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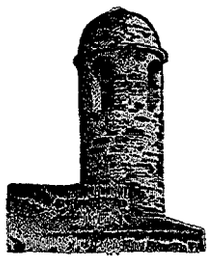

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All correspondence relating to Society business, memberships, and *Quarterly* subscriptions should be addressed to Miss Margaret Chapman, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida. Articles for publication, books for review, and editorial correspondence should be addressed to the *Quarterly*, Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, Florida.)

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

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

Saint Augustine, April, 1857.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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BOOK REVIEWS

LEWIS PAYNE, PAWN OF JOHN WILKES BOOTH

by Leon O. Prior

FLORIDA'S FIRST PUBLIC enemy of national and international stature was a boy from Live Oak, Florida - Lewis Thornton Powell. Historically, he is better known as Lewis Payne, lieutenant of John Wilkes Booth in the 1865 conspiracy to assassinate President Abraham Lincoln and the leaders of the United States government. If Payne were alive today, he would be the type of criminal who would be on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's list of "top ten hoodlums."

Payne's brief, meteoric criminal career started in Baltimore in February, 1865, and terminated with his execution at the Old Capital Prison, Washington, on July 7, 1865. Of all the conspirators associated with John Wilkes Booth, he was the one Booth trusted most. Payne was labeled by the press and regarded by the public as the "Mystery Man" of the conspiracy. Taciturn, uncooperative, and uncommunicative, he never revealed very much information about himself or his family. His fellow conspirators knew little about him or his past. After his arrest, the lack of information encouraged wild rumors and conjecture by the press and public. Some persons tried to identify him as Dan Lee, nephew of Robert E. Lee. Others claimed that he was a bastard son of Jefferson Davis, born when the latter was stationed at Fort Snelling on the western frontier, prior to the Civil War. While Payne was in prison waiting trial, an aged Negress called one day, greeting him in an endearing manner, but he pushed her away and denied knowing her. [1] Payne added to the mystery himself by his frequent use of aliases.

During his life, Lewis Powell was known by many aliases. He is best known historically as Lewis Payne, but other names used by him were Lewis Paine, [2] Reverend Wood, [3] Doctor, [4] Mos-

1. Lloyd Lewis, *Myths After Lincoln* (New York, 1941), 180-181.
2. Benn Pitman, *The Assassination of President Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators* (New York, 1865), 18. Cited hereafter as Pitman.
3. *Ibid.,* 115.
4. *Ibid.,* 160.

by, [5] Lewis Payne Powell, [6] Lieutenant, [7] and Doc. [8]

Lewis Thornton Powell was born in Alabama, April 22, 1844. [9] He was the youngest son of nine children - six daughters and three sons - born to George Cader Powell and Patience Carolyn Powell. His parents were born in Georgia, and their families originally came from Virginia. Patience's maiden name was Powell, but she was not related to George. [10]

George Cader Powell was a Baptist minister, a missionary, blacksmith, and plantation owner. The family was residing in Alabama when Lewis was born, but shortly afterwards moved to Georgia. They lived in Worth and Stewart counties where George Powell operated a plantation. Once, as a favor, he endorsed a note, but when his friend failed to meet his obligation, Powell was forced to sell his own plantation to pay off the debt. In 1859, following this financial disaster, Powell loaded his family and possessions into a wagon, pulled by four mules, and moved to Florida. [11] He settled on a farm near Live Oak, on the route of the Pensacola and Georgia railroad, three miles from the Live Oak Station. [12] George Powell also served as a Baptist preacher and missionary in the area.

Carolyn Powell's children remembered her as a kind mother, devoting most of her time to the rearing of her large family. In later years, her grandchildren recalled a sweet old lady who smoked regularly a corncob pipe and whose sewing basket was always filled with things of interest to children. [13]

When Lewis was twelve, he became seriously interested in religion. He helped his father on the farm, and was described as kind and tenderhearted, yet determined in all his undertak-

5. George Sands Bryan, *The Great American Myth* (New York, 1940), 118.
6. Jacksonville *Florida Union,* July 22, 1865.
7. Pitman, 166.
8. Judson T. Lennard and Helen Alderman, elderly nieces of Lewis Thornton Powell, interviewed by the writer at Geneva, Florida, February 22, 1963. Their mother was Angela Powell, sister of Lewis, and their information concerning Lewis is based on recollection of statements made to them in their youth by their mother.
9. William E. Doster, *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* (New York, 1915), 272. Cited hereafter as Doster.
10. Lennard-Alderman interview.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *New York Herald,* August 2, 1865.
13. Lennard-Alderman interview.

ings. He was hignly regarded by his friends and associates in the Live Oak area. [14] His sisters adored him, later describing him as "a lovable, sweet, kind young boy." They called him by his nickname "Doc." [15]

His father later observed that before the Civil War, Lewis appeared to be developing into manhood with a potential of great usefulness to his church and his community. [16] The war changed his destiny. Having been closely associated with the plantation slavery system all his life, he, like many other Southerners, viewed the war as a necessary action to safeguard his family, his inheritance, and his way of life. As soon as the news of the outbreak of hostilities reached Live Oak, Lewis and his two brothers volunteered for the Confederate force then being raised in Florida. [17] On May 30, 1861, he was accepted for volunteer enlistment at Jasper as a private in the Hamilton Blues, Captain Henry J. Stewart commanding. [18] On June 4, the company moved to Jacksonville, where it became Company I, Second Florida Infantry. The regiment was encamped near the Brick Church, just west of Jacksonville, when it was mustered into Confederate service on July 13. [19] Two days later, the regiment left Jacksonville by rail for Virginia, arriving in Richmond the following Sunday afternoon, July 21, just as the telegraph wires were flashing the news of the first Confederate victory at Manassas. The Second Florida was disappointed in having missed the chance to participate in the fighting.

For the next two months, the regiment was in Camp of Instruction near Richmond, training and guarding Federal prisoners captured at Manassas. [20] It was during this period that Lewis T. Powell is believed to have first met John Wilkes Booth. He secured a pass one night to go into Richmond where he attended his first stage play. Powell was spellbound by the presentation and was particularly impressed by the voice and manner

14. Doster, 272.
15. Lennard-Alderman interview.
16. Doster, 272.
17. Pitman, 308.
18. General Services Administration, *National Archives Relating to Confederate Soldiers*, Second Regiment, Florida Infantry, Company Muster Roll (Washington, 1927). Cited hereafter as GSA.
19. J. J. Dickison, *Military History of Florida* (Louisville, 1890), 142-143.
20. *Ibid.*

of one of the actors, John Wilkes Booth. Booth, at this time, was a young man, about twenty-five years old, and was described as having large, lustrous eyes, a graceful form, regular, classical features, and a rich voice that lingered in the ears of those who heard him. At the conclusion of the play, the stage-struck Powell sought and gained an introduction to Booth. These two incongruous natures and personalities were immediately attracted to each other. Powell was tall, awkward, rough, frank, generous, and illiterate. Booth was of delicate mold, polished, graceful, imaginative, and educated. Booth was attracted by Powell's physical strength and Powell, in turn, was irresistibly attracted to the fascinating intellectual actor. After this first meeting, they saw each other on several other occasions in Richmond. [21]

On September 17, the Second Florida moved to Yorktown where it became part of the Army of the Peninsula. When McClellan started his Federal offensive the following spring, Powell saw action for the first time at the seige of Yorktown. His regiment, together with the Second Mississippi, performed well in dislodging Union forces from Pulmentary's peach orchard. Following the Confederate evacuation of Yorktown, May 3, 1862, the Second Florida joined Early's Brigade and participated in the fighting at Williamsburg on May 5. Private Powell saw action at Seven Pines, May 31; Gaines Mill, June 27; Frayser's Farm, June 30; and Second Manassas on August 30. In the meantime, his first year enlistment had expired, but he re-enlisted in the Second Florida for S. R. Chisman, receiving the fifty dollar bounty for taking Chisman's place. [22] Early in September, the Second Florida crossed the Potomac near Leesburg and Powell participated in the capture of Harper's Ferry on September 15. From here the Florida troops moved on to Sharpsburg, Antietam, and Fredericksburg. [23]

Sometime shortly after the first of the year Powell learned that his two brothers had been wounded in the Battle of Murfreesboro, December 31, [24] and that one was probably dead. Perhaps this information was contained in a letter from his family. Early in May, Powell received a furlough. Company muster

21. Pitman, 313-314.
22. GSA.
23. Dickison, *Military History of Florida,* 148-149.
24. Pitman, 310.

rolls do not show the exact time or destination of the furlough, but they reveal that as of May 13, he had returned and was entitled to commutation for transportation. [25] Apparently he did not go home on this furlough, as his father said that he never saw him again after his enlistment in 1861. [26]

In June, the Second Florida, now part of the Army of Northem Virginia, moved into Pennsylvania, and on July 1, they were fighting at Gettysburg as part of Perry's Brigade. [27] As the Florida troops were attacking the Union center line, in the fierce fighting on July 3, Powell was shot in the right wrist and was taken prisoner. The following day, he was admitted for treatment to the Twelfth Army Corps Field Hospital. On July 6, he was transferred as a prisoner nurse to Letterman General Hospital at Gettysburg, remaining there until September 2. He was then transferred to the United States Army Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland.

Until Powell's capture, Company I's muster rolls show that he was present and accounted for during the entire period from July 12, 1861, to July 4, 1863. On two occasions he was confined to the hospital for illness, once in August, 1861, and a second time on November 5, 1862. The nature of his illness on these occcasions is not known. His second confinement was in the Florida Hospital at Richmond. [28]

While in the hospital at Gettysburg, Powell met Margaret Branson, a volunteer nurse from Baltimore who was serving in his ward. He was called both Powell and "Doctor," and Miss Branson claimed that she did not know whether he was a soldier or a nurse. Apparently Powell's wrist wound was superficial, since Miss Branson seemed unaware of his injury. He assisted with the care of other patients, and reportedly was kind to the sick and wounded. Miss Branson left Gettysburg to return to her home early in September, about the time that Powell was being transferred to Baltimore. [29] On September 7, Powell escaped from his quarters and visited Miss Branson at her residence for

25. GSA.
26. Doster, 272.
27. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1889), Ser. I, Vol. XXVII, Pt. II, Rept. No 545.
28. GSA.
29. Pitman, 160.

a few hours one afternoon. He was wearing a Federal uniform, but said that he was planning to cross over the lines into the Confederacy. She did not see him again until January, 1865. [30]

Upon leaving Baltimore, Powell's activities are rather obscure. Apparently, he passed through the Union lines into Virginia where he planned to rejoin his old Florida regiment. Searching for his company, he walked through Winchester and into Fauquier County, where he met some of the men from Colonel Mosby's Virginia cavalry and he decided to join this group. [31] This enlistment probably occurred some time during the period in October-December, 1863. The records for Company B, Mosby's regiment carry the name of S. T. Powell on the receipt roll for clothing issued in the fourth quarter of 1864. This is the only reference to the name Powell, and since it coincides with Lewis Thornton Powell's period of service with Mosby, it is believed that the initial "S" was possibly a clerical recording error and should have been "L." [32]

On August 17, 1864, General Philip Sheridan detailed a special group of one hundred Union cavalrymen, under command of Richard Blazer, to wipe out Mosby's Rangers. Blazer's mission ended abruptly in November, 1864, when he walked into an ambush near Myerstown, Virginia. Blazer managed to flee with a few of his men. Four of Mosby's force, including Lewis Powell, tried to overtake the group, but were not successful. [33]

Powell deserted Mosby's cavalry about January 1, 1865. Shortly afterwards he rode into the Union lines at Alexandria and took the oath of allegiance, receiving his parole on January 13, under the name of Payne. [34] Later, he explained that he used an alias to escape retaliation from Mosby's men because of his desertion. Since this was the name he continued to use, he will be referred to hereafter as Lewis Payne.

After taking the oath, Payne sold his horse, acquired civilian clothes, and proceeded to Baltimore, where he stayed for a few

30. Brevet Major H. B. Smith, *Between the Lines: Secret Service Stories Told Fifty Years After* (New York, 1911), 304-305.
31. Pitman, 312.
32. General Services Administration, *National Archives Relating to Confederate Soldiers,* Mosby's Regiment Virginia Cavalry, Company Property Roll (Washington, 1962).
33. Virgil Carrington Jones, *Ranger Mosby* (Chapel Hill, 1944), 200-201, 230-231.
34. Bryan, *Great American Myth,* 115.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY GARDNER.

LEWIS PAYNE.

$30,000 REWARD

DESCRIPTION

OF

JOHN WILKES BOOTH!

Who Assassinated the PRESIDENT on the Evening of April 14th, 1865.

Height 5 feet 8 inches; weight 160 pounds; compact built; hair jet black, inclined to curl, medium length, parted behind; eyes black, and heavy dark eye-brows; wears a large seal ring on little finger; when talking inclines his head forward; looks down.

Description of the Person who Attempted to Assassinate Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State.

Height 6 feet 1 inch; hair black, thick, full and straight; no beard, nor appearance of beard; cheeks red on the jaws; face moderately full; 22 or 23 years of age; eyes, color not known—large eyes, not prominent; brows not heavy, but dark; face not large, but rather round; complexion healthy; nose straight and well formed, medium size; mouth small; lips thin; upper lip protruded when he talked; chin pointed and prominent; head medium size; neck short, and of medium length; hands soft and small; fingers tapering; shows no signs of hard labor; broad shoulders; taper waist; straight figure; strong-looking man; manner not gentlemanly, but vulgar; Overcoat double-breasted, color mixed of pink and grey spots, small —was a sack overcoat, pockets in side and one on the breast, with lappells or flaps; pants black, common stuff; new heavy boots; wore small and thin, inclined to tenor.

The Common Council of Washington, D. C., have offered a reward of $20,000 for the arrest and conviction of these Assassins, in addition to which I will pay $10,000.

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel and Agent War Department.

FACSIMILE (REDUCED) OF THE POSTER ORDERED BY COLONEL BAKER OF THE SECRET SERVICE.

days at Miller's Hotel. He renewed his friendship with Margaret Branson, and moved into a room in her mother's boarding house. It would appear that his interest in Miss Branson was possibly a romantic one, as he is not known to have had any other reason to return to Baltimore after his parole. Under other circumstances he might have tried to work his way south to his Florida home.

Unable to secure employment, Payne spent his time reading books, particularly medical books, from the Branson library. He had little contact with the other boarders but often went walking with Margaret to visit her relatives and friends. [35] One day during February, as he was passing Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore, a familiar voice hailed him. Looking up the hotel steps, he saw his old friend, John Wilkes Booth, the Richmond actor with whom he had briefly associated in 1861. [36]

Prior to this meeting with Payne, perhaps as early as August or September, 1864, Booth had conceived the idea of abducting President Lincoln. In planning this action, Booth would need the assistance of about six other men and he had started recruiting individuals to carry out the various phases of the kidnapping. [37]

Booth immediately recognized that Payne would be invaluable to him. Here was a strong, battle-hardened, destitute, and desperate man, well-qualified in every way to carry out Booth's nefarious crime. Renewing their friendship, they met often at the Barnum Hotel and the Branson house. During their meetings, Booth revealed his plan to kidnap President Lincoln. [38] By February, 1865, Booth had expanded his original plan and intended to kidnap not only Lincoln but also members of the cabinet. The time set was Inauguration Day, March 4, when the city would be crowded with people. After the abduction, Booth intended to take Lincoln and the others over the Potomac into the South, thus forcing the North to compromise or pay a large ransom for their safe return.

The United States government was alerted to this kidnap plot in February, 1865, by Louis J. Weichmann, a War Depart-

35. Theodore Roscoe, *The Web of Conspiracy* (Englewood, 1959), 67; *New York Times*, June 3, 1865.
36. Clara E. Laughlin, *The Death of Lincoln: The Story of Booth's Plot, His Deed, and the Penalty* (New York, 1909), 38.
37. Bryan, *Great American Myth*, 117.
38. Pitman, 310.

ment clerk and a boarder at the home of Mrs. Mary E. Surratt. Weichmann was a close friend of Mrs. Surratt's son John, and a great admirer of her daughter, Annie. John Surratt was one of the men recruited by Booth to assist in kidnapping Lincoln. In this close relationship with the Surratts, Weichmann learned of Booth's plans and participated in some of the conspiratorial conversation. However, the seriousness of this plot paralyzed Weichmann with fear and he reported it to his superiors. They, in turn, reported the plot through channels, but apparently it was not taken very seriously as no action was taken against the conspirators. At the same time, unrevealed circumstances caused Booth to postpone the date of his planned abduction on March 4, to a later date. [39]

Meanwhile, Booth had learned from theatrical gossip that sometime during the week of March 11 - March 18, Lincoln planned to attend an afternoon theatrical performance of Tom Taylor's "Still Waters Run Deep," at the Soldier's Home in the District of Columbia. Booth apparently had knowledge of the exact afternoon when Lincoln would attend. [40] With Payne added to his group, Booth now had a large enough force. In preparation for carrying out the plot, he sent Payne to Washington during the last week of February to contact John H. Surratt.

Arriving at the Surratt house, Payne's knock was answered by Louis J. Weichmann. Payne introduced himself as Mr. Wood and inquired for John H. Surratt. When informed that John was not at home, Payne then inquired for Mrs. Surratt, and arranged with her to spend the night. As there were no vacant rooms, he shared Weichmann's room. Early the following morning, he departed on the first morning train to Baltimore. [41]

Soon after his return to Baltimore, Payne was involved in an altercation at the Branson rooming house with a Negro maid, who, he claimed, answered him in an impudent manner, declined to clean the room as he had ordered, and who called him names. [42] Payne struck her on the forehead, drew her on the

39. D. H. L. Gleason, "Conspiring Against Lincoln," *The Magazine of History* (February, 1911), 59-65.
40. Bryan, *Great American Myth*, 118. The date was March 16, 17, or 20. Sources do not agree as to the exact date, but March 16 seems to be the most accurate one.
41. Pitman, 114.
42. Smith, *Between the Lines*, 257.

floor, and threatened to kill her. The maid reported him to the military authorities, charging him with assault. She said that he had previously been in the city, but she was unable to produce any witnesses to corroborate her allegations. [43]

Payne was arrested on March 10 at the Branson residence, and a search of his person produced a pass and a parole issued him at Alexandria, Virginia, January 13, 1865. He was interrogated by Lieutenant H. B. Smith, who described him as a sullen, dumb-looking, overgrown young man; a cross between a big booby and a sullen animal. To get him to answer any question, Lieutenant Smith had to alternately prod and cajole him. After considerable confused and disjointed questioning, the lieutenant managed to secure the following disconnected statement:

> Lewis Paine, refugee from Fauquier County, Virginia, my parents reside near Orleans in that county. I am eighteen and a half years old. I have not been out of Virginia since the war commenced, until this time.
>
> I was never in the Rebel army. Mosby used to stay at the house of Joe Blackwell, until his house was burned.
>
> Willie Tung of Warrenton.
>
> Daniel Moffit, of Fauquier County, member of Mosby's command.
>
> Miss Maggie Branson, with whom I was stopping, is related to me by marriage.
>
> I bought the coat and vest of grey cloth in this city, since I came here; my pants of grey cloth I bought in Washington.
>
> I don't remember of hearing any disloyal remarks from any of the boarders at the house No. 16 North Eutaw Street. I whipped a colored woman at the house on Monday last, because she insulted me; her name is Annie.
>
> (signed) L. Paine.

Smith suspected that Payne was possibly a Confederate spy, but without witnesses to testify against him, he was released after taking the oath of allegiance to the United States. Smith administered the oath, and still suspicious, he wrote an insert on the form, requiring Payne to proceed north of Philadelphia immediately and remain there during the war. Payne signed his name as "L. Paine." His oath of allegiance carried his name as Lewis Paine and the provost marshal's arrest records and corre-

43. Pitman, 161.

spondence also show his name as Lewis Paine. This was probably another recording or spelling error.

Following his release, Payne departed at once for New York City. Arriving there, he apparently registered at the Revere House since he wrote Miss Branson directing her to write him there. Miss Branson said that she did not see Payne again and did not correspond with him. [44]

On March 14, he reappeared at Washington where he went to Mrs. Surratt's rooming house. Again, he was greeted by Louis Weichmann who had forgotten his name. When Weichmann asked his name, he said it was Payne. He was then taken into the parlor where he was introduced to Mrs. Surratt, her daughter Anna, and another roomer, Miss Honora Fitzpatrick. Recalling his previous visit, one of the women called him Mr. Wood. It was only then that Weichmann remembered meeting Payne earlier.

While at Mrs. Surratt's, Payne represented himself as a Baptist preacher who had just arrived from Baltimore where he had been in prison about a week. He said that he had been released after taking an oath of allegiance and was now determined to become a good and loyal citizen. The Surratts were Catholic, and it seemed unusual that a Baptist preacher would seek hospitality in their home. A female roomer observed that he was certainly a peculiar looking Baptist preacher, and she did not believe he would convert many souls. [45] Later, Anna Surratt said his conduct was that of a perfect fool and she did not believe he had his five senses. [46]

On the afternoon of March 15, Booth assembled his group for a special meeting at Gautier's saloon in Washington to plan the details for kidnapping the President the following day. Those present, in addition to Booth, were Michael O'Laughlin, Samuel Arnold, John Surratt, George Atzerodt, David Herold, and Payne. They planned to kidnap Lincoln as he rode in his carriage to the Soldier's Home to see the play. Atzerodt was to provide a boat for the party to cross the Potomac after the abduction. Payne was to provide the strength and muscle to hold Lin-

44. Smith, *Between the Lines*, 255-258, 309.
45. Pitman, 115-118.
46. Doster, 267.

coln under control, assisted by Booth and others, if necessary. Surratt, a Confederate courier, who knew the carriage roads in the eastern part of Maryland, had two carbines, ammunition, and ropes cached at the family's former home in Surrattsville, Maryland. All of the men, who would be mounted, were to stop Lincoln's carriage outside of Washington. Surratt was to seize the carriage and drive it to southern Maryland via Benning's Bridge (at the end of Pennsylvania and Kentucky Avenues). [47] Payne and Booth were to subdue Lincoln in the carriage, while Arnold and O'Laughlin acted as lookouts. They planned to stretch ropes across the roads to delay cavalry pursuit. Herold, who knew the terrain and the people, was to wait for the party at Surrattsville. At Port Tobacco, Maryland, Atzerodt would be ready with the boat to ferry the party across the Potomac to Virginia, and then on to Richmond.

On the afternoon of March 16, Booth, Payne, and their fellow conspirators took their positions on the road to the Soldier's Home, and when the Presidential carriage came into view, they swooped down upon it. Exactly what happened then has never been clearly explained. Booth and his cohorts quickly discovered that Lincoln was not in the carriage, and they rode off at once. If anybody was in the carriage, it was never disclosed by the government. Apparently no investigation or report of this incident was made by the authorities. [48]

The would-be kidnappers separated immediately, planning to rendezvous later at the Surratt house. Louis Weichmann recalled that when he returned to the residence that afternoon, he asked where John Surratt had gone, and was told that he, Payne, and five other men, had ridden off earlier, about two o'clock. After dinner, Weichmann returned to his room to read, when suddenly John Surratt, upset and excited and with a small four-barrelled Sharpe's revolver in his hand, burst into the room. A few minutes later, Payne and Booth arrived. Payne was carrying a pistol and Booth a riding whip, Both men were agitated and Booth did not even seem to notice Weichmann in the room at first.

The three conspirators left Weichmann's room and walked

47. Bryan, *Great American Myth,* 118.
48. Otto Eisenschiml, *Why was Lincoln Murdered?* (Boston, 1937), 44-45.

upstairs to a back room on the third floor, where they stayed about thirty minutes. Afterwards, they left the house together. When Surratt returned, he told Weichmann that Payne had gone to Baltimore and that Booth had left for New York. Apparently, they thought that there would be a government investigation and to avoid identification and apprehension, Booth and Payne were leaving Washington. Surratt would remain, so that he could notify the others when it would be safe to return. [49]

During the following week, nothing appeared in the Washington papers to indicate that the government was even cognizant of the aborted kidnapping. Apparently, no investigation was being made and Booth and Payne decided it was safe to return to Washington the last week of March Payne registered at the Herndon House and Booth at the National Hotel.

During the period April 1 to April 14, Booth conferred often with his men about plans to kidnap Lincoln. According to one witness, Booth had now decided to abduct Lincoln from the midst of a theater audience. As a result, he passed up several easy opportunities to kidnap the President. [50]

When Booth learned that Lincoln would attend Ford's Theater on April 14, he immediately sent word to the conspirators to gather that evening in Payne's room at the Herndon House. When Payne, Booth, Atzerodt, and Herold assembled about 8:00 p.m. only Booth knew the plan. [51] When Booth gave Payne a knife and gun, and ordered him to kill Secretary of State Seward, [52] the latter realized, probably for the first time, that the actor was planning the assassination of Lincoln and members of the cabinet rather than a kidnapping. [53] From available sources it seems that only Payne knew of the assassination plan. Just before he died, Booth reportedly said that Payne alone was aware of the plot, and that Herold and Atzerodt knew nothing of the intended assassination. [54] Payne was also reported to have admitted that only he and Booth knew of the assassination plan and that, consequently, only they deserved to die. [55]

49. Pitman, 118.
50. Bryan, *Great American Myth,* 117.
51. Frances Wilson, *John Wilkes Booth* (Boston, 1929), 93.
52. Pitman, 314.
53. Doster, 269.
54. Eisenschimal, *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?,* 172.
55. Wilson, *John Wilkes Booth,* 99.

About 10 p.m., April 14, Payne, mounted on a rented horse, and wearing a light overcoat, brown hat, black pants, and heavy boots, rode to the Seward residence near Lafayette Square. Dismounting, he walked to the entrance and rang the bell. In the meantime, Booth had entered Ford's Theater. The assaults on Seward and Lincoln were supposed to occur simultaneously. [56]

At the Seward residence, the Secretary was confined to his bedroom on the third floor. He was seriously ill, in fact delirious at times from injuries suffered in a carriage accident a few days earlier. [57] The house gas lights were low and daughter Fanny Seward and an invalid soldier nurse, George T. Robinson, were in the Secretary's dimly lighted room, when the bell sounded. The other members of the family were in bed resting at the time. [58]

When William Bell, a servant, opened the front door, Payne stepped inside, revealing a small package which he said was medicine from Dr. Verdi. He insisted that he had to show Mr. Seward how to take the medicine, as he pushed his way past Bell, down the hall, and up the stairs. [59] His heavy boots made considerable noise and Bell asked him to walk softly. Frederick William Seward, the Secretary's son and also Assistant Secretary of State, hearing the sound of conversation and the heavy footsteps, had come to the head of the stairs to investigate the cause of the disturbance. Payne informed Frederick that he had a message to deliver personally to the Secretary from Dr. Verdi.

When Payne was told that Seward was sleeping and could not be disturbed, he replied, "Very well, sir, I will go." Turning, he took two or three steps down the stairs, then suddenly without warning, he turned around and sprang up the stairs. As he did so, he drew a Navy revolver from his coat and with a muttered oath, aimed at Frederick's head and pulled the trigger. When the revolver misfired, Payne proceeded to pistol-whip Frederick about the head, striking him with such force that the revolver was broken and Frederick's skull was fractured. [60] Bell,

56. Pitman, 154-156.
57. Frederick William Seward, *Reminiscences of a War Time Statesman and Diplomat, 1830-1915* (New York, 1916), 258.
58. Fanny Seward, "I Have Supped Full on Horrors," Diary of Fanny Seward, edited by Patricia Carley Johnson, *American Heritage*, X (October, 1959), 97. Cited hereafter as Fanny Seward diary.
59. Pitman, 154.
60. Seward, *Reminiscences*, 258-259.

the servant, saw Frederick throw up his hands and fall back through the door into one of the bedrooms. [61] Fanny, hearing the sound of blows, urged Nurse Robinson to see what was going on. As they opened the bedroom door, Frederick staggered through, covered with blood. Payne, with a knife in his right hand and a pistol in his left, rushed toward the Secretary's bed with Fanny imploring him to stop. Pushing Robinson down, Payne reached the bed, but the noise and shouting had awakened the helpless Secretary. Opening his eyes, he saw Payne bending over him, trying to slash him. Seward was knifed in the face and neck, but the force of the blows rolled him out of the bed onto the floor, momentarily out of Payne's reach. [62]

Meanwhile, Robinson had regained his feet and was grappling with Payne, when another of the Secretary's sons, Major Augustus H. Seward, ran into the room and joined the fight. Payne floored Robinson with his fist, but Major Seward was able to push Payne to the door. The Major was cut five or six times on the forehead and once on the left hand. Throughout the fight, Payne kept repeating, "I'm mad! I'm mad!" [63] Struggling through the door into the hall, Payne gave a sudden twist, broke away and ran down the stairs. There he encountered Emerick Hansell, a messenger for the State Department assigned to the Seward residence, and stabbed him in the back through the ribs, barely missing his lungs.

Outside, Payne was now alone, and along the dark and unfamiliar roads, he did not know which way to flee. He desperately tried to find the Navy Yard Bridge where he was to rendezvous with Booth, but was unsuccessful. For some unexplained reason he abandoned his horse about 1 a.m., April 15, and the animal was found by military police in front of the Lincoln Branch Barracks, about a mile from the bridge which Payne was trying to locate. [64]

He hid in the woods north of the barracks for three days, crouched in the top of a cedar tree. Police passed beneath him frequently, searching for him. He was now desperately hungry, and the only place he knew where he could get food was at Mrs.

61. Pitman, 154.
62. Fanny Seward diary, 98.
63. Pitman, 156.
64. Fanny Seward diary, 159-160.

Surratt's. Not knowing who might be at the house or whether it was under surveillance, Payne tried to disguise himself as a laborer. With a pick-ax that he found in the woods on his shoulder, and the sleeve from his undershirt on his head like a tight-fitting skull-cap, he knocked at Mrs. Surratt's door about 11:45 p.m., Monday, April 17. [65]

Just thirty minutes earlier, a party of officers from the War Department had arrived at Mrs. Surratt's, placing her and all the persons residing there under arrest. They were sitting in the parlor waiting for the carriage to take them to military headquarters when Payne arrived. When one of the officers who opened the door asked Payne what he wanted, he said he wanted to see Mrs. Surratt, since she wanted him to dig a gutter the following morning. He identified himself as a poor man with no home, no money, making his living, about a dollar a day, with a pick. When asked why he had called at such an unusual hour, nearly midnight, he said that he had stopped by to see what time he should start work the following morning. Payne denied any previous acquaintance with Mrs. Surratt. [66] She only knew him, he said, as a poor man working in the neighborhood. He claimed that he was a former resident of Fauquier County, Virginia, and produced a copy of an oath of allegiance which he stated was issued in June, 1864, although it was dated at Baltimore, March 10, 1965. [67] He said that he was about twenty years old, that he could write his name, but was unable to read. He had left Virginia in February, 1865, in order to avoid military service, he stated, preferring to earn his living with a pick. When Mrs. Surratt was summoned from the parlor, she was asked if she knew Payne and had hired him to dig a gutter for her. She raised her right hand and said, "Before God, sir, I do not know this man, and have never seen him and I did not hire him to dig a gutter for me." Payne said nothing. The officers placed him under arrest, taking him by separate carriage to the provost marshal's office for further interrogation.

About 3 a.m., April 18, Secretary Seward's servant, William H. Bell, was taken to the provost marshal's office to view the line-up of men, and he identified Payne as the assailant who had struck Frederick Seward. [68] Payne was immediately man-

65. Doster, 269.
66. Pitman, 121-123.
67. *New York Times*, April 19, 1865.
68. Pitman, 121-123.

acled, both hands and legs, and removed to confinement on the ironclad *Saugus.* Some of the male prisoners charged with Lincoln's assassination were confined on the *Montauk* and others on the *Saugus,* both anchored in the Potomac River at the Navy Yard. Canvas bags, with a small hole for breathing and eating but no opening for the eyes, were placed over the heads of the male prisoners. [69] The log of the *Saugus* shows that on the evening of April 29, Payne and the other prisoners were taken ashore and placed in the penitentiary at the arsenal grounds to await trial. [70]

The War Department, upon direction of President Johnson, appointed a military commission consisting of ten army officers to try Lewis Payne, David E. Herold, George A. Atzerodt, Michael O'Laughlin, Edward Spangler, Samuel Arnold, Mary E. Surratt, and Doctor Samuel A. Mudd. On May 8, the prisoners were furnished for the first time with a copy of the specifications and charges against them, and all requested opportunity to secure counsel. Two days later, at the arraignment, all the defendants pleaded not guilty to the specifications and were charged. According to newspaper accounts, Payne had made his plea without benefit of counsel. On May 12, the Assistant Judge Advocate asked Attorney William E. Doster to defend Payne. [71]

Payne was charged with conspiring to murder President Lincoln and with assault and attempt to murder Secretary Seward, Frederick Seward, Augustus Seward, Emerick Hansell, and George Robinson. Doster did not assume Payne's defense until the trial opened and had no opportunity to prepare any defense in advance. Doster could get nothing out of Payne, either as to his previous history or as to anything he wished to say in his defense, or if he wished to be defended at all. The attorney said that during this period he knew very little more about Payne than the public, and not nearly as much as the prosecution. The attorney was even in doubt as to whether to explain Payne's conduct by lunacy, unparalleled stupidity, or because he thought he might prejudice his case by talking with counsel. [72]

69. Otto Eisenschiml, *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death* (New York, 1940), 129.
70. Charles O. Paullin, "The Navy and the Booth Conspirators," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXIII (September, 1940), 277.
71. Pitman, 18-20.
72. Doster, 264.

The press reported that fur the first few days of the trial, Payne was more intent on trying to obtain a view of the sunny landscape through the barred window, than on the details of trial proceedings. [73] Doster recalled that in the courtroom Payne sat upright with the back of his head against the wall, his manacled hands spread out on his knees, staring straight forward at the crowd whose curiosity to see him was astonishing.

About halfway through the prosecution's presentation, Payne seemed suddenly to become aware of the seriousness of the charges against him, and, to use Doster's description, "thawed out." He announced that he wanted to talk to his attorney privately, and the following day Doster was allowed to see Payne alone in the ccrurtroom. At this time he gave the lawyer a disconnected history of his life in which he seemed to have difficulty in recalling his age or where he had been born. There is no indication that he mentioned at this time the existence of his family in Florida. At one point in the interview, Payne inquired about the condition of Frederick Seward, and said that he was sorry that he had hurt him and that he owed him an apology.

Doster realized that he would have to plead insanity, which would have to be supported by expert testimony. Doster called upon Dr. Charles H. Nichols, Superintendent of the Government Hospital for the Insane, and Dr. James C. Hall to examine Payne, who testified that they had serious doubts as to the prisoner's sanity. [74] The prosecution presented the testimony of several army doctors, including Surgeon General J. K. Barnes, who stated that after examining Payne, they had found no evidence of insanity. [75]

Upon completion of testimony, Doster made an eloquent plea

73. *New York Times*, May 14, 1865.

74. Doster, 265-266. It appears that something did happen to unbalance Payne's mind, following his assault on Seward. Prior to the war, his father had described him as a youth with promise, his war record was above average, his actions in Baltimore were normal and displayed intelligence. Following the Seward assault he was unable to find his way out of Washington, yet he was able to locate the Surratt residence. He parried the questions of his arresting officers with cunning. However, his attorney regarded him as possibly a lunatic or very stupid and Payne was unable to furnish a coherent story about his background. It is quite possible that Payne suffered brain damage either from a blow on the head during the fight at Seward's home or from the canvas bag he was required to have over his head from April 18 to the end of his trial, except for courtroom appearances.

75. Pitman, 113-123.

to the court. He admitted that Payne had attempted to take Secretary Seward's life and that he was probably not within the medical definition of insanity. Payne, he said, believed that what be did was right and justifiable. Doster reviewed Payne's family background and life, and concluded by speaking of his own observations of the good qualities that he had found in Payne.

On July 6, the trial commission found Payne guilty of all charges and specifications, and he was sentenced to be hanged. [76] Payne's execution was set by presidential order for 1 p.m., July 7, together with Atzerodt, Herold, and Mrs. Surratt. Doster visited Payne in his cell just before the execution and saw that his fortitude was shaken. Although he was the only one of the condemned prisoners to eat a hearty breakfast on the morning of the execution, he was visibly upset when Doster arrived. He thanked the attorney for his defense. No friends or relatives were present, although many came to visit the other condemned prisoners. [77]

Thousands of people thronged the streets of Washington and the hotels were filled with guests, many who had traveled long distances hoping to see the execution. Admission to the south yard of the penitentiary was limited, however, to members of the press and a few others granted military admission passes.

Shortly before he was to walk to the scaffold, Payne was moved to a cell on the first floor where he talked with two Baptist ministers, the Reverend Gillette of the First Baptist Church of Washington and the Reverend Striker of Baltimore. Payne was now calm and he joined Mr. Gillette in prayer. At 1:15 p.m. the prisoners were marched to the scaffold. [78] Payne walked between a guard of two soldiers, following Mrs. Surratt, who was being half carried and half supported by the soldiers. Her slow movement obliged Payne to stop occasionally, and, as he did so, he looked around at the throng of spectators. After he was seated on the scaffold, the sailor hat which some unidentified person had placed on his head was blown off by a sudden gust of wind. He instantly turned to recover it. [79]

Dr. Gillette made a short statement to the throng on behalf

76. *Ibid.,* 308-317.
77. Doster, 269-271.
78. *New York Times,* July 8, 1865.
79. Doster, 271-272.

of Payne and repeated a prayer. Lt. Colonel Christian Rath, the executioner, checked the noose on Payne's neck, and as he did so, he said with compassion, "Payne, I want you to die quick." Payne replied in a soft voice without a single tremor, "You know best, Captain." Those were the last words he ever spoke. At 1:25 p.m. the trap was sprung and the four bodies dropped. [80] After a lapse of ten minutes, Army medical officers examined the bodies and pronounced them dead. [81] Payne's body was buried in the penitentiary yard, probably the same day as the execution. It was moved several times during the period 1865 to 1884, but the records are not complete, and no one knows where his body rests today.

During the trial, Attorney Doster wrote repeatedly to Payne's father, George Powell, in Live Oak, but received no reply until long after Payne's trial and execution. In a letter to Doster dated September 30, 1865, Payne's father explained that he had been confined to his bed when he first heard from him, and he did not answer the letter as he had intended to journey to Washington as soon as possible. When he was well enough to travel, he started for Washington. Upon arriving at Jacksonville, he learned of his son's execution and returned home. The father thanked Doster on behalf of the Powell family for the services rendered to the unfortunate Lewis. [82]

A Jacksonville newspaper, *The Florida Union*, reported that in the last weeks of July, 1865, George Powell was in the city and had called at the newspaper office. He told the editor that he had lost one son, Oliver, in the war, and another, George, had returned maimed for life. Lewis had been his only hope in his old age. The paper described the father as grief-stricken and observed that, although Lewis' terrible punishment was just, it could not withhold its deepest sympathy for the afflicted father, or esteem him less as a worthy man and citizen. [83]

After Lewis' execution, the Powell family moved from Live Oak to Orange County. They were motivated partly by grief and humiliation resulting from Lewis' tragic end and partly by the

80. John A. Gray, "The Fate of the Lincoln Conspirators: The Account of the Hanging Given by Lt. Col. Christian Rath, The Executioner," *McClure's Magazine,* XXXVII (October 1911), 636.
81. *New York Times,* July 8, 1865.
82. Doster, 272-273.
83. *New York Herald,* August 2, 1865.

missionary zeal of George Powell. The family settled on the southeast shore of Lake Jessup at a point six miles southeast of Sanford and about seven miles from Geneva. [84] George Powell supported his family by working as a blacksmith, serving also as a Baptist missionary. Through his efforts, several Baptist churches were established in this area.

Lewis' six sisters all married into well-known and well-established families in Florida. Their present-day descendents, though scattered, still reside in Florida, living in Jacksonville, West Palm Beach, Geneva, Ft. Myers, and Tampa. His oldest brother George, although permanently disabled, returned to the Orange County area to work and raise a family. The 1870 United States census records for Orange County list George W. Powell, age 30, born in Georgia, as a farmer with real property valued at $200 and personal property at $300. His wife Susan was also born in Georgia in 1842. Their six children were Benjamin, 12; Lewis, 10; Caroline, 9; Oliver H., 7; Susan, 5; and, Mathew, 3.

The same census record also lists "George C. Powell, age sixty years, born in Georgia, a white, male blacksmith." His real property was valued at $4,500 and his personal property at $300. His wife, Patience, age 58, was listed as a housewife. Also listed is his daughter Anna, age 17, born in Georgia, and three Negro servants, Sarah, Martin, and Melinda Powell. Powell is buried near Longwood, Florida, and his wife is buried near Geneva.

84. *Tampa Tribune*, December 30, 1956; letter from L. M. Rehbinder, acquaintance of nieces and nephews of Lewis Thornton Powell, to author, September 14, 1962.

THE INDIAN RIVER SETTLEMENT: 1842-1849

by JOSEPH D. CUSHMAN, JR.

No SECTION OF the Territory of Florida suffered more than the east coast as a result of Indian deprecations during the Seminole War. The flourishing sugar plantations of the Halifax country were reduced to charred ruins, the tiny port of New Smyrna was entirely deserted, and the infant citrus industry suffered a staggering setback just as it was beginning to show signs of prosperity. After seven years of fighting, many Floridians gravely doubted the truth of General William Worth's pontifical pronouncement that the Seminole conflict would be "officially" terminated on August 12, 1842. The settlers were alarmed at the naivete of the War Department's assumption that the remainder of the Indians would emigrate to Arkansas peacefully, and they anticipated a new Seminole outbreak if emigration was attempted by force.

The Seminoles confined themselves to an area around the western side of Lake Okeechobee and along the banks of the Caloosahatchee River in the southwestern part of the peninsula. Although United States Army authorities estimated that there remained only 120 braves capable of bearing arms, skeptical settlers felt that these figures considerably underestimated the strength of the Indian remnant. The fact that Lake Okeechobee and the Coloosahatchee occasionally inundated the fields and villages of the temporary reservation and created a food shortage which would force the Indians to the coastal areas was of small comfort to the would-be settlers of the lower peninsula. [1] As long as the Seminoles remained in Florida, fear of guerilla warfare would impede the settlement of the southern frontier. It was not surprising that most Floridians felt that the only solution to the Indian problem was to continue the war until the entire Indian remnant was forced to emigrate.

A war-weary army, an economy-minded Congress, and a

1. John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), 513. Sprague estimated that the total strength of the Indians, including women and children, was 360.

depression-ridden country had agitated for a peace settlement for several years. A majority of Americans were anxious to accept the pronouncement of General Worth that the war was over, despite the obstreperous objections of the people of Florida. Anticipating the agitation for peace and yet eager to settle and protect the peninsula, Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, enthusiastically supported by Florida's territorial delegate, David Levy, introduced in Congress a free homestead bill in January, 1840. [2] Benton was able to push the bill through after a stormy two years in Congress so that it became law in August, 1842, almost simultaneously with the peace proclamation. Benton's "act for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of the Peninsula of East Florida" was designed to induce arms-bearing pioneers to occupy land in the dangerous Indian areas through free land grants from the federal government. One hundred sixty acres would be given to the male head of a family or to any male over eighteen "who had made or shall, within one year from and after the passage of this act, make an actual settlement within that part of Florida situated and being south and east of the base line dividing townships nine and ten." [3] This line zigzagged across the peninsula from a few miles south of St. Augustine until it struck the Gulf a few miles north of Cedar Key. The act further specified that settlers reside on their land for five years; that they erect a dwelling and cultivate a minimum of five acres; and that no settlements be made within two miles of an active military post or on lands already privately owned. [4]

Anticipating the passage of the Benton bill, the newspapers of East Florida gave glowing predictions of how that section would benefit from the legislation. The St. Augustine *News* declared that the bill would end all the Indian difficulties by bringing 50,000 settlers into the region within three years. This influx of settlers, the *News* opined, would permit East Florida to separate from West Florida at the Suwanee River and allow both sections of the territory to apply for statehood. [5] At a later date, the *News* further predicted, the east coast because of the fertility of its soil

2. Washington *National Intelligencer,* January 9, 1840; St. Augustine *Florida Herald & Southern Democrat,* February 27, 1840.
3. *Statutes at Large,* 27th Cong., 2d Sess., 502.
4. *Ibid.*
5. St. Augustine *News,* June 25, 1842.

would become an important area for the cultivation of cotton, sugar, citrus, tobacco, vegetables, and tropical fruits. Coastal tobacco, the paper said, would be "equal to the best raised on the island of Cuba." [6]

Much favorable publicity was given throughout the country to East Florida's soil, climate, and potential for settlement. The friendly press encouraged many people to move to Florida, the majority of whom wished to settle in the central portion of the peninsula where they assumed the soil was more fertile and cotton could be more easily cultivated. In order to facilitate the issuance of land permits, a land office was established at Newnansville in Alachua County. The bulk of land permits for central Florida were issued from this office; the St. Augustine office issued permits only for the coastal area. [7]

The St. Augustine land office records indicate that there were two lines of settlement in the eastern portion of the peninsula: one followed the lower St. Johns valley from Palatka on the north to Fort Mellon (present day Sanford) on the south; the other hugged the coastal lagoons from New Smyrna on the north and extended haphazardly as far south as Biscayne Bay. The St. Augustine office issued 370 permits of which 283 were validated by the prescribed regulations under the Armed Occupation Act. [8] The coastal settlement chart shows that there were four concentrations of settlers: the Indian River community near present day Fort Pierce, the Jupiter settlement, the Lake Worth colony, and the small group of pioneers in the Biscayne Bay area. The Indian River settlement, which extended from the Sebastian River on the north to St. Lucie Sound on the south, was the most important of the four. [9] Some forty-six heads of families or single men fulfilled the requirements of the Benton Act. [10]

The St. Augustine newspapers followed the progress of the Indian River settlement with keen interest. The *News* stated in early December, 1842, that "a party of ten worthy citizens of

6. *Ibid.,* October 22, 1842.
7. Dorothy Dodd (ed.), "Letters from East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XV (July, 1936), 52-53. Also see St. Augustine *News,* November 19, 1842.
8. *Senate Document 30,* 30th Cong., 1st Sess. See chart attached.
9. The Indian River settlement is also called the St. Lucie settlement, and the writers of the period used the names interchangeably.
10. *Senate Document 30.*

Houston County, Georgia," had arrived in St. Augustine on the way to the area.[11] A few weeks later another party left St. Augustine aboard the schooner *Sultana.*[12] One newspaper reported that "a party of gentlemen from Augusta, who intend to colonize an extensive tract of country on St. Lucie Sound," had put into St. Augustine to obtain land permits.[13] The high tide of immigration was reached in late November, 1843, when the schooner *William Washington* out of Savannah arrived in St. Augustine with fifty-one prospective settlers for the Indian River area aboard.[14]

The early months of the colony found the settlers engaged in the usual pioneer activities of building houses and clearing land, but by February, 1844, the colonists were able to turn their attention to civic affairs. In a convention called by the community's physician, Dr. Moses Holbrook, a crude legal system was set up and provisions were made for the common defense of the colony. J. S. Herman, Mills O. Burnham, and C. L. Brayton were elected to a committee of arbitration formed to settle disputes among the settlers, and the St. Lucie Riflemen, a company of some fifty volunteers, was organized to defend the area against possible Indian attack. Jacob M. Davis was elected captain of the company while Mills Burnham and Charles Neimeyer were elected first and second lieutenants, respectively. The spiritual needs of the colony were also given consideration, and Samuel H. Peck, leader of the Augusta group, was appointed to communicate with the Reverend Mr. Hansell of Key West[15] for the purpose of erecting and staffing a church for the area. Steps were also taken to prevent diseased orange trees from being brought into the settlement from St. Augustine where a citrus blight was raging. Dr. Holbrook appointed a committee to request the aid of the Honorable David Levy in Washington in importing new citrus stock from the West Indies.[16] By July, 1844, civil government had evolved to such a degree that the settlers were able to elect the

11. St. Augustine *News,* December 3, 1842.
12. *Ibid.,* December 21, 1842.
13. St. Augustine *Florida Herald & Southern Democrat,* January 19, 1843.
14. *Ibid.,* November 28, 1843.
15. According to the *Journal of the Diocese of Florida, 1844* (Episcopal), 3, the Rev. John H. Hansell was rector of St. Paul's parish in Key West.
16. St. Augustine *Florida Herald & Southern Democrat,* March 19, 1844.

first board of county commissioners of the newly organized St. Lucie County. [17]

Although there was considerable experimenting with such crops as tobacco, sugar, and cotton, a primary interest in citrus production was evident from the start. The southerly location of the settlement made the trees relatively safe from the disastrous freezes and blights which damaged them in the more settled areas of North Florida. One industrious settler had stock enough to set out a thousand orange trees on his claim at the Ankona Bluff in the spring of 1845. [18] Captain Mills O. Burnham, in addition to raising citrus, was reportedly the first man to raise pineapples for commercial purposes. [19] Vegetables also became an important crop during this period, and their production continued through the winter of 1844-1845 without damage from frost. [20]

The cultivation of citrus was a long term investment as it generally took about ten years before the trees produced enough fruit for profitable sales. Burnham, like many of the settlers, found it difficult to provide for his family and, casting about for an additional means of support, purchased a schooner called *The Josephine* and went into the green turtle business. As turtles abounded in the Indian River at this time, Burnham and his helpers caught many of them and "carefully tying their flippers loaded his schooner and sailed for Charleston and sold them there for export to England at a good price." [21] Until Captain Burnham entered the wholesale turtle business, the creatures had usually been so roughly handled in shipment that many died en-route. But the ingenious captain nursed his cargo with loving care. He had small wooden pillows made for the turtles to rest their heads on, and every morning he had their eyes sponged with salt water. With such meticulous care the living cargo always arrived at its destination in good shape and found a ready market. [22] So prosperous did this entrepeneur become that he was able to buy the most "pretentious house" in the settlement in

17. *Ibid*. August 20, 1844.
18. St. Augustine *News*, February 22, 1845.
19. Robert Ranson, *A Memoir of Captain Mills Olcott Burnham, A Florida Pioneer* (Tallahassee, 1926), 12. Ranson married Captain Burnham's granddaughter and knew the captain personally.
20. St. Augustine *News*, February 22, 1845.
21. Ranson, *op. cit.*, 14.
22. *Ibid.*

1845, a house that had been framed in Savannah and brought down to the settlement by schooner. [23]

An idyllic picture of pioneer life on the Indian River was painted by one of the more polished settlers of the St. Lucie community:

> This notable sheet of water is now constantly whitened by the sail of the emigrant in pursuit of land, and the stillness of its solitude broke [sic] by the splash of the oar and the merry songs of the boatmen. At night the camp-fires of the adventurer are kindled on its banks, preparation is made for the evening meal, and amid conversation and laughter, the toils of the day are lost in sleep. Refreshment ensues and morning finds them on their way, vigorous in frame and sanguin [sic] in spirit. . . . The land north and south of Fort Pierce are rapidly filling up - and thus far, with the exposure of boating, felling timber, planting and the thousand troubles of an emigrant's life, every man is in the enjoyment of the best of health - doctors being at a discount and forming the least useful article on the river. [24]

For a frontier community, the St. Lucie colony was surprisingly cosmopolitan. The highly knowledgeable and refined William Henry Peck, later a settler at Courtenay on Merrit Island, recorded his recollection of the colony in a series of articles for the *Florida Star* some forty years after the area was abandoned. Young Peck arrived in early 1843, with his father, Samuel H. Peck, a former Augusta banker and cotton factor who was probably adversely affected by the Panic of 1837 and the depression which followed. William Peck was almost fourteen, the youngest of four teen-age brothers who, along with several slaves, obviously planned to help the elder Peck recoup his fortune. Samuel Peck brought a number of other colonists with him from Augusta on his schooner the *William Washington.* [25] Although young Peck does not make it clear, it can be sssumed that the family engaged extensively in clearing land for the cultivation of citrus, in addition to operating the *William Washington* as a passenger and freight vessel. From the number of artisans and tradesmen that the elder Peck brought into the settlement, it can also be assumed that he intended to set up a boatyard and carpentry shop.

23. *Ibid.*, 9.
24. St. Augustine *News,* July 13, 1843.
25. Titusville *Florida Star,* May 5, 1887.

Young Peck gives a vivid and often tender picture of the characters who made up the colony. Daniel E. Bowen of Butler County, Alabama, is described as "the best shot and most expert hunter on the river," [26] Tall, lanky, and intelligent, Bowen never failed to fulfill his sole duty of keeping the Peck party well supplied with game. Among the artisans were John Hutchinson and George Gordon, carpenters from Augusta. Hutchinson, a former slave driver, probably supervised the construction of the Peck house-the same pretentious dwelling that was later sold to Captain Burnham. The other Augustan, Gordon, was described by young Peck as "indolent" and often "afflicted with boils." [27]

Connected with the nautical enterprises of the Peck family were a number of other artisans. James Middleton of Savannah, an active, industrious man and an excellent boat builder and sailor, probably kept the *William Washington* in repair and helped sail her from St. Lucie to the home port. He was also an inveterate practical jokester, "much liked by some but bitterly hated by his victims." [28] Another sailor, James Price, an Englishman from Liverpool, was obviously a great favorite of Peck's. A short, blond, fiery seaman, Price was "the best and most melodious singer of sea songs, sentimental or rollicking, in the whole world." He was usually good natured, but sometimes as "pugnacious as a game cock and usually the victor in all his pugilistic battles." His voice from his boat at night would often "shatter the stillness of the sound for miles." The awe-struck boy remembered that Price could sing louder than ten men. [29]

The settlement's netmaker was a Swedish sailor called "Crazy Ned." Earlier in his life, he had fallen from a top mast and broke his right leg as well as his skull, an unfortunate accident which apparently reduced his mental powers to those of a half wit. Ned limped so badly that at every step it appeared that he would fall on the ground. This slight, beardless man with his ungainly gait, foreign accent, and irritable disposition was an easy prey to Middleton and his pranks. [30]

The reprobate of the settlement was Cobbet, a white-haired,

26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.* As shown on maps of this period Peck's Lake and Hutchinson's Island are named for these two settlers.
28. Ranson, *op. cit.,* 9.
29. Titusville *Florida Star,* May 5, 1887.
30. *Ibid.*

red-nosed Savannah cobbler. He was the only shoemaker on the river and, according to Peck, a very poor workman. Cobbett was unpleasant in appearance, "bowbacked" though not old, with a creeping, ambling walk and a florid complexion. He was famous for his nose, "the reddest nose that ever failed to ignite gunpowder," and with it Cobbet allegedly could detect the smell of brandy or whiskey a mile away. He would descend on the clearings or fields of persons serving spirits at "grogtime" with such "swift, goat-like leaps that at first all hands would rush for their rifles, fancying that fifty painted Seminoles were at his heels, eager for white scalps." [31] More capable and industrious than Cobbet was Charles Neimeyer, an enormous, yellow-bearded German cabinet maker, who spoke "broken English with a deep, sonorous voice." Peck remembered him as "fierce in eye, but kindly tempered and brave to his very marrow." [32]

Although the Indian River settlement was heavily populated with farmers and artisans, it was not entirely devoid of the professional callings. Ossian B. Hart, the lawyer of the colony, and his talented young wife settled near the inlet in a two room palmetto cabin. Peck recalls that the future Republican governor of Florida was fond of playing the violin and of reading, avocations for which a limited legal practice allowed plenty of time. The representative of the medical profession was Dr. Moses Holbrook, an eccentric and very talented physician from a distinguished Charleston family. Peck states that Dr. Holbrook had once attained great prominence in his profession in South Carolina. Polished, considerate, and tender, it was said by the settlers that his "many misfortunes over the years" had affected his once brilliant intellect. It is evident that the young boy was puzzled by what drew the doctor to the rough and primitive surroundings he had chosen for his new home. Dr. Holbrook was very old, but still tall and erect, quite bald, and always hatless. He was the only physician on the river and never failed to answer a call. He lived like a recluse in a gigantic one room log cabin "amid hundreds of volumes of valuable books," which were once part of his Charleston library. The books and an "eight keyed flute," on which he became a veritable virtuoso, were apparently his only

31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*

form of solace. Dr. Holbrook died in 1844, and was buried near his cabin on Ankona Bluff overlooking the river. [33]

The colony also drew a number of settlers who were invalids, among whom were two consumptives, George Walker and William Brayton, and their families. It was hoped that the climate of the lower latitudes would improve their health. Both men were so ill on their arrival that they had to be lowered from the deck of the schooner on mattresses. Walker soon died and was buried on the bluff. [34] The other invalid, William Brayton, settled near old Fort Pierce and within a year was fully recovered. He took a prominent part in the civic affairs of the new community and served for several years as tax collector of St. Lucie County. [35]

A pair of Scottish seafarers, Captains Boyd and Grant, added to the cosmopolitan flavor of the settlement. They lived together on their claim on the river and were described as industrious and helpful members of the community. The most colorful of the foreign contingent, however, was an Irishman named Manahan, a "tailor by trade and a poet by nature." He lived with his wife, a Jewess who was some sixteen years older than he. Mrs. Manahan in her younger days was considered a remarkably attractive woman, and even in middle age she retained some of her youthful beauty. The tailor-poet was a merry, imaginative, little man, deeply devoted to his wife. He was reputed to have written her a sonnet a day as proof of his affection. With the Manahans came the wife's two grown daughters by a previous marriage and their only child, Anthony, a boy of fifteen. There was also an apprentice, James Kelley, an Irish youth of sixteen, who received the brunt of terrible Hibernian oaths when he did not please his obstreperous master. Manahan was an excellent sailor and oarsman as well as a skillful tailor. Among the settlers he had a reputation for bravery and daring in the local militia, and he fancied himself as the Alexander and Napoleon of the St. Lucie colony, as well as its poet laureate. He owned a large, trained raccoon named Aristophanes who accompanied him on all his aquatic and hunting excursions up and down the river. In the big, box-like sailboat that carried them, the animal provided an appreciative

33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. Tax Roll, St. Lucie County, 1847.

audience for the poet's sporadic vociferous outbursts into the realms of imagination and emotion. [36]

Even though the inhabitants of the river settlement had unusually broad and varied backgrounds, they expressed a surprising political unity. In the election of 1845, the citizens gave sixteen votes to William D. Mosely, the Democratic candidate for governor, and only one to his Whig opponent, Richard K. Call. In the contest for congressman, the inhabitants endorsed by the same count the Democratic candidate David Levy over his Whig opponent Benjamin Putnam. [37] This varied group of settlers must have had many differing religious attitudes and affiliations, yet the same unity that prevailed in politics seems also to have prevailed in religious matters, for the colonists requested the services of an Episcopal clergyman - perhaps because they found the Episcopal Church, like the Democratic Party, a commodious institution.

During its first two years the Indian River settlement bustled with activity. With the help of former territorial delegate to congress, Joseph Hernandez of St. Augustine, a canal was planned connecting Mosquito Lagoon with the Indian River so that produce and mail could be shipped northward via an inland waterway. [38] The proposed canal was laid out by a detachment of army engineers along the route of the old Seminole War haulover, about fifteen miles northeast of the present city of Titusville, [39] and within a few years a primitive inland waterway was in operation.

As the colony grew in numbers, it became a port of entry and a custom house was set up at Indian River Inlet in 1843. Major William F. Russell acted as inspector of the port. [40] The shallowness of the inlet channel, combined with shifting sand bars, however, prevented large coastal vessels from making the place a regular port of call. When it appeared that the small harbor was destined to be by-passed by ships engaged in the coastal trade, the energetic settlers attempted to remedy this unfortunate

36. Titusville *Florida Star,* May 5, 1887.
37. Arthur W. Thompson, *Jacksonian Democracy on the Florida Frontier* (Gainesville, 1961), 87.
38. St. Augustine *News,* July 13, 1843.
39. *Ibid.,* November 11, 1843; March 1, 1845.
40. *Register of All Officers and Agents in the Service of the United States, 1845* (Washington, 1845), 195.

situation by constructing the first man-made ocean passage on the east coast of Florida.

Considerations other than commercial ones led the community to the great effort of making a new inlet. An enormous amount of fresh water from the St. Lucie River and other streams draining the back country was being dammed up in the river by the partially clogged Indian River Inlet, and the banks of the river were becoming infested with odious seaweed and rushes. The prevalence of fresh water, the settlers believed, was also causing various types of aquatic fowl and large quantities of salt water fish to abandon their normal habitat. Then, too, as the water became increasingly fresher it began to assume a dark and disagreeable color which, combined with the smell of the rotting seaweed along the shore, caused grave apprehensions that the area might become the breeding place of malaria and other tropical diseases. [41]

After pondering over these vexing problems the colonists decided to cut a passage from the Indian River to the ocean through the heaped up sand on Gilbert's Bar opposite the mouth of the St. Lucie. Their leaders believed "that the action and force of the Oceanic tides, first aided by the furious outward rush of pent up fresh water . . . would deepen, widen, and keep open the reopened bar for many years, restore the former saltiness of the sound, kill the detested and dreaded grass, call back the vanished game of land and water, and soon recreate the former value and attractions of the Indian River country." [42]

With these happy consequences in mind, the settlers assembled by sail at Gilbert's Bar on a prearranged date in the summer of 1844. They arrived with picks, shovels, and hoes and agreed to camp on the site until the inlet was completed. The place selected for the trench was about 200 feet from the ocean at high tide, and it was necessary to excavate the line of the proposed inlet between five and six feet in depth and approximatly the same measurements in width. A dike was left to retain the waters of the Indian River until the excavation was completed. For several days the men of the settlement, white and Negro, labored in the heat of the summer sun, and at night they slept in small tents on the edge of the trench. On the night before the completion of the

41. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1887.
42. *Ibid.*

the work, the settlers retired leaving two Negro slaves of the Pecks to guard the dike in shifts in the event that the wind changed and forced the swollen waters of the river into the trench. Worn out from his labours, one of the Negroes fell asleep at his post. A high wind rose from the west, pushing the waters over the dike and into the inlet. The flow of water rapidly increased into a formidable stream and, unbeknownst to the sleepers, began to undermine the banks where they had pitched their tents in a neat line. Inch by inch the force of the current quickly cut into the side of the ditch carrying the sand out to sea. Great bulks of earth began to topple into the water with crashing roars. Fortunately the noise aroused O. B. Hart, and when he investigated, he discovered to his horror, the ditch had grown to fifty yards in width and that within a few moments the entire line of tents with their occupants woud collapse into the roaring current. He roused the sleepers just in time. All scrambled out of their tents, and most were able to pull their canvasses and their possessions to safety. Only Aristophanes, Manahan's pet coon perished in the deluge. Chained to a stake near his master's tent, he was enveloped by canvas and was swept out to sea. So furious was the rush of water that the trench was widened to a width of almost a half mile in two days. Samuel Peck and two companions were the first settlers to put the cut into operation. They sailed to Key West for provisions in the Peck three-sailed barge, the *Myrtis,* and returned to cross the bar in triumph. The inlet was in use until the settlement broke up in the summer of 1849. [43]

Surprisingly cordial relations existed between the settlers and the Indians who lived in the interior, although it was the Indian menace that eventually led to the breaking up of the colony. The *St. Augustine News* described these Indians, who occasionally came to the coast to hunt and fish, as being of "friendly disposition," [44] an observation substantiated by the recollections of the family of Mills O. Burnham. The Indians were on such good terms with Captain Burnham that they used his place as a trading post on their visits to the settlement. They particularly admired the former gunsmiths markmanship and his ability to construct and repair firearms. The Indians were usually short of cooking utensils when they arrived from the interior and often

43. *Ibid.,* May 12, 1887.
44. *Ibid.,* September 2, 1843.

borrowed these implements from the Burnham family, always returning them spotlessly clean and with sincere, though laconic, expressions of thanks. [45]

Mrs. Burnham was not at ease in the presence of the visiting Indians so, according to Robert Ranson, a close family connection, whenever it became necessary for the captain to leave the settlement on a sea voyage, he would tell his Seminole friends, "Me go away for one or two moons, my squaw no likee Indian, no Indian come round here while me gone." [46] The Seminoles were accommodating, for Mrs. Burnham recollected that as long as the captain was gone she never saw an Indian. On his return, however, the Seminoles would reappear, engage in sports of various kinds, bring presents of game, and again borrow the family cooking utensils. [47]

From its beginning the Indian River settlement had grave economic difficulties which became more serious as the years passed. The slow growth of citrus fruit trees prevented the settlers from realizing an essential cash return from their considerable investments in capital and labor. There was no secondary money crop to tide them over until the orange trees matured to a bearing age. The vegetables that were grown in the settlement had no market outside the area, and neither cotton nor tobacco could be grown profitably along the river. Slow transportation prevented native tropical fruits from reaching Northern cities in a marketable condition, despite the labor that the settlers expended on the new inlet at Gilbert's Bar. As a result of this unfortunate economic situation, there was a great outflow of hard money and very little coming in. As there was no cash to pay for the services of the artisans and tradesmen of the settlement, they suffered to such an extent that many were driven into subsistence farming or were forced to move elsewhere.

The influential Pecks suffered along with the other colonists. The family was deprived of a large part of its income in 1844, when the *William Washington* went aground on a bar in Indian River Inlet. The vessel could not be freed by the settlers, but had to be towed to Key West by a wrecker. [48] The Pecks were

45. Ranson, *op.cit.*, 14.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. St. Augustine *News*, January 20, 1844.

obviously unable to pay the charges necessary to repossess the schooner, and, in 1845, they were in such dire straits that the senior Peck abandoned his claim and returned to Georgia. The winter of 1845 was a bleak one. No oranges, lemons, or pineapples were bearing, and the fare of the settlers consisted of game, a few vegetables, Northern salt pork, and native pumpkins. "Life," young Peck remembered, "was a continual struggle to achieve success in elusive schemes of wealth." [49] Many like his father gave up the struggle. The Mexican War, which began in May, 1846, gave younger settlers a patriotic opportunity for leaving, and it is probable that a number later joined Samuel Peck in New Orleans, where he became a lieutenant colonel of the Sixth Regiment of Louisiana Volunteers. [50] By 1847, there were only twenty-four males over eighteen left in the settlement. Of these, only four were slaveholders who owned a total of nine slaves. [51]

The *coup de grace* was given the colony in July, 1849, when the settlers were attacked by Indians. Immediate news reports stated that defense of the settlement was impossible as the Indians attacked "in considerable numbers," plundering houses and firing on the colonists. A storekeeper by the name of Barker, who resided near the Sebastian River, was killed and badly mutilated. William F. Russell, deputy collector of the settlement, was shot in the arm, and his family was reported missing, as were a number of other persons, mostly female, whom it was assumed had fallen into the hands of the Indians. Settlers were forced to leave their homes and take to the river. They rendezvoused with a small schooner and came up the coast to St. Augustine, where a volunteer force was immediately organized to pursue the Indians. [52]

Later accounts of the affair differ materially from the first reports. Mr. Russell's family and the other missing settlers arrived safely by boat in New Smyrna some days after the attack. The assault was not on a large scale but was carried out by a band of four or five Seminole outlaws who had separated entirely from the rest of the tribe. [53] These same Indians were also guilty of atrocities

49. Titusville *Florida Star,* May 12, 1887.
50. Ranson, *op. cit.,* 8.
51. Tax Roll, St. Lucie County, 1847.
52. Washington *National lntelligencer,* July 25, 1849.
53. *Ibid.,* July 30, 1849.

on the west coast in the vicinity of the Pease River. Governor William Mosely, not realizing one small band was responsible for both outrages, feared a general Seminole uprising and called the state militia to the colors. [54] When the misunderstanding was cleared up, the Seminole chief, Billy Bowlegs, promised to cooperate with both state and federal authorities in apprehending the criminals. On October 17, 1849, the Wiley old chief surrendered three of the murderers and "the hand of the fourth" to federal authorities near Tampa Bay, thus averting another Seminole War. [55]

The economic decline of the Indian River settlement and the shock of the Indian attack was too much for the disillusioned colonists to bear. The majority of refugees refused to return to their abandoned homes, despite the fact that the War Department placed troops in the vicinity. [56] The resettlement of the region did not begin on a large scale until two decades after the Civil War.

54. Florida *House Journal,* 1850, appendix, 2.
55. Washington *National Intelligencer,* November 10, 1849.
56. Washington Thomas Brown to Captain I. A. Johns, October 20, 1849, *Governors' Letter Book,* Florida State Library, Tallahassee.

A BRITISH REPORT ON WEST FLORIDA AND LOUISIANA, NOVEMBER, 1812

by RICHARD K. MURDOCH

AFTER RETURNING THE two Floridas to Spain by the Treaty of Paris of 1783, England watched with satisfaction while her thirteen former colonies struggled to reach agreement with the government in Madrid on the thorny problem of the southeastern boundary. The Treaty of San Lorenzo of 1795 failed to satisfy either party and the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 further confused the problem by introducing boundary claims in the region west of the Mississippi River. The suggestion to use force to achieve a permanent settlement with Spain was heard with increasing frequency in Washington. Even Thomas Jefferson, in retirement at Monticello, advised action when he wrote his nephew, John Wayles Eppes, "I wish you would authorize the President to take possession of East Florida immediately. The seizing [of] West Florida will be a signal to England to take Pensacola & St. Augustine; . . . we shall never get it from them but by a war, which may be prevented by anticipation -" [1]

At times, apparently despairing of action from Washington, some of the border populace took matters into their own hands, goaded on by a combination of continual depredations by Indians supposedly loyal to Spain, of the bizarre activities of adventurers such as General James Wilkinson and William Blount of Tennessee, of the still unsolved intrigues of Aaron Burr, and of the ludicrous "invasions" of the Florida region by William Augustus Bowles. [2] After the forced abdication of Charles IV, a puppet in the hands of France since 1795, and the installation of Joseph Bonaparte as king, a violent civil war broke out in Spain, and a provisional government loyal to the claims of Ferdinand VII and supported by English arms was established in Cadiz. Spain's

1. Thomas Jefferson to John Wayles Eppes, Monticello, January 5, 1811, Paul L. Ford (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Jefferson,* 12 volumes (New York, 1904-1905), XI, 160-161.
2. Lyle N. McAlister, "William Augustus Bowles and the State of Muskogee," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XL (April, 1962), 317-328.

American colonies, including the two Floridas, remained loyal to the provisional government and to its English ally. [3] Many in the United States feared that settlement of the southeastern boundary would now involve the republic with England, protector of the Spanish Bourbon cause. The Floridas in the hands of a weak Spanish monarchy was one thing; the Floridas in the hands of a vigorous and hostile England was something quite different.

Under these circumstances, it seemed logical for the local populace to take the initiative in seizing portions of West Florida and in attempting to take possession of Amelia Island as a stepping-stone to St. Augustine and perhaps to all of East Florida. [4] By late spring of 1812, when relations between the United States and England had almost reached the breaking point, it was assumed that if war came, the enemy would certainly use Florida's ports, especially Pensacola and Mobile, with or without permission of local Spanish authorities. With such bases it would be possible to attack the United States, either by land, using the numerous river routes into what is now western Georgia and Alabama, or by sea, utilizing these ports as anchorages where warships could be repaired and prizes converted safely to privateers. The two major bays in West Florida offered by far the best naval facilities for warships of moderate size preparing for an attack on New Orleans or on American shipping at the mouth of the Mississippi River. It was with considerable apprehension that the citizens of Louisiana learned of the declaration of war on June 18, 1812, by the United States, for they knew that sev-

3. Although the supporters of the Bonapartists did send several agents into Latin America, the incumbent Spanish officials permitted only a few to land and the general attitude toward Joseph's agents is said to have been one of "mild hostility."

4. The so-called "Amelia Island Affair," involving a number of well known Americans including George Mathews, former governor of Georgia, and John H. McIntosh, a former general, occupied considerable space in the eastern newspapers in the spring and early summer of 1812. The outbreak of war with England played a significant part in the eventual abandonment of the project to seize East Florida (lest such an act drive Spain into the war on the side of the English). Isaac J. Cox, "The Border Missions of General George Mathews," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XII (December, 1925), 309-333; Rufus K. Wyllys, "The East Florida Revolution of 1812-1814," *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* IX (November, 1929), 415-445; Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco; Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens, 1954); John Anthony Caruso, *The Southern Frontier* (New York, 1963), 351-365.

eral British warships were patrolling the Gulf of Mexico searching for French privateers. [5]

Apparently the British had made preliminary plans in case of hostilities for immediate action against the commerce of the United States. [6] The naval squadron based on Port Royal in Jamaica had received instructions covering such an eventuality. The major task was to disrupt American commerce in the Gulf of Mexico and the Florida Straits, and to close the mouth of the Mississippi River, thus denying the western states sea communications with their growing markets along the Atlantic seaboard.

Among the vessels on patrol in the Caribbean was the sloop *Brazen,* [7] attached to the Jamaica and Leeward Islands Squadron. The sloop, under command of Richard Plummer Davies, was ordered to return to Port Royal from its station off Port au Prince in June, 1812. [8] When the Brazen reached Jamaica on June 23, Davies was "discharged" from that command and ordered on board the *Garland* with post rank. [9] We was officially superceded

5. Among the British warships reported to be cruising in the Gulf of Mexico and the western Caribbean late in 1811, was *HMS Southampton*. Definite news that war had been declared reached New Orleans on July 9, having been brought from Washington overland by a Dr. Cozens *(Richmond Enquirer,* August 14, 1812). On July 16, the governor ordered a draft for de militia to form a brigade for the defense of that city and Baton Rouge. J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi, as Province, Territory and State* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1880), 318. In writing to Washington four days later, the governor referred to a letter, dated June 19, that he had received from the secretary of state containing the news of the declaration of war. Reed McC. B. Adams, "New Orleans and the War of 1812," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* XVI (July, 1933), 484-485; Washington *National Intelligemer,* July 16, 1812.

6. There had been considerable speculation in many quarters long before the actual declaration of war that hostilities were inevitable, for as the editor of a Washington newspaper pointed out, "the measure [declaration of war] must have been long anticipated, and therefore cannot excite surprise." Washington *National Intelligencer,* June 20, 1812.

7. "The *Brazen* was a 26 gun sloop laid down in 1801 and completed in 1808 to the design of Sir John Henslow, Surveyor of the Navy. She was 110 ft. 3 in. in length. . . . She finally became a convict ship and then a floating Chapel on the River Thames and was broken up in 1848." Letter from J. Munday, Assistant Keeper, Library, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England, August 2, 1963.

8. Captain Davies commanded a division of gun-boats during the Walcheren [Holland] expedition in 1809; and subsequently the *Brazen* sloop, and *Garland* of 22 guns. John Marshall, *Royal Naval Biography,* 12 volumes (London, 1823-1830), Supplement, Part III, 76.

9. Davies' post rank dated from June 19, 1812, and it was to assume this rank that he returned to Port Royal. He took command of the *Garland* on June 24, two days before he was ordered to sail for England as part of a large convoy. Log of HMS *Brazen,* June 24 and 26, 1812. Microfilm of the original in Public Record Office, London (Adm. 51-2013).

on June 25, by James Stirling, recently arrived from England on board the *Thetis*, although the actual assumption of command was delayed until the 29th. [10] The new commanding officer supervised the overhauling of rigging and spars and the revictualling of the *Brazen*, duties that required nearly two weeks. It is presumed that during this time Stirling was fully instructed as to what actions he would take in the eventuality of war with the United States. [11] On July 11, the *Brazen* set sail to the westward, passing through the Yucatan Channel to Campeche where the sloop was intercepted by the frigate *Arethusa*, possibly confirming the rumor that war with the United States was now a fact. Three days later, on July 25, Captain Stirling sailed for Pensacola Bar which he reached on August 4, anchoring off Santa Rosa Island. [12]

On August 6, while cruising between Santa Rosa Island, his eastern base, and the Balize entrance to the Mississippi, [13] he took his first prize, the American brig *Beaver*, en route from Havana to New Orleans, which he put under a prize crew of a lieutenant and five seamen. [14] During the next ten days, the

10. Log of HMS *Brazen*, June 25 and 29, 1812. James Stirling (1791-1865), fifth son of Andrew and Anne (Stirling) Stirling of Drumpellier, Lanarkshire, entered the Royal Navy in 1803, and was promoted to lieutenant in August, 1809. He commanded the *Brazen* from June, 1812, to 1818. Ten years later he was named the first governor of Western Australia. Marshall, *Naval Biography*, X, 200-201; William R. O'Byrne, *A Naval Biographical Dictionary*, 2 volumes (London, 1861), II, 1120-1121; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 volumes (London, 1885-1900), LIV, 380-381.
11. According to a dispatch from Charleston, South Carolina, news of the declaration of war reached that city and Savannah, Georgia, on June 26. It apparently was known in St. Augustine, and probably in Havana prior to July 3, and this news should have been received in Port Royal before July 11, the date the *Brazen* sailed from that place. Washington *National Intelligencer*, July 16, 25, 1812.
12. "St. Rosa Island extends E. by N. and W. by S., 14 leagues, and completely fronts the whole Bay of Pensacola; it is so low that the seas, in gales, wash its tops, and is no where more than one-fourth or one-third of a mile wide. Point Siguenza is the western point of the Island . . . on which fortifications are erected. . . ." Edmund M. Blunt, *The American Coast Pilot* (New York, 1842), 258.
13. The name Balize, derived from the French *balise* or "beacon," refers to Balize Bayou between Main Pass and South Pass in the delta of the Mississippi River, and the name was often applied to much of the delta area. At one time there was a small blockhouse and a pilot house on the low-lying island of the same name. For a detailed discussion of the military installations at the Balize written by Spanish officials prior to 1803, see James A. Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States 1785-1807*, 2 volumes (Cleveland, 1911), I, 158-160.
14. The *Beaver* was taken without a fight on August 6, 1812. Log of HMS *Brazen*, August 6, 1812.

Brazen patroled off Balize Bar, chasing numerous small coastal vessels, some American and others, Spanish and neutral. The crew of the *Beaver* and two river pilots that were on board were landed at the first opportunity as the *Brazen* was not large enough to accommodate many prisoners.

Early on the morning of August 19, when the *Brazen* was a few miles to the east of the Chandeleur Islands, the wind began to blow and in a few hours all the sails that had not been furled or reefed were carried away. By late that afternoon, the weather had become so foul that according to the *Brazen's* log, "it was blowing a severe storm increasing to a hurricane." [15] When it was obvious that the sloop was taking on too much water, Stirling ordered the main and mizzen masts to be cut away and the guns on the quarterdeck to be thrown overboard. [16] Shortly thereafter the foremast was likewise cut away, and, in its fall, the bowsprit was snapped off, leaving the *Brazen* completely dismasted. By laying in the lee of Grand Grosier Island and employing three anchors, Stirling was able to save his ship from being cast on shore, although at daybreak on the 20th he found that she had dragged anchor to within a quarter mile of the beach. [17] When the wind abated a jury mast was rigged and the sloop sailed close to the brig *Warren,* one of her prizes, that had been cast on shore. [18] By employing the mainmast from the wreck, Stirling eventually reached Pensacola Bar on September 3. The next four weeks were spent in repairing the sloop and in cleaning it from deck to keel. The Spanish offered full cooperation, permitting a work detail of fifteen men to land and cut timber for masts

15. Reference to the start of the hurricane is timed in the log at 5:20 p.m. *Ibid.*, August 19, 1812. According to one account, "at New Orleans on the night of the 19th August, about 10 o'clock, a gale commenced, occasionally accompanied with rain and hail, which continued with most dreadful violence, for upwards of four hours. . . ." Athens *Georgia Express,* October 16, 1812.
16. Although the log of the *Brazen* does not specify the number of guns thrown overboard, according to a resident of Pensacola who visited the sloop after her return from patrol, it was ten. Letter from Fort Stoddert, September 16, 1812, Washington *National Intelligencer,* October 6, 1812.
17. Grand Grosier Island lies between the southernmost of the Chandeleur Islands and Breton Island, off the coast of what is now St. Bernard Parish.
18. The *Warren,* bound from Boston to New Orleans, was captured August 18, as she lay at anchor off Horn Island, near present-day Pascagoula, Mississippi. Log of HMS *Brazen,* August 18, 1812.

and spars. [19] Some of the English seamen got drunk and became riotous, and Captain Stirling was obliged to go ashore to obtain their release from the local *carcel.*

The month long stay in port was not all hard work. On the evening of September 18, Stirling and his officers were invited to come ashore to attend "a great illumination" as guests of Governor Mauricio Zuniga, [20] in honor of the news of the promulgation of the Spanish constitution of 1812. [21] A week later, Stirling invited the governor to come on board the *Brazen,* where he was received with full honors including a salute of thirteen guns. [22]

By the end of the month, Stirling decided that all repairs possible with the limited equipment in the Pensacola shipyard had been made, and on the 29th, the *Brazen* crossed the bar, returning to her assigned patrol off the mouth of the Mississippi River. [23] After reaching Santa Rosa Island from a short cruise to Cape San Antonio, the western tip of Cuba, the captain realized that the hasty repairs to his ship had not been sufficient to make her completely seaworthy. [24] He therefore decided to escort the half dozen prizes taken by the *Brazen* to Port Royal where complete repairs could be made in the navy yard. After convoying the prizes as far as the Isle of Pines, the *Brazen* anchored off Burnt Key for emergency repairs and to take on fresh water. A few days later, Stirling followed the convoy to Jamaica, reaching Port Royal on November 20. He went ashore at once to make a

19. It was predicted in the southeast that assistance rendered English vessels by Spanish authorities in Florida made it "justifiable in taking immediate possession of Pensacola, to prevent its becoming a receptacle for our captured vessels - a depot for British Munitions of war and an asylum for every villainous buccaneer from Providence to Jamaica." Letter from Fort Stoddert, August 22, 1812, Washington *National Intelligencer,* September 19, 1812.
20. Mauricio Zuniga served as governor of West Florida from July, 1812, to April, 1813, when he was replaced by Matheo Gonzalez Manrique. He served a second term in 1816.
21. Letter from Mobile, September 30, 1812, Washington *National Intelligencer,* November 14, 1812.
22. Log of HMS *Brazen,* September 26, 1812.
23. While the *Brazen* was undergoing repairs at Pensacola, patrol duties off the Mississippi delta were carried on by HMS *Arethusa* and *Southampton.* Letter from Fort Stoddert, September 16, 1812, Washington *National Intelligencer,* October 6, 1812.
24. It is doubtful that Stirling was able to replace the guns lost during the hurricane as the Spanish shipyard in Pensacola had no available armaments.

full report of the activities of his patrol and to explain the damage to his vessel.

Among the documents prepared by Stirling was the following report which, according to its date, was drawn up during the three or four days the *Brazen* lay at anchor off the Isle of Pines. The writer apparently drew heavily on his own observation of conditions in West Florida and along the Gulf coast, to which he added what he and his officers may have learned from Governor Zuniga and other Spanish officials during their stays in Pensacola. Some of the information he no doubt gathered from members of the crew of the Brazen which had been in Caribbean and Gulf waters before the outbreak of hostilities and before Stirling assumed command.

The original of Stirling's report on the Floridas was addressed to Vice-Admiral Charles Stirling, his uncle, who, late in 1812, was commander-in-chief of the Jamaica and Leeward Islands Squadron. [25] The present copy eventually came into possession of Admiral Henry Hotham, commander of the British fleet blockading the coast of southern New England. It is reproduced here through the kindness of his great-grandson, the present Lord Hotham, who has the original document; the East Riding County Record Office, Beverley, Yorkshire, where the document is on deposit; and the United States Navy Department Library, Washington, where a microfilmed copy was made available. [26] No effort has been made to correct spelling, capitalization, or punctuation, although marginal comments have been included in the body of the text.

25. Although a Vice-Admiral of the White, commander-in-chief at Jamaica, and apparently a capable officer, Charles Stirling (1760-1833), a younger brother of James Stirling's mother, was accused of irregularities and was courtmartialed in May, 1814. Marshall, *Naval Biography*, I, 402-409.
26. File No. DDHO/7/93. The papers of Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, KCB (1777-1833), are in the County Archives, East Riding County Record Office, Beverley, Yorkshire, England.

Copy Warren [27]

His Majesty's Sloop Brazen
November 15th 1812

Sir: His Majesty's Ship under my Command having been forced to take shelter in the Bay of Pensacola, in West Florida, [28] in order to repair the damage received in a severe Hurricane off the River Mississippi, [29] I feel it my duty to report to you such Circumstances relative to the state of that Country as I have been enabled to obtain knowledge of, either by my own observation or from the accounts of those to whom the Country is best known. In making this statement it is my intention in the first place to treat of the Province in general, then of its Establishments and the nature of the Sea Ports; lastly of the means of defence, and the most likely methods to frustrate the attack upon it, at present in the meditation of the American Government. [30]

The appearance of West Florida causes the supposition that is must have been formerly covered by the Sea, the whole Province being a level plain, and the soil invariably Sandy, it is at present however extremely well wooded, presenting extensive Forests of Oak and Pine trees, and various other kinds of Wood useful in Ship Building; it has also fine rivers some of which are of great size, and on whose banks there may be found patches of

27. This copy of the original report was sent to Sir John Borlose Warren (1753-1822), commander of the North American Station during part of the War of 1812 who maintained his headquarters at Halifax in Nova Scotia.

28. When Stirling's report was written, West Florida was generally considered to comprise the area from the Pearl to the Apalachicola River, although many Americans insisted that the Perdido River, the present western limit of Florida, was the correct boundry. Pensacola was the seat of the Spanish provincial government and the second largest town in the Floridas. Almost from the start of hostilities with the United States, enemy warships regularly used the port facilities of both Pensacola and Mobile. Mrs. S. J. Gonzalez. "Pensacola-Its Early History," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* II (April, 1909), 9-25.

29. The writer refers to the hurricane of August 19-20, 1812, one of the worst ever to strike the coast of Louisiana. According to reports, nearly sixty vessels were wrecked or driven ashore in the delta region. Milledgeville *Georgia Journal,* September 23, October 14, 21, 1812. For additional details concerning the hurricane, see *Niles Weekly Register,* September 26, 1812.

30. Southern newspapers, reflecting local sentiment, contained editorials advocating the seizure of West Florida in the same way that the area between the Mississippi and Pearl Rivers had been occupied in 1810. For a discussion of the latter event, see Isaac J. Cox, *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813* (Baltimore, 1918); Henry Eugene Sterkx and Brooks Thompson, "Philemon Thomas and the West Florida Revolution," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXIX (April, 1961), 378-386.

ground much superior to the general run of the Country. [31] The Climate during the greater part of the year, is wholesome, and favourable for labour, seldom too Cold, never too Hot, a Climate in which anything might be produced, if the soil was equally good; it is subject however in the Months of August, September and October to dreadful hurricanes which in their Course lay whole Forests level with the ground and under which there is but one consolation for those who encounter them that they seldom continue longer than a few hours. Although the Country is capable of improvement, it has not advanced a Single step toward it, under the Government of Spain, and unlike her other Colonies, instead of increasing the revenue it has been a possession of Considerable expence. [32] Its Trade at present is confined to Traffic with the Indians and a kind of Counterband Trade with New Orleans, neither of which can yield much revenue, and yet there is to support an inappropriately large Establishment of Public Officers, in order to do credit to one of the last Conquests made by the Spanish Arms. [33]

This Conquest altho much boasted of seams to have given few real advantages, and I should think under the present circumstances as far as Spain is concerned, it would be wise to relinquish it. Florida, the Western portion of it at least, can be valuable alone to the power that possesses Louisiana for this reason, that it has good and Commodious Sea Ports in which Louisiana is much wanting and it is more than probable, if ever these two Provinces should be united under the same Authority, Mobile and Pensacola would become the Seats of all the Exportation trade of Louisiana. Consequently their neighbouring Territories would increase in value and improvements, without this junction Florida holds out no lure to settlers, and it is rendered still less inviting by Comparison with Louisiana famed for its productive Soil, and other Natural advantages. That Florida might be improved if differently Circumstanced, there can be no doubt, since its Nature

31. Reference is to the Pearl, Tombigbee, Alabama, Perdido, Choctawhatchee, and Apalachicola Rivers.
32. Frequently during the second Spanish period (1783-1819) officials in St. Augustine lamented the low economic state of West Florida.
33. The Spanish were understandably proud of the reconquest of Mobile and Pensacola by Bernardo de Galvez. See John W. Caughey, *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934); Albert W. Haarmann, "The Spanish Conquest of British West Florida, 1779-1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXIX (October, 1960), 107-134.

is similar to that of South Carolina and Georgia, but that it can ever be a valuable possession under the present system is next to an impossibility.

Three Settlements only have yet been made in it; Pensacola, Mobile, and St. Marks, the Population of which does not exceed 3000 Souls, beside which there may be as many Back Settlers and Traders among the Indians, as may amount to 1000 more. [34] Pensacola the Principal place is an Open Town built for the most part of Wood, and situated about Seven Miles from the Mouth of the Bay, in a level Country, which except in the immediate neighborhood of the Town, is covered with thick Pine Woods. The Governor of West Florida resides here, Don Manuecios Zuniga, a Lieutenant Colonel in the Spanish Army, who has under his Command from 5 to 600 Troops of various kinds, all poorly provided. [35] The Population of Pensacola is made up by those who fill official Situations, and some few families who moved there when New Orleans became subject to America. There is also established there an English Mercantile House of great respectability, carrying on a Trade with the Indians, enjoying several immunities under the Spanish Government, and possessing property to a considerable amount throughout the Floridas.

34. There are no exact figures for the total population of Spanish West Florida at the beginning of the War of 1812, although the figure of 3,000 is often used. Stanley Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications of Pensacola, 1781-1821," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XX (January, 1942), 277-292.

35. It was reported that when Governor Zuniga reached his new post, he was accompanied by approximately 100 Negro and mulatto troops from Havana to re-enforce the sixty regulars drawn from the Louisiana regiment already in Pensacola. This is much less than the five to six hundred mentioned in this report. W. C. C. Claiborne to Secretary of State Monroe, July 20, 1812, Adams, "New Orleans and the War of 1812," 484-485; Cox, *West Florida Controversy,* 612; Wash*ington National Intelligencer,* November 14, 1812. The rumor that these troops were commanded by British army officers was no doubt due to the fact that there were a number of Irish officers in the Spanish garrison. Nashville *Tennessee Herald,* September 5, 1812. In the entire province, Governor Zuniga could muster only 288 men, "almost destitute of supplies." Cox, *op. cit.,* 615.

36. Reference is to the trading house of John Forbes and Company, successor to Panton, Leslie and Company, which carried on extensive trade with the Indians in both East and West Florida under royal protection. In addition, many of Forbes' agents penetrated into what is now southern Georgia and Alabama. This company had done much to frustrate the grandiose plans of William Augustus Bowles. The records of this concern are located in part in the East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress and in the St. Augustine Historical Society, and some have been published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly.*

Mobile is also an Open Town, or village on the West Side of Mobile Bay, containing a slender Population, and protected by a Fort advantageously situated, and capable of Sustaining a long defence. It has some Trade with the Indians, and a little with the Back Settlers but it is not a place of any consideration. [37] Since the Americans have seized upon the Country to the Eastward of Pearl River, Mobile has been however the Frontier Fort, and withstood an attempt made by the Americans to take it last Spring. [38]

St. Marks upon the River Apalache East from Pensacola is a little more than a Fort for the Protection of a few Storehouses, containing wares used in Traffic with the Indians. [39] Provisions of all kinds are cheap in this Country, a Bullock weighing 5 or 6 cwt., seldom selling for more than 15 Dollars and Flour 10 Dollars pr. Barrel. [40] The Timber provided here is of different kinds but the live oak and Pitch Pine are most prevalent. [41] Iron may be obtained also besides many other of the most necessary Articles used in Common Life.

The Harbours of West Florida are its most important part, and are the more so from being the only good harbours in the Gulf of Mexico. The River Mississippi although a safe Port never the less labours under many difficulties for as the Current always runs out, when the Wind is light or Contrary no vessel can enter, and not infrequently vessels lay for several Weeks exposed outside the Bar and unable to approach it. Pensacola on the other hand is easy of access and egress, and will admit vessels of more draught of Water than the Mississippi, the latter having on the Bar from 13 to 14 feet only, while the former has generally 3 fathoms and sometimes 22 feet. Mobile will admit also vessels

37. For a brief account of early Mobile, see Peter J. Hamilton, *Mobile of the Five Flags* (Mobile, 1913); *Colonial Mobile: An Historical Study. . . .* (Boston, 1897).
38. Probable reference is to the reported activities of Reuben Kemper who was eventually suppressed by Judge Harry Toulmin and the governor of the Louisiana Territory. Caruso, *The Southern Frontier,* 315.
39. This isolated post and the store-house of John Forbes had been the goal of one of the "invasions" by William Augustus Bowles in 1792.
40. The price of flour at $10 a barrel compares favorably with the $6 a barrel at New Orleans early in 1812. Adams, "New Orleans and the War of 1812," 232.
41. For a short description of timber available in East and West Florida, see Richard K. Murdoch, "Report of the Forest Resources of Spanish East Florida in 1792," *Agricultural History,* XXVII (October, 1953), 147-151.

drawing 17 feet and both of them inside are deep and Capacious enough for Vessels of the greatest burthen; after vessels have entered the Mississippi it is usually 7 or 8 days before they reach New Orleans, and often as much before they can get out again on leaving it; all these are disadvantages in the way of Commerce, of which there is much complaint, and add to this, the air of the Mississippi, when the River is at low Ebb, is extremely unhealthy. [42]

The Bay of Pensacola is narrow at the entrance, and protected at present by a Battery on each side, the Batterys however are in bad repair, and unless much strengthened would not prevent a Man of War cleverly conducted from entering; after passing the Mouth of the Bay she would be secure from all annoyance from the Shore as she may take up a position 3 or 4 Miles from either side. [43] Water, Wood and Spars of any size may be obtained here with ease, and while the Spaniards hold it, refreshments, Cordage, Canvas, and other Stores may also be procured.

The Town is upon the Waters Edge, and the Fort a flank redoubtment more for a place of refuge, than the protection of the Town, stands at a Gunshot distance from it on a rising ground. Much resistance cannot be expected from the Governor, who is an old Man / in his present means/, but even now he has a greater force than that with which the place was so long and bravely defended against the Spaniards in 1782. [44]

The Bay of Mobile is also narrow at the entrance, the Town stands near Thirty Miles from the Mouth of the Bay which is large but has not so much depth of water as that at Pensacola. Both are safe during the greater part of the year, but more care is necessary on the Hurricane Seasons than at other Times.

Thus far I have related only facts and I trust Sir you will not

42. Stirling's figures on the depth of water in the three ports are nearly identical to those published officially in 1842. In addition, his comments on the effect of winds and current on navigation in the Mississippi delta compare favorably with later detailed reports. Edmund M. Blunt, *The American Coast Pilot* (New York, 1842), 258-266. The prevalence of fevers in the New Orleans area during certain times of the year is a confirmed fact.

43. For more details on the fortifications, see Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications of Pensacola," 277-292.

44. This statement is of doubtful accuracy for when Galvez attacked Pensacola in 1781, with 7,000 Spanish and French troops, he was opposed by Brigadier-General John Campbell with 1,500 soldiers and about 1,000 Indian warriors. Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943), 217-218.

think me intrusive in doing so, but I feel now embarrassed much in making the remaining part of my report which as it will be only a detail of my own opinion, I have less right to trouble you with. Perhaps however you will excuse them, for the sentiment which gave rise to them, that of the strongest desire of being serviceable, in any degree, however small.

It is long since the Government of the United States first Threatened an Invasion of West Florida, but it has been deferred from time to time, in the hope of obtaining a better excuse for such an unwarrantable proceeding, the time has now arrived, and as they pretend to fear that Great Britain will occupy the Floridas, they mean to prevent such an event by annexing them at once to the United States. For this purpose Troops and Military Stores are now collecting at Fort Stoddard (a Post upon the Northern boundary of Florida) and the object of this intended attack is not even made a secret.[45] To prevent its success and to annoy the Enemy I considered desirable objects, and studied to obtain all possible information on the subject, for the purpose of laying before you.

The Protection of Florida must depend principally upon the conduct and numbers of the Troops employed and the strength of the Resolution with which the Spaniards mean to defend it, but as the force in that Province is not adequate to its defence, and as reenforcements cannot, they say, be spared from the Havannah, I think means less regular, may be found for opposing the Enemy. The first of these would be to engage the Indians of the Creek Nation in the Contest, and which I am well assured might be easily done. They have still the highest attachment to the English, and the greatest hatred to the American name, the Government of which Country has lately circumvented them in the purchase of lands;[46] they do not it is true exceed 10,000

45. Fort Stoddert was located on the west bank of the Mobile River about twenty-five miles above Mobile. There is great confusion over the spelling of the name (Stoddert, Stoddart, Stoddard) but when the fort was begun in 1799, it was named for Benjamin Stoddert of Maryland, Secretary of Navy under John Adams. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 309 and 332.

46. Reference may be to the 1804 cession by the Creeks of the Oconee-Ocmulgee tract in central Georgia and to the laying out of a horse-path from the Ocmulgee to the Alabama River, a trace soon crowded with emigrants heading for the Mississippi region. Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1941), 74-75. It is also possible that Stirling refers to the projects to move the Cherokees to the west, one of the reasons for the actions of Tecumseh in 1811. R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1954), 173-175.

Warriors but as the Americans will come down through the Woods, Indians would be useful allies, and as they Scalp at this time all the straggling Americans who fall into their hands, the fear of such treatment would probably tend to thin the Ranks of the American Army. [47]

In the plan of attack as it is at present expected, it would not be possible for any Naval Force to prevent it or to harrass the Enemy in its progress because the nature of the Country will not admit of any strong position being taken up, nor can a campaign be carried on with any degree of equality between those who are, and those who are not acquainted with Woods and Rivers, but a Small Squadron might easily make a diversion and I think it possible drained as Louisiana is even of part of its Militia, [48] for 4 or 5 small vessels, Sloops, Brigs and Schooners to lay New Orleans under contribution and take or distroy all the vessels in the Mississippi. [49] There is nothing to stop their progress up this River, except Fort Placquemene, [50] to which a Ship may pass very close, and easily silence it, and as the City stands upon the waters edge, unprotected by Forts or Battery's and at present without Troops it might be forced into any terms; Should a Diversion however in this way not succeed to the full, it would at all

47. John Innerarity, agent for John Forbes, travelled through the Upper Creek towns in October, 1812, and he reported in a conversation with Alexander Cornell that the Indians had accused the Americans of perpetual encroachment on the lands of the Creeks guaranteed by treaty. The agent further reported that he [Cornell] said "he was sick at constantly hearing the boastings of the Americans and of their bitter enmity to the English-For his part he was their true friend. . . ." "The Creek Nation, Debtor to John Forbes and Company, successors to Panton, Leslie, and Co. A Journal of John Innerarity, 1812," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* IX (October, 1930), 67-95.

48. According to reports from New Orleans, the militia brigade raised in the summer of 1812, was stationed much of the time in the neighborhood of Baton Rouge. Claiborne, *Mississippi, as Province, Territory and State,* 319.

49. Laying coastal towns under contribution (ransom) to avoid destruction of buildings and/or fishing fleets was a common practice in the War of 1812, especially along the New England seashore. It was one of the main complaints of New England against the manner in which the national government was conducting the war.

50. According to the "Military Report on Louisiana and West Florida," prepared by the governor, Baron de Carondelet, in 1794, "the enemy, once master of Plaquemine, will be master of all Louisiana. . . ." Robertson, *Louisiana:* I, 293-345. For a detailed description of the fort and an explanation of its importance, see *Ibid.,* I, 160-162.

events annoy and might oblige the Enemy to abandon the invasion of Florida for the protection of New Orleans.

The Navigation of the Mississippi is of the highest importance, since five of the United States, and four Territories depend upon it for the exportation of their Produce.

When the Crops have been gathered in the interior States, they are embarked upon the Ohio and other great Rivers which fall into the Mississippi and come down with the stream to New Orleans, whence they are shipped for the Northern Atlantic States and other places; this is their only channel for Commerce, for the Chain of the Allegany Mountains prevents a communication by land carrage, and should the Mississippi therefore be well blockaded, or possession taken of New Orleans (an undertaking not very difficult) the distress which the interior States would be subject to, would be extreme, and it would increase the number of those in America who sigh for Peace with England. [51]

The Blockade of the River Mississippi, may be effected by two Vessels of War, one to continue immediately off the Mouth of the River, while the other should visit occasionally the Islands laying to the Northward of it, where small vessels sometimes land and receive Cargoes. [52]

A Frigate may lay at Anchor about 7 or 8 Miles from the Bar of the River, and affectually prevent any thing passing, in or out, and should the Wind come round to the South East and blow very strong, which does at one Season of the Year, she could always get off the Coast having the advantage of a strong Easterly Current, with all other Winds she would be perfectly safe, the Weather in the Gulf of Mexico is in general moderate and fine, except in the Autumn, when hurricanes visit it, and in the depth of Winter, when it is subject to the North West Gales, these latter upon the Northern Shore, can do no harm, but many vessels are lost every year during the hurricane season.

The Naval Force of the Enemy now upon the Mississippi Station consists of two large Brigs and tender Gun Boats, and it is

51. The hostility of a number of prominent New Englanders toward the war was already well known.
52. Reference is to the islands (Dauphin, Petit Bois, Horn, Ship, Cat, etc.) off the coast of Alabama and Mississippi which guard the inland passage.

said, they are fitting a Ship out with twenty Guns for the purpose of guarding the entrance of the River. [53]

I have the honour to be, Sir, with the highest respect, Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

(Signed), James Stirling

To Charles Stirling, Esq.
Vice Admiral of the White, etc. etc. etc.
Jamaica

53. According to the annual report of the Secretary of the Navy to Congress, the naval force stationed at New Orleans under command of Captain John Shaw, consisted of the brigs *Siren* (16 guns) and *Viper* (10 guns) and a fleet of twenty-six small gunboats, seven of which were undergoing repairs. Paul Hamilton to Langdon Cheves, Washington, December 3, 1811, *American State Papers: Naval Affairs,* 4 volumes (Washington, 1834-1861), I, 229, 249, 252. Later information confirmed that all naval vessels had weathered the hurricane by seeking shelter in Bay St. Louis. Several of the gunboats were identified as numbers 27, 66, 156, 162, and 163. *Richmond Enquirer,* August 14, September 29, October 6, 1812.

THE FORT KING ROAD - 1963

by WILLIAM M. GOZA

IN 1825, THE TERRITORY of Florida was sparsely settled and little traveled. Fort Brooke, named for its first commander, Colonel George Mercer Brooke, and located where the Hillsborough River meets Old Tampa Bay, was a scant two years old. In that year, Indian Agent Colonel Gad Humphries established an agency near the present city of Ocala, preceding by some two years the occupation of Fort King on a nearby knoll. Realizing the need to connect its outposts by overland routes, Congress appropriated $12,000 to build a road from the northern boundary of the territory to Fort Brooke. The road was not constructed, but in 1825 a military road was started with the blazing of a trail north of Fort Brooke. Improvements followed later and what had been known as "The Military Highway" became the Fort King Road.

Since the Fort King Road crosses the Withlacoochee River only a few miles east of my week-end cottage, my interest in the route was strong, but this interest became intensified toward the end of 1962, when I met Frank J. Laumer, a Dade City land developer, who lives only about a mile from the site of the crossing. I met Laumer through our mutual friend, Father Jerome, dean of Florida historians at St. Leo College, and found that he had become interested in establishing the site of Fort Dade on the Withlacoochee River, as a result of his research on the second Seminole War and the life of Zachary Taylor. Records from the War Department and National Archives revealed Fort Dade was located on the south bank of the Withlacoochee River, where it intersected the Fort King Road. An exhaustive and intensive search of the area with a mine detector turned up large iron hinges, which were determined to be supports for the stockade gate, a curry comb, candle snuffer, hand-made nails, a part of a balance scale, and other items.

Although the accuracy of the location of the Fort Dade site was verified by Dr. William H. Sears of the Florida State Museum and other qualified personnel, the usual range of "old wives tales" discredited the effort, with solemn assertions that the spot

Frank Laumer designated was many miles from "where my grandpappy said the fort was!" We also found many references in secondary sources to locations for Fort Dade which are not supported by War Department records. Many highly respected sources claim that Fort Dade was the site of the massacre of Major Francis Langhorne Dade in 1835. Even if Fort Dade had existed on that date, it would have been a somewhat remarkable coincidence if the redoubtable major could have arranged the ambush of his command at a spot already named in his honor!

Perhaps the most interesting thing about having history as a hobby is that it is a never ending pursuit - one thing leads to another in this continuing search for the truth. With the Fort Dade site tucked safely in his map case, Laumer decided to research the Dade Massacre, the first step of which would be to re-create the route of the Fort King Road, from Fort Brooke to the battle site. I was delighted when Mr. Laumer asked me if I would be interested in giving a hand to his undertaking.

Maps and field notes of surveys made in the early 1840's, when the Fort King Road was still in existence and still in use, were obtained from the office of Doyle Connor, Florida Commissioner of Agriculture. They showed the section, township, and range through which the "Road to Fort King" passed, and gave some physical characteristics of the land. Appropriate field notes from the United States surveys for the sections gave the distance in chains from the corner of the section to the road, from opposite boundaries of the section. Then, in order to relate this information to present-day development and improvements, geological survey maps from the United States Department of the Interior were secured. Twelve of these maps, each about two feet long, were required to cover the route from Fort Brooke to the massacre site, about two miles southwest of Bushnell.

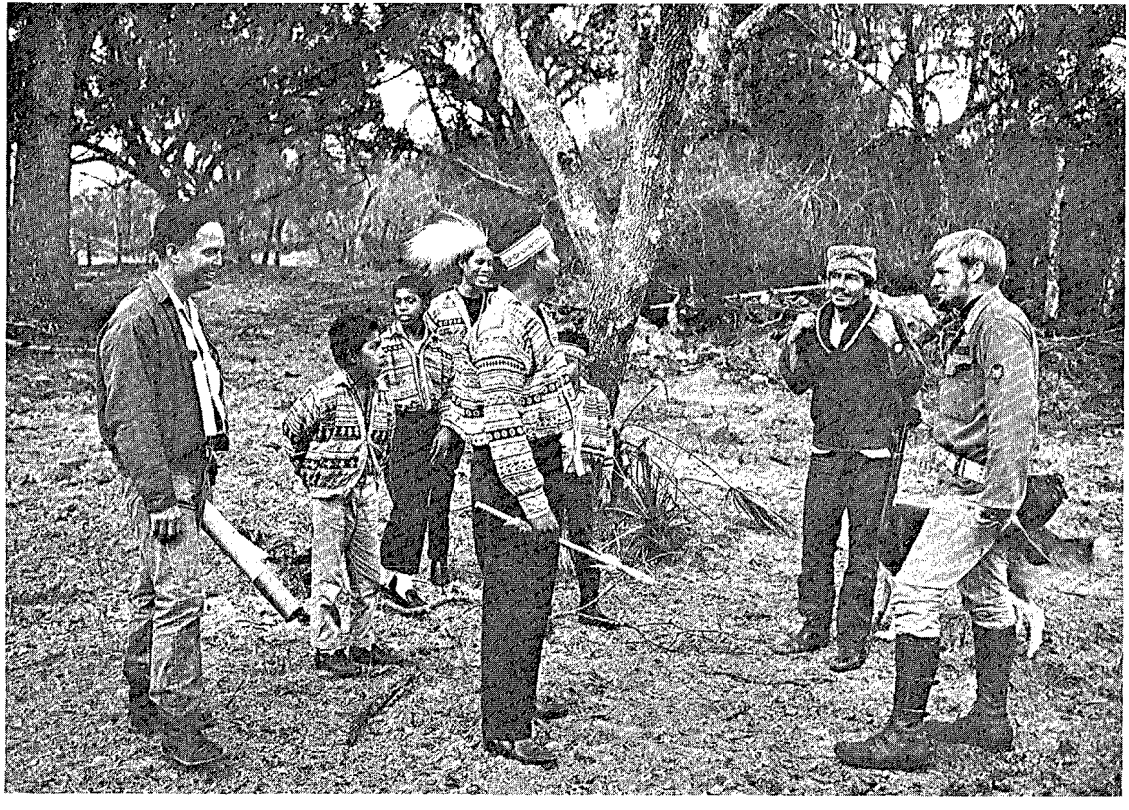
Professional help was needed to assure the accuracy of the route as transported to the modern maps, and so it was with rare good luck that Elmer Mullins, a surveyor from Dade City who coupled professional qualification with an interest in the historical aspect, volunteered his services. Then came the laborious task of transferring the old to the new - the surveys of 1840's to the modern maps of the 1960's. Of course, the newer maps indicated many changes in the use of the land, showing even the smallest buildings which had been erected when the map was

made, but land contours were unchanged, and the route as laid out on the modem map still coursed around the same ponds-and others which had not been shown on the earlier maps-and followed generally the route which would avoid extreme lows and highs of altitude, so as to give the best available level route to facilitate marching and moving of supplies.

Spot checks were now in order. A 1959 aerial photograph of the Lacoochee area was obtained, and we could see the dark line of a trail in the photograph following the slow spirals of the Fort King Road as it appeared on our tracings on the geological survey map. Short trips to selected areas confirmed the belief that the reconstructed maps were accurate, and at this point began the germination of the idea to march along the route sometime in December, 1963, the same month in which Major Dade had made his fateful march in 1835.

We had expected to find agreement among those who had recounted the details of the so-called "Dade Massacre," but here also we found many conflicting statements. The most reliable authorities seemed to concur that Francis Langhorne Dade and his command, numbering 108 men, set out from Fort Brooke along the Fort King Road on December 23, 1835, outfitted as infantry and equipped with a six pound cannon, intending to relieve the under-manned garrison at Fort King. On the morning of December 28, about sixty-five miles out of Fort Brooke, Seminole Indians under the leadership of Micanopy opened fire upon them from the cover of pine woods and palmettos, killing all but three of the enlisted men. This event, together with the murder of General Wiley Thompson, Lieutenant Constantine Smith, and others at Fort King within a few hours of the Dade attack, signalled the outbreak of the Second Seminole War, which lasted nearly seven years and was the most costly of all Indian wars fought by the United States.

We decided at the outset that our march along the route of the Fort King Road would not be a physical fitness test, nor a survival or endurance contest, but was to be a serious attempt to see if traces of the Fort King Road still existed. We also wanted to travel the route at about the same time of the year Major Dade travelled it. We were hopeful that, if the march attracted any attention at all, it would interest the people of Florida in an important period in the history of our state. I was satisfied with



our decision that we were not trying to prove our physical capacity for endurance, for at forty-six years of age I found myself eight years older than the oldest of Dade's men! A number of individuals of varied interests and occupations expressed their desire to accompany us on at least a part of the march, and all were welcomed. Two of Laumer's children, Christopher, aged twelve, and Valerie, aged fourteen, who had developed an interest in the project from hearing it discussed, intended to make part of the trip. It was also decided that Amos, their ten-year old collie, would be included in the party, and not without some historic precedent, since Major G. W. Gardiner's dog had accompanied his master on the ill-fated march, and the return of that wounded canine to Fort Brooke, according to some accounts, was one of the first signs of disaster which the garrison received.

In order to assure the public of the seriousness of our plans, and to make available to the organization the results of our research and efforts, the Florida Historical Society was solicited for sponsorship of our project at the semi-annual meeting of its board of directors at the University of South Florida, in Tampa, on December 7, 1963. This sponsorship was readily and unanimously given, and we felt that we had clothed our efforts with professional respectability by the endorsement of this venerable organization, but we were cognizant also of our responsibility to maintain our efforts in the field of professional historical research.

It was decided that it would be pointless to begin our march in downtown Tampa at the actual site of Fort Brooke, since the city is now so developed that there would not only be lack of evidence of a semblance of a trail, but it would be impossible to follow the route because of the many buildings. It was therefore decided to begin the march at 1:00 p.m., December 19, at the northwest corner of Franklin Junior High School, Tampa, which our calculations showed that the Fort King Road had crossed, and where we surmised Major Dade might have arrived at about the same hour of the day in his march out of Fort Brooke.

Though the personnel of our 1963 "command" varied from time to time during the trip, the starting group included Frank Laumer; Joe Geiger, a teacher from Dade City High School who also teaches at St. Leo College; and me - and of course, Amos, our mascot. We were surprised to see that WFLA-TV Reporter Emmett Mattes, Miss Mick O'Hearn of the Tampa *Tribune*,

and a photographer were present to cover the departure. The venture had in fact already attracted some press notices earlier. The St. Petersburg *Times* had carried a story with a picture of Laumer and me on the shores of the Withlacoochee examining maps detailing the course, while its Dade City reporter, Mrs. Shirley Chastain, had given a full and accurate account of the mission. Also, E. Reinhold Rogers, Jr., of the Clearwater *Sun* and Chairman of the Pinellas County Historical Commission, had given us advance coverage. We did not realize, however, even from this initial indication of interest by the news media, that our undertaking would attract so much attention. We found as we plodded along that interest increased in geometric proportions.

The starting point was still in a fairly congested area of Tampa, so the route could not follow the almost exact northeasterly direction which was indicated. The site of the Fort King Road lies southeast of the Garden of Memories and the Centro Espanol cemeteries, then cuts across the northeasterly corner of a subdivision to reach tall grass and scattered, gnome-like trees. The general vicinity of the trail was now less densely settled, and for the first time out of Tampa, the party had the feeling of marching cross-country. The land began to assume a gentle rolling appearance, and after crossing Lake Avenue, a citrus grove was encountered, which continued beyond Hillsborough Avenue at a point about three-fourths of a mile east of the Atlantic Coast Line overpass. About a quarter of a mile north of Hillsborough Avenue, the road meets again and coincides almost exactly with Lake Avenue for approximately one mile into the small settlement of Harney, at which point it veers sharply to the west and away from the northeast course of our route.

Our party left the road at about 5:00 p.m., remaining on the trail approaching the Little Hillsborough River, where the elevation of the route dipped. An abundance of large oaks were located at the place where the road crossed over. As darkness began to enshroud us, we realized that it was here that Major Dade and his command had spent their first night out from Fort Brooke. Dade had sent a message to Major Belton, back at Fort Brooke, that the six pounder had been abandoned four miles from the fort due to the failure of the oxen, and asked for assistance in bringing the cannon forward to him. Major Belton had complied with the request, and the six pounder had arrived at about 7:00

p.m. At nearly this same hour, the 1963 command settled down to an evening meal composed of canned tuna and peaches. The present-day group was here augmented by the arrival of Frank Laumer's children, Chris and Val, and Jim Beck, a St. Leo College student who was to prove his worth many times during the trip.

As the 1963 version of the Dade command settled around a cheerful campfire, the temperature began a drop which would take it down to the middle thirties, but spirits were high as Laumer read aloud the article "Florida Aflame" by Dr. Mark F. Boyd *(Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXX, July 1951). Gradually, as the conversation and the camp fire died down, the members of the group huddled in their bedrolls in a futile attempt to keep warm, with only fitful snatches of sleep.

At 6:00 a.m. everyone was awake but it was too cold to think of breakfast, so equipment was assembled, bedrolls packed, and the march was resumed by 7:00 o'clock. The Little Hillsborough River no longer connects with the Hillsborough River, about 300 yards to its west, since the roadway dams it off, but formerly it drained the so-called Harney Flats into the larger waterway. We made the crossing by leaving the trail to go about one hundred feet west to the railroad bridge, then returned on the opposite side to the location of the original roadway. Daylight confirmed our belief that the site of the crossing had been correctly located.

About a half-mile north of Harney the trail crosses the railroad and the highway; then approximately another half-mile north from the highway it turns northeasterly again and parallels the highway on its northwesterly side for about four miles. The countryside here is pleasant and rolling, but with hills of such little consequence that the engineers laying out the old road did not take them into consideration, but merely crossed over them. There are few dwellings in this locality, but there are several small citrus groves, from five to ten acres in size. There was still no evidence of the trail, but the physical characteristics of the land matched the symbols on our maps and assured us that the route was correct.

Breakfast, consisting of such delicacies as canned tuna and dried fruit, proved less an enjoyment than the ease afforded by the lightened pack, for now tightening leg muscles gave evidence

of the departure from flat terrain. The weather, however, was perfect for the undertaking, with a clear, sunny sky and a temperature in the fifties.

The route crosses U. S. 301 and railroad tracks again just north of Fowler Avenue, and then heads northeasterly for the northern tip of Lake Thonotosassa. Larger hills were now in evidence, and the walking was more difficult because it was through orange groves which had recently been cultivated and the sand was deep. One of the stories about the Dade march says the men stopped to rest near the lake and ate some Cuban oranges in their packs, dropping the seeds which then sprouted. One of the trees supposedly is still standing, transplanted, in 1846, to the homestead of William Miley, and some say that many of the groves in that section grew from seeds dropped by military expeditions along the Fort King Road. Where the old road passes the northern edge of Lake Thonotosassa, a beautiful view is seen down the slope to the south and across two miles of lake. The natural growth for the past few miles had been oak and pine, indicating that stands of both had existed in earlier years.

The remaining miles to the Hillsborough River crossing were among the most difficult of the entire trip. We were delighted with the interruption afforded just before undertaking this stretch by the arrival of reporters from the Tampa *Tribune* and the St. Petersburg *Times.* The Florida flatlands which lay ahead were coursed by swamp lands and scattered pines, with range cattle eying suspiciously the intrusion of their domain. The course of the old road veered now to the east, and it was evident that the engineers had planned the road in this portion with reference to the course of the Hillsborough River, paralleling it until a proper location for crossing it could be found. The easterly course continued for about two and a half miles, then struck out northerly for about five miles over desolate countryside for its junction with the Hillsborough River. Night had fallen by the time that spot was reached, a few hundred feet east of the present-day intersection of U. S. 301 and the Hillsborough River, and all agreed that Major Dade had covered a lot of territory in his second day out of Fort Brooke. Upon his arrival at the Hillsborough River, Major Dade found the Indians had burned the bridge, so he was delayed the next day in repairing it sufficiently to allow his troops, cannon, and equipment to pass over. We were glad,

however, that no work faced us, but only the prospect of devouring some fried chicken, with all its accompaniments, which had been brought to the Hillsborough River State Park by my wife, Sue. As we enjoyed the warmth of the park office, we took special note of the fact that Frank Laumer's two children had made the day without a murmur of complaint - and that Amos was wagging his tail!

We were welcomed to the Hillsborough River State Park by Park Superintendent Harry E. Sigrist with whom we had corresponded in anticipation of our overnight stop. We decided to spend the second night at the park, rather than at the site of the burned bridge, since we would be only a few hundred yards from the actual place of Dade's camp, which is now located on privately owned property. Park Ranger Roy Gardner aided us in many capacities, including that of press agent, for telephone calls from various newspapers were besieging us for reports of progress. Mr. Gardner, among his many other courtesies, introduced me over his park office telephone to Robert Thomas of Tampa, owner of the burned bridge site, and I had a pleasant and interesting conversation with him. He was well-informed on the history of this locality, and not only discussed Dade's camp site with me but invited us all to make a closer inspection of the property, promising to show us the spot where Fort Foster was located. Gardner told us that Thomas' father had donated the property which now comprises the Hillsborough River State Park to the State of Florida.

We decided to spread our bedrolls just outside the park area to accommodate Amos, since dogs are not permitted in the park overnight. Elmer Mullins, our official surveyor, joined us for a visit and helped build the fire. The Laumer children left us at this point, after a long, grueling day, although they seemed none the worse for the trip. They said they had thoroughly enjoyed the experience. After our chicken supper, my wife drove Chris and Valerie back to their home near Dade City. Then, while Jim Beck stoked the log fire higher and higher, we in our sleeping bags vied with each other to come up with the sharpest jest about his activities as a fireman. Frank Laumer, looking up from his sleeping bag, said he saw a bloom coming out on the magnolia, while I claimed that I had heard my first robin. Attempts at wit, however, grew more strained as the temperature

dropped into the low forties. Conversation lagged and it was replaced by heavy breathing as our second day out of Fort Brooke came to a close.

One of the most pleasant surprises of our trip came the next morning when we awoke at 6:15 a.m. We had expected to partake again of the canned delicacies in our packs, but instead found ourselves invited for a hot breakfast at Ranger Gardner's home in the park, with Mrs. Gardner performing in the highest traditions of the culinary art. Fried eggs, grits, home-made biscuits, jam, and hot coffee gave us the start we needed for the long day which lay ahead. We were met at breakfast by Elmo Collins, a Dade City junior high school teacher, who joined us at this point.

We realized that Major Dade's command had, by authority of most accounts, remained two nights at Hillsborough River, but we saw no point in marking time to follow his schedule exactly since we were not attempting a literal re-enactment of his march. We decided that our purposes would be served if we pushed ahead, facetiously remarking that if we followed the major's example too closely, we might walk into an ambush by Indians up the line.

Major F. S. Belton's account of Dade's march states that the command probably did not make over six miles on the day of their march from the Hillsborough River, then on the next day marched across the Big Withlacoochee River, across the Little Withlacoochee River, and to their camp within four or five miles of the massacre site. We felt that we were now informed sufficiently by experience to know that this was impossible, since a command that had moved only about one mile an hour could not possibly have marched approximately thirty miles between sunup and sundown on December 27, 1835. We were determined to make camp our third night near Dade City, where local legend has it that Dade had encamped near a small body of water now called Lake Hester.

We started our march at a little before 8:00 a.m., crossing to the east side of U. S. Highway 301 and entering the woods on the north side of the Hillsborough River. We quickly found the location of the Fort King Road crossing, since the road was used up into the early 1930's, according to Robert Thomas, by "hunters, fishermen, campers, and poachers." The road now followed

a course slightly to the west of north, crossing Highway 301 only a few hundred feet from the railroad crossing now called Glennell Station. We followed the trail without seeing any evidence of its prior existence. As we passed over the highway, several motorists blew their automobile horns, letting us know that we were recognized. As we continued our travels, it seemed as though we were strangers to no one.

We were now in flat pasture land, with scattered pine trees and evidence of a creek to our west where the growth was heavier and the sweet gum and bay trees grew in profusion. We finally picked up our first sign of the Fort King Road. Evidently it was still being used for light, backwoods traffic to some extent, and it followed exactly the course as shown on our map. We continued on the trail for about three miles, crossing an occasional pasture, with deference shown us by the cattle because of the presence of our collie, Amos. The trail faded, but low ridges indicated the location of the road to be coinciding with our maps. We arrived at State Highway 54, at a crossing about two miles west of Zephyrhills at 12:30 p.m. Joe Geiger left us here, since he had examination papers to grade, but he would rejoin us on our last morning of the hike.

Laumer, Beck, Collins, and I continued on, slightly east of north, with our route as marked on the map following the level route on the ground, avoiding comparative extremes of altitude and depression. We were on higher ground again, and trees appeared in thicker groves. When we stopped for lunch, we checked our map and saw that we had about seven miles of hard, hilly marching ahead before we would reach our camp site that night.

A short road bearing northeasterly brought us into contact with a paved back-route road from Zephyrhills to Dade City, known as the "Fort King Road," but with the exception of three more crossings of the old road before reaching Dade City, there is no coincidence of route. Passing through the rear section of the Cuningham Estates subdivision, we had our picture taken by Mrs. Nell Woodcock for the Tampa *Tribune*. Then we started out through hilly, freshly cultivated grove land. Our route was a little north of east, and leaving the citrus grove we passed through beautiful woodland where the route of the old Fort King Road was clearly visible, threading its way between ancient oaks. This was one of the areas where Laumer and Mullins had made

a spot-check for a section line a few months earlier and had killed a thirty-inch coral snake. We saw no snakes at all on our trip since they are not generally in evidence during the colder weather.

Crossing the western edge of Bird Lake, we moved through a desolate area of dead dog-fennels and sedge-like weeds, noting on the west side of our trail some few hundred feet away a huge dead tree with literally hundreds of large buzzards perched upon it and flying around it. This spot is known locally as "Buzzard's Roost." Frank Laumer and I discussed the eerie sight, recalling the diary of James Duncan, an officer of General Gaines' troops, who came upon Dade's command nearly two months after they had lain unburied at the massacre site:

> "The vultures rose in clouds as the approach of the column drove them from their prey, the very breast work was black with them, some soared over us as we looked upon the scene before us whilst others settled upon the adjoining trees awaiting our departure in order again to return to their prey."

Jim Beck is from Dayton, Ohio, and he was not familiar with our "buzzards," thinking they were huge crows. Possessing more energy and curiosity than Laumer, Collins, or I, he charged toward the dead tree, and the sky was black with vultures circling above us.

Ahead now emerged one of our most beautiful scenes, but it also involved some of our most difficult terrain for marching; a broad, grass-lined valley with gnarled and ancient oaks led on to citrus groves situated on hills with an elevation of over 200 feet above sea-level, an uphill climb of about a hundred feet in less than a mile. The old route skirted the summits of the hills, but the walking was difficult through newly-plowed land as we aimed just to the west of the tree-bordered home of Dr. W. H. Walters, Dade City physician and member of the Confederate Round Table. The roadway then turns slightly to the northeast, nearly a quarter of a mile west of the home of State Senator D. D. Covington, beyond which the descent of the hills becomes pronounced.

Our maps showed that we would cross a dirt road, and that the old road would pass directly through a house, which would stand at the southern tip of Lake Pasadena, and surely enough, there it was. The only difficulty was that about four vicious looking dogs began barking at us, and Amos was the only member of our

party who spoke their dialect. As we were debating whether to forsake briefly our historic mission to skirt this portion of the road, an elderly gentleman called to us from the front of the house, welcoming us and ordering the dogs back. He introduced himself as J. F. Hammett, saying that he had been expecting us, since he knew that the Fort King Road passed through his property; his only regret was that his grandson had been waiting with him to welcome us, and had left just a few minutes before. Mr. Hammett gave us some of his delicious tangerines, and we filled our canteens with sparkling, cold tap water. We admired the massive oak trees which lined the route of the old road, and Mr. Hammett told us that two of them had been estimated to be over 300 years old.

We ascended another hill through an orange grove to the northeast for approximately a half-mile on the east shore of Lake Pasadena, then cut the southeasterly corner of Pasadena Shores subdivision to cross the present day Fort King Road again. There, Elmer Mullins met us in his truck and told us that he had tied a few bright streamers on fences ahead at the exact survey point where the road passed. He had also hauled in some "lightard knots" and fire wood to our camp site.

Our route still lay uphill, behind some houses fronting on the new Fort King Road, one of which we knew to be owned by Frank Massey, another member of the Dade City Confederate Round Table. As we passed back of the house owned by Mr. and Mrs. Earl Croley, we were beset by several members of his family and some of their neighbors, all armed with shot guns, rifles, pistols, sabres, baseball bats, and garden tools in a good-natured ambush. Since they were not Seminoles, we decided they must be some sort of home guard or militia, trigger-happy to try out their weapons. Mr. Croley confirmed our belief that the road had passed immediately back of his house, and the level roadway was still plainly visible, for the contours were unchanged by more than a century of use.

We were now only about two miles from our day's destination, as the shadows were beginning to lengthen. Crossing another pasture, we emerged just east of the intersection of the new Fort King Road and Highway 52-S, which connects U. S. 301 with the Handcart Road, the title of which itself invites research. Crossing both roads, we proceeded just west of north back of

some small houses, through more pasture, then uphill again through grove land. We passed through one section where de citrus trees were stark white, with all bark peeled off, lonely sentinels to remind us of the hard freeze of December, 1962. Tall, lean pipes of irrigation sprays called attention to the feeble attempts of man to control nature.

The Pasco County fairground lay on our left to the west, and we passed close to the new Dade City High School, thinking that it would be appropriate to erect a marker there, describing its proximity to the Fort King Road. It was now downhill and darkening to the north of the two Lake Hesters where our campfire would be awaiting the match, so we hitched our packs a bit higher and crossed the last fences to our bivouac. A cheery fire was soon ablaze, as my wife, Sue, arrived with a wonderful dinner for all of us, consisting of beef stew, hot coffee, hot rolls, and other tasty morsels. To top it off, Frank Laumer's wife, Lois, had brought along mince meat and pecan pie which she and their daughter had baked for us. The press, too, was on hand, and flash bulbs exploded brilliantly as we recalled some seventeen or so miles of our day's travel.

We bade our visitors good night at around ten o'clock, but just as we crawled in our bedrolls, Jim Fleming, of the Dade City Banner, came up for a visit. We spent a delightful half-hour with him, then zipped up our sleeping bags and had an excellent night's sleep. Jim Beck, as usual, had stoked the fire to magnificent heights, and just before we dozed off we saw the shadowy outline of the stone marker placed on the site by the local citizenry to commemorate another night, 128 years before.

The following morning, Sunday, we were awakened at 6:15 a.m., by a friendly visit from Mrs. Marge Edenfield of Dade City who was armed with steaming hot coffee. The route through Dade City ran almost due north from our camp site, through the grounds of the new addition to Pasco High School and just west of the hospital along 16th Street extending through "Tommytown."

We saw no point in marching through the limits of Dade City, since it is so developed that an exact following of the route would have been impossible. Laumer's wife transported us to the northern edge of the city to resume our travels, reinforced by the hard boiled eggs and toast she had brought us. The old Fort King

Road continued to follow generally north, with a very slight easterly bearing, along present U. S. Highways 301-98, crossing those highways five times in approximately five miles. Then, about one-half mile from the point where Highway 98 branches off to the west, the road begins an almost exact northeasterly course through Lacoochee to the intersection of the road with the Withlacoochee River. This was the area of Laumer's previous research, where the fort, named as a memorial to Major Dade, was located. We diverted our course a few hundred feet west to cross the river on the Seaboard Air Line bridge, continuing in a northerly direction to meet the intersection of the railroad with the old Fort King Road about a quarter of a mile north of the river. Since Laumer and Mullins had made a spot check for the road, we had no difficulty in picking up the trail. Laumer, Beck, and I, the only three now in our party, agreed that this was one of the most clearly defined traces of the road, and one of the most beautiful areas through which it passed. For about a mile, in a north-northwesterly direction, we passed over level land of an elevation of from seventy to seventy-five feet, through blackjack oak and large pine trees. The clearly visible trail, precisely following the contours on our map, was in the area where recent aerial photographs had revealed its path. This would be a wonderful property for the state to acquire for development as a woods trail, faithfully following the route of the Fort King Road. It would be as beautiful and attractive to tourists as the Appalachian Trail and other trails used for hiking, horseback riding, and sightseeing.

The trail disappeared at a pasture fence line, and we had to interpolate the route for about a mile to a spot near where U. S. Highway 301 is intersected by Florida Highway 50 at Ridge Manor. By now we had grown accustomed to the routing of the roadway around hills and away from low spots, so we felt sure that we could not have missed the road more than a few feet, at most. The route lay west of the club house for the golf course at Ridge Manor. We thought we would have a good chance of quickly picking up the trail again, so we split up to search for some encouraging sign. It was my luck this time to find the trail, and for the next two-and-a-half miles we enjoyed the pleasure of knowing that we were again traveling an unmistakable and clearly evident portion of the Fort King Road. We had one barrier along the way which did not exist in Dade's time, a man-made drainage

ditch about fifteen feet wide, filled with water. There was not enough room for a running start and we were too heavily laden to jump across. As Laumer and I were removing our boots and rolling up our trousers, we were startled by a roar and a splash, and saw that Beck had charged, booted and fully clad, through the water to the opposite side. We laughed again when we saw Beck and our collie, Amos, shaking themselves dry.

The trail crossed Highway 301 about three miles north of Ridge Manor, and we continued on the old road for about a half mile, gradually coming back in a westerly direction to recross the present highway to its west side. We lost the trail at this point, with only about a mile remaining between us and the Little Withlacoochee River. The maps fooled us at this point, for they showed many small lakes. The survey for the maps must have been prepared during a much wetter year than we had just experienced, for we found the area devoid of water, except for an occasional small pond. Because of our miscalculation, we went farther to the west than we should have, futilely searching for some of the ponds shown on the maps. The area became wilder and the grasses were taller than any we had yet encountered. The trees were twisted and drawn, and there were a number of very tall palmettos. After what seemed an interminable and hopeless struggle through the brush we finally emerged on the banks of the Little Withlacoochee. A picturesque turn of the river offered a peninsula for our dining location, so out came can openers and tins, and if I do say so myself, I don't believe I have ever prepared a more delicious Triscuit sandwich.

We knew we were west of where we should be, but steep banks, cypress trees and knees, and extremely dense palmettos made travel along the river a perilous prospect. We finally reached a spot where the river seemed to correspond in contours to the place where our map showed the crossing should be. The river here was only about twenty-five feet wide, and we knew that we could swim it without difficulty; our problem, however, would be to get all our map cases, packs, boots, and clothing across. Laumer swam across first, leaving his equipment with me, and then Beck heaved map cases and some equipment over to the other side. We felled a dead but solid small cypress tree, trimmed the limbs off and decided that I would try to balance my way across, steadied by sticks held out from each side by Frank and Jim. I was carry-

ing not only my own pack, but had Frank's heavy field jacket over me, and I am sure Blondin felt less encumbered when he rode the bicycle on the tight wire across Niagara Falls. After a couple of juggling antics, it looked as if I would make it when suddenly the small end of the cypress snapped - and it was all over for that trip. I believe the icy temperature of the water saved my life, for I would surely have sunk with all my equipment, but the water was so cold that I came right out of it with very little delay. We re-steadied the log, and Jim pursued the more prudent idea of crawling across the log, balancing with a large floating. log alongside.

The north bank of the Little Withlacoochee was not as dense in its growth as the opposite bank from which we had just come, but it was more desolate, if possible, in appearance. We went through the whitened cypress swamps, now dry from the lack of rain during 1962, with their moldy marks high on the trunks, and looking strangely like targets. The temperature was fairly cold, but my discomfort consisted more in the squish-squish I felt and heard with each step I took. My companions were worried about me, for I had a sore throat at the outset of the march, but I felt fine now.

A quarter-mile walk put us back on a trail that we hoped was our now-elusive Fort King Road. We saw a jeep with a man and a woman in it driving along the road toward us. We hailed them and inquired for the location of the road. Much to our delight and surprise we learned we were on it. We introduced ourselves to Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Berry of Webster. He is Civil Defense Director for Sumter County, and they had come out looking for us. My luck now changed, for I found Mr. Berry had a complete change of clothes, except for socks and boots, in his vehicle which he offered me. I quickly ducked behind our omnipresent palmettos and effected a quick change.

We continued on the trail, through giant arches of oaks, for about a mile, and then suddenly the trail disappeared into a pasture land. A herd of cows - about twenty - first eyed us suspiciously, then started following us in a walk which increased in pace, and it began to look as if they might stampede towards us. At this point, Amos again proved his worth, and a few loud yelps and a tossing of his Withlacoochee-wet mane started them off in another direction.

We were now within a mile-and-a-half of Dade's Breakfast Pond, the site of that night's bivouac, so-called because Dade and his men ate their last breakfast there. We had been pondering all afternoon a remark made by my wife the night before at Dade City, when she said she heard a rumor that there would "be a surprise for us-but a good one." She said that a Miami newspaper was planning something, since their reporter had inquired if we were armed. It was an odd question, and we guessed that a mock massacre might be in the offing, and the reporter wanted to be sure we would not be startled into shooting someone. We were not armed, of course, and so we did not discount the possibility of an ambush ahead. With this in mind, we veered to the west of our normal course on the trail and slightly beyond the bivouac site, then cut back to the location of the Fort King Road. There we got the surprise of our lives: we came up behind a group of Seminole Indians, in full colorful regalia, their chief wearing the plume in his headband. The leader, Howard Osceola, informed us that they had planned to surprise us on the trail, but we had outflanked him. We shook hands all around and told the chief that turn about was fair play, because the last victory had been won by the Indians. As we went on to our campfire on the shores of Dade's Breakfast Pond, we found that the Seminoles had been brought up from the Everglades by the Miami *Daily News* and its reporter, Don Branning. A full page news story, complete with pictures of the Seminoles was the result, and it appeared in the December 23, 1963, issue of the *Daily News.*

Dade's Breakfast Pond had receded due to the drought, but it was an almost perfectly round pond, apparently spring-fed, to judge by its green color. It lies directly on the trail, and would have been a logical spot for an encampment, for it offered potable water and a terrain suitable for defense. As silence settled around the campfire and we warmed our hands side by side with the Seminoles, we remembered their forebears who had resisted for so long the best our country could offer. We could not linger long in our meditation, however, for we found that Don Branning had a publication deadline, and the Indians had a reservation, so they left us shortly after dark.

On our list of Seminole words "Ista" means "man" and "tootkah" means "fire," so, although we probably broke all the rules of the Seminole language, we christened Jim Beck "Ista Tootkah,"

"Man of Fire," in honor of his skill with a blaze. That night at Dade's Breakfast Pond, Jim outdid himself. The photographer from the *Daily News* did not need flash bulbs for his pictures, and in the noon-like glare we discerned many new faces around our campfire, including some who had been with us on the march in its earlier stages. Joe Geiger rejoined us, bringing his wife along to complete the march, and Elmo Collins was back with us, joined by his daughter, Anne, a student at the University of South Florida. Lois Laumer did the honors with food, and we enjoyed the baked ham and potatoes she brought. My wife joined us again, bringing along our miniature dachshund, Giggy, who was dwarfed by Amos. The visitors drifted away as the evening wore on, and the veterans of the march enjoyed repeating the jokes and stories which had been the most successful along the route. As we glanced down the slope occasionally toward the pond, we thought of the 108 men who had looked in the same direction many years ago.

About four o'clock in the morning of Monday, December 23, I was awakened by the noise of rainfall, the first we had encountered on our trip. Frank and I decided to arouse the camp, now numbering ten, to roll packs and bedrolls and seek the shelter of a barn nearby. The owner, Dave Davis, a lawyer from Bushnell, had been among those to welcome us the night before, so we felt sure there would be no objection to our using the shelter, particularly since Frank's daughter had rejoined us, as had Dr. Charles W. Arnade's son, Frank. The rain became harder as we reached the shelter, about 200 yards back down the trail, so we were glad we had made the decision to pack up. After a couple of anxious hours when the rain did not subside, Laumer, Beck, and I decided we would finish the last five miles even if we had to swim.

As the eastern skies assumed a lighter shade of gray-blue, we began the final stage of our march. Our travelers now included, in addition to Frank Laumer, Jim Beck, and me, our regulars, Joe Geiger and Elmo Collins, and newcomer Mrs. Lona Geiger. The route lay northeasterly, and in about a half-mile it crossed the Atlantic Coast Line tracks. It continued in the same direction until it crossed the present line of Highway 301 about three-fourths of a mile north of the railroad intersection with the highway at Saint Catherine, and then along the east side of the high-

way for about another mile. The old road then turned almost due north to cross Highway 301 again, proceeding about three-fourths of a mile to the massacre site. We marched into the Dade Battlefield Memorial Park at exactly 9:00 a.m., close to the same hour that the massacre occurred on December 28, 1835. We followed the line of the Fort King Road to the marker with the inscription ''Here Major Dade Fell," then we turned to the recreation building in the park area,

A hearty breakfast awaited us, and our wives and friends greeted us again. Park Superintendent John H. Hale had arranged the breakfast, which was prepared by Mrs. Hale and wives of park employees. C. Burton Marsh, clerk of the circuit court and a member of the park advisory board, acted as master of ceremonies, introducing former Senator J. C. Getzen (chairman), Broward Miller, Miss Tillle Roesel, and M. H. Sharpe, all members of the advisory board, Mayor Ralph Evans of Bushnell, and Leonard Ballard, president of the Sumter County Chamber of Commerce. Laumer, who was introduced as the "modern Major Dade," made a few remarks, thanking everyone for his interest. Dr. Arnade, professor of history at the University of South Florida and member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, then welcomed our group on behalf of the Society, and lauded the effort as "authentic and worth while." The members of our expedition were then introduced, together with the wives who were present, and after a most enjoyable meal, we retired with the press and cameramen for interviews and pictures. In addition to the newspapers already mentioned, there were representatives from the Wildwood *Herald-Express,* the Ocala *Star-Banner,* and several area newspapers.

We will mark copies of the maps with the Fort King Road route and present them to the Dade Battlefield Memorial Park and to the Florida Historical Society. With the passing years, the trail will disappear entirely unless some concerted effort is made to preserve at least a section of it. The land through which it traverses is privately owned, and the march of the bulldozers is joining forces with other "signs of progress" to obliterate this remaining vestige from a colorful page of Florida's past. Those of us who participated in the march along the Fort King Road will always have a feeling of kinship for the little command which perished in 1835, and we hope that we did them honor in reminding Floridians of their sacrifice.

BOOK REVIEWS

Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press for the Florida Historical Society, 1963. xi, 226 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, map, bibliography, index. $5.50.)

Few persons outside of the states of Florida and Georgia ever heard of General Duncan L. Clinch. This fact alone is ample justification for the publication of a full length study of his career. And in the competent hands of Rembert W. Patrick the General receives sympathetic but fair treatment. Clinch was not a glamorous or dashing figure; he did not slaughter frontier Indians or Spaniards in abundance; he did not sway great masses with rousing oratory; he was not a party to any great scandal. He was a competent frontier soldier with a decided sense of duty, a successful planter, and a not so successful Whig politician. Patrick correctly labels him as "a regionally important but nationally neglected man." He failed to gain the recognition awarded other frontier warriors such as Andrew Jackson, Winfield Scott, Thomas Jesup, or Edmund P. Gaines, but he performed a service which under the circumstances might have been just as important as that performed by these better known figures.

Clinch's military career began in 1808, and continued until his resignation from the army in 1836. During that period he attained the permanent rank of colonel, and for distinguished service he was breveted brigadier general. His active service was on the Florida frontier, where Indians, outlaws, and all types of adventurers had their day because neither Spain nor the United States was willing to spend the time and effort necessary to establish order. Clinch fought no decisive battles; he retired before the close of the Seminole War. But his name was associated with the destruction of Negro Fort in 1816, and the Battle of Withlacoochee in 1836, a skirmish which a victory-hungry press pronounced "a great victory." Clinch was given the title of "Hero of Withlacoochee."

But Osceola, the Seminole warrior, was not impressed. To Clinch he sent a statement of determination: ''You have guns

and so have we; you have powder and lead and so have we; you have men and so have we; your men will fight, and so will ours until the last drop of Seminoles' blood has moistened the dust of his hunting grounds."

The Seminole War continued, but General Clinch, frustrated, distrustful of volunteers under General Call, and resentful of the arrival of General Scott, retired from active service to try his hand at politics. But one term in Congress and an unsuccessful race for governor of Georgia convinced him of the desirability of private life as a rice planter. Largely through inheritance from his marriages, he amassed a fortune in land and slaves before his death in 1849. Never truly tested in battle and failing to gain more than local political prominence, General Clinch passed from the memory of all but family and friends; his services to his country, however, deserve more recognition and a place in recorded history. Professor Patrick has done a commendable job of rediscovering General Clinch.

JOSEPH H. PARKS

University of Georgia

The History of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University. By Leedell W. Neyland and John W. Riley. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963. xi, 303 pp. Foreword, preface, illustrations, bibliography, appendix, index. $6.50.)

Just as the Negro was being disfranchised in Florida after Reconstruction, the State legislature in 1887, for reasons the authors do not make clear, established in Tallahassee the State Normal College for Colored Students. Led by Thomas DeSaille Tucker, a remarkable African-born Negro who was graduated from Oberlin, and aided by the Federal Morrill Act of 1890, the little institution offered a broad liberal education, and, by the turn of the century, was producing a major proportion of Florida's Negro teachers. But, as is often the case, each step forward for the Negro seemed to be followed shortly by a step backward. White politicians, again with motives that should have been explored, forced Tucker's resignation and transformed the school into the Booker T. Washington mold of vocational training with most of its work in subjects like farming, woodworking, dressmaking, and barbering.

Under the long administrations of Nathan B. Young (1901-1923) and J. R. E. Lee (1924-1944), the school inched forward. The authors tell a poignant story of the cruel economies that were necessary, the pitifully inadequate facilities, and the humiliating eagerness with which the presidents begged for aid. As late as 1944, there were some 800 students, and only a single faculty member with a Ph.D. degree. After the Second World War, progress was marred by unsavory corruption within the institution, but since 1950, under the much-praised leadership of George W. Gore, achievements have been spectacular. In 1953, the institution became the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, and today has an enrollment of over 3,000, a faculty with approximately fifty Ph.D.'s, and fully accredited programs in arts and sciences, agriculture, home economics, education, engineering, law, nursing, and pharmacy, plus a graduate program leading to the M.A. degree in education.

The authors develop their story around careful evaluations of succeeding administrations and around the sometimes conflicting theme of progress. Two good chapters on student life emphasize the stern regime of manual labor and religious devotion during the early years, and the special importance of athletics and musical activities today. A good chapter on the alumni reveals remarkable achievements in such professions as teaching, medicine, and the ministry, and a lack of achievement in the business world.

The authors might have given their story far greater significance by some reference to the history of the State and to the development of higher education in other institutions. Except for the personalities of its presidents, there is almost no analysis of the forces which helped or hindered the school's development, no fundamental questioning of changing educational aims, and no attempt to probe the mind and aspirations of the Negro. Historians, like colleges, are in danger of withering on the vine unless they dare to ask the big questions.

The style, although lucid, is marred by an embarrassing misuse of words, a painful overuse of cliches, and a careless inconsistency in capitalization.

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

University of Maryland

Pirates, Indians, and Spaniards: Father Escobedo's "La Florida." Edited by James W. Covington. Translated by A. E. Falcones. (St. Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 1963. xvi, 174 pp. Foreword, introduction, footnotes, index, maps. $5.00.)

Fray Alonso Gregorio de Escobedo, a Franciscan father at Nombre de Dios mission, arrived in Florida late in 1587, and remained for about ten years. Sometime during this period he began writing an epic poem entitled "La Florida," which was finished, perhaps in Spain, around 1609, if we may judge from internal evidence. In content it presented a series of historical, biographical, and descriptive vignettes on Spanish Florida and the Greater Antilles during the late 1500's and early 1600's. Never published, it eventually came to rest in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. An English translation of the manuscript has now been published by Dr. Covington and Mr. Falcones who made its charm and fact available to scholarly and popular audiences.

The first 136 folios, not published since they contain no historical material, consist of eight long dedicatory sonnets. The remainder of the poem is devoted to the somewhat sketchily put together vignettes, which span the period from 1587, to the time of the Guale revolt (1597-98). The translated vignettes begin with an account of the voyage of Escobedo's twelve Franciscan companions from Spain to Florida, their arrival there, and their ensuing activities. Escobedo's own adventures in the Greater Antilles form a large part of the succeeding chapters. Many secular sidelights on both Florida and the Antilles are interwoven throughout the body of the poem.

Escobedo's first-hand experiences are interesting-even fascinating-but most of his crucial historical accounts seem to have come from second-hand knowledge. For this reason the poem is not of primary value to the historian, for the documentary sources of the Archivo General de Indias and other repositories give him at least as full and as accurate an historical picture of the times. The anthropologist, however, will consider this translation of Escobedo's poem to be of considerable worth. There is some ethnographic data on the Arawak of the Greater Antilles (presumably the Taino) in Folios 184 and 199-218b. The Timucua of North and Central Florida receive considerable attention in

Folios 326-353b, and South Florida tribes (the Tequesta?) are briefly discussed in Folios 239-245. Though hardly exhaustive, this ethnographic material, some of it new, is of value to the anthropologist, particularly since it forms one of the earliest eye-witness accounts of Indian life and beliefs in Florida.

The Falcones translation is an excellent, quite literal, prose rendition. Each translated folio is preceded by the folio number, and an adequate index is included. Dr. Covington's preface and introduction give the reader a minimum but important amount of background information on the times and the manuscript itself. His critical and documentary notes are carefully and fully done, making it possible for the reader to correlate the contents of the poem with other published sources.

One wishes that the Spanish text had also been published, but, as Dr. Covington quite legitimately points out, printing costs often prohibit that scholarly luxury. In general, the volume will be found a very welcome addition to the ranks of Spanish Florida literature, well worth the considerable time and effort that Dr. Covington and Mr. Falcones have obviously given it. Of first importance to the anthropologist, it will also be of interest to the historian, and even the general reader will find it rapid, fascinating reading.

JULIAN GRANBERRY

University of Buffalo

The Valiant Pioneers, A History of Ormond Beach, Volusia County, Florida. By Alice Strickland. (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1963. 116 pp. Bibliography. $3.95.)

The Valiant Pioneers is a lively account of early settlers in the area of present day Ormond Beach. It is an especially timely book, interesting to the many new residents who have come to live near the research centers around Cape Kennedy.

The writer has made good use of old newspaper files and interviews with representatives of pioneer families. The story of the first automobile races on Ormond-Daytona Beach is well and amusingly told.

There are important oversights in the background history. While describing plantations of the British period, there is no

mention of the nearby New Smyrna settlers who were England's only lasting legacy to Florida. The descendants of these hardy farmers from Mediterranean lands have played an important part in our history to the present day.

There is also no indication of the turbulent times around Ponce de Leon Inlet when blockade runners of the Civil and Spanish American Wars, and rum runners and hijackers of the prohibition era earned for this inlet the name of "back door to St. Augustine." Though the settlers could not control the lawlessness, they could hardly have been unaware of it.

Despite such omissions, it is clear that Mrs. Strickland loves her history. A native of England, she came to Ormond at an early age and received her schooling there. Recently, she moved to Astor. It is hoped that her book will have another edition with an index which would be desirable for reference.

CARITA DOGGETT CORSE

Jacksonville, Florida

A Woman Set Apart. By William and Ellen Hartley. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1963. 275 pp. $3.95.)

The writing Hartleys, William and Ellen, have recorded the life of "a most unforgettable character," a person too modest and too dedicated to others to have undertaken to write about herself. Deaconess Harriet Bedell, Protestant Episcopal missionary, found her life work not in a foreign mission field as she had expected, but among American Indians.

The style of the book and its language, strong, direct, and unornamented, reflect the subject of the book. There are few philosophical subtleties in Miss Bedell or in her biography. Her faith in God and her faith in herself as an agent of God never waver, not even when the famous Arctic explorer and archeologist, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, whom she met in Alaska, called the saving of Indian souls all nonsense.

For over a half century Miss Bedell lived among Indians, at first on the rough frontier of Oklahoma where she ministered to the Cheyennes, then in Alaskan Indian villages, and finally among the Mikasuki Seminoles in the Florida Everglades. Furloughs were

spent visiting with family and friends in Buffalo, N. Y. and in lecturing in various cities to secure funds to keep the Indian missions open. For herself she sought no material reward beyond simple food to eat and adequate clothes to wear. After she was "set apart" as a deaconess, a ceremony performed at St. Mark's Church, Portland, Oregon, in 1922, she wore a simple dark habit and veiled headdress.

The Depression caused a curtailment of missionary work in Alaska and forced Miss Bedell to seek a new field of service. While lecturing in Miami for the Chain of Missions, she visited one of the commercial Indian villages and was distressed at the apathy of the Seminoles in their artificial setting. She had found her new work. Her church helped her to re-open an earlier mission known as Glade Cross in the town of Everglades on the southwest coast of Florida. There, from 1933, until the mission building and most of her possessions were lost in a hurricane in 1960, she worked among the Seminoles.

This remarkably energetic woman was fifty-seven years old when she moved to Everglades. The first year of her efforts brought nothing from the stolid, wary Seminoles but snubs. The next few years she was hardly more than tolerated. Eventually she was loved and became the cherished "white sister." How she accomplished this is an inspiring story of faith, courage, and physical stamina.

Students of Florida history will find much of interest in the latter portion of this book for there are few whites indeed who have gained admission to the hearts and hearths of the Seminoles. The intimate experiences of Miss Bedell as she lived among the Mikasukis, actually sleeping in their chickees, nursing their sick, teaching their children, acting as middleman for their crafts, and always gently nudging them toward Christ, sheds new light on the customs of these secretive and fiercely independent Florida Indians. At the same time the resourcefulness, kindness, and courage of Deaconess Bedell inspire the warmest admiration.

This book is pleasantly written in a popular style and should attract many readers. Those training for the Peace Corps can learn much from Miss Bedell in the practical handling of life under primitive conditions. But most important is the quality of purpose and high endeavor which shines through the book.

THELMA PETERS

Miami-Dade Junior College

New Smyrna, Florida in the Civil War. By Zelia Wilson Sweett. (Volusia County Historical Commission, 1963. 21 pp. Illustrations, documents. $1.00.)

The title of this small monograph is apt to be misleading for it actually refers to only a single incident, "The shelling and burning of New Smyrna and the 'House on the Hill,' on July 26th, 1863, and a short biography of John and Jane Sheldon, the owners."

"This 'hill' was an Indian shell mound hundreds of years old, into which had been built the massive foundations of some forgotten mansion. This now served as a firm base for the Sheldon home, a house of some 40 rooms built of dressed timber which the Swift ships had brought from the north. It was said to have been the largest hotel south of St. Augustine at that time."

A prior footnote explains, "Swift Brothers of Falmouth, Mass., cut live oak for many miles both north and south of the Inlet, for the years between 1816 and 1874, except when they were interrupted by the Seminole War and the Civil War. . . . There are many places in the vicinity deriving their names from various Swift operations."

It is regrettable that the episodic arrangement of this pamphlet, and the lack of continuity create so many ambiguities as to make it almost unreadable. Paragraph 1 opens with "Today, the 26th of July, 1963, is the centennial . . . ;" while Paragraph 2 flicks us back, "In 1860. . . ." Further along: "On April 27th, 1862, the Confederates fired some timber . . ." and next - "The blockaders may have been bored . . . when on July 9th, 1863 . . ."

The last nine pages are devoted to lists of "The Federal Dead, Confederate Soldiers of East Volusia County" and excerpts from official Confederate and Federal records.

BAYNARD KENDRICK

Tampa Tribune

Stetson University and Florida Baptists: A Documentary History of Relations between Stetson University and the Florida Baptist Convention. By Harry C. Garwood. Edited by Edward A. Holmes, Jr. (DeLand: Florida Baptist Historical Society, 1962. vii, 262 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, index. $2.75.)

Dean Garwood was peculiarly qualified to produce this record of a controversy which began in 1883, and has continued off and on to the present time. He served as dean and professor of religion at Stetson University and was the curator of the Florida Baptist Historical Collection. For a time he was acting president of the university. During his long period of service he came to grips with the problems involving the relationship between the university and the Florida Baptist Convention.

The controversy had its origin in the fact that the Convention authorized the establishment of a Baptist college which it expected to support and control. A special committee was appointed to select a site and report its findings to the Convention. At that time H. A. DeLand offered the committee the DeLand Academy, a cash donation, certain lands, and a subscription from the citizens of DeLand. This offer was accepted by the Baptist State Mission Board which, under authority of the Convention, appointed a temporary board of trustees.

The trustees recommended that the Convention formally accept Mr. DeLand's offer and appoint fifteen trustees with instructions to secure incorporation through legislative enactment. Among other things, the charter provided that the board of trusttees be constituted as a self-perpetuating body. Even so, it was generally understood by many Baptists that the college belonged to the Florida Baptist Convention.

Mr. DeLand, and later John B. Stetson, the principal benefactors of the college (later the university), maintained the position that Stetson belonged to the Baptist denomination but not to the Florida Baptist Convention. Apparently, the author of this volume accepted this point of view as, indeed, did the board of trustees and the administrative officers of the institution. This was confusing since the Baptist denomination is not a corporate entity and cannot really own anything. Herein lies the heart of the controversy which Dr. Garwood ably depicts, step by step, through the greater part of the history of Stetson University.

Time and again the leadership of the Convention and of Stetson endeavored to bring about better understanding and a closer working relationship. Such efforts enjoyed a measure of success only to deteriorate after a time when the question of ownership was again raised.

This historical study is thoroughly documented and is presented in a forceful, readable style. It constitutes a contribution to the history of an important institution of higher learning and a great religious denomination.

PRESIDENT EMERITUS DOAK S. CAMPBELL
Florida State University

A Wake in Ybor City. By Jose Yglesias. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963. 284 pp. $4.95.)

Ybor City, that section in the city of Tampa where Spaniards and Cubans concentrated for over a half century, distilling a way of life from the varied traditions they brought from their native lands, is the backdrop for Mr. Yglesias' family, who participate in a wake. The members of this family are Cuban, with only slight reference to the Spanish ancestor who is to be found in nearly every family in Ybor City.

Mr. Yglesias knows Ybor City's history, and for that matter Tampa's history, well-present and past. He refers to a great many of the salient dramas that pockmark its life as a community gathered into itself while serving as the money-making, industrial hub for its Anglo-Saxon neighbors. These Anglo-Saxons, familiarly known as "crackers" and "Americanos," and sketched by the author as viewed by the Cubans. He brings out the ill-feeling in the association of the two groups which existed in the past, but which is now disappearing.

The years have befuddled the traditions for the family in this book, as they have for most Spanish-Cuban families of Tampa because there has been no renewal of these traditions at their source nor formal training in the history and culture of their forefathers. The author brings out this befuddlement clearly when he has each of the three elderly, widowed sisters sustain traditions after her own fashion. The younger members of the family, except for one who changed her way of life by marrying a pre-Castro Cuban

official, and for the man who had lived in New York and married a New York girl, are representative of those Yborcitians who have not shaken off the old traditions nor are yet ready to create some of their own.

The infamous Charley Wall, who was found beaten to death in his home, is Wally Chase in Yglesias' book. In the story he is shot, but his murder provides a valid picture of the connection that many Cuban-Spanish men had with the gangsters who prospered from and quarrelled over the "bolita" quarters and dimes of the cigarworkers. Yglesias reveals that Cuban-Spaniards were neither very prominent nor particularly successful in the world of crime, but were often used as tools by underworld leaders.

Though Yglesias writes about an active three-day period in the lives of his group and avails himself of a great mass of colorful events that went into the development of the community, his people come out faceless. This reviewer could not visualize a single person who fitted the words that were being spoken by that particular character. He does succeed in making the reader know that Spanish is being spoken though read in English, but there is a loss of the Spanish flavor. Perhaps this is because Yglesias is writing a story while explaining a people whom he knows well. In any event, his characters are tinged with cruelty; their goodness is superficial and somewhat supercilious.

Yglesias's wake brings into focus changes which are taking place now in Ybor City and Tampa. He has written an entertaining book, one which taps a rich mine of Florida history, where lurid drama, heroic social protests, mutual-aid medicine, and customs from the old world have left their mark.

MAGDALEN M. PANDO

Tampa, Florida

Thomas Jefferson and the Development of American Public Education. By James B. Conant. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962. 164 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, appendices, index. $5.00.)

This book has not received the publicity associated with Conant's other recent works, *Slums and Suburbs* and *The Educa-*

tion of American Teachers, for the fairly obvious reason that it does not focus upon current, publicized problems of society and education. But the student of Jefferson and of his influence upon the establishment of free public education in this country will find in this work new and possibly conflicting ideas challenging the prosaic.

Jefferson made four major proposals during his lifetime regarding education. The first provided for free elementary schooling for all children. The second and third proposals provided for universities and the University of Virginia, in particular, at the public expense. It is his fourth proposal to require a certain level of achievement before entering the higher levels of elementary grades as well as the university that sounds "non-Jeffersonian." The rural world of his time required sufficient literacy of all persons for intelligent citizenship, but few of the demands for highly educated professional and industrial leaders. Emerging practices of selectivity in elementary and high schools reflect Jefferson's proposal.

Dr. Conant has added, by this work, information and understanding of Jefferson's role in furthering public education within this country. The inclusion of letters and portions of Jefferson's bills before the Virginia legislature for establishing schools prove a valuable addition.

ROBERT B. MYERS

University of Florida

The Confederate Constitution. By Charles Robert Lee, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963. viii, 225 pp. Preface, appendices, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Proposing to treat "the framing and adoption of the two Confederate constitutions," the author traces the calling of the Montgomery convention, describes its membership and organization, and then proceeds to analyze the making and meaning of the provisional and permanent constitutions. They are viewed in the context of being representative of the "constitutional philosophy of the 'Founding Fathers' of the New Nation" and a "milestone in United States constitutional development."

After devoting nearly a fourth of the book to the mechanics, politics, and personalities of the Montgomery convention, the author describes the views and contributions of the "principal architects" of the Confederate documents. Professor Lee lists as the most influential: Rhett and Memminger of South Carolina; Stephens, Howell Cobb, Toombs, T. R. R. Cobb, and Hill of Georgia; Smith, Curry, and Walker of Alabama; Harris of Mississippi; and Conrad of Louisiana. Robert Barnwell Rhett is described as the "spokesman for the extreme states rights view" and Alexander H. Stephens as the leader of the group as the "opposite end of the political spectrum." In tracing the principal contributions of each member of the committees on the constitution, the author attributes to Rhett the provisions prohibiting the protective tariff, restricting internal improvements, and stipulating a six year presidential term. Howell Cobb's skill in moderating the convention is also praised as a contribution to the making of the constitution.

Though the United States constitution was used as the basic pattern, the Confederates departed from the model in many places. These changes, according to Lee's interpretation, were intended to strengthen local autonomy and state rights, to extend minority rights, to reduce the spoils system, and to increase fiscal integrity in the government. The Confederate founders attempted to strengthen state rights and local autonomy by inserting a clause declaring that the new government was composed of sovereign states, by excluding the general welfare clause from the constitution, and by allowing state legislatures to impeach certain Confederate officials whose duties were performed within the confines of one state. The author maintains that a Confederate supreme court, though provided for, was never established because of the oppositon of a "sufficient number of congressmen espousing the states rights philosophy."

The Confederate constitutions required a two-thirds vote of both houses for approval of import duties and for appropriation of money. An amendment procedure which permitted three states to initiate changes in the constitution is viewed by Lee as a protection for minorities. Limitation on the president's appointive power and provision for an executive budget and item veto were reforms designed to promote fiscal integrity and to reduce the spoils system. A constitutional provision requiring that a bill deal

with one subject only, thereby preventing riders, anticipated the same reform later by several states. All of these changes lead the author to the conclusion that the Confederate constitutions represent the ultimate constitutional expression of the state rights philosophy and the state sovereignty concept in nineteenth century America.

The author has written an interesting and sympathetic account of the Confederate constitutions. His bibliography is complete, and original sources were consulted whenever possible. The book is a worthy contribution to Confederate constitutional history.

DURWARD LONG

Florida Southern College

Rebel Religion: The Story of the Confederate Chaplains. By Herman Norton. (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1961. 144 pp. Foreword, preface, prologue, illustrations, appendix, bibliography. $2.75.)

There has been a great deal of superficial writing about religious activity in both armies during the Civil War. Little has ever been written in detail about the part that religion really played in the lives of the soldiers as well as in the lives of the people at home.

The author of this volume has rendered a valuable service in describing religion in the southern army and in the South as a whole. While the detailed portion of the study is devoted to Confederate chaplains, southern religious life comes in fur ample observation.

The churches and church people were more involved in the Civil War than in any war of modern times. Since the church was an extremely important institution in the South, possibly more so than in the North, and probably in both sections more so than at the present time, it is a wonder that far more attention has not been given to a study of religion and the churches. The war was looked upon by church people of the North as very largely a moral and religious struggle and it appealed quite strongly to their religious zeal. The popular notion that in tune of crisis people turn to the church did not prove true in the South. A

recent study points out that the churches in the South experienced no revival of religious excitement comparable in any manner to that experienced by the men in camps. Though numerous revivals were attempted there appears to have been a complete lack of religious enthusiasm, though there was a remarkable degree of interdenominational cooperation, especially among southern Protestant churches, during and immediately following the war.

Confederate chaplains were beset with special problems arising from lack of adequate official recognition and from inadequate pay. Religious activities were conducted far more frequently by men outside the chaplaincy than by those within it. Indeed, many itinerant preachers included visits to army camps in their regular schedules. The overall chaplaincy drop-out record was extremely high. Chaplains were given commissions but were allotted the rations of non-commissioned officers. While they were entitled to the quarters of a second lieutenant they were not permitted the second lieutenant's commissary privileges. The confused rank situation led to an even greater confusion in the dress of the chaplains. The author points out that the acceptable uniform seemed to be anything from "beaver hats to clerical regalia."

More than 600 different chaplains served the southern army throughout the war but the highest number present at any one time was 250. Pleas were frequently published in the church press noting vacancies in the chaplaincy and urging ministers to volunteer for this service.

While undoubtedly there were a number of unworthy men in the Confederate chaplaincy, the author concludes the volume by saying, "Many were self-denying, and those who measured up were more self-denying than not. They were the brave and faithful companions-comforting their men and pointing them toward eternal things, while walking on the road to Appomattox."

The volume deserves the attention of every student of southern history, especially those concerned with the Civil War period. The appendix contains a complete roster of all the Confederate chaplains and the bibliography is quite exhaustive.

CHARLES THRIFT

Florida Southern College

Lincoln and the Emperors. By A. R. Tyrner-Tyrnauer. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1962. xvi, 176 pp. Introduction, Illustrations, bibliography, index. $4.50.)

A. R. Tyrner-Tyrnauer, a Hungarian by birth and education and former foreign editor with International News Service, has written with some success a history of the diplomatic intercourse between Abraham Lincoln and the Emperors Franz Joseph of Austria and Napoleon III of France. The American Civil War serves as a dramatic backdrop. According to the author, Lincoln really fought two wars during the great conflict-one against the particularistic, semi-feudal slaveholders of the Old South, the other against the reactionary crowned heads of Europe who were conspiring through Archduke Maximilian in Mexico to establish a protectorate over that strife-torn country and use it as a base to undermine the United States, a country which symbolized the triumph of the nineteenth century liberal, republican ideal.

The hero of this drama of international intrigue was President Lincoln, who, to the author, personified the liberal American position in his role as liberator and equalitarian. The villains were Napoleon III and his wife Eugenie, leaders of the movement to secure European recognition of and ultimate intervention for the embattled Confederate States. Franz Joseph, eldest brother of Napoleon's ill-fated tool Maximilian, and Leopold, the cunning King of the Belgians, and father of Maximilian's wife Carlotta, were more than willing allies in this venture. The elaborate plots, petty jealousies, and personal suspicions of the European monarchists make the book fascinating reading.

Mr. Tyrner-Tyrnauer, however, is inclined to paint his subjects in either blacks or whites. Napoleon III, for instance, emerges as a reactionary who was constantly plotting to destroy the United States (and consequently American liberalism) by imposing a royalist regime in Mexico and by attempting to secure European intervention for the Confederacy. Napoleon's interest in the Mexican venture was certainly more imperialistic than idealistic. Mexico provided an important base for future French commercial exploitation, and much French capital was involved in the monarchist scheme. The *gloire* of the shaky Bonaparte dynasty also would be enhanced by the victory of French arms over the stubborn Mexican republicans. The United States had

been unmistakably hostile to foreign intervention in Latin American affairs ever since the Monroe administration, so it was only natural that Napoleon should support the Confederacy if for no other reason than "the enemy of my enemy is my friend."

The author sees Lincoln as the great liberal, the unswerving, idealistic republican, the champion against reactionary intervention in the hemisphere. He does not seem to grasp the fact that Lincoln, above all things, was a realist rather than an idealist. Foreign intervention in the western hemisphere, whether it came from a liberal or a reactionary source, would threaten the hegemony of the United States in American affairs. No president of the United States, liberal or conservative, could tolerate such a development. Lincoln as an American executive was acting as much through self-interest as through any idealistic motive.

Although the author is somewhat naive in his approach to American history and tends to oversimplify complex situations and personalities, he has performed a valuable service for future historians of the era. His book throws light on a previously untapped source of diplomatic material: that portion of the Hapsburg Archives in Vienna which contains the correspondence of Austrial diplomats in America during the 1860's.

JOSEPH D. CUSHMAN, JR.

Florida State University

Civil War Naval Chronology, Part III: 1863. Edited by E. M. Eller. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963. iv, 196 pp. Illustrations. $1.00.)

The year 1863 was an eventful one for the Union and the Confederate navies, what with the South experiencing its most successful year at sea, while the North was dividing its foe at the Mississippi River as a result of the fall of Vicksburg. The drama of that momentous year is presented day-by-day in this third volume of the U. S. Naval History Division's *Civil War Naval Chronology,* which supplements the two parts previously issued in 1962. All three parts are now available from the Government Printing Office in an attractive self-cover at modest price, with the final period of the naval portion of the conflict to be covered

in a volume to be expected this year. The last volume will include an index for all parts of the publication.

Admiral Eller and his research staff have maintained the high standards set by the previous two parts of their work, providing us with a concise, complete, and profusely illustrated compendium of the conflict afloat as it was waged by the Union and the Confederacy. The complete set of volumes will provide rewarding reading for the casually interested, and will constitute, indispensable additions to the libraries of those whose study goes deeper into the Civil War.

WILLIAM M. GOZA

Clearwater, Florida

The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913-1921. Edited by E. David Cronon. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963. x, 630 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $8.50.)

This is the first diary of a Cabinet member of Wilson's administration to be published and it is somewhat disappointing. There are many omissions. One looks, for example, in vain for any mention of the sinking of the *Lusitania,* the subsequent resignation of William J. Bryan as secretary of state, or Lindley M. Garrison's resignation as secretary of war, or other cabinet resignations. Certainly, Josephus Daniels knew of these significant events and the issues involved. How much vital inside information he could have put into his personal record about these clashes of personnel and withdrawals is problematic but certainly something could have been added to our understanding of Wilson's official family during those eight momentous years.

In no year are there half as many entries as there might have been. For the year 1915 there are only forty-five entries and approximately half of these could have been deleted because they say absolutely nothing. The years 1914 and 1916 are not represented in the diary at all. These were exciting years with an off-year Congressional election and the President's re-election among other important events. It is possible, as the editor states, that there were no diary entries for these years, but this reviewer refuses to accept this conclusion. If they were removed, why? Again, these Cabinet diaries are disappointing because Daniels,

at a later date, made additions to them and possibly some alterations.

In spite of shortcomings, these diaries have value. Many of the issues and problems of the day that were discussed in Cabinet meetings are mentioned. No attempt is made, however, to trace debate or to give the suggestions individuals may have contributed. There is little to show the votes taken in meetings. Included in these diaries are many anecdotes that Wilson related in Cabinet meetings which reveal a side of the President's personality not widely known. Moreover, Wilson could speak bluntly at times to the members of his official family. Insights into other well known persons of the era are found in the diaries. William Jennings Bryan, long time political friend of Daniels, suggested on December 17, 1919, the feasibility of settling the current problem with Mexico by taking as hostage Lower California and Magdalena Bay. On another occasion the aging Bryan confessed that his greatest mistake was urging the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, 1899. Significant statements by distinguished Americans, including Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, are included.

From the scholarly point of view the best part of this book is the editorship. Professor Cronon has done an excellent job of identifying hundreds of people, events, and places; he has carefully selected the illustrations; and has provided an accurate index.

GEORGE OSBORN

University of Florida

The Man Bilbo. By A. Wigfall Green. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xiii, 150 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

There is genuine literary flair in this brief but lively biographical essay on Theodore Bilbo and the Mississippi politics of his time. Without caricature, Professor Green of the University of Mississippi catches the Tobacco Road flavor of the state's politics in the early decades of this century: the personal political vendettas, the hurling of outrageous charges and counter-charges, the brandishing of pistols and the brutal maulings, the bribe-taking and the corruption, the cloak-and-dagger detective shadow-

ing and counter-shadowing, the drinking and the wenching, the religious piety and the prohibition hypocrisy, the "Nigger" baiting and the racial exploitation, the political deals made by white politicians in the anonymity of Negro bawdy houses, a more nauseatingly sadistic lynching than anything found in Lillian Smith, and the bitter clash of mudsills and upper-crust.

Bilbo fitted naturally into this "fetid filth," to use the term of Mississippi's Senator, Hubert D. Stephens. Despite his diminutive size and nondescript appearance, Bilbo became the Prince of the Peckerwoods, the Bantam Gamecock, "the slickest little bastard" of them all-indeed, the Man. He had the gift of earthy, astringent speech, of telling quip, of impious caricature, which often degenerated into vulgarity, and sometimes into obscenity, particularly in his anti-Negro diatribes. He affected a garish garb, and with his red socks, red scarf, and red necktie ornamented with a diamond-studded horse-shoe pin, he glorified the Redneck. He tickled the fancy of his rustic followers by combining Baptist fervor and prohibition cant with a "hell-uv-a-fellow" reputation for strong drink and lewd women. That he survived the many physical attacks on his person (especially in the light of his physical cowardice) is amazing, and that he was never disbarred or impeached as the result of the numerous accusations made against his official honesty is well-nigh miraculous. Bilbo had a genius for turning assaults and charges against him into personal martyrdom.

However, the most important source of Bilbo's political strength was his consistent espousal of the cause of the poor whites against their exploiters, fancied and real. In the years 1910-1912, when Bilbo was rising to state-wide prominence, he was fortunate in being able to attach himself to the already well-organized and dominant wing in Mississippi politics, that of James K. Vardaman, and in having as his opponents the Le Roy Percy clan, self-proclaimed apostles of Southern culture, respectability, and the corporation, who openly held the poor whites in sublime contempt and made "snobocracy" ridiculous. Curiously enough, Senator John Sharp Williams and the elements in Mississippi politics he represented do not once appear in this essay.

Bilbo was one of the South's agrarian demogogues, one of its fire-eaters, its stormy petrels, and he must be judged in this light. He was obviously not so good or honest as a man as Vardaman,

but he was not such a rascal as South Carolina's Cole Blease. He did not accomplish as much as Ben Tillman in South Carolina or Jeff Davis in Arkansas, and emphatically not as much as Huey Long in Louisiana, but he accomplished more than Georgia's Tom Watson, who never held public office long enough for much constructive achievement. And unlike Gene Talmadge and "Pappy" O'Daniel, he did not exploit the votes of the poor whites and then join "the big mules" once he was in office. For in all fairness, it must be said that as Governor and as an ardent New Deal Senator in Washington, the Man faithfully served the interests of his People, the piney-wood poor-white folks of Mississippi, as he and they understood them.

WILLIAM G. CARLETON

University of Florida

Recent Southern Economic Development as Revealed by the Changing Structure of Employment. By Edgar S. Dunn, Jr. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, *University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences.* No. 14. 1962. 57 pp. Tables, appendix, notes. $2.00.)

Despite its progress in many sectors of economic life, the southern region of the United States is still lagging behind the North in economic growth rates. Dr. Dunn's study identifies the changes in the economic structure of the South as they have occurred in the last two decades and analyzes the reasons for the relative lag. It also attempts to draw conclusions as to the future prospects for the region.

The analysis is mainly based on relationships between employment shares of the South and the United States' total. These shares, Professor Dunn finds, have relatively declined, thus showing that the South grew at a slower rate than the remainder of the country. This relative lag of the South is explained by two elements. One is an adverse "business-mix." The industrial composition of the area is concentrated in slow-growing sectors of the national economy, such as agriculture and manufacturing of staples. The other element of relative decline is a competitive loss of major industrial sectors caused by shifts of certain industries to other areas, loss of access to import and export, loss of relative access to markets, changes in technology, and others.

The author traces the major components of agriculture, manufacturing, and trades in their various implications for the progress of the South. Losses in the cotton economy have not been sufficiently balanced by gains of animal products to maintain the region's overall position in agricultural employment. In manufacturing, competitive gains were experienced. Inward shifts in textiles, food products, and miscellaneous industries such as stone, clay, glass, and printing favored the South, but because of declines in other sectors the author believes that the competitive position of the South will not continue to improve markedly during the next twenty years.

Professor Dunn's study reveals all too clearly the weakness of the regional concept. The South, as other major regions of the United States, is heterogeneous in composition. Some states, such as Florida and Texas, have experienced fast growth. The author fully understands this and draws his conclusions mainly for the deep South and the Appalachian subregion. However, in this manner, much of the meaning of regional analysis is lost. After all, most other regions have fast and slow growing subregions, and many of the author's findings would equally apply to the prairie states or the New England states.

The South as a whole has actually experienced very little relative declines in population and employment. Therefore, Dr. Dunn's conclusions apply in full only to the agricultural segments of the region. One might also be skeptical as to the conclusions as far as they concern industry, because they are based on employment. Since in the past years, due to automation and other innovations, employment has not increased in line with gross industrial product, employment is an inadequate yardstick of a region's industrial progress. One may venture the guess that most industries in the South have relatively high labor input and that the lag of the South is rather underestimated in Dr. Dunn's study.

PROFESSOR EMERITUS REINHOLD P. WOLFF
University of Miami

Change in the Contemporary South. Edited by Allan P. Sindler. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963. x, 247 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, tables, graphs, index. $7.50.)

The, contemporary South, the vast area extending from the industrialized Carolinas to the irrigated and mechanized cotton fields of West Texas, is the scene of great cultural, economic, political and educational changes. This very interesting book contains eight informative and provocative papers relating to the theme of a conference held at Duke University, "The Impact of Political and Legal Change in the Postwar South." These papers are followed by an excellent epilogue by Professor Allan Sindler.

We of the South who have been at the ringside of these historic changes have a special interest in the theme and the book. Those citizens of our nation who have not been so situated have varying impressions and ideas of the rapid transition. The papers and epilogue are interesting, biographical, interpretative, and most informative. They vividly portray the cultural, economic, legal, political, and racial problems of the South. The editor in the epilogue strikes the keynote theme by each contributor that "The South is not of a piece in its reactions to the forces of change."

It is apparent that any change discussed in the book affects the other areas of development. Professor Thomas D. Clark in his discussion of "cultural change" writes, "No sharper break with the past has occurred in any phase of the South than in the field of architecture." He stresses the impact of industrialism which, in his words, "has brought other stubborn demands," and says that "traditions, established patterns of culture, and even history may not live in the face of demands of this leviathan."

Perhaps no phase has undergone more rapid changes than "race relations" since World War II. Neither has the law remained static. We have witnessed in a decade the first civil rights legislation in eighty-two years, and the 1954 reversal by the United States Supreme Court of its "separate but equal" doctrine *(Plessy v. Ferguson,* 1896) in the famous education case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,* 1954.

John P. Frank, formerly of Yale University, in his excellent paper, "Legal Developments in Race Relations 1945-1962," points out that "In the seventeen years since World War II, the law has cut new channels." He first asks an appropriate question, "How

have the institutions of law met the new demands put upon them?" His short answer: "Magnificently." Recent events have confirmed his summary: "If the progress has been slow, the strain has been great."

No discussion of the various issues would be complete without a review of "Negro Voter Registration" in the South. This subject is thoroughly discussed by Professors Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro of the University of North Carolina, who conclude, "The vote may be the key which unlocks the door of full citizenship and social and economic equality for Southern Negroes." But the goal of substantial voter registration by Negroes in all southern states is not a reality. Progress is notable in some cities and areas, but much remains to be done. Martin Luther King put it this way, "The most significant step Negroes can take is in the direction of the voting booths."

ROBERT G. STOREY

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HISTORICAL NEWS

Local and Area Societies and Commissions

Civil War Round Table of Pensacola: Alan J. Rick described Federal General Alexander Asboth's raids out of Fort Barancas and the engagements along the Escambia River during the Civil War at the March meeting of the Round Table, held at the Pensacola City Library. At its April program meeting, the Round Table presented a number of film strips including many of the rare Mathew B. Brady photographs of the war. On May 16, the members of the New Orleans Civil War Round Table, on a field trip to Fort Pickens and Fort Morgan, were guests of the Pensacola Round Table.

Arrangements were made with officials of the L. & N. Railroad Company to have the famous Civil War steam engine "General" on display during three days of the Fiesta, June 6-8. Officers of the Pensacola Round Table are Earle Bowden, president; Norm Simons, vice-president; and Alan Rick, secretary-treasurer.

Duncan Lamont Clinch Historical Society: The restoration of "Old Town" in Fernandina is the major project of the Society. Earlier this year, Mrs. Jay Bartels, president, announced that an anonymous donor had turned over the historic Captain R. J. Downes property, and it is hoped that it will be the start of a general restoration program. An historical drama, "The Romance of Eight Flags," depicting excerpts from Fernandina's past, was presented on the parade ground at Fort Clinch on June 5 and 6, as a benefit for the Old Town Restoration Fund. On May 9, the Society also sponsored a wild game barbeque and square dance for the benefit of the fund.

Gulf County Historical Commission: The Commission met on March 9 in Wewahitchka and held its April 6 meeting at Port St. Joe. Plans for the dedication of the Fort Crevecour marker were discussed, and it was decided that the marker should be placed near the crest of the hill at the Old Beacon Hill Lighthouse site. The history of Dead Lakes is being researched so that a marker can he placed there, and the Commission is also attempt-

ing to identify the Old Ship Yard site so that a historical marker can be properly placed. The Commission sponsored an interesting display of old currency in the Wewahitchka State Bank and Port St. Joe Bank which attracted considerable attention. Mrs. Ned S. Porter is chairman of the Gulf County Historical Commission and George Y. Core is secretary.

Historical Association of Southern Florida: The eighty-seventh program meeting of the Association was held March 18, 1964, at which time Mel Miller, curator of the Ringling Museum in Sarasota spoke on "The Circus from Rome to Ringling." Mr. Miller traced the history of the circus from ancient times to the present, stressing its growth as an American institution under the leadership of John Ringling. The eighty-eighth program meeting and the election of officers and directors of the Association was held April 30. The well-known writer, Dr. Frank G. Slaughter, spoke on "The Right To Be Wrong: A Novelist Looks At History." In his talk, Dr. Slaughter stressed the novelist's view of history.

Roland A. Saye, Jr., president of the Association, gave a talk on Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida on April 24. He announced the Association's plans for an expedition to Fort Jefferson over the July 4 weekend. The Association's Historical Museum, directed by David T. Alexander, is open Tuesday through Sunday each week.

Jacksonville Historical Society: Mr. and Mrs. Albert C. Manucy and their two children, Evalina and James Manucy, spoke on "Our Wonderful Year in Spain" at the regular meeting of the Society on February 12, 1964. Last year, Mr. Manucy was a Fulbright Research Scholar studying Spanish architecture and its influence on St. Augustine. Utilizing slides and colorful costumes, the Manucy family described their trip. Mr. Manucy is historian with the National Park Service in St. Augustine, a past president of the Florida Historical Society, and author of a number of important books, monographs, and papers dealing with Spanish Florida.

Madison County Historical Society: Dr. Daisy Parker, professor of political science at Florida State University, was guest speaker at the annual dinner meeting of the Society on March 19, 1946. The meeting was held at the Student Center of the North Florida

Junior College. Mrs. Hyman Kramer is president of the Society. Other officers are Edwin B. Browning, Mrs. T. J. Beggs, Jr., and Mrs. L. C. Bruner, vice-presidents; Mrs. Carl Sims, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. A. D. Reams, director. The Society notes with sorrow the passing of its founder, Carlton Smith, on December 31, 1963.

Manatee County Historical Society: At the regular meeting of the Society on February 20, 1964, Walter S. Hardin talked about the early history of Bradenton, showing pictures of some of the first buildings. W. G. Gaar read a paper written by Jack Leffingwell about Fort Braden (Braden Castle). A. Klein Whitaker, a member of the Society and grandson of William H. Whitaker, one of Manatee County's first settlers, underwrote the publishing of the second edition of *The Lures of Manatee* by Lillie McDuffee. This important volume, which had become a rare and hard-to-find book, is again available to librarians and Florida historians through Mr. Whitaker's generosity and the interest of the Society.

Marion County Historical Commission: On Sunday, April 26, 1964, the Commission dedicated a marker at the Taylor Street entrance of the Old Evergreen Cemetery in Ocala. State Senator L. K. Edwards, Jr., chairman of the program committee, was master of ceremonies, and J. Ed Blocker, Commission chairman, presented the marker. Mrs. Roy C. Ott, authoress, former director of the Florida Historical Society, and organizing chairman of the Marion County Historical Commission, wrote the inscription appearing on the bronze marker.

Martin County Historical Society: The monthly newsletters published by the Society reveal its usual large number of cultural and social activities. On April 11, a dinner was held honoring life members of the Society whose names have been placed on special plaques, which hang at both the Elliott Museum and the House of Refuge Museum, in appreciation of their support and generosity toward the Society. The Society sponsors monthly historical exhibits in the Bank of Indiantown and has inaugurated traveling exhibits for use of the schools, hospital, library, civic organizations, and youth groups.

Palm Beach County Historical Society: Dr. John E. Johns of Stetson University spoke at the program meeting on March 20.

His topic was "The Battle of Olustee and its Political Ramifications." Dr. Johns is the author of *Florida During the Civil War*, published recently by the University of Florida Press. Myron D. Sutton, assistant chief of the National Park service, Washington, spoke to the members of the Society and their guests at the program meeting on April 24, held in the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum, "Whitehall." Mr. Sutton's topic was "Guarding the American Heritage," and he described the historic importance of our national parks, illustrating his talk with large color slides. This was the last program meeting of the Society for the season.

A historical marker was unveiled by the Society on January 22, 1964, commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Church of Bethesda-by-the-Sea. The Society announces that it has received as a gift microfilmed copies of the *Post-Times* for the years 1933-1956, and a viewing machine. The original issues of the newspaper are also being donated to the Society. These are being placed in a special area of the Flagler Museum to be known as the John H. Perry Publications Room.

St. Johns County Historical Commission: A marker was dedicated in February by the Commission, in cooperation with the St. Augustine Historical Society, at Lighthouse Park on Anastasia Island near the site of the Old Spanish Watchtower. A wooden lookout was first built here in 1586, which enabled Spanish sentries to warn of approaching English raiders. Later, a stone tower was built which was converted into a lighthouse in 1823. The original tower was lost to the sea due to storms and erosion and was replaced in 1874, by the lighthouse which is still standing.

St. Augustine Historical Society: A business meeting of the Society was held Tuesday, April 14, 1964, at the Art Association Building. A Minorcan supper was served. Frank Upchurch, Sr. is president of the society; W. W. Wilson is vice-president and chairman of the board; Odyss Barnes is treasurer; W. J. Winter, secretary; and Luis Arana is historian. The Reverend Michael V. Gannon, director of the Mission of Nombre de Dios Library, was recently elected to the Society's board of directors.

College News

Central Florida Junior College: At the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Miami, Ernest H. Jernigan, chairman of the department of history, presented a paper entitled "LeRoy Collins: Southern Moderate." Martin La Godna and Ira Holmes of the history department faculty are taking leaves of absence to continue their graduate work at the University of Florida.

Daytona Beach Junior College: Merlin G. Cox presented a paper entitled "David Sholtz: New Deal Governor of Florida" at the May meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

Florida A. and M. University: James N. Eaton, assistant professor of history, has received a grant from the Danforth Foundation to continue his graduate studies at Duke University. Leedell Wallace Neyland, professor of history and co-author of the recently published *History of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University*, was given a grant-in-aid from the American Association for State and Local History to do a study of the economic, social, and political history of Negro life in Florida from 1845 to the present.

Florida State University: Maurice Vance, a former director of the Florida Historical Society, was elected president of the Florida College History Teachers Conference at its organizational meeting in Gainesville on March 7. Wayne Flint, a Florida State University graduate student, has received a Woodrow Wilson grant to write a critical study of the political life and philosophy of former United States Senator Duncan U. Fletcher. The Strozier Library announces receipt of a gift of the personal and business correspondence of Confederate Army Captain Hugh Black and Tallahassee merchant Julius Diamond.

Jacksonville University: Robert H. Spiro, Jr., is the new president of Jacksonville University, replacing Dr. Franklyn A. Johnson who resigned last year to accept the presidency of Los Angeles State College. Dr. Spiro is a native of North Carolina, He studied at Wheaton (Illinois) College and the University of North Carolina before receiving his doctorate in history from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. He was dean of the College of Liberal Arts and professor of history at Mercer University before coming to

Jacksonville. Dr. Spiro has written a critical biography of John Loudon McAdam and a number of articles which have appeared in the *Journal of Transportation History,* the *New York Historical Quarterly,* and *Encyclopedia Americana.* He is a member of the North Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

University of Florida: Dr. Rembert W. Patrick spoke on "The Deep South, Past and Present" at the Conference on the Social Sciences and the Development of the Deep South held at the University of Alabama in April. Arthur W. Thompson, professor of history, was chairman of the session. Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Quarterly,* attended the sixty-second annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society in Charleston in March. There were a number of Florida items in the exhibition of "American Jewish Art and History in the South, 1697-1900," held in conjunction with this meeting.

The Citadel Press has recently published *The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers* by David Chalmers, associate professor of social sciences. At the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Cleveland in late April, Professor Chalmers was a member of a session discussing "The Progressive Mind." Also in attendance at the meeting of the Association were Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., former editor of the *Quarterly* and chairman of the department of social sciences, John V. Mering, Selden Henry, George Osborn, and John K. Mahon. In attendance at the Florida Historical Society meeting in Miami in May were Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Samuel Proctor, John K. Mahon, E. Ashby Hammond, and Miss Elizabeth Alexander, director of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Professor Hammond also attended the annual meeting of the American Association for the History of Medicine in Washington in May.

University of Miami: Charlton W. Tebeau, head of the history department, presided at the Conference of the Southeastern American Studies Association at the University of Alabama, April 23-25, 1964. Dr. Tebeau is president of the Association. At the Florida Historical Society meeting in May, he read a paper on "Vanishing Historical Landmarks of Southwest Florida." Dr. Tebeau's book, *They Lived in the Park,* recently published by the University of Miami Press and the Everglades National History Association, is another in the Copeland Studies in Florida History.

University of South Florida: Robert L. Gold, professor of history, was chairman of one of the sessions of the Florida Historical Society annual meeting. Charles W. Arnade, a former director of the Florida Historical Society, is teaching history at the University of Rhode Island this summer. He spoke recently to the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. Miss Margaret Chapman, executive secretary of the Society, was elected president of the Florida Libraries Association at its annual meeting in West Palm Beach in April. Ovil Futch attended the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting in April.

Fort Caroline

The reproduction of Fort Caroline on the bank of the St. Johns River adjacent to the Fort Caroline Memorial Building was opened to the public by the National Park Service on April 15. A formal dedication was held on June 28, in conjunction with the observance of the 400th anniversary of the founding of the fort. The cost of reconstructing the fort was more than a hundred thousand dollars. It is not an exact replica, according to John R. DeWeese, superintendent of the Memorial, since there are no complete records of the specifications of the original fortification. It was rebuilt, however, after painstaking study and interpretation of available information, including a drawing by Jacques LeMoyne, and documents left by early chroniclers. The nine-foot high wooden wall facing the river is constructed of native pine planking; the other two sides facing land are built up of mounded dirt, topped by a parapet. They are protected by a moat filled with water from the river and controlled by a series of valves. A building will be constructed inside the fort to house artifacts and interpretative devices.

Indian War Monument Dedication

A monument was dedicated on April 4, in Wildwood Park, Fort Meade, marking the site where five Florida volunteers are buried who were killed in a fight with a group of Indians in June, 1856. W. H. Bevis was general chairman and Doyle E. Carlton, Sr., served as master of ceremonies and unveiled the monument.

Florida College History Teachers Conference

The organizational meeting of the College History Teachers Conference was held at the University of Florida on March 7. More than a hundred representatives from Florida's state and private universities, colleges, and junior colleges attended. The program and arrangements chairman was Dr. Rembert W. Patrick of the Univeristy of Florida. The Florida Historical Society members on the program included Herbert J. Doherty, University of Florida; Merlin G. Cox, Daytona Beach Junior College; Ernest Jernigan, Central Florida Junior College; Arthur W. Thompson, University of Florida; and Maurice Vance, Florida State University. Dr. Vance was elected president of the Association.

Mississippi Valley Historical Association

The members of this organization have long been cognizant of the fact that laymen do not recognize it as a national organization of American historians, due to the apparent regional connotations of its name. To remedy this situation, the half-century old Association at its annual meeting in Cleveland, April 30-May 2, 1964, decided to change the name of its journal from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* to the *Journal of American History.* The change will be effective with the first number of volume fifty-one. Members will be asked to approve by mail ballot a change in the name of the Association to "Organization of American Historians."

Personal

Mrs. Anita Otto Geiger, Assistant Special Collections Librarian at the University of South Florida, was appointed Assistant Executive Secretary of the Florida Historical Society by the Board of Directors at its annual meeting in Miami in May. Mrs. Geiger, a native of Pensacola, is a graduate of the University of Florida and has a library degree from Florida State University. She has been a member of the University of South Florida Library staff since July, 1963.

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