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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.

Saint Augustine, April, 1857.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

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THE KU KLUX KLAN IN THE SUNSHINE STATE: THE 1920's

by DAVID CHALMERS

THE GUIDING MAXIM in Florida politics has long been said to be "Every Man For Himself" and the same principle of anarchic localism seems to have prevailed in Klan affairs. The story of the Florida Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's was not one of a large statewide organization but rather that of a myriad of growing, active individual Klaverns.

The sandy soil of the sunshine state was already well prepared for the sowing of the Klan seed. In the second decade of the twentieth century virulent anti-Catholicism was preached with ever increasing success in Florida's Bible Belt. Georgia's Tom Watson touched it off with his widely circulated *Jeffersonian Magazine*. The Sturkie resolution passed by the State Democratic Party Executive Committee in 1916, condemning religious prejudice and secret societies became Exhibit A in the minds of those who conjured up visions of a conspiracy to Romanize Florida. The great apostle of Florida nativism was Sidney J. Catts. A native of Alabama, the spawning ground of Klan wizards, he first came to De Funiak Springs, Florida, as a Baptist minister, a calling which he left to become the state agent for a fraternal life insurance company. Thus far he had followed the path of his fellow Alabamian, Colonel William J. Simmons, who had disinterred the Ku Klux Klan in the twentieth century, but where the latter went into klandom, Sidney Catts turned to politics-though with substantially the same message. And so, in 1916, while Colonel Simmons was struggling to get his fraternal order going, Sidney Catts was on his way to the governor's mansion, touring the rural back country in his black Model T, as he sounded warnings against the encroachments of Satan. Governor Catts' widely proclaimed message of support for the American flag, prohibition, and the little red school house against the menace of the convent, paro-

chial school, Rome, and Africa had already popularized the doctrines which the Klan was to preach in Florida.¹

The Klan entered the Sunshine State through the gateway city of Jacksonville, where during a parade on December 21, 1922, all the street lights in the business district suddenly went dark so that the marchers could make a mysterious disappearance. The Invisible Empire rapidly spread throughout the state. Its pattern was one of violence from the very start. Although the evidence does not point to Klan responsibility or participation in the election day race riot in Ocoee in 1920, or in the clash at Rosewood, in Levy County, two years later in which eight people were killed and the Negro community was burned out,² the Invisible Empire was very active elsewhere in the State. The West Indian rector of a church in the Negro section of Miami was flogged and tarred and feathered for "preaching Negro equality" and was warned to leave town under pain of death.³ In another community, the Klan reportedly threatened to lynch a local judge for enforcing the traffic laws, and Colonel Simmons suspended the Pensacola Klavern for unauthorized violence when it threatened a Greek restaurateur.⁴ Initially, however, such episodes were sporadic as the Klan concentrated on politics and expansion.

As elsewhere in the South, the Klan sought to keep Negroes from the polls, and in Jacksonville and Orlando open parades and covert warnings of violence were used.⁵ By 1922, the Klan had emerged as a direct participant in politics. In the June primaries of that year, the Klan made a virtual clean sweep in Volusia County, carrying Daytona, Ormond, and DeLand for its ticket, which included candidates for judicial, municipal, and legislative office. Internal dissension, however, made it a short lived victory. When the mayor of DeLand refused to heed the wishes of the local Klan leader, the Klan summoned him to a meeting in the woods at which he was tried for mutiny. Despite threats, the

1. J. E. Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary*, 2 vols. (New York, 1952), II, chapter 18.

2. *Tampa Tribune*, November 2, 1920; Walter White, "Election by Terror in Florida," *New Republic*, XXV (1921), 195-197; American Civil Liberty Union files for 1922, New York Public Library.

3. *New York Times*, July 18, 1921; "The Reign of the Tar-bucket," *Literary Digest*, LXX (August 27, 1921), 12-13.

4. *Nation*, CXIII (1921), 285-286.

5. *New York Times*, December 22, 1920.

mayor and his friends withdrew from the Klan and many of the better citizens also started dropping out.⁶

Local setbacks, however, did little to stem the growth of the Klan elsewhere in Florida. The largest Klavern was Stonewall Jackson No. 1 of Jacksonville, followed by John B. Gordon, No. 24 of Miami, and Olustee No. 20 of St. Petersburg. Chapters proliferated throughout the state, mixing names of national and southern heroes, such as the Andrew Jackson Klan of Hastings and the Albert Sidney Johnson Klan of West Palm Beach, with descriptive bits of Floridiana, like the Klan of the Keys at Key West, the Fort Gaines Klan of Ocala, and the Klan of the Palms at Ft. Myers. The Jacksonville and Levy County fairs had special Klan days. Flags and bibles were presented at high school dedications at Largo and Clermont. Klansmen met to gobble down fried fish and barbecue at Hastings and Williston, and they held memorial services for departed members at Dunnellon and West Palm Beach. Klansmen made presentations at church services in St. Petersburg and Tampa and gave a large contribution to the YMCA building fund in the former community. Stonewall Jackson No. 1 joined other Jacksonville civic groups to protect city beaches from commercial exploitation, while St. Petersburg's Olustee Klan used the beach at Pass-a-Grille for cross-light initiations. The Lakeland Klan boasted that it was the first to have its own lodge building, while in Lake Worth, where the women of powerful George B. Baker Klan No. 70 operated a free day nursery, their male consorts claimed that they were planning an edifice which would be two stories high.

In November, 1923, Orlando's Cherokee No. 9 played host to a state-wide Klanvocation to mark the inauguration of Florida as a self-governing realm in the Invisible Empire.⁷ Klansmen continued to meet, initiate, feast, and march throughout the state. In Miami, the Knights of Columbus withdrew from the Fruit and Flower Parade when the Klan entered a float in the civic and fraternal division. Symbolizing the Klan's fight against ignorance and superstition, the float showed a dragon, labeled "The Enemies

6. *New York Times*, June 18, 1922; *Daytona Morning Journal*, June 4, 1922, January 16, 1923; Department of Justice files, Washington, D. C.

7. *Washington National Kourier* (Southern edition), November, 1924-May, 1925; *Atlanta Fiery Cross*, March 13, 1925.

of American Ideals," about to attack a youth in front of a red school house. Between the monster and his intended prey stood three Klansmen with drawn swords. At the rear of the float there was a paper-mache mountain, inside of which there was an altar and fiery cross, protected by two more Klansmen. Four mounted Klansmen were stationed at each corner of the float, which was encircled with a forty-eight starred banner bearing the names of the states of the union. It may not have been the most beautiful float but it was certainly the busiest, and it took first prize.⁸

The Klan was similarly busy all over the state. In Ocala, Klansmen warned about slot machines, and the John B. Gordon Klan No. 24 of Miami denounced horse and dog racing and all other forms of gambling.⁹ Speaking at the Levy County fair in 1924, the Grand Dragon deplored the poor quality of education in the state.¹⁰ In Florence Villa, the Klan threatened a newly-built Negro school as well as Dr. Mary S. Jewett, a white woman who had contributed to it. A Klan newspaper claimed that a unit of the Invisible Empire was operating on the campus of Stetson University under the name of the Fiery Cross Club. At Gainesville the Alachua County Klan No. 46 was disturbed by the presence of a Roman Catholic priest who was purportedly using the dramatic society he directed as an instrument to change the faith of his innocent Protestant students. The Klan agitated against him and his campus privileges were withdrawn.¹¹

Antagonists and the *New York World* claimed that important members of Florida's delegation to the 1924 Democratic National Convention were Klansmen, a charge which chairman E. D. Lambright indignantly denied.¹² The following spring the Klan boasted that individual DeLand Klansmen were helping the authorities uphold prohibition, despite "harrassment by corrupt politicians, rum rings, and a few unscrupulous Romans,"¹³ and the

8. Washington *National Kourier*, January 1, 1924.

9. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1925.

10. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1924, December 5, 1924.

11. Chicago *Dawn*, 1925; Washington *National Kourier*, February 9, 1925; Alachua Klan No. 64, "Floridians Take Your Stand," P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville.

12. *New York World*, June 24, 1924; *Tampa Tribune*, June 25, 1924.

13. Atlanta *Fiery Cross*, March 13, 1925; Chicago *Dawn*, March, 1923.

Klan rallied behind a bill to provide for bible reading in the schools.¹⁴

The ever-alert Klan in Florida found much to keep it occupied. When the word came that Mrs. Kip Rhinelander, the widely publicized colored wife of a New York society playboy, was on her way to Florida, after successfully opposing his annulment attempt, the Klan hurried to the battlements. The Fort Pierce and West Palm Beach Klans quickly organized committees which checked local hotels and kept unfulfilled vigil at the railroad stations.¹⁵

During the spring of 1923, three Kissimmee men, including the night station man for the railroad and a local doctor, were whipped, tarred and feathered. A fourth man was caught spying on a Klan meeting and was also beaten.¹⁶ Later that year there was a series of floggings in Tampa.¹⁷ The mayor and a number of citizens of the small town of Coleman in nearby Sumter County wrote to the *World* that not less than a dozen of their neighbors had been taken out and lashed for criticizing or opposing the Invisible Empire.¹⁸ At Sanford an elderly man was flogged for reportedly trying to sell his insecticide spray for celery by denouncing other products as poisonous.¹⁹ When a disabled Miami veteran, whom his wife wanted chased out of town, was flogged instead, the Klan disclaimed responsibility, but there was little question about the assailants of a Miami real estate man who was similarly beaten.²⁰

In January, 1923, a Klan parade wound around the courthouse square in Gainesville and then marched off through the Negro section of the city. A week later a white employee of the Ogletree Motor Company was abducted from the company garage late at night by Klansmen who held back Gainesville's night policeman with drawn guns. The victim was taken out into the woods and severely beaten. This was the result, the press reported, of

14. Washington *National Courier*, April 24, 1925.
 15. *New York Times*, December 14 and 15, 1925.
 16. *Tampa Times*, February 19, 1923; Ltr., February 24, 1923, ACLU files, reel no. 23, New York Public Library.
 17. *Tampa Tribune*, November 2, 3, and 5, 1923.
 18. *New York World*, June 25, 1924.
 19. *New York Times*, April 15, 1925.
 20. *New York Times*, November 11, 1924; *Tampa Tribune*, September 15, 1928.

his neglecting his wife and children "to chase after another woman." Gainesville Mayor George S. Waldo and Police Chief A. R. Perry argued that this was a private affair and in the final analysis the Klansmen had performed an act of "kindness to the man and his family and a blessing to the city of Gainesville."

Not everyone agreed, however, and Major William R. Thomas, local hotel owner and former mayor of the city, wrote to the *Gainesville Sun* demanding the resignation of the two officials. In March the editor of the *Sun*, Robert W. Davis, announced his opposition to the hooded order, even though he said, "many good men," probably including some of his personal friends, belonged to the Klan. Most members joined, the editor opined, because of religious fanaticism, political ambition, the hope for excitement and adventure, or through a desire to preserve order. In so doing, he concluded, they had chosen a very dangerous path.²¹

A major outbreak of reported Klan violence took place in Putnam County. In September of 1926, Governor John W. Martin called the sheriff and the mayor of Palatka to Tallahassee to discuss investigative findings which revealed at least sixty-three floggings had taken place in the county in a year. According to local gossip, one victim had been a "Greek" who was accused of "going out with white women." We was a big man, and he managed to hurt several of his attackers before he was finally subdued, but the other victims had not given as good an account of themselves. Sometimes as many as five people including several women, had been taken out on a Saturday night and lashed. Two of the victims died.

Klan sympathizers claimed that the violence was directed at bootleggers and bawdy house operators. The Tampa *Tribune* commented that the first few victims were probably undesirables, but that if everyone in that category had been punished it would have included five percent of the victims and one hundred percent of the floggers. Other floggings were taking place, the paper reported, from Volusia and Polk counties in the northern and central parts of the state to Monroe in South Florida. Governor Martin spoke out forcefully. Such a situation in which "mobs

21. Charles H. Hildreth, "A History of Gainesville, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1954), 227-229; *Gainesville Sun*, January 18, 19, 20, 1923, March 18, 1923.

formed at night to terrorize the community and citizens had to carry concealed weapons," could not continue. He characterized it as a "disgrace to Florida" and threatened to remove the Putnam County sheriff and proclaim martial law if violence continued.²²

However, Klan violence, when it was publicized, seemed to create little stir elsewhere in Florida. Despite occasional opposition from such diverse sources as Governor Martin, the *Tampa Tribune*, the *Gainesville Sun*, the minister of Tampa's Palm Avenue Baptist Church, the politicians of Daytona and DeLand, and the American Legion post of DeLand,²³ there was no apparent revulsion of feeling, newspaper or political attack, or turning away from the Klan on the part of many of its members. When the Klan opposed Alfred E. Smith's candidacy for the presidency in 1928, some loyal Democrats were reprimanded by the Klan, and in Miami the former sheriff and others resigned from the Invisible Empire.²⁴ Fiery dries and anti-Catholics, such as the influential Southern Methodist Bishop James Cannon, Jr. and the Reverend John Roach Straton, came to Florida to oppose Smith. Although the Klan campaigned for Herbert Hoover and his victory resulted from the kind of a campaign that the Klan liked, the hooded order does not seem to have been an important factor in his success.²⁵

Unlike the situation in other states, the Ku Klux Klan continued active in Florida as the 1920's came to an end. Whether it was because no ambitious state leader emerged to lead the Florida Klan into an unseemly drive for political power, or because the state was politically too disorganized or too receptive to deny it, the Florida Klan held on to its members and looked forward to the 30's.

22. *Tampa Tribune*, September 14, 1926; Ku Klux Klan file, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

23. *Gainesville Sun*, January 18, 22, 1923.

24. *Miami Daily News*, November 3, 1928.

25. Dovell, *loc. cit.*; H. J. Doherty, Jr., "Florida and the Presidential Election of 1928," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (1927), 174-186; William G. Carleton, "The Popish Plot of 1928," *Forum*, CXII (September, 1949), 141-147.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE EAST FLORIDA SPANIARDS IN CUBA, 1763-1766

by ROBERT L. GOLD

TEN MONTHS WERE required to complete the evacuation of the Spanish population from the St. Augustine *presidio*. From April 12, 1763, to January 21, 1764, a junta of Governor Melchor Feliu, Don Juan Elixio de la Puente,¹ and Esteban de Pena carefully escorted 3,103 persons to wafting vessels bound for Cuba or New Spain.² The evacuees embarked for Havana, Cuba, except for thirty-four people who were later transported to San Francisco de Campeche, New Spain. During the entire movement there were only four casualties from the shipwreck of the sloop "Nuestra Senora del Rosario." By April 16, 1764, former Governor Melchor Feliu and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente reported that a total of 3,091 residents of the old colonial garrison had departed from the Plaza of St. Augustine, Fort San Marcos de

1. Puente worked very diligently to schedule sailings for complete families. Whenever possible, he sought to have members of each family depart together with their belongings. The old Florida resident also loaned the emigres 14,000 pesos for their exodus and settlement obligations; repayment of the loans was not required for eight years. Puente even deposited 3,100 pesos of his own money in the royal treasury as a loan to help finance the emigration. Mark F. Boyd, unpublished history of eighteenth century Florida and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente.
2. Feliu and Puente stated that 3,104 persons were evacuated from St. Augustine, but 3,103 persons actually left the colony. Neither of the Spanish officials could have known at that time that Luciano de Herrera would remain in Florida to collect sales monies from the 1764 Fish-Puente property transaction. A number of the Spanish documents present different figures for the evacuation totals. Typically, population assessments vary in number and category according to the particular date of preparation. Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43; Puente to the Governor of Cuba, Havana, January 22, 1764, September 26, 1766, and January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/3-4; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, February 10, 1772, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, Legajo 372; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, March 4, 1772, AGI 86-7-11/24. All documents listed as AGI (Archivo General de las Indias) were obtained from the Stetson Collection of Spanish colonial manuscripts, P. K. Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

Apalache, and the towns Nuestra Senora de la Leche, Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Tolomato, and Santa Terese de Gracia Real de Mosa.³ Whenever possible rank and class distinctions were honored in the embarkation; Indians and free mulattoes and Negroes were often segregated from the Spaniards, but Spanish Canary Island settlers were also shipped apart from the other Spanish residents.⁴

Altogether, 545 families emigrated from East Florida. The local Spanish population was composed of 367 families since the Spanish Catalan and Canary Island families were listed separately. Settlers from the Canary Islands reached St. Augustine between 1757-1761,⁵ and by 1763 ninety-six families were available for transfer to Cuba. The thirty-six families of Catalan Mountain Fusileers⁶ were another individually mentioned population category. There were also six German Catholic families (English colonial exiles), nineteen Christian Indian families, sixteen free *Pardo* (mulatto) families, and five free Negro families who accompanied the Spaniards in their maritime movement to Cuba.

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3. The 3,091 total excludes the nine Spaniards left in St. Augustine to corral the *presidio's* wandering horses and the four Spaniards who perished in the shipwreck of *Nuestra Senora del Rosario*. The remaining Spaniards in St. Augustine, except for Luciano de Herrera, later moved to Cuba. Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43; Puente to the Governor of Cuba, Havana, January 22, 1764, September 26, 1766, and January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4/4; Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (October, 1940), 146.
 4. Feliu was advised to give precedence to the evacuation of troops, artillery, and the Crown's possessions. Instructions concerning the 1763 evacuation, July 6, November 24, 1763, AGNM 425, Documents: 14-24, and 60-64; Conde de Riela to Governor Feliu, Havana, July 2, 13, 1763, AGI 86-7-11/3. All documents listed as AGNM (Archivo de la Nacion, Mexico) are contained in the microfilm collection of the Yonge Library.
 5. Governor Alonzo Fernandez de Heredia to Minister Julian de Arriaga, St. Augustine, October 14, 1757, AGI 87-3-13/23, SD (Santo Domingo) 2659; Governor of Cuba to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, October 26, 1757, AGI 87-3-13/25, SD 2659; Governor Lucas de Palacio to Minister Julian de Arriaga, St. Augustine, January 20, 1761, AGI 86-7-22/10; Governor Alonzo de Cardenas to the Crown, St. Augustine, December 22, 1761, AGI 86-7-22/13/23.
 6. The Catalan Fusileers and families arrived in Florida in 1762. Governor of Cuba to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, December 22, 1761, AGI 86-6-6/34, SD 2660; Governor Feliu to Minister Julian de Arriaga, St. Augustine, March 24, 1762, AGI 86-6-6/34, SD 2660.

Only three families and thirty-four persons went to Campeche, while 952 men, 794 women, 673 boys, and 650 girls sailed in family units to Havana.⁷

The costs of evacuating the St. Augustine *presidio* and the Apalache detachment were borne by the crown. Don Pedro Agustín Morel y Santa Cruz, Bishop of Santiago, Cuba, assisted the royal treasury financially, using diocese funds to pay the expenses of seventy-four Florida inhabitants. Bishop Morel's group consisted of twenty-five women, twelve boys, and thirty-seven girls.⁸

The mass embarkation began April 12, 1763. On the first day three schooners carrying Bishop Morel's charges sailed for Cuba. Five schooners carrying 110 persons departed St. Augustine on August 3, and fifty-eight more left the following day. Two schooners and three sloops, carrying 363 passengers, departed on August 5, 6, and 7. Another 144 persons emigrated on August 10, and an English packet boat, with 250 people, sailed on August 20, 1763. The August exodus continued with the departure of 114 emigres on August 22; 104 Spaniards sailed aboard the British sloop *Hawk*, on August 30; and a Spanish vessel evacuated 133 more the following day.⁹

By the end of August the Florida junta, in conjunction with the royal officials of Cuba, had directed 1,350 Florida inhabitants, more than a third of the total population of East Florida, to Havana.

In the latter part of July, just prior to the mass migration of August, Juan de Cotilla was pleased to view the incipient sailing preparations for his countrymen. The population movement away

7. Eight families with forty-three people later followed the first group to Campeche. With the arrival of the new families from Havana there was a total of seventy-seven people in San Francisco de Campeche. Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, January 22, 1764, September 22, 26, 1766, and January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/3/4.

8. The Cuban bishop apparently was an outspoken clergyman. On November 3, 1762, he was expelled from Cuba because of his continued criticism of British policy. Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43; Boyd, unpublished history of eighteenth-century Florida and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente.

9. Feliu to Conde de Ricla, St. Augustine, September 12, 1763, AGI 86-7-11/12; Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, January 22, 1764, January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4.

from British rule especially delighted him. On July 21, ten days after the arrival of Captain John Hedges' British military government, Cotilla observed to Conde de Ricla, ". . . the wills of all our citizens seem generally disposed to evacuation and I expect that Your Excellency will be pleased to command the prompt return of the transport vessels since the arrival of the English governor is imminent. . . . It is obvious that the British are surprised to witness the decision of all our people to emigrate, when they asserted that there would not be enough evacuees to fill one vessel . . ." ¹⁰

After the heavy sailing schedule of August, there was only one ocean trip to Cuba from August 31 to October 12, 1763. Perhaps the frequency of September-October northeasters and hurricanes may have discouraged more sailings in the late summer and early autumn. Eighty-two Spaniards left Florida on September 14, three sloops transported another 259 persons to Havana on October 12, 1763. On October 14, ninety-one more Floridians sailed for Cuba aboard the sloop *Nuestra Senora de la Luz y Santa Barbara*, the following week, another forty-three people left. On October 27-28, 185 Spaniards journeyed to Havana, some travelling on the French sloop *San Antonio*. ¹¹

Only 135 Floridians were transferred to Cuba November 17 and November 19. During the December exodus a total of 274 people traveled to Havana, while 543 Spaniards followed in January. Three sloops, two brigantines, and a schooner embarked the Spanish citizenry on December 17, 19, 24, and 30. The evacuations on the 24th employed three vessels, two of which were English - the brig *Fanny* and the sloop *Industries*. Five sloops, four schooners, and one packet boat completed the emigration in January. After witnessing three embarkations on January 8 and 9, 1764, Governor Feliu, departed from Florida on January 21.

10. Cotilla was one of the officials sent to Florida by the Governor of Cuba, to encourage the emigration of Spanish subjects and to expedite removal of the possessions of the St. Augustine *presidio*. Cotilla to Conde de Ricla, St. Augustine, July 31, 1763, AGI 86-7-11/4; Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, January 22, 1764, January 27, 1770, AGI 87-5-1/4.

11. Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, January 22, 1764, January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4; Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups From East Florida," *loc. cit.*, 145.

Other officials and inhabitants accompanied him on a seven ship convoy which transported 361 Floridians to Cuba.¹²

A total of 2,996 East Florida residents were thus conveyed down the coast of Florida to Cuba. The emigres included 895 men, 785 women, 671 boys, 645 girls, and even some of the Spanish dead.¹³ Feliu explained that "the piety of religion and feminine weakness" obliged him to ship the Spanish deceased to the Floridians' new colonial settlement.¹⁴ Thirty-four other Floridians were carried to Campeche on December 5, 1763, and January 23, 1764. Finally, the sixty-five members of the Apache garrison did not leave Florida until February 20, 1764, various circumstances delaying the transfer of that frontier post to the British authorities. By the conclusion of the Spanish evacuation, therefore, 3,065 persons were transferred to Cuba, 34 others reached Campeche, one Floridian remained in St. Augustine, and four Spaniards were lost at sea.¹⁵

The Florida refugees initially settled in Havana. Some of the civilians were temporarily established in the city itself but most of the others were lodged in the suburb Barrio de Guadalupe, out-

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12. Feliu and Juan Elixio de la Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, March 14, 1764, AGI 86/7-11/22; Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, January 22, 1764, and January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4; *South Carolina Gazette*, November 12-19, 1763; Siebert, "Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida," *loc. cit.*, 145.
 13. Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana January 22, 1764, January 27, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4; Feliu to Conde de Ricla, St. Augustine, August 25, 1764, AGI 86-7-11/11; Siebert, "Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida," *loc. cit.*, 145-149.
 14. Feliu to Conde de Ricla, St. Augustine, August 25, 1763, AGI 86-7-11/11.
 15. Almost one-half of the East Florida population was composed of military personnel and others who were not considered to be Floridians. There were 1,115 of the latter people in the Florida evacuation, including 425 Canary Islanders, 161 Catalans, 26 Germans, 89 Indians, 99 free Negroes and mulattoes, and 315 Negro and mulatto slaves. Since the St. Augustine *presidio* served as a primary military mission, the departing population exhibited a significant military character; one-sixth of the total citizenry was officers and soldiers. Excluding the 85 men of the militia, the garrison functioned with 235 infantry soldiers, 90 Mountain Fusileers, 52 mounted dragoons, 39 foot dragoons, 39 artillery troops, and the Mosa post's 11 soldiers. Puente to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764, AGI 86-6-6/43; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, January 22, 1764, January 27, 1770; AGI 87-5-1/4. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida," *loc. cit.*, 145-147.

side the walls of Havana, and in Regla and Guanabacoa, two towns in proximity to Havana. Regla was located directly across the bay from Havana, and Guanabacoa was six miles away.¹⁶ Civilians and militia temporarily obtained various amounts for subsistence except for those professional civilians, who continued their trades and occupations in the Cuban milieu. Some citizens, however, received nothing. Upon arrival, the Florida military units were incorporated into the reorganized Spanish army of Cuba, and the various infantry, artillery, and dragoon echelons appropriately absorbed many of the rank and file troopers of the St. Augustine *presidio*. Florida's Catholic clergy was likewise generally assimilated into the services of its Cuban headquarters, where new assignments were arranged for the able clerical evacuees.¹⁷

Between April and June, 1764, 331 civilian Floridians were transferred from Havana to Matanzas, Cuba. One-tenth of the former residents of Florida were thus once again transported under the crown's orders, but the second transfer, unlike the first, moved the Floridians from an urban seaport to an uncultivated rural environment. These civilians settled in an area called Ceiba Mocha, located within the jurisdiction of the royal authorities of Matanzas.¹⁸ A portion of Ceiba Mocha was available for settlement because Don Geronimo Contreras, who was rumored to have had a Florida background, donated some of his properties to the refugees. Don Geronimo Contreras relinquished enough land to provide at least 108 *caballerias* of land for farming. The new colony was named St. Augustine de la Nueva Florida, although Ceiba Mocha was frequently used in reference to the area.¹⁹

16. Conde de Riela to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Havana, November, 1763, AGI 86-7-11/14; Puente to the Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3; Duvon C. Corbitt, "Spanish Relief Policy and the East Florida Refugees of 1763," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (July, 1948), 68.

17. Puente to the Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3.

18. Conde de Riela to royal officials of Matanzas, Havana, March 17, 1764, AGI 87-1-5/1; Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3; Corbitt, "Spanish Relief Policy and East Florida Refugees," *loc. cit.*, 67-70.

19. Corbitt calculates that each *caballeria* equaled thirty-two acres, *ibid.*, 69, while Villasana J. Haggard, *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents* measures the Cuban *caballeria* as being equivalent to 33.2 acres. Conde de Riela to royal officials of Matanzas, Havana, March 17, 1764, AGI 87-1-5/1; Memorial of former inha-

Seventy-three families were installed on the uncultivated estates of St. Augustine de la Nueva Florida. Thirteen Spanish families, forty-three Canary Island families, four German families, nine free *pardo* families, and four free Negro families became the proprietors of Contreras' former domains. With the passing of time, however, other Floridians followed their former neighbors into the Matanzas region, and conversely disillusioned colonists retired from their Ceiba Mocha property holdings. In the most populous period, in 1764, eighty-three or eighty-four families occupied the Nueva Florida settlement.²⁰

The Conde de Ricla's instructions to the royal officials of Matanzas, concerning the establishment of the Florida emigres in the Matanzas bailiwick, were composed on March 17, 1764. Ricla's orders guaranteed privileges and proprietorship for the Spaniards who had voluntarily withdrawn from their former Florida homes. Each family transferred to Ceiba Mocha at the king's expense would receive one *caballeria* of land from the domains that the crown obtained from Contreras. The refugees were also given one Negro slave and sixty pesos for clearing and cultivating their property. All grants were bestowed as perpetual donations, but the grantees were obliged to cultivate their land. Free Negroes and mulattoes were likewise ceded property ownership, although a meticulous segregation policy was implemented during the land apportionment.²¹ Proprietorship could not be alienated, however, unless it was conferred on other inhabitants of the settlement with the approval of the captain general of Cuba; according to the royal orders, property that was not cultivated could not be transferred. Finally, Ricla instructed Don Simon Rodriguez, Lieutenant of the Royal Exchequer of Matanzas, to allot conti-

bitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3; Corbitt, "Spanish Relief Policy and East Florida Refugees," *loc. cit.*, 68-70.

20. Because ten of eleven families (Puente and the memorialists were uncertain of the exact number of families) of servicemen secured permission to join the Floridians in their new settlement, the population totals were increased by that number of families. Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3.
21. Conde de Ricla to royal officials of Matanzas, Havana, March 17, 1764, AGI 87-1-5/1.

guous *caballerias* to families who requested close contact with each other.²²

The grantees were required to repay the loan of sixty pesos, in addition to 150 more pesos for the Negro slave. A period of nine years was stipulated for the liquidation of the 210 peso debt to the crown. No payment was necessary during the first year of settlement, but thereafter the Florida families were obligated to honor installments of twenty-six pesos and two reales annually. And, since the slaves were actually only mortgaged property, they could not be sold without the acquisition of other slaves; all such dispositions or substitutes, of course, had to earn the royal exchequer's consent. The sixty peso loan was not totally delivered in cash. Nine pesos and two reales were subtracted from the original amount, which was equivalent to the cost of the routine consignment of two spades and two machetes.²³

St. Augustine de Nueva Florida was also supplied with provisions. Those foodstuffs and supplies remaining from the evacuation voyages were distributed among the Floridians, and all other necessary commodities were offered to the new settlement at the king's prices. The Cuban treasury received definite orders not to profit from any sales to the emigres. Only the usual tariffs were to be affixed to goods passing into Matanzas' Nueva Florida. Temporary lodging for the Florida population in Matanzas was also recommended.²⁴ The crown's Cuban ministers were thus advised to extend financial deference to their Florida charges.

The crown urged the Matanzas officials to assist the new community in every way possible. The government was therefore responsible for the everyday harmony of the Florida exiles, a responsibility which was to become extremely oppressive by 1766. In a further effort to ensconce the emigrants in Nueva Florida, the crown even permitted two years of relative inactivity on the granted estates in order to provide the new settlers with adequate time to settle their affairs and begin the processes of cultivation and construction. Thereafter, Ricla's orders explained, the crown's patience would be exhausted and the refugees would be stripped of their property and privileges. Furthermore, the settlers

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

were threatened with military service or forced labor if they allowed their land grants to remain uncultivated. Finally, the Spanish crown announced quite clearly that the property and privilege grants in Matanzas would be the only charitable acts that the Floridians could expect to receive from their monarch.²⁵

Before 1766, St. Augustine de la Nueva Florida was experiencing economic despair. A memorial from 166 heads of former Florida families, submitted on August 26, 1766, petitioned the governor of Cuba for help in their desperate plight. Beseching the captain general for immediate assistance, the memorial graphically described all the hardships of the young community. Only those Floridians who were not serving in the Spanish administration and military services, or whose wives and/or daughters were not allotted some form of official gratuity, placed their signatures on the petition.²⁶ A listing of impecunious persons accompanied the memorial, as well as a financial accounting of 261 heads-of-family. The latter roster included Spanish Floridians (soldiers, civilians, militia, and invalids), Germans, Canary Islanders, Negroes, and mulattoes, who lacked employment and financial relief or whose only income was a small per diem allowance. In addition, the memorial included an Indian register indicating that only fifty-three aborigines remained alive of the more than eighty who had emigrated from St. Augustine. The Indians received one-half real per diem.²⁷

The petitioners were particularly distressed because they were no longer receiving temporary, but essential, daily subsistence awards. Similarly, the lack of lodging plagued them: “. . . we have not even been supplied with shacks to protect our bodies from the punishments of weather, and consequently, without

25. *Ibid.*

26. Although Puente was not a member of the Matanzas settlement, his name appears on the petition papers. He was the author of some, if not all, of the documents. His previous efforts on behalf of the people of Florida, were thus extended to the Cuban milieu. Throughout his life, Don Elixio de la Puente continued to be the ubiquitous spokesman for the Floridians and their lost homeland. Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3; Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1; Boyd, unpublished history of eighteenth century Florida and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente.

27. Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3; Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/2.

housing and sustenance, some of us find ourselves obliged to sleep under doorways exposed to inclement conditions . . .”²⁸ Sickness, destitution, death, and the humiliation of begging were thus attributed to the absence of living quarters and stable financial support.²⁹ Prostitution was another result of the deplorable situation. According to the claimants, “. . . some starving young women, lacking food, clothes, lodging and medicines, have forgotten their honor and religious convictions and have arrived at the unfortunate state of prostituting themselves and committing serious sins against God . . .”³⁰ The petitioners, however, quickly added that prostitution was only noticed among families of humble means; lack of education and extreme poverty reduced the poorer women to such dishonor. Some poor women, according to the memorial, sold their few clothes and valuables or solicited charity alms in order to continue their existence.³¹

The authors of the petition blamed part of their misfortune on the treasury which had neglected to issue them their salaries for the last months in Florida. They claimed that the troops from St. Augustine had not received monies owed them, although the viceroy of New Spain had committed adequate amounts to the royal coffers early in 1764. A document entitled “Various Obligations of the Plaza of St. Augustine” listed the persons to whom salaries were owed. According to their dossier, Governor Felii

28. Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3; Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1.

29. In September, 1766, Don Juan Elixio de la Puente informed the Governor of Cuba that 663 persons of the 3,096 emigrating total had perished. Another population record revealed that 131 of a total of 961 Florida men, over the age of fifteen, must have died in Cuba during 1763 and 1764 since the document was dated January 22, 1764. It is possible that the latter document was incorrectly dated because other papers with 1764, 1766, and 1770 dates were enclosed together for the Cuban governor's examination, but such a six month mortality rate (the first men left Florida in August, 1763) would not be astonishing in an environment subjected often to tropical fever epidemics. Puente to the Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, January 22, 1764, May 8, 1770, AGI 87-1-5/4; Murat Halstead, *The Story of Cuba* (Akron, 1896), 233, 240-251; Francis Russell Hart, *The Siege of Havana, 1762* (New York, 1931), 32.

30. Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3; Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1.

31. *Ibid.*

was owed 1,560 pesos; Sergeant Major Alonzo de Cardenas, 960 pesos; and the militia company, including its commissioned and non-commissioned officers, 348 pesos. Other treasury payment arrears included the church's 5,408 pesos, the military department's 13,967 pesos, and the 16,972 pesos, which was designated for 186 people (widows, orphans, and unmarried girls) at the rate of two reales per day. An unemployment inventory of 166 military and militia persons was also included among the manuscripts sent to the Cuban government.³²

While subjecting their official readers to a continuous flow of complaints, the Florida memorialists defensively discussed the arduous attempts they had made to sustain themselves in Ceiba Mocha. Their argument often appeared to be aimed at unknown Cuban critics. Certain observers seemingly suggested that the Floridians' economic difficulties stemmed from lethargy.³³

From the petitioners' defense, it would seem that critics had berated the emigres for their refusal to accept employment on the local Matanzas haciendas at the pay scale of eight pesos a month. In answer to that charge, the disappointed citizenry of Nueva Florida vehemently asserted that the pay from hacienda toil was not sufficient to support their families; such a pittance, they pointed out, would not even have covered the cost of living quarters. The distance of the haciendas from the settlers' lodgings was another unattractive feature. *Guadano* (harbor boat) employment, at the rate of four reales per day, was preferred to hacienda labor and the healthy refugees were apparently engaged on the Matanzas harbor craft.³⁴

Besides the income advantages, work on the *guadanos* allowed the emigres to escape rural life. And, most important the harbor jobs enabled them to be near their families, who were living in Matanzas. As a consequence of the austere life on Contreras' former lands and the employment opportunities in Matanzas harbor,

32. Various Obligations of the Plaza of St. Augustine, Havana, March 17, 1764, AGI 87-1-5/1; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3; Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1.

33. Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3; Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1.

34. *Ibid.*

the seaport became an urban haven for some of the Florida emigrants.

The majority of the families from Nueva Florida deserted their new properties. The soldiers' families, who were among the late comers, left the settlement shortly after their arrival. Eleven of the thirteen Floridian families moved away after a only brief residence, leaving two Spanish families at Ceiba Mocha. After additional departures, only sixteen families and sixty-nine persons remained in the agricultural area of an original total of seventy-three families and 331 persons.³⁵

Seven families moved to rented farm lands outside Ceiba Mocha. Another six families settled in the city of Matanzas where their men secured jobs paying daily wages. The soldiers' families retreated to unknown locations, and the last arriving Canary Island family suffered extermination by murder and starvation. The Canary Islander was killed by his slave, his pregnant wife died of fright, and the only other member of the family died lacking the necessities of life. Forty-five other families returned to Havana where they subsisted on charity.³⁶

The sixteen remaining families of St. Augustine de la Nueva Florida resided on their various land grants located throughout the former Contreras estates. A local, but distant, river offered the only water for their drinking and irrigation purposes. The absence of regular food staples forced the destitute Florida exiles to consume corn, pumpkins, cassava, greens, and sweet potatoes, which they had raised, as a daily diet. Bark shacks provided the only available living quarters. According to Puente, these miserable people would have also deserted Nueva Florida if they had possessed enough money to repay the crown loan and to move to another livelihood.³⁷

Denying that lethargy and apathy were the causes of the Matanzas settlement's collapse, the unhappy memorialists present-

35. Of the remaining sixty-nine settlers, thirty-nine were children, and ten of those children were born after the 1763-1764 evacuation. Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3.

36. Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3.

37. *Ibid.*

ed a detailed study of the colonial failure in Nueva Florida. The government was reminded that the Florida citizenry had a military history, and had little knowledge of farming procedures. And yet, the petitioners argued, if they had been properly supported, the lands would have been agriculturally productive. But, without water, provisions, sufficient housing, medicines, physicians, and other essential necessities, the *caballerias* remained undeveloped because the grantees were not even able to care for their own persons. The settlement also lacked the holy sacraments and indispensable religious guidance; it was therefore not uncommon that Spaniards went to their deaths without the last sacrament. Furthermore, definite assistance was required in order to clear the building plots and lands, which were described as being the only freely donated items in Nueva Florida. Sickness, prostitution, death, and even murder were therefore the natural results of the inadequately furnished agrarian establishment.³⁸

The exasperated emigres compared their socio-economic status in Cuba with the conditions which were ordered for the Canary Islanders' anticipated arrival in Florida in the 1740's. For those emigrants, Royal Cedula of February 23 and April 21, 1744, had authorized per diem, temporary living accommodations among the local denizens, church ornaments and bells, tools, seeds, and domesticated animals, including a stallion, a mare, two breeding cows, one rooster, five hens, and one brood sow. They were also to receive one house lot and a thirty peso gift to cover the construction cost of a residence. Floridians were advised to greet the parvenues graciously and hospitably, honoring them with the farm properties that they requested. Such preparations seemed much more preferable to the Florida exiles than the arrangements which were made available to them in the captaincy-general of Cuba.³⁹

38. Because of the distances that frequently separated settlers, some of the recently purchased Negro slaves became rebellious and attacked their masters. Several Floridians were killed and others were wounded. Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1; Puente to Governor of Cuba, Havana, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3.

39. Royal Cedula appropriating funds for the Canary Island settlers. El Pardo, February 23, 1744, AGI 87-1-5/1; Orders relative to the establishment of the Canary Islanders, Aranjuez, April 21, 1744, AGI 87-1-5/1; Memorial of former Florida inhabitants, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1.

Naturally incensed at the Canary Islanders' additional advantages and deferential treatment, the Florida evacuees petitioned for similar benefits. Since the people of the Canary Islands, who had voluntarily emigrated from their homeland in order to improve their fortunes, were eligible for such distinct rewards, should not the king's Florida garrison qualify for similar opportunities? Such was the entreaty of the memorialists, who reminded their superiors that they had willingly abandoned their possessions and homeland only because of the political situation and as a result of His Majesty's advice. After patriotically forsaking the unconquered country of their fathers and ancestors, and after three centuries of struggling to defend the peninsular colony at the expenditure of countless lives and quantities of blood, the Floridians obviously believed they were deserving of, at least, the same generosity as the Canary Islanders.⁴⁰

Without blaming anyone "in particular"⁴¹ for their wretchedness, the supplicants only requested the governor of Cuba to implement the crown's orders for their relief and comfort. The favors which they sought were administrative or military employment commensurate with their rank and experience, financial assistance for the old and ill people, per diem for their wives and children, their salary arrears, and other unpaid but requisite monies. Agricultural plots in the uncultivated and undistributed Barrio de San Antonio estates were also solicited for those Floridians who could not be placed in government service. In conclusion, the signatories warned that further delay would exasperate the already miserable conditions of the exiles.⁴²

Eventually some monetary assistance was awarded to the Florida colony in Cuba. Refugee women received *la limosna de Florida*⁴³ if one or both their parents were dead; the military status of their fathers or husbands was irrelevant to the size or continuation of the royal perquisite. All Florida women or girls living out-

40. Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1.

41. Although the emigres claimed that their misfortunes were due to unfortunate circumstances, the memorial, at least, implied that the entire settlement process had been administratively bungled.

42. Memorial of former inhabitants of Florida, Havana, August 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/1.

43. *La Limosna de Florida* can be translated as "the alms or pension of Florida."

side of St. Augustine de la Nueva Florida later obtained a *limosna* of two reales a day, whether their parents were living or not. The men received nothing, and their temporary one real per diem subsistence grants were curtailed.⁴⁴

In 1770, Governor and Captain General Antonio Maria Bucareli organized another sustenance system for the emigres. All wives, widows, and daughters of Floridians residing in Florida at the time of the Treaty of 1763 were eligible to receive one real per day, but children of Florida parents who were born in Cuba did not qualify for *la limosna*. According to Bucareli's plan, widows and orphans of Florida soldiers continued to earn their daily two reales as stipulated by the *Cedula* of 1731. When husbands or fathers of *limosna* recipients entered the royal service, however, alms payments were discontinued. Once again, civilian men could not become pensioners of the crown.⁴⁵

Bucareli's alms arrangements for the Florida evacuees apparently remained in effect until the end of the American Revolutionary War, when Spain retrieved Florida in the Versailles Treaty of September 3, 1783.⁴⁶ Because only 132 Floridians had returned to the *presidio* of St. Augustine by 1786, the crown's ministers employed a new *limosna* program to encourage the former Floridians to re-settle their old continental colony. The royal *Cedula* of March 18, 1791, presented an advantageous plan to the Florida exiles. Besides guaranteeing return passage and the repossession of their former properties, the king permitted the Florida pensioners in Cuba to continue receiving their alms in Florida; such permission had previously been denied to those emigres who intended to travel home. Pensioners living in Cuba

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44. *Limosna* for Florida widows and orphan girls of Florida soldiers was originally established by a 1731 *Cedula*. Those widows and orphan girls only received alms as long as they continued an unmarried life. Corbitt, "Spanish Relief Policy and East Florida Refugees," *loc. cit.*, 70-71; James Robertson to General Gage, New York, March 8, 1764, PRO: CO 5/83; Royal *Cedula* to Governor of Florida, Sevilla, January 1, 1731, AGI 86-5-20/97.
 45. Corbitt, "Spanish Relief Policy and East Florida Refugees," *loc. cit.*, 71; James Robertson to Governor Gage, New York, March 8, 1764, PRO: CO 5/83; Royal *Cedula* to Governor of Florida, Sevilla, January 11, 1731, AGI 86-5-20/97.
 46. Frances Gardiner Davenport and Charles Oscar Paullin, (eds.) *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies* (Washington, 1937), IV, 158-161.

with a one real *limosna* were even offered one and one-half reales if they re-established a Florida residence.⁴⁷

The 1791 *Cedula* included numerous other inducements. If they returned to Florida, women born of Florida parentage in Cuba could obtain two reales until they were married or reached the age of thirty. Under the same provision Florida women who were espoused to non-Floridians would acquire one real daily, and women of families settled in Matanzas or Campeche could once again secure their previously donated Florida pensions. Finally, women who were too old to return to the mainland colony would receive their alms in Cuba. Returning Floridians were also promised land grants, long-term loans of slaves and agrarian implements, and compensation for their former estates which were under other proprietorships. The resettled Florida population was even permitted to enjoy preference in the choice of governmental employees.⁴⁸

After more than twenty years of transition and adjustment the displaced Florida population was urged to go home. Once again a maritime migration was planned for the former residents of Spanish Florida. The old exiles departing from Cuba thus boarded ships bound for the northern voyage to St. Augustine.

47. Corbitt, "Spanish Relief Policy and East Florida Refugees," *loc. cit.*, 71-75.

48. *Ibid.*

MILITARY OPERATIONS ON THE ST. JOHNS, SEPTEMBER - OCTOBER 1862

PART I

The Union Navy Fails to Drive the Confederates From St. Johns Bluff

by EDWIN C. BEARSS

AS THE MONTHS passed the Union blockade of the Southern coast increased in effectiveness. To make matters worse for the Confederacy, Union amphibious commands were put ashore at a number of points, vital ports and strategic forts were seized, and the number of points at which blockade runners could land their valuable cargos were constantly reduced. On the east coast of Florida, Fernandina, Fort Clinch, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine had been occupied by the Federals in March, 1862. The following month, Jacksonville was evacuated by the Unionists.

During the months following the completion of the Florida, Atlantic & Gulf Central Railroad, Jacksonville gained increasing importance as a port of call for blockade runners. But if Jacksonville was to be held, the approach to the city via the St. Johns River would have to be fortified. By the beginning of September, 1862, Brigadier General Joseph Finegan, commander of the Department of East and Middle Florida, began this project.¹ Before leaving for Jacksonville, the general called a detachment of the Leon Florida Artillery led by Lieutenant F. L. Villepigue to Tallahassee. The gunners brought two 12-pounder rifles with them. At Tallahassee, they were assigned two additional guns, 8-inch siege howitzers, which had been dismantled and removed recently from the battery at St. Marks.

1. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 69 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XIV, 477. (Cited hereafier as *O. R.*); D. Ammen, *The Atlantic Coast: Vol. II: The Navy in the Civil War* (New York, 1883), 70. General Finegan had assumed command of the Department of East and Middle Florida on April 18, 1862.

Accompanied by Villepigue's artillerists, Finegan left Tallahassee by rail on the morning of September 6. Stopping briefly at Lake City, the Confederates picked up two 32-pounder rifles, before proceeding on to Jacksonville. There, the general found Battery A, Milton Light Artillery Battalion, Captain Joseph L. Dunham commanding, and Finegan turned the two siege howitzers and the rifled 32-pounders over to him. Captain Dunham was placed in command of all the artillerists.²

Finegan, who was familiar with the area, planned to fortify St. Johns Bluff, a commanding point on the south side of the river, about five miles from its mouth. Guns, ammunition, supplies, and personnel were ferried across the river at Jacksonville in flatboats on September 7. After disembarking on the right bank, the troops loaded their heavy equipment into wagons and marched to the bluff. There Finegan found five companies of cavalry and Captain John C. Richard's infantry company of the 1st Florida Special Battalion.³ A large number of Negroes had been collected to help with work on the fortifications.

Speed was essential to the success of the operation, and Finegan worked his men and the Negroes round-the-clock. By nightfall on the 9th, emplacements had been thrown up, magazines dug, ammunition stockpiled, and six guns mounted. As yet, the Federals had given no indication that they suspected anything was amiss at St. Johns Bluff. The next morning, General Finegan returned to Jacksonville to make arrangements for transferring two 8-inch columbiads and two more 8-inch siege howitzers to the bluff. These four big guns had been brought to Jacksonville from the upper St. Johns, and Finegan wanted to get these additional pieces of heavy ordnance in position before the Federals learned what the Confederates were about.⁴

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During the first days of September, 1862, the Union force blockading the mouth of the St. Johns consisted of the armed

2. O. R., Series I, Vol. XIV, 121.

3. *Ibid*; *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Live Oak, 1903), 263-277. Three of the five mounted companies belonged to Major Theodore W. Brevard's 2d Florida Battalion of Partisan Rangers. The other two were: the St. Johns Rangers and Captain Winston Stephens' Company of the 2d Florida Cavalry.

4. O. R., Series I, Vol. XIV, 121.

steamers *Patroon* and *Uncas*.⁵ Acting Master Lemuel C. Crane of the *Uncas* as senior officer was in charge of the small flotilla.

On September 1, the two gunboats made a run up the St. Johns as far as St. Johns and Yellow Bluffs. Confederate cavalry was sighted by the lookouts. Opening fire, the warships scattered the Southerners, and then the vessels returned to their station off the bar.

To try to keep abreast of what was happening ashore, frequent landings were made by the Federals and much valuable information was gleaned by questioning the people of Mayport. Rumor had it that General Finegan was working on plans which would lead to the capture of the gunboats. If successful, Confederate leaders reportedly intended to hang the Union sailors as kidnapers. Confederate troops were said to be moving into the Jacksonville area. Captain Dunham's battery of the Milton Light Artillery, and companies from the 2d Florida Cavalry and 2d Florida Battalion of Partisan Rifles had been identified. Orders were issued by Finegan to fire on the Federals if they tried to land near Jacksonville.

When he relayed this information to Rear Admiral Samuel F. Du Pont on September 9, Crane warned, "I am perfectly satisfied that the rebels in this vicinity are getting stronger and bolder every day, and I sincerely trust you will give this matter your kind attention, . . ." ⁶

On the morning of September 9, the chief engineer aboard the *Uncas* reported his coal bunkers were nearly empty. Acting Master Crane decided to take his ship up the coast to Fernandina and coal it, and after informing Acting Master William D. Urann of the *Patroon* of his plans he started northward. Taking aboard

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5. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 30 vols. (Washington, 1894-1922), Series I, Vol. XIII, 301. (Cited hereafter as *O. R. N.*) A wooden steamer which had been purchased by the U. S. Navy on October 28, 1861, the *Patroon* displaced 183 tons. At this stage of the conflict, she was armed with one 20-pounder Parrott and four 32-pounders. The *Uncas*, a screw steamer of 190 tons, had been purchased by the navy on September 20, 1861. She was armed with one 20-pounder Parrott and two 32-pounders. *O. R. N.*, Series II, Vol. 1, 171, 228.
 6. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 301-302. Dunham's artillerists were said to be camped along the Florida Railroad, about eight miles from Jacksonville. Admiral Du Pont commanded the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

all the coal she could carry, the *Uncas* returned to her station late on the afternoon of the 10th.

Urann of the *Patroon* informed Crane that while he was away the previous night a "contraband" had come aboard. The Negro informed the Federals that 500 Confederates with several pieces of artillery, had crossed the St. Johns at Jacksonville on Sunday, the 7th. There was reason to believe that the Southerners planned to emplace these guns at St. Johns Bluff.

Crane, "having been often deceived by contrabands," was inclined to discount the story. But after discussing the situation with his officers, he decided to investigate.

At dark, the hands were piped to their quarters, and the *Uncas* got under way. Steaming slowly, she crossed the bar, entered the river, moving up to a point three-quarters mile from the bluff. Except for a few camp fires, the Federals were not able to spot any signs of activity ashore. The *Uncas* anchored, and a small boat was lowered and manned. A kedge was put out aft. Within a few minutes, the gunboat was moored with her port broadside facing the bluff.

Meanwhile, the gunners had shotted the three big guns. Crane passed the word, and a gun captain pulled his lanyard. There was a flash, followed by a boom. A projectile from a 32-pounder crashed into the darkened heights. Before the order to cease firing was given, eight other missiles were hurled into various sections of the bluff. Not wishing to disclose prematurely the location of their gun pits, the Confederates had held their fire.

Long before daybreak on the 11th, the Confederate gunners had eaten their breakfasts and had taken position in the emplacements. Ammunition and powder were brought up from the magazines. As soon as it was light enough to see, six guns were loaded and trained on the unsuspecting gunboat. Captain Dunham, who was in charge during Finegan's absence, shouted "Fire!" There were a series of dull booms. Clouds of smoke billowed as the Southerners' heavy ordnance roared.

The crew of the *Uncas* had been caught napping. The 32-pounders had been run in so that the sailors could swab the deck, and valuable moments were lost as the men now scrambled to battle stations. The two 32-pounders were cast loose and shotted. Simultaneously, the cable was slipped and the kedge cast adrift.

Acting Master Crane calculated the Confederate shore batteries had fired at least ten times before his own guns were in position to reply. A grim duel ensued between the *Uncas* and the Confederate shore batteries. Crane maneuvered his craft constantly to hinder the Southerners' fire control. At times, he ran the craft to within 500 yards of the bluff, then he would make a rapid sweep downstream.

Shortly after the engagement commenced, on one of the *Uncas'* runs down river, Crane had his signalman call for aid from the *Patroon*. Because of a strong ebb tide, however, the *Patroon* encountered considerable difficulty crossing the bar, and the battle had been in progress for an hour and a half before she came within range and joined in the bombardment. By this time, the *Uncas* had been hit five times. One of these projectiles, which fortunately for the Federals did not explode, struck her just above the waterline on the port bow and entered the magazine. In return, the Federals had temporarily silenced one of the Confederate's rifled 32-pounders.⁷

After the arrival of the *Patroon*, the gunboats shelled the bluff for another two hours and twenty minutes. The Federals were gaining the upper hand, and fire control on the Confederates' part became erratic. They were not able to hit the gunboats as they steamed back and forth. At one point, the sailors compelled the Southerners to cease firing, and through the smoke, the gun pointers discerned Confederates abandoning the pits. Captain Dunham, within a short time, had his pieces back in action, however. Despairing of being able to dislodge the batteries on St. Johns Bluff, the two gunboats ceased firing and returned to their blockade stations.⁸

Totalling his losses, Captain Dunham listed one man killed and eight wounded. Captain J. H. McRory, acting chief engineer, had been stabbed by a bayonet while sliding down an em-

7. *Ibid.*, 324-325. A second shell had ripped through the wind sail over the wardroom, a third through the pilothouse near where Acting Master Crane was standing, while the two others carried away "running gear, chain, span for boat, crane, etc." *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 325.

8. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 325; *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XIV, 121. During the engagement, the *Uncas* fired 143 shells and 13 solid shot, while the *Patroon* expended about 60 shells.

bankment. Dunham, inspecting guns and emplacements, reported only slight damage.⁹

General Finegan was relieved to learn that Captain Dunham and his artillerists had held their own in the duel with the gunboats. On the 12th he sent down to the bluff the four big guns which he had secured from Jacksonville. The two columbiads were especially welcomed by the cannoneers, because they were hard-hitting weapons, whose 65-pound projectiles could be expected to cause heavy damage to the wooden Federal gunboats on their next visit.¹⁰

From Jacksonville, Finegan returned to Tallahassee. Writing to the War Department on the 15th, he reported what had happened at St. Johns Bluff. If he could hold the bluff, he wrote, it would "relieve the valley of the Saint Johns from the marauding incursions of the enemy and afford a base for operations against Saint Augustine." One regiment added to his command would probably enable him to recapture and hold St. Augustine.¹¹

Secretary of War George W. Randolph liked Finegan's dispatch and ordered General Pierre G. T. Beauregard to rush a regiment from Savannah to East Florida, if it could be spared.¹²

It took Acting Master Crane's report of the September 11 engagement four days to reach Admiral Du Pont, whose flagship - the *Wabash* - was then at Port Royal, South Carolina. The admiral read with interest Crane's communication,¹³ and decided to take action to eliminate this pocket of resistance before the Southerners could expand the scope of their operation. If left undisturbed, the Confederates might drive the Union gunboats from the St. Johns.

Orders were issued on September 15 for the *Paul Jones*, Commander Charles Steedman commanding, to proceed immediately to the St. Johns. Steedman would be accompanied by the *Cim-*

9. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XIV, 121.

10. *Ibid.*, 120.

11. *Ibid.*, 122.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 325-326. When he acknowledged Crane's dispatch, the admiral noted, "Your conduct as well as that of the officers and crew of your vessel and the *Patroon* merits my approbation, and I desire to express the same to you." *Ibid.*, 326.

marron, Commander Maxwell Woodhull; and the *E. B. Hale*, Lieutenant Alfred T. Snell, if they were ready to sail. If not they were to follow as soon as possible.¹⁴

Steedman would make a thorough reconnaissance of the St. Johns, to whatever point he deemed it "advisable and of service." Landing parties would be landed to destroy Confederate earthworks. At Jacksonville, a party covered by a flag of truce would investigate what was "meant by this attack upon our boats." The townspeople would be warned that if they continued such activities Jacksonville would be destroyed.

Du Pont called Steedman's attention to the law recently enacted by Congress, stipulating that "contrabands" seeking protection aboard Union warships were to be returned to their owners. Steedman would enter in his log the name of the fugitive slave and his "owner or claimant."

The admiral cautioned Steedman: "As you are aware, I have every confidence in your zeal and judgment; your force is very strong in one sense, but not of that kind to prevent great annoyance by musketry from the banks of the river, and I rely upon your discretion to save your crews as much as possible from this, consistent with the execution of your orders."¹⁵

By nightfall on September 16, the *Paul Jones*, the *Cimarron*, and the *E. B. Hale* had arrived off Mayport. Acting Masters Crane and Urann lost no time in reporting to Commander Steedman. During the evening, Steedman held a staff meeting aboard the *Paul Jones*, calling upon Crane and Urann for all the information they possessed concerning Confederate fortifications along

14. *Ibid.*, 327. A large side-wheel gunboat, the *Paul Jones*, had been built for the Navy Department by J. J. Abrahams of Baltimore. She had been commissioned on July 9, 1862. The *Paul Jones* was armed with one 100-pounder Parrott, two 9-inch Dahlgrens, one 11-inch Dahlgren, two 50-pounder Dahlgren rifles, and two 24-pounder howitzers. A large steamer similar to the *Paul Jones*, the *Cimarron* had been built by D. S. Mershan of Bordentown, New Jersey. She was launched on March 16, 1862, and displaced 860 tons. The *Cimarron* was armed with one 100-pounder Parrott, one 9-inch Dahlgren, and six 24-pounder howitzers. A much smaller gunboat, the *E. B. Hale*, had been purchased by the Navy Department from E. & D. Bigelow on July 27, 1861, for \$23,000. The *E. B. Hale* was armed with four 32-pounders. *O. R. N.*, Series II, Vol. I, 58, 77, 171.

15. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 327-328.

the St. Johns. Then Steedman instructed the assembled officers to return to their ships and be ready to cast off at daybreak.

The officers turned their men out long before the designated hour. Fires were stoked and the sailors ate a hearty breakfast. At 6 a.m. the signal to weigh anchor was hoisted by the *Paul Jones*, which then took the lead as the five gunboats crossed the bar. Steaming along in single file, the vessels moved up the St. Johns. Shortly after entering the river, "General Quarters" sounded, sending the crews scrambling to their battle stations. Projectiles were placed in the ready boxes; the big guns were cast loose and shotted.

As his vessel headed upstream, Commander Steedman swept the banks with his powerful glass. Steedman shouted for the crew manning the big pivot gun, a 100-pounder Parrott, to fire when his warship had closed to within 2,000 yards of St. Johns Bluff. There was a wild cheer as the big shell struck the bluff and exploded with a roar. Moments later, Commander Woodhull, taking his cue from the *Paul Jones*, turned the *Cimarron's* pivot gun on the bluff. The three smaller gunboats, not armed with heavy ordnance, held their fire.

Focusing their glasses on the bluff, the officers could see fresh scars in the earth where the Confederates had thrown up parapets to protect their guns and enemy artillerists were spotted. At first, the Southerners seemed to ignore the approaching warships. Only when there was a flash, warning that one of the big Parrotts had spoken, did they take cover in their bombproofs.

The *Paul Jones*, closely followed by the *Cimarron*, closed to within 1,600 yards of the bluff. Misunderstanding Steedman's plan, the three smaller gunboats continued to run up the river, one behind the other. They accordingly found their field of fire obstructed by the *Paul Jones* and the *Cimarron*.¹⁶

Captain Dunham now ordered his artillerists into action. Unfortunately for the Confederates, they had not had time to emplace the four guns General Finegan had sent down from Jacksonville on the 12th. The Southerners commenced "a quick and well-directed fire" on the two leading Union warships. Geysers

16. *Ibid.*, 329-330. Commander Steedman had intended for the three small gunboats (the *E. B. Hale*, the *Uncas*, and the *Patroon*, to move to the attack abreast instead of in column at the first shot.

of water were thrown up, and the decks of the gunboats were drenched by near misses. A missile from one of the Confederate 32-pounders tore a hole through the *Paul Jones's* smokestack.

Aboard the vessels, the gun spotters reported most of the Confederates' guns mounted in a strong earthwork. Several smaller pieces fired from masked positions in the woods. Evidently, the crew of one of the 32-pounders had registered their piece on a spot in the river just above the mouth of Sisters Creek. Each time the *Paul Jones* or the *Cimarron* tried to pass this point, they were exposed to the well-aimed fire of this piece. Several big 68-pound bolts crashed into the two gunboats without doing too much damage.

Keeping constantly under way, the *Paul Jones* and the *Cimarron* hammered the works on the bluff and the woods with their heavy guns. After about two hours, the Confederate cannoners ceased shooting. Even so, Commander Steedman decided not to take his ships beyond the 1,600 yard mark. Steedman needed a landing party of marines or soldiers to go ashore. He believed the Confederate works could be easily taken. The warships shelled the fortifications for another hour without eliciting any reply. It was not until the gunnery officers aboard the *Paul Jones* and the *Cimarron* notified Steedman that they had expended over one-half their ammunition that the "cease action" signal was hoisted. The five gunboats turned around, and, led by the flagship, returned to their anchorage off Mayport.

Steedman immediately drafted a report for Admiral Du Pont. After describing what had occurred, the commander gave his reasons for not going to Jacksonville after the Southern guns had been silenced. If he had, Steedman wrote, it would have left a Confederate stronghold in his rear. As soon as the Union gunboats had moved up river, the Southerners would have repaired their works and would have been ready to blast the task force on its return. Moreover, Steedman did not feel that a demonstration against Jacksonville would have much effect until the guns at St. Johns Bluff had been spiked by a Federal landing party.

From what he had seen, Steedman was satisfied the Confederates had been working day and night and the bluff had been converted into a formidable stronghold with heavy field works and

rifle pits. He was "strongly of the opinion" that the Confederates could not be dislodged except by "a combined land and naval attack." While his squadron could always drive the cannoneers from their guns, they would return as soon as the ships withdrew.¹⁷

Acting Master Crane carried Steedman's letter to Port Royal. After delivering the dispatch Crane picked up a supply of ammunition and rejoined the task force.¹⁸

After the withdrawal of the bombardment squadron, Captain Dunham had his officers muster their commands. When rolls were called the Southerners found that two men had been killed and three wounded. Working parties were detailed, and large numbers of men, both white and Negro, were turned to repairing and strengthening the earthworks.

General Finegan, learning of the attack, left Tallahassee for the St. Johns. From Lake City on the 19th, he wired Richmond, arguing that since the Union gunboats had failed to pass the batteries at St. Johns Bluff, they would now undertake an amphibious attack. Finegan hoped to counter such a move, but he needed reinforcements. "Can you send one regiment of infantry from coast of Georgia or Carolina?" he inquired.¹⁹

* * *

Admiral Du Pont studied Steedman's dispatch which he received on the afternoon of September 19. He agreed that troops were needed to attack the Confederate batteries on the St. Johns from the rear, while gunboats hammered them from the river.

Du Pont immediately sent a request for assistance to Major General Ormsby M. Mitchell, newly appointed commander of the Department of the South. 1,500 soldiers under Brigadier General John M. Brannan were to be ready to board transports early on September 22 for the St. Johns.

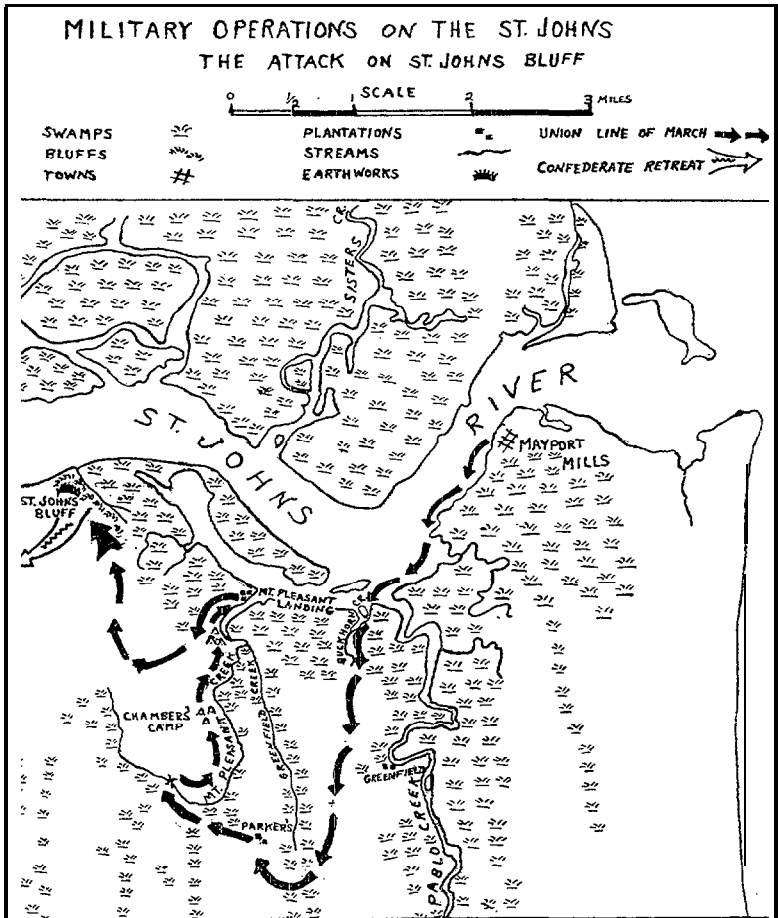
In the meantime the *Uncas* was being loaded with most of the types of ammunition requested by Steedman. When the offi-

17. *Ibid.*, 330.

18. *Ibid.* Steedman informed the admiral that in the attack he was "ably supported by Commander Woodhull in the *Cimarron*." The captains of the three small gunboats, he reported, "seemed well disposed to do their duty." Of the officers and men of the *Paul Jones*, Steedman could not "speak too highly."

19. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XIV, 122.

cer in charge of the magazine checked, he was disappointed to discover that he had no shells for 100-pounder Parrotts. The only surplus projectiles for these powerful rifles were aboard the *Sebago*, which was operating in Wassaw Sound. At first, Du Pont considered sending the *Uncas* back to the St. Johns by way of Wassaw Sound but changed his mind.



When the *Uncas* left Port Royal, Crane carried a letter from the admiral to Steedman. Besides telling the commander of the steps being taken to assist him, Du Pont ordered him to harass

the Confederates. An occasional shot hurled into the bluff would keep them from strengthening their fortifications, pending arrival of Brannan and his troops, Du Pont thought.²⁰

The equinox was at hand, and the weather along the South Atlantic coast took a sudden turn for the worse. There were heavy rains and high winds on the 21st. Du Pont advised General Mitchell not to embark the troops until the storm passed. From long experience at sea, he knew that the bars off the mouths of the rivers along this section of coast were generally impassable for a day or so after a storm.²¹

There was a break in the weather on the 23d, and taking advantage of this situation, the *Uncas* sailed for the St. Johns. Meanwhile, Du Pont ordered another gunboat to reinforce Steedman's task force. Lieutenant Commander Austin Pendergrast was to proceed to Wassaw Sound with his vessel, the *Water Witch*.²² There, he would call on the captain of the *Sebago* to furnish him thirty 100-pounder Parrott projectiles. At St. Simon's 50 more shells would be secured from the Pawnee. Upon reaching the St. Johns, Pendergrast would turn this ammunition over to Commander Steedman.²³

Du Pont now notified Mitchell that it was safe for the troop transports to move out into the Atlantic. Undoubtedly, the bar at the mouth of the St. Johns would still be "disturbed," but he hoped it would be passable as the spring tides were running.

The admiral cautioned Mitchell that September was a hurricane month along this section of the coast. If another storm developed and it was too dangerous to cross the St. Johns bar, the transports could run into Fernandina. In this case, utmost secrecy as to the destination of the expedition would have to be observed, because there was a constant flow of news between Fernandina and Jacksonville.²⁴

20. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 336-337.

21. *Ibid.*, 339.

22. *Ibid.*, 341. A side-wheel gunboat, the *Water Witch*, had been launched at the Washington Navy Yard in 1852. Displacing 378 tons, the wooden gunboat was armed with one 30-pounder Parrott, one 12-pounder rifle, and two 12-pounder smoothbores. *O. R. N.*, Series II, Vol. I, 237.

23. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 341. After reporting to Steedman, Pendergrast would remain with him until the projected operation had been completed or the task force commander had an important communication which he wished carried to Port Royal.

24. *Ibid.*, 342-343.

On September 24 General Mitchell notified Du Pont that Brannan was being directed to have his troops and equipment aboard ship and be ready to sail at 10 a.m. on the 25th.²⁵

General Brannan's soldiers spent a busy night and morning, but by the designated hour the men and their gear were loaded. Before the ships reached Hilton Head, the weather thickened and the wind began to howl. Not wishing to risk a storm at sea, Brannan determined to turn back. As soon as the transports tied up at Beaufort wharf, the soldiers disembarked and returned to their camps. The march from the landing was disagreeable, because by this time a driving rain had set in.²⁶

Five days passed before it cleared off and the heavy seas subsided. On the morning of the 30th, Brannan ordered his troops, 1,573 strong, back aboard the transports. The four transports (the *Ben De Ford*, the *Boston*, the *Cosmopolitan*, and the *Neptune*) sailed that afternoon, and this time there was no turning back.²⁷

The Federal transports arrived off the bar of the St. Johns at 6 a.m. on October 1. Signals were exchanged with the warships of Commander Steedman's task force which were in the river, anchored off Mayport. The tide was out, and Steedman signaled Brannan not to enter the river. At the same time, he sent Acting Master Philemon Dickinson in a small boat to inform the general that he should encounter no difficulty in crossing the bar at high tide. Dickinson spent the morning briefing the pilots aboard the transports.

At 1 p.m. the transports got under way. Guided by the bouys and Dickinson's verbal instructions, the steamers entered the St. Johns and anchored off Mayport Mills.²⁸ General Brannan immediately called on Commander Steedman, asking him to in-

25. *Ibid.*, 346.

26. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XIV, 136.

27. *Ibid.*, 129, 136; Stephen Warkley, *History of the Seventh Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, Hawley's Brigade, Terry's Division, Tenth Army Corps, 1861-1865* (Meridian, 1905), 57. Brannan's expeditionary force included: the 47th Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Colonel Tilghman H. Good commanding; the 7th Connecticut, Colonel Joseph R. Hawley; Lieutenant James S. Cannon's section, 1st Battery, Connecticut Light Artillery; detachment 1st Massachusetts Cavalry. The soldiers of the 7th Connecticut were embarked on the *Ben de Ford*.

28. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 355, 362.

investigate the river and ascertain whether the Confederates had strengthened their position at St. Johns Bluff. Steedman gave this assignment to Commander Woodhull of the *Cimarron* and he was accompanied by the gunboats *Water Witch* and *Uncas*.²⁹

* * *

There had been a change in command at St. Johns Bluff on September 26. Lieutenant Colonel Charles F. Hopkins took charge of the post. He immediately made a thorough inspection of the magazines and batteries, and ordered the works strengthened. The four guns rushed to the area on the 12th by General Finegan were to be mounted.

When Hopkins first arrived there were five gunboats anchored off Mayport. On the 29th, Confederate scouts spotted the *Water Witch* as she crossed the bar. At first, Hopkins was perplexed by the Federals' actions, and wondered why no attempts were made to harass his working parties. The mystery was dispelled, however, when his scouts reported "heavy work was being done on board the boats." Hopkins now suspected that when the next attack came, it would be a joint army-navy enterprise.

A message was relayed to General Finegan on the 30th, calling for at least one regiment of infantry to help defend the bluff against a Union landing. The small force of infantry on hand, Hopkins felt, was too small to repel an attack. To make matters worse, there was only enough small-arms ammunition to last for approximately an hour of "close combat."

One of Captain John Westcott's men, Sergeant J. F. Floyd, climbed the old lighthouse. From his vantage point, the sergeant was able to see a large number of men, whom he mistakenly took to be soldiers, crowded on the decks of a large steamer. Westcott lost no time in forwarding this intelligence to Colonel Hopkins. A rider left Hopkins' command post shortly thereafter with another dispatch for Finegan, informing him of what Floyd had seen. Hopkins repeated his request for reinforcements.

Hopkins' pickets were watching when the four transports with Brannan's troops crossed the bar. An express rider was sent to Yellow Bluff with a message for Captain Dunham, ordering him

29. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 355.

to dismount the three cavalry companies under his command and rush them by steamer to St. Johns Bluff.³⁰

* * *

As the *Cimarron* drew abreast of Sisters Creek, the Confederate batteries on St. Johns Bluff "opened a heavy and well-directed fire." Large caliber projectiles struck the water around the Union vessel. It was apparent to the Federals that the Southern artillerymen were not recruits. They knew how to cut their fuses, because the shells exploded as they struck the water. The decks of the *Cimarron* were soaked by spray thrown up by a number of near misses. Aboard the vessel the gun crews turned their pieces on the bluff. As soon as they came within range, the *Water Witch* and the *Uncas* also joined in the bombardment.

Besides having to breast a strong ebb tide, the gunboats were buffeted by high winds. Because of these adverse conditions, the helmsmen had a difficult time keeping their vessels under control. Commander Woodhull found it all but impossible to maneuver the *Cimarron* so as to bring her battery to bear with maximum effect.

Suddenly there was a grinding noise. The *Cimarron* had grounded about 200 yards above the mouth of Sisters Creek. Here, she was exposed to a raking fire for about fifteen minutes. The *Water Witch* also touched bottom as she sought to come to the big gunboat's assistance. Big Confederate shells exploded all around the *Cimarron*, and the sailors aboard the *Water Witch* and the *Uncas* though she was being struck repeatedly, but she remained unscathed. A sudden shift in the wind enabled the crew to refloat their ship. Dropping downstream about 100 yards, Commander Woodhull prepared to make another run up the St. Johns.³¹

General Brannan and Commander Steedman had listened with keen interest as Woodhull's gunboats had duelled with the Confederate guns. Satisfied that the reconnaissance had accomplished its purpose, Steedman ordered a signal gun fired and the recall hoisted.³²

30. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XIV, 138-139; Jacksonville *Southern Rights*, Oct. 4, 1862.

31. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 356.

32. *O. R. N.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 355.

The lookouts aboard the *Cimarron* saw the flash and smoke as the signal gun spoke. When Woodhull turned his glass on the flagship, he saw the signal flags flapping. Hailing the captains of the *Water Witch* and the *Uncas*, Woodhull told them to suspend action. The three gunboats steamed down river and anchored off Pablo Creek, just beyond the range of the big enemy guns.

Communicating with Steedman, Woodhull informed him that the Confederates had increased the strength of their battery since the engagement on September 17. From what had been observed during the ninety minutes his vessel was engaged, Woodhull believed the Southerners now had four or five big smoothbores and one or two heavy rifles. A second battery had been thrown up below the main emplacement.³³

Meanwhile, the troops had started landing at Mayport Mills. The horses were pushed overboard, and most of them were able to swim toward a sand bank about a quarter mile from the *Cosmopolitan*. In several instances, however, they made for the passage through the bar and had to be chased by small boats. One horse was drowned, and General Brannan's horse had its leg broken and had to be destroyed. It was after dark before the last of the horses reached ashore.³⁴

The soldiers found several large sawmills, equipped with gang saws, which gave evidence of having cut large quantities of lumber. There were also a number of small cottages, each containing three or four rooms, that had been occupied by the mill hands, but apparently they had been standing empty for at least six months. The wind had drifted the "sand about them until some drifts were twenty-five feet high and so compactly made that it was possible for the . . . [Federals] to walk up the sand drifts and on the roofs of the houses and look down the chimnies [*sic*]." ³⁵

33. *Ibid.*, 356. Commander Woodhull commended "the conduct of the officers and crew" of the *Cimarron*. Their conduct when under fire called forth the commander's surprise and admiration. Commander Steedman noted in his After Action Report, "It affords me pleasure to say that the whole affair was very gallantly and spiritedly done, and reflects credit on Commander Woodhull, Lieutenant-Commander Pendergrast, Acting Master Crane, and the officers and men engaged." *Ibid.*, 362.

34. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XIV, 129; Herbert W. Beecher, *History of the 1st Light Battery Connecticut Volunteers, 1861-1865* (New York, 1901), I, 198.

35. Beecher, *History of the 1st Connecticut Battery*, 199.

FLORIDA'S FIRST RAILROAD COMMISSION 1887-1891

Part II

by DURWARD LONG

THE FLORIDA RAILROAD Commission was created by the legislature in 1887, and by August of that year its activities were underway. The Commission, in March of 1888, transmitted its first report to Governor Henry L. Mitchell. Although the report was overly optimistic and somewhat exaggerated, it did show that procedure and precedent had been determined. The Commissioners, George McWhorter, Enoch Vann, and William Himes had energetically approached their assigned task, but despite hopeful predictions for a successful second year, the Commission discovered many obstacles in its way. The new year began with a policy which disappointed small companies which had believed that a regulatory agency empowered to set both minimum and maximum charges, could protect them from larger, more powerful corporations. In Circular 20, effective March 1, 1888, the Commission stated that the railroads could carry freight for less than maximum rates under certain conditions, if there was proper announcement or notice given before reducing or establishing such charges. There was no stipulation about minimum rates.

Moreover, the Commission angered the officials of the Florida Railway and Navigation Company by opposing, on June 4, 1888, the beginning of the melon season, an increase in freight rates. The Commission ruled that prevailing rates were just and reasonable. The Florida Railway and Navigation Company appealed to the Board of Revisers, but it sustained the Commission. To circumvent this ruling, the company concocted a scheme which allowed them to raise their rates on interstate shipments of melons by as much as fifty percent on each carload. Although many melon growers blamed the Commission for the increase, interstate rates were outside its jurisdiction. Traffic in melons, however,

was not yet great enough to generate widespread public complaint.

The yellow fever epidemic which was spreading throughout northeast Florida in August of 1888 interrupted business for many weeks and dealt a serious blow to the transportation industry. The Commission, after hearing the reports and pleas of the areas, granted an increase in fares in November. The basic rate was raised from three to four cents a mile. The practical effect was to raise the fares of each railroad division or branch one cent per mile.¹ Other companies requested freight rate increases, arguing that the epidemic had nearly ruined their business and only higher rates could save them. The Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railway asked for an increase of 100 percent on freight but the Commission turned down this request along with most of the others.

Encouraged by its success in raising rates on melons, the Florida Railway and Navigation Company, in cooperation with Florida Southern, increased rates on oranges at the beginning of the citrus season to their pre-Commission level. On December 19, the Commission announced that the increases were illegal and all persons who were overcharged were asked to file charges against the companies. When the latter refused refunds, Florida's Attorney-General asked the State Supreme Court to issue a writ of mandamus forcing Florida Southern to comply with rates set by the Commission. When the court asked the railroad to show reason why writs should not be issued, the company answered by showing that it had now put into effect the rates recommended by the Commission. This action also forced the Florida Navigation and Railway Company to comply since both lines served basically the same territory.²

In addition to these legal difficulties, the Commission was disturbed by the fact that fines went to the county treasuries rather than to the shippers who had been wronged. The agency also discovered that many shippers were reluctant to bring charges against the railroads, fearing that the carriers might find some

1. *Second Annual Report of the Florida Railroad Commission, in Message of Francis P. Fleming Governor of Florida to the Legislature Regular Session of 1889* (Tallahassee, 1889), 13.

2. *Ibid.*, 16. The Florida Southern changed its rates immediately before appearing before the court.

means of retaliating against them at some future date. Difficulties in securing reports from the companies was still another problem. Only one company, out of the twenty-seven companies listed in the *Second Annual Report* of the Commission, transmitted a complete report during the first seven months of the Commission's activity. In 1888, fourteen companies filed reports for the previous year, some as long as nine months overdue. Six companies failed to submit any report for 1887. By due-date March, 1889, only eight had dispatched annual reports for 1888.³ Few monthly reports were ever transmitted. There was also a question about the validity of these reports, but the Commission agreed to accept all as correct although the Commission, by law, was supposed to investigate the books and papers of all railroad companies, ". . . to ascertain if the rules and regulations have been complied with, [and] to make personal visits, to office, stations. . . ."

Another hassle which dragged on for many months involved the Pensacola and Atlantic, and its vice-president, William D. Chipley, who had defied the Commission from the beginning. The road ignored many of the Commission's rules and any rates which conflicted with those established by the parent company, the Louisville and Nashville. Chipley exhausted his rights of hearing, protest, and review by the Board of Revisers and then announced he would put the matter to judicial test.⁴ When the Commission advised the Pensacola and Atlantic to make refunds, Chipley refused until the courts ruled on the matter. Receiving a favorable ruling, the Commission, through the attorney-general, sought judgment against the road for several violations. The attorney-general received six awards, totalling \$14,000. The company then sought and secured an injunction from Judge James F. McClelland, First Circuit, to stop prosecution. When Judge John F. White, upon request of the attorney-general, dissolved the injunction, the Pensacola and Atlantic secured another on an amended bill of complaint. The attorney-general then took the case to the State Supreme Court which "reversed the decision of the court below, dissolved the injunction, and dismissed the bill of complaint of said railroad company," on the grounds that it

3. *Ibid.*, 22, 25-26.

4. *Ibid.*, *Appendix*, 65-66.

constituted a suit against the state. According to the decision, if the law gave an officer discretion in the performance of his duty the court could not interfere. Remedies other than judicial action should be sought. The court also stated that the question of "reasonable rates" could not be contested and ruled that the law which gave the agency power to make rates was constitutional.⁵

The Florida Railroad Commission made its second report in March of 1889, and this was the first to cover a full twelve-months period. Continued progress in accomplishing its objectives was noted. It had been successful in winning judicial support for its powers in several cases. In most cases plaintiffs had secured relief with little expense to themselves. The Commission commended the railroads for their cooperation in submitting reports. A modest accomplishment in maintaining low freight rates in citrus and in reducing rates on vegetables was also noticed. The Commission suggested additional legislation which it felt would make its work more effective. It called for a general strengthening of the Commission by bringing express companies, sleeping car companies, and other commercial carriers under its jurisdiction. All carriers of passenger freight by all rail or partly by rail and partly by water would also be supervised, as would ferrage, wharf, and transfer charges when they were part of the costs of transportation and delivery of freight or passengers. Changes were also asked in the Board of Revisers. If it were retained, its members should be subject to the same conflict of interest restrictions as the Commissioners. The legislature was also asked to make it unlawful for a company or person to violate Commission's rules and regulations.⁶

In amending the Railroad Commission law, the legislature eliminated the Board of Revisers, leaving the courts the final appellate jurisdiction. Provisions were made for suits arising from controversy over rates and violations. The Commission was given more freedom in publishing its decisions, and each railroad company was to submit an annual report detailing "organization,

5. *Ibid.*, 68. Roland H. Rerick, in *Memoirs of Florida*, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), II, 208, states that the judgment was reversed. It appears that the court must have upheld the Commission and the judgment. Otherwise the powers of the agency would have been seriously reduced.

6. *Second Annual Report*, 38-39.

capitalization, traffic, earnings, expenses, and such other matters connected with their organization and operation as said Commissioners may require. . . ." The Commission was empowered to make and present cases to the Interstate Commerce Commission on behalf of the Florida citizens.⁷

Despite the reasonably effective work of the Commission and the moderate policies it followed, there was usually criticism. In the fall of 1890 economy-minded citizens claimed that Commission salaries were too high. One journal satirically stated that although the Commission provided no real relief, "there will certainly be the smug sum of \$20,000 to charge from one side of the people's ledger to the other."

The *Florida Times-Union* had expressed the hope that the Commission would pay for itself in fines and damages secured from the roads but the Palatka editor's argument would be no more justified than "to ask our judges to save their salaries out of the cases brought before them."⁸ Adverse business conditions in Florida in 1890 increased the argument against unnecessary state expenditures.

In the midst of this criticism, a Tallahassee paper defended the Commission, pointing out that the cost for three years was only \$27,275.33. While there were instances which justified complaint against the Commission's method of operation, the paper averred, "upon the whole the Commission has been of great advantage to the shipper." Advocating a strengthening of the Commission rather than its abolishment, the paper pointed out that during the last orange season the roadmen saved \$150,000 because of reduced freight charges.⁹

To further complicate matters, during the fall of 1890, shippers besieged the Florida Railroad Commission with pleas for relief, several roads raised their rates for oranges in inter-state shipments. The Interstate Commerce Commission had exclusive jurisdiction over inter-state transportation, and the Florida body could do nothing about the matter.

7. These and other changes in the commission law are quoted in full in the *Fourth Annual Report of the Florida Railroad Commission* (Tallahassee, 1891), 239-244.

8. *Palatka Daily News*, November 15, 1887.

9. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 1, 1890.

Political conflict also erupted to affect significantly not only the work of the Commission but its very life. Commissioner Vann's term on the Commission ended in August, 1890, and Governor Francis P. Fleming wanted to appoint his private secretary, E. J. Triay, to the vacancy. Public opposition forced the governor to reconsider and he reappointed Vann.

When Commissioner McWhorter resigned the following spring because of poor health, it was again rumored that Triay would be appointed. The *Florida Times-Union* opposed Triay, pointing out that he lacked the qualifications. "The people of Florida [have] too much at stake in the Commission" for it to become a political toy, the paper warned.¹⁰ Still another rumor had it that State Senator John H. McKinne would be appointed.¹¹ Opposition to Triay was as much a part of internal struggle within the Florida Democratic party as resentment because of his "pro-railroad views." Triay was supposedly part of the faction dominated by William Chipley that was maneuvering to assume control of the Democratic State Executive Committee. Other than the Triay rumors there was no indication what Governor Fleming planned to do about the vacancy on the Railroad Commission. Some felt that he planned to wait until the 1891 legislature adjourned before making an appointment. Then the Senate would not be able to act for another two years. One paper, however, felt that the Governor would act before the legislature adjourned.¹²

The contest for appointment to the United States Senate in 1891 was another issue which affected the destiny of the Commission. The battle between Wilkinson Call, the incumbent, and William D. Chipley began long before the session got underway. Chipley tried to ingratiate himself to the people of Florida, making special effort among the small farmers and the Alliance. Chipley and his supporters at the same time tried to portray Call as one who posed as the people's defender against the railroad abuses, while really acting in collusion with these companies, par-

10. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 8, 9, 1891. On May 9 this paper had little doubt that Chipley's "fine Italian hand" was behind the effort to secure Triay's appointment to weaken the Commission.

11. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1891.

12. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1891.

ticularly those in which he had a financial interest. Chipley wrote and published a pamphlet in which he described Call as an enemy of the best interests of the state and as an ineffective, even a corrupt senator.

Chipley gave free railroad passes to delegates attending the National Farmers' Alliance meeting in Ocala, December, 1890, and reduced rates for those travelling to the Alliance Exposition. He offered low rates to those planning to settle in the state.

One editor claimed that this was done "while in the east one of the big transportation companies, over whose lines Senator Call travelled on free passes, belongs to the combination which has advanced the freight rate on oranges to eastern markets."¹³ Even the *Ocala Banner*, subject to Alliance influence and pressure, and regularly featuring its activities, sponsored Chipley as a friend of the farmers' interest.¹⁴ The *Florida Times-Union*, however, remained a staunch Call paper.

Call's support had been considerably eroded when the legislature convened. On the first ballot he lacked the two-thirds majority necessary for election. Call received a majority of votes on succeeding ballots but could not muster the two-thirds required. To add to his difficulties the Alliance proposed a candidate, hoping to profit from the internal struggle within the Democratic party. Call must have been disappointed over the loss of the Alliance which he had received in earlier elections. Call eventually won but the election was contested. The United States Senate, however, declared Call elected.

In the midst of this contest, Frank Clark of Polk County, Call's floor leader, introduced a bill to abolish the Florida Railroad Commission. Chipley's railroad Democrats and economy-minded Alliance men, also dissatisfied with the Commission's operation, received enough support from a few Call supporters to pass the measure.¹⁵ The repeal measure surprised many Floridians. According to one paper whose correspondent talked with

13. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 19, 1890.

14. *Ocala Banner*, May, June, and July, 1891 issues generally.

15. On the same day the vote for Senator was Call, 51; Mays, 43; and Bloxham, 2. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 19, 1891. See also *Florida House Journal* (1891), 672-673; *Florida Senate Journal* (1891), 837-838.

farmers in the Madison area, "opposition to the repeal of the Railroad Commission law is great."¹⁶

The *Florida Times-Union* argued that economy was not the main reason for repealing the Commission,¹⁷ and it implored the governor to veto the bill.¹⁸

What were the real reasons behind the abolition of the Commission? Frank Clark's later statement was that it was because the governor wanted to appoint Triay but this explanation is hardly satisfactory. The picture is more complicated and more political than Clark's explanation indicated.¹⁹ Apparently Call's supporters introduced the repeal as a threatening or retaliatory measure against the Alliance. It was obvious though that by 1891 many Florida Alliance men had begun to argue more for economic retrenchment than for reform. They wished to abolish the Commission on grounds of economy. Chipley had convinced many Alliance supporters that he was their friend and that Call's supporters were powerful railroad interests who wanted to use the Commission for their own benefit. Chipley's strategy worked, at least to the degree that it got rid of the Railroad Commission. Thus, through a mixture of motives, desire for political retaliation by the Call supporters, antagonism of the railroad companies; and an economy drive by Alliance men, the Commission was abolished.

Reaction to the legislature's action caused curiosity, amazement, relief, and disappointment. It is surprising, in view of the positive work of the Commission that there were so few objections. Alonzo P. Baskin, associated with the *Ocala Banner* and later Alliance candidate for governor, merely pointed out: "The Democratic Party will have to shoulder the responsibility for the repeal

16. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1891.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. On the Clark explanation see Kathryn T. Abbey, "Florida versus the Principles of Populism," *Journal of Southern History*, IV (November, 1938), 462. See also Edward C. Williamson, "William D. Chipley, West Florida's Mr. Railroad," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXV (April, 1947), 345, and Williamson, "The Era of the Democratic County Leader: Florida Politics, 1877-1893" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, U. of Pa., 1954), 294-296. The Clark explanation is also accepted by Maxwell Ferguson, *State Regulation of Railroads in the South*. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. 47, No. 2 (New York, 1916), 157.

of the Railroad Commission. . . ." ²⁰ The Tallahassee *Daily Floridian*, friendly to the railroads, seemed so stunned at the action that it could only ask, "Why?" ²¹

According to the *Florida Times-Union*, railroads were making "nice promises" in view of repeal, but the paper was persuaded that "the old trouble about over-charges will have to be contended with again." Reviewing again the effectiveness of the Commission, the editor remarked that it is "strange that Alliance men who are so opposed to corporations should vote to remove the only restraint placed upon the railroads. . . ." ²² The Palatka *Herald* stated, "the Florida Railroad Commission was abolished because an obnoxious governor was about to appoint an obnoxious man to fill a vacancy. . . . Yet the people have to suffer on account of these two evils." ²³

The Florida Railroad Commission, born in adversity and nurtured by opposition, came to an untimely death. It had labored under serious disadvantages. Many people assumed incorrectly that the main purpose of a regulatory agency was to reduce rates. Others criticized the body for failing to rectify abuses that were under Interstate Commerce Commission jurisdiction. Farmers thought that the Commission sought advice from corporation lawyers. In a time of economic stress some argued that a salaried Commission was an unprofitable investment. Railroads often refused to comply with agency orders and accused it of arbitrary action without concern for railroad costs. Those who lived in areas lacking railroads thought the Commission would prevent railroad extension. Politicians used the Commission as a vote getting device and a whipping boy, manipulating public opinion to further their own ambitions.

Despite the difficulties encountered by the agency it left behind a good record. It had exercised its duties in a responsible

20. *Ocala Banner*, June 26, 1891.

21. Tallahassee *Daily Floridian*, June 6, 1891, as quoted by Williamson, "The Era of the Democratic County Leader," 299.

22. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1891. Strangely, by July 6 this paper had a slightly different view. The Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Railway helped to bring it about by lowering its rates below the Commission schedule. The *Times-Union* stated that it was "human nature to prefer to be just and reasonable voluntarily to being driven to it."

23. Quoted in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 11, 1891.

manner. The Commissioners had sought to inaugurate a policy of fairness "to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number." In so doing they attempted not to place undue hardship upon railroads. It established important legal precedent by judicial action. Relief was secured for thousands of Florida farmers and business men. Railroad construction was not hampered and development of the state's resources continued despite regulation of transportation. The agency's greatest recommendation was to wait until six years later when the wisdom of a "commission law" was verified by creation of a second commission.

THE ALONSO SOLANA MAP OF FLORIDA, 1683

by LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

MAP No. 7 AT THE END OF Verne E. Chatelain's *The Defenses of Spanish Florida 1565-1763*¹ is entitled *Mapa de la Ysla de la Florida*. It is of Spanish origin, but its printed legend admits the anonymity of the cartographer and the uncertainty of the date. Although Woodbury Lowery listed maps from the same repository, he was unaware of the existence of this one.² It was Professor Louis C. Karpinski of the University of Michigan who discovered this paper representation of Florida in the war ministry in Madrid, while searching for American history materials in Spanish archives. His original typed entry of it does not show author or date, but an added handwritten notation in brackets indicates its date to be 1683.³ This marking is identical with that appearing in brackets on the northeast margin of the map itself, placed there possibly by ministry personnel. A second publication of the *Mapa* . . . attests that the date is indeed 1683 and that a Don Juan Marquez Cabrera remitted it to Spain.⁴ The mapmaker is still unknown, although strong circumstantial evidence points definitely to *reformado*⁵ Adjutant Alonso Solana, the Younger, public and governmental notary of the *presidio* of

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1. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 511 (Washington, 1941).
 2. *A Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish possessions within the Present Limits of the United States* (Washington, 1912).
 3. Louis C. Karpinski, "Manuscript Maps relating to American History in French, Spanish, and Portuguese Archives," composed of a 3-page introduction by Karpinski, reprinted from the *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (January, 1928), a typewritten table of contents, and a 45-page map list, 39.
 4. Servicios geografico e historico del Ejercito, *Cartografia de ultramar, Carpeta II: Estados Unidos y Canada* (Relaciones de ultramar; Madrid: 1953), map No. 48.
 5. Reformado was a soldier who had once held a grade contained within the regular scheme of organization for a given unit. Luis R. Arana, "The Spanish Infantry: the Queen of Rattles in Florida, 1671-1702" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1960). Solana had once been one of the regular adjutants of the St. Augustine garrison. All military rank mentioned in this paper was *reformado* rank, except that of Captain Arguelles, who was a regular company commander.

St. Augustine in 1678-96, as the author of this Florida map of 1683.⁶

Which one of three Alonso Solanas was the cartographer and how did he become the governmental notary of the St. Augustine garrison? Inquiry reveals that the highest bidder at the public sale of that office usually became the *escribano*. It was a custom as old as St. Augustine itself. Adjutant Alonso Solana, the Elder, had received the position at the auction which followed the death of notary Juan Moreno y Segovia. In seeking royal confirmation of the title, Solana unknowingly failed to pay a fee of 100 ducats within the required thirty days following favorable consideration by the Council of the Indies. Consequently, on January 29, 1678, the royal officials of Florida on order from the crown declared the notary's office vacant and placed it on the block again. The governor appointed Solana's son, Alonso Solana, the Younger, as acting notary until the conclusion of the new auction. Next day, drum beat and crier's voice opened the sale at the city's main guardhouse, where the first of the prescribed thirty days for bidding was duly proclaimed. Captain Nicolas de Carmenatis stepped up to Accountant Antonio Menendez Marques and Treasurer Francisco de la Rocha, the royal officials, and offered a scanty ten pesos for the position.⁷

In the course of the snail-paced auction, the three Solanas managed to win that job for their family. On the fifteenth day for bids, the younger Solana overtook Carmenatis with a substantial offer of 100 pesos, but nine days later he lost his lead to Captain Francisco Lopez Medrano, who promised to give a hefty 500 pesos. On the twenty-eighth day of the sale, the elder Solana, feeling that the crown had not expressly disabled him from competing, made his own munificent bid: twenty pesos above the

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6. The royal officials of Florida (Accountant Tomas Menendez Marques and Treasurer Joaquin de Florencia) to the Crown, St. Augustine, January 20, 1697, 3 ff., Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI) 54-5-13, No. 96 (photostat in Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; hereafter SC).
 7. The royal officials of Florida (Accountant Antonio Menendez Marques and Treasurer Francisco de la Rocha) to Antonio de Rozas, secretary of the Council of the Indies, St. Augustine, April 21, 1678, 22 ff., AGI 54-5-14, No. 144, SC.

highest offer that might be made. The royal officials rejected him on the grounds of ineligibility, since the king's command had removed Solana from office, and returned the amount originally paid by him for the position. On March 1, the day for final bids and award, Solana, the Younger, walked away with the notary's office by promising to give 560 pesos. He paid, as was the custom in a place where cash was almost unobtainable, by having the amount deducted from pay and allowances in arrears, in his case from what the crown still owed his grandfather, Sergeant Major Alonso Solana,⁸ who was to die shortly thereafter on July 12, 1678.⁹

Solana, the Elder, had a subsequent opportunity to regain the *escribania* for himself. The crown in 1680 remarked that the rejection of Solana's bid had overlooked the much-desired objective of increasing royal revenue. The position was therefore to be auctioned off once more, admitting offers by Solana, and awarding the post to the highest bidder.¹⁰ It is not entirely clear whether or not the public sale was held, but the fact is that the roll of the general muster of May 27, 1683, counts Adjutant Alonso Solana, the Elder, among the *reformados* in Captain Antonio de Arguelles' company of infantry. Likewise, Adjutant Alonso Solana, presumably the Younger, appears on the staff list as public and governmental notary of St. Augustine.¹¹

Events in Guale province¹² in 1680 gave rise to circumstances eventually demanding a map of Florida. On two separate occasions before mid-May, English-directed, flintlock-armed heathen Indians fell upon Spain's Indian subjects living on

8. *Ibid.*

9. Crown to the governor and royal officials of Florida, Madrid, June 3, 1681, 3 ff., AGI 58-1-21, No. 287, SC.

10. Crown to the royal officials of Florida, Madrid, June 21, 1680, 2 ff., AGI 58-1-21, No. 264, SC.

11. Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, June 28, 1683, 46 ff., AGI 54-5-12, No. 9, SC. After Alonso Solana, the Younger, died in 1696, the position passed on to his brother, Ensign Juan Solana, who bid 895 pesos for it and held it until his death in 1727 (Governor Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, March 14, 1714, 12 ff., AGI 58-1-30, No. 32, SC; Governor Antonio de Benavides of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, September 28, 1727, 16 ff., AGI 58-1-31, No. 14, SC).

12. Coastal Florida, north of the St. Johns, and Georgia (Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, August 24, 1675, 9 ff., AGI 58-1-26, No. 38, SC).

Guadalquini [St. Simons] and Santa Catalina [St. Catherines] Islands. The natives of these two places had long been converted to Christianity by friars. At Santa Catalina, headquarters of the Spanish provincial garrison, six soldiers and fifty-six Indians entrenched themselves in the mission church, and from daybreak until four o'clock, successfully withstood the attacks of 300 enemies. However, the execution caused by the flintlocks of the infidels instilled so much fear in the Christian natives, that they deserted the island village. Despite military success, the Spanish garrison was thus compelled to fall back eighteen miles to Sapala [Sapelo] Island, involuntarily moving the northern frontier of Florida that much closer to St. Augustine, and contracting the extent of effective dominion.¹³

Immediately after assuming the governorship of Florida on November 30, 1680,¹⁴ Juan Marquez Cabrera stabilized the Guale situation, and made proposals to recover the lost ground. By December 8, he had reinforced the provincial garrison, instructing its commander to build a small fort at the new location. He hoped the new post would be able to withstand future attacks. Marquez furthermore expected to supervise personally the further strengthening of the temporary fortification and study the feasibility of reoccupying Santa Catalina. That island, he reminded the crown, was an indispensable source of food supply for St. Augustine; he thus suggested its resettlement with 100 Canary Islands families who would take up farming. The soil was so fertile that the venture would succeed if, in addition, the settlers were given some cattle and horses.¹⁵

In 1681 the crown manifested interest on the resettlement of Santa Catalina, but demanded more specific information, including a map of Florida. The king told Marquez that the president of the Canary Islands was being requested to encourage some families to migrate to Florida. When the transports conveying

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13. Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, May 14, 1680, 7 ff., AGI 58-1-26, No. 63 (microfilm of Spanish Records, North Carolina Historical Commission, hereafter NC, in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, reel 4, manuscript 72).
 14. Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera of Florida to Jose de Veitia Linaje, secretary of the Council of the Indies, St. Augustine, December 8, 1680, 2 ff., AGI 54-5-11, No. 67, SC.
 15. Crown to the Governor of Florida, Madrid, November 10, 1681, 4 ff., AGI 58-1-21, No. 306, SC and NC 4-86.

them touched at Havana, the governor there was to see to it that no family remained in that city. Even when the migrants had arrived in St. Augustine, Marquez was advised to wait for a final order before sending the families ultimately to Santa Catalina. For the moment, he was urged to send a map drawn to scale, showing the extent of territory comprised by Florida, the location of the several provinces, and Santa Catalina Island in particular. A report evaluating the benefits expected from the proposed colonization would supplement the map. It would state the kind and quantity of produce of the island, whether the produce was the same as that found on the mainland or so indispensable that without it the settlers would be unable to support themselves, and to what degree was the island exposed to occupation and fortification by foreigners. The same report was being required from the governor of Havana and the bishop of Santiago de Cuba. Not until fully briefed on the subject would the crown give the final order to proceed or desist on the inhabiting of Santa Catalina.¹⁶

Governor Marquez responded instantly with action leading toward the drawing of the requested Florida map. Trusting in the skill and experience in mathematics of governmental notary Alonso Solana, he ordered Solana on May 4, 1683, to make a scaled map of Apalache,¹⁷ Timucua,¹⁸ and Guale provinces. Solana finished the task promptly, and on June 28 the governor forwarded the map to the crown. Marquez vouched for the accuracy of the latitudes and ground distances, boasting that he himself had seen the Gulf coast of Florida and traversed Apalache and Timucua. The inlets, islands, and mainland of the east coast and Guale province had been traced accurately, because the knowledge and experience of several able veterans had been pooled for the purpose, especially that of Solana, who had once been a sea pilot. Marquez had not yet been able to see Guale for himself due to other pressing chores. At the time of writing, the Canary Islands families had yet to appear in St. Augustine.¹⁹

16. *Ibid.*

17. North Florida, from the Aucilla River westward to the Apalachicola River. Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, August 24, 1675, 9 ff., AGI 58-1-26, No. 38, SC.

18. North Florida, from the St. Johns westward to the Aucilla River. *Ibid.*

19. Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, June 28, 1683, 12 ff., AGI 58-1-26, No. 78, NC 5-28.

The *Mapa de la Ysla de la Florida*, as Solana entitled his handiwork, represents an area slightly larger than the Florida delimited for the first time in 1670. The Treaty of Madrid had fixed the northern limit at latitude $32^{\circ} 30'$, or a line cutting off Bay Point, the southernmost tip of Edisto Island. It had also recognized the English settlements, including Charleston, located north of that boundary.²⁰ The region drawn by Solana coincides with the southeastern portion of the United States bordered by the 80° and 85° longitudes of Charleston harbor and Apalachicola River respectively, and the $24^{\circ} 30'$ and $32^{\circ} 50'$ latitudes of the Florida Keys and Charleston city respectively. Despite the assurances of accuracy by Governor Marquez, Solana marked the latter elevation as $34^{\circ} 10'$, incurring in an error of $1^{\circ} 20'$. He did not curve coastal Georgia and South Carolina sufficiently to the east to make Charleston rest on latitude $32^{\circ} 50'$. Solana erred also in plotting all the elevations of specific sites, except those of St. Augustine, Cape Kennedy, the extreme southern shore of the mainland, the keys, and the St. Marks River mouth. The bulge of Florida's lower east coast too does not come even close to longitude 80° .

Solana's mistake in placing Charleston may have resulted from concern about representing clearly the relative position of Georgia's and South Carolina's coastal islands. The location of Santa Catalina, one of those islands, was admittedly the object of particular interest to the crown. Solana himself warned that he had given them "body," that is, drawn them longer and wider in order to make them noticeable, inasmuch as the widest island was only one-half league across. But he felt that the distance between points on the islands and elsewhere could be measured accurately from the scale. Despite the presence of a scale of forty French leagues and another of thirty-five Spanish leagues, the result of Solana's labor was a sketch rather than a scaled drawing. It demonstrates, however, the competent knowledge that the men at St. Augustine had of the Georgia and South Carolina coastline. Certainly, there is agreement between the number of islands represented by Solana and those there today which are separated by substantial expanses of water. On the other hand, the knowledge of Florida's west coast was rather limited.

20. Chatelain, *op. cit.*, 65, 153 N. 22.

Coastal islands, inlets, rivers, and settlements are the geographical features exclusively portrayed in Solana's map of Florida. The settlements were all Indian villages, except St. Augustine and Charleston. These two were in 1683 the only towns of European origin in the area shown by the map. The Spanish map terms are made available here, together with a translation into English, and a speculative identification of some of them with modern sites.²¹ Beginning at the northeast corner of the mapped territory, round the tip of the peninsula, and ending at the Apalachicola River, we find:

Puerto y poblacion de San Jorge de la nacion ynglesa	Port and settlement of St. George of the English nation	Charleston
Rio de Nogales	Nogales river	Charleston harbor
Barra de Capisi	Capisi inlet	Stone Inlet?
Barra de Yasi	Yasi inlet	Inlet between Seabrook and Edisto islands?
Barra de Ostano	Ostano inlet	St. Helena Sound?
Barra de Sin Provecho	Useless inlet	Fripps Inlet?
Bahia de Santa Elena	Santa Elena bay	Port Royal Sound
Pueblo de ynfieles	Heathen [Indian] village	On Hilton Head Island?
Bahia de los Bajos	Bay of the Flats	Savannah harbor
Baya de Cruzes	Bay of Crosses	Wassaw Sound?
Barra de Aguadulce	Fresh water inlet	Ossabaw Sound?
Barra de Asapo	Asapo inlet	St. Catherines Sound
Ysla de Santa Cathalina despoblada	Santa Catalina island depopulated	St. Catherines Island
Barra de Sapala	Sapala inlet	Sapelo Sound
Ysla de Sapala poblada de Xpnos.	Sapala island populated by Christian [Indians]	Sapelo Island
Barras de Asajo y Espogue	Asajo and Espogue inlets	Doboy and Altamaha Sounds?
Ysla de Guadalquini con dos poblaciones de Xpnos. y una de ynfieles	Guadalquini island with two Christian and one heathen [Indian]	St. Simons Island
Barra de Guadalquini	Guadalquini inlet	St. Simons Sound
Barra de Ballenas	Ballenas inlet	St. Andrew Sound
Ysla de San Phelipe con poblacion de Xpnos.	San Felipe island with Christian [Indian] village	Cumberland Island
Barra de San Pedro	San Pedro inlet	St. Marys entrance
Barra de Santa Maria Xpnos. [cristianos]	Santa Maria inlet	Nassau Sound
Barra de San Juan	San Juan inlet	Fort George Island
Pueblo de Thomas de cristianos	Tomas' Christian village	St. Johns entrance
Nombre de Dios	Nombre de Dios	?
Castillo y ciudad de San Agustin	Castle and city of St. Augustine	In St. Augustine
Barra y vijia de Matanzas	Matanzas inlet and lookout	St. Augustine
Barreta	Narrow inlet	Matanzas Inlet
Barra de Mosquitos	Mosquitos inlet	Opposite mouth of Pellicer creek?
Pueblo de ynfieles	Heathen [Indian] village	Ponce de Leon Inlet
Cabo de Canaveral	Cape Canaveral	Turtle Mound?
Barra de Ays	Ays inlet	Cape Canaveral
		Fort Pierce Inlet?

21. G. Donald Hudson (ed.) *Encyclopaedia Britannica World Atlas* (Chicago, 1956) has been used for the comparison between the coastal islands in Solana's map and the same islands as represented today.

Pueblo de ynfielos	Heathen [Indian] village	? [close to above]
Pueblo de ynfielos	Heathen [Indian] village	? [close to below]
Barra de Jobe	Jobe inlet	Jupiter Inlet?
Cayos de la costa del sur de la Florida	Florida's southern coast keys	Florida Keys
Puerto y poblacion de ynfielos	Port and village of heathen [Indians]	? [near Punta Gorda]
Pueblo de Tampa	Tampa [Indian] village	Madira Bickel Mound?
Barra de Asapo	Asapo inlet	Tampa Bay entrance?
Pueblo de ynfielos	Heathen [Indian] village	Hernando?
Rio de Espiritu Santo	Espiritu Santo river	Withlacoochee River?
Rio de Amajuro	Amajuro river	Waccasassa River?
Rio de San Martin	San Martin river	Suwannee River
Puerto de Palache	Palache port	St. Marks River
R. Chachave	Chachave river	Sopchoppy River?
Pueblo de Indios	Indian village	? [near river above]
Rio Lana	Lana river	Ochlockonee River?
Rio Apalachecolo	Apalachecolo river	Apalachicola River

The inland villages extended westward almost in a straight line from St. Augustine to the Apalachicola River, but there were two others in central Florida. These two, Mayaca and San Antonio, were situated southwest of the city, along the St. Johns. The other settlements composed the provinces of Timucua and Apache. Again, their map names are made available, but no speculation is attempted at identifying them with present-day locations.

Timucua province
 Salamototo
 Eyvitanayo
 Santa Fée, Provincia de Timucua
 [headquarters, Spanish garrison]
 Pueblo de San Francisco
 Pueblo de Santa Cathalina
 Pueblo de Tarijica
 Pueblo de Guacara
 Pueblo de San Pedro
 Pueblo de Machava
 Pueblo de San Matheo
 Pueblo de Asile

Apache province
 Pueblo de Yvitachuco
 Pueblo de Aiubale
 Pueblo de Santa Cruz
 Pueblo de Oconi
 Pueblo de Aspalaga
 Pueblo de Ocuya
 Pueblo de Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria
 Pueblo de Tomole
 Pueblo de San Luis
 [headquarters, Spanish garrison]
 Pueblo de Escambe
 Medellin
 Puerto y villa de San Marcos
 Pueblo de Patale
 Bacuca
 Pueblo de San Carlos
 Poblacion de yndios
 Poblacion de yndios
 [These two along eastern shore of Apalachicola river]

For unknown reasons, archivists possibly have later made notations on *Mapa de la Ysla de la Florida*. In modern handwriting for instance, the words *la Ysla* have been lined out, and substituted by the phrase *parte de la costa*, thus making the title read *Mapa de Parte de la Costa de la Florida*, or a map of part of the coast of Florida. *Canal de Bahama* has been written in along the east coast, and *Cabo de la Florida* over the area representing the Everglades. The latter term means either tip of, extremity of, or

Cape Florida. Finally, the area which portrays the Gulf of Mexico has been labeled *Seno Mexicano* twice. These extraneous notations, except that of the *cabo*, have disappeared from the second publication of the map.

In conclusion, royal need for information dictated the making of *Mapa de la Ysla de la Florida* by Alonso Solana, the Younger. The crown wanted to see graphically the location of the proposed home for a few hundred of its subjects. These subjects, it is true, were being asked to go there voluntarily and establish what would have become the second settlement of European origin in Florida. Still, the king felt it his concern to assess the possibility of success before embarking in an enterprise that could well cost lives and substance. The map he asked for was a superbly drawn sketch rather than the accurate, scaled map that be desired. Yet, despite shortcomings, Solana's map gave quite a fair idea of the extent of the king's dominion overseas. More important, however, it recorded for posterity the knowledge that the men at St. Augustine had of the land under their jurisdiction in 1683. The map should be referred to as the Alonso Solana map of Florida in recognition of the accomplishments of a segment of humanity isolated in Spanish Florida.

BOOK REVIEWS

City Managers in Politics, An Analysis of Manager Tenure and Termination. By Gladys Kammerer, Charles D. Farris, John M. DeGrove, and Alfred B. Clubok. *University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences*, No. 13. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962. 93 pp. Preface. \$2.00.)

City Managers in Politics is the result of a year's work by the authors under a grant from the Social Science Research Council through its Committee on Political Behavior. Conceiving of the study originally as an attempt to explain the rather short tenure of Florida city managers during the postwar years (3.66 years as compared to 5.49 years in Virginia, the state with the second highest number of council-manager cities in the Southeast, Florida having the highest), the authors organized and designed the study as one in comparative government politics. They sought to examine the functioning of council-manager government in Florida to discover how manager tenure and termination compare with doctrinal assumptions that council-manager government allows separation of politics and administration.

Working in two-person interview teams, the authors, all professors at the University of Florida, examined terminations, voluntary and involuntary, in manager appointments in ten selected Florida cities during the period between 1945 and 1962. In effect, the authors made a case-study of each of the ten cities, carefully chosen on the basis of tenure formula and exhibition of geographical spread among areas of the state. In chapter two the authors explain the framework and methodology of their research, conveying to the reader commendably their understanding of the exactions and limitations of their approach.

City Managers in Politics is a report and analysis of findings concerning variations in the tenure of managers and in the reasons for terminations of managers in the ten cities. It is also a presentation of policy recommendations that appear relevant and material for improved functioning of council-manager govern-

ment. The authors point out that their findings represent "serious and harmonious conclusions" shared by both behaviorists and nonbehaviorists in their own group.

Professors Kammerer *et al.* believe that all their data support their conclusion that city managers tend to play major policy roles in the making of important decisions of the city and therefore tend to incur political hazards. Their research teams found no managers free of making, shaping, or vetoing policy proposals. Convinced that organized political parties are the only practical means of public participation in the development of issues and the commitment of public officials to issues, they recommend the scrapping of nonpartisan elections in council-manager cities and the election of the mayor simultaneously with the election of councilmen.

For the nonbehavioral student of city government, the authors may seem at times to be too "systematic" in their systematic research and their presentation of it. The reviewer believes that *City Managers in Politics* is an invaluable contribution in the findings and analysis it presents and in bringing the study of city government into the contemporary lines of development in political science.

DAISY PARKER

Florida State University

Hillsborough: A Parish In The Ulster Plantation. By John Barry.
(Belfast: William Mullan & Son Ltd., 1962. 124 pp.
\$2.50.)

It is one of the tragedies of Ireland that so little of her ancient art, architecture, and church records have survived. However, dotting her picturesque landscape are a few Anglo-Norman castles, fewer still, an ancient church here and there, but the mediaeval Ireland, like Celtic Ireland, has passed away almost like a dream. This, as the American Southland well knows, is the sum result of internecine struggles.

But today there still exists in the green country fields of County Down an exquisite jewel of the 18th century, cut and polished by the work of one family, whose family honors gave the borough

its name, Hillsborough, as it did also to a far away river and county in the English colony of Florida.

While this little book is primarily a parish history of Hillsborough, in Northern Ireland, it is also a history of the noble family of Hill that came from England in the 1600's to give peace and prosperity to this part of County Down.

Outside of a tale well told, the primary interest this work will hold for the American reader, and especially to the Florida citizen, is its life of Wills Hill, first Earl of Hillsborough. A favorite of King George III, he served that monarch well in court and parliament, and in return was advanced in various degrees of nobility until at his death he died a marquis. He also became, through careful supervision of his flax-lands and interest in the welfare of his tenants, the second richest man in the kingdom. Hillsborough was a versatile citizen, strongly patriotic, and deeply religious. He served the crown as Secretary of State for the American Colonies, entertained Benjamin Franklin at his home, and invented the screw tops now used in the English lemonade bottles.

Hillsborough hated the rebellion of the American colonies as only a loyal government advisor could. Until the very end of that struggle, he thundered from his seat in the House of Lords dire diatribes against the American patriots.

It was through no loss of monetary gain that he took this stand. He had no trade with the colonies, nor did he ever own one acre of land in Florida in which his name today figures so prominently. But after peace came he might have found some small solace in the fact that of all the American colonies, it was only Florida, the "fourteenth" British colony, who had remained loyal to the crown.

In the courthouse at Tampa, there is a collection of documents and photographs which belongs to the Hillsborough County Historical Commission. They are gifts from the Hills family, and honor the British secretary for whom the chief waterway of that county is named, which name in turn was passed on to Hillsborough County when it was created by legislative act in 1834. This notice here may seem incongruously placed, but this reviewer begs to point out that historian Barry thought enough of the Tampa exhibit to treat it in full on page 14 of his work.

THEODORE LESLEY

Tampa, Florida

The Fighting Elder: Andrew Pickens (1739-1817). By Alice Noble Waring. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1962. viii, 252 pp. Index. \$6.00.)

Andrew Pickens is the least known of South Carolina's three distinguished partisan generals of the American Revolution. The legendary "Swamp Fox" and "Gamecock" have received national recognition, but it could hardly be said that Pickens' contribution to final victory was less noteworthy than that of Marion and Sumter. Seemingly Pickens' very real virtues made him a less colorful figure - - he obeyed orders and could usually be counted on to cooperate with both Continental and South Carolina militia officers. The Indians against whom he fought complimented his military prowess by naming him "Skyagunsta," but somehow this sobriquet has never attracted attention to Pickens or his career.

Alice Noble Waring, a descendant of Pickens, has written this biography to rescue the general from obscurity. She has done a painstaking job of assembling all pertinent information pertaining to his life, and there emerges a work that is a real contribution insofar as it increases knowledge of the military and civilian careers of Andrew Pickens. Yet the biography suffers from failure to fit events into proper perspective. Pickens was an outstanding Up Country leader, but Mrs. Waring fails to provide adequate background concerning Up Country-Low Country differences and the Regulator movement in South Carolina. The same can be said of her treatment of that state's part in the American Revolution and especially the attitude and role of the Up Country. She does not explain why there were so many Tories in South Carolina and particularly in Pickens' own area.

The author also exaggerates Pickens' part in the conflict. His handling of militia troops at Cowpens was undoubtedly excellent, but he hardly played the dominant role there that she describes. Judicious use of works by Christopher Ward, John Alden, and others would have done much to improve this biography. Footnotes form leaves much to be desired, and there is no bibliography. But perhaps academicians should not quibble too much. Mrs. Waring's book accomplishes well the purpose for which it was intended.

DANIEL W. HOLLIS

University of South Carolina

William Henry Drayton and the American Revolution. By William M. Dabney and Marion Dargan. (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1962. xiv, 225 pp. \$5.00.)

In this treatment of the South Carolina Revolutionary leader William Henry Drayton (a double first cousin of William Drayton, councillor and chief justice of British East Florida) William M. Dabney has brought to completion a biography first begun by the late Marion Dargan in the 1920's. The book rests on apparently thorough research, restricted, however, by a lack of Drayton's own papers other than published political and judicial writings. Perhaps for this reason the authors have been more successful in providing a narrative of several important events in the Revolutionary history of South Carolina than in dealing definitively with Drayton himself. Among the more significant episodes to which they call attention are the mission of Drayton and several other coastal spokesmen to the South Carolina backcountry in 1775 in an effort to drum up more support for the Patriot cause and also the attempt of South Carolina, in which Drayton's role was prominent but hardly flattering, to absorb the weaker state of Georgia.

At the same time it does seem possible that the authors might have achieved a more adequate interpretation of Drayton's career. As matters stand, there are a number of shortcomings. They essay an explanation of Drayton's belated switch to the Patriot side after 1770 - possibly for material motives - which may have to be tentative but could nonetheless be more searching. They never quite resolve a point which bothers them greatly: whether Drayton was simply an inept busybody with a certain flair for writing and oratory or a somewhat reckless man who still accomplished a good bit in a political and even in a military sense. Though providing summations of Drayton's major writings, they miss many opportunities for a more thoroughgoing analysis of their contents. Finally, the authors merely nibble around the edges of what Drayton's role as a "radical" who was certainly no democrat might illustrate about the Revolution in South Carolina as an internal conflict. These criticisms are not to say this is a bad book but rather that it is potentially a much better one than it is. The vol-

ume, as it stands, is still a useful account of the Revolutionary movement in South Carolina until Drayton's death in 1779.

THAD W. TATE

College of William and Mary

Green Mountain Boy at Monticello, A Talk With Jefferson in 1822. By Daniel Pierce Thompson. (Brattleboro, Vt.: The Stephen Greene Press, 1962. 35 pp. Introduction, illustrations. \$4.00.)

This little book is an account of the visit that a young Vermont man paid Thomas Jefferson at Monticello in 1822. He was Daniel Pierce Thompson, novelist, lawyer, antiquarian, and publisher. Finding himself near Monticello he visited Thomas Jefferson, passing a pleasant day with him in his hill-top home. Thompson made notes of Jefferson's opinions of people and causes, particularly regarding slavery, for Thompson was an ardent abolitionist all his life. Apparently he did nothing with the notes for forty years. The Civil War brought them to mind and revealed their value as propaganda in that struggle. Thompson wrote an article that appeared in Harper's Magazine for May, 1863. The notes themselves disappeared, probably destroyed when his Montpelier, Vermont, home burned after his death.

This article is here republished with an informative introduction by Howard C. Rice, Jr., Assistant Librarian for Rare Books and Special Collections at Princeton. He is author in his own right and an authority on Jefferson. Dr. Rice puts the article in its true light when he concludes his introduction with these words, "He [Thompson] and the editors of Harper's Magazine obviously thought of it as a tract for the times. A century later, when we are celebrating the Civil War, often in a romantic manner reminiscent of Thompson's novels, this less-colored fugitive essay of his may still provoke thought as a tract for other times."

If further evidence were needed, it is in Jefferson's miraculous prediction "of the doom, which if, not averted by emancipation, must sooner or later fall, not only on our own beloved state, but the whole South, in the ruin of their people or in the overthrow of their republican liberties, in consequence of the

inevitable workings of that most unfortunate institution." So accurate is this prophecy of conditions at this stage of the war, and so pat to the vengeful hopes of the abolitionists for the destruction of the South in 1863, that it is a shame that Thompson did not make it a matter of record before it came to pass.

This little book shows another thing - like old soldiers the country's basic problems never die. The slavery question plagued the founding fathers and almost wrecked the Constitution and the Union itself. It rankled and seethed all through the expansion period, to burst into roaring flame in the Civil War. It is still a serious problem in the guise of "civil rights," with the Federal Government still using armed troops to enforce its will on a reluctant South.

"State's rights" has been an issue from the first attempt to form a union. Together with slavery it was the issue in the Civil War. With the Negro question it is a live question and as long as the Union exists, it will be the mortal problem of the states to prevent this thing that they have created for their use and benefit from consuming them entirely.

Here, then, is a piece of propaganda based on the first days of the Union, planted in a period of stress, published during the Civil War, and potent as propaganda now, a hundred years later.

LOUIS CAPRON

West Palm Beach, Florida

The Diary of Dolly Lunt Burge, 1847-1875. Edited by James I. Robertson, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1962. xv, 141 pp. Introduction and index. \$4.00.)

Dolly Sumner Lunt was born in Maine in 1817. Shortly after her twenty-first birthday she was married to Dr. Samuel Lewis from Portland. In 1842, the young couple moved to Georgia, where a year later, Dr. Lewis died of fever. During the next six years, Dolly Lewis taught in a Madison, Georgia elementary school. Early in 1847 she began the diary which she was to continue at intervals until 1880. She had much to confide to the diary about her personal life, and much to report about ways of life in Georgia.

In 1850, she married Thomas Burge, a widower with five children, who owned a large plantation lying between Madison and Covington. The Burges traveled to Maine in 1858, hoping that Mr. Burge's health would benefit from a cool summer climate, but he died in December of that year. Dolly was obliged to run the plantation during the troubled era that followed. She watched helplessly while federal troops raided her property. Fortunately, the main house was spared from burning and is still standing today.

Even though she was a strongly religious woman, she enjoyed a good time and her diary is full of references to savory food, pretty clothes, and lively company. Her honesty about herself and others adds salt to her comments. She remarks at one point during the years while she was teaching school, "This keeping house without a man, I don't like much." On another occasion she forthrightly refers to a sermon she heard as "nothing very excellent." Although she took great interest in all the activities connected with crops and livestock on the Burge plantation, she does not hesitate to say: "How I hate housecleaning!"

Her thoughts on slavery and the Civil War are particularly interesting in view of the fact that she was brought up in Maine and was a cousin of Charles Sumner, the famous abolitionist. It is rather fascinating to observe how easily she fitted into life in the Deep South in spite of her northern background.

The diary has been made more readable by its division into six chapters. Dr. James I. Robertson, Executive Director of the National Civil War Centennial Commission, has written an illuminating introduction that makes the many separate entries in the diary much more comprehensible.

MARY LOUISE FAGG

Jacksonville, Florida

The Civil War At Sea. Vol. I: The Blockaders. By Virgil Carrington Jones. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960. xxvi, 483 pp. \$6.00.)

The Civil War At Sea. Vol. II: The River War. By Virgil Carrington Jones. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961. xx, 490 pp. \$6.00.)

The Civil War At Sea. Vol. III: The Final Effort. By Virgil Carrington Jones. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962. xviii, 456 pp. \$6.50.)

This three volume work has had a mixed reception as it appeared over the past few years, with the critical comments likely to obscure Virgil Carrington Jones' very worthwhile accomplishments in presenting the action stories of sea power in the American Civil War. The publishers are to be complimented too for making this tactical material available at such length.

Mr. Jones states clearly that he is writing for the general reader, not the scholar. The author interprets this point of view to license him to tell as animated a story as possible, occasionally by making direct quotation of what are indirect statements in the original, and to introduce all sorts of local color details. On the other hand, he feels that strategic considerations, administrative and logistic problems, solutions, and intricacies are beyond the scope of his work. It should be noted, however, that within these limitations the research is thorough and the presentation, though sometimes tedious in its detail, is generally satisfactory.

Very little serious scholarship has been devoted to the field of naval contributions to the Civil War. Studies are needed on the organization of the Union Navy in particular and on naval logistic support of the Union Army. Mr. Jones' volumes up-date and expand the naval selections to be found in *Battles and Leaders* and sift much of the grain from the chaff in the *Official Records* Navy.

The author's "general reader" will probably prove to be the college undergraduate intent on writing a course paper on some aspect of the Civil War. These volumes will suggest many interesting topics neglected in the past, make interesting reading in themselves, and lead him on to primary source material concerned.

H. O. WERNER

United States Naval Academy

By Sea and By River: The Naval History of the Civil War. By Bern Anderson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962. xiv, 303 pp. Maps, illustrations, and index. \$5.95.)

The centennial of the American Civil War has resulted in the appearance of a legion of new books and reprints, although relatively few of these concern the naval side of the conflict. There have been a number of excellent books to appear, and a great many worthless ones to cash in on the market. *By Sea and By River* is in the first category. In fact, it is unquestionably the best one volume account of the naval war to date. The emphasis is strategical; tactics and engagements are subordinated to strategic planning and how it contributed to the outcome of the war. Bern Anderson, retired admiral and former assistant to Samuel Eliot Morison, was well-qualified to contribute this addition to the literature of the war, and it is regretful that the admiral's second career as a historian and writer was cut short (he died in February, 1963, at the age of 62).

In spite of the overall excellence of the book there are a number of errors. Most of them show a general lack of knowledge about the Confederate States Navy. For example, the decision to convert the *Merrimack* into an ironclad was taken in July, 1861, not May (p. 71), and the construction of ironclads at Memphis and New Orleans was decided on in August and September (p. 43). Three ironclads (*Tennessee*, *Huntsville*, *Tuscaloosa*) were constructed at Selma, Alabama, not five (p. 235), and the *Nashville* was not sunk across the main channel to the city of Mobile, but was surrendered to Federal forces in April, 1865. Admiral Anderson's lack of information about the Confederate navy was apparent in other ways. In his analysis of the operations around Mobile after the battle of Mobile Bay in August, 1864, he completely ignored the presence of three Confederate ironclads that did contribute to the defense of the city until it surrendered in April, 1865. Ironclads constructed within the Confederacy were not built primarily to break the blockade, but to defend the harbors, inlets, and rivers of the South. The European armorclads that the Confederate navy contracted for, however, were definitely built to raise the blockade. Admiral Anderson's inadequacies here can perhaps be defended for two reasons: (1) the emphasis

on the broad picture which in itself relegates the efforts of the Confederate navy, and (2) the fact that our knowledge of the Confederate navy is based on incomplete records. We need more monographic studies of the South's naval efforts; studies that rely not just on the Official Records, but on the mine of available manuscript material.

WILLIAM N. STILL, JR.

Mississippi State College for Women

Front Rank. By Glenn Tucker. (Raleigh: North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, 1962. 83 pp. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

"In the number of soldiers furnished, in the discipline, courage, and loyalty and difficult service of these soldiers, . . . and in all the qualities that mark self-sacrifice, patriotism, and devotion to duty, North Carolina is entitled to stand where her troops stood in battle, behind no state, but in the front rank of the Confederation, aligned and abreast with the best, the foremost, and the bravest." These words of the state's dynamic Civil War governor, Zebulon B. Vance, furnish both the title and the theme of this volume, eloquently written by Glenn Tucker, author of *Chickamauga* and *High Tide at Gettysburg*, and attractively illustrated with original pen-and-ink drawings by Bill Ballard, a North Carolina artist.

Though possessing only one-ninth of the total population of the Confederacy, North Carolina supplied one-sixth of the soldiers and sustained the heaviest loss in casualties among the Southern states. Eighty-four regiments, comprising an estimated total of 185,000 troops, as compared with a voting population of 115,000, made the phrase "more volunteers than voters" emphatically true of North Carolina. North Carolina troops fought mainly outside the state, on far-flung battlefields, including Antietam and Gettysburg, which must be accounted the two great battles of North Carolina history. How notable were their contributions to these fields may be seen from the fact that one-fourth of Lee's losses at Gettysburg, the most costly battle of the war, were of North Carolina troops.

Front Rank contains a brief narrative of North Carolina's part in the Civil War, primarily on the battlefield but also on the home front. It tells of a state which, though forced into a conflict which she did not seek, was fiercely loyal to the cause which provoked it. *Front Rank* is a book that can be enjoyed by young and old alike. To the school child it will offer a sweeping introduction to a fascinating period in North Carolina history. More experienced readers will find in it a colorful and much-needed survey of events rarely found so well described in such brief compass.

The book's handsome layout is made additionally attractive by the design of the typeface, which is reminiscent of the typography of the Civil War era.

JAMES W. PATTON

University of North Carolina

Lee's Maverick General: Daniel Harvey Hill. By Hal Bridges. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961. viii, 323 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

The author says this book is not a biography but a study, with some biographical background, of Daniel Harvey Hill's Civil War career. He touches lightly upon his boyhood, his West Point career, his distinguished service in the war with Mexico, and his educational career as professor of mathematics at Washington College and Davidson College following his resignation from the army until he entered military service in North Carolina, April, 1861. His journalistic and educational leadership after the Civil War is also treated.

This book is refreshingly free from detailed description of military movements. These are given only when necessary as a background for more detailed examinations of areas of controversy directly or indirectly bearing upon the study of the character, personal traits, and military competence of General Hill.

General Lee is reported as saying of D. H. Hill, "This man has the heart of a lion and the tongue of an adder, but I would not trade him for a brigade." His acrimonious criticisms of able-bodied men who were not in service, politicians and profiteers, and

of military leaders of both recognized competence and incompetence, made many bitter enemies. One can now recognize the validity of many of Hill's criticisms, especially of Jefferson Davis who supported Braxton Bragg in his efforts to make Hill the scapegoat for his, Bragg's obvious incompetence following Chickamauga and at Missionary Ridge.

The back-flap blurb states correctly ". . . this magnificent volume traces the turbulent life and keen, penetrating observations of Daniel Harvey Hill: tough, uncompromising-and until now, one of the least understood of all major Confederate generals."

R. L. GOULDING

Tallahassee, Florida

Four Years With General Lee. By Walter H. Taylor. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962. xi, 218 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, and index. \$5.75.)

In his preface, Colonel Walter H. Taylor states that, "It will be at once seen that it is not my purpose to attempt a review of the military career of General Lee, nor a critical history of the army which he commanded in the field. . . . mine is the more humble task of giving a summary of the more prominent events in the career of the great Confederate leader, together with a comparative statement of the strength of the Confederate and Federal armies that were engaged in the operations in Virginia."

Colonel Taylor more than accomplished his purpose. Because of his intimate professional and personal relationship with General Lee, the book constitutes a seminal treatment of Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia. Colonel Taylor served as aide-de-camp and Adjutant-General to General Lee. Indeed, he among Lee's staff officers, probably was the General's closest associate during the "irrepressible conflict." Taylor wrote Lee's dispatches, frequently transmitted messages personally to various field commanders, received individuals who called on Lee, and attended to a multitude of matters on his own initiative. Colonel Taylor also had the singular distinction and responsibility for preparing and submitting the monthly returns of the Army of

Northern Virginia. As such, he knew the numerical strength of Lee's forces in all engagements better perhaps than anyone in the Confederate armies. These valuable statistics, along with personal memoirs and extracts from his wartime correspondence, comprise the substance of *Four Years with General Lee*. The first edition appeared in 1877, and represented a standard authority on Confederate military history for many years. Material subsequently gathered by Colonel Taylor from official government documents was added, and published in 1906. The present edition includes the more significant and revealing of these additions in the notes edited with an informative introduction by the Civil War historian, James Robertson, Jr.

Among the several virtues of the book, two deserve special recognition. First, the statistical data concerning the comparative strength of Lee's troops and opposing Federal forces, in addition to a careful analysis of the operations and campaigns of both armies, reflects exhaustive and authoritative scholarship. In particular, the treatments of Chancellorsville, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg are outstanding. Second, with remarkable clarity and brevity, Taylor presents an intimate insight into the character of General Lee. Perhaps above all, the author provides the reader with a profound appreciation and understanding of Lee's patriotism and devotion to duty. Numerous instances are cited to demonstrate unmistakably that Lee's foremost consideration and care was the army. The honor and security of the Confederacy had been entrusted to the soldiers. The command of an important and active army, therefore, always was uppermost in Lee's mind.

Taylor asserts that if posterity should decide that Lee failed to achieve perfection as a military leader, the failure would be ascribed to Lee's excessive consideration of the personal feelings of his subordinate commanders, his apprehension about wounding their pride, his concern for their reputation, and because he also was too willing to abide by the decisions of his superiors in civil authority. Taylor concludes that the traits of excessive generosity and perfect subordination, "while they adorned the life of General Lee, are not compatible with the generally accepted notions of perfection in a revolutionary leader."

ROBERT GOLDSTEIN

University of South Florida

History of Alabama, 1540-1900, as Recorded in Diaries, Letters, and Papers of the Times. By Lucille Griffith. (Northport, Alabama: Colonial Press, 1962. x, 457 pp. Preface and index. \$10.00.)

This is a book of selected primary materials on the history of Alabama, especially useful for the classroom. These documents fill in for the reader a life-like picture of the times. The utility of the *Zeitgeist* is now so widely recognized that it has promoted the current fad among publishers of printing historical documents. In some cases these collected documents vary widely by era and topic and are used to supplement textbooks on national history. In state histories, however, the story is quite different in that there is a dearth of textbook-type selections of primary materials. As in the case of the history of Florida, the history of Alabama is by no means lacking in published documents, such as Malcolm C. McMillan's outstanding recent (1963) title *The Alabama Confederate Reader*; and Alabama history through the years has been written from extensive source materials, generally analogous to those used for the history of Florida, as readily shown by works like Rhoda C. Ellison's *Early Alabama Publications* (1947).

In the Griffith book there are numerous travel accounts of which the following examples lend color to phases of Alabama history: *Final Report of the DeSoto Commission* (1939), Jacob R. Motte, *Journey into Wilderness, an Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838* (1953), edited by James G. Sunderland, and also Charles Lanman's title *Adventures in the Wilds of the United States and the British American Provinces* (1856). These three titles incidentally illustrate the fact that many of the sources of Alabama history are also raw materials for Florida history. Students of the history of either state might well wish that Dr. Griffith had devoted more than a scant 28 pages to colonial times. In this book, as in most histories of Alabama, it is the middle period which as a rule receives the most emphasis in teaching and writing. In the same era there is also an obvious affinity between the history of Alabama and that of Florida. The same statement might be made concerning later years, and this is very well exemplified in Dr. Griffith's book. In short, the specialist in various

phases of Florida history may wish to see what this author has put between the covers of one volume, particularly as these selections include subjects extending over more than three and a half centuries. Certainly the idea is suggested that similar publications might be issued in states other than Alabama.

The work contains so many interesting documents that selection becomes difficult, but a few samples will nevertheless be mentioned. Among the several striking documents relating to Indians there is one that gives an account of ball-play by the Choctaws. Another is an unusual account of the massacre at Fort Mims. The territorial census of 1818 should be mentioned and also a contemporary letter explaining the reasons for the failure of the Vine and Olive Colony. The burning of the state capitol building in 1849 should not be overlooked; nor should Thomas C. DeLeon's account of "A Steamboat Race." Another outstanding document is selected from Parthenia Hague's *A Blockaded Family: Life in Southern Alabama during the Civil War*. "The Sunday School Pic-nic" is an interesting selection from a Marion newspaper of 1859. These few samples should suffice to illustrate the wide offerings in political, social, and economic history in Dr. Griffith's book. For this work criticisms should be small and commendations large when one reflects that this book is the first title which is devoted to primary accounts of Alabama history and at the same time extends from colonial times through the nineteenth century. For this publication the publisher should share credit with the author.

CHARLES GRAYSON SUMMERSELL

University of Alabama

The Segregationists. By James Graham Cook. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962. 376 pp. Introduction and index. \$5.95.)

James Cook is a southern-born journalist with a keen reportorial ear who has set down the words and the heartbeats of the segregation leaders in the South. He does this through the mixture of quotations, interviews, and background material which has

developed as an almost standard genre of reportorial analysis of southern society.

His concern is that while the court decision may have broken the ice for school desegregation, it has loosed no more than a trickle of flow. "The problem," he writes, "is not how gracefully to desegregate Miss Hunter or Miss Lucy or a dark little Louisiana girl with a bright ribbon in her hair; the problem is how to mix hundreds of thousands of Negro pupils (and Negro adults) with hundreds of thousands of white pupils (and white adults) and keep hell from breaking loose." According to his calculations, based on the extent of school desegregation over the period 1954-1962, "deliberate speed" will take 7,288 years.

To the people on whom he reports, this will be much too soon. Mr. Cook has interviewed more than a score of the most active and influential leaders of segregation and has added information on many more. They add up to a mighty army which he groups as The Councilors (of the White Citizens' variety), Klansmen, Racists (such as Admiral Crommelin and the National States Rights Party), Lawyers (like Leander Perez), Crusaders (of the pulpit), Counter-attackers (such as the Federation for Constitutional Government and Robert Welch), Investigators (in the state and national legislatures), and Dark Segregationists (among the Booker T's and Black Muslims). Mr. Cook scarcely touches upon Florida, although in such a study it was not possible to avoid paying tribute to Senator Johns' Florida Legislative Investigation Committee. With the possible exception of his last category, the minds of the segregationists are remarkably alike. It is not mere integration which they fear; all of them, rich and poor, ignorant and educated, whether trained in the North or the South, see a great Jewish-Communist plot to destroy the American way of life through the use of such agencies as the U. N. and the Supreme Court. This is the segregationist syndrome.

The author is pessimistic. The experience of the integrated schools of the District of Columbia offers him no encouragement. Neither does his admiration of Martin Luther King and the handful of white Mississippi believers in equal rights. In dealing with the segregationist leadership, however, he presents no information on the size, intensity, and intransigency of their following. He misses the tides of change that are loose in the land and, at least

in this book, sees only the most vocal flag-wavers on the ramparts. James Cook has traveled widely and listened well, and his report is the stuff that historians will find useful when they piece together the various parts of this revolutionary age.

DAVID M. CHALMERS

University of Florida

The American College and University: A History. By Frederick Rudolph. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962. xxxvii, 516 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. \$6.75.)

Frederick Rudolph has chosen to create a vast design stretched across the canvas of several centuries and a broad continent, woven against the military, political, and economic tapestry of a new people creating a new way of life. His thread is *The American College and University - a History*. He has more than succeeded.

Covering both minute detail and sweeping developments, Mr. Rudolph makes a significant contribution to historical research by relating the growth of higher education to the totality of the American scene. At the same time he has produced a readable literary effort-set apart from books for popular consumption not by its style, which is well paced and clear, but by its depth of documentation.

Rudolph is himself an historian. He serves his colleagues well by focusing attention on the need for scholarly research into the development of higher education. His unique bibliography indicates many specific topics which will serve doctoral candidates well.

Under his deft touch and judicious choice of incident, the book will appeal to the layman reader-if they discover it behind its austere title. With the great public interest in higher education-and the dollar bite education is going to take from the taxpayer-there is much information here that should be more generally known.

Rudolph writes with the skill of the novelist in keeping his narrative alive. His chapter introductions pique the readers' curiosity and his summation serves as a cliff-hanger leading into his subsequent topic.

His opening chapters move quickly through the founding of the earliest colleges in colonial days and discuss the impact of the Revolution on college values. In succeeding chapters he discusses religious influence, the Great Awakening, collegiate life, the curriculum battle, and the extracurriculum - now known as student activities, showing for each its roots in the 1700's, its course through the 1800's, and occasionally, how it casts its shadow in the 20th century. Emergence of the university system, opening of collegiate doors to women, acceptance of vocational and technological training and of the elective system, even football, come in for review.

Contemporary educators and educational administrators, immersed in their pressing problems, will gain a fresh perspective as they read through the book and are brought up with the comforting realization that today's set of problems, too, will fade away to be replaced by a new set. Few of us would change today's crises in education for those of earlier times.

On faculty salaries, Rudolph recalls an 1883 editorial in the *New York Times* - "No professor worth his salt ever devoted himself to learning for any other reason than that he loved learning." Or Harvard's President Eliot saying in 1869, "The poverty of scholars is of inestimable worth in this money-getting nation. It maintains the true standards of virtue and honor."

On fraternities, Rudolph brings back one of the earliest criteria for membership used in 1836 - "Would you want your sister to marry him?"

On excellence in education, Rudolph poses the remarks of Dean Briggs of Harvard who as late as 1904, "announced his preference for 'moderate intelligence'," and even later a Yale dean was advising freshmen, "A man should not put more than half of his time into his studies."

As we survey the long road higher education has yet to travel it is good to pause and reflect. Whence have we come? Mr. Rudolph's book permits us to do just that and does it in a skilled and scholarly manner.

KENNETH R. WILLIAMS

Florida Atlantic University

Sea Power and Chilean Independence. By Donald E. Worcester. *University of Florida Monographs, Social Science*, No. 15. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962. 87 pp. \$2.00.)

Professor Donald Worcester's monograph recounts the naval history of Chile's seven year struggle for independence. Arguing that the seizure of western South America was dependent upon control of the Pacific coastal waters, the author vividly describes Chile's gradual assumption of sea supremacy and subsequent deliverance from Spanish domination. Dr. Worcester actually regards Chilean sea power as being *sine qua non* to the success of South America's independence movements. Without control of the Pacific seaboard not only would the contest for Peru have been protracted, but the independence of Chile might have remained continuously in jeopardy; if the ocean passages to the western ports had been left unguarded, royalist reinforcements could have disembarked at strategic locations along the Pacific coast in time to alter the outcome of the now famous military engagements between the patriots and Spain's monarchical troops. The development of patriot sea power therefore paralleled the reduction of Spain's land and sea forces, Chile's control of the supply routes to the western coast, liberation of Peru, and final Chilean independence.

While graphically presenting the evolution of Chilean sea power from the dreary days of 1813 to the climatic victory at Valdivia, Professor Worcester's penetrating account examines the making of the sea squadron which contributed so significantly to Spain's reluctant retreat from South America.

Although the Hispanic American independence story is often naively narrated as if the "liberation" was inevitable, *Sea Power and Chilean Independence* clearly shows the very uncertain position of the rebels throughout the long struggle. This particular study, of course, indicates the indispensable role that sea power played in the confusing conflict, and it relates the special significance of sea power to the Spanish colonies' usurpation of Spain's rule over South America.

ROBERT L. GOLD

University of South Florida

Reapportionment and the Courts. By James E. Larson. (Tuscaloosa: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1962, vii, 92 pp. Foreword, appendix.)

Landmark decisions of the United States Supreme Court, such as that delivered in the case of *Baker versus Carr* on March 26, 1962, tend to create such a rash of publicity and to stimulate so much in the way of immediate political reaction that the involved pre-history of the action may be thoroughly obscured. However, neither the institutions of the law nor the governmental institutions through which the law develops operate in a highly precipitate manner. Long before the Court held that the question of unequal representation in the Tennessee legislature was a justiciable issue in the federal courts, the judicial branches of both federal and state governments were struggling to reconcile a subtle variety of legal and political questions growing out of the imbalances in state legislative apportionment and the gerrymandering of congressional districts.

Professor Larson's monograph explains and illustrates the gradual evolution of the law on the subject. Paradoxically, the study is probably more useful as a result of having been completed and in the hands of the printer by the time the Supreme Court's opinion in *Baker versus Carr* was handed down (although excerpts from the decision were added in an appendix). In the absence of the intruding tendencies of that notable case, the author is able to report succinctly on the way in which the courts tried for more than half a century to exercise judicial restraint by counterpoising alternative remedies that might have avoided the necessity of relief by way of entry of the courts into what Mr. Justice Frankfurter referred to memorably as a "political thicket."

The author wastes little time coursing the already well-trampled ground of the actual state of legislative malapportionment; he moves almost immediately to the legal problems on which the study is appropriately centered. After surveying the nineteenth century cases in which state courts invalidated apportionment acts violative of state constitutions and dismissed suits designed to force legislative action in the face of a silent gerrymander, Professor Larson reviews the twentieth century efforts to secure fed-

eral court relief in the latter causes through the application of the equal protection and due process clauses. He also discusses noteworthy holdings of state courts on the question and outlines the facts of cases pending at the time of *Baker versus Carr*.

By thus confining himself to the fundamental legal issues and to the leading cases in which they were raised, Professor Larson has provided in surprisingly small space a convenient guide to the legal background of one of the major issues of contemporary domestic politics.

WILLIAM C. HAVARD

Louisiana State University

BOOK NOTES

The State Parks: Their Meaning in American Life. By Freeman Tilden. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962. xvi, 496 pp. Foreword, illustration, appendices, and index. \$5.50.) An excellent volume which provides a guide to the ever-expanding state park movement in the United States. The first three chapters of the book give an account of the origin and growth of the movement across the country. The author, a consultant to the National Park Service since 1940, insists that he is not telling the states what they should do with their state parks. He is only indicating what has been done, how this has been achieved, and what the public enjoys in any given area. Much of the book is devoted to an extensive survey of the country's most famous and spectacular state parks including several in Florida: Dade Battlefield State Historic Memorial near Bushnell, Highlands Hammock State Park near Sebring, Myakka River State Park east of Sarasota, and Florida Caverns State Park three miles north of Marianna.

Peachtree Street, Atlanta. By William Bailey Williford. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1962. x, 176 pp. Illustrations. \$4.50.) Although this is not a work of original research, it is a completely delightful volume which will have general appeal. Describing the development of this always interesting street from its beginnings, probably as an Indian trail, to the

present, the author, an Atlanta public relations man, makes us conscious of how rapidly it has been transformed from a quiet residential street into a bustling thoroughfare. The apt descriptions and the many pictures scattered throughout the volume tell the story of Atlanta's people and their houses. The writers, the politicians, the business and professional men who have been responsible for the cultural, educational, social, and business life of Atlanta have lived on Peachtree Street over the years.

History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic. By William H. Prescott. Edited and abridged by C. Harvey Gardiner. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1963. 303 pp. Editor's preface, map. \$6.50.) This scholarly abridgment of Prescott's great work has successfully incorporated the technique embraced by the renowned historian himself. Every effort has been made to "keep Prescott's work in Prescott's words." Since Prescott has overemphasized many themes, such as court intrigue and battle descriptions, these were easily abridged. The editor, an authority on Prescott, has also succeeded in his efforts to attune "a 120-year-old work to present-day concepts of history and historical writing." The title of the book is Prescott's and his original table of contents has been altered only slightly. The book deals with the important period of Spanish history when the national state was consolidated and the overseas empire initiated.

The Tragic Conflict: The Civil War and Reconstruction. Selected and edited by William B. Hesseltine. (New York: George Braziller, 1962. 528 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, and bibliography. \$7.50.) The twenty-one page introduction by Professor William B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin is by far the most important part of this anthology. In his perceptive survey of the varying interpretations of this critical period in American history, many sweeping generalizations are made. Many are true, some are provocative, and several will be criticized and probably rebutted. The anthology itself is both balanced and comprehensive. There are some fifty selections which are grouped under six major headings: Disunion,

The Armies, Emancipation and the Negro, The Confederate Effort, Political Developments, and The Economic Impact. The editor has woven the unique history of the years of the 1850's and the Civil War and Reconstruction into perceptible focus.

Fertile Lands of Friendship: The Florida-Costa Rican Experiment in International Agricultural Cooperation. Edited by Daniel E. Alleger. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962. xi, 312 pp. Foreword, introduction, notes, map, charts, photographs, special acknowledgments, and index. \$6.50.) Between 1954 and June 30, 1960, the University of Florida rendered invaluable agricultural aid to Costa Rica under a technical assistance contract authorized by the International Cooperation Administration. The contract allowed seventeen staff members from the Florida Agricultural Experiment Station to advise and work with the Costa Ricans. At the same time, Costa Ricans studied at the University of Florida in the participant training program in various technical fields such as beef cattle and swine production, economics, marketing, land use studies, nematodes, etc. The reports of this volume cover five major fields of interest-agricultural economics, plant nutrition and soils, entomology, livestock and its products, and plant pathology. Collectively they make a valuable contribution to the bibliography of Costa Rican agriculture which will be of interest to scholars and agricultural scientists interested in Latin America. It will also serve to reveal the growing relationship between Florida and many Latin American countries.

The Journal of the Earl of Egmont. Abstract of the Trustees Proceedings for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, 1732-1738. Edited by Robert G. McPherson. (Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number Five. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1962. xxv, 414 pp. Frontispiece, end papers. \$7.50.) John Percival, first Earl of Egmont, was one of the most important figures associated with the founding of the colony of Georgia. He was president of the Georgia Trustees and a member of the Common Council. His detailed private journal of the

Trustees' proceedings fill three large manuscript volumes, two of which were published some years ago as part of the *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*. This remaining volume is the remainder of the Egmont Journals. The Earl had a genius for details, and his journal is packed with important and interesting facts. It is a volume which will be extremely valuable to students of Georgia history and of early Southern colonial history.

Photographic Sketchbook of the Civil War. By Alexander Gardner. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959. 214 pp. Introduction and index. \$6.00.) This volume is a complete reprint of the first published collection of Civil War photographs which appeared originally in two volumes in 1866 and in a one-volume edition in 1959. Some photographs that have never been reproduced in any other form are also included. The photographs were taken by Gardner or members of his organization while he was employed by Matthew Brady and after he had gone in business for himself, and they are extraordinarily rich in historical value. Many offer views of the scenes of crucial battles, such as Antietam, Appomatox, and Manassas. The pictures of Gettysburg taken immediately after the retirement of forces are particularly interesting. The original text of the 1866 edition, probably written by Gardner himself, has been retained.

Mosses of Florida, An Illustrated Manual. By Ruth Schornherst Breen. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963. xlv, 273 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, introduction, family characters, key to the genera, plates, index, and map and glossary on endpapers. \$8.50.) This beautifully done volume allows Florida mosses to be identified for the first time with a minimum of effort. As is pointed out in the introduction, Grout's three-volume *Mosses of North America, North of Mexico* is expensive and out-of-print. There has long been a need for a book of reasonable size which describes and illustrates those mosses known to occur in Florida. This manual brings within the covers of one book many admirable features, including original illustrations, new descriptions, and effective

keys. It is the result of more than thirty years' work by a distinguished Florida botanist.

Jeb Stuart. By Lena Y. de Grummond and Lynn de Grummond Delaune. (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1962. 160 pp. Bibliography, index. \$3.25.) This is a brief and popularized biography of one of the ablest and most colorful figures in the Confederate Army. The authors, mother and daughter, tell the story of this dashing cavalry leader from his boyhood in Virginia to that fateful day of May 11, 1864, when he died in Richmond of abdomen wounds sustained in battle. Stuart's great epitaph is contained in the commemorative order Fitz Lee issued to the Confederate Cavalry: "He had no superior as a soldier"

A Narrative of the Life of James Pearse. By James Pearse. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1962. vi, 144 pp. Preface, appendix. \$5.50.) This book, first published in 1825, was written by a Yankee who lived in the South five years, and who strongly advised anyone else against following his unwise example. Critical of everything in the South from its climate to its people, Pearse hated slavery with a passion and his book became popular with Northern abolitionist groups. Having failed in the management of his brother's farm in Mississippi, Pearse secured a job as overseer of a slave plantation, thus most of the book is laid in the area along the Mississippi below Natchez and in the vicinity of Woodville. Although Pearse is prejudiced and partisan, his volume is extremely valuable because of the insight it gives of Southern social conditions, weather, agriculture, and travel conditions. He visits New Orleans in 1819, and describes it as "the most wicked city in the world."

John Brown. By W. E. Burghardt DuBois. (New York: International Publishers, 1962. 414 pp. Frontispiece, prefaces, chronology, bibliography, and index. \$5.50 cloth, \$2.25 paperback.) This biography of the famous anti-slavery fighter and one of the most controversial figures in the history of the United States was published originally in 1909. The au-

thor makes no apology for his complete and staunch support of Brown and his activities, and is critical of those who have described Brown as a fanatic and a traitor. The papers and personal letters of John Brown were utilized by Dr. DuBois in the writing of this biography.

North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698. Edited by Mattie Erma Edwards Parker. (Raleigh, North Carolina: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963. xxii, 247 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, sources, introduction, and index.) The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission is responsible for initiating a new series of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* in honor of the three hundredth anniversary of the Carolina Charter of 1663. The documents included in this volume are the Charters to Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1578), Walter Raleigh (1584), the Virginia Company (1606, 1609, 1612), Sir Robert Heath (1629), Lords Proprietors of Carolina (1663, 1665), Concessions and Agreement with William Yeamans and Others (1665), and the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina (1669, 1670, 1682, and 1689). The editor has supplied an excellent overall introduction to each document. The foreword was written by Christopher Crittenden, Director of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Recent paperbacks include The Economic Impact of the American Civil War. Edited by Ralph Andreano. (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1962. 204 pp. \$2.45.) It includes a collection of articles and essays divided into four categories: Internal Adjustments During the War; Monetary and Physical Costs of the War; National Economic Policy, Business Interests, and Political Power - the Tariff; and The War and National Economic Growth. There is also a statistical supplement with tables showing changes and growth of the country's economy from 1850 to 1880. *Jubal's Raid: General Early's Civil War Attack on Washington in 1864.* By Frank E. Vandiver. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963. 198 pp. \$2.45.) The Confederate at-

tempt in the summer of 1864 to threaten Washington so as to relieve the fierce pressure that Grant was exerting against Richmond is the theme of this book.

The paperback edition of Walter Johnson's *1600 Pennsylvania Avenue: Presidents and the People Since 1929*. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1963. 394 pp. \$2.45) adds information on the election of 1960, including its effects on the South, that was not included in the hardback edition. It is a thoughtful survey of the presidency, showing the pivotal influence that he exerts on domestic and world policy. *Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy* by Samuel Flagg Bemis appeared first in 1923. It is now available in a revised edition, which takes advantage of some forty years of fruitful American historiography. Of interest to Florida readers will be the sections dealing with free navigation of the Mississippi River during the 1780's and '90's and the controversy over the spoliation claims for the capture of American ships in the Gulf of Mexico and elsewhere by French and Spanish privateers. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962. 526 pp. \$1.95.)

Ulrich Bonnell Phillip's classic *Life and Labor in the Old South* is available in an attractive paperback with a new introduction by Professor C. Vann Woodward. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1963. 375 pp. \$2.45.) Although Phillip is no longer regarded as the great authority on slavery, he did bring to the writing of this volume a prodigious amount of research in plantation records, including George Noble Jones' properties in Florida. The records of *El Destino*, the Jones plantation near Tallahassee, is briefly described in this volume, and is fully treated in *Florida Plantation Records* by U. B. Phillip and James D. Glunt.

Attention is called to the 19-page booklet *The Legend of Princess Toronita* by O'Dessa Baker Banks, 605 Earl Street, Daytona Beach. This short history of Indian life in the Daytona Beach area of Volusia County was published in 1960 under the auspices of the Toronita Holiday Festival, and is now being reprinted.

NEWS AND NOTES

Florida Library and Historical Commission

Governor Farris Bryant on October 4 appointed the membership of the new State Library and Historical Commission created by the legislature last spring. Adam G. Adams of Coral Gables, a director of the Florida Historical Society and head of the Planning Committee of the Florida Civil War Centennial Commission, was named chairman. Serving with him will be Dr. Archie McNeal, Director of Libraries, University of Miami; Miss Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville; Allen Morris, Tallahassee; Mrs. Neil Bitting, Ocala; Mrs. James D. Bruton, Jr., Plant City; and T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Pensacola. The Governor, in announcing these appointments, said the State Library must expand its services and embark on a vigorous program in order to keep pace with the growth and needs of Florida. The Library and Historical Commission held an organizational meeting in Tallahassee on October 17, and at that time asked the State Cabinet to release \$100,000 for state aid to county libraries. The legislature voted a \$200,000 biennial appropriation for this program, which was considerably short of the \$1,317,705 in grant funds requested. Twenty-seven counties are qualified for the state grant-in-aid program this year.

Library News

In September, 1963, *Libraries For Florida* announced that it was ceasing publication because it had become "too expensive to be continued in view of the limited funds available." Issued for the past seven years, *Libraries For Florida* had a circulation of about 3,600. The former State Library Board used it to focus "public attention on the condition of libraries and library service, to create an awareness of the need for improvement and expansion, and to point out the effect of good library service on the state of Florida and the lives of its people."

Five regional library meetings, jointly sponsored by the Trustees and Friends Section of the Florida Library Association and the Florida State Library, were held during October in Miami Beach, Vero Beach, Sarasota, Ocala, and De Funiak Springs.

Florida Civil War Centennial Commission

Adam G. Adams represented the Commission at the meeting of the Southern States Civil War Centennial Commission held in San Antonio, Texas, on October 24. Mr. Adams read a paper on the Battle of Olustee. Circuit Judge Ben C. Willis of Tallahassee, a director of the Florida Historical Society and a member of the Florida Civil War Centennial Commission, made an address at Chickamauga National Battlefield Park on July 28. The occasion was the rededication of the Florida monument at the battlefield. Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, published by the Commission, represented the Commission at the annual meeting of the National Civil War Centennial Commission in Boston in May, 1963.

Southeastern Museums Conference

The Conference held its twelfth annual meeting in Miami on October 24, 25, and 26, 1963. J. C. Dickinson, Jr., Director of the Florida State Museum, was on the program.

American Association for State and Local History

The twenty-third annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History was held October 2-5, 1963, in Raleigh, North Carolina. Attending were Samuel Proctor, associate editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*; Rembert W. Patrick, vice president of the Association; Miss Margaret Chapman, executive secretary of the Florida Historical Society; Evelyn J. Draper, Rollins College; and Stephen Schmidt, director, Martin County Historical Society.

There were a number of interesting and informative papers, panel discussions, and workshops presented on university, church, business, and government archives; changing requirements for

museums; care of documents, manuscripts, prints, and books; and the role and scope of local and area historical societies.

The Directory of State and Provincial Archivists and Records Administrators, 1963, issued at this meeting, reveals that Florida is one of only five states in the United States which lacks a standardized archival program. The *Directory of Religious Archival and Historical Depositories* lists two Catholic historical depositories in Florida: Diocese of Miami, 6301 Biscayne Boulevard, Miami 38, Florida, and Diocese of St. Augustine, 40 Cathedral Place, P.O. Box 941, St. Augustine. The Reverend William L. Hargrave, Box 597, Winter Park, is area historiographer for the Episcopal Church in Florida, and the Reverend Joseph Huntley, 1415 Live Oak Street, New Smyrna Beach, is area archivist of the Lutheran Church of Florida.

Southeastern American Studies Association

Professor Charlton W. Tebeau, former president of the Florida Historical Society and editor of *Tequesta*, is serving as president of the Association. Gerald Critoph, professor of history and American studies at Stetson University, is secretary-treasurer. Arthur W. Thompson, professor of history at the University of Florida and former president of the Association, is on the program committee. The Association will hold its annual meeting in the spring of 1964.

Local and Area Societies and Commissions

Alachua County Historical Commission: An historical marker was dedicated on October 12 at the site of the old county court house in Newnansville, the first county seat of Alachua County. Jess Davis, chairman of the Historical Commission and former postmaster of Gainesville, gave a talk on the early history of Newnansville.

Citrus County Historical Commission: Mrs. Mary MacRae, a former director of the Florida Historical Society, was appointed chairman of this group when it was authorized by the Citrus County Commissioners in September. The ten-member Commission held organizational meetings September 20 and October 3.

Historical Association of Southern Florida: The director of the Association's museum has announced an exhibit on Carl G. Fisher, the famous Miami Beach pioneer.

Jefferson County Historical Association: According to an announcement, the Association is purchasing an old house in Monticello, built around 1835, to be used as its headquarters.

Madison County Historical Society: The program for the First Annual Tobacco Queen Festival held in Madison on August 3, included a history of Madison County before the Civil War written by Carlton Smith, well-known Madison County historian. The Historical Society, which was organized in the spring of 1962, meets monthly in the library of the North Florida Junior College.

Martin County Historical Society: The Society inaugurated its fall and winter season of activities with the annual membership banquet on October 26. The guest speaker was Robert Ingle, director of research, Salt Water Division, and assistant director of the Florida State Board of Conservation. His topic covered various phases of conservation with special emphasis on the House of Refuge Museum's potential as a leading institution in important conservation projects. Mr. Stephen Schmidt, director of the Martin County Museums, spoke to the Indian River Drive Association, on October 31, on "Early Residents of the Indian River Area." A photographic exhibit entitled "The Growth of a Community" opened at the Elliot Museum on November 3. Indian-town is the subject of this educational and informative exhibit.

Pensacola Historical Commission: The Pensacola City Council recently organized this Commission and at its October 10 meeting appointed T. T. Wentworth, Jr. as a member.

Pensacola Historic Preservation Society: The Pensacola City Council has voted to preserve the former home of Dorothy Walton, widow of George Walton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, as an historic shrine. At one time Stephen R. Mallory, Confederate Secretary of the Navy, also lived in the house. It was first opened to the public as a museum in 1938 by the Pensacola Historical Society. T. T. Wentworth, Jr., former director of the Florida Historical Society and a member of the newly created

Florida Library and Historical Commission, has offered the house to the city provided it is removed to a more appropriate site, preferably the Main and Barcelona Street site of the replica of the Pantan-Leslie Trading Post.

St. Lucie County Historical Commission: With the help of Walter Hellier, a director of the Florida Historical Society, an historical commission was set up by the County Commission on September 3. W. F. (Fannie) Richards, president of the St. Lucie Historical Society, was appointed chairman. The Commission will collect, keep, and display objects, documents, and records pertaining to the county.

College News

Florida Presbyterian College: The University of Oklahoma Press has published *Empire of the Inca* by Burr Cartwright Brundage, professor of history. Professor Arnold J. Toynbee has written the foreword. The Brundage book is volume 69 in *The Civilization of the American Indian Series*.

Jacksonville University: Benjamin F. Roger, a director of the Florida Historical Society and a member of the editorial board of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, has been named acting president of the University by the board of trustees. Franklyn A. Johnson has resigned to accept the presidency of Los Angeles State College. On September 20, Jacksonville University awarded an honorary degree in Public Administration to Earl Louis Mountbatten, First Lord of the Admiralty of Great Britain.

New College: President George Baughman has announced the appointment of the distinguished and world-famous historian, Arnold J. Toynbee, as visiting professor, beginning with the fall semester, 1964.

Pensacola Junior College: Professor Bell Irvin Wiley, noted American historian and - Civil War authority, spoke at the College in September. The College is offering two new courses, "Civil War History" and "History of the New South."

Stetson University: John E. Johns, professor of history and acting chairman of the history department, is now business man-

ager of the University. Dr. Johns' book, *Florida During the Civil War*, was published by the University of Florida Press in July, 1963.

University of Florida: David Chalmers, associate professor of social sciences, delivered a paper entitled "Ku Klux Klan in Virginia" before the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History at Petersburg, Virginia on October 17. A. W. Thompson, professor of history, has been appointed chairman of the American Areas Studies Program at the University. Dr. Lyle N. McAlister, former chairman of the department of history, has been named director of the Center for Latin American Studies. Professor McAlister chaired the session on "Indians of Latin America in Transition" at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association in November held in Asheville, North Carolina. Rembert W. Patrick, past president of the Southern Historical Association, presided at the annual dinner at the Asheville meeting and introduced Dr. James W. Silver, University of Mississippi, who delivered the presidential address.

Samuel Proctor, associate editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, was promoted to professor of social sciences, effective September 1, 1963. Also promoted in the social sciences department were Russell F. Farnen, Edward B. McLean, and Selden Henry to assistant professorships, Blair Reeves, associate professor of architecture, was in San Juan, Puerto Rico, for the summer, working on the historic building survey program for the Department of Interior's National Park Service. The purpose is to record structures of historic value by way of drawings or photography.

The University of Florida Press has announced the forthcoming publication of the *Atlas of Florida*. Cartographer Irwin Raisz is preparing maps, sketches, and graphs, and Dr. John R. Dunkle, department of geography, is writing the text. The purpose of the volume is to provide secondary and elementary schools in the state with an authoritative source of Florida geography. It will also be a source of valuable information to tourists, businessmen, and other interested readers.

University of South Florida: Charles W. Arnade, associate professor of history, read a paper, "The Bolivian Indian During Colony

and Independence," at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in November in Asheville, North Carolina. Dr. Arnade is teaching an evening course in Florida history this fall at St. Leo's College, in addition to his regular teaching duties at the University. Robert Gold, a doctoral candidate in Latin American history at the State University of Iowa, has been appointed to the history staff of the University.

University of Tampa: The Great Outdoors Publishing Company has issued a new Florida book, *Pirates, Indians, and Spaniards: Father Escobedo's "La Florida,"* edited by James W. Covington, dean of the evening division at the University. The Foreword was written by Professor Charles Arnade, University of South Florida.

Everglades National Park

Warren F. Hamilton, superintendent of the Everglades National Park, was promoted to assistant regional director in the National Park Service Western Regional Office at San Francisco. His successor at Everglades National Park is Stanley C. Joseph, formerly superintendent of Big Bend National Park, Texas.

The Koreshan Unity

On October 18, the Koresh celebrated its 124th birthday, and to commemorate the arrival of the "First Settlers" in Estero there was a boat trip from Estero Island-Fort Myers Beach to the original dock, Bamboo Landing, where Dr. C. R. Teed and his followers landed seventy years ago. The Koreshan Unity has deeded some of its land holdings to the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Monuments, as the Koreshan State Park, the first state park in Lee County. An historic marker was erected by the Board in cooperation with the Florida Federation of Garden Clubs at Estero on April 3, 1963.

Hedwig Michel, president, announces that the organization is restoring historical data, compiling the writings of Koresh, and collecting religious and secular magazines. Anyone having files, records, letters, and photographs relating to the history of the Koreshan Movement should get in touch with the officers of the organization.

Florida College History Teachers Conference

History teachers from twenty-three junior colleges, private four-year colleges, and state and private universities of this state met at Florida State University on March 8 and 9, 1963, to discuss common problems and interests of faculty members in these various types of institutions. Some seventy-five persons from Miami, Jacksonville, Pensacola, and points between were in attendance.

The conference began with an informal reception Friday evening. Saturday morning, after the group had been welcomed to the campus by Florida State University Dean J. Paul Reynolds and Weymouth T. Jordan, head of the Florida State University's history department, Professors Rembert Patrick of The University of Florida and Ray Schultz of Florida State University presented a discussion of the mutual social sciences interests of Florida's institutions of higher learning. The conference then divided into small discussion groups, devoted to an exchange of ideas on such topics as textbooks, paperbacks, and audio-visual materials; the relation between history and social sciences and humanities; means of attracting and retaining superior students in history; problems of co-ordinating course offerings and transferring students among the several institutions; and the role of the Florida Institute for Continuing University Studies in the teaching of history in this state.

The afternoon session, chaired by Prof. Maurice Vance of Florida State University, was devoted to consideration of ways in which the resources of Florida's universities could be made more useful to history teachers of other institutions, such as the junior colleges and high schools. Possibilities of arranging exchange professorships and visiting lectureships between the universities and other institutions; arranging special summer institutes for junior college teachers and other interested persons; arranging graduate programs to help junior college teachers acquire advanced degrees; and making library resources of the universities available, in some measure, to teachers in smaller institutions, were among the subjects discussed.

There was general agreement among the participants in the conference that the exchange of views had been beneficial and

that such conferences should be continued. A second conference is scheduled to meet at the University of Florida, Saturday, March 7, 1964.

Dr. J. Webster Merritt

On October 6, 1963, Dr. J. Webster Merritt, former vice president of the Florida Historical Society, passed away in Jacksonville. He was a well-known physician and a specialist in cardiology and internal medicine.

Dr. Merritt was an important collector of Floridiana and a Florida author of note. His *A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County* was published in 1949 by the University of Florida Press and he was editor and historian of the quarto volume *Hundredth Birthday, Duval County Medical Society, 1853-1953*, published in 1953. His articles on medical history have been published in scholarly and professional journals. He was writing a history of medicine in Florida at the time of his death.

A native of Gainesville, Dr. Merritt was a graduate of the University of Florida Pharmacy School and Johns Hopkins University Medical School. He interned at Boston City Hospital as a member of the Harvard Medical Staff and then began his practice in Jacksonville. A member of the state and national Boards of Medical Examiners, Dr. Merritt was a Fellow of the American College of Cardiology and the American College of Physicians. He was also a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, and Phi Sigma fraternities.

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