,

44. Conservative opposition was held in check by fear that the convention might re-assemble and adopt a constitution which excluded ex-Confederates from suffrage. See Mariano D. Papy to Edward M. L'Engle, March 10, 1868, and Stephen R. Mallory to L'Engle, April 3, 1868, in L'Engle Papers.

45. George R. Bentley, "Freedmen's Bureau in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII (July, 1949), 29-31.

46. Scroggs, "Carpetbagger Constitutional Reform," 492. Local control was maintained by whites through this device until 1885, but there was increasing opposition to such an undemocratic system in the white counties. After 1885, Conservatives felt secure enough to alter the system. The weak executive of the 1885 Constitution was partly a reaction to the excessively strong powers wielded by the governor under the 1868 Constitution. After 1885, Negroes were controlled by a poll tax requirement for voting, appointive county commissioners, and bonding requirements for county officials. See Collins, "Florida Constitution of 1885," I, 120-125, *passim*.

47. Brevard, *History of Florida*, II, 146. Robert H. Gamble became comptroller and James D. Wescott, Jr., became attorney-general.



the moderates would then be able to mend their fences with the Negroes. A case in point was Saunders' desertion of the radicals when the moderate Constitution was accepted by Congress. Even Jonathan C. Gibbs and J. H. Goss, the native white radical from Marion County, advised all Republicans to unite and support Reed and the Constitution. It was easy for many moderate Republicans to make concessions to white supremacy since some of them were sympathetic to this principle. W. J. Purman, who had led the parliamentary fights for the moderates, later boasted that he had kept Florida from becoming "niggerized."<sup>48</sup>

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48. Bentley, "Freedmen's Bureau in Florida," 36; Jacksonville *Florida Union*, March 21, April 4, 1868; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 20, 1872.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Politics of Mis-Representation: Rural-Urban Conflict in the Florida Legislature.* By William C. Havard and Loren P. Beth. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962. xiii, 293 pp. Index. \$5.00.)

In this book two distinguished professors of government inspect the Florida legislature as a political institution serving a state whose population pattern between 1920 and 1950 reversed itself, changing from two-thirds rural to two-thirds urban. The authors appraise the response to this massive demographic event against generally accepted standards developed in the critical literature of American political theory. By their method they demonstrate that in terms of representativeness, responsibility, and rationality as criteria for judging the moral authority of legislative bodies, the Florida legislature compares "very unfavorably with the authority legally vested in it."

The co-authors allege that three basic malfunctions are responsible for the present quality of Florida politics : (1) rural-urban conflict; (2) lack of a party system; and (3) the race question. The book holds that the resolution of the urban-rural conflict is the key to the improvement of the interlocking constellation of other debasing influences. *The solvent in the first instance begins with equitable, automatic reapportionment.*

From this basic thesis the authors take their point of departure to propose changes which they believe will add to the capability of a representative assembly to translate intelligible public desires into law. Among their recommendations are these: (1) shift state elections to odd-numbered years, with the salutary objective of broadening the discussion of issues; (2) give the legislature more discretion to determine the frequency and length of sessions, not now possible because of restrictive constitutional provisions requiring short biennial meetings; (3) increase salaries of legislators, at least to a minimum level which would enable a citizen to serve without financial loss; (4) overhaul the committee system in the legislature, reduce interpersonal control by



rotating committee chairmanships, cut the number of committees themselves, and clarify the criteria by which bills are assigned to particular committees; (5) develop a concern for ethical legislative standards by tightening control of lobbying, by establishing uniform rules dealing with interest representatives in both houses, and by making the taking of fees by legislators from private sources a criminal offense; (6) strengthen the Legislative Council and the Legislative Reference Bureau; and (7) develop more effective coordination between the executive and legislative branches.

In less than 300 pages William Havard and Loren Beth bring the issues related to an effective legislature into focus and place them before the public mind for discussion. They set up a schedule of problems to be faced and light a path toward their solution. Their penetrating diagnoses and specific prescriptions prick the Florida political conscience and prod citizen opinion to action with a challenge toward the generation of a therapeutic and wholesome responsibility. The book, holding as it does a mirror before the legislative face, should be required reading for every senator and representative in Tallahassee.

PAUL DOUGLASS

*Rollins College*

*Gonzalia, 1770-1880.* By Leora M. Sutton. (Pensacola: Elite Mimeographing Service, 1961. 45 pp. Charts, illustrations, acknowledgements. \$10.00.)

Perhaps the greatest value of *Gonzalia* is release to the general student of Florida history and to the reading public of documents which hitherto have been cherished in the Gonzalez family archives. This reviewer and others interested in Pensacola and Escambia County personalities and annals have been privileged to consult the Gonzalez papers, but here for the first time a compilation of these documents and the better known accounts of "Don Manuel," against the background of Alexander McGillivray and Andrew Jackson and their parts in history, has been produced.

Mrs. Sutton has exhaustively searched source materials-family papers and anecdotes, official documents, and related biographies. The illustrations and facsimiles of plats of land add the



savor of the times. Few native Pensacolians will be able to put the book down until the last page has been read.

The most serious fault of the work is the inadequate bibliography. Mrs. Sutton if she continues her writing career will doubtless adopt the practice of the trained historical student and list author, title, and publisher with address, and date. The curious reader will want to know page references and, in the case of local and rare sources, where these may be consulted. Many prefer the footnotes on the page with the related text. While *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, etc., would give the book a more scholarly and pleasing format, *Gonzalia* has a freshness of its own and is another link toward an adequate history of Pensacola in thus telling the story of one of its master builders who was born nearly 200 years ago.

Mrs. Sutton is to be highly commended for her tireless research, monetary expenditures, and her knack for probing the fruitful spots. Her genuine contribution, it is hoped, will be followed by later studies. She has made an excellent beginning.

OCCIE CLUBBS

*Pensacola, Florida*

*The Murder Trial of Judge Peel.* By Jim Bishop. (New York: Trident Press, 1962. Pp. xi, 210. \$3.95.)

This book deals with one of the most incredible murder trials of all time. It also deals with the baffling murder which had to precede the trial and it is concerned with the unbelievably intricate investigation that was sandwiched in between the murder and the trial. The stuff of the Chillingworth murders and the Peel trial is that of which high drama is made. Mr. Bishop presents it as tawdry melodrama written in the poorest journalese. The bare bones of the facts of the case are fascinating enough—a respected judge and his wife disappear without any apparent trace from their beach house; five years later a formerly highly-thought-of young lawyer and city judge is put on trial for the murders; the bulk of the state's evidence comes from a convicted bootlegger and “numbers” man and from an admitted murderer, both of whom had been associated with the accused when he served as city judge in West Palm Beach; the young judge is found



guilty after a long trial in which disputed evidence from tape recordings is presented. Mr. Bishop chose not to tell the terse, tight story which would have stood up to scrutiny on its own merits. He rather chose to attempt a character analysis which he has neither the penetration, empathy, nor skill to pull off. The undoubted complexities of Joe Peel's personality are not revealed and the unexpected heavy of the piece is the state's attorney Phil O'Connell who must, one gets the strong feeling, have offended Mr. Bishop.

Perhaps the story is too bizarre to be adequately presented, perhaps the skills of a master story teller with the training of a social psychologist are required. This book is only a re-hash of the newspaper articles that were written at the time of the trial.

GEORGE ELLIOTT WOLFF

*University of Florida*

*Georgia Rivers.* Edited by George Hatcher. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1962. x, 76 pp. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

In this attractive little volume the story of the principal rivers of Georgia is told. The eight sketches deal briefly but informatively with the history and with the economic past, present, and future of the Savannah, Ogeechee, Altamaha, St. Marys, Suwannee, Coosa, Flint, and Chattahoochee rivers. The volume is a compilation of a series that originally appeared in the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine*, all of the articles being by members of its staff. It is handsomely illustrated.

Florida readers will be interested in the story of the St. Marys River, which borders a long stretch of the two states, the account of the Suwannee which Stephen Foster accidentally immortalized, and in the sketches of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers which unite at the Georgia-Florida border to form the Apalachicola. Of the Chattahoochee Ralph McGill writes in one of the articles, "Some years ago former Mayor James Nichols of Apalachicola gave Atlanta a 1,000-pound anchor, inscribed 'The Port of Apalachicola salutes the Port of Atlanta.' On the day the ocean tugs and barges come the anchor will be a part of the celebration. And that day is a part of the river's future."

ALEXANDER A. LAWRENCE

*Savannah, Georgia*



*The American Tory.* By William H. Nelson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. vi, 194 pp. Index. \$4.80.)

The current re-evaluation of the social consequences of the American Revolution has aroused new interest in the Loyalists. The older studies of Flick and Van Tyne supported on the whole the idea of democratic change. The Loyalists appeared as the right wing of the colonial aristocracy whose expulsion left a void in the upper class and freed the nation from a segment of the population most attached to Old World modes. Their departure and the confiscation of their property sharpened the equalitarian bent of American society. This view has been challenged by recent works which represent the Tories not as an aristocratic group but as a cross section of the population, whose motives were as diverse as their identities. Neither their emigration nor their expropriation affected the society to any degree. Obviously there is room here for a good study. A work of sufficient weight to carry conviction would help to shape our whole conception of early national history.

This is not such a work. The author takes up the prominent Loyalists who got into print and whose writings have been the chief sources of older histories. He depicts their behavior and social attitudes, analyzing the hard choices forced upon them by revolution. The result is a sensitive and thoroughly rewarding essay, full of ideas unencumbered by gross details. Students will be stimulated by reading it, and historians will appreciate the insights it contains. But it will leave historical interpretation about where it was before. If anything, the book sustains the argument in favor of democratic change; for although the author takes note of revisionist studies, his attention is fixed on the aristocratic Tories, the tendencies they exhibited before the Revolution, their ties with the imperial government, their conservative social philosophy, and the widening gap that separated them from the main stream of American life. After one reads this book it is hard to believe that their emigration left no mark upon the country.

The quality of the book is pretty well indicated by the scope of research, which is restricted to such published materials as Loyalist writings, a selection of monographs, and compilations such as Force's *American Archives*. The author uses his sources



perceptively, and his formulations sometimes rise to the point of originality. Perhaps the best part of the book is the discussion of religious issues, including the movement to seat an Anglican bishop in the colonies, as a factor in the Revolution. He draws a nice connection between the republicanism of the Puritan-Dissenter tradition in Britain and the inner propensity of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism in America.

E. JAMES FERGUSON

*University of Maryland*

*Catholics and the American Revolution: A Study in Religious Climate.* By Charles H. Metzger, S. J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962. 306 pp. \$5.00.)

This is Father Metzger's first book since *The Quebec Act* (New York, 1936) where he explored the pro-Catholic features of the 1774 act as a possible causative factor in the American colonies' decision to break with England. In the present volume he reviews much of the same background: the suspicion, disapproval, open hostility, fear, and persecution with which American Catholics had to contend in nearly all the colonies during the fifty years prior to Independence. This time his principal interest lies in the response of colonial Catholics to the choice put before them after the outbreak of war. "With the unhappy past fresh in their memory, the future shrouded in uncertainty, and neutrality ruled out by the Declaration of Independence, there seemed to be no escape from the Scylla of supporting their foes of yesterday or the Charybdis of provoking new outbursts of hostility and persecution if they stayed loyal to England."

Concentrating on the two chief centers of Catholic population, Pennsylvania and Maryland, Metzger finds that by far the greater number of Catholics opted for Independence. He explains their choice by asserting that the colonial prejudice against them was the sole factor determining their reluctance to join the revolution, and that when this factor was appreciably modified, though not entirely removed, Catholics found the choice a much easier one. Metzger enumerates the chief events subsequent to 1774 that eased the animus against them, notably the colonies' decision



to woo Catholic France. In the end, he claims, Catholics contributed to the common cause "far in excess" of their ratio to the total population.

FR. MICHAEL C. GANNON

*Mission of Nombre de Dies*  
*St. Augustine, Florida*

*Prologue to War: England and the United States, 1805-1812.* By Bradford Perkins. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961. 457 pp. \$7.95.)

The problem of historical causation seems in no way more diffuse than when applied to establishing the historicity of a diplomatic rupture, especially one in which a nation's "honor" appears to be at stake.

In Bradford Perkins' *Prologue to War* the author attempts to come to grips with the topic of American nationalism, at its most elusive stage, when it possessed a connotation, unmistakably present in 1812, yet not to emerge as a denotative factor until after peace had been secured in 1815. Rejecting previous interpretations by Pratt, Taylor, Burt, and Hacker as "inadequate," Perkins attempts to introduce a Freudian interpretation for the causes of the War of 1812, and, indeed, he appears to have been fairly successful. *Prologue to War* seeks to illustrate the emotional factors in helping to explain the events and attitudes of the period from 1805-1812, as being of far greater consequence than the more "rational" interpretations of the past.

Perkins visualizes the war as a "search for respectability," not on the part of the nation as a whole, for in general the consensus seemed opposed to open hostilities. Rather, it was because a majority in Congress began to feel that war represented the best means for attaining national identity, which could not be secured by a compromised peace.

The most significant aspect of this volume is an illuminating interpretation of British diplomacy, especially in the seven years period immediately preceding the open break. Through what appears to be a careful and critical examination of British sources, especially the Perceval ministry, Perkins minutely examines Britain's far-reaching diplomatic problems, thereby enlarging signifi-



cantly the perspective of the war. By re-examining American sources, which he documents thoroughly, he is able to weave a masterful fabric relative to the interplay between political and economic forces, to which is added the factor of the intangible, non-rational, and elusive element of nationalism.

In short, Perkins has succeeded in recognizing the significance of the national psyche while retaining a prudent regard for the tangibles, which he obviously recognizes to be the necessary foundation for an historical analysis. As might be expected, neither the administrations of Jefferson nor Madison emerge unscathed; yet, while Perkins is able to assert that "Republicans had jeopardized the national character and the reputation of the United States," the documented evidence tends to support his assertion.

ALAN DAVID ABERBACH

*Guilford College*

*North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860.* By Leon F. Litwack. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961. 318 pp. Bibliographical essay and index. \$6.00.)

This is a pioneer study of the American Negro in the ante-bellum North. The author discusses various evidences of Northern discrimination-the refusal of the state governments to admit the Negro to full citizenship, the separate but unequal educational accommodations in the public schools, the segregation of the Negroes into "ghettos" in the cities, the economic persecution of colored laborers particularly by the Irish, and the segregated practices of the churches in dealing with their Negro brethren. The usually frustrated endeavors of Negro religious leaders and white abolitionists to better the condition of the Northern freedmen are also discussed at length by the author.

The Mason-Dixon line, as Mr. Litwack states, has often been used "to contrast southern racial inhumanity with northern benevolence and liberality." That such a clear-cut contrast does not exist is proved by Professor Litwack's extensive research, for he shows by many examples that before the Civil War "discrimination against the Negro and a firmly held belief in the superiority of the white race were not restricted to one section but shared by



an overwhelming majority of white Americans in both the North and the South."

In the North, public conveyances and facilities either assigned Negroes to segregated sections or denied them their services altogether. Negroes were excluded from the franchise in the vast majority of northern states and were denied the right to sue in courts of justice or to act as jurors. Churches refused Negroes full communicant privileges and relegated them to separate pews or to seats in the rear or balcony of the church buildings. Most northern politicians reflected the voices of their constituents when they steadfastly opposed all measures aimed at extending to freedmen the rights of citizenship. The prewar stand of Abraham Lincoln on these measures brings him closer in thought and word to the twentieth century Mississippian than to the twentieth century northern liberal. Lincoln opposed the Dred Scott decision because he believed that the important question of citizenship should be decided by the several states rather than by the Supreme Court of the United States, not because the decision declared the Negro unworthy of citizenship.

The author's style is readable, his bibliography impressive, and his bibliographical essay a great help to scholars interested in his subject. There is but one minor criticism. Professor Litwack is inclined to sit on the pinnacle of twentieth century American liberal thought and pronounce judgment against Americans who lived almost one hundred fifty years ago, Americans who, unlike him, did not have a century of refreshing humanitarian breezes with which to temper their racial prejudices.

JOSEPH D. CUSHMAN, JR.

*Florida State University*

*Reflections of the Civil War in Southern Humor.* By Wade H. Hall. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961. 88 pp. \$2.00.)

This slight volume was published as one of the University of Florida Monographs in the Humanities. The author, a former resident of Union Springs, Alabama, completed a doctoral degree at the University of Illinois in 1961, and this monograph is a part of his dissertation in revised form. Professor Wade expects



to publish a more extensive volume on the same subject at the University of Florida Press.

This study deals with Southern humor beginning with the Civil War and ending on the eve of World War I. There are chapters on the soldier, the Negro, the poor white, and the "folks at home." The author's technique is a paste-pot job of putting together one anecdote after another about the Civil War. The stories are fascinating although few are humorous in the present sense and many fall into the category of pathos. Some of the stories by well-known humorists like Charles H. Smith ("Bill Arp"), Harry Stillwell Edwards, and Joel Chandler Harris will be familiar to many readers.

These stories fall into the category of folk-lore rather than history, and many of them represent a patina that has formed over the Civil War. Nevertheless, the book will have value for the Civil War historian. One would hope that Professor Hall will furnish more interpretative information in his next book, but one can hardly hope for a volume that is more closely and interestingly written.

EVANS C. JOHNSON

*Stetson University*

*Stanton, the Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War.* By Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold H. Hyman. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962. xviii, 643 pp., illustrations. \$8.50.)

What is the basic, fundamental purpose of man? Is it to court fame, and make one's name a household word? If so, Edwin M. Stanton of Ohio, Pittsburgh, and Washington was a great man. Is it to manipulate, move, and shape events so that a man leaves his habitat a different place than he found it? Again Stanton was a great success. Or is it to be happy and enjoy life? Stanton was by this standard one of history's unlucky men. By taking on the burdens of Secretary of War he sacrificed his party standing, profession, fortune, family, and his health.

Stanton was unfortunate too in his biographers. His only good luck here was the failure of his family to carry out their intention of writing his biography. Those who did write it, for nearly a century, were not much better. Thomas and Hyman, however,



collaborators who never met, are of a different calibre. They have produced one of the outstanding biographies in the whole Civil War gallery.

The stock picture of Stanton is that of an irascible old man standing behind a desk growling insults at the parade of War Department favor-seekers, thus bringing efficiency to the war effort, his personality hidden behind glittering spectacles, a tough look, and a bushy gray beard. This striking vignette is mainly, but not entirely, correct. Stanton was never an old man; when he died in 1869 he was only 51. Nor does it rightly characterize him as a man. His range of traits was wide, from grumpy firmness to warm love, loyalty, and shivering fear. The authors bring him to full life as a living, breathing person.

That person was not always admirable. "He was not a great man," they conclude. But his characteristics, "when joined with the personal loyalty to Lincoln, enabled Stanton, the second-rate man, to serve greatly. He *was* the man for those extraordinary times, and he did a titantic job in the face of immense difficulties. . . . Because Lincoln was a great man, Stanton reached in his service a plane far higher than his more prosaic spirit could have touched." Appointed War Department chief as a bipartisan choice, Stanton cleaned house vigorously and within six months was talking resignation. He kept this up for six years, as though he were a tide-waiting politician looking for the main chance rather than a man with a mission. He played on both sides of most questions, like a man who does not know his own mind and has no principles. Thomas and Hyman do not gloss over or excuse these defects and others, but relate, explain, weigh, and analyze.

They do so on an impressive research foundation. The obvious sources on Stanton are frighteningly voluminous. But they did not stop there. They scoured the country, turning up pay dirt in such unlikely archives as the Calais, Ohio, Free Library. Yet they do not allow this erudition to overpower their story, which moves along briskly. Stanton's early years are made as entertaining as a novel, and the Civil War period is fascinating, spiced with a surprising number of little known episodes. McClellan's admirers will find it uncomfortable reading. With Reconstruction the authors are less successful, chiefly because their account runs a



good 100 pages too long. The reader gets a strong impression that the nation will never be reconstructed.

He also reads of events which never happened. Salmon P. Chase was not a student at Kenyon College (p. 42); Frank Blair, not Montgomery, ran for Vice President in 1868 (p. 615); Hilton Head, South Carolina, did not miraculously move to North Carolina (p. 234); General Richard Ewell was "bald, stooped," but not the heroically hirsute Gen. Jubal Early (p. 318); Lincoln did not call out 75,000 volunteers for thirty days service (p. 121), for they would have been completely useless. His ninety-day volunteers were bad enough.

The book invites a more serious criticism, for historians at least, in its reference apparatus. The publisher will probably earn praise for printing footnotes at the bottom of the page instead of sweeping them into the back room. To keep the book from costing an additional dollar, references were shortened by copious use of *op. cit.* and the bibliography left out entirely. Thus the curious reader often has to do research of his own to discover what *op.* is being *cit.*

WILLIAM E. BARINGER

*University of Florida*

*Reconstruction: After the Civil War.* By John Hope Franklin. (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1961. x, 258 pp. Illustrations and index. \$5.00.)

Although this book is extremely well written, it seems to have only two dominant themes. First, it is concerned with vindicating the role of the radical Republicans in the South following the Civil War, and second, it is concerned with denying the myth of "black supremacy" during Congressional Reconstruction. The myth of "black supremacy" has already been adequately demolished, but the author tries to go even further. It would be difficult indeed to support what seems to be his contention that Negro troops in the South were there only by coincidence.

The author points out that by March 15, 1886, Florida had only one regiment of Negro troops within its borders. A Civil War regiment, however, had anywhere from 1,000 to 1,500 men. This number of Negroes, some of whom were probably ex-slaves, could



easily have served as a tremendous reservoir of ill-will in Florida. This is especially true when one considers the rather small population of the state and its "major" cities. The writer's bias is obviously with the Negro in the South after the Civil War, and although a good re-examination of the role of the Negro in the South during Reconstruction is always welcome, this book purports to be concerned with far more than this single aspect of the period.

Within the technical makeup of the book there are two things that deserve comment. First, is the lack of footnotes. Had this book been merely a rehashing of the older works on Reconstruction in the Dunning tradition, one might well understand the exclusion of laborious and repetitious footnotes. However, since this work purports to be concerned with a newer approach to the Reconstruction period, the addition of this valuable aid would surely have served as a guide to the would-be student of the period and might have helped the reader understand how Dr. Franklin arriving at some of his conclusions. The inclusion of a list of certain selected readings, although in no way making up for the exclusion of footnotes, does serve as a useful aid in pointing out some of the general sources of information in this period in American history.

Despite its shortcomings it is a good book, worth reading, especially if one is interested in the role of the Negro in the Reconstruction era.

F. BRUCE ROSEN

*Auburn University*

*Reconstruction Bonds and Twentieth Century Politics.* By Robert F. Durden. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1962. xi, 274 pp. Bibliography and index. \$6.00.)

Drawing heavily on the Daniel Lindsey Russell Papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina), Robert F. Durden explains and interprets the machinations of Daniel L. Russell and his associates in attempting to use one state (South Dakota) to force another state (North Carolina) to assume financial responsibility for some North Carolina Reconstruction era bonds.



The presentation concerns events in North Carolina, South Dakota, Washington, D.C., New York City, and other locations. Activities of United States Senators and Representatives, including Senator Marion Butler of North Carolina, governors of several states, New York financiers, members of the United States Supreme Court, many persons prominent in the political life of North Carolina during the early years of the present century, and other individuals are described in bringing to the reader this account of Governor Russell's involved scheme. Quotations from newspapers of the period, particularly from Josephus Daniels' *News and Observer*, are used effectively throughout Durden's book.

Approximately 200 of a total of 260 pages in the book are devoted to the Russell effort, which ended in 1905 with the division of almost \$41,000 among Russell and his associates. The first twenty-two pages are concerned with Russell's four year term as Governor of North Carolina (1897-1901). The last forty pages contain brief explanations of other attempts made by Russell and other persons to secure additional gains through the promotion of schemes somewhat similar to the one which Russell brought to partial success in 1905. Most of these forty pages deal with a description and analysis of how the political career of Senator Marion Butler was influenced by his participation in efforts to aid Russell and other "schemers."

This reader's enjoyment of Robert F. Durden's excellent presentation was marred by two very different considerations: (1) the title of the book, *Reconstruction Bonds and Twentieth Century Politics*, seems to promise more than is contained within the covers, and (2) explanatory comments about many of the persons who played minor roles in the Russell scheme are longer than appear necessary.

PAUL E. FENLON

*Colorado State University*

*Wisconsin Carpetbaggers in Dixie.* By David H. Overy, Jr. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1961. ix, 57 pp. Bibliographic note and index. \$3.00.)



The stereotyped "carpetbagger" arrived in the South as one of a horde of locusts and the Southern historian hitherto cared little whence he came, assuming quite happily once a rascal always a rascal. Overy does care, particularly if the place of origin was Wisconsin. There is a danger of studying men in a vacuum with incomplete biographical material. Overy supplies much needed background information that corrects several myths of Reconstruction.

The point of view of this volume is strongly influenced by Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. A quote from the *Daily Wisconsin*, July 26, 1865, gives Overy's theme: "Come one, Yankee, and show what this land so rich in resources may become. These wooden men who are incubating on it will retire sullenly . . . as the Indian from his hunting grounds." Thus Northerners who had successfully conquered the western frontier eagerly attempted to repeat the same process in the already settled South. The reception of the "carpetbaggers" and their economic and political adventures are already quite well known to even the casual student of history. It was the resistance of the Southerners rather than their own shortcomings, according to Overy, that caused the failure of the "Carpetbag Frontier."

Two of the more prominent "carpetbaggers" were Harrison Reed, Reconstruction Governor of Florida, and his lieutenant-governor and bitter adversary, William H. Gleason. Overy has good thumbnail sketches of the activities of each in Wisconsin and Florida. We are limited somewhat, though, since his source materials are largely what is available in the libraries of the Wisconsin Historical Society and the University of Wisconsin. Unfortunately, he has not to any extent made use of southern manuscript collections such as the William H. Gleason Papers in the P. K. Yonge Library at the University of Florida. The master's thesis of Philip Ackerman, also at the University of Florida, is an excellent study of Reed and Reconstruction in Florida and would have been of assistance to Overy.

Overy's plain factual style gets his points across. His interpretation is logical, and even the most zealous Dixiecrat would probably say that he is objective and fair.

EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

Auburn University



*The Road to Normalcy, The Presidential Campaign and Election of 1920.* By Wesley M. Bagby. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1962. 206 pp. \$4.50.)

In this well-researched and useful monograph, Professor Bagby tells the story of the presidential election of 1920. Over two-thirds of the text is devoted to the selection of the nominees, Warren G. Harding and James M. Cox. In the Republican race, he maintains, the selection of Harding was neither a political accident nor the product of a smoke-filled room, even though it came as a surprise to a public misled by primaries and newspapermen. While General Leonard Wood, Governor Frank Lowden, and Senator Hiram Johnson fought, and Herbert Hoover displayed the qualities which were to help make his own later presidency a failure, the warm, popular, dependable Harding was a serious candidate whose nomination occasioned little surprise among the party politicians. Throughout his study, Professor Bagby emphasizes the importance of the professional in a world in which amateurism, party disunity, and failure to play the political game were disqualifying faults.

On the Democratic side, the same lesson is offered. Woodrow Wilson wanted the nomination, William G. McAdoo could have had it, but James M. Cox eventually carried it off because the bosses found him the most available candidate. His strength lay in his distance from Wilson and in the belief of the politicians that he would be a good man to hold the eastern and urban vote in a losing campaign.

Unfortunately, the limited space devoted to the post-convention campaign seems to limit the focus to the major national issues. The impact of local and state outlook, issues, and candidates are not, for the most part, examined. Despite the author's contention that the desire for change was a decisive tidal wave, much is missed when elections are seen only from a national viewpoint. More light, for instance, might have been thrown on the "break-down of progressivism" which Professor Bagby freely deduces can only develop from the mores of prolonged periods of peace.

The major election themes discussed are the failure of progressivism, the shift of the progressive and the hyphenated vote, the impossibility of a "great and solemn referendum" in American politics, and the favorable personal image and presence of Hard-



ing. Serene, kindly, modest, weightily dignified, Harding seemed presidential. The second-running Cox did not, and the failure of his desperate efforts to catch up adds weight to the lesson that the American people do not elevate the prosecuting attorney type to the presidency.

DAVID M. CHALMERS

*University of Florida*

*The Emerging South.* By Thomas D. Clark. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. xvi, 317 pp. Selected bibliography and index. \$6.00.)

According to the dust jacket, this is "a study of the social and economic revolution which has occurred in the South since 1920." In this case the advertisement is accurate, for the author has laid his hands on one of the most remarkable phenomena in recent American history—the rapid and continuing transformation of the southern economy and society since World War I. Professor Clark, a distinguished University of Kentucky historian who has written many books on social and economic aspects of the South and West, is aware of the difficulties confronting the historian who attempts an evaluation of a social revolution that is still under way. But this is the task he sets himself in this book.

Writing as one who have traveled extensively in the South (more extensively, he says, than Frederick Law Olmsted or any traveler since him), Clark begins his work on a note of personal reminiscence: he tells of his return not long ago to the Mississippi community of his youth and of the enormous changes that have swept over the area in a single generation. Here, perhaps, is the South in microcosm. From this point the author moves on to discuss the most prominent manifestations of the changing South, which he contends entered upon a new and historically significant phase of its modern development following the collapse of cotton prosperity in 1920. He describes the ramifications of this farm depression in the years that followed and the vast changes in southern agriculture; farm mechanization and such diversified enterprises as cattle and poultry raising; changing patterns of rural life; the public health movement; the growing industrialization of the region; highways and tourism; education and the contro-



versy over school desegregation; religion; and the Negro in the modern South. The Negro remains a central theme in southern life, declares Professor Clark, and *The Emerging South* is valuable for its explication of that theme as reflected in the conflicting voices one hears in the South today.

The most impressive feature of this book is the author's understanding of the southern past, the balance and sound judgment he demonstrates in relating recent changes to the region's earlier history, and the moderation and good temper he maintains throughout. For him the South is a land of complexities, a region whose most distinctive condition has been one of crisis. In the present crisis, he writes, "The whole fabric of southern life is caught in the great web of revolt against the past" (p. xi). Yet he thinks Southerners are adjusting to the momentous events and the national and international pressures of recent years. He is cautiously optimistic about the future. *The Emerging South* is not a conventional history of the period it surveys; much of it is essentially reportorial. One might wish that the book gave more attention to southern political affairs, which are also undergoing significant alterations, and to the southern renaissance in letters. It is not documented except for the inclusion of a useful bibliography. But all students of the recent South will be grateful to Thomas D. Clark for his well-written and suggestive interpretation.

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

*Vanderbilt University*

*Mr. Sam.* By C. Dwight Dorrough. (New York: Random House, 1962. xvii, 593 pp. \$8.50.)

On the face of it, the political career of Samuel T. Rayburn of Texas should be one of the most exciting in recent American history. He was Speaker of the House more than twice as long as the previous record-holder, Henry Clay, serving in the presidencies of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy. Moreover, he had been one of the more influential Representatives since his arrival in the House at the beginning of the Wilson administration. It was he who had negotiated the Garner withdrawal from the 1933 Democratic convention, consummat-



ing the nomination of Roosevelt. No man was more intimately associated with the legislative process through three vital decades. Hence it is sad to report that, only partly through the deficiencies of the author, this is a rather dull and uninformative volume.

No other scholar could have approached the task of writing a Rayburn biography with a fraction of the enthusiasm of Dorrough, whose father for thirty-five years has been chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee in Rayburn's home county. Dorrough, who is Professor of English at the University of Houston, received financial aid from a group of Rayburn's friends, which enabled him to compile every available letter, speech, and insertion in the *Congressional Record* throughout Rayburn's long career. Further, he had the confidence of Rayburn, and taped numerous interviews with him as well as his friends and associates. For this amassing of materials, especially for the reporting of Rayburn's observations, future historians will be grateful. As for the flaws in Dorrough's presentation, his inability to winnow significant evidence and cast aside trivia, and his unflagging eulogistic approach—these are easy enough to forgive. What remains is the problem that Dorrough himself recognized as he prepared to write: "an inescapable, almost monotonous, pattern about the man's life," as every two years, twenty-four times all told, he ran for Congress against light opposition, and in his capacity as Representative answered endless correspondence from constituents, and made thousands of speeches "reflecting a conspicuous consistency of philosophy that evolved with the times so gradually that it was scarcely recognizable."

Basically, Rayburn was one of the old-line agrarian southern Democratic leaders who played such a preponderant role in Congress in the enactment of the New Freedom and the New Deal. He was never as conservative or colorful as his predecessor, John Nance Garner, and although he changed with the times (most notably on civil rights) he never became as representative of the urbanizing, industrializing South as his younger friend Lyndon B. Johnson. Yet, like these other two, he was conspicuous for his party loyalty and his ability to call upon the party or personal loyalties of others to engineer legislation through Congress. His were the gifts of friendly persuasion more than of tough-minded coercion. Garner had warned him in 1931, "Sam, you've got to



get your knuckles bloody once in a while." One interesting gauge of Rayburn are Rayburn's observations on President Truman:

"He shot from the hip too quick. Of course, little things are not going to be remembered by the historians in writing up Harry Truman, who must go down as one of our great Presidents. He made some of the greatest decisions that any President ever made and he made them with courage and stood by them, because Harry Truman is physically and morally a brave man. . . . He always spoke right out. I look upon him in many ways as kind of an Andrew Jackson."

FRANK FREIDEL

*Harvard University*

#### BOOK NOTES

*The Blue and the Grey on the Nile.* By William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961. xii, 290 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, appendix, index. \$5.00). The adventures and experiences of more than fifty Civil War officers who journeyed to Egypt seeking fame and fortune, during the post-war period is the subject of this book. Recruited mainly by General W. T. Sherman, they served the Egyptian Khedive in a variety of capacities. Of particular interest to Floridians are the activities of General William Wing Loring of St. Augustine. Serving first in the Seminole War in Florida, he later practiced law and was a member of the state legislature in 1845. Loring became a hero during the Mexican War, and in the assault against Mexico City he lost an arm. Joining the Confederacy in 1861, he was commissioned brigadier general. He was a commander of the Department of West Virginia, and in December, 1862, helped in the defense of Vicksburg. He earned the title "Old Blizzards" during this campaign. In 1869 he was employed by the Egyptian government as a liwa pasha, or general of brigade, and was charged with the responsibility of defending Alexandria. During the Gurra campaign of 1876 he was chief of staff and military advisor to Ratib after which he was discharged and he returned to the United States.



*The Fort at Frederica: Notes in Anthropology, Volume 5.* By Albert C. Manucy (Tallahassee: Department of Anthropology, Florida State University, 1962. vi, 150 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography). Frederica was a British settlement established on Saint Simon's Island in 1736. It played a notable role in the Anglo-Spanish hostilities of the 1740's, serving as a major defense on the British colonial southern frontier and as a pivot for warfare against Spanish Florida. The citadel of this town and the heart of the frontier defense system was Fort Frederica, the subject of this study which was recently republished by Florida State University's Department of Anthropology. The fortification was established as a national monument in 1945. Manucy describes its original construction and the personnel it housed. After examining the ruins of the fort, he makes recommendations on how best to stabilize these ruins until the fort can be restored to its 1742 condition. The study contains a number of excellent line drawings and photographs showing the fort before and after its excavation.

*The Journals of Andrew Ellicott, Late Commissioner on Behalf of the United States . . . for Determining the Boundary Between the United States and the Possessions of His Catholic Majesty. . . .* By Andrew Elliott (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1962. vii, 300 pp. Appendix, plates and charts, illustrations. \$11.00). Another in the series of cloth-bound reprints of "Significant and Bare Source Works of the American Past," edited by O. Lawrence Burnette and published under the title "Americana Classics." Elliott's journal is a prime source on the location of the Northern boundary of Spanish Florida, and is valuable for its botanical lists and meteorological and astronomical data on Florida. It contains a description of the Florida Keys and a critical commentary on the soils and vegetation of Florida. This book, published in 1803, is compiled from notes kept by Ellicott during the time that he was running the newly defined frontier between the United States and Spanish Florida, as authorized under the Pinckney Treaty of 1795. Quadrangle Books, Inc. are to be congratulated on making the Ellicott Journal, as well as other prime sources of Southern history, available to the scholar and researcher.



*Daniel Morgan, Ranger of the Revolution.* By North Callahan (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961. x, 343 pp. Bibliographical notes, index, \$5.00). Professor Callahan, author of a recent biography of Henry Knox, deals extensively with Morgan's military activities during the Revolutionary War, a war which directly involved Britain's two loyal colonies south of Georgia-East and West Florida. This study traces the fortunes of Morgan and his men through the three high points of his military career: Quebec, Saratoga, and Cowpens. It also describes Morgan's life in Virginia after the Revolution and tells of his role as commander of the Virginia militia during the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion.

*Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South, 1789-1865.* By Bertram Wallace Korn (Elkins Park, Penna.: Reform Congregation and Keneseth Israel, 1961. 68 pp. Illustrations. \$2.00). This volume is an excellent addition to Korn's earlier study *American Jewery and the Civil War*. It contains a number of essays on Jewish planters, businessmen, slave owners, and slave traders, and discusses Jews as emancipators and friends of slaves.

*A Wisconsin Boy in Dixie: The Selected Letters of James K. Newton.* Edited by Stephen E. Ambrose (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1961. vi, 188 pp. Index, illustrations. \$4.50). Civil War books continue to hold a favorite position among publishers and writers. Included are these letters from a young Wisconsin lad, a member of the Fourteenth Wisconsin Infantry, to his parents. He participated in most of the major battles in the western theatre, and for a short time was a prisoner-of-war. He finished his army career with the occupation forces in Alabama in 1865. *Grierson's Raid.* By D. Alexander Brown (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962. 261 pp. Index, illustrations, maps. \$1.75). This paperback details the part played by Grierson and his forces in the complicated military maneuverings involved in the fighting around Vicksburg. This action was described by General Sherman as "the most brilliant expedition of the Civil War." *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis.* By David M. Potter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962. xxxii, 408 pp. Biographical essay, index. \$1.95). A



new edition (paperback) of the study of the 1860-61 crisis appeared first in 1942. Professor Potter has written a new preface to this edition, calling attention to the profusion of materials on Lincoln and the causes of the Civil War which has flowed from the pens of writers and scholars alike during the last two decades. *A Bibliography of the American Civil War* (New York: New York and Pennsylvania Co., Inc., 1962. 188 pp. \$2.50). A selective listing of the important fiction and non-fiction books relating to the Civil War compiled in cooperation with the New York State Civil War Centennial Commission.

*The American Woman in Colonial and Revolutionary Times, 1565-1800.* By Eugenie A. Leonard, Sophie H. Drinker, and Miriam Y. Holden (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962. 169 pp. Bibliography, \$5.00). This comprehensive syllabus attempts to provide an inclusive picture of the colonial woman in many aspects of her life and work. It includes references to her home life, and to her evolution in status from being owned property to being the owner of property. It reveals her role in the religious life of the colonies, and shows the contributions she made to the cultural life. Women's roles in colonial politics and business are included.

*The Progressive Years: The Spirit and Achievement of American Reform.* Edited by Otis Pease (New York: George Braziller, 1962, vi. 496 pp. Introduction, bibliography. \$8.50). The third volume in "The American Epochs Series," it covers the early years of the twentieth century and includes excerpts from the writings of such widely diversified people as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Eugene Debs, Frederick Howe, Lincoln Steffens, Peter Dunne, William James, and Jane Addams. The fight against poverty and privilege, the rise of American labor, American foreign policy, and changes in American society are the major topics which are covered.

*Southern Belle.* By Mary Craig Sinclair (Phoenix: Sinclair Press, 1962. viii, 407 pp. Index. \$5.95). A book of memoirs published as a memorial to his wife by the well-known novelist and crusader for a variety of causes, Upton Sinclair.



*The Siege of New Orleans.* By Charles B. Brooks (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961. x, 334 p. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.50). The final battle of the War of 1812 is the theme of this study which presents the campaign in story sequence from both British and American points of view. A number of eye-witness accounts are included, some by junior officers and non-combatants. The role of the pirate Jean Lafitte is described.

Two recent publications by Father Jerome, Saint Leo Abby, are Juan Ponce de Leon (St. Leo, Florida: Abbey Press, 1962. 62 pp. \$1.00), and *The Vatican and the Southern Confederacy* (St. Leo, Florida: Abbey Press, 1962. 39 pp. Illustrations). A valuable and interesting nineteenth century pamphlet, *Pensacola (The Naples of America.) and Its Surroundings Illustrated*, compiled by William D. Chipley for the Pensacola Railroad Company, has recently been republished by the T. T. Wentworth Museum, 7100 Palafox Highway, Pensacola, Florida, and is available for sale at \$1.00.

*History of the United States Postal Service on Longboat Key.* Ola Gladys Hylton Marsh (Longboat Key, Florida: Delcraft Printing Co., 1962. 20 pp. Illustrations. \$1.00). A postal history of the little island which extends from New Pass to Longboat Pass. It begins with the first land grant made to Thomas Mann on June 17, 1891, and contains biographical sketches of the various postmasters who have served the residents of the island. There are many interesting pictures. Another history of Florida post offices is one written by Bessie W. DuBois, *Early Martin County Post offices* (mimeographed, 1962. 3 pp.).

E. R. Russell, retired publisher of the *Brooksville Journal*, has authored a memoir, *Brooksville as I First Knew It: Brooksville as I See It Today* (1962. 8 pp. Illustrations), covering the period from 1900 to the present.

Two recent publications of the Florida State Museum in the social science series are *The British Meet the Seminoles: Negotiations Between British Authorities in East Florida and the Indians: 1763-68* (1961. \$1.00), collected and an-



notated by James W. Covington and *Indian Burials from St. Petersburg, Florida* (1962. \$1.00) by Charles E. Snow.

Recent paperbacks include *Patrick Henry* by Moses Coit Tyler, reprinted by the Cornell University Press in their Great Seal Books series. It includes the list of printed documents and the index which were both part of the 1887 and 1898 editions. (Cornell University Press, 1962. \$2.25). *American Historians: A Selection*, edited by Harvey Wish, includes selections by sixteen major American historians including Ulrich B. Phillips who discusses "The Central Theme of Southern History." Another selection is one from James Ford Rhodes, "Slavery as the Cause of the Civil War" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962. 447 pp. \$2.25). *South, Modern Southern Literature in Its Cultural Setting*. Edited by Louis D. Rubin, Jr., and Robert D. Jacobs (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1961. 440 pp. \$1.45). An examination of twentieth century southern literature, with the emphasis primarily on the period since the close of World War I. Among those whose writings are evaluated are Andrew Lytle, formerly English professor at the University of Florida, and James Branch Cabell, co-author with A. J. Hanna of *The St. John's*.



## NEWS AND NOTES

### *The Annual Meeting*

The 1963 annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held in Sarasota on May 3 and 4. The Board of Directors will meet on the evening of May 2. Headquarters will be at the Azure Tides Motel. The program is being arranged by Dr. Durward Long of Florida Southern College, and a stimulating and provocative series of papers is expected. Further information can be received from Margaret Chapman, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida, or from the Azure Tides Motel Lido Beach, Sarasota, Florida.

### *Society Activities*

President Frank B. Sessa has named William M. Goza of Sarasota to serve as membership chairman for the current year. Already, as a member of the Board of Directors, Mr. Goza has been more active than any other Society member in securing new memberships.

Our Executive Secretary, Margaret Chapman, was recently appointed to the Hillsborough County Historical Commission by the Board of County Commissioners. She was a guest speaker before the Commission in November, explaining the nature and extent of the collections of the Society in our Library at the University of South Florida, and also detailing the University's special collections. Members of the Pinellas County Historical Commission were present as guests. On December 14, Miss Chapman appeared before the Sarasota County Historical Society to speak on "Sources for Florida History."

At Miss Chapman's invitation the Hillsborough County Historical Commission held its regular January meeting at the headquarters of the Society in the University of South Florida Library building. With the Pinellas Historical Commission again as their guests, the members enjoyed a tour of the Library after their meeting.

The Society participated in the Miami Beach convention of the Southern Historical Association, November 8-10, 1962. In a Saturday morning program, President Sessa read a paper titled,



"The Florida Land Boom of the 1920's." Kathryn Abbey Hanna, famed Florida teacher and historian, presided at the session. Gilbert L. Lycan, immediate past president of the Society, discussed the paper.

### *Local Societies and Commissions*

*Historical Association of Southern Florida:* Dedication ceremonies marking the opening of the Historical Museum of Southern Florida and the Caribbean were held on December 2, 1962. The featured speaker was Mr. Minor Wine Thomas, chief curator and director of collections of the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village at Dearborn, Michigan. Mayor Robert High King, the Honorable Alex S. Gordon, and other special guests participated in the program. The Museum was opened to public inspection after the ceremonies.

*Jacksonville Historical Society:* At the November meeting the Society was addressed by Miss Mary Louise Fagg, whose subject was, "The St. Johns River-A Tapestry." She related descriptions of the St. Johns from the works of such noted people as Audubon and the Bartrams. Happenings of significance along the river were highlighted. Miss Fagg is a writer, editor, historian, and speaker who has been active in the field of educational publishing.

During the Festival of Arts, October 3-6, 1962, at the new Jacksonville Civic Auditorium the Society participated by maintaining a display consisting of sketches done in charcoal of early city scenes. The sketches were the work of Mr. Robert D. Lee. The Society also sponsored the exhibition of a 3,000 year-old Indian pottery bowl which was recently found by Mr. Milton T. Tooke in a tributary of the Arlington River. The authenticity of its age was established by radio-carbon measurements and attested by Dr. Ripley P. Bullen of the Florida State Museum in Gainesville.

*Historical Society of Fort Lauderdale:* The members of this new Society held their first meeting at the Pioneer House on November 14, 1962, with eighty-one members present and President August Burghard in the chair. Donors to the Society were recognized and reports heard on membership, acquisitions, and plans for the future. On December 1, 1962, 263 total memberships were reported. One of the major objectives of the Society is the writing



and publishing of a definitive and authentic history of Fort Lauderdale. The project is well under way and gifts of valuable source materials continue to be received. The Society is particularly interested in receiving business records and photographs relating to the early days of the city.

*Marion County Historical Commission:* A seal to be used on markers of historic county scenes was recently designed by Robert Camp and transmitted to the Commission by member H. D. Leavengood. "It's similar to that used by the state, but features the county seal instead," said Secretary J. F. Nicholson, Jr. The placing of markers on locations of local rather than state-wide interest had been delayed by the absence of a local emblem. The first projected markers are to be erected at old Evergreen Cemetery, and in commemoration of the coming of the Spaniards to the "Province of Ocali" in 1539.

In January, the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials erected a marker commemorating the 1890 meeting of the National Farmers Alliance at Ocala. The meeting was an important step toward the formation of the significant Populist party and at it the famous "Ocala Demands" were adopted, bringing nationwide notice to the city. The marker was placed on the east side of the County Courthouse, just off Main Street.

*Martin County Historical Society:* On October 27, 1962, the following new officers were elected: president, Maurice Hartman; vice-presidents, Mrs. Hugh L. Willoughby, Jr., George K. Perkins, and Charles A. Porter; secretary, Mrs. Isabel T. Taylor; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mildred Spring; treasurer, Mrs. F. C. Begy; assistant treasurer, Miss Mary Ann Susdorf; attorney, Evans Crary, Jr.; and director, Stephen Schmidt. Twenty-four trustees were also elected.

On November 17 a special program commemorating the first anniversary of the dedication of the Elliott Museum was held. Officers and trustees greeted guests at the door and costumed guides directed them throughout the Museum. Refreshments were served in a gay-nineties atmosphere.

The month of December featured a one-man art show at the Museum by the Hungarian-born artist Leslie Szakacs. This was followed in January by a display of news photographs by Ed Gluckler. The January meeting featured a discussion of the medi-



cal history of Martin County by Drs. J. D. Parker and James Grossnickle.

*Palm Beach County Historical Society:* The Henry Morrison Flagler Museum was the scene of the Society's January meeting. Dr. Charles W. Arnade of the University of South Florida was the featured speaker. His topic was "Contrasting Cultures in Early Florida," and centered on the differing policies, related to politics, land tenure, commerce, Indians, and Negroes which prevailed in the three very different cultures in colonial Florida.

### *College News*

*Florida State University:* Dr. Weymouth T. Jordan, chairman of the Department of History, was recently elected president of the Agricultural History Society. At the Southern Historical Association meeting last November, Dr. George Lensen served as the moderator on a panel discussion on "The Introduction of Asian Studies in the Undergraduate Curriculum."

*Jacksonville University:* The eminent English historian Arnold Toynbee was the featured speaker at the Mid-winter Convocation held February 7, 1963. Dr. Toynbee was also presented an honorary degree at the hands of Franklyn Johnson, president of the University. The impressive ceremonies were part of the Founders' Week celebration.

Dr. Benjamin F. Rogers, vice-president of the University and a director of the Florida Historical Society, was recently named president of the Southern Conference of Deans of Faculties and Academic Vice Presidents.

*University of Florida:* Professor Hans Kohn, world-famed expert on the subject of nationalism, gave a public lecture on March 25, 1963, and spent several days participating in advanced history seminars.

Lyle N. McAlister returned to his duties as chairman of the History Department in January, after a leave of absence of a year. Arthur W. Thompson, professor of history, has been recognized by the student government for excellence in classroom teaching. Grants-in-aid for research during the summer have been awarded to John K. Mahon, associate professor of history, and to Samuel Proctor, associate professor of history and social science. Dr. Ma-



hon's grant is from the American Philosophical Society for study in England of the military aspects of the War of 1812. Dr. Proctor's grant is from the American Association for State and Local History for a study of anti-Southern thought and action in Florida during the Civil War.

Donald E. Worcester, professor of history, was toastmaster for the Phi Alpha Theta dinners at both the Southern Historical Convention in November and the American Historical Association meeting at Chicago in December. At the latter meeting, Dr. David M. Chalmers, associate professor of history and social science, was the critic for a program on "Patterns of Intolerance." Dr. Chalmers, in January, delivered a lecture on "Extremism in American Life" in Los Angeles under the sponsorship of a public lecture series of the Earl Warren Institute of Ethics and Human Relations of the University of Judaism.

*University of Miami:* Two faculty members played important roles in the recent Southern Historical Association meeting at Miami Beach. Dr. Ione S. Wright presided at a session on "Cuban Cross Currents: 1868-1962." The program on "Politics and Politicians in Twentieth Century Russia" was chaired by Dr. Gerald G. Govorchin.

*University of South Florida:* Dr. Charles W. Arnade, associate professor of history, took part in historical marker dedications at Key West on February 1, 1963, and spoke on the problems of Florida history.

#### *Publication of a Notable Guide*

The Southern Historical Society Papers, long a rich source of information concerning the Civil War, are to get what all people who have used them agree is their greatest need—an index. The project will be sponsored by the Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee. J. Ambler Johnston, chairman, announced the formation of a group to undertake the work. The actual indexing will be done by George F. Markham, Jr. The papers are now in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society. When completed the index will be published in book form with more than 300,000 index references. Publication is scheduled for June, 1963.



## THE EDITOR'S CORNER

One of the notable old family names of Georgia and Florida is that of Hallowes. The founder of the Florida branch of this family was Miller Hallowes, an ancestor of Miss Elise Dancy Davis of Tallahassee. On a visit to England in 1960, Miss Davis was able to consult the researches of Dr. Lorton A. Wilson of Derby who had devoted the years of his retirement to tracing his origins and those of his wife, who was a Hallowes descendant. Through the kind offices of Miss Moira Wilson, the late Dr. Wilson's daughter, and the Irish Genealogical Society, with whom the researches are deposited, she was able to copy many of the pertinent records. From these notes, Miss Davis has made available to the *Quarterly* a biographical sketch of Miller Hallowes.

\* \* \* \*

## NOTES ON MILLER HALLOWES

by ELISE DANCY DAVIS

The following sketch is copied verbatim from the notes of the late Dr. Lorton A. Wilson. Any errors which may have crept in may be laid to the author's own difficulty in deciphering or interpreting Dr. Wilson's notes.

### *Miller Hallowes*

B. at Ashford, Kent, 19 Feb. 1799. Bapt. there 12 April, educ. at Christ's Hospital.

About 1817 received a commission in the Irish Legion through his cousin, the Earl of Meath, and sailed to South America to aid Bolivar in his struggle for independence from Spain. As Captain in the Vencedor Battalion he took part in the battle of Boyaca: This battalion was composed almost entirely of mountaineers from Venezuela and New Granada, and was that of last resort, depended on for decisive charges and rapid manoeuvre. Later at Carabobo he served as Field Officer for a corps in the Army. At various times he was attached to the 2nd Hussars, Grenadiers of the Guard, the Vencedor and Rifles Bat-



talions. He fought through the campaigns of the South and of Peru, and was with the Rifles at Matara, where he was hero of the rearguard stand, which allowed the patriot army to escape a decisive defeat and to prepare for the victory of Ayacucho, as Capt. of Rifles, a few days later in 1824. He was present at the first siege of Callao, and took part in the expedition to the intermediate ports under Sucre. In 1829 he took part in the campaign of Pasto and Popayan, and the attack against Guyacuil until its surrender. Successively Captain, Colonel, and General he received the Star of the Order of Liberators, both of Venezuela and Quito, the chevrons of Carabobo and Junin and the medal of Ayacucho.

Of him General Tomas C. Mosquera, later President of Colombia, said: "This General is active, careful, and brave. Every place the defense of which he is in charge is in the best of order and never requires any attention from me."

According to family tradition he was at one time attached to Bolivar's staff.

After the death of Bolivar he resigned and went to Florida, to look after his mother's share of her father's property in New Switzerland, and lived at St. Mary's in Camden County, Georgia. As a token of their esteem two paintings were sent to him by his fellow officers, one of Bolivar by Antonio Salas, the other of General Verrega, a friend who had also served with Bolivar. The Government of Colombia gave him the full pay of a Colonel until the time of the Civil War in the States, then a pension till his death.

He was wounded and lost a number of negroes when his uncle's house was burned by the Indians in 1836. Later he bought, 1840, New Canaan, renamed Bolingbroke, in South Georgia, and after the Civil War he moved to Claremont in Florida, also his mother's land, which is still owned by the Hallowses family. There he grew arrowroot, cotton, corn, potatoes, and sugar cane.

He died at Claremont 21 Sept. 1877, and was buried at Hibernia on the St. John's River in Florida. After his death the family moved to Jacksonville.

He married at New Switzerland, Feb. 1834 Caroline Stites, daughter of Col. A. Y. Nicol of Washington by Caroline Agnes, daughter of Col. Drury Ledbetter of Virginia. She was born at



New Brunswick, New Jersey, 9 June 1813, died at Jacksonville  
1 Feb. 1900. Buried there in Evergreen Cemetery.

\* \* \* \*

In this number we conclude the reminiscences of Florida  
which were begun in our January, 1962, number by the late  
Jane D. Brush of Michigan, widow of Alanson P. Brush, a pioneer  
of the automobile industry. We express our appreciation to Miss  
Alice Marsh of Birmingham, Michigan, for having made this  
document available to us.

\* \* \* \*

## TALES OF OLD FLORIDA

*by* JANE D. BRUSH

### CHAPTER VI

#### THE CRUISE OF THE VIVIAN

When we returned to Detroit after our unconventional cruise  
on the *Ida May*, we were looking forward to a "next time." We  
had already decided where we were to go, but we didn't know  
when it could be. When, during a subsequent winter, my hus-  
band found himself free from business commitments so that he  
could spend a whole month, it seemed too good to be true. There  
were a number of changed circumstances which would affect  
our plans. My sister Esther was back at her job of teaching  
history, but *Ida Helveston* could take her place and Jane and Al  
Brush, *Ida* and *Furm Helveston* were a "natural" for any job of  
exploring and fun. We were to have part of February and half  
of March for this trip and we wanted to spend at least three  
weeks of it on the water.

When the *Ida May*, in 1906, had reached the end of Pine  
Island Sound, we had been obliged to decide between going up the  
*Caloosahatchee* River and trying to get into Lake *Okeechobee*, or  
going down the coast to explore the Ten Thousand Islands. For-  
tunately we chose the *Okeechobee* trip at almost the only time  
when it could be easily and safely done. Our next trip, we  
decided, must be to the famous islands. For this we would need



a boat somewhat larger than the *Ida May*. The wind-up of our first cruise, when Esther and I had found it necessary to come home by train, had taught us that. We agreed on certain points. We wanted a sail-boat, preferably with an auxiliary motor, and she absolutely *must* have a cabin large enough to sleep four people. There were other things which we wanted and hoped for, but these first things were musts. The biggest must of all was "she *must* be a good sea-boat," with good sailing qualities.

As soon as we reached Florida the first thing for Furman and Al to do was to locate such a boat. Tampa was the best place to look, so they left us at Sarasota to go there, but in a very short time they returned with an interesting report. Over on the Manatee river, near Braidentown, they had seen a boat which was exactly what they wanted and the owner was willing to lease her. They were enthusiastic, with such comments as, "Her lines were perfect-she ought to sail like a witch!" Then why hadn't they sailed her down? Only one or two little things interfered. She had been out of the water - *for a year!* Besides, the owner, though willing to rent her could not, or would not, do anything to get her ready for sailing. If they took her, they must take full responsibility.

"A year out of water!" That meant something - but not much - to me, but Ida shook her head.

"If I know anything about boats," she said, "that will mean some mighty hard work for a couple of men." The two men grinned and allowed she was right but they were sure they could do the work themselves and were eager to get at it. So we wished them good luck, and they went back to Braidentown to start their work. From here on, I have to report, first, what I heard and, later, what I saw. Just how they managed this work, I don't know, but I heard that after the first day's work they got her into the water-and she floated! In the morning, however, they found her on the bottom. Then bail her out, get some supports under her, and begin again! When they found that she would stay afloat with two bailings a day, one in the morning and one at night, they sailed her down to the Helveston dock. There they could continue their work and be at home nights, and we could watch the progress of the work. Ida and I did watch eagerly, almost as eagerly as the men worked. With them it was literally a labor of love, Ida and I agreed that if either of us had a rival,



her name must be Vivian, for that was the name of this boat.

If Ida and I were a little less interested in the lines of this boat and a little more in her cabin arrangements, that was because we were women. We were particularly happy that there was full headroom, at least for us. Furman had to stoop a little but he didn't seem to mind. She really was a beautiful boat, and we were all eager to get started on this cruise. While the men worked on the boat Ida and I got ready for our life aboard; at least Ida did. She got bedding ready and packed boxes of supplies. There was little I could do, so I watched the men at their work. I came to have great respect for oakum and tar. I was inclined to deplore the fact that they had taken a boat which had no motor. I remembered how much we had depended on the motor in the *Ida May*, but Al pointed out to me how entirely different the circumstances were: no winding river, nor any weed-clogged lake to cross, just straight sailing down the coast, with good harbors so close together that there wasn't one chance in a million that we would need a motor. "Besides," he added as a clincher, "just think how much more room you and Ida have for your cooking arrangements." Just to keep the record straight, I can't remember ever, on this trip, wishing we had a motor.

We were anxious to get started, for though Al was now his own "Boss," and could take a day or two extra if he wanted to, yet he was determined to stick to the schedule he had laid out for himself, and three weeks was the time he had allotted to this trip down the coast. When Furman and Al found that just a little bailing would keep the cabin floor dry, they decided it was time to start; so we set out.

"When we reach Marco," they said, "We'll tie up at 'Collier's'." The others, even Ida who had never been there, seemed to know all about "Collier's," but I had to be told that this was a settlement known down inside Big Marco Pass. Isolated as this place was, it was quite important in that part of the country. From Miami to Tampa, and from Key West to all the neighboring islands, every one knew Captain Collier, and was glad to do business with him. At Marco he had quite an important boat works, with a ship's "ways," a general store, quite a group of cottages for his helpers, and also a good little hotel. Moreover, this was just at the beginning of the Ten Thousand Islands. So we were bound for Marco - for "Collier's!"



We were having perfect weather. The day breeze off the water, the night breeze off the land, were alternating with clock-like precision. "Regular trade wind weather", said Furman. Al, always my interpreter in such matters, explained.

"Not true trade winds, of course, but sailors around these parts call them that because of their regularity. They can't be depended on quite as the true trade winds can," said Al, "but they approach it." At last we were ready to start. Everything looked auspicious. Our boat floated proudly in the quiet waters of Sarasota Bay; she was adequately fitted out, and the weather was perfect. It didn't look as if there could be a hitch anywhere!

As soon as we were out in the Gulf, the brisk after-noon breeze heeled the boat well over on her side. Soon we saw little trickles of water running down the side. Before long one side of the carpet in the cabin was damp; then it was *wet!* Our men had done their work well-as for as they had gone-but that was not far enough; our boat was leaking, badly! When they recognized this, did they turn around and go back to finish their job? They did not! These men were resourceful. They took the carpet up and hung it outside to dry, then they lifted a plank from the cabin floor. Under it was a great solid piece of cement-ballast to add to the sailing quality of the boat. Water was running over this piece of cement. Was there any way they could trap it? They went to work at once. With their tools they chipped and hacked a great hole in this cement. After working for an hour or so they had a sizable hole; a sort of well which could hold about a bucket-full of water. Then Ida and I found where we came in. We were bailers! With a bucket between us and tin cups in our hands we could keep the boat quite dry. As soon as we were in a quiet harbor our boat did not leak-not a drop! Then the carpet, well dried out by the sun, was put down and we were perfectly comfortable.

"What would have been the use of going back?" the men argued. We were going to Collier's where further repairs could be made. We were not in any danger-running down the coast, with good harbors very close together. If Ida and I didn't mind a little extra work!! We didn't mind it; it added a spice of adventure to our trip. We were all in a gay mood. Maybe Ida and I did "play act" a little. A peek under the plank, and one would cry, "The water is gaining on us! Quick, Furr! The bucket!"



I cannot remember where we tied up that first night. Was it inside Casey's Pass, or was it Stump? Either would have given us good anchorage and quiet water. As we neared Boca Grande the breeze was strong! Much bailing!

"We will slip into Gasparilla Pass," said Al. We did and the sail down Gasparilla Sound was lovely. There was a little rough water as we passed Boca Grande, and then we were in Pine Island Sound. We passed Uzeppa Island-her neat dock and lovely Inn, which we had so much enjoyed, as inviting as ever-but we had no time for her on this trip.

Pine Island Sound is a beautiful piece of water. To the east of us stretched the long, heavily wooded shores of Pine Island, but between us and the Gulf were several long narrow Keys, among them Captiva and Sanibel. Down toward the end of the Sound, Sanibel curved around with two points, one of which stretched out toward the mainland. The other curved a long slender point back toward itself, making a snug harbor. The two slender keys of Sanibel and Captiva sounded interesting-fascinating-and they were. In the early days these names had been associated with tales of Spanish adventurers, pirates, and buried treasures. Later and more authentic were stories of Cuban rum-runners and smugglers. Between Sanibel and Captiva is beautiful Captiva Pass, famous for its fishing and just a little south-west from Uzeppa Island.

There was some talk of a good harbor near the lower end of the Sound. It was called St. James' Bay, and I gathered that we would probably tie up there for the night. As we approached the lower end of the Sound, I was surprised to see that Furman, who was steering, seemed to have forgotten all about St. James' Bay. He was rounding the outer tip of Sanibel; it looked to me as if we were heading straight out into the Gulf. Now we had only the mainland on one side of us and the whole Gulf of Mexico on the other. There were no islands except those behind us. My husband must have seen the look of consternation on my face, for he came and sat down beside me.

"It is all right, my dear, he said. "We are not going much farther. There is a good harbor just a short distance down the coast. The main entrance is from the south, but Furm says there is a 'swash' channel from the north, which this boat can enter. You and Ida can bail just a little longer, can't you? If we go there



tonight, we can reach Marco before noon tomorrow." This sounded reasonable; it satisfied me. The sooner this boat could be thoroughly dried out, the better I would like it.

I soon saw, however, that conditions were changing rapidly. There had been a strong breeze all day, but while we were on inside water I had hardly noticed it. Now, out in the Gulf, the waves were big-much bigger than I liked. The southern twilight was fading rapidly, and there were indications of gathering storm clouds. I felt very uneasy but I was reassured as my husband pointed out the place on the shore we were bound for. I could see it now, even the masts of some boats already at anchor there. This gave me a great feeling of content, for it was looking more and more stormy and a snug harbor seemed very desirable. I was a novice at this boating game, and angry black clouds back of those masts showed that the night breeze, when it came out, threatened to be very strong; but we were almost in the harbor now-I would soon be able to relax. What we could not know till we were almost on it, was that a sand-bar had built up across the northern entrance to that pass, completely cutting off the entrance to that "swash" channel. It had changed, as passes so often do on that coast, but even Furman had not heard of it and was completely taken by surprise. What came next is just a jumble of events in my mind. Everything seemed to happen at once.

The afternoon breeze did not die away gradually, as it usually did, but suddenly-it was gone! For a few moments there was a dead calm. Then from those angry looking clouds the night wind came with a rush and a roar. We were almost aground on that sand-bar, but those few minutes of calm helped. With long poling oars, the men warded us off from that treacherous bar and managed to turn the boat so that she was headed off shore. The sails were quickly altered, and before I knew what was happening, we were headed straight out into the Gulf, with a strong wind and an angry sky behind us.

"Where are you going?" I asked in panic. I got a brief explanation. It would be too hazardous-to try to get into the southern entrance of that pass, and then beat our way up a narrow channel. The simplest thing was to keep right on down to Marco.

"When would we get there?" I asked.



"Sometime before morning," I was told, But I had reached the limit of my endurance.

"No," I exclaimed. "We are much nearer to St. James' Bay. *Go Back!*" The men did not try to argue. I think they saw I had had enough for one day. They altered the sails once more and we were headed back toward the sound at St. James' Bay. Our adventures, however, were not yet over. I remember a conversation something like this-Al at the tiller, Furman standing watch in the bow. "How is it, Furm? Can you get the lights?"

"Yes," came Furman's soft southern accents, "I've got them."

Al's voice sounded a little anxious. "Are they *lined up*?"

"Near enough, I guess," said Furman. We had a few moments of quiet sailing and then that "near enough" proved not to be so, for "*bump, bump, bump!*" we went, and then stopped. We had run aground on the sand-bar which made out from the tip of Sanibel Island!

There were no exclamations or excitement on our boat as we realized what had happened, but a rather gloomy silence. The men lowered the sails and Ida, without a word, brought the bucket and handed me my tin dipper. We started bailing once more. I kept very still, for it was my insistence, plus a little carelessness about range lights, which had put us in this predicament. The silence from our men was more eloquent than words. I do not think they were really frightened, but our situation was-to say the least-annoying, and there must have been some risk and perhaps a little danger for the night was dark and stormy and one of the four could not swim. I was painfully conscious of that fact.

The wind was increasing and the waves were getting higher. Each one as it lifted us set us down with a harder thump, and it also carried us farther onto the bar. Finally there came a wave higher than any before it, and it lifted us so high that I felt like screaming; but-most wonderful-we came down, not as I expected, with a harder thump, but *floating!* If that blessed boat hadn't bumped and thumped her way clear across the tip of the Sanibel sand-bar! Oh, the exultant feeling as we felt ourselves floating, free from the bar! There was no noisy jubilation at our release from our predicament. We were as quiet as we had been when, in dismay, we felt our boat run aground; but the relief from nervous tension spread like an electric charge from one to



another. The men sprang to the sails, and in no time we were on our way again-this time with the range lights so carefully lined up that they glowed like a single big light. Ida gave one look at the well in which the water collected and seeing that it was nearly empty, she took our tin cups and put them away. Inside of an hour we were anchored in quiet water and were making up our beds for the night. The next morning-storm clouds all cleared away from our minds as well as from the skies-a short run down the coast brought us to Big Marco Pass, and the place we were bound for - Collier's.

I had heard so much about this place that I was looking intently as we entered the pass. The first thing I noticed was a point of land which jutted out into this beautiful bay. This point was fringed by graceful coconut palms and sure enough! Through the foliage of the palms I could see quite a group of buildings; a store and warehouse, some cottages, and a larger building, the hotel. Not till we rounded the coconut point did I notice the buildings which comprised the boat-works and between them, the "ship's ways" - an insignificant piece of scaffolding in appearance but highly important in the eyes of our two sailors.

What a perfect harbor that inner bay was! The point, with its beautiful palm trees added a grace and beauty to the scene. Coconut palms have a beauty of their own - I was enchanted! Even before the Vivian was tied up at the Collier dock, Ida and I had our bags ready to be taken to the hotel where we were to stay while our leaky boat was being given expert attention. At the hotel we were welcomed by a delightful little ultra-southern woman, the wife of the proprietor, Captain Collier. Furman and Al did not wait to see us settled in our rooms; that was a minor matter. What they wanted was to see the Vivian up on those "ways." As soon as I heard that she was up in the air, I hurried out to look at her. I wanted to see those "lines" which had so fascinated the two sailors. To be perfectly honest, she did not look as imposing to me as she had while floating gracefully in the water, but I was no sailor, what did I know of "lines"?

Though I may not have known enough to appreciate the "lines," I had a keen and realistic interest in what Collier's men would do to make our boat more comfortable, so I stayed to watch them make some tests. With the boat up on the "ways" they took numerous buckets of water and dashed them against the insides



of the boat and watched to see where it would seep through outside. In many places it didn't *seep*, it *poured*! It came out in spurts and streams. No wonder our boat had leaked! But now it would soon be as good as new.

I should like to call attention just here to our two cruises; both in much the same section of Florida's southern waters. In the *Ida May*, quite an inadequate little boat, we set out to verify or disprove a rumor we had heard that it was possible to go from Sarasota into Lake Okeechobee by boat. We proved to our satisfaction that it could be done, though I doubt if a boat drawing much more water than the *Ida May* could have found its way across Lake Flirt. Having reached the big lake, we were satisfied to have an hour's sail, take some pictures, and then head for home.

This trip on the *Vivian* was quite different. The boat itself was adequate (barring a temporary need for some caulking to keep our cabin floor dry). Now that we had reached Marco, we were at the beginning of the Ten Thousand Islands. This was to be no short visit, just to say we had reached our destination. We intended to spend a week-perhaps two-exploring and taking pictures, of these fascinating islands.

In one sense many, indeed most of them were not truly islands; they were just groups of mangrove trees growing up out of the water. From the branches of these trees, long slender fibers-roots-dropped down till they reached the water. There they quickly took root, thus adding another tree to the group. Sometimes a storm would wash a group, or perhaps a single tree, to a distant point and start a new "island." In appearance they were misleading. Their foliage was dense and a beautiful dark green. As you looked at an "island" it was hard not to believe that somewhere, if you could only push your way through the thick tangle of branches, you would find earth-a solid footing. Instead you would probably find a network of roots coming up out of dirty water-very likely over a deteriorated oyster bed. The mussels commonly found on their roots were called "coon oysters" and were not generally thought to be fit to eat.

Of course not all the islands belonging to the "Ten Thousand" group were mangrove islands. Some of the larger ones, especially a group near Big Marco Pass, had a good accumulation of soil and were supporting thriving settlements. The largest and most



prosperous of these, was the one where we were - at Captain Collier's.

It is hard today to realize how isolated this region used to be. Surrounded, as it was, by the maze of the Ten Thousand Islands, stretching far to the south and east, it had also to the north and east, the barrier of the unbroken Everglades country. Its closest link with civilization was by water with Cuba and Key West. Although this boat service was haphazard and unreliable, the name of Captain Collier was known and respected all over Florida. (He should not be confused with Baron Collier, the eastern man, who later owned extensive sections of the southern part of Florida, contributing greatly to the development of parts of this region.)

While Ida and I were getting settled in our hotel room Furman and Al were finding out some interesting facts. Even if the Vivian had been ready to use we could not have started out at once to explore the islands. There were two reasons for this. First, our boat drew three or more feet of water. Much that we would want to see was in very shallow water. Second, the maze of islands was so intricate that it was too easy to get hopelessly lost. It simply was not safe to explore them without a local guide. There was one man who was especially good. His name was Jones and he was immediately available. Jones was quickly hired and we did not have to wait for our own boat. Jones had a light weight skiff with a good motor. It was very roomy and comfortable. With it we could explore to our hearts' content knowing that, bewildering as these winding channels seemed, we would finally see before us our lovely coconut point.

Our first rides in Jones' skiff were purely for pleasure. We forgot dreams of hunting and fishing and gave ourselves up to the beauty around us. Hour after hour we followed these bewildering twists and turns. No two views were alike, yet the general pattern was the same. That helped to make them dangerous. No matter where you were, you seemed to have been there before, over and over. After traversing group after group, each one melting into the next, a sudden turn would show us a long narrow lagoon opening up before us. "We must be near the end," we would think, and then another swift turn and we would be back among the small islands again. They had been aptly named the Ten Thousand Islands. Were they ever counted? I doubt it. Jones was a good guide. Just when we would feel miles and miles



away, we would suddenly see our coconut point loom up before us. There was no mistaking that point. Nowhere else in the world, I am sure, is there a point of land with just such a curve of line and such beautifully graded sizes of feathery coconut palm trees.

As we left one of the lagoons, Jones remarked, "We will come back here some day with the harpoons. Great place for rays!" After the first few days, the work on the Vivian being completed, we took up our residence aboard again. Both Ida and I enjoyed our boat housekeeping. Ida was a marvelous camp-or boat-cook, and I was rapidly learning some of the tricks of her trade. From the start, Jones was usually with us, either piloting us into different places which the Vivian could reach, or else taking us on his skiff to shallow spots, impossible for our deep draft boat. Jones was invaluable to us in many ways. One day he heard Ida and me bewail our lack of soft water. We wanted to do some washing and the only fresh water available was very hard well water.

"Get your things together," he said. "Tomorrow we will take the Vivian and go to a place I know of where there is plenty of good soft water." The next day, after a delightful ride, we came to a fairly large island. Tying up at a well-constructed dock we saw a scene rare in that part of the country—a small, but well designed house. It was painted and some efforts had been made to beautify the grounds. A half grown date palm showed that it had been planted and tended. The place was so neat and prosperous looking, it was hard to think of it as deserted. When we left the boat and investigated, our wonder grew. At one side was a very up-to-date water tank full of delightfully clean fresh rain water. We had all of our towels—both hand and dish—plus several suits of underwear. With our boat's pans and buckets, we soon had our washing done and the clothes drying in true southern fashion on the fence.

Then we explored some more. At the back door was an enormous mulberry tree. Its branches were so wide-spread, that standing under them was like being in a tent. This tree was loaded. It must have held bushels of mulberries. "These are delicious," I said. "Can't we take some with us?"

"They won't keep without ice," said Ida. "But pick a quart or so of half ripe ones, and I'll make you a pie for dinner tonight." We did this, and Ida kept her word. Our boat stove had a small



portable oven, but it was remarkable what Ida could do with it—hot biscuit, a pie, or even occasionally a cake.

When we had finished with our berries we went around to the front of the house. What sort of a family could have lived so comfortably in this isolation? The house was empty, but carefully locked. From the front porch we looked in a window and I got a surprise. Lying spread out on the floor, so near it was easily read, was a paper; it was the *Youth's Companion*. The open page held a story for boys, and the author's name in bold type, stared at me: "Gardner Hunting" it read. Now this same "Gard" Hunting was a particular chum of one of my brothers, and his father the beloved president of the college we all had attended. I had known that Gardner intended to devote himself to writing but didn't know he had made a start. Now, nearly fifty years later, Gardner Hunting is still writing. I have a new book of his, just published.

When Al first took possession of the repaired Vivian, he asked me to come for a trial ride with him, just to see how fine our boat was now. "We will run up the shore a way toward Little Marco Pass," he said. "I'll take the grains along; we may see a sting-ray." The narrow channel we were following soon opened out into a wide bay which was very beautiful. The day was perfect for this kind of work; a very light breeze which was so steady that our boat seemed to sail herself. It was a beautiful scene—the water so clear that we could see the bottom plainly. Lulled by the almost imperceptible motion, I got up and walked to the bow and stood beside Al. As I did so, something happened. The bottom of the bay seemed to be rising right in our faces. So nearly was it the color of the bottom, that it was hard to believe it was a living creature, until we saw it move swiftly away from us in long undulating waves. In no time it was gone and the water had resumed its smooth peacefulness. What puzzled me was the behavior of my usually alert husband.

"Oh Al," I cried, "I don't know what it was, but it would have been easy to hit. We were right over it! Why didn't you strike?"

"And have lost my harpoon?" said Al in disgust. "I came out to get rays, which I could hold. I didn't expect to run across the grand-daddy of all saw-fish!" That ended our run that morning. We went back and joined our friends on Jones' skiff. They were all interested in what we had seen.



"You won't see him again," said Jones, "he has made for deeper water; but we will go to a place I know of. You will certainly get all the sting-rays you want, and quite likely a whip-ray. Even a saw-fish is likely, but not such a big one as you saw."

Jones took us to a lagoon which seemed far inland. It did not look as lovely as some we had seen. As we entered the lagoon we left behind us a group of mangrove islands. Before us was a long strip of partially wooded land, whether a long narrow island or a bit of the main land I am not sure. The trees were mostly pines with a sprinkling of oaks looking more dead than alive. Some bare trunks looked as if they might have been cypress. The edge of this bit of southern real estate was uniformly muddy and uninviting. As we were on our way to this fishing ground Al was busy correcting his oversight of the morning. Getting a long narrow pine board, he tied the end of his long heavy line to it and then coiled the rope around the board. 'The other end of the rope was fastened to the heavy iron hook of his harpoon. When we were ready for the day's sport Al and Furman took our own light skiff, leaving Ida and me in the bigger boat with Jones. The motor on our boat was stopped and we drifted idly, watching the men as they poled about the shallow places looking for rays. They got quite a number of sting-rays, and a good sized whip-ray. It was nearly time for our men to return to the larger boat, and head for home-that is, for the Vivian. But then something happened. They caught sight of a saw-fish lying on the bottom, much as the big one had been doing in the morning when our boat had drifted over it. They poled as quietly as they could toward the big fish. As it rose to the surface to make off they were near enough so that Al, who stood with his harpoon poised, got a fair strike. The grains bit into the fish-the pole floated free-the board was thrown over - and away went the great creature, the floating board, which followed, rapidly disappearing with it.

"Oh!" I exclaimed. "Are we going to lose it all?"

"Not likely," said Jones; he is making for the deep hole. He will sulk there for a while." They rowed after the float and began pulling in on the line. As the fish felt the tug of the rope he rose and made off in another wild rush, seeking another hole to hide in. This went on for some time, but the rushes were getting shorter, and finally the saw-fish came back and took refuge in his first deep hiding-place.



"He is getting tired," said Jones. "They'll soon have him now." But the great creature was not yet ready to give up. Not easily will I forget the closing scene of this fight. Our two men, taking hold of the rope together, began pulling the fish toward the boat. Suddenly it came to the surface and began waving its murderous saw back and forth right over the end of their boat.

"Quick, quick, the gun!" called the men. But Jones already had his boat under way. The gun reached them "quick" indeed, and the dangerous sea creature was soon dead. That day's work gave us some interesting things to take back north with us; there was a group of stings - their slimy black ugliness scoured and scraped to an ivory whiteness - the curled barbs looking as if some skilled oriental artist had carved them; and the saw-fish was fourteen feet long. The boney nose and saw which we took home with us measured forty-two inches. I didn't want us to get a bigger fish.

The fight with the saw-fish stands out as the high light of this cruise, but there were other times when the novelty and beauty of the surroundings made deep and lasting impressions. Several times we went to Little Marco Pass. Standing on its narrow sandy spit, on one side was a beautiful lagoon-home of rays of all kinds. Turning to the other side, the wide Gulf of Mexico sparkled before us. It was great fun to stand there and cast out into the surf for channel bass. One morning we reached this spot quite early, and its white sand bore some curious marks. The men looked at them and exclaimed, "A panther!"

"Yes," said Jones, "there are some a little north of us, but they don't often come down here."

"What other game do you find in these parts?" asked Furman, who was a confirmed hunter.

"Well," said Jones, "if you ask me, I'd say go in back of Naples. There you will find bear, deer, panthers, and catamounts, to say nothing of turkey roosts."

"Some day," said Furman "I'll go down there and try it."

Besides these happenings I must not omit to tell of our visit to a "clam factory." The term was misleading for there was nothing like our northern idea of a factory. On an island near Marco, was a group of long wharfs or docks, and near them a great array of open sheds. Here Cuban girls and women were preparing vegetables; heaps of gleaming white potatoes, onions, and red toma-



toes. In another shed men stood beside great bins of rough-shell clams, opening them and throwing the shells in a trough which landed them in a great heap to be finally dumped in deep water. Most interesting of all was the shed presided over by white hatted chefs, who were responsible for the finished product. Standing about their steaming cauldrons, they were a picturesque set. We saw many boxes of the out-put of this "factory," being put aboard sailing vessels, to be taken to some unknown destination. We smiled a little as we read the labels on the sealed tin cans. In bold letters it read, "Genuine New England Clam Chowder."

But time was running out. We felt that our exploring and fun had only begun, but our three-week's schedule must be kept. We said a reluctant goodbye to Jones and hoped he might get our vanished twenty-five foot saw-fish for the next people he piloted. Then we went up to the hotel for a farewell dinner and a last visit with charming, plump, dimpled Mrs. Collier. Our hostess had heard of our cruise on the *Ida May*. She was interested and asked many questions. In reply I launched into the story of how Esther and I had been sent home by train from Fort Myers. I reached the point where the southern boy, seeing we were alone and had a heavy suit-case, insisted on carrying it for us. I told how he had devoted himself to Esther, ignoring me as if he knew that I had no need of his help. I told how he had rejected a brake-man's offered hand to help us up into a day-coach.

I told it as a funny story, thinking that everyone would see the absurdity of my capable, traveled sister being patronized by this youthful Southerner, but my story missed fire. Mrs. Collier looked at me in amazed wonder. "I don't see anything funny about that," she said. "*What else would you expect of a well brought-up southern boy!*" Before I could think of anything to say to justify, or excuse my story, she went on; "Why, if I were traveling alone and any man-no matter what his age-didn't do everything he could to help me, I *should think it very strange.*"

How did we feel as we said "Goodbye" to Collier's with all of its interest and beauty? A little regretful, but on the whole just grateful for the past and eager for the future. Over many years I have noticed that no matter how thrilling an experience has been, the heading toward home has a thrill of its own, which can counteract regrets. *Ida* was growing impatient to see Mabel again, and we all wanted news. In that pre-radio era, we had not even



mail service. Not one word from the outside world had reached us. Captain Collier kept in touch with Havana and Key West but the service was intermittent.

As we sailed leisurely northward we had nothing like an adventure. Our boat was what the men had predicted and the weather was perfect.

They were not wholly idle hours, however; instead both Furman and Alanson seemed intent on one thing. Furman wanted to get as perfect a picture as he could of Alanson's work in the North. Alanson, while as keen to give as clear a picture as he could, was more intent on dwelling on the many mechanical problems which he was encountering in his work. One night, as we were drifting idly northward, I heard a scrap of conversation between the two men, which showed me that Alanson, although he had virtually cut loose from his former work, was still very intent on its problems.

"You know, Furm," I heard him say, "everyone who has tackled this horseless carriage idea, has made the mistake of letting his mind dwell too much on horses and carriages, on ways to supersede the horses and to improve the carriages. I have felt from the first that that was the wrong way to attack the problem. What we should do is to look at it from an entirely new angle. The cars that we build should not look nor try to be, in any way, like carriages. Perhaps I can tell you better what I mean if I tell you a little of what I am planning to do. When I am back North and open a little shop of my own, first of all will come the problem of weight. I am going to try an experiment. The frame of the car I shall build shall have as much wood in its construction as we can possibly use without sacrificing strength. Just how much and what kind of wood we shall use has to be worked out. You know something of that problem with boats. I want to use as much 'know-how' as I have gained down here with boats, that can be put to practical use in a car, which is to carry people by means of mechanical propulsion. That is one of my problems.

"The next problem that arises now in my mind, is how to suspend this car over wheels which must travel on rough roads. The answer, I am sure, is not the kind of springs which we have used to cushion our rides in carriages. As soon as I get home I am going to try out some form of coil springs. Just what it will be I am not sure as yet. But I think my answer lies in that direction."



Those happy lazy days, following those of strenuous exertion, put a finishing touch to a friendship between four people which the years ahead could not alter. To each of the four this experience became a part of the "old" Florida which they loved.

All too soon we were back in Alzarti House, for this was not only the end of our cruise; it was also close to the end of this visit to our "Old Florida."

THE END



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