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

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

*Saint Augustine, April, 1857.*

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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## THE BATTLE OF OLUSTEE: ITS MEANING FOR THE BRITISH

by Lawrence E. Breeze

EARLY IN FEBRUARY 1864, Major General Quincy A. Gillmore, commanding the Federal Department of the South with headquarters at Hilton Head, South Carolina, ordered Brigadier General Truman Seymour, commander of the District of Hilton Head, to prepare his forces for a seaborne expedition.<sup>1</sup> Subsequent orders, issued after the embarkation of the troops, directed the expedition to the east coast of Florida.<sup>2</sup> On February 7, Seymour's forces reached the mouth of the St. Johns River. They ascended the river to Jacksonville and soon took possession of the town.<sup>3</sup> Meeting only token resistance in the area, they began raiding operations outward from Jacksonville.<sup>4</sup> As advance units of the Federal forces pushed toward the interior of the state, Brigadier General Joseph Finegan, the Confederate commander in East Florida, was gathering forces at Lake City approximately sixty miles west of Jacksonville. On February 13, the Confederates took up a position near Olustee, a village thirteen miles east of Lake City, and threw up field works. Finegan considered it the strongest position between Lake City and the Federal forces at Barber's plantation [Lawtey] on the St. Marys River.<sup>5</sup> It was on firm ground in an area that otherwise was dotted with ponds and swamps and through it ran the roadway from Jacksonville to Lake City and the railroad from Jacksonville to Tallahassee. During the next few days, Finegan received reinforcements from General P. G. T. Beauregard, commander of the Confederate Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.<sup>6</sup> These units came largely from Georgia and South Carolina and increased the Confederate

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1. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 69 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XXXV, pt. 1, 280. (Cited hereafter as *O.R.*)

2. *Ibid.*, 280-281.

3. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 276-277; Mark F. Boyd, "The Federal Campaign of 1864 in East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (July 1950), 7.

4. Davis, 277-278; Boyd, 7.

5. *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. XXXV, pt. 1, 330-333.

6. *Ibid.*, 110-111, 331.

force to approximately 5,000 men. The cautious, even hesitant, nature of the Federal advance had facilitated the southern build-up in the area of Olustee.

On the morning of February 20, the main body of Union troops, amounting to 5,500 men, began an advance from Barber's plantation toward Lake City, intending to cut railroad communications between East and West Florida at the Suwannee River.<sup>7</sup> Shortly after mid-day the Federal advance cavalry encountered the Confederate outposts, and by mid-afternoon the opposing forces were locked in deadly combat.<sup>8</sup> The battle site was some three miles in advance of the Confederate defensive works at Olustee.

By nightfall the Federals had been beaten badly and Seymour ordered a withdrawal.<sup>9</sup> The retreat continued until Union forces reached Jacksonville. On February 23, General Gillmore reported to General Halleck, General-in-Chief, United States Army, that the enemy had thrown such a large force into Florida that it was inexpedient to attempt to do more than hold the line at the St. Johns River.<sup>10</sup>

Olustee was a bloody battle. The Confederates reported a total of 946 casualties, and General Seymour reported nearly twice that number - 1,861.<sup>11</sup> Olustee brought the Federal invasion of Florida to an abrupt and disastrous conclusion. From the Confederate standpoint it was a timely victory, and it produced "general jubilation over the south."<sup>12</sup> The purpose of this paper is to examine the reaction of the Confederacy's British friends and

7. *Ibid.*, 288.

8. *Ibid.*, 288-290, 330-333, 338-341; Davis, 286-292; Boyd, 17-27.

9. *O.R.*, series I, Vol. XXXV, pt. 1, 289, 302, 305, 333.

10. *Ibid.*, 291. After the war, Gillmore reported (*Ibid.*, 290-291) that he learned later there had been no "disparity in numbers" at Olustee. The Confederates greatly overestimated the size of Union forces at Olustee. *Ibid.*, 339.

11. *Ibid.*, 298, 337. These figures included killed, wounded, and missing.

12. Boyd, 31; *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. XXXV, pt. 1, 338. The Confederate Congress prepared a resolution of thanks to Finegan and his men, and Beauregard congratulated Finegan on a "brilliant victory" and described it as a "timely success." In view of the dearth of Confederate victories at this point in the war, it was probably an apt description. Clement Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy* (New York, 1954), 285, says that Olustee "gave the people of the Confederacy a gleam of hope in the dark gloom following the disaster of Missionary Ridge."

supporters as expressed in some organs of the British press.<sup>13</sup> In order best to understand their response to Olustee some background information will be helpful.

For nearly three years the British had followed the American struggle with lively interest, but, by 1864, this interest began to wane. Several reasons may be offered to account for this. For one thing, many Englishmen thought that the war would continue indefinitely, consuming men and resources, with no decision in sight.

More important were European developments that drew English attention away from America. The outbreak of a rebellion in Russian Poland in 1863, fanned the latent fire of Russophobia in Britain and crowded American news from the papers.<sup>14</sup> Of even greater concern was the war between Denmark and the German states that appeared so threatening to the general peace and to Britain's position in European affairs, that alongside it American events paled into insignificance.<sup>15</sup>

Moreover, the elements that favored the political status quo in Britain had tried, from the very outset of the American war, to focus attention on the alleged breakdown of American democratic institutions as a warning against parliamentary reform and the extension of the franchise to the British working class.<sup>16</sup> This attempt to make the American Civil War serve domestic political

13. Publications used in this paper include the *London Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and two weeklies published in London, the *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* and the *Index*. The *Index* was a Confederate-British journal established in the spring of 1862, with the announced purpose of advocating the "cause of the Southern Union," but it also served the anti-democratic cause in Britain.

14. Lawrence E. Breeze, "British Opinion of Russian Foreign Policy, 1841-1871" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1960), 280-307.

15. *Ibid.*, 308-311; *London Times*, March 22, 1864, referred to the Danish war and the prolongation of the American conflict as contributing factors to the decline of interest in the war in America.

16. See for example the *Saturday Review*, XII (April 27, 1861), 407, and July 20, 1861), 55; *Blackwood's Magazine*, XC (July 1861), 125-126, and (October 1861), 395-405; *Manchester Guardian*, August 10, September 10, 1861; *London Times*, August 5, 12, 26, September 2, 4, 1861; *Quarterly Review*, CX (July 1861), 247-288. For unsuccessful attempts to inject the "American example" into the debates of the House of Commons, see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, third series, CLXII (1861), cols. 383-384, Stephen Cave's speech of April 10, 1861, and CLXIII (1861), col. 134, Sir John Ramsden's speech of May 27, 1861.

purposes had aligned much of the press on the side of the Confederacy. At the same time it had prompted a spirited counter-attack by anti-slavery forces and admirers of American democracy. Before the end of 1863, the success of this counterattack, evidenced by the growing community of interest between middle class reformers and the working classes and expressed in the resolutions emanating from numerous public meetings, raised doubts as to the further usefulness of the "American example" to the cause of British conservatism.<sup>17</sup> Nor had military events in America, in the latter part of 1863, provoked much enthusiasm among the Confederacy's British supporters. The new year did not produce any military activity that attracted attention.

Such was the situation when information of a battle along the Jacksonville and Tallahassee railroad reached Britain. In 1864, it took several days for news from America to cross the Atlantic. It was February 25 before British readers learned that a Federal force of some size had arrived at Jacksonville.<sup>18</sup> Subsequent mails brought scattered information about the Federal advance in Florida, such as the capture of Baldwin, the rail junction twenty miles west of Jacksonville.<sup>19</sup> On March 12, the first news of the repulse at Olustee appeared in *The Times* of London and the *Manchester Guardian*.<sup>20</sup> The interest and spirits of Confederate sympathizers immediately rose.<sup>21</sup> The victory not only had cost the Federals dearly in men and prestige, but it also forced them back to the

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17. For examples of the success of the counterattack see George M. Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (Boston, 1913), 306 ff.; Frances Edna Gillespie, *Labor and Politics in England, 1850-1867* (Durham, 1927), 214-216; Martin B. Duberman, *Charles Francis Adams, 1807-1886* (Boston, 1961), 299-300; Worthington Chauncey Ford (ed.), *A Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865*, 2 vols. (New York, 1920), I, 243-244; R. A. J. Walling (ed.), *The Diaries of John Bright* (London, 1930), 263; E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, 2 vols. (New York, 1924), II, 291-294. It is quite noticeable that beginning in mid-1863, many spokesmen for conservatism began to talk less and less of the political lessons to be drawn from the American conflict.
  18. *London Times*, February 25, 1864.
  19. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1864, considered the news from Florida unimportant; *ibid.*, March 5, 1864, reported the capture of Baldwin; *ibid.*, March 7, 1864; *Manchester Guardian*, March 7, 1864.
  20. *London Times*, March 12, 1864, the news had been sent by the paper's New York correspondent on February 27; *Manchester Guardian*, March 12, 1864.
  21. *London Times*, March 14, 1864; *Manchester Guardian*, March 14, 1864; *Index*, IV (March 17, 1864), 161, 168; *Saturday Review*, XVII (March 19, 1864), 337-338.



coastal areas around Jacksonville, Fernandina, and St. Augustine. Never again would they threaten the interior of Florida.

When Union forces secured control of the Mississippi in 1863, they deprived the Confederacy of valuable food supplies from the West. As the supply situation became more serious, Florida's importance to the South increased. Reports from Confederate commissary officers, near the end of 1863, offered abundant testimony to the growing dependence of southern armies upon Florida for food resources, especially meat.<sup>22</sup> In explaining his reasons for the invasion of Florida and his plan to occupy the richest portions of the area lying between the Suwannee and St. Johns rivers, General Gillmore, in a communication to General Halleck, dated January 31, had given as two of his objectives the acquisition of an outlet for cotton, lumber, timber, turpentine, and other Florida products, and the severance of one of the major Confederate sources of commissary supplies.<sup>23</sup> In elaborating upon the second of these objectives, General Gillmore explained that the Confederacy had come to rely largely upon Florida for beef and pork and that the enemy had plans to improve rail transportation into Georgia in order to expedite the movement of supplies to the Confederate armies. Consequently, Federal failure to cut this important supply line should have been a source of great satisfaction to Confederate sympathizers in Britain.

But while these English friends were delighted with the outcome of Olustee, and one enthusiastic writer even described the battle as the most crushing and humiliating defeat since Bull Run and Ball's Bluff,<sup>24</sup> they failed to see any real significance in it. In British eyes, Florida lay outside the area of significant military operations,<sup>25</sup> and there is no indication of British appreciation that this very isolation enabled Florida to play a vital role in supplying the Confederacy with badly needed supplies.

It is necessary to look elsewhere to find reasons for British interest in the Florida campaign. A look at their press treatment suggests that the military expedition had been undertaken solely for political purposes. Some English writers charged that President

22. Davis, 268-271.

23. *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. XXXV, pt. 1, 279. A third named objective was the recruitment of Negro troops.

24. *Index*, IV (March 31, 1864), 1931.

25. See for example the editorial in the *Manchester Guardian*, March 29, 1864; *Saturday Review*, XVII (March 19, 1864), 337.

Lincoln had personally ordered the invasion with the aim of "re-constructing" a loyal government in Florida, manufacturing three "sham" electoral votes, thereby assisting with his renomination and re-election to the presidency.<sup>26</sup> These publications were taking a cue from the segment of the American press that continually assailed Lincoln, accusing him of sacrificing men in an electioneering campaign in Florida. Certainly the British press was familiar with the position of the New York papers; the articles written by the London *Times'* New York correspondent echoed the line of Lincoln's detractors in America.

But it is more likely that some English conservatives arrived at this conclusion without resorting to transatlantic assistance. British conservatism neither understood Lincoln's conception of the Union nor appreciated his dedication to its restoration. On December 8, 1863, Lincoln had issued his ten per cent plan for the reconstruction of the United States.<sup>27</sup> Upon learning of the plan, the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, without acknowledging the possibility that above all else Lincoln might desire the restoration of the secession states to their proper relationship with the Union, promptly labeled it a device to insure the Republicans enough electoral votes to win the next presidential election.<sup>25</sup> The editor went on to suggest that Louisiana and Tennessee were likely subjects for the application of the "constitutional fiction" designed to secure the re-election of Lincoln.

In the early part of 1864, Britishers were reading, especially in articles written by the London *Times'* New York correspondent, that much dissatisfaction with Lincoln existed within his own party, that other names were being mentioned as candidates, and that very likely the Democrats would nominate a strong candidate, probably General George McClellan.<sup>29</sup> In a portion of the press, an image began to take shape - that of a president determined to use any means to meet the challenge to his position. Attention was directed to Louisiana where General Nathaniel P. Banks had set in motion machinery for elections in late February 1864. According to the London *Times*, this was the first step in an attempt

26. Index, IV (March 17, 1864), 161; *Ibid.* (March 24, 1864), 178; London *Times*, March 17, 1864; *Saturday Review*, XVII (March 19, 1864), 337.

27. Bureau of National Literature (comp.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 11 vols., (New York, 1897-1917), 3414-3416.

28. *Manchester Guardian*, December 21, 1863.

29. London *Times*, January 25, February 2 and 22, 1864.

to manufacture electoral votes in that state for Lincoln.<sup>30</sup> The same newspaper carried brief news items to the effect that enough Arkansas Unionists had been found to warrant preparations, directed by General Frederick Steele, for elections.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, through a word here and an article there, the way was prepared for a political interpretation of the Florida campaign. Certain factors surrounding the campaign itself lent credence to this view. There is little doubt that in addition to General Gillmore's plan to sever the Confederate supply lines from Florida, a further objective was the inauguration of measures to "reconstruct" Florida in accordance with instructions received from Lincoln through Major John Hay, his private secretary.<sup>32</sup> Although the British did not have knowledge of this communication, they did know, as early as March 7, of General Gillmore's official invitation to the "Loyal people, and such as desire to become so under the provisions of the President's proclamation of December 8, 1863, who are now absent from their homes in East Florida, to return there and resume their usual avocations. It is the intention of the United States Government, and wholly within its power, to afford all needful protection."<sup>33</sup>

In addition, the British knew that Major Hay had accompanied the Federal invading force. Soon after his arrival in Jacksonville, Hay began posting copies of Lincoln's proclamation of December 8. He spent several days in the area, hearing and recording oaths of allegiance and issuing certificates entitling the bearer to the benefits of the proclamation.<sup>34</sup>

It appeared to some English writers that the scanty population of Florida had offered an easy and tempting target for the application of the president's scheme of reconstruction. If Gener-

30. *Ibid.*, February 4, March 7, 1864.

31. *Ibid.*, February 1, 6, 12, 1864. On February 16, the paper's New York correspondent reported that preparations were underway to reconstruct Tennessee.

32. *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. XXXV, pt. 1, 279; see 278 for Lincoln's message to Gillmore, January 13, 1864, which began as follows: "I understand an effort is being made by some worthy gentlemen to reconstruct a loyal State government in Florida." See Davis, 272-275, for a discussion of the Unionist movement in Florida and especially the activities of L. D. Stickney of St. Augustine who held a position as Federal Tax Commissioner.

33. *Manchester Guardian*, March 7, 1864, reprinted this notice as it appeared in the *New York Times*, February 20, 1864.

34. Tyler Dennett (ed.), *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1939), 159-165.

al Seymour could maintain himself in middle Florida for even a short time, he might collect enough Unionists to equal one-tenth of the population. It would then be easy to hold a convention, dictate a constitution, and secure the nomination of electors pledged to Lincoln.<sup>35</sup> These writers saw no other Union advantage to be gained by the campaign. Some were ready to believe that Lincoln had ordered the expedition without consulting either the Secretary of War or his military advisors. They heaped abuse on a president who would sacrifice so many lives and so much money in such an indecent scheme.

The victory of the Confederates at Olustee brought jubilation to their British friends because to them it spoiled Lincoln's political game. Even if Union forces should retain their hold on some coastal towns, the British felt they would be unable to "reconstruct" the state. Olustee spelled disaster for Federal plans, or so it seemed to many Englishmen.

Since only a small congressional delegation and three electoral votes were involved, it might be asked why Federal failure should be such a source of satisfaction. In view of the progress of northern arms elsewhere in the South and the successful application of the reconstruction formula in some states, any reversal of fortune was welcome to Confederate sympathizers abroad. More important than depriving Lincoln of three electoral votes, which might not be essential to his re-election anyway, were the ramifications of the Florida campaign. Lincoln's northern enemies used the unsuccessful expedition with great force in attacking him. Anti-administration newspapers openly claimed that he had launched a costly military expedition to further his own selfish political ambitions.<sup>36</sup> Many believed it was because of this that the United States Senate, on March 2, adopted a resolution directing the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War to inquire into the origins, purposes, and results of the Florida military expedition.

35. *Saturday Review*, XVII (March 19, 1864), 337; *London Times*, March 17, 1864; *Index*, IV (March 17, 1864), 161, and (March 24, 1864), 178.

36. Dennett, 165. Hay made the following notation in his diary: "28th Feb. Sunday. The *Arago* came in this morning. The papers of the 23rd and 24th attack my coming here as a political trick. Q.A.G. [General Gillmore] is much troubled by it." Davis, 293-294.

37. *O.R.*, Series I, Vol. XXXV pt. 1, 292. This was reported by the *Manchester Guardian*, March 18, 1864.

These repercussions in the North were taken as a hopeful sign by some British conservatives. In warning against electoral reform at home, they long had pointed to Lincoln as an example of the type of unqualified and ill-suited man likely to rise to power in a democracy. Since Lincoln's honesty had been an important point of popular belief, some of his British critics hopefully believed that confidence in him had been shaken by the charge that he had interfered in the management of the war for partisan political purposes.<sup>38</sup> The knowledge that the disaster at Olustee had provoked the Senate to take some action was encouraging to these foes of democracy.<sup>39</sup> This loss of popularity and confidence, coupled with a new call for 200,000 fresh troops by a leader who had just demonstrated a willingness to sacrifice lives for votes, might prepare the way for the reception of a peace party.<sup>40</sup>

Many Britishers believed that if Lincoln remained in power, the war would last indefinitely. We would continue to ask for the sacrifice of more men until at long last the South lay prostrate before him. On the other hand, a Democratic candidate, or even another more flexible Republican, might bring the war to a close and do so on terms that recognized the permanent division of the United States. Some Englishmen wanted this out of genuine sympathy for the Confederacy; others thought primarily of the advantages to Britain if two republics replaced the single, dynamic, rapid-growing United States.

There was still another factor motivating some conservative organs of the British press. These foes of democracy had, at the very outset of the American crisis, interpreted disunion as the failure of democracy. It is true that the "American example" had lost some of its usefulness by 1864, and many British conservatives had laid the prestige of their political doctrine on the line with the fate of the Confederacy. Reunion in America would leave the position of the anti-reforming elements in Britain more vulnerable than ever to the demands of the working class for an extension of the franchise and other democratic measures.

It had become obvious by 1864, that foreign governments, including Britain, would not intervene to break the blockade, ex-

38. *London Times*, March 30, 1864.

39. *Saturday Review*, XVII (March 19, 1864), 337.

40. *London Times*, March 22, 30, 1864.

tend recognition, or take any other step that might assist the South in its struggle. And from the way the war had gone since Vicksburg, Gettysburg, and Missionary Ridge, the long range military picture did not look bright. The best chance of averting the reunion so dreaded by British conservatism lay in a change of attitude by the North. If Unionists should sicken of the blood-letting, tire of the repeated demands for more men for the slaughter, and become disenchanted with Abraham Lincoln's leadership, they might refuse further support of the war and let the South go its way without further hindrance. British supporters of the Confederacy did not expect that the disastrous and discredited Florida campaign would of itself produce this desired result, but it could be a start in that direction. Because it offered such a possibility, fleeting though it turned out to be, the battle of Olustee occupied an important, though brief, place in the treatment of the American war by the British press.

## CONFEDERATE RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION: THE LIVE OAK TO LAWTON CONNECTOR

by Jerrell H. Shofner and William Warren Rogers

ONE OF THE Confederacy's most perplexing problems involved combining the disconnected southern railroads into a system of transportation between the various parts of the South. Lack of equipment and enemy action were major reasons for the failure to solve the problem. The Confederate government also pursued the disastrous policy of relying as much as possible on private initiative to supply its needs.

One of the few railroad construction projects completed during the war was a forty-seven mile line connecting Live Oak, Florida, on the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad, with Lawton, Georgia, on the Atlantic & Gulf Line. The Live Oak to Lawton connector was to furnish a rail linkage between Tallahassee, and Richmond, Virginia, joining the capitals and providing transportation for supplies and troops. Military and patriotic objectives aside, individual parties participated in the construction with an enthusiasm proportionate to their belief that the completed road was worth the price exacted from them.

Conflicting interests frequently prevented a united effort on the part of all Confederate citizens, despite their professed commitments to the common goal of southern independence. This was graphically illustrated by the obstacles encountered in constructing the Live Oak to Lawton road. Although neither the Federals nor the Confederates ever considered Florida an essential factor in military planning, the Confederate government desired communications with all its constituent states. At times, moreover, military developments made the connection advisable or even imperative from a tactical point of view. Early in the war, Florida's Governor John Milton wanted to establish a communications link by extending the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad westward from Quincy to the Apalachicola River.<sup>1</sup> This plan re-

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1. John Milton to R. B. Hilton, January 9, 1865, Milton Letterbook, 177, Florida State (Library, Tallahassee. The State Library has Milton's original letterbooks and a calendar of Milton's papers extracted from the originals at the University of Florida, Gainesville. Both are cited in this article as Milton Letterbook.

ceived less attention than the proposal of Edward Houstoun, an official and major stockholder of the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad. Houstoun informed Confederate Secretary of War Leroy Walker that a contract already existed to link the Pensacola and Georgia with the Atlantic & Gulf by building a connector from Live Oak to Lawton. This line would provide rail connections between Florida and the rest of the Confederacy, allowing rapid troop and materiel movements to and from any point in Florida. Houstoun's company had neither the iron rails nor the funds to purchase them, and he asked the Confederate government to furnish assistance.<sup>2</sup> There had been considerable opposition to such a road during the late 1850's from people in east Florida who feared middle Florida would be tied economically to Savannah instead of Fernandina.<sup>3</sup>

Construction of the line was begun from both ends and considerable progress was made by the end of 1861. The Atlantic & Gulf had graded its portion of the connector from Lawton to the Florida line and had sufficient iron to complete the Georgia portion of the road.<sup>4</sup> However, the rails were not laid from Lawton to the Florida line until 1863. At that time, arrangements were made to use iron stored at Tebeauville, Georgia, which had been taken up from the Brunswick and Florida Railroad.<sup>5</sup>

The Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company was responsible for twenty-two miles of track from Live Oak to the Georgia line, including a bridge across the Suwannee River. By December 1861, twenty-one miles of railroad had been graded and ties laid on eight miles of this route. A bridge across the river and iron rails for the entire length were needed for completion of the Florida portion of the road. A Pensacola and Georgia official esti-

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2. Edward Houstoun to Leroy P. Walker, September 14, 1861, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), Series IV, Vol. II, 612-613. (Cited hereafter as *O.R.*)
  3. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, December 22, 1855. See also Thomasville [Georgia] *Southern Enterprise*, June 20, 1866.
  4. Houstoun to J. H. Trapier, December 6, 1861, *O. R.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 778; Houstoun to John Milton, n.d., Milton Letterbook.
  5. Robert C. Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1952), 211. The Brunswick and Florida had been taken over by the state when northern investors pulled out and southern investors were unable to continue construction. See T. Conn Bryan, *Confederate Georgia* (Athens, 1953), 111-112.



mated the job could be completed with 1,600 tons of iron which could be laid within one month after delivery.<sup>6</sup>

By the time building had progressed to this point, the Confederate government had approved construction of the connector. General Robert E. Lee endorsed it as a project "of great military advantage."<sup>7</sup> His approval was based on information from military authorities in Florida that the connection could be made for \$80,000 with iron rails available locally.<sup>8</sup> Procurement of these rails from local sources set off a controversy which delayed construction for nearly three years, embroiled the Florida state government and eventually the Confederacy as well in a conflict over conscription of private property, and caused a collision between Confederate military authorities and the Florida civil courts.

On March 4, 1862, the Florida Executive Council authorized Governor Milton to take up the railroad iron and spikes from the Florida Railroad west of Fernandina and remove it to safety as troops were withdrawn in the face of imminent occupation of the area by Union forces.<sup>9</sup> General J. H. Trapier ordered removal of the rails between Fernandina and Baldwin.<sup>10</sup> When this became known in east Florida, local citizens began protesting the action on the ground that the road was essential for the area's defense.<sup>11</sup> When Trapier met resistance, Governor Milton ordered General R. F. Floyd to carry out the removal all the way to Lake City and to arrest anyone who interfered. The governor threatened to proclaim martial law if necessary.<sup>12</sup>

Part of these rails were destined for the Live Oak to Lawton connector. This led General Joseph Finegan, an east Florida citizen with his own interests in railroads, to suggest that Houstoun obtain rails for his extension from the Tallahassee company, which operated a Line from Tallahassee to St. Marks. Since that road and the Pensacola and Georgia were under the same

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6. C. H. Latrobe to Houstoun, December 5, 1861, *O. R.*, Ser. IV, Vol II, 778-779.

7. Trapier to Robert E. Lee, December 7, 1861, *ibid.*, Vol. I, 777.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Executive Council Resolution, Milton Letterbook, 41.

10. Milton to Houstoun, n.d., *ibid.*, 42; Savannah *Daily Morning News*, March 21, 1862.

11. Milton to G. W. Randolph, April 15, 1862, Milton Letterbook, 64.

12. Milton to R. F. Floyd, March 24, 1862, *ibid.*, 54.

direction and control, this would be more equitable than taking the Florida Railroad Company's iron to benefit a competitor.<sup>13</sup>

General Finegan's concern that a private enterprise might gain from its competitor in the name of military necessity was more than shared by former United States Senator David Levy Yulee, the builder and a large stockholder of the Florida Railroad Company. Yulee was largely responsible for the Internal Improvement Act passed by the Florida legislature in 1855. The act provided state aid for construction of the Florida Railroad from Fernandina on the Atlantic Ocean to Cedar Key on the Gulf of Mexico. With this promise of state aid, Yulee was then able to obtain private investments from such prominent New York investors as Edward N. Dickerson and Associates. When Florida seceded in 1861, these New Yorkers owned a small majority of the Florida Railroad stock and controlled the company through majority membership on the board of directors.<sup>14</sup> Yulee had been a reluctant proponent of secession, but some critics accused him of favoring the establishment of the Confederacy in order to create national boundaries between the road and its northern stockholders.<sup>15</sup>

Whatever his intentions toward the absentee owners, Yulee, as president and principal stockholder within the Confederacy, was in control of the company in 1862. By April, the road was of little military value to the Confederacy because its terminals at Fernandina and Cedar Key were in Union hands.<sup>16</sup> As one of the leaders who had helped take Florida out of the Union, Yulee might have been expected to cooperate with the Confederate government in strengthening its military capability through improved transportation facilities. He might have recalled also that it was state aid that had enabled him to build the road in the first place. But Yulee resisted the removal of his rails with every means he could contrive.

Governor Milton favored using the Florida Railroad iron for southern military purposes and tried to cooperate with the Confederate War Department. In May 1863, he asked Finegan to use his close acquaintance with Yulee to persuade the latter to give

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13. Joseph Finegan to Milton, March 20, 1862, *ibid.*, 48.

14. Robert L. Clarke, "The Florida Railroad Company in the Civil War," *Journal of Southern History*, XIX (May 1953), 181.

15. *Ibid.*, 182; *New York Times*, January 23, 1861.

16. Randolph to Milton, April 3, 1862, *O.R.*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 650.

up his iron.<sup>17</sup> In normal peacetime conditions, Milton declared, he would oppose any interference with the railroad's property rights, but Florida was threatened with invasion and with possible defeat unless all citizens contributed whatever was necessary for defense. Iron was badly needed to connect the Pensacola and Georgia with the Atlantic & Gulf in Georgia. The Confederate government was willing to pay a fair price for the iron, and Yulee had been asked to name an appraiser. Milton felt that both the state and the company's stockholders would benefit by this arrangement and the use of the iron.<sup>18</sup> The governor was surprised and dismayed to find that General Finegan endorsed Yulee's refusal to give up the iron needed to complete the connecting railroad.<sup>19</sup> Finegan argued that the Florida Railroad was not in enemy possession and that his own troops were using the road daily as part of their defense of the East Florida military district. Removal of the iron would certainly be construed by east Floridians as an abandonment of their area to the enemy.<sup>20</sup> At the time Finegan wrote, Union forces were in Jacksonville with strong defensive works commanding the railroad's entry into the city, and Union raiding parties had torn up about ten miles of track to the west.<sup>21</sup>

In a strong letter to the governor, Yulee said that as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, Milton should realize that the Florida Railroad Company had no power to agree to its own track's destruction. Regular trains were running over the entire length of the road except at each end, serving the public as they were supposed to do, and the track was available for government use.<sup>22</sup> Milton had the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund remove any doubts about Yulee's authority to turn over the iron by passing a resolution giving him specific authority to loan or sell the iron to the Confederate government. The governor informed the senator of this resolution with a tone of satisfaction and asked him to comply.<sup>23</sup>

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17. Milton to Finegan, May 7, 1863, Milton Letterbook, 147.

18. Milton to Finegan, May 21, 1863, *ibid.*, 151.

19. Milton to James A. Seddon, May 21, 1863, *ibid.*, 152, Milton to Seddon, July 20, 1863, *O.R.*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 649-650.

20. Finegan to Milton, May 12, 1863, Milton Letterbook, 151.

21. Savannah *Daily Morning News*, April 17, 1863.

22. David L. Yulee to Milton, May 23, 1863, Milton Letterbook, 35.

23. Milton to Yulee, May 30, 1863, *ibid.*

Yulee next changed his ground and argued that he was unaware of any authority of the trustees over the railroad company. He denied that either the company or the governor could authorize the destruction of a public roadway. Affirming his willingness to contribute to the Confederate cause from his private means, Yulee added that he had no right to be generous with other people's property.<sup>24</sup> That the majority of stock in the road was held by northern investors who had, by this time, been declared enemy aliens did not alter Yulee's attitude.<sup>25</sup> Yulee's opponents doubted his professed willingness to donate his private property to the Confederacy. It was claimed that when the army later tried to purchase a quantity of sugar at the price set by the government, Yulee refused to sell and the sugar had to be impressed.<sup>26</sup>

Governor Milton patiently replied to Yulee's latest arguments, pointing out that the road was a hazard since it might be used by the enemy to capture east Florida. He agreed with the abstract principle that removal of the iron might be violating the stockholders' rights, but this was a military emergency in which the state's safety was at stake. Other property had been taken without complaint from the owners. He warned that "the Florida Railroad may attest the folly and wickedness of those who are unconsciously influenced by local interests, to jeopardize the political existence of the State, and involve their fellow citizens with themselves in scenes of fearful ruin, degradation and disgrace."<sup>27</sup> By this time, Milton was proposing publication of all correspondence concerning the Florida Railroad affair. He believed that a full disclosure would remove all objections except those of Yulee and Finegan. Milton apparently thought this necessary because Yulee was spreading information that the connecting railroad between Florida and Georgia would do more harm than good. The senator intimated that the connector was opposed by the Confederate congress and was being promoted without the knowledge or consent of the Richmond government.<sup>28</sup>

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24. Yulee to Milton, June 4, 1863, *ibid.*, 36.

25. Milton to Seddon, May 10, 1863, *ibid.*, 147; Clarke, "Florida Railroad Company," 181.

26. Milton to Jefferson Davis, August 18, 1863, Milton Letterbook, 55.

27. Milton to Yulee, June 8, 1863, *ibid.*, 37.

28. Yulee to Milton, June 19, 1863, *ibid.*, 42; General Patton Anderson to Charles S. Stringfellow, July 5, 1864, *O.R.*, Ser I, Vol. LIII, 362-364.

Milton was rapidly reaching the end of his patience with Yulee and charged that the senator now claimed the right to give or refuse aid as he saw fit.<sup>29</sup> Privately expressing his view that Yulee's case was no different than that of the Alabama and Florida Railroad which had already given up its iron, the governor reasoned with Yulee once again in early July 1863. Milton cited many examples in which the Confederacy had taken property, including iron, from other Florida roads. He added that he knew no man in Florida more obligated than Yulee to defend the state.<sup>30</sup> Yulee replied that he wished no further discussion of the subject.<sup>31</sup>

After a year and a half of exasperating negotiation, Milton seemed prepared to turn the matter over to the Confederate government. He wrote General P. G. T. Beauregard, Secretary of War James A. Seddon, and President Jefferson Davis complaining of Yulee and the railroad iron dispute. Milton believed that others in higher authority, not Senator Yulee or General Finegan, should decide on what was best for the country.<sup>32</sup> President Davis was interested in completing the connecting railroad. He informed Milton that the Secretary of War had approved the connector to run east of the Alapaha River and wished to see it built with the least possible delay and embarrassment. Iron for the project should be impressed from roads in the area, but Jefferson Davis hoped that the government could avoid imputations of aiding a competitor at the expense of the Florida Railroad or other acts which would unnecessarily anger east Floridians opposed to removal.<sup>33</sup> Davis was experiencing great difficulty in carrying out Confederate laws in North Carolina and Georgia where Governors Zebulon Vance and Joseph E. Brown were zealously guarding state rights, and he wished to avoid similar resistance in Florida.

Because of the Union advance into Georgia in early 1864, the Confederate government's determination to move Florida Railroad Company rails was strengthened. The engineering depart-

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29. Yulee to Milton, June 19, 1863, Milton Letterbook, 42.

30. Milton to Yulee, July 10, 1863, *ibid.*, 48.

31. Yulee to Milton, July 17, 1863, *ibid.*, 52.

32. Milton to P. G. T. Beauregard, June 29, 1863, *ibid.*, 41; Milton to Seddon, July 20, August 25, 1863, *ibid.*, 51, 55; Milton to Davis, August 18, 1863, *ibid.*, 55; and Beauregard to Milton, July 6, 1863, *O.R.*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 651.

33. Davis to Milton, September 16, 1863, Milton Letterbook, 64.

ment was made responsible for the job, and Lieutenant Jason M. Fairbanks of the Railroad Iron Commission was ordered to remove the rails in March 1864. In April, Yulee obtained an injunction against Fairbanks and his superiors from James B. Dawkins, state circuit court judge in Alachua County. Fairbanks' superior, Colonel Minor Meriwether, ordered him to ignore the court order, and General Patton Anderson was instructed to furnish a guard and work detail. Judge Dawkins received an affidavit in Gainesville on May 28, stating that the court order was being ignored. He ordered contempt proceedings for May 31, but Fairbanks and his associates refused to appear. Dawkins then issued an order for Fairbanks' arrest. When the sheriff tried to carry out the order, General Anderson's guards resisted and the arrest was not made.<sup>34</sup>

The forty-seven mile connector project had been in progress for almost three years, and the stalemate over Florida Railroad iron was two years old. This latest collision between Confederate military forces and the Florida circuit judge embroiled the ill-fated project in a seemingly endless controversy over the legalistic aspects of Confederate-state relationship. Nearly everyone involved in the struggle except Yulee seemed to favor removal of the iron, but, by forcing the Florida courts to take a stand against the military, the latter had enlisted the support of state officials. Governor Milton deplored the resistance of Governor Brown of Georgia and Governor Vance of North Carolina and prided himself on his past cooperation with the Richmond government, but now he felt compelled to defend the state's judicial system against central government encroachment.<sup>35</sup> Judge Dawkins also believed the iron should be removed, but he thought the Confederacy should respect his court and proceed legally to complete the project. When Dawkins wrote Milton about the case, the governor replied that, despite his belief that the iron should be removed, he would do all in his power to back Dawkins and see that the state court was respected. The conflict between Florida and the Confederate government was unfortunate, Milton said, but it was absolutely necessary that civil liberties be protected.<sup>36</sup>

34. James B. Dawkins to Anderson, June 9, 1864, *ibid.*, 88.

35. Frank L. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago, 1925), 268; Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 209.

36. Milton to Dawkins, June 14, 1864, Milton Letterbook, 91.

Judge Dawkins wrote General Anderson expressing regret over the civil-military conflict. Dawkins promised to give the military sufficient time to employ counsel and prepare a case for dissolution of the injunction, but, in the meantime, he insisted that the order be obeyed.<sup>39</sup> General Anderson replied regretfully that Lieutenant Fairbanks had decided to ignore the injunction and to continue obeying the orders of his superior.<sup>38</sup> Fairbanks' position was precarious. His orders were from Colonel Meriwether of the Railroad Iron Commission and not from General Anderson who commanded the military district in Florida. Fairbanks had a choice of obeying the injunction and facing military punishment for disobeying his orders or carrying out his orders and risking civil punishment. He chose to risk the latter alternative.

Fairbanks had, in fact, tried to obey both authorities, but upon finding that all the lawyers in east Florida, including the Confederate States attorney, were employed by the Florida Railroad Company as counsel, he decided it was useless to appear in the civil courts. General Anderson tried to intercede on his behalf to avoid a conflict between state and central government authority.<sup>39</sup> Anderson's primary concern, like that of Governor Milton, was that this incident would be magnified by Davis' enemies who were already using the Georgia and North Carolina difficulties to denounce the administration.<sup>40</sup>

Although Milton and Dawkins continued to express their opinion that the Confederacy was right, both insisted on obedience to the state courts, which would mean that the removal of iron would have to be delayed until the long process of dissolving the injunction could be completed.<sup>41</sup> An additional obstacle was placed in the project's way when another branch of the Confederate government interceded against Fairbanks. James Banks, an attorney for the Confederate government under the Sequestration Act, had sequestered almost \$3,000,000 in stocks and bonds of the Florida Railroad Company as belonging to Dickerson and Associates of New York who were regarded under the act as enemy

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37. Dawkins to Anderson, June 2, 1864, *ibid.*, 86-87.

38. Anderson to Dawkins, June 8, 1864, *ibid.*, 87.

39. Anderson to Dawkins, June 1, 1864, *ibid.*, 85-86.

40. Milton Letterbook, 93-95.

41. Milton to Seddon, June 30, 1864, *ibid.*, 106.

aliens.<sup>42</sup> Banks was now unwilling to allow another branch of his own government to destroy the railroad which was represented by his sequestered securities. The attorney entered suit against Fairbanks to prevent removal, although he denied that he was representing Yulee in the case.

Other Confederate military officials began to inform Governor Milton of some harsh facts. Colonel Meriwether travelled to Tallahassee to see the governor. Finding Milton out of town and unable to await his return, Meriwether left a lengthy explanation of his position as head of the Railroad Iron Commission. He assured the governor that there was no intention of disrespect toward the state but that the removal project was imperative. He asked for a dissolution of the injunction as requested, but declared his intention to go ahead with removal because Florida not only approved the action but expected the Confederate government to build the road so necessary to the state's defense. Meriwether was not prepared to anticipate the consequences if the state resisted with force, but he declared that the Confederacy would refuse to involve itself in lengthy litigation where it was necessary to obtain any kind of military supplies.<sup>43</sup>

The insistence on action was based on Confederate law and decrees by the Secretary of War authorizing the impressment of all kinds of supplies for military use. The central government was unwilling to admit the state's power to grant injunctions against procurement of military supplies. The Florida Railroad iron question was already being viewed as a test case by other Floridians who were planning to deny future requisitions of food, clothing, and horses if Yulee prevented the removal of his iron by state court injunction. Admitting the justification for such feeling, Meriwether concluded that it was unthinkable that "our army must stand shivering and starving" until the courts decided.<sup>44</sup>

By the summer of 1864, the Confederacy had begun to anticipate the loss of Atlanta. Such an event would deprive General Joseph Johnston's army of supplies which were then being brought from Alabama. This would make the railroad connector even

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42. James Banks to Milton, June 14, 1864, *ibid.*, 89; Clarke, "Florida Railroad Company," 190.

43. Minor Meriwether to Milton, July 14, 1864, Milton Letterbook, 126-128.

44. *Ibid.*



more necessary so that Florida supplies could make up this loss. Further clarification of the Confederate position came from Major General Sam Jones, commander of the South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida military department. Jones briefly reviewed the situation and commented that recent military developments in Georgia made immediate action on the Live Oak to Lawton connector urgent, and he ordered General Anderson in Florida to do whatever was necessary to complete it. With no wish to ignore Florida's civil authority, Jones nevertheless felt that the project was so urgent that he would not suspend operations until the question was resolved by the courts.<sup>45</sup>

At this point the Confederate government sent an attorney to Florida to settle the procedural controversy. He entered a plea for dissolution of the injunction which soon reached the Confederate States District Court for the Eastern District of Florida. That court immediately decided for the Confederacy and the legal obstacles to removal of Yulee's Florida Railroad collapsed.<sup>46</sup> Optimistic engineers now predicted that trains would be moving from Live Oak to Lawton by September 1864. But delays due to enemy action in east Florida hampered operations, and the road was not completed until March 1865. By that time it no longer mattered to the Confederacy.

The Live Oak to Lawton connector became a factor in the railroad controversies during reconstruction. East Floridians, who had opposed removal of the iron during the war on military grounds, now reverted to their pre-war complaints that railroad managers would use the connector to favor Savannah over Fernandina and Jacksonville as a port for shipping Florida produce. The iron belonging to the Florida Railroad Company was taken up and returned to the company.<sup>47</sup> Despite the east Florida opposition, the Atlantic & Gulf line replaced the iron so that trains were once more running from Savannah to Tallahassee over the Live Oak to Lawton connector by October 22, 1866.<sup>48</sup> By the 1870's, the Atlantic & Gulf owners were operating the connector on a ninety-nine year lease.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps Edward Houstoun, whose post-

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45. Major General Sam Jones to Milton, July 21, 1864, *ibid.*, 121-122.

46. Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 212-213.

47. Thomasville *Southern Enterprise*, June 20, 1866.

48. *Ibid.*, October 25, November 15, 1886.

49. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 26, 1873.

Civil War business activities were concentrated in Savannah, had been looking to the future when he urged this extension of his Pensacola and Georgia line.<sup>50</sup>

As an example of railroad construction in the South, the Live Oak to Dawton enterprise helps explain the Confederate government's failure to establish the kind of cohesive administrative structure necessary to achieve success in a conflict as large as the Civil War. Although private property rights were eventually subordinated to military necessity, this was done haltingly and then only after years of delay. Postponements were allowed out of deference to state courts, but the judiciary was used by Yulee to prevent his property from being taken with compensation and even though it was to be used in the general interest. Procedural arguments in the court case received almost as much attention as removal of the railroad iron until the injunction was dissolved.

Florida's chief executive was a strong supporter of the Confederate government and Jefferson Davis, but even he was so imbued with the state rights theory that respect for this doctrine was placed above necessity when a decision was forced between the two. Yulee, who had been a moderate Florida secessionist, and, to that extent, responsible for Florida's situation during the Civil War, was apparently more interested in the abstract theory than the practical consequences of secession. He was unwilling to relinquish his private property for a just price to support the act of secession which he had helped bring about. There is no doubt about his loyalty to the Confederacy, yet because of the partial absentee ownership of his road, Yulee was in the dubious position of defending the property of alien enemies against impressment for Confederate military purposes.

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50. C. K. Brown, "The Florida Investments of George W. Swepson," *North Carolina Historical Review*. V (July 1928), 275-276; Paul E. Fenlon, "The Notorious Swepson-Littlefield Fraud: Railroad Financing in Florida, 1868-1871," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (April 1954), 248.

# HENRY S. SANFORD AND LABOR PROBLEMS IN THE FLORIDA ORANGE INDUSTRY

by RICHARD J. AMUNDSON

**H**ENRY SHELTON SANFORD, direct descendant of Thomas Sanford who had come to Massachusetts in the 1630's, made many contributions to the economic welfare of the United States and particularly to Florida, his "adopted state." Sanford's foresight and his sizable investments promoted the growth and prosperity of the orange culture in central Florida. His adoption of modern equipment and scientific methods of cultivation, including selective cross-breeding of citrus stocks and the use of irrigation, speeded the so-called "orange revolution" which occurred in the post-Civil War period. Progress and change, however, often are opposed, and so it was with Sanford's efforts to make orange growing in central Florida pay dividends. Resistance arose over his proposed solution to the labor problem. The opposition in this case followed the pattern that applied to Sanford's whole Florida career. At first the idea of change was abhorred, then physically combated. When these failed, a "wait and see" attitude developed, and, finally, acceptance. With acceptance came dependence upon him for additional advances.

In 1867, Connecticut Yankee Sanford, United States Minister to Belgium, anxious to hedge against falling dividends from his northern speculations, began to invest in Florida real estate.<sup>1</sup> Land was obtained first at St. Augustine, and in 1870, E. K. Foster, Jr., Sanford's agent and attorney, purchased a large tract of land - thereafter known as the Sanford Grant - on Lake Monroe.<sup>2</sup> Sanford's original purpose was to sell land in small blocks and from the earning finance the development of a model orange grove as a long-term investment for his family.

For the development of his grove, Sanford employed the engineering firm of Whitner and Marks. They began early in 1870 to clear the land and plant seedling orange trees on the first

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1. E. N. Shelton to H. S. Sanford, April 1, 22, and September 5, 13, 16, 1867, *Sanford Papers*, Box 74, folder 10. The Sanford Papers are located in the Sanford Memorial Library, Sanford, Florida.

2. E. K. Foster, Jr. to Sanford, May 12, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 48, folder 1.

grove, St. Gertrude, that was to be 125 acres in size.<sup>3</sup> By June, eighty acres had been cleared. Another grove, Belair, was started that same summer.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike the North, where a large population and a rising immigration tide made labor fairly plentiful, the South had no such abundance in 1870. Available labor was undependable, and J. N. Whitner was hard pressed finding enough workers to keep St. Gertrude and Belair operating. "We have been exceedingly troubled to procure labor," he wrote his employer. "The native white is not worth a dime. We have imported black labor which wd [*sic*] we think do well, if not contaminated by the worthless white scoundrels who infest the country."<sup>5</sup>

Joseph Wofford Tucker, who owned a slaughterhouse in the town of Sanford in partnership with Henry Sanford, reported that, "Whitner & Marks employed some men at the grove to help plant trees, *by contract*; and these men, it was soon discovered, were doing the work badly; whereupon they were promptly discharged, and the work done over at W. & M's. expense. These men - discharged - were simply mean and dishonest, and, being exposed, conceived a deep hatred for Whitner (more especially) as he was unpopular with their class. Mr. W. is an unbending & proud man . . . with ill-disguised contempt for men of the class to which these laborers belonged. This *class* determined to take their vengeance . . . and Whitner went armed for some time. . . ." <sup>6</sup> As it developed, the white population of the area resented the Negroes which Whitner and Marks had hired. "After we brought colored men here," Sanford learned in September, "their camp was fired upon wounding several."<sup>7</sup>

Whitner and Marks called a meeting of the "law abiding citizens of the community" who agreed to station guards around the Negro camp. "This disturbance arose from jealousy & malignity of the low white wretches in the county. . . . Unwilling themselves to half work & opposed to the introduction of those who might do

3. J. N. Whitner to Sanford, May 25, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15.

4. Richard Marks to Sanford, June 14, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15.

5. *Ibid.*

6. J. W. Tucker to Sanford, November 9, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 11.

7. Whitner and Marks to Sanford, September 13, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15.

better . . . a few cowardly scoundrels have threatened our lives. . . ." <sup>8</sup> The violence subsided for a time when guards were utilized, but later Sanford's sawmill, operated by John A. Ferguson, was attacked and the Negroes employed there were driven out of the city. <sup>9</sup> To augment the labor force and keep violence at a minimum, Sanford turned to the Contract Labor Law and, in exchange for passage to the United States, more than one hundred Swedish workers were brought to Florida.

Sanford quickly learned that there was little understanding or knowledge of Florida citrus culture. Many growers spoke glibly about how trees had been grown in the past and how they should be tended. Whitner and Marks quickly found that much of what was accepted as fact was really ignorance. As far as transplanting seedlings was concerned, "people dont [*sic*] know how to dig them up properly." <sup>10</sup> Henry Sanford wanted the orange industry established on a scientific foundation, and for this purpose, he expended large sums of money, time, and energy. Whitner and Marks called for quality seedlings and Sanford ordered the best. From Thomas Rivers and Sons Nursery in Sawbridgeworth, England, he received twenty-four varieties of oranges, four of lemons, two of limes, and one tangerine. <sup>11</sup> The Acis, Dulcissima, Du Roi, Selecta, Star Eyed, St. Michael, Variegated, White, Egg, Embigno, Maltese Blood, Pernambuco, and Silver orange varieties were ordered, The St. Michael tangerine, the Small and Persian lime, and the Brazilian, Imperial, Sweet Brazilian, and Variegated lemons were also purchased. <sup>12</sup>

Whitner and Marks sought expert help in planting these trees.

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8. *Ibid.*

9. Tucker to Sanford, November 9, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 11.
10. Whitner and Marks to Sanford, June 14, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15. In 1872, Sanford worked hard getting oranges and tropical fruits stricken from the tree list and under protective tariff coverage. He won a partial victory. Senator T. W. Osborne to Sanford, June 15, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.
11. Thomas Rivers and Sons to Sanford, August 3, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 14, folder 3.
12. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 45, folder 7. All of the trees lived to planting except the Brazilian Sweet Lemon. Sanford's action caused others to follow his example. Colonel B. F. Whitner asked Sanford to have ten varieties of Sanford's choosing sent to him. B. F. Whitner to Sanford, November 1, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15.

In the Sanford area it was generally admitted that Orlando George was an expert, but he demanded a salary of \$125 per month, about three to five times the normal rate. He did guarantee that all trees that he planted would survive,<sup>13</sup> but Joseph Tucker, Sanford's slaughterhouse partner, said that while George was competent, he was not worth the price.<sup>14</sup> Work continued, meanwhile, and by the end of September 1870, 4,300 orange seedlings and 700 banana trees were in the ground at St. Gertrude, and 4,000 more orange trees were planted at Belair.<sup>15</sup>

The Swedish immigrants were brought over in 1871, under the Contract Labor Law, to work on the Belair Grove and in Sanford's allied businesses. Sanford's correspondence indicated that he conceived the idea of using foreign labor in his Florida enterprises and inquired of his neighbors if they wanted to participate in the experiment. Thomas Haigh, one of Sanford's agents, sent to his employer the following list of people who would take Swedes: "Col. B. F. Whitner, Mellonville, 4 men 1 woman (the woman to act as cook for the 4 men). J. M. Bussall, 1 man & wife (no children). The wife as cook and washerwoman. Capt. J. W. Whitner, 1 man & wife, no children. The wife as cook & washwoman. This seems to be all that are needed by parties here. Mr. Tucker say [*sic*] you are to supply his order from your lot of 25 men. He (Tucker) suggests that you send three women with the 25 men to wash & iron &c for them."<sup>16</sup> Sanford wrote to the Anchor Steamship Company asking them to honor his drafts for the passage of from forty to fifty persons from Sweden to New York.<sup>17</sup> The cost of the passage was thirty-eight dollars per person, plus commission and incidentals.<sup>18</sup> The Henschen brothers,

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13. Orlando George to Sanford, December 8, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.
  14. Tucker to Sanford, December 20, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 11. The evidence tends to indicate that Joseph Tucker desired the position for his son, and thus gave the unfavorable report.
  15. Whitner and Marks to Sanford, September 27, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15.
  16. Thomas Haigh to Sanford, February 7, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 48, folder 6.
  17. Sanford to Anchor Lines, no date, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 18.
  18. Sanford to W. A. Henschen, March 29, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2, and Henschen to Sanford, February 15, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 53, folder 11.

William A. and Joseph served as labor agents and translators for the Swedes.<sup>13</sup>

Howard M. Tucker, son of J. W. Tucker, wrote to Edward N. Shelton, Henry Sanford's uncle and watchdog over his business interests, describing the landing of the foreign workers on May 30, 1871, at the Sanford wharf. Thomas Haigh was too ill at the time to be present and Henry L. De Forest, manager of Sanford's mercantile store, met the steamer when it docked, and assisted by Tucker, succeeded in getting the group out to Belair. It took only two days to outline their duties and to show them how the work was done.<sup>20</sup> The arrangements made to accommodate the immigrants were makeshift. One small frame structure had been constructed at Belair. Twenty-five persons, including five women, occupied one-half of the floor space.<sup>21</sup> Some were forced to sleep on the floor, as the beds were too few and the mattresses-purchased in Scotland when the Anchor liner docked there-were no longer serviceable. Clothing of the Swedes was likewise in a sub-standard condition. "Some few," Tucker informed Shelton, "had wahren [*sic*] out shoes & no means to get others. . . ." <sup>22</sup> William Henschen, the labor agent, and Howard Tucker, an overseer at Belair, met with the Swedes and informed them that Sanford would provide for their needs. Actually Tucker and Henschen were exceeding their authority. Henry De Forest wrote E. N. Shelton that this had caused an unfortunate situation. The Swedes claimed that these promises were binding and if breached, their original contract with Sanford was also breached, freeing them from their obligations.<sup>33</sup> Legally, however, Sanford could not be bound by the acts of these agents as neither held Sanford's power of attorney. However, Sanford agreed to the bargain, and the immigrants were supplied bed clothing, shoes, working apparel, and a small weekly credit at the Sanford store for tobacco and other necessities. In exchange for this, the workers agreed

19. *Ibid.*

20. Tucker to E. N. Shelton, June 12, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.

21. *Ibid.* H. L. De Forest stated that there were twenty-six men and seven women. De Forest to Sanford, June 7, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

22. Tucker to Shelton, June 12, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.

23. De Forest to Shelton, June 12, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

to extend the life of their contract beyond the year's term until the fair value was repaid.<sup>24</sup>

De Forest reported by letter that the Swedes appeared to be well satisfied and "doing as well as could be expected . . . but think the work hard. And it is for them as most of them have trades and have been accustomed to indoors work."<sup>25</sup> Their hours of work were from five in the morning until dark with an hour off for breakfast, two and a half hours for lunch. Saturday afternoon and Sunday were rest days. Their diet consisted of beef, bacon, beans, rice, and potatoes.<sup>26</sup> The cost of feeding the Swedes, De Forest estimated, was six dollars per month per man, and this included butchering their own beef and pork.<sup>27</sup>

The immigrants replaced the Negro labor force at Belair. De Forest reported that they did their work well, though slowly, and very little of it had to be done over.<sup>28</sup> When E. K. Foster, Jr., visited Belair in August, he found that "the garden under the care of the Swedish Gardiner [*sic*] looked remarkably well. The imported plants were nicely arranged in the palmetto green house and all seemed to be growing finely. The camelias and azalias [*sic*] looking especially well, next to the imported orange trees, which were looking well. The garden was free from all weeds and showed . . . that the Gardiner [*sic*] was doing his duty faithfully. The Grove . . . has been grubbed & twice plowed, and Mr. De forest [*sic*] tells me will be planted in peas this week. The entire grove had had the undergrowth cut down. . . . The fence around the grove looked in good condition. . . ." <sup>29</sup>

The main trouble with the Swedes, Foster said, was that some, "like old soldiers are evidently playing sick." A dose of mustard plastering might convince them that "the remedy [was] worse

24. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

25. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

28. *Ibid.* News of Sanford's experiment spread through the state. C. A. Du Pont of Quincy, Florida, a member of the Florida legislature, approached Sanford with a scheme that called for bringing in large numbers of immigrants under the Contract Labor Law, and hiring them to merchants and planters in Florida for the year they had obligated at a rate below the prevailing labor price. There is no evidence that Sanford entertained this suggestion. Du Pont to Sanford, June 19, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.

29. Foster to Sanford, August 9, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 48, folder 1.



than the disease."<sup>30</sup> But generally he found that "they seem to be willing workers and so far have shown no vice."<sup>31</sup> All this was to change.

Too many Swedes had been brought over for Sanford's orange grove and there was not enough work to keep them all fully occupied each day. The seven women were especially a problem as they had very few duties.<sup>32</sup> De Forest suggested that the migrants who were qualified at trades be given the opportunity to secure outside employment. The qualified carpenters were hired by Sanford who was constructing a new store, a hotel, and a church.<sup>33</sup> Three were employed at the sawmill, and several went to work for other orange growers in the area. Sanford was supposed to be compensated for their services.

Perhaps the freedom they experienced off the grove emboldened the immigrants, or maybe they were simply waiting for an opportunity to become more familiar with the countryside. At any rate, by July 1871, De Forest was complaining, "I have been having trouble with the Swedes."<sup>34</sup> Howard Tucker had reported in June that a few immigrants were attempting to pawn watches and other personal possessions in exchange for passage down the river to Jacksonville.<sup>35</sup> Steamer captains were warned not to aid any of the foreigners in their efforts to violate their contract and a close watch was kept at the wharves. In spite of these precautions, three were able to get away. De Forest reported that they had taken the steamer for Jacksonville. We were "all . . . greatly astonished as these men were apparently satisfied and pleased. . . . None of us could attribute it to any known cause."<sup>36</sup> When De Forest questioned the loyal Swedes, he learned that people in town had been urging them to flee. These "malicious persons" had told the foreigners that since their contracts had been made in Europe they were not valid in America.<sup>37</sup> Some people ap-

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. De Forest to Sanford, July 3, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

33. *Ibid.*, June 25, July 7, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

34. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

35. Tucker to Sanford, June 12, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.

36. De Forest to Sanford, July 19, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

37. *Ibid.*

parently resented Sanford's success. De Forest laid part of the blame on Dr. William Henschen, who, he said, had promised the Swedes the moon.

De Forest obtained warrants for arrest of the three runaways, "Lindburg, the Baker [*sic*], Anderson, the Shoemaker [*sic*], and Carlsen, the tanner."<sup>38</sup> They were apprehended at Jacksonville, and agreed to return. They declared that their reasons for flight did not originate at Belair and had nothing to do with their treatment. They also agreed that they would try to dissuade others who contemplated desertion. Wennstrom, an informer, insisted that there were others who were dissatisfied and would leave if they had money.<sup>39</sup> De Forest told Sanford that many Swedes pretended to be indignant with those who had breached their contracts, but, he said, "I have lost confidence in them and am fearful more of them may go."<sup>40</sup> The returned runaways, However, did serve as a deterrent to others planning to violate their contracts.<sup>41</sup>

Some Scandinavians were satisfied. Two requested a loan to bring their wives over to America.<sup>42</sup> Sanford authorized De Forest to survey five-acre tracts of good orange-grove land to be given to each Scandinavian who worked the entire year. This incentive caused several immigrants to write to friends in Sweden asking if they wanted to sign contracts. As many craftsmen as possible were allowed the chance to utilize their skills, at least part of the time, in an effort to hold them faithful to their bargain.<sup>43</sup>

In October 1871, De Forest received word that a second group of immigrants would shortly arrive, and plans were made to have the disembarkation function more smoothly than before, and to provide adequate quarters. A twenty-four by forty foot structure was built at Belair to accommodate them.<sup>44</sup> Sanford cabled Charles M. du Puy, his wife's uncle, to be on hand when the steamer reached New York to see that the immigrants transferred to the

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

40. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

41. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

42. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6. De Forest also mentioned that two of the Swedish women were nearing the end of pregnancies. One of the two gave birth during the hurricane which swept over the Sanford Grant on August 16, 1871. *Ibid.*, August 16, 20, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

43. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

44. *Ibid.*, October 17, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.



L. de Winne, Artist

HON. HENRY SHELTON SANFORD, L. L. D.

1865

COPY OF A PORTRAIT OF HENRY SHELTON SANFORD. HE WAS  
FORTY-FOUR YEARS OLD AT THE TIME



coastal steamer which would take them south.<sup>45</sup> There was no trouble in New York, but some developed on the trip to Florida. Du Puy claimed that "there is a N. Y. Jew Sweed [*sic*] runner on board" who was attempting to talk the Scandinavians into leaving the ship at Savannah and work for him. "The man in charge [Henschen] does nothing to correct the difficulty, is an old Jack ass [*sic*] and does nothing but read newspapers."<sup>46</sup>

At Belair, a new overseer, Major J. N. Whitner, Jr., son of Captain J. N. Whitner, was hired to replace the allegedly incompetent Tucker.<sup>47</sup> It was decided to use the first group of Swedes at skilled tasks and have the new arrivals take over the agricultural duties in the orangeries. Five Swedes were put to work in the sawmill. W. R. Brown, the master carpenter directing the construction of several of Sanford's buildings, agreed to put additional men to work. All the rest, except those who were to remain as instructors, were employed on the new road - Sanford Avenue - which connected the Sanford wharf with the Orlando road.<sup>48</sup>

Twenty Swedes and two Englishmen arrived on November 7. They all looked hearty and healthy, De Forest reported, and were glad to be in Florida.<sup>49</sup> He gave them three days of supervised freedom which Dr. W. A. Henschen advised, thinking that it would make them less uneasy about their contracts.<sup>50</sup> The contract listed the supplies which Sanford was supposed to provide, and De Forest issued bedding and other necessities before the men left for the grove.<sup>51</sup> One Englishman, John U. Edgar, "a No. 1 carpenter, but . . . slow," regretted his decision immediately and asked for a release from the contract before the month was out.<sup>52</sup> Although he gave no reason,<sup>53</sup> he was allowed to

45. C. M. du Puy to Sanford, October 27, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 67, folder 2.

46. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 67, folder 2. Charles M. du Puy, Jr., was later employed by Henry Sanford to survey the city of Sanford and plat the town lots. He did not finish this task due to the lack of cooperation of other Sanford agents. du Puy, Jr. to Sanford, March 8, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 67, folder 3.

47. De Forest to Sanford, October 17, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

50. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

53. J. U. Edgar to Sanford, November 17, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.

return to England on January 1, 1872, after he promised to reimburse Sanford for the cost of his ticket.<sup>54</sup>

The second group of Swedes caused much more trouble than the first. Shortly after they arrived, a Dr. Caldwell, the physician in the area, notified De Forest that he would not attend the Swedes on the retainer he had been receiving, and asked for double the old rate.<sup>55</sup> At Christmas, De Forest planned to reward those who worked the Saturday afternoon before the holiday with a "good Christmas dinner;" those who did not work would receive the regular repast. Only six were present for the noon meal.<sup>56</sup> The following morning, all the Scandinavians refused to work, declaring that in Sweden Christmas was a three-day holiday. Dr. Henschen, they said, had promised them no less in Florida. New Year's Day was also a holiday, and they announced that they did not plan to work then.<sup>57</sup> De Forest complained, "I have reasoned and argued with them and am completely disgusted and plainly I do not know what to do as they have us completely in their hands. Six of them that worked Saturday afternoon went to work today which of course make [*sic*] the others angry at them. . . . Major Whitner and myself have consulted and worried about it. The only way you can get the upper hand over them is to tell them their lands &c at the end of the year depends upon their present conduct."<sup>58</sup>

De Forest said that a letter from Sanford telling the immigrants of his disappointment would do some good as "they pretend to hold you in good respect." De Forest attributed all the trouble to Henschen: "I really believe he is a traitor. He tells them one thing and you another and he ought to know that we are aware of it." As for the Swedes, "they intend making the conditions and if we agree to them all well & good, but if not we suffer the consequences."<sup>59</sup> The immigrants did not work New Year's Day.<sup>60</sup>

The trouble grew worse in January 1872. De Forest in-

54. De Forest to Sanford, January 1, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

55. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

56. *Ibid.*, December 25, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

57. *Ibid.*, December 26, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

formed General Sanford that, "it is rumored that the Swedes (the old ones) only intend to work untill [*sic*] the expiration of eight months which is the 19th of the month."<sup>61</sup> Moreover, E. K. Foster, Sanford's attorney, did not believe that they could be held if they all rebelled and refused to work.<sup>62</sup>

Sanford's answer likely was the basis for the actions taken. Evidently, he suggested dispersing the Swedes into small, separate groups that could be more easily controlled. Five were "rented" to De Bary, a grower who lived on the other side of Lake Monroe, for eighteen dollars a month each. The Swedes themselves were to receive seven dollars a month.<sup>63</sup> This plan was not immediately successful. On January 19, four of the men, claiming mistreatment and insufficient food, went on strike and returned to Bel-air.<sup>64</sup> They declared their original contract was voided and that they were at liberty to do as they pleased, but when they found that others were not willing to join them, they finally returned to De Bary's grove.<sup>65</sup> De Bary even hired another family, although De Forest still detected a "decidedly mutinous spirit."<sup>66</sup>

There were three serious incidents in March. One involved a Swedish woman and Lewis, the Negro fireman at the sawmill. Henry De Forest discharged the Negro because, "for some time he has been cohabiting with one of the Swede women & I forbade [*sic*] him to come near the house again & last night I caught them locked up in the room together. . . ."<sup>67</sup> Later that month, the workers demanded certain luxury foods, and A. W. Leonard gave them a barrel of sugar without De Forest's permission. This did not satisfy them, but De Forest declared that they would get no more. The complaint of poor food received widespread circulation, and De Forest feared that it might damage Sanford's reputation.<sup>68</sup> He prepared a statement, which said, in effect, that the Swedes had always been properly treated, had received plenty

61. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8. Part of this seven dollars was to be applied to their charge accounts at the Sanford store.

64. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

65. *Ibid.*, January 21, 25, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

66. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

67. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

68. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

to eat, and that Sanford had satisfactorily executed his portion of the contract.<sup>69</sup>

On March 22, an informer revealed that three Swedes planned an escape. Precautions were taken, although if runaways chose to go overland, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prevent their escape. De Forest had predicted that with warm weather, escape attempts could be expected, and his prediction was correct.<sup>70</sup> On the evening of March 29, two of the three he had suspected were reported missing. One, Mr. Nollin, spoke English; the other, Olson, did not. De Forest guessed they were headed for Jacksonville, where Peter Anderson, who had been released from his contract because of poor health, was working as a shoe repairman.<sup>71</sup> De Forest suspected that Anderson might help the escapees. Actually, though, they were seen at Fort Mason, Florida, about fifty miles from Sanford.

Early April, three others - Stocklin, Buardo, and Jonsson - fled.<sup>72</sup> De Forest believed that they were at P. Smith's boarding-house on Cumberland Street in Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>73</sup> Du Bary also reported that five of his eight Swedes had left, one shipping as a deck hand on a freighter, and the other four were at large.<sup>74</sup> A. W. Leonard, armed with arrest warrants, was dispatched to search for the runaways. De Forest believed that the Negro engineer and the watchman on the steamship *Hattie* were involved.<sup>75</sup> In May, another man, the one whom De Forest had trusted, ran away. The sheriff of Orange County captured the escapee at Palatka and placed him aboard the *Hattie* in the custody of the watchman. Taking advantage of momentary confusion during a sounding, the prisoner lowered himself over the side and disappeared. The watchman's explanation was, "Do you

69. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

70. *Ibid.*, March 7, 22, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

71. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

72. *Ibid.*, April 11, 12, 1872 *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

73. *Ibid.* He never mentioned his source of information.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*: April 15, 19, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8. A. W. Leonard's mother was stricken with cancer, however, and Leonard hastened to her side. De Forest opined that Leonard would be absent all summer. From Boston, Leonard kept Sanford posted as to his plans and movements. He did not return to the Sanford Grant until July 15, 1872. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8. Leonard to Sanford, June 10, 13, and July 3, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 1.



suppose I was damned fool enough to sit up all night and watch him!"<sup>76</sup>

By May, all but two of the runaways had been returned.<sup>77</sup> As the contract for those who had arrived in May 1871, was due to expire, these Swedes were anxious to appear contented so that they would receive their promised land. Five-acre tracts had been surveyed near Belair, and De Forest was delegated by Sanford to decide who would get the land as a reward for faithful service. Only eight names were on the deeds sent to General Sanford for his signature. Most of the Swedes had applied, but, according to De Forest, "several others (whom I do not include in the above mentioned) has [*sic*] asked for land but will receive none, as they are lazy & good for nothing."<sup>78</sup> Those not receiving land were offered work at wages which ranged from twelve to seventeen dollars per month, plus room and board, depending upon the type of work they were to do. De Forest thought most would stay.<sup>79</sup> George Barbour, in his *Florida for Tourists*, claimed that "up country politicians" incited the Swedes to desert. A majority of the laborers, however, remained loyal and, according to Barbour, were "among the thriftiest, happiest, and most prosperous people in all Florida."<sup>80</sup>

This ended Henry Sanford's experiment with imported labor and marked a return to the use of Negroes which De Forest and E. K. Foster brought from north Florida and Georgia.<sup>81</sup> Seven Negroes arrived on June 9, and four more on June 16. Others were expected to follow. The Negroes were to be paid rations and from twelve to fifteen dollars per month. De Forest announced that he had been able to reduce the cost of one month's

76. *Ibid.*, May 27 and June 3, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

77. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8. In 1873, one of the runaways wrote De Forest and asked if he could pay for the obligated service he had escaped. He had been in Texas working as a cowboy, but desired to return to Florida. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1873, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 10.

78. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

79. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

80. George M. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers: Containing Practical Information Regarding Climate, Soil, and Productions; Cities, Towns, and People; the Culture of the Orange and Other Tropical Fruits; Farming and Gardening; Sport; Routes of Travel, etc. etc.* (New York, 1882), 158.

81. De Forest to Sanford, June 6, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

rations to \$4.80 per person. The Negroes were assigned "per week . . . one fourth [more] than that assigned to the Swedes."<sup>82</sup>

The presence of Negroes caused a recurrence of the trouble that had taken place in 1870. "Our Negroes," wrote De Forest, "are I fear to be interfered with. A party of men night before last visited their camp & warned them to leave."<sup>83</sup> De Forest had the Negroes moved to the Sanford sawmill where they could be better protected. He also wanted United States troops sent into the area.<sup>84</sup> On July 4, an armed band visited the grove and again threatened the Negro laborers. Two fled, and "we had all we could do to induce the others to remain."<sup>85</sup> E. K. Foster advised that the county sheriff be called in first, but, if the problem was not resolved, then the United States Army should be notified.<sup>86</sup> Foster offered this advice before he learned that the sheriff had been a member of the band that had visited the grove on July 4. He then announced that United States marshals were in the area and that arrests would be made if there was a recurrence of violence.<sup>87</sup>

The peace lasted eleven days. On July 15, a Negro returning to the grove from the Sanford store "was badly beaten." De Forest swore out warrants "for the arrest of the crackers & [L. M.] Moore will bind them over to circuit court."<sup>88</sup> De Forest began receiving threats that if there were other arrests, he might be harmed, but, he asserted, "I have no fear for my personal safety . . . these crackers are afraid to trust each other. I do not think the Negroes will be shot, although it is a source of constant anxiety & worry."<sup>89</sup> Letters from A. W. Leonard to Sanford reveal that there was no additional trouble. "Nothing from K.K.K.," he wrote.<sup>90</sup>

The citrus industry was growing, a reliable labor force was needed, and the Negro was accepted as the needed labor factor.

82. *Ibid.*, June 10, 17, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

83. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

86. Foster to De Forest, July 1, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

87. Foster to Sanford, July 21, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 48, folder 1.

88. De Forest to Sanford, July 15, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

89. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

90. Leonard to Sanford, August 1, 12, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 1.

Swedish immigration did not flourish to any great extent, although friends and relatives did emigrate to Florida over the years. A few Swedish families settled on land about three miles west of the town of Sanford and called their community New Upsala. In 1878, they built a Lutheran church and started a Sunday school. Their descendants continue to live in the area around Sanford, and make their living as dairymen and grove-men.<sup>91</sup>

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91. Federal Writers Project, "Ethnography," in *Seminole County* (typed mss., P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville), 1-2.

## PONCE DE LEON INLET

by ALICE STRICKLAND

**I**N ITS DAY it has been called the "Killer Inlet" because of its treacherous bar that has ripped out the insides of ships and hurled men to the sandy, shifty bottom to strew their white bones like beads from a broken necklace. From early Spanish times it was named Mosquito Inlet; since 1926, it has been called Ponce de Leon Inlet.

Located on the eastern side of Volusia County, on Florida's northeast coast, its two salt water lagoons called rivers, extend to the north and south of the Inlet. The Halifax River, named in British times for George Montagu Dunk, Earl of Halifax, is north of the Inlet, and to the south is Indian River North. Until 1901, this latter river was known as the Hillsborough River.

About twenty-three miles north of the Inlet, the Halifax River ends in the Tomoka Basin, into which runs the fresh water of the Tomoka River. Early Spanish documents referred to the Inlet, Indian River North, Halifax River - and even lands along the Tomoka - as Mosquito, Los Mosquitos, Mosquettos, Muschetos, and other variations of the word. The Memorial of Captain Antonio de Prado of 1569, gives one of the earliest references to the Inlet, describing it as the port of Mosquito.<sup>1</sup> The captain said the Indians in this area had killed many of the Spaniards who were shipwrecked or travelling along the coast from Canaveral to Los Mosquitos.<sup>2</sup>

Likely, there was no settlement in this area during the first Spanish occupation of Florida. It was the British who started the first settlement on lands adjacent to the Inlet. Governor James Grant, first British governor of East Florida, wrote a letter May 8, 1765, recommending the erection of a small fort in the area:

My Lord:

I have the honor to send your Lordship, by this conveyance (The Grenville Packet Boat having been lost) a Plan

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1. Jeannette Thurber Conner, ed., *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1925), I, 291.

2. *Ibid.*

of the Mosquetto Harbor, which, from its Soundings and Situation, Your Lordship will See is the best-which has yet been discovered in this Province. . . .

I expect that a Number of People will soon settle at land near the Mosquetto, a Detachment of his Majesty's Troops appears to be necessary to give a Countenance to those Inhabitants upon their first Establishment in that remote and yet uncultivated country. Your Lordship will please to Observe a Place marked in the Plan, for such a Post; There is Stone and Lime upon the Spot and wood in plenty near it, a small Fort or Barrack, for Three Officers and Fifty Men, could be made for about 300 pounds. From the Situation of the Place, which Your Lordship will see is a Peninsula, no Indian Enemy could hurt or even disturb the Garrison, which has been made to many American forts.

Such a Post would be no real Security to the Inhabitants, but it would make them easy in their own Minds. Business would be carried on by that means, with more Spirit. The Proximity of the Troops, therefore, would be of very great Utility in forming that Settlement.

As the Plan proposed is not attended with great Expense, if it should appear to your Lordship to be a necessary measure for the good of this Infant Colony 'tis to be hoped you will take it under your Protection and recommend the Execution of it to His Majesty.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest  
Respect My Lord,

Your Lords most Obedient and most  
humble Servant

James Grant <sup>3</sup>

About a year later, some forty people came to the Mosquito Inlet from the Bahamas to cut live oaks, highly prized for ship-building because of their durability, buoyancy, and strength. The cutting of Florida live oak continued almost into the twentieth century, and scores of ships sailed from the Inlet loaded with this valuable cargo. <sup>4</sup>

History does not record the story of these Bahamians, and it is not known whether they left Florida or were still at the Inlet when the more than fourteen hundred Italians, Minorcans, Corsicans, and Greeks were brought to the lands along the Hills-

3. *Transcriptions of the British Colonial Office Records*, copied from the Library of Congress Collection for the files of the Florida Writers Project, Work Projects Administration, II, 565-566.

4. W. T. Cash, *The Story of Florida*, 4 vols. (New York, 1938), I, 148.

borough (Indian River North), two miles south of the Inlet, by the Scottish physician, Dr. Andrew Turnbull, in 1768.<sup>5</sup> Named New Smyrna in honor of the birthplace of Dr. Turnbull's wife, the colony was ill-fated; its leaders became involved in political squabbles with acting British Governor John Moultrie and Governor Patrick Tonyn. The colonists revolted while Turnbull was away visiting at a plantation north of New Smyrna. When he received the news, he returned to the colony immediately and sent for help from St. Augustine. A ship loaded with stolen provisions was taken by some of the dissatisfied colonists who attempted to escape by sailing through Mosquito Inlet. The timely arrival of British ships from St. Augustine, however, prevented many rebels from escaping and the revolt was brought to an ignominious end. In the summer of 1777, when Dr. Turnbull was on a visit to England, the colonists abandoned the settlement and moved to St. Augustine.

In the meantime, other British subjects, among them Sir Richard Oswald, John Moultrie, James and John Grant, Colonel James Moncrief, and Captain Bissett, received large land grants in the Mosquitos. On Bissett's plantation, Mount Plenty, there was a large Indian mound which served as a lookout, a twenty-by-thirty-foot frame dwelling house, offices, indigo vats, hen houses, a stable, barn, corn house, and cabins for seventy slaves. The Mount was covered with a sour orange grove and there was an abundant supply of the "Kali Weed of which the Barilla potash is made."<sup>6</sup> The plantation flourished until 1779, when a Spanish privateer sailed into Mosquito Inlet and sent armed boats up the Hillsborough River, committing depredations.<sup>7</sup> After the attack, Bissett abandoned the property, probably because he feared other trouble.

Governor Grant's suggestion to build a fort near the Inlet evidently had been heeded, since the records show that during the turbulent era after 1783, when Florida was ceded back to the Spaniards, "a sergeant and eight men mutinied against their

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5. E. P. Panagopoulos, "The Background of the Greek Settlers in the New Smyrna Colony," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXV (October 1956), 114.

6. Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1929), II, 250-251.

7. *Ibid.*, II, 309.

superior officer and deserted from the Mosquito blockhouse.”<sup>8</sup> The deserters did not travel far before they were captured by the militia who were well rewarded for their efforts. A beacon was also maintained at the Inlet during British times, and pilots were on hand to assist vessels over the treacherous bar.<sup>9</sup>

In 1788, a ship slipped quietly into Mosquito Inlet carrying one of the most colorful and controversial figures in all Florida history, William Augustus Bowles, whose life story is as exciting and as full of adventure as any hero of modern historical fiction. At the time, Bowles was associated with Lord John Murray Dunmore (Governor of the Bahamas) and the trading firm of Miller and Bonamy of Nassau, and was now on his way with sixty followers planning to capture the store near Lake George, opened by the rival trading firm of Panton, Leslie Company.<sup>10</sup> This venture failed and his followers deserted, but Bowles continued with his wild schemes and spectacular adventures.

Antonio Ponce was granted 170 acres of land “at Orange Grove at the bar of the Mosquito” by Enrique White, the Spanish governor of East Florida, October 11, 1803. The claim to this property by Ponce’s widow and heirs was confirmed in February 1827, by the United States after Florida had become an American territory. Old grants that once belonged to the British were again cleared by the new American owners, and it is believed that by 1835, at least sixteen plantations flourished along the Tomoka, Halifax, and Hillsborough rivers. Produce from these plantations was brought down the rivers in slave-manned boats to Mosquito Inlet to be transhipped to northern and European markets. Before the outbreak of the Seminole Indian War in 1835, ships often sailed into the busy Inlet. On March 30, 1830, planters and ship captains doing business at the Inlet sent the following petition to Congress asking for the erection of a lighthouse:

The Memorial of the Subscribers, Inhabitants, of Mosquito County in the Territory of East Florida, and Masters of Vessels, and others, now in the Harbour of New Smyrna in said District, Respectfully Sheweth, that we are suffering considerable privations, and difficulties, in the trade to this

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8. *Ibid.*, I, 144.

9. *Ibid.*, II, 379.

10. *Ibid.*, I, 178.

quarter in consequence of there being no Light House at Musquito Inlet, of Buoys on the bar; that Since the Territory came into the possession of the United States, the intercourse and trade of this immediate district, has rapidly ecreased [*sic*], and from the zeal manifested in taking up lands for the culture of Sugar it may fairly be presumed, that a Vast business will ere long be carried on in that article, in addition to which large Quantities of Live Oak timber, so essential in the construction of our Navy, grow in this Section of the Territory all of which must pass over Musquito Bar, we would here further state that during the last fifteen months about Thirty sail of Vessels (principally Brigs, and large Schooners) have passed over this bar, and that at this time there are seven sail of vessels in this Harbor, ready for Sea; We therefore respectfully request your honorable body to pass a law for the erection of a Light House, on South side of Musquito Inlet, and placing buoys on the Bar, and your memorialists in duty bound that ever &c. <sup>11</sup>

A contract was awarded October 31, 1834, to Winslow Lewis of Boston to build a lighthouse, and a brick dwelling on the south shore of the Inlet. <sup>12</sup> The lighthouse tower was to be "round, the foundation to be laid as deep as may be necessary to make the whole fabric secure. The height of the tower to be forty-five feet from the surface of the ground - the diameter of the base twenty-two feet and that of the top, ten and one-half feet - the walls to be three feet six inches thick at the bottom, graduating to two feet at the top - laid in good lime mortar - plastered on the outside with Roman Cement, and white washed twice over. The floor of the Light House to be paved with brick, circular stairs connected with a center post to be carried up from the floor to within six feet of the deck of the lantern. The stairs to be made from two inch plank, eight inches rise; to be three windows and a door in the tower - the door to be six feet high and three and a half feet wide, made of inch boards, double and cross nailed, with strong hinges, lock and latch; the windows to have strong frames, and sashes to contain twelve lights 8 x 10 glass." <sup>13</sup> The lantern was to be of wrought iron and octagon shaped, each light containing an iron shade. The twenty-one lights

11. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Florida: 1828-1834*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1959), 378.

12. National Archives Record Group No. 26, "Contract for Light House at Mosquito Inlet, Florida."

13. *Ibid.*



would "be glassed with the first quality of glass of double thickness from the Boston Manufactory, except the lower tier which is to be filled with copper."<sup>14</sup>

The one-story, two-room dwelling was to be thirty-four by twenty feet in size. Each room would have a fireplace. Walls would be twenty inches thick, painted white; walls and ceilings would be lathed and plastered; and floors double and well nailed. The roof was to be rectangular, covered with good dry boards, and well shingled. There would also be a cellar with stone walls, twenty inches thick. A brick porch was to be attached to the house, and there would be a well and cistern.

Lewis also agreed to fit up the lighthouse with "eleven patent lamps, eleven fourteen inch reflectors, spare lamps, double tin oil butts sufficient to hold five hundred gallons of oil, one lantern canister and an air trivet, one stove and funnel, one tin wick box, one tin tube box, one oil carrier, one oil feeder, six wick formers, one hand lanthorn, and lamp, two tube cleaners, one glazier's diamond, two files and a pair of scissors."<sup>15</sup> The contract was to be completed before March 1835, and the price was \$7,494.

The lighthouse was completed in 1835, but was never put into service. A gale the same year washed the sand away from around the foundation, and because of Indian disturbances, repairs could not be made and the tower eventually collapsed.<sup>16</sup> The Indians also damaged the lighthouse at the very beginning of the Seminole War, probably January 1836. James Ormond III, who skirmished with them north of the lighthouse site, claimed that Coacoochee (Wildcat) wore a reflector as a head dress.

The warning that the Seminoles were ready to go on the war path was given to the Inlet area by a Negro slave, who told Mrs. Jane Sheldon, on December 24, 1835, that she had seen Indians lurking about the nearby Hunter plantation the evening before. When hostilities began, the Sheldons hurriedly loaded two lighters with household goods, and their slaves rowed them across the Hillsborough River to the home of Captain Douglas Dummett.

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14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

16. Daytona Beach *Observer*, August 29, 1936. Letter to the editor from W. P. Harman, administrative assistant to the Commissioner of Lighthouses, Washington, D. C.

That night, they saw flames rising from the burning buildings on the mainland. Still fleeing the Seminoles, Mrs. Sheldon and her mother were rowed in a small boat to the temporary safety of a schooner anchored in the Inlet, and Mr. Sheldon went back for their belongings. He discovered that the Indians had crossed the river and were already destroying the contents of several trunks of clothing. He moved his family to the Bulow plantation (north of present-day Ormond Beach), where they remained until January 1836, when they fled to the protection of St. Augustine.<sup>17</sup> Years later, after the Sheldons returned to New Smyrna, a lighthouse reflector was found in the woods where it had been discarded by the Seminoles. Mrs. Sheldon "had the opening neatly filled in with a copper disk; a rim fitted to the curved underside and the reflector became a wash basin which was used on a bench back of the Sheldon cottage for years."<sup>18</sup>

Not so fortunate were the survivors of a French schooner, which had been wrecked between Cape Canaveral and Mosquito Inlet in 1835. Eight or ten men off the ship attempted to walk up the beach to St. Augustine, but without a boat they were unable to cross the Inlet. They made a raft from logs and driftwood, but while waiting for the tide to change they made the mistake of lighting a fire. Indians on the mainland crossed the river and slaughtered the unfortunate seamen. Today, this site, about a half mile south of the Inlet, is known as Massacre Bluff.<sup>18</sup>

During the Seminole War, schooners carried soldiers through the Inlet to the small army post that had been established at New Smyrna. The steamer *Florida*, with General Joseph M. Hernandez and his staff aboard, towed the schooners *Medium* and *Oscar*, carrying the First U. S. Artillery Regiment, over the bar in November 1837.<sup>19</sup> That same month, the steamer *John McLain*, taking Captain Harvey Brown and a detail of soldiers to the post, was wrecked at the Inlet with no loss of life, but the ammunition and muskets were lost. On November 24, 1838, Captain Harvey Brown reported in a letter to the *St. Augustine News* that a soldier

17. Interview with Mrs. Zelia Sweett, New Smyrna Beach, Florida, April 1964.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Jacob Rhetie Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*, edited by James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, 1953), 150.

walking along the beach north of the Inlet had found a bottle containing the following message:

Ship *Dryope* of Liverpool, Captain R. Hamilton, at sea this 10th day of March, 1838 in lat. 10° N. and long. 38° 15° W. from Pernambuco, bound to Liverpool; out 12 days, with the following passengers on board, all well: Mrs. Brocklehurst and two children, Mrs. Masset, Miss Watts, (daughter of B. M. Consul of Pernambuco), Miss Hadfield, Miss Fox, Mr. Jones, and Mr. H. P. Goodland. Should this note fall into the hands of any person, I shall feel obliged by the same being published.

Robt. Hamilton, Master ship *Dryope* <sup>20</sup>

Over the years the Inlet became an important port for the shipment of live oak and other timber. This industry reached its peak in the area before the Civil War. The Swift brothers-Rodolphus, Elijah, and Obed-from Massachusetts, were important lumbermen and their schooners brought woodsmen to Florida from the North during the winter months, and returned them to their homes when the fever months of summer set in. When the Civil War began, the Swift "live oakers" had thousands of feet of lumber piled up along the Halifax River which the Federals feared the Confederates would destroy. Samuel F. DuPont, commanding the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, ordered Acting Master T. A. Harris of the *Henry Andrew* to protect the timber until he could have it transported to the North. Harris made a reconnaissance four miles up the Halifax River and discovered about 40,000 feet of live oak and 2,000 feet of red cedar on the river bank, protected with a covering of palmetto leaves and mud. The Confederates, however, set fire to the timber before the Federals could capture it. <sup>21</sup>

The Civil War brought more exciting activity to Mosquito Inlet. Blockade runners sailed furtively from its restless waters and attempted to run the blockade to Nassau. Two of the most notorious blockade runners that used the Inlet were the *Kate* and *Caroline*. Admiral DuPont ordered the gunboats *Henry Andrew* and *Penguin* to cross the shallow bar of the Inlet, blockade the entrance, and capture any vessels found there. On March 22, 1862, the *Henry Andrew* entered Mosquito Inlet, sailed up the Hillsborough River four miles, and anchored. It was later report-

20. St. Augustine News, December 1, 1838.

21. Daytona Beach Observer, December 12, 1936.

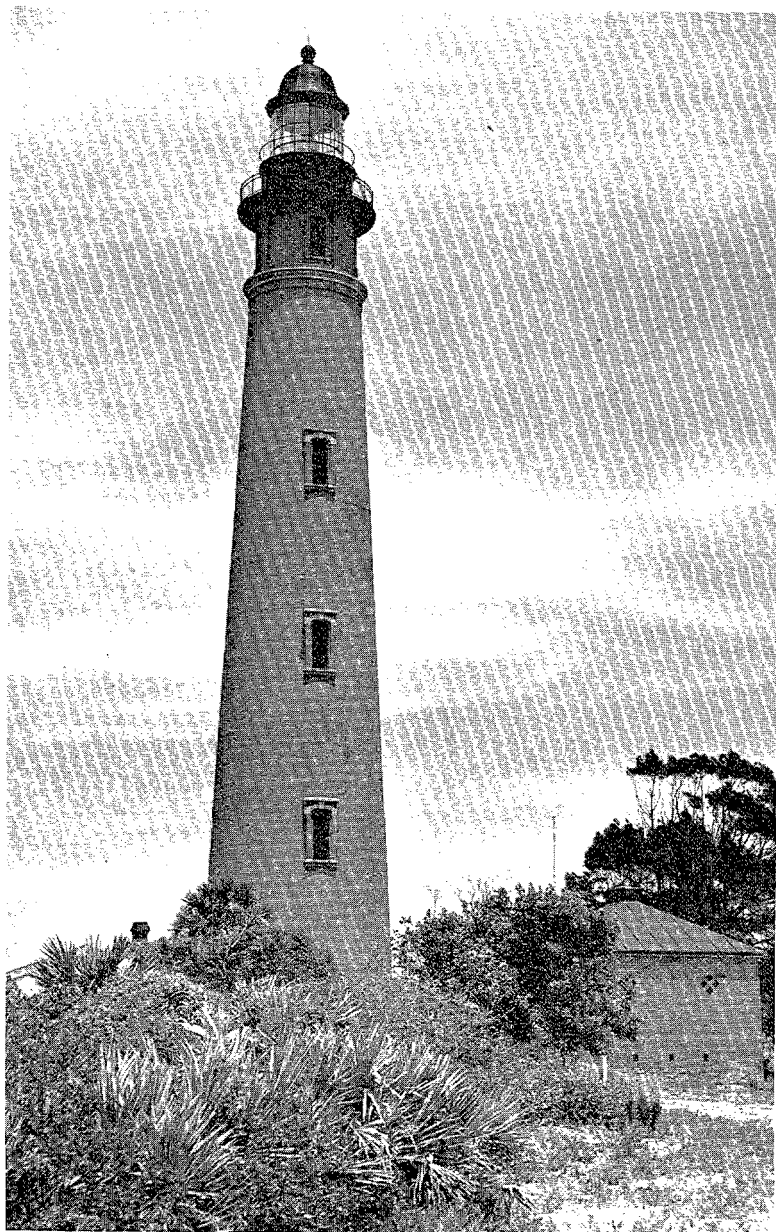
ed that a Negro swam out to the gunboat and gave the location of the Confederate salt works. He may also have mentioned that a cargo of arms and ammunition, landed by a blockade runner, was stored in a palmetto-thatched shed near an old stone wharf at New Smyrna.

Acting Lieutenant T. A. Budd of the *Penguin* and Acting Master S. W. Mather of the *Henry Andrew*, with about forty-three sailors, set forth on an expedition up the Hillsborough River in six light draft boats to destroy salt works near Oak Hill. However, unknown to the Federals, two companies of Confederates had been sent to protect a cache of arms and ammunition at New Smyrna. The Southerners watched the Federals sail up the river and prepared an ambush for their return. As the Federals attempted to land at the New Smyrna wharf, the Confederates, under command of Captain Strain, came out of the thick underbrush and ordered the Federals to surrender. The surprised but intrepid Lieutenant Budd replied, "Go to Hell!" and ordered his men to shove off. The Confederates started firing and Mather, Budd, and some of their men were killed. A few of the Federal boats reached the opposite shore and some of the sailors eventually made their way back to the gunboats by wading marshes and swimming creeks. Acting Masters Mate McIntosh returned after dark and brought back arms, ammunition, flags, boats, and the body of one of the sailors. He also had the presence of mind to throw overboard a rifled howitzer that had been in the rear boat and had been ineffective in firing at the Confederates. The sailors taken prisoner by the Confederates were later sent to Andersonville and Libby, and a Negro who had piloted the Federals into the Inlet was hanged. The bodies of the two officers and their watches and papers were later returned under a flag of truce to the Union gunboats.<sup>22</sup>

In retaliation for the attack, Federal vessels shelled New Smyrna on July 9 and July 11, 1863, but caused no damage. It was a different story though on July 26, 1863, when two Federal ships, the *Oleander* and *Beauregard*, sailed through the Inlet and anchored opposite the little village. Their guns were deliberately aimed at the Sheldon Hotel, built on top of an Indian shell mound,

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22. Alice Strickland, "Blockade Runners," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (October 1957), 88-89.



PONCE DE LEON INLET LIGHTHOUSE

*Seventh Coast Guard District, Miami, Fla.  
Courtesy Public Information Office,*



and a perfect target. As the Sheldon family and their guest, Jacob Harry Dressner, a young Northerner who hoped to make his way back to New York on a ship going out of the Inlet, were sitting down to a mid-day meal, a shell from one of the gunboats crashed through the hotel, "slicing the top off the piano and sending splinters flying."<sup>23</sup>

The Sheldons sought shelter in the woods to the rear of the hotel as the Federals continued firing. Later that afternoon, two boatloads of sailors landed and burned the hotel. When the *Oleander* later sailed, young Jacob Harry Dressner was aboard. He had waded out into the river and waved his white shirt as a flag of truce at the *Oleander* during a lull in the firing, and he was allowed to come on board. He was taken to Port Royal and from there made his way on another ship to New York.<sup>24</sup>

After the Civil War, there was an influx of settlers on the north side of Mosquito Inlet. Dr. John Milton Hawks,<sup>25</sup> and his associates, James A. Fowler, and George W. Dewhurst, all former Federal army officers, organized the Florida Land and Lumber Company and planned to settle a colony of free Negroes on public lands at the Inlet.<sup>26</sup> Homesteads were settled by Negroes at nearby Spruce Greek and at Dunn Lawton (present-day Port Orange) on the Halifax River. Many Negro families were brought in by ships through the Inlet to these settlements. The company was unable to fulfill their offer of forty acres, a plow mule, and rations, and the colonization project failed. The Negroes lived in palmetto huts and "subsisted on fish, oysters, and game, but lacked bread and would come to the houses of the settlers and beg a few ears of corn, which they would grind at the handmill to make their

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23. Zelia Wilson Sweett, *New Smyrna, Florida, in the Civil War*, Volusia County Historical Commission (New Smyrna Beach, 1963).

24. Information received from Mrs. Zelia Wilson Sweett, New Smyrna Beach.

25. Dr. Hawks, born in New Hampshire, taught school in New York and southwestern Georgia, before graduating from medical school in Vermont. His wife was also a physician, and both were interested in the plight of the southern Negro. They were active in the Freedman's Aid Society of New York. Hawks helped organize a Negro regiment during the Civil War and was its surgeon.

26. T. E. Fitzgerald, *Volusia County Past and Present* (Daytona Beach, 1937), 160.

meal.”<sup>27</sup> Farmers in the area hired them, and only a few Negroes remained on their homesteads.

The land which Hawks and his associates purchased in Florida was just north of the old Ponce grant at Mosquito Inlet, and Hawks, who was the first postmaster, named the settlement Port Orange. He explained, “I chose the name . . . because there was no Port Orange postoffice in the United States. If a person forgot to add the state on the envelope, it would come to Florida alright [*sic*]. Several times the Department at Washington addressed me at ‘Orangeport’ but I corrected them until finally letters came correctly addressed.”<sup>28</sup>

A large sawmill was supposed to be built but part of the machinery, costing \$30,000, was lost enroute to the Inlet. An engineer, J. C. Maley, had arrived from Pennsylvania to operate the sawmill, but he eventually moved to Daytona on the Halifax River. The flight of the company treasurer with the firm’s funds brought an end to the settlement. The post office was moved to Allendale, between present-day Port Orange and New Smyrna Beach, on the mainland. Later, it was transferred to Dunn Lawton. Hawks remained in Florida, and after a sojourn in Jacksonville, founded, on a former Spanish land grant, the village of Hawks Park, now the town of Edgewater.<sup>29</sup>

When the freeze of 1886 struck the Inlet area, Dr. Hawks wrote: “On Saturday and Sunday, the 10th and 11 of January (1886) there was a strong wind from the Northwest - the wind that always brings our hardest frosts. On Sunday morning at Mosquito Inlet the mercury stood at 22, the lowest on record in that region. The crop of oranges remaining on the trees was frozen; some so solid that no juice flowed when they were cut open. Pieces of ice taken from a tub lay on the ground all day without melting. Fish of all kinds in the river were so chilled that they were left on the shores and sandbanks as the tide went out, and died there, and cartloads of them lined the shores.”<sup>30</sup>

Many ships have been wrecked while crossing the treacherous and shallow bar at the Inlet, and along the ocean shore to the

27. Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Volusia County, Florida* (DeLand, 1927), 96.

28. Fitzgerald, *Volusia County Past and Present*, 160.

29. Daytona Beach *Observer*, September 5, 1936. In Jacksonville, he compiled and published *The Florida Gazetteer* in 1871.

30. Fitzgerald, *Volusia County Past and Present*, 184.



north and south. The steamship *Narragansett*, bound from New York to New Orleans, was wrecked just north of the Inlet, before the Civil War. Years later, part of the *Narragansett's* hull floated through the Inlet into the Halifax River, and the settlers salvaged copper sheathing, bolts, and other equipment from the wreckage. The *Roxanna* also went ashore north of the Inlet, but the *Ocean* managed to get through, only to be grounded on a sand bar. During the 1860's there were three wrecks. The *Luella*, carrying machinery, came into the Inlet safely, but on her return she was wrecked. The *Martha* ran into a heavy blow off the Inlet and capsized. Two of her crew drowned, but her cargo of salt mullet was salvaged.

The *Wilton*, owned by the Florida Land and Lumber Company, was carrying machinery and provisions for the Port Orange settlement when she ran into a severe storm north of the Inlet. In a desperate attempt to keep her from going on shore, the sailors put out anchors and cables, but so severe was the storm that the cables broke and the vessel headed for the beach. Four miles south of the Inlet the *Wilton* grounded. Passengers, including Dr. Hawks and crew, made it safely to shore, but the cargo was lost.

Captain Charles Fozzard, early pioneer of the Halifax River area, was the hero of the wreck of the schooner *Frank E. Stone*. On June 28, 1877, the ship ran into a severe storm and Fozzard attempted to bring it across the ill-fated bar of the Inlet. The schooner lacked enough ballast, however, and the wind blew her over into the tumultuous waters of the Inlet and her sails dragged in the rough waves. Passengers and crew clung to the keel, and a valiant effort was made to cut loose a tender being towed astern, but without success. Fozzard swam ashore, where he procured a boat with which he rescued all his crew and passengers, except three who had lost their grip on the keel and had drowned.<sup>31</sup>

On April 3, 1878, the settlers for miles around learned of the wreck of the *S. S. Agnes* near the Inlet and came to salvage its cargo. No lives had been lost on the *Agnes* which had been fitted out earlier to carry the mail between Cedar Keys, Key West, and Havana. The wreck drifted until it settled diagonally across the *Narragansett*, that had come to grief thirty years before. Some years later both vessels were blown up by dynamite. A hurricane in September 1878, caused three other ship wrecks: a Norwegian

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31. Daytona Beach *Observer*, August 29, 1936.

bark *Dora Ellen*, loaded with mahogany, and a Central American schooner carrying 125,000 coconuts. The coconuts washed ashore to be collected by the settlers who used the dried meat in cakes and corn bread.<sup>32</sup>

A tragic shipwreck occurred near the Inlet on August 25, 1880, when the *City of Vera Cruz*, bound from New York to Havana, broke up in a storm. Bodies of the crew and passengers were strewn along the beach from Cape Canaveral to Matanzas Inlet. Among the few passengers who escaped drowning was a Cuban who, according to Captain Charles H. Coe, came ashore naked and covered with sores from the sea water. When he was well again, the Cuban visited Coe's office where he saw the life preserver that had saved his life. He had lost his wife in the disaster and also a trunk "filled with thousands of dollars in gold."<sup>33</sup>

Cargoes from wrecked ships were welcome supplies to the isolated settlers, but the customs collectors at New Smyrna were ordered to seize and hold salvaged goods. The settlers knew that the officers were unable to patrol the many miles of beaches and treated the matter as a big joke. However, feeling ran high on the subject for a time, and Deputy Collector Coe wrote that one customs collector was "struck with a cane" by angry settlers, and another threatened to "drive the captain into the ground."<sup>34</sup> Among the pioneer customs collectors at New Smyrna were Douglas D. Dummett (1842); John D. Sheldon (1854); Thomas S. Foster; E. K. Lowd (1866); and Pedro Benet (1867). These men also served as pilots when needed.<sup>35</sup>

The frequency of shipwrecks in the vicinity of the Inlet brought demands for construction of another lighthouse. On November 15, 1883, the government purchased ten acres of the former Antonio Ponce grant,<sup>36</sup> and General Orville Babcock was placed in charge of building the red-painted, brick lighthouse "575 feet from the Halifax River" on the north side of the Inlet.<sup>37</sup>

Babcock purchased the north quarter of the former Ponce

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32. Fitzgerald, *Volusia County Past and Present*, 171.

33. Daytona Beach *Observer*, June 27, 1936.

34. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1936.

35. Letter to the author from Mrs. Zelia Wilson Sweett, New Smyrna Beach, May 27, 1963.

36. Letter from Lt. (j.g.) C. L. Larance, public information officer, Seventh Coast Guard District, Miami, to author, March 23, 1964.

37. *Ibid.*

grant and built a home, later destroyed by fire. He hoped to make a park on his property and called his land Ponce Park. (The name was retained until May 1963, when the small settlement was re-named Ponce Inlet and incorporated by the Florida legislature.) In 1884, the general was drowned, but work on the lighthouse was continued under the direction of General Jarrell Smith.

In January 1886, the *Halifax Herald* reported that "out of eight or ten schooners employed in the lighthouse work five have been wrecked, viz: *Godfrey*, *Augusta Wilson*, *Ajax*, *Freewind*, and the *Johnson*; the *Mary Brown*, now lying at the lighthouse dock, is crippled. We have been assured that nearly all of them received the injuries resulting in wrecks on the Inlet bar or in the river. Six men have also been drowned."<sup>38</sup>

Later that year, the paper noted that "the lighthouse at the Inlet has reached a height of over 100 feet. Work has been suspended because many of the workmen could not get along with the superintendent and on account of the supply of suitable brick failing. Meantime foundations for the dwelling are being laid."<sup>39</sup> The lighthouse went into commission on November 1, 1887. The 168 foot structure was a brick tower, conical in shape. The kerosene-powered lantern of 15,000 candlepower was visible nineteen miles.<sup>40</sup> The arrival of the light-ship was always an outstanding event in the early days. The ship, carrying 500 one-gallon tins of kerosene, would ride at anchor while small whale-boats equipped with sails, took the kerosene, mops, brooms, and other supplies ashore. There was no wharf, and the sailors waded ashore carrying the loads on their shoulders.<sup>41</sup> The first keeper was William Rowliniski, whose home was located between the lighthouse and the Halifax River. His assistant, J. R. Turner, was also a sheriff of Volusia County for many years.<sup>42</sup>

An unsolved mystery for a long time has been the old Rock House, whose ruins were on top of an Indian shell mound located on the mainland facing the Inlet. The mound was destroyed about 1907, and an old photograph of the ruins and a

38. Daytona Halifax Journal, January 28, 1886.

39. Ibid., September 9, 1886.

40. Letter from Commissioner of Lighthouses to Mrs. Zelia Wilson Sweett, June 2, 1925.

41. Ianthe Bond Hebel, "Ponce Park Through The Years," *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, July 28, 1963.

42. Daytona Halifax Journal, September 13, 1888.

few scattered references are all that remain of the house of mystery. Henry B. Martin received 400 acres of land "north of New Smyrna, opposite the inlet" on September 11, 1803, from the Spanish government, and the coquina rock house was on this property.<sup>43</sup> Martin and his family were driven from their home by hostile Indians in 1808, but Martin's father-in-law continued to occupy the property and, "with uncommon patience and suffering," remained there until 1812.<sup>44</sup> Another tenant on the property supposedly was living in the Rock House in 1821, and at the time this was the last inhabited house south of St. Augustine."<sup>45</sup> A newspaper described the house in 1893: "Nothing is known of the origin or early history of this house. . . . The builders were evidently Catholics, as is shown by a niche in the wall. If this supposition is correct the building is one of the oldest in the United States. The house is 20 x 36 feet, and has a well preserved chimney and fireplace. A large cedar stands in the center of the room, which adds to the picturesqueness of the scene. A magnificent view of the inlet, ocean and lighthouse is obtained from this point and that is probably the reason why this site was selected for this building. And the foundation of an ancient flag-staff, which probably served as a lighthouse, stands near the ruins."<sup>46</sup>

About 1883, Charles W. Jones was living at the extreme north end of the Ponce Park settlement, and to the south was the home of Nathaniel Hasty who operated a small grocery store. Mr. Hasty was also postmaster for Ponce Park and the mail was brought to the store by sailboat. Boats passing up and down the Halifax River always stopped at the Hasty store where a man named "Pony" Hayward prepared fish dinners for the visitors. Hasty's wife, Elizabeth Pauline Hasty, acted as postmistress for a while, and she was succeeded by Annie E. Stone, who was commissioned June 1, 1910.<sup>47</sup> Gertrude Ryan was postmistress at Ponce Park until World War II, and Ellen Myers took over the postoffice until it was discontinued.

When Mrs. Ianthe Bond Hebel taught school at Ponce Park in 1903, the term was five months. She received a salary of thirty

43. Gold, *History of Volusia County Florida*, 35.

44. Zelia Wilson Sweett and the Reverend J. C. Marsden, *New Smyrna, Florida: Its History and Antiquities* (New Smyrna, 1925), 36.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, April 4, 1893.

47. Document at the Timmons' Fishing Camp, Ponce Inlet.

dollars a month. The school building was frame, painted white, and equipped with a water pail and dipper, "a tripod on which were charts and maps, material for teaching the first grade, aids for other subjects; a pointer and several erasers." <sup>48</sup> There were twelve students, six were the children of the lighthouse keeper, Captain Thomas O'Hagan.

In 1907, the "entire Lighthouse was repaired and renovated," <sup>49</sup> and the following year a bird reservation was established at the Inlet. Bartola J. Pacetti was appointed supervisor of the reservation. <sup>50</sup> A shell road was built in 1904, extending from the beach to Ponce Park. <sup>51</sup> Nathaniel Hasty paid for the road and it was first known as the Hasty Road, and later as Peninsula Drive. In 1916, a road was completed from Ponce Park to Daytona.

The quiet atmosphere of the Inlet was shattered in the 1920's by the arrival of the exciting boom and the prohibition era. The area now witnessed clashes between bootleggers bringing in contraband liquor from the Bahamas and Federal revenue agents determined to apprehend them. Mysterious signal lights flashed from shore to sea while government men hid in the scrub palmetto along the dunes and tried to keep up with the daring activities of the law-breakers. Headlines of the *Daytona Beach Journal*, Friday, June 11, 1926, proclaimed: "Huge Liquor Seizure made on Peninsula. Hotel Storeroom Raided by County Sheriff's Deputies." The raid had been made on the storeroom of the Ponce de Leon Hotel, a frame building at Ponce Park. Four hundred cases of liquor valued at thousands of dollars were seized by the police. <sup>52</sup> Another raid had been made the day before at Wilbur by the Sea, a small settlement located on the peninsula between the Inlet and Daytona. Thirty-two cases of assorted liquors were seized and three bootleggers arrested.

The boom of the 1920's was also felt at the Inlet, and real estate advertisements of the "Inlet Terrace Subdivision" were as enticing as any in Florida: "Inlet Terrace Where The Ocean And River Meet. Set off like a gem in a gorgeous tropical setting, Inlet

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48. Hebel, *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, July 28, 1963.

49. Letter from Lt. Larance, March 23, 1964.

50. Hebel, *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, July 28, 1963.

51. *Daytona Beach Observer*, March 11, 1939.

52. *Daytona Beach Journal*, June 11, 1926.

Terrace was laid out and carefully planned to be the most tropical homesite in the entire region. This is being accomplished - for the owners and developers of this ideal spot have continuously worked with this aim in mind.”<sup>53</sup> Workmen were constructing the million dollar Inlet Terrace Hotel on the north shore of the Inlet when the boom bubble burst. The partly-built hotel was abandoned to the tides and drifting sands.

Awakened interest in the Inlet during the 1920's focused attention on its forbidding name Mosquito, and, in 1926, this was changed to Ponce de Leon Inlet. The possibility of deepening the Inlet and turning it into a thriving port was also discussed. The estimated cost of such a project was \$1,425,000, according to a survey in 1926,<sup>54</sup> and the Daytona Beach paper strongly urged its readers to endorse the bond vote that was set for June 21, 1926.<sup>55</sup> Supporters of the “Port Plan” believed that shipments of “lumber, citrus fruits, petroleum products, building materials, furniture, automobiles and food supplies would all benefit by opening of the waterway.”<sup>56</sup> The election for the deepening of the Inlet was a success, but when objection was raised “to the validation of the bonds,” nothing more was done about the project for the time being.<sup>57</sup> However, boats continued to sink in the ever treacherous Inlet; lives were lost (on an average of six a year), and the plan for deepening the Inlet was not completely abandoned.

The Ponce de Leon Coast Guard Station, located just south of the Inlet, has been operating since 1938. The twenty-five man crew services the area from Cape Kennedy to St. Augustine, and takes care of about 150 missions a year to vessels in distress.<sup>58</sup> A forty-foot rescue boat and a thirty-foot utility boat are used for rescue work, and the one-hundred-foot *Smilax* is a coastal buoy tender manned by a crew of ten men. Smaller boats are also used for rescue work and for inland waterway use. The Ponce de Leon lighthouse is operated under the command of the station.<sup>59</sup>

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53. *Daytona Morning Journal*, November 30, 1924.

54. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1926.

55. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1926.

56. *Ibid.*

57. Gold, *History of Volusia County Florida*, 154.

58. *Daytona Beach Sunday News-Journal*, February 23, 1964.

59. Letter from M. C. Hutto, commanding officer, Ponce de Leon Inlet LBSTA, to author. February 25, 1964.

The dream of a deeper and safer Ponce de Leon Inlet was revived in 1941, when the Florida legislature established the Ponce de Leon Inlet and Port District, which "extends along the entire east coast of Volusia County, from the Flagler County south line to the Brevard County north line."<sup>60</sup> Again, engineers made surveys and reports on the Inlet, and newspaper articles and editorials emphasized the importance and benefits of deepening the "Killer" Inlet. A bond issue for \$2,700,000 was approved by the voters on May 26, 1964, to finance the district's share of construction costs and future maintenance,<sup>61</sup> but the project still has to be approved by Congress. If Federal appropriations are forthcoming, work may start on jettying the Inlet sometime in 1966. The stabilization of the Inlet would be of great benefit to recreational boating, it would increase property values and be a boon to commercial fishing and shrimping.

The future looks bright for the ancient Inlet. Modern engineering methods may even tame it some day. Instead of ships wrecking on the murderous bar, they will go safely over it, and instead of drowning in the Inlet's waters, men will ride safely above it on a strong bridge. The light from Ponce de Leon Inlet lighthouse will continue to throw its broad beam over the waters, and perhaps along the white sand dunes the ghosts of the past will stand among the scrub palmetto and sea oats, and applaud the progress man has made.

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60. "Information Concerning Inlet Stabilization." Brochure prepared by the Ponce de Leon Inlet and Port Commission, 1964.

61. Daytona Beach *Evening News*, June 4, 1964.

THE EDITOR'S CORNER

KEY WEST IN THE SUMMER OF 1864

*Edited by* MILLICENT TODD BINGHAM

From 1918 until her death in 1932, my mother, Mabel Loomis Todd, was a prominent resident of Coconut Grove Florida. Her home, "Matsuba," was a center of cultural life in the community. Recently I have been reading the letters of her mother's brother, Colonel John Augustus Wilder, written to his family during the Civil War. Stationed at Key West in February 1864, he remained there until August 28, 1865, when he was appointed Judge Advocate General of the Department of Florida and left for Tallahassee, his post until December 9, 1865. He was mustered out of the United States Army on January 5, 1866. Four years later, on March 9, 1870, he was assassinated in Kansas City, Missouri.

Born in Concord, Massachusetts, January 17, 1834, John Wilder was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1857, and began the practice of law in Boston in December of that year. In 1862, he became assistant to the Superintendent of Contrabands, War Department, and was commissioned second lieutenant, 54th Massachusetts Volunteers, February 10, 1863. Stationed at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, he was engaged in recruiting Negro troops for the Union army. Commissioned captain, Company A, Second Regiment, U. S. Colored Troops, June 23, 1863 (major, May 18, 1864), he arrived at Fort Taylor, Key West, in February 1864.

John Wilder's letters during his stay in Key West portray the appalling conditions there and supply a vivid and little-known chapter in Civil War history. They enable us to follow, month by month, the ravages of the yellow fever epidemic which, one by one, removed his superior officers until, on July 20, 1865, Colonel Wilder found himself in command of Fort Taylor. The unpublished Wilder papers are at Yale University. The following are excerpts from those letters.

\* \* \*



[To His Mother]      Key West  
Sunday 19th 1864.  
(June)

I write you a few lines to inform you of my continued health tho yellow fever rages fearfully around. We this morning attended the funeral of Capt Hook of the regular army - on the staff of Gen Woodbury, a fine noble young man. His wife is here with him & is a sister of Gen Warren of the Potomac Army. She is very much prostrated & overcome. She is a lovely woman. Last week Capt Martin of our regiment died, & Lieut Kuhl also - both fine officers. We have thus far lost about half of our officers who were on duty at the Fort. I do not have much apprehension of the disease & look upon myself as somewhat proof against it. One soon becomes accustomed to it & is not startled or surprised to hear of any one being sick or dead. There are sometimes 30 or 40 new cases a day among the sailors & others. We have been joined today by Lieut Thompson of New York (son of Dr I. P. Thompson) who has been home on sick leave. I fear he will not go through safely - tho he has one advantage - a plentiful diarrhoea which enables the system to throw off the poison. As soon as one is taken, every effort is made to throw off the poison which is of the most malignant character. A profuse perspiration, open bowels and kidneys are the only safety. The most prompt treatment only, will save life, from 20 to 40 grains of calomel, half a tumbler of castor oil, & hot mustard baths *taken at once* are the only things which are found successful. This disease doesn't tolerate fooling, 3 or 4 days generally settles it, & frequently less time. It is the most treacherous disease in the world. A man feels all right at one time, & in 5 hours is dead. Sometimes a man is stricken down without one moment's warning - getting out of a carriage, or going up stairs. I write you this not perhaps as interesting news, but because it is the most natural thing now to do. I feel like one who has had it & regard it with more interest than fear tho its rather depressing to one's spirits. Its astonishing how ever how soon one gets used to it. I'm sure now from this & other experiences that the eels can get used to skinning. The army does wonders for a man. . . .

[To his Mother]

Key West Fla

Monday July 25 1864.

The last week has been one of the saddest & most painful weeks of my army life. My dear friend Jackson of whom you have heard me speak - Lieut in my old company, died last Monday after an illness of only a few days. He had a severe attack of yellow fever from which he appeared to be recovering until the morning of Sunday when hemorrhage of the bowels set in & he died in a few hours. He was a young man of far more than average truth and loveliness of character, gentleness, & firmness, & a sincere Christian. I felt his loss deeply. Col Townsend who had watched with him the night before, was suddenly taken sick - the second time - so violently that he could not attend the funeral. It was a sad funeral. We could hardly get officers enough for pall bearers. Two of the officers were taken sick the same morning. Col T. continued to get rapidly worse & the next day I gave him up for lost, & began to read up the regulations & ceremonies necessary for his funeral, as he is Commander of the Post & has to be buried with ceremony and honor. The Doctor pronounced his chance of life one in five. No case considered by him so desperate has recovered. The prospect before me was startling. . . . Fortunately the prospect improved. Judge Bethel a recent Secessionist but whom I forgive with all my heart for his humanity - a man much experienced in such cases - with other friends watched the case with care & assiduity. They saved the Colonel's life - humanly speaking and though I have been and am in command of the regiment, I am saved the responsibility of Fort Taylor, at least at present. . . .

We are of course suffering for lack of officers, but it would be downright murder to send men here from the North at this season & we must wait for cooler weather. I am all right as yet. Two officers of my old company have died & the third lies sick in the adjoining room. I have escaped wonderfully & my hopes to go thro' clear are improving. I have been *much* exposed watching by the sick and dying, but have yet so far escaped any serious attack. . . .

[To his brother-in-law]

Aug. 2nd 1864.

Key West, Fla

. . . Indeed, the summer is not oppressive to me - physically, altho' I dislike to see so many poor fellows worsted in an unequal fight with "the pestilence which destroyeth at noon day." It seems hard to realize that so delightful & sunny a land on which the smile of God seems visibly to rest should be so deadly & deceitful. I sit in the balcony of our barracks low-roofed & shaded - doors & windows open, thro which pours a flood of genial breezes, delicious & cool. Outside, the land-scape is all "green & gold" - verdure & sunlight; further out, is the water, glassy & cool shining like polished steel. It seems pleasant as the Gardens of Paradise. Suddenly away down by the deserted wharves a boat puts out, & begins a weary pull in the tropical sun to some ship anchored dimly off on the waters - for safety. The touch of the beautiful land is deadly to the stranger, & iron clad that brave Columbiad & Parrott hover diffidently in the offing. Is this indeed Paradise or is it Hell?

I am happy to say however that the fever is abating. I herad yesterday that the Quartermaster had 14 coffins *ahead*. The fever seems doubtless to be scared at the odds and I hope has retired from the race. Seriously the easterly trade winds have begun and I think the worst is over. I hardly expect to be taken sick. As I write, the wind blows right through a room in which is Lieut. Janney just recovering from the fever. And yet, one ship which went North from here to Portsmouth, N. H. has carried fever there, & it is said the engineer of the Yard who came on board to examine the engines had died from the contagion - with quite a number of others since. You probably know more of the facts than I do. . . .

JAMES BUCKLAND:  
THE MYSTERY OF AN EARLY FLORIDA VISITOR

by EUGENE ALVAREZ

FLORIDA, in 1836, was little more than a semi-tropical battlefield for United States troops and Seminole Indians. Having only been recently acquired from Spain, the major towns of the territory, by 1836, were St. Augustine, possessing approximately 4,000 inhabitants, and Pensacola with a population of approximately 2,000 persons. The St. Johns was the major river of the territory, and along its shores were located several tiny settlements, including the small river town of Jacksonville. According to a visitor in 1836:

We reached Jacksonville by 1 o'clock at night; where we stopt until morning, for the purpose of taking in wood. I had time enough to walk through this miserable little place with a brother officer, while the operation of wooding was going on; but saw nothing worthy of commemoration in its dozen scattered houses and sandy streets.<sup>1</sup>

    Jacksonville served as a trade center for near-by residents who purchased needed supplies and received their mail there. One such person who used the services of the Jacksonville post office was James Buckland of Ellington, Connecticut. From all available evidence, it appears that he resided at St. Johns Bluff, about fifteen miles east of Jacksonville. Upon establishment of the Fort Caroline National Memorial in 1953, as underbrush was removed for construction of a museum, the grave of James Buckland was discovered.<sup>2</sup> Standing in a palmetto thicket, the grave was marked by a three-foot stone and the inscription:

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1. Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*, edited by James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, 1953), 105.
  2. Long-time residents of the St. Johns Bluff area have previously known of the Buckland grave.

IN MEMORY OF  
JAMES BUCKLAND,  
FORMERLY OF ELLINGTON, CONN.  
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE  
FEBRUARY 23, 1836  
AGE 46 YEARS

Old grave sites are not rare in northeast Florida, since the area has been inhabited since 1564. But what makes the Buckland grave so striking, is de fact that it is the only known grave in a section of Duval County which until recent years was no more than mosquito-infested, wooded underbrush.

In attempting to learn the identity of James Buckland, several questions come to mind. First, to be buried under an expensive stone might indicate that Buckland was a man of some wealth or fame, but since no existing records of Duval County or Jacksonville contain his name, this assumption can be dismissed. Who was Buckland and when and why did he move from the comforts of the North to live in the Territory of Florida? Furthermore, why was he buried at St. Johns Bluff and not in Jacksonville? Also, how is it to be explained that the grave of James Buckland, a Connecticut Yankee who migrated to the banks of the St. Johns, stands alone some thousand miles from his home.<sup>3</sup>

In attempting to answer these questions, correspondence with officials in Ellington, Connecticut, reveals some clues. The last will and testament of James Buckland was signed in New York on September 8, 1835, a little over five months before his death. Records show that his business and trade was that of a "blind maker" in New York City, and that he owned some property in Ellington willed to his parents and brother.<sup>4</sup> The Ellington

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3. Ellington, Connecticut is located in Tolland County. The town was incorporated in 1786, and in 1950 contained a population of 3,099.

4. Correspondence with Edna T. Edwards, town clerk, Ellington, Connecticut, November 30, 1962.

archives reveal that a Mrs. Azubah Buckland was admitted to church membership in the Ellington Ecclesiastical Society in 1817, but was later dismissed by letter.<sup>5</sup> There is also mention of Mary Ann Buckland who was admitted to "the membership of the church by confession of faith, on March 5, 1832." Whether either of these women were related to James Buckland is unknown.

Through the cooperation of Thelma E. Smith, deputy librarian of the Municipal Reference Library of New York it was discovered that one James Buckland was listed in the New York City Directory in 1835; Buckland's occupation is listed as "blind maker." His business was at 247 Mercer Street and his residence at 10 Amity Street.<sup>6</sup> It is known that Buckland was living in New York as of September 1835. Sometime between September 8, 1835 (the date of the signature of his last will and testament), and February 23, 1836, he journeyed to northeast Florida. Additional information concerning Buckland was found in an 1836 Jacksonville newspaper. As early as January 14, 1836, Buckland had unclaimed mail in the Jacksonville post office.<sup>7</sup> He was either on his way to Florida, or had possibly arrived in the territory by that date, and had not yet picked up his mail. The *Jacksonville Courier* also carried notices concerning his mail on January 28 and February 4, and a final notice appeared on February 25, 1836.<sup>8</sup> In the same edition of the paper, the obituary of James Buckland was published:

At St. Johns Bluff, on Tuesday morning last, Mr. James Buckland, of New York, aged about 40 years.<sup>9</sup>

He was buried near the site of Fort Caroline, where more than two centuries before his death, France and Spain fought the first decisive battle for possession of what is now the United States of America. There are two possible explanations as to why

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5. Correspondence with Mildred A. Dimock, clerk of the Board of Selectman, Ellington, Connecticut, March 3 and 19, 1963. The Ellington Ecclesiastical Society was absorbed by the Ellington Congregational Church in 1915.

6. Correspondence with Thelma E. Smith, deputy librarian, New York Municipal Reference Library, January 14, 1963.

7. *Jacksonville Courier*, January 14, 1836.

8. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1836.

9. *Ibid.*

there are no other graves adjacent to James Buckland's. First, if there were any additional stone markers placed near the grave, indicative that he was buried in a cemetery, they have either been destroyed or removed. But why was only the Buckland stone left remaining? Second, since wooden headboards were frequently used as grave markers in the nineteenth century, these would have long ago decayed in the humid climate of the Florida weather, leaving one lonely marked grave - that of James Buckland.

## RECOLLECTIONS OF A FLORIDA SCHOOLTEACHER

by ALICE FRY

**M**Y PARENTS moved to Bradenton in the fall of 1908, and my sister and I came down in June of 1909. We were fresh out of college though not college graduates. Before coming to Florida, we had decided we would become school teachers.

We found that since we were not college graduates we would have to pass a written examination in thirteen subjects in order to obtain a teacher's certificate. Spring examinations had already been held. The next would be in September. We divided the time and found that we could spend three days reviewing each subject. Some of the subjects, however, were entirely new to us, such as "Agriculture for Southern Schools" and "Theory and Practice of Teaching." We studied hard though and took the examinations in September.

There were three grades of certificates. If you tried for a first grade the examination lasted four days; that for second and third only three days. The grade that you made decided whether you would receive a second or third grade certificate. We tried for first grade and my sister succeeded in receiving her certificate. I developed an abscess in one ear and wrote the whole of my physics examination holding a handkerchief to a bleeding nose. I was too ill to go the fourth day so had to content myself with a second grade certificate.

By September 1909, the places in the Bradenton city schools were all filled and even most of the positions in the country schools had been filled. There were two left, however, and my sister and I were assigned to these. Hers was at Duette, and mine was at the school at Rye. In those early days the only bridge across the Manatee River was at Rye. Perhaps that is the reason why there was a small settlement there with enough children to warrant a school house and a teacher.

One Sunday afternoon in September I took the train for Parrish, where I was to be met by the people with whom I was supposed to room and board. Much to my relief, L. L. Hine,



county superintendent of public instruction, was on that train, also traveling to Parrish, and he took me to the home of the Sims family, where I was to wait for Mr. -, who was supposed to take me to his home. I believe the Sims girls taught in Palmetto. Anyway, the family was very kind to me.

I had a long wait but finally Mr. - arrived, driving a two-horse team hitched to a farm wagon. My trunk and I were put in, and we started driving the five miles through scrub palmetto and pine woods to the Rye settlement. The road was rough, the wagon none too comfortable, and the horses old - it seemed an almost endless drive. The house, when we finally reached it, turned out to be a weather-worn wooden structure surrounded by a weather-worn wooden fence. The yard seemed full of children and barking dogs, and the porch, which ran the full length of the house, seemed full of one woman, Mrs. -.

The events of that first night are hazy in my memory, but not the happenings of the next day. It was Monday and the first day of school. My heart sank when I saw the whole family preparing to accompany me. There were four boys, seven, eleven, fifteen, and nineteen years old, and one girl, seventeen. Mrs. - said, "Oh yes, she and Mr. - always went with the teacher the first morning, after that she could look out for herself."

Mr. - drove up with the farm wagon and Mrs. - occupied the seat with him. The children and I rode in the body of the wagon. There was a straight chair for me but as the road was rough and so full of ruts and roots, I was in constant terror of the chair tipping over. We drove two miles through palmetto thickets and pine woods to the school-house. It was a square frame building, set on posts which were rotting and falling to pieces. The trustees of the school district were there, busily occupied in cutting poles and propping the building so it would not collapse. Mrs. - introduced me to the two other mothers who had come for opening day, but the men were too shy to be introduced.

Beside the five children from the - family, there were seven other children, twelve pupils in all. Having made sure the building would not fall down, we all went inside, and everyone turned their eyes towards me. I was pretty nervous by this time and wished that I had a desk to stand behind. There was one in

the back of the room, and two trustees, as though they read my thoughts, kindly shook the rats' nests out of it and placed it on the platform.

I learned later that there should have been opening exercises with Bible reading, a speech by one of the trustees, followed by a few remarks from me. Well, my few remarks were, "I guess we might as well begin." The "Theory and Practice of Teaching" had not prepared me for this situation or for many others that were to follow. The visitors left shortly afterwards, and I was on my own.

There were a few ragged books and I called up a reading class. I had four students who had never been to school before, four in the third grade, and four in the sixth grade. The beginners were averse to acquiring any learning. The six-year-old howled and said he "wouldn't," when I tried to get him to class. He would tell me when he came in the morning that he was going to be just as mean as he could be, and he usually was. As time went on, I brought magazines to school and tried to train their little fingers by having them cut out pictures. Their parents sent word that they did not send their children to school to make paper dolls, they wanted them to be "learned." I tried to instill a love of books and good stories by reading aloud for the last twenty minutes or half hour of each day. This also was resented by the parents who thought the students were not being "learned."

After the first day, I walked to and from school, four miles a day. The boys carried my books and lunch pail for me and usually gave little trouble. But one day the eleven-year-old found a dead grass snake and running up behind me wrapped it around my neck. I suppose I should not have minded too much, since the teacher who I succeeded had left because one of the boys had tried to stab him with a hunting knife. The nineteen-year-old had a most unpleasant trick of cracking his large ears with his fingers, and the older boys would chase the little ones at recess time and stuff chalk up their noses. The "Theory and Practice of Teaching" had neglected to tell me how to handle these situations, although I quickly learned.

There were some very cold days during the winter of 1909-1910. There was a wood stove in the school-house but no chim-

ney, and when we built a fire the room was soon blue with smoke. I solved that problem by having the boys build a fire on the sand in front of the school, then we moved our chairs out and sat in a circle around the fire while I held classes. One day the boys killed a little puffing adder and held it over the fire to see its legs come out. I was holding classes around the fire one cold sunny day when County Superintendent Hine came to visit. I never knew whether he approved or disapproved, but he did not stay long.

At the boarding house where I lived that winter, I reached my room by going through the family room to the back porch. My door, which was made of pine slabs and never closed tightly, opened on this porch. The single window was covered by a pine slab shutter, hinged at the top and propped outward with an old croquet mallet. Nearly the whole floor space was taken up by my trunk, a bed, a table, and a stand. The roaches ran over everything and one night I cut a scorpion in two with my embroidery scissors. The daughter of the house often complained at breakfast time that roaches had bitten her toes during the night.

The combined dining-room and kitchen was in a detached room at the end of the front porch. We ate on a low table covered with an indifferently-washed black oilcloth. The children and I sat on benches, while Mr. and Mrs. - had chairs at both ends of the table. Supper was cooked about four o'clock in the afternoon, so as to be done before dark, and then it was left to cool till the men came in from the field. We ate by the light of an oil lamp with no chimney. Soot from the flaming wick fell on the food. There was a scarcity of table-ware and the children were constantly urging each other to hurry up with the spoon as someone else needed it. The food was mostly grease and grits, and to add a little variety, a whole onion and a knife were passed from hand to hand, each person carving off a slice or so.

The school board paid me \$30.00 a month for teaching the children and sent a voucher for \$12.50 a month to Mr. - for my room and board. This was the only family in the neighborhood willing to board the teacher. The other families were so widely scattered through the school district that I never learned where most of my pupils lived. When we got home after school we used to have contests to see who could eat the most oranges or chew the most sugar cane. Five oranges at a time was the best I could do

and I don't remember about the sugar cane. Mrs. - told me if I was a poor puny little thing she would do my washing and ironing for me, but since I wasn't, I could do it myself.

When I came in to breakfast it was to find Mr. - sitting at the head of the table, an old black felt hat pulled well down over his forehead, and Mrs. - at the foot with an old brown shawl wrapped around her head. No one said good morning or good evening, and they all seemed puzzled and startled by my morning greeting and good night when I went to my room.

On cool evenings when supper was over we sat around the open fire in the family room. Mrs. - chewed tobacco almost constantly and expectorated with great precision upon the hearthstone, neatly missing her youngest, Ike, as he dodged in front of her. When Ike got too lively, Pa would say, "Go wash, Ike," and Ike would reluctantly get the family boiler, a tin can with a wire handle. He would fill it with water and put it in the fire to heat. Then, he would get the family rag, basin, and soap, and begin. If Mrs. - thought her face needed it, she would take the rag first and wipe it off. Then, Ike would wash his bare feet and legs and go to bed. I went to my room early, but did not always have a restful night. If Mr. - could not sleep, he got out his fiddle and played weird strains on it. I was often awakened, sometimes at two in the morning, by these uncomfortable sounds.

One night I was awakened by the sound of violent quarreling. Will, my nineteen-year-old pupil, and his father were having words. As the voices grew louder and the cursing more violent, I shrank farther and farther under my blankets, finally pulling them up over my head. I was terrified. Finally, there was silence and then, a little later, the sound of the fiddle. Will was gone about three days and then came home. I never knew what the trouble was.

The Holy Rollers or Pentecost were holding a revival in Parish that winter, and for several Sundays we all drove in to attend services. We took dinner and supper and stayed all day and late into the night. The revival was held in an open tabernacle with hard pine benches and a sawdust floor. There were morning, afternoon, and evening services, each about two hours long. Part of the time was spent in testifying and singing. I saw one man go through

what they called "getting the Holy Ghost." He had gone up after the sermon to be prayed for, and then he seemed to feel the Spirit move him." It was an unforgettable scene. It was eleven o'clock at night. The tabernacle was lit by flaring lamps and the full red moon was just appearing over the horizon. All the congregation crowded around the altar. The man lay moaning in the sawdust, flat on his back, while the preacher stood over him, exhorting and praying, "Try a little harder, brother, you're winning through. Oh Lord, help him!" Then the congregation all joined in a hymn, "I'll pay the price whatever I do, I'm coming through, Jesus, I'm coming through." By this time, the man had stopped moaning and was babbling and jabbering. The Holy Rollers believe that the Lord uses their mouths as His instruments when they talk in "tongues," as they call the jabbering. Certain of the elect, they claim, can interpret the sounds. At school next day, the children all talked in "tongues" and played at getting salvation.

With early spring of 1910, came unseasonable rains. It rained and rained and rained, and I made up my mind I had had about enough. I made a bargain with myself. If it rained the next day I would go home. It did and I did.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Zespedes in East Florida, 1784-1790.* By Helen Hornbeck Tanner. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1963. *University of Miami Hispanic American Studies, No. 19.* ix, 253 pp. Maps, illustrations, index. \$3.50.)

The P. K. Yonge Library at the University of Florida houses the Stetson Papers and the Lockey Collection, basic sources for the colonial history of Spanish Florida. Mrs. Tanner has tapped these materials for her excellent study of the governorship of Vizente Manuel Zespedes y Velasco. She has chosen a significant period. During the Zespedes' years, 1784-90, the governor had to reshape colonial institutions to fit the Spanish mold and to redefine the relationship of his colony to the new United States, the French and English, and the Indians. Zespedes also had to cope with a myriad of internal problems, many of which had burdened his predecessors for two centuries. In developing these themes Mrs. Tanner skillfully blends the chronological and topical approaches. Her early chapters deal with Zespedes' appointment, arrival in Saint Augustine, and the early problems of his administration. Later chapters are more topical and concern the Indians, economic and religious problems, border difficulties and defense, census taking, manners and morals, fiestas, and the details of the courtship and marriage of Zespedes' daughter, Maria Dominga. An epilogue traces the careers of some of the principal characters on the Florida scene past the chronological limits of Zespedes' term in Saint Augustine.

There are two main threads running through Mrs. Tanner's work. One is the basic historical narrative—the analysis of the Zespedes' governorship. The author has discussed virtually all the problems of his administration and implemented her narrative by following the activities of such figures as Carlos Howard, Daniel McGirt, Francisco Sanchez, Alexander McGillivray, Juan O'Donovan, Ignacio Penalver, and Fray Cyril de Barcelona. For this reviewer the historical narrative had one principal defect—lack of documentation of primary sources. Although Mrs. Tanner

has combed the manuscript materials, she has chosen not to footnote her manuscript references. Instead, she has referred her readers to the citations in the doctoral dissertation from which this book stems. Ordinarily this would not be objectionable, but the author oftentimes seems presumptive in imputing motives and causation. Citation of the sources would have put her in a stronger position to support her allegations and interpretations and protected her against the charge of apriorism.

This weakness in the historical analysis is greatly overbalanced by Mrs. Tanner's success in recapturing the texture of life in late eighteenth-century Florida. With a light touch and an eye for the type of evidence that many investigators would ignore as superfluous or frivolous, she has presented the intimate personal details of life in Saint Augustine. At times her vignettes, such as the account of the escapades of Antonio Garriaga and the chapters on "Romantic Springtime" and "Fiesta in Saint Augustine" overshadow her quest for basic historical currents, but Mrs. Tanner has an enthusiasm and ingenuousness in her style that should win over the most scrupulous critic. It is obvious that she knows late eighteenth-century Saint Augustine.

In sum, this is a significant book which makes an important contribution to Florida history in the second Spanish period. It is an attractive volume with useful maps, photographs, and bibliography. Florida history needs more indefatigable investigators like Mrs. Tanner.

*Ohio State University*

JOHN J. TEPASKE

*The Fountain of Youth and Juan Ponce de Leon.* By Ethel King.  
(Brooklyn: Theo. Gaus' Sons, 1963. 152 pp. Index. \$2.75.)

As book review editor of a scholarly journal, I am well aware that all too many reviewers are quick to debunk a book, and that to write a book is no easy task, and there is no such thing as a perfect and faultless book. In short, reviewers often lack compassion and humility, this is especially true of people in the academic world. Yet, occasionally a book appears, usually privately printed or by a little known press—that is worthless. This is the case of this book with an exciting title and of apparent interest to Florida

history. The author is unaware of the basic bibliography, missing a half dozen *must* sources; she is not versed in Spanish, Latin American, or Florida history. She apparently does not know Spanish, and she has failed to compose a well organized text.

The editing is poor, full of errors, especially of basic Spanish words and proper names (the same applies to German words)-there are also errors in English. The text is full of trivia not at all related to the story of Ponce de Leon; there is much guessing and much rehashing of a few printed sources, many of them hardly important to the subject.

The author is aware of the Murga Sanz biography of Ponce de Leon but misses all the other recent Spanish publications. It is to her credit that she considers the Fountain of Youth a myth.

*University of South Florida*

CHARLES W. ARNADE

*Unknown Florida.* By Florence I. Fritz. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1963. v, 213 pp. Illustrations, map, bibliography, appendix, index. \$3.95.)

This most interesting book relates in detail the history of the several counties, Glades, Hendry, and Lee, which are found within the Caloosahatchee River region. The author has done an excellent job in reporting the history of this area from the pleistocene epoch to 1962. A survey of the initial chapters indicates the detailed study which is made: Shell Mounds, Calusa Indians, Spanish explorers Including Ponce de Leon, De Soto, Narvaez, and Menendez, the Seminole Indian Wars, and the Civil War in the Caloosahatchee area.

The great value of the work lies in the period following the Civil War when settlers begin to move into the area. The story of cattle kings and cowboys at Punta Rassa is related, and the effect of the Great Freeze is shown. As settlements grow, river and coastal steamboat traffic expand, and railroads and highways push their way southward. The roles played by such diverse and colorful characters as Jacob Summerlin, Thomas Edison, Cyrus Teed, Barron Collier, Bill Piper, James A. Moore, and Deaconess Bedell are related. The photographs illustrating this part of the book are excellent and to the reviewer's knowledge have not been reproduced elsewhere.



There are a few statements in the book that are subject to question. The author says that both De Soto and Narvaez landed near the Caloosahatchee River and that there was such a person as Jose Gaspar. It is disclosed that Billy Bowlegs talked to Hartsuff just prior to the attack that started the Third Seminole War and that a man by the name of Leslie led the volunteers when they defeated the Indians. These, and other conjectures are subject to serious dispute. There is, however, great due to this book.

It is hoped that histories of the other regions in South Florida, including the Peace River and Tampa Bay areas, will be written and published.

JAMES W. COVINGTON

*University of Tampa*

*History of Banking in Florida: First Supplement, 1954-1963.* By J. E. Dovell. (Orlando: Florida Bankers Association, 1964. x, 115 pp. Foreword, preface, portraits, tables, notes. \$8.50.)

The "First Supplement" of Dovell's *History of Banking in Florida* follows very closely his original history of Florida banking published in March 1955. Its format; its content, replete with factual tables; even its appearance are similar. Having covered the period 1828 to 1954 in his early volume, Professor Dovell now covers the years up to 1963. Tully F. Dunlap, president of the Association, explains in his foreword: "In the decade after the Florida Bankers Association published the first 'History of Banking in Florida, 1828-1954', historic events occurred in the banking industry and the economic development of the state. The population almost doubled, as did the number of banks." According to Dovell, the Florida picture during this decade is one of remarkable growth: "The gain of almost 79 per cent in population from 1950 to 1960 was the greatest gain in any of the fifty states. Florida is gaining in population at the rate 2,836 residents each week." Moreover, the growth in people is coupled with a distinct trend toward urbanization involving the majority of Florida's cities.

Florida's economy is unique "for its diversity and for its dependence upon an equable climate." As an example of this di-

versity, "more than a third of the income of Floridians is derived from the sales and services of tourism." On the other hand, the state is third in large scale farms 'those selling more than \$100,000 worth of farm products annually.' Also, "there are an estimated 800,000 retirees now residing in Florida whose combined income approaches \$300 million a year." Banks, of course, are essential to this economy. Moreover, with the advent of the space program, there has been an influx of technical and manufacturing industries. Government payrolls and contracts from twenty major installations in Florida are significant. Consequently, banking naturally grew along with Florida's expanding population and economy. "From 1954, the number of banks in Florida increased by 172 or almost 81 per cent within the ten-year period." Most of this growth, quite logically, took place in the more populous counties. Ranking facilities, methods, and equipment were changed and improved to meet expanded requirements.

Dovell has produced a useful, precise, and technical supplement to his original work. However, in his solicitude for covering the various aspects of the Association he may have forfeited the very essence of history. While bankers, with the possible exception of the Rothschilds, have not in general attained the notoriety accorded some businessmen at the turn of the century, there are colorful and important men among them, especially in Florida. It occurs to this reviewer that a history requires some allusion to the actions, the judgments, and possibly the mistakes of these men.

O. Z. TYLER, JR.

*Jacksonville, Florida*

*The Southern Frontier.* By John Anthony Caruso. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1963. 448 pp. Maps, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

Finally, a brief but solid summary of early southeastern history is now available. John Anthony Caruso's *The Southern Frontier* presents an extremely readable and interesting narrative of the colonial southeast from the landing of Ponce de Leon to the American acquisition and statehood of Florida, 1513-1845. While this well-written work might serve the survey requirements of a college course in the regional southeast, it should be particu-

larly valuable as a text for Florida history in the state universities and colleges. Actually, Dr. Caruso's southeastern study is one volume of a planned series of frontier accounts which already include *The Appalachian Frontier* and *The Great Lakes Frontier*. His "American Frontier Series" will feature three other similar studies including "The Mississippi Valley Frontier."

*The Southern Frontier* is fundamentally the researched product of a broad collection of secondary works, monographs, and periodicals. Although some primary manuscripts were examined for this history, it is not a primary source production. Instead, John Caruso has presented an expansive portrait of colonial (southeastern) history based upon accessible chronicles and scholarly studies, typically lacking the chronological scope of *The Southern Frontier*. The author's contribution to American colonial historiography is thus a significant summary and synthesis of southeastern history.

Unfortunately, Caruso has too frequently failed to employ the best available secondary sources for his survey. Many related materials found in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History (Gainesville, Florida) are noticeably absent from his bibliographical listings. In the Spanish colonial period, he has apparently neglected to consult several of Charles W. Arnade's analytical articles and monographs, such as *Florida on Trial* and *The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702*. Clinton N. Howard's socio-economic evaluations of the British period of Florida history, especially *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769*, are also seemingly ignored. Likewise, John Caruso's Minorcan bibliography appears to exclude Kenneth H. Beeson's "Fromjadas and Indigo: The Minorcan Colony in Florida," a thesis which offers important new insights and interpretations on the eighteenth-century colony at New Smyrna. Finally, *The Southern Frontier* fails to utilize Rembert Patrick's *Florida Fiasco* to trace the pre-cession imperialism of the United States in Florida. Such serious omissions definitely limit the efficacy of this survey.

Nevertheless, Dr. Caruso's colorful frontier story provides a good general description of the development of the colonial southeast.

*Colonial Georgia: A Study in British Imperial Policy in the Eighteenth Century.* By Trevor H. Reese. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1963. vii, 172 pp. Notes, bibliography, index, \$4.75.)

As the last of the original thirteen American continental colonies to be established, Georgia is of special significance in the explanation of British colonial policy in the eighteenth century. In its short life as a British colony, in a span of less than fifty years, Georgia illustrated practically every facet of British colonial policy. The conception of Georgia was due to the philanthropy of private individuals in London who were keenly interested in the plight of insolvent and unemployed debtors. Its support by the government, however, was due to the strategic and commercial benefits that Britain hoped to derive. "In this way, the three principal strands in the pattern of British policy were represented in the foundation of Georgia; firstly, in the social relief envisaged by the Trustees, secondly in its strategic value as a barrier against French and Spanish expansionist tendencies in America, and thirdly in its commercial potentiality as a contributor to the imperial economy, a useful subsidiary in the attempt to establish a well-regulated, interdependent family of territories with the United Kingdom as the business centre." This long sentence in Professor Reese's small, carefully organized, and well-written book is the author's central theme. In contrast with the many monographs which have been written about Georgia, Dr. Reese has examined the sources from the vantage point of the mother country and has given Georgia's colonial history a new perspective by relating it to British colonial policy as a whole in the eighteenth century.

In the first chapter, the author says that encouragement of foreigners to settle in the colonies as a method of increasing population and strengthening the defenses of the empire remained a salient feature of British policy until the end of the century. He also points out that the government was not particularly interested in the charitable intentions of the Trustees, but that it was vitally concerned about defence of the empire. Dr. Reese maintains, on the other hand, that the Trustees were always jealous of their powers and were unwilling to permit their authority to be reduced by the appointment of a governor.

The author presents a concise account of the vast expendi-

tures by Parliament on Georgia - 136,000 pounds to the end of the charter period. Only 16,000 pounds was collected by the Trustees from other sources. "Such Governmental benevolence towards a colony had no precedent in British imperial history."

In the chapter on "Land, Labour, and Liquor," it is clearly demonstrated that these were the main grievances of the colony, and that the Trustees' land policy cramped the poor small farmers of Georgia in competition with rich large landowners in South Carolina. "This was the upshot of a policy coloured too much by moral and military considerations and too little by the economic and human factors."

The author's conclusion is that: "Economically, Georgia's development reflected all the commercial attributes of mercantilist theory and illustrated the mother country's blind devotion to what was desirable and her consequent neglect of what was practicable or most suitable to the natural capacities of the overseas settlements. . . . The story of the growth of colonial Georgia's production and trade proved that natural resources and human needs were stronger factors than governmental directives in economic development."

HUGH T. LEFLER

*University of North Carolina*

*Jefferson and Civil Liberties: The Darker Side.* By Leonard W. Levy. Foreword by Oscar Handlin. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1963. xv, 225 pp. Preface, bibliography, notes, index. \$4.50.)

Most of what Mr. Levy has to say about the darker side of Jefferson is not new. Serious scholars are, in the main, familiar with Mr. Jefferson's lapses and inconsistencies. Nonetheless, Levy's book is a contribution to Jeffersonia in that it is a well-written, well-documented study of these lapses in the historical perspective in which they occurred. If there is any criticism it is one that Levy noted, that his book is not a balanced presentation. In fact, the listing of discrete incidents leaves the reader with the feeling that the book is a montage of not always related fragments which ignores the man Jefferson and focuses on the actions of Jefferson that were non- or, worse still, anti-libertarian.

Levy suggests a number of rationales for Jefferson's most un-libertarian behavior. Among the factors seen as influencing Jefferson - particularly Jefferson as president - was his ardent desire to maintain, preserve, and protect the American experiment. This led to the rationalization that it must be preserved by whatever means were available, even if the system to be preserved would condemn the means of its preservation. This point of view eventuated in Jefferson being seduced by the doctrine of the end justifying the means. Perhaps the fact that he could be so seduced, so faithless to his own libertarian principles, was, as Levy postulates, his lack of anything like Lincoln's exquisite moral consciousness. Or, perhaps, it was simply that Jefferson was temporally a statesman before he was a politician and found out that the actions of the latter were not always compatible with the values of the former. Certainly, during his years in the presidency some of his actions were characterized by what can only be described as a high-handed disregard of the Constitution. Jefferson, like other presidents, probably felt that constitutional limitations imposed on this office were at times intolerable.

Levy points out, with some justification, that Jefferson was not a creative philosopher. Although he was widely read in philosophy his greatest virtue was the ability to give enduring meaning to a philosophical ideal through his writing. For Jefferson, if we are to accept Levy's interpretation, values were non-problematic. He seems not to have seriously questioned the values he held and was, in fact, a "true believer," feeling that his actions were in accord with all that was best in Enlightenment thinking. Like others of his time, he had the certainty that is implicit in a philosophical system which is based on natural and immutable laws.

There is no doubt that Levy's book will contribute to rounding out the present picture of Jefferson. It should not, however, be considered the final word on Jefferson. This book's greatest value will be in balancing the mass of conventional encomiums by showing that the principles that Jefferson the statesman had so ably enunciated were more than Jefferson the man and the politician lived up to. The question which one must inevitably raise after reading this book is, which Jefferson is more important?

F. BRUCE ROSEN

*Auburn University*

*The Papers of Henry Clay. Volume III: Presidential Candidate, 1821-1824.* Edited by James F. Hopkins and Mary W. M. Hargreaves. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1963. viii, 935 pp. Frontispiece, index. \$15.00.)

The editors of *The Papers of Henry Clay* merit congratulations for another task well done. In the third volume of this notable undertaking there are approximately one thousand entries, consisting mainly of letters to and from Clay located in over forty depositories throughout the United States. Painstaking research has enabled the editors to identify several hundred obscure persons, geographical locations, and other references, thus facilitating the historian's utilization of this significant publication.

There is much material relating to Clay's legal and private affairs during his two-year absence from Congress (1821-1823), but the all-absorbing subject of the Kentuckian's quest for the presidency in 1824 dominates much of the book. The volume traces the declining fortunes of Clay's presidential aspirations. At first, he received sanguine reports from friends concerning his candidacy, and he too often expressed the fond hope that he would ultimately win. Jackson's entry into the race was a heavy blow to Clay, who had expected no rival for the western votes.

This volume ends at a crucial point in Clay's career. He had just been eliminated from the presidential sweepstakes, and the scene was being set for that fateful drama that led to the election of John Quincy Adams by the House of Representatives, a drama in which Clay, as speaker of the House, was destined to play a leading role. His friends had offered conflicting advice. One of them, Henry Shaw of Massachusetts, urged him to "hold yourself . . . above all compromising Arrangements . . . we support you for President, & for nothing else - if we fail, let the champion make his own Cabinet. . . ." Shaw argued that "a Seat in Congress will be more honorable & popular too with the People, than a Seat in the Cabinet. . . ." On the other hand, Benjamin Watkins Leigh of Virginia wrote that he expected to find Clay "at the board of general officers" in the new government. As 1824 drew to a close, Clay seemed inclined to heed Shaw's rather than Leigh's advice. "I would not cross Pennsylvania Avenue," he wrote Leigh, "to be in any office under any Administration which lies before us." Unfortunately for his presidential ambitions, Clay did

accept the office of secretary of state from Adams, thus giving rise to the embarrassing cry of "bargain and corruption." The office that had been a stepping-stone to the White House for Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Adams would become a stumbling block for "Harry of the West."

EDWIN A. MILES

*University of Houston*

*And Tyler Too: A Biography of John & Julia Tyler.* By Robert Seager III. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1963. xviii, 633 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Tyler biographers labor under the handicap of inadequate source material. The personal papers of President Tyler were burned in the conflagration which followed Lee's retreat from Richmond in April 1865. To help fill this vacuum, Professor Seager has mined some 10,000 previously unused Gardiner family papers. Disavowing any pretension to authorship of a "definitive study of President John Tyler and his times," he has written "an informal social history of the Gardiners and the Tylers" in the hope that he can thereby "Humanize" John Tyler and "bring him out of the shadow into which history has cast him; to see him as his wife, his family, and his informal friends saw him, and as he saw himself."

However, Seager's account is more successful in its portrayal of the ambitious, snobbish, and somewhat avaricious Gardiner clan of Long Island than in its treatment of the Tylers of Virginia. John Tyler's young wife, Julia Gardiner, emerges from these pages as an unforgettable personality, vivacious, aggressive, devoted, and slightly spoiled. Unhappily, though some light is shed on the "human side" of John Tyler, on "his fears, frustrations, ambitions, joys, sorrows, and loves," he remains in the shadows, an unbending, highly principled, rather inflexible, and somewhat unbelievable figure. Professor Seager has succeeded only partially in humanizing the ninth President of the United States, who, on March 3, 1845, signed the bill which admitted Florida to the union as the twenty-seventh state.

Despite the author's modest disavowals, *And Tyler Too* is of



considerable value to students of Tyler's curious political career. Not only has he provided a masterful synthesis of earlier studies, but, by careful use of his source materials, Seager provides some interesting insights into the Tyler presidency. He advances a very convincing case in corroboration of the thesis that Tyler was motivated by commercial considerations, rather than by the interests of slavery, in pressing for Texas annexation. He also offers an intriguing account of Tyler's use of patronage (a political device he earlier denounced) in advancing his third party movement of 1843-1844.

*And Tyler Too* is written with grace and wit. There are times, however, when the author's rhetorical enthusiasm for his subjects undermines his sense of proportion. Few readers will be entirely convinced by his pronouncement that John Tyler entered the presidency with a "training in the art and science of government unmatched by any other American President before or since."

ALFRED A. CAVE

*University of Utah*

*American Slavers and the Federal Law, 1837-1862.* By Warren S. Howard. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963. xi, 336 pp. Preface, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

Criminals try to leave as few traces as possible behind them, and slave traders did their best to follow this maxim. Yet of all criminal enterprises of the past, one of the most voluminously documented was the slave trade between Africa and America in the nineteenth century. In a series of laws (1794, 1800, 1807, 1818, and 1820), the United States Congress forbade American ships and American citizens - the latter even on pain of death - to engage in this malodorous traffic. Yet the laws were violated with scandalous and even contemptuous frequency. Till 1963, the suppression of this trade had attracted the serious attention of only one historian, W. E. Burghardt DuBois, who, in 1896, published *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870*. The work had all the

trappings of scholarship, but it was based upon printed sources alone, (some of them wholly unreliable), and it had a highly partisan tone. It claimed that the sorry record of the United States government in failing to carry out its laws was due to a "conspiracy" of southern slave-owners; that the "slave power" that controlled the federal government prevented any serious efforts at enforcement; that only after the high-minded Republicans came to power in 1861, was the African slave trade wiped out; and that if only the Whig and the Democratic administrations before 1861, had genuinely wanted to suppress the trade, they could easily have done so.

Now an admirable new book has appeared, showing that Du-Bois' work was both superficial and biased. Dr. Howard has based his book on a wide variety of materials, British as well as American, manuscript as well as printed. He agrees that the poor record of enforcement stands as a shameful blot on the record of the United States. But the explanation of the failure was complex, not simple. There certainly was no "slave power" conspiracy. The slave trade flourished because the United States navy did not have enough cruisers; Congress did not provide the cruisers because they cost money, and American taxpayers (Northerners as well as Southerners) demanded frugality of Congress. Some federal officials did act inertly and even stupidly in enforcing the laws, but no party was blameless, not even the Republicans. The kinds of evidence required by law were not easy for prosecuting attorneys to get and to present in court; and some federal judges, notably Samuel R. Betts, United States district judge in New York City, handed down some bone-headed decisions. But nobody in Congress, not even Northerners, made any effort to remedy the defects in the laws. A great deal of shocking information was to be found in documents published by the navy and state departments. But apparently few congressmen read them. Even the American public was apathetic, and remained so till the late 1850's.

The author is a historian for the United States Air Force. He has written a book which is a model of clear and graceful writing, of well-paced narrative, of excellent organization, of graphic descriptions, of memorably depicted personalities, and of forcefully persuasive conclusions.

*Emory University*

JAMES Z. RABUN

*Slavery in America: Its Legal History.* By Barnett Hollander.  
(New York: Barnes & Noble, 1963, xx, 184 pp. Appendix.  
\$7.00.)

This book does not make a significant contribution to American history. In his foreword, the author states quite accurately that it is not a " 'History Book' *qua* History. . . ." American slavery proves to be an extremely tenuous thread for the stringing of a bewildering assortment of historical miscellany. The book contains very little if any material which is the product of original research and makes heavy use of encyclopedias, old history books, and oft-published speeches and documents. Far the larger part of the book is quoted material, not altogether undesirable, since the author writes poorly and is often very difficult to understand. This book is neither a source of new light upon American slavery nor a synthesis of the already known data. In addition, it must be noted that it contains enough errors - some demonstrable by internal criticism - to preclude its use as a ready reference book. This reviewer searched in vain for any significant feature worthy of commendation.

THEODORE B. WILSON

*Gaston (North Carolina) Junior College*

*The Stonewall Brigade.* By James I. Robertson, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xiii, 271 pp. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

*The Stonewall Brigade* is well-written and will hold the reader's interest. Dr. Robertson's final chapter is one of the best that this reviewer has read. Like Douglas S. Freeman, in writing of the passing of Robert E. Lee, Robertson will make even the most hard-hearted get a lump in his throat as he tells of how the brigade faded away after the war and of the dedication of the Jackson monument at Lexington in 1891.

Robertson tells the story of one of the famous units of the Civil War. *The Stonewall Brigade* is well-documented, but although illustrated, it has no maps. Since it deals with military history and troop movements, the failure to provide maps is a serious omission.

Robertson, through a study of the muster rolls and other primary source materials, provides valuable information concerning the background of the brigade personnel which all too often is lacking in studies of this type. Through his use of diaries, war-time letters, and reminiscences, he tells the story of the brigade in detail from its organization at Harpers Ferry to that disastrous day in May 1864, when the unit was all but destroyed at Spotsylvania. It is unfortunate that only one chapter was devoted to the history of the brigade and the units with which it was consolidated after Spotsylvania. Like many historians writing of the Army of Northern Virginia, or its officers, Dr. Robertson is guilty of telescoping the final months of the war.

Dr. Robertson is at his best when he writes of camp life and the battles as seen by the individual - the Civil War GI. Much of the volume, however, treats with troop movements. Apparently, this is not Robertson's forte, because his battle descriptions, when they involve troop movements, become vague and confusing. Perhaps this is because he concentrates on the Stonewall Brigade. To understand correctly and evaluate a unit's tactical employment one must know what the brigades to the right and left and those in support are doing. This reviewer also feels that it would have been better if the author, when introducing the various general officers had used their full rank, rather than general.

A number of errors, most of which are of a minor character, are present. Charles Town is repeatedly referred to as Charles-town. The standard infantry weapon in the Civil War was a rifle-musket not a musket. Parrott rifles fired shells or bolts not balls. At the battle of McDowell, Milroy and Schenck commanded brigades not divisions. The correct name of our nation's highest award for gallantry is "Medal of Honor," not "Congressional Medal of Honor." During the Seven Days Battles, Brigadier General Charles S. Winder wore two hats. In addition to leading the Stonewall Brigade, he commanded the division which had been Jackson's during the Valley Campaign.

All in all, *The Stonewall Brigade*, even with its short-comings, will prove of lasting value to the thousands of readers interested in Stonewall Jackson, the Army of Northern Virginia, and the trials and tribulations of the Civil War soldier.

*Vicksburg, Mississippi*

EDWIN C. BEARSS

*The Galvanized Yankees.* By D. Alexander Brown. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963. 243 pp. Index, illustrations, footnotes, bibliography. \$5.50.)

In late September 1864, Abraham Lincoln sent one of his favorite young officers, Captain Henry R. Rathbone, to the Rock Island, Illinois prison camp to enlist Confederate prisoners-of-war. It was a matter of politics. Engaged in a bitter presidential campaign with General George B. McClellan and concerned with the growing resentment to his administration because of draft calls and conscription laws, he hoped to ward off public discontent by easing northern recruitment. Because of these circumstances, the "galvanized Yankees" became a reality.

Faced with the option of rotting away, possibly dying in a prison, or guarding the western frontier against Indians, hundreds of Confederate prisoners decided to enlist in the Union army. And for many who formed the six regiments of U. S. Volunteers, the choice - they soon realized - was an extremely poor one. The West was not a land of health, wealth, or opportunity. In fact, with 1865 often remembered as "the bloody year on the Plains," with summer heat and dust oppressive and winter gales numbing, with death by diarrhea, rattlesnake, and Indian attack commonplace, with a "forestless waste," exhausting physically and mentally anyone who dared enter its lonely, seemingly endless solitude, Southerners, especially of the 4th U. S. Volunteers, were ready to "give it [the plains] back to the Indians."

Yet during 1865 and 1866, these soldiers served their repatriated country well. From the Dakotas to Kansas to Utah they fought aggressive, unrelenting Indian adversaries almost continually; escorted surveying parties for the Union Pacific or supply trains along the Santa Fe and Oregon trails; guarded the isolated relay stations of Ben Holliday's Overland Stage and David Butterfield's Overland Despatch; and rebuilt, then protected hundreds of miles of telegraph lines. Nor in the face of such odds, with the war over, and with more lucrative and less dangerous fields of endeavor beckoning them, did they forsake their trust. In fact, D. Alexander Brown points out that the percentage of desertions was much lower among these southern regiments than the overall average on the western frontier.

In practically any work a reviewer may find fault with the

author's method of approach, his interpretation of facts, his style. *The Galvanized Yankees* is no exception. Overall, however, Brown, together with good illustrations, extensive footnotes, and bibliography, and an excellent job of printing, has fashioned a scholarly, interesting account of a little-known, almost forgotten page of American history.

BEN H. PROCTER

*Texas Christian University*

*Politics, Principle, and Prejudice, 1865-1866.* By LaWanda and John H. Cox. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963. xiii, 294 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

Whether the civil rights battles of contemporary times are the cause or not, the ranks of the new revisionists have been increasing. Add to their number now Lawanda and John Cox who have delved into manuscript and newspaper sources and emerged with a thesis which, they admit, would delight Eric McKittrick, Bernard Weisberger, Harold Hyman, *et al.* The Coxes' conclude that Andrew Johnson was not the wronged party in the post-Civil War struggle for power in the North. Rather, his ambiguity on the major issues of Reconstruction and his personal prejudice against the Negro were responsible for his justly-earned political demise.

In a series of well-written essays, the authors deal with patronage, the passage of the thirteenth amendment, civil rights, and, most significantly, the politics of the age. The third party movement is discussed and the Coxes reveal Seward's role in its formation. Johnson's connection with this movement is also analyzed. New information from the important Samuel L. M. Barlow papers is used to provide a revealing look at the machinations of the Democratic Party.

Johnson, the Coxes feel, was a very ambitious politician who hoped to develop a powerful third party which would secure his re-election in 1868. As for the president's relationship to the Democracy, the authors, on the one hand, declare him to be free of charges of capitulation to the party, but, on the other, claim that his vetoes were "an accommodation to the sentiment of the South and of the Northern Democracy."

It is with this latter point that it is most necessary to take exception. The implication is clear that the president sought the support of Democrats through this "accommodation." Obviously Johnson wanted to be supported in his aims, but the question here is what he was willing to do for this support. The charge of accommodation is not proven by the fact that Johnson did something which the Democracy supported. The Barlow papers tend to demonstrate that the president refused to do the things which the party, through Blair, asked of him. Certainly there is much evidence to indicate a similarity of views between the president and the Democracy, and the party cheered while Johnson vetoed, but this shows only parallel philosophy not political accommodation.

In discussing the civil rights aspect of reconstruction, the Coxes provide both a valuable contribution and, once again, an unfortunate inference which their evidence does not fully support. They call civil rights "The issue of Reconstruction." They demonstrate that many leading supporters of the president were prejudiced against the Negro. However, this does not prove that the issue in the Reconstruction conflict was civil rights. The authors have looked at only one of the parties in the struggle. Those who would admire the Radicals for their far-sighted racial policy must answer the question of why most of them supported the all-white Nebraska state constitution. If the Coxes wish to call civil rights the issue of Reconstruction, they must show why political and economic motives were not as significant. To do this the authors must do more than show that Johnson supporters disliked Negroes. They must refute the evidence of participants in the struggle like Shelby Cullom of Illinois who insisted that political motives dominated. That civil rights was an important element in the Reconstruction struggle none can now doubt, for the Coxes have shown this to be the case. But the authors claim more than they prove by calling civil rights the issue of Reconstruction,

Yet these criticisms, though elaborated at length, should not be considered sufficient reasons for setting aside this book. No one who wants to understand the politics of the post-Civil War era can afford to do that. The work is so filled with valuable information, it so often provides important insights into Johnson-Radi-

cal collision that it earns for itself, in spite of its faults, a significant place in the literature of Reconstruction.

PHILLIP S. PALUDAN

*University of Illinois*

*The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal.* Edited by H. Wayne Morgan. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963. vii, 286 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$5.50.)

As Ari Hoogenboom colorfully notes in the fourth chapter of this book, "The reaction of an American historian to the phrase 'Gilded Age' is nearly as predictable as that of a Pavlov dog to a bell." Immediately conjured up are images of long-suffering, suppressed workers, impoverished, embattled farmers, boorish tastes, horrible architecture, dull politicians - epitomized by Benjamin Harrison, who was repeatedly depicted as a tiny man lost in an oversized hat - and evil businessmen like Jay Gould, who sucked the blood out of every railroad he touched and supposedly broke any firm that dared to fire his son, George.

In ten essays the ten authors of this book examine and appraise some of the legends connected with the period from 1865 to 1890. As a result, the Gilded Age emerges with new dimensions. In four of the finest articles, Herbert Gutman finds the roots of American concern for the laborer; Ari Hoogenboom, the origins of civil service reform; Milton Plesur, the beginnings of the expansionism of the 1890's; and John Tipple, the rise of both the modern, dynamic corporation and the concept of the robber baron. Other specialists discuss public tastes, literature, science, the Republican Party, and the currency issue.

But if in these essays the Gilded Age comes through as an era of greater accomplishment and less sensationalism than heretofore supposed, it also emerges as something far less exciting than the years Vernon L. Parrington or Matthew Josephson saw and depicted. As H. Wayne Morgan, editor of the volume, points out, "Few are the generations that can match for political effectiveness and appeal such figures as Grant, James G. Blaine, 'Lord Roscoe' Conkling and his New York cohorts, or the Boys in Blue." But you would seldom know it from this book. Too often colorful



people and events are engulfed in a sea of argument and emerge only as names. Unfortunately, many of the essayists have been given assignments that are much too broad. Forced to cover vast topics, some of the authors move so fast and jump about so much they make the head swim. Vincent P. De Santis, for example, has been asked to describe in twenty pages the nature of Republican politics during this period and, in effect, to refute the arguments Josephson took 700 pages to develop in *The Politicos*. The result is an account shorter and no more convincing than a chapter in a two-volume American history textbook. There seems, moreover, to have been no agreement among the authors on documentation and the kinds of materials to be used in these articles. One essay has twenty-one footnotes, almost all of which cite secondary sources available at any library, while another has 103 footnotes, many of which refer to manuscripts, newspapers, and other primary sources.

Still, the articles in this book will reward the patient and diligent reader. Almost every essay says something important. Thoughtful and provocative, *The Gilded Age* has within its pages ideas enough for a half dozen volumes. The pity is that too much of it is unpalatable.

STANLEY P. HIRSHSON

*Queens College*

*The United States in Cuba, 1898-1902: Generals, Politicians, and the Search for Policy.* By David F. Healy. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963. xii, 260 pp. Introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Beginning with a very brief account of the war with Spain, Professor Healy very thoroughly examines the way in which President McKinley's administration handled the question of what to do with Cuba after the peace. The occupation of that island by the American army until May 1902, and the formulation of the policy under which it was then turned over to Cuban administration, forms the principal theme of the book.

Basing his work on a wide range of source materials, Healy makes clear the fact that the United States not only had no policy

for dealing with the situation, but that such a policy was finally produced only as a result of stumbling around by a diversified group of army officers and congressmen. The eventual solution to the question, the Platt Amendment, was the product of the minds of General Leonard Wood and Secretary of War Elihu Root. The part played by the state department was a very minor one, and, in this instance, the desires and actions of individual senators overshadow the secretary of state.

Rarely in American history has there been such an example of the wielding of influence by senior military officers. Frequently bickering among themselves, the generals stationed in Cuba never hesitated to go directly to whichever senator or congressman they thought could be of aid to them. Eventually the policy favored by General Wood was adopted in most part by Elihu Root, and was pushed through Congress as the Platt Amendment. The pressure then exerted by General Wood on the Cuban constitutional convention is shown to be a bit less than discreet, and was responsible for some ill-feeling among the Cuban leaders.

The claim made by Healy that the Cuban policy as it emerged became the basis for future American policy in other Caribbean areas needs further examination, but even this adds to the merit of the volume. It at least demonstrates that a monograph on a narrow subject does not have to be devoid of interest for other areas of study. The entire volume is well-written, and the reader does not bog down in a welter of minute details.

WILLIAM SCHELLINGS

*Old Dominion College*

*Rum, Religion, and Votes: 1928 Re-Examined.* By Ruth C. Silva. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962. ix, 76 pp. Preface, bibliography, index, tables. \$5.00.)

Miss Silva's book is a statistical study of the election, using correlation analysis. She tests, among other things, two basic hypotheses: First, "That Smith was a strong candidate in 1928," and second, "that the religious preference of de voters and their attitudes toward prohibition were significant correlates of his electoral strength or weakness." The bulk of the book is taken

up with tables that constitute convincing evidence that, contrary to some views, Smith was a strong candidate in 1928, and that his electoral strength was not significantly (in a statistical sense) related to such widely accepted factors as religion, liquor, and Smith's big city origins.

In analyzing the returns in the various states, Miss Silva concludes that Smith was a strong candidate largely because he did better in comparison with his congressional running mates than any Democratic candidate in this century except Woodrow Wilson (1916), Franklin D. Roosevelt (all four terms), and Lyndon B. Johnson (1964). This was not true of Florida in particular or the South in general, where Smith ran far behind his congressional running mates, and showed much less strength than either Cox or Davis. But as Miss Silva points out, correctly it seems to me, if strength in the South were the criterion, John W. Davis, in 1924, was the ideal candidate. Davis rolled up large majorities all across the South, including sixty-seven per cent of the vote in Florida, and an amazing 97.8 per cent of the vote in South Carolina. In 1920, Cox collected 66.9 per cent of the vote in Florida. Taking the South as a region, Cox carried the area with 58.3 per cent of the vote, and Davis was even more impressive in the region in 1924, with 63.7 per cent of the total. Such majorities were to no avail. Miss Silva argues that the problem of the Democratic Party in those years, and in 1928, was its inability to carry the large northern industrial states. In these areas Smith proved to be a far stronger candidate than either Cox or Davis, but still not strong enough to collect a victory.

This study is certainly not the ordinary approach taken to historical analysis, but it seems to me to be of considerable significance to the historian for just this reason. As Miss Silva puts it, the book is concerned, among other things, "with problems of political historiography in the study of American elections." It demonstrates clearly that there are useful approaches to the study of history that have been all too lightly mined to date. This study is well worth the careful attention of any historian on both substantive and methodological grounds.

JOHN DEGROVE

*Florida Atlantic University*

*The Quiet Crisis*. By Stewart Udall. Introduction by John F. Kennedy. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963. xiii, 209 pp. Foreword, photographs, index. \$5.00.)

Here is probably the ablest presentation of the American conservation scene that has yet been written - and with an authority that forestalls dispute.

The author, who as the United States Secretary of the Interior is charged with assuring the best use of the nation's natural physical assets, broadly embraces his subject historically as well as in a forthright analysis of the relevancies of man's conduct in his stewardship of these resources.

Mr. Udall gives striking delineations of those who have played a leading part in despoliation as well as of those who have excelled at preservation and rehabilitation since the first confrontation of man with the riches of what was this continent's natural endowment.

This is neither a heavy nor a heady book, but each page is deep in its implications, its resourcefulness, and the strength of its research - a tribute to its syntax which is startlingly classical yet ruggedly frank and appealing. Its language matches the impact of its photographic illustrations. It is also a tribute to the courage of its author who wrote this book while occupying what may be regarded, because of the variations and the frequently ruthless pressures which intensely surround it, as the "hottest" post in the president's cabinet.

*The Quiet Crisis* recognizes an outstanding compellent in the conversion of a vandal: The discovery that protecting a natural asset can provide more satisfaction to an erstwhile destroyer than does his frequently inherent desire to destroy. Thus, Theodore Roosevelt, whose name shines brightly in conservation, once was an overgrazing North Dakota cattleman; John James Audubon once boasted of shooting enough birds in Florida to make a feathered pile the size of a "small haycock" in a single day. Adroitly, yet factually, and understandingly, Mr. Udall urges a constructive course to save America's natural beauty - the product of eons of time, from its self-serving rapers.

JOHN D. PENNEKAMP

*Miami, Florida*

*Presbyterians in the South: Volume I, 1607-1861.* By Ernest Trite Thompson. (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963. 629 pp. Foreword, notes, bibliography, index. \$9.75.)

Dr. Thompson makes an important contribution to southern history in this absorbing, clearly written, fascinating story of Presbyterian impact upon the frontier.

In a well-ordered discussion, the thesis of this book emerges immediately. The author is concerned with the place or position the Presbyterian church occupied in colonial times, and how the Presbyterians fostered education, liberty, toleration, and other colonial value systems. He flavors his story with color and vitality and tells us of patriotism, people, politics, preachers, and principles. Thompson handles these with compassion, humor, and skill. The book contains a wealth of information which is not readily available elsewhere.

The author embraces all aspects of religious life and reveals how various denominations sought to meet the needs of colonial society. The reader will be impressed with honesty, as controversy is not dodged and failure is fully faced. The author is loyal to his own but is fair to all. The North and the tidewater South were lost by the Presbyterians, but the back country gave them a beachhead and ultimate victory. The loyalty of the Irish Scots and the Scotch was stimulating. They mobilized their forces in the wilderness and called for their Presbyterian church. Here were a faithful people of great potential. Many colonial denominations sent the clergy in to gather the flock. The Presbyterians reversed this procedure.

We see the first Presbyterian church in Florida organized by an Irishman, William McWhir, in 1824, at St. Augustine. This preacher was also an educator. The Pensacola region received a church in 1828. Its members were Scots. Four years later Tallahassee organized a church. "The Presbytery of Florida had been set off from the Presbytery of Georgia in 1841," with seven ministers and five churches. In 1843, an evangelist was employed to work Florida.

Dr. Thompson reveals an abiding Presbyterian tradition which adapted to America but continued on in strength, changing more than being changed. This book is an able addition to historical literature of the South.

*Mary Hardin-Baylor College*

JACK P. DALTON

*Renaissance in the South: A Critical History of the Literature, 1920-1960.* By John M. Bradbury. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963. vii, 222 pp. Introduction, appendix, index. \$5.00.)

The usual point of view in the presentation of the subject of this book is correctly described by its author as "centric," "a high-level perspective" concentrated on "peaks and ranges." His own perspective he describes in opposite terms as "the panoramic view, with the observer moved back from the center to a post where he can observe mountains, hills, plains, and valleys as parts of a single landscape." Thus, in contrast to the ten authors considered by Louis Rubin in his new book on the same subject, *The Faraway Country*, the number of authors listed in the appendix of Bradbury's book is about 800, and most of these receive some attention in his text. Most of the familiar names are dealt with (along with many others) in five chapters occupying less than half the book. In the remaining chapters, bearing the titles "New Social Realism," "New Approaches: Youth, Region, and History," "The Later Traditionalists," "The Negro and the New South," "New Assessments: Town and Farm," and "Later Fiction: A Miscellany," there are literally hundreds of authors and works not to be found in the more "centric" studies. Truly this is panorama.

Such an approach almost inevitably tends more toward information than insight. There is simply no space for the probing analysis of a Warren on Faulkner or a Rubin on Styron. To the working teacher and scholar, however, information has its value as well as insight, and there is always need of the bird's eye view as well as of X-ray studies. The sheer volume of creditable work turned out in this "renaissance" is one of its most obvious and important aspects, and historian and public alike need to have its mass of print clearly described and manageably ordered. Such a service Bradbury has performed with care, skill, and good sense. Quite as commendable as the hardihood which took him through thousands of volumes of fiction, poetry, and drama are the sobriety and breadth with which he has judged his material and the lucidity and succinctness with which he has presented it.

Nor is the book without insights of its own. In his earlier book on *The Fugitives*, Bradbury showed that he could work on a different scale, and many of his necessarily brief descriptions

deserve good marks for both perception and independence, including a number of adjustments of reputations both upward and downward. To the historian, however, probably the most interesting judgment of the book will be its contention that the "renaissance" it describes has been less monolithic than has been commonly believed and that "a strong and widespread liberal wing" has been too much ignored. Even in these judgments this book will not much flutter the critical doves, but many students of southern history and culture will be glad to keep it within reach.

FREDERICK W. CONNER

*University of Alabama*

*Nationalism in Latin America, Past and Present.* By Arthur P. Whitaker. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962. viii, 91 pp. Index, notes, bibliography. \$3.50.)

This volume is the result of three lectures presented for the American Civilization Lectures at the University of Florida. It is a preliminary inspection of Latin American nationalism viewed through the eyes of a prominent historian, and this historical phenomenon is presented through the use of empirical historical data. The author does, however, recognize that the "tools" of other social scientists may well be used to dissect nationalism.

Discussing briefly modern European and North American nationalism, Dr. Whitaker views nationalism since the eighteenth century in phases. The first began in the early decades of the nineteenth century and is closely identified with liberalism and the latter's association with popular sovereignty, representative and constitutional government, the rule of law, and the individual rights of free speech and assembly. This nascent nationalism was congruous with all aspects of the life of the rising middle class which was more cosmopolitan in outlook than the aristocracy. The nation-state was looked upon by the sophisticated middle class as a panacea. It was during the first phase of European nationalism that the new nations of Latin America emerged and took shape.

The second phase began with the failure of the liberal revolu-

tions of 1848 in Europe. This failure proved nationalism more virile than liberalism. European nationalism assumed a new role when liberal leadership failed to produce national hopes. Nationalism and its isotonic views thus became unique and fluid in the European nation-states. Imperialism or authoritarianism, forcefulness or intolerance have been closely associated with nationalism since its rupture with nineteenth century liberalism to the present day.

Against this labyrinthian background, the narrative of Latin American nationalism is succinctly discussed by Whitaker with emphasis on the "functional aspect of nationalism." He says that nationalism in a general sense finds its chief expression in Latin America serving as the ideological focus of the revolution of rising aspirations. This nationalism has strong economic coloration while fundamentally remaining a political concept. Latin American nationalism is also evident in the spread of the "authoritarian, closed-society type" exemplified by Castro's Cuba. It likewise assumes the form of a decline in faith of the adequacy of conventional nationalism to the needs of the modern world. This form may be identified as "extended" or "regional" typified by Pan Latin Americanism. But, the current wave of Latin American nationalism bears close inspection. This is an almost global trend in response to a feeling of a need for better protection in the current world than is offered by the existing nation-states. "Populism" has also become widespread in present-day Latin America; its rise has reinforced nationalism by giving it a broader popular base in each country.

Since the late nineteenth century four important changes have taken place in the character of Latin American nationalism. The first began in the 1890's with the injection of an economic content. The second occurred about 1910, and was brought to focus by the centennial celebrations of independence through more effective leadership by an emergent middle class. During this period nationalism became cultural, more economic, political, military, and outward looking. The third change came about in the 1930's, and nationalism became involved with communist influence that resulted in the emergence of a new type that was negative, chauvinistic, sterile, and isolationist. Since the 1950's, Latin American nationalism has returned to the pre-1930 type which is positive, humanist, and Pan Latin American.



Professor Whitaker's terse reconnaissance of the tendrilous variety of Latin American nationalism can be considered a stimulant. This volume will be highly regarded by students of Latin American history and nationalism in general.

KENNETH H. BEESON, JR.

*St. Augustine, Florida*

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### *Florida College History Teachers Conference*

The College History Teachers Conference, which was organized at the University of Florida last March, is meeting again this year, March 5 and 6, 1965, at the University of South Florida, Tampa. Dr. Robert Gold, vice president of the Conference and assistant professor of history at the University, is program chairman. A large representation from Florida's state and private universities, colleges, and junior colleges are expected to attend. Dr. Maurice Vance of Florida State University is president of the Conference.

### *Florida Medical Association*

The archives committee of the Florida Medical Association is embarking upon a long-term project to assemble available information about the development of medicine in Florida over the past four hundred years. An effort is being made to locate items dealing with this subject so that a history of medicine in Florida can be written. Dr. William M. Straight, 245 S.E. 1st Street, Miami, Florida, is chairman of the archives committee, and he is interested in learning the whereabouts of books, diaries, manuscripts, theses, photographs, or other articles dealing with the early practice of medicine in Florida, physicians, military medicine, pharmacy, nursing, folklore medicine, quacks and quackery, epidemics, and Florida medical schools. Dr. Straight, Dr. Clifford Snyder of Coral Gables and Dr. Ashby Hammond of the Department of Social Sciences of the University of Florida will use the accumulated data to write the history of Florida Medicine.

### *College News*

*Brevard Junior College:* H. H. Hale of the history department has been appointed to the Group IV Commission on Study of Social Studies Programs in Elementary and Secondary Education of the Florida State Department of Education. Professor Hale

and Dr. Mary C. Park are appointed as representatives on the newly created Brevard County Historical Commission. In addition, Dr. Park is chairman of the social sciences section of the Florida Academy of Sciences, first vice president of the Indian River Anthropological Society, and one of five central Florida junior college teachers on Channel 2 teaching world civilization.

*Central Florida Junior College:* Ernest Jernigan, chairman of the social studies division, is the CFJC instructor on "Junior College Television Classroom," a series produced by five central Florida junior colleges in cooperation with WESH-TV, Daytona Beach, and the Florida Institute for Continuing University Studies. Coordinator for the program is Dr. Merlin G. Cox of the Daytona Beach Junior College and a member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society.

Professor Jernigan's new book, *Florida: Past, Present, Future* was recently published by the Florida Research Press of Ocala. John Grant, instructor of social studies at the college, is working on a research project designed to reveal the social implications of federal welfare. The project is being conducted by the Institute of Social Research at Florida State University. Martin La Godna is working on his Ph.D. at the University of Florida. New instructors at the College are Ed Simonds and John Todd.

*Daytona Beach Junior College:* Henry Watson, chairman of the social sciences department, and Merlin G. Cox, dean of arts and sciences, are lecturers for the Survey of Florida History which is broadcast on radio station WNDB, Daytona Beach. The lectures are taped for the Daytona Beach Junior College library. Dr. Rembert W. Patrick of the University of Florida and vice president of the Florida Historical Society lectured to the social science students at the College, October 26, 1964, on "The Industrial Revolution."

*Florida A. and M. University:* Mrs. Frances J. Stafford, assistant professor, has received a Carnegie Foundation Grant for study at Florida State University.

*Florida Atlantic University:* The department of history is in the college of humanities whose Dean is Ben F. Rogers, formerly

vice president of Jacksonville University and a member of the *Florida Historical Quarterly's* editorial board. Dr. Samuel A. Portnoy is chairman of the department and his faculty include Travis L. Crosby, Donald W. Curl, Charles J. Kelinski, William F. Marina, and Robert Schwarz.

*Florida Presbyterian College:* High school history teachers of the four Bay area counties, Sarasota, Pinellas, Manatee, and Hillsborough, met October 10, 1964, at Florida Presbyterian College to discuss the latest research and writings in their fields and to present current interpretations of selected topics. Dr. Otis A. Singletary, chancellor of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, spoke on "Recent Interpretations of Southern History." The conference was jointly sponsored by the Service Center for Teachers of History of The American Historical Association and the division of history and the social sciences of Florida Presbyterian College. Approximately 175 teachers were present. Dr. Burr C. Brundage, professor of history at Florida Presbyterian and author of *Empire of the Inca*, also spoke at the Conference. Dr. Brundage is working on a history of the Inca people, and during the summer of 1964, he did research in Peru on a grant from Florida Presbyterian College. Dr. William Wilbur is chairman of the division of history and social sciences.

*Florida State University:* Dr. Weymouth T. Jordan has resigned as chairman of the department of history and is on a Fulbright lectureship at the University of Erlangen in Bavaria. Upon his return, he will devote full time to teaching and research. Dr. Victor S. Mamety has been named chairman of the department.

Dr. William W. Rogers is president of the Tallahassee Historical Society. His newest work, *Thomas County During the Civil War*, has just been released by Florida State University Studies. Dr. Joseph D. Cushman's book, *The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1821-1892*, is being published by the University of Florida Press. Dr. Joe M. Richardson, whose interests are in the field of Florida and Reconstruction history, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor. David Ammerman and Michael Pulman are also new additions to the department.

*Jacksonville University:* Professor Lawrence E. Breeze, whose article dealing with British opinion on the Battle of Olustee appears in the current issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, spent the summer of 1964 in England doing research at the British Museum. Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Quarterly* and professor of social sciences at the University of Florida, was visiting professor of history at Jacksonville University this past summer.

*New College:* Dr. George Curry read a paper entitled "Truman Versus Byrnes - Issues Foreign or Domestic?" at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Little Rock, Arkansas. Dr. Curry, formerly of the University of South Carolina and a specialist in European, British, and recent United States history, is now engaged in developing a first year history program at New College.

Arnold J. Toynbee, world-renowned historian, is visiting professor at New College this year and is teaching the social science basic course required of all New College freshman students. In addition, Professor Toynbee will conduct a seminar on the theme of Ecumenicalism versus Parochialism in World History. Professor Toynbee will also be addressing visiting students from various Florida colleges on the campus during the weekend of March 13, on the theme of "Why Study History?"

*Stetson University:* Dr. Gilbert L. Lycan, chairman of the department of history and political science and former president of the Florida Historical Society, returned to the university in September 1964, after a year abroad as Fulbright lecturer in American history and government at Silliman University, Philippines. Dr. Serge A. Zenkovsky has received a Guggenheim fellowship and will spend this year in Europe doing research and writing.

*University of Florida:* Professor David M. Chalmers of the department of social sciences read a paper entitled "The Ku Klux Klan in Politics" at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Little Rock, Arkansas, in November. Dr. Chalmers' book, *The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers*, was recently published by Citadel Press. Dr. J. E. Dovell's *First Supplement, 1954-1963* to his earlier book, *History of Banking in Florida*, was

published recently by the Florida Bankers Association of Orlando. The *Supplement* is reviewed in this number of the *Quarterly*.

Dr. Franklin Doty, former chairman of the department of social sciences, has been named assistant dean of academic affairs. Dr. George Bentley is assistant dean of the University College. Two new additions to the department of social sciences are Professor J. B. Smallwood from the University of Maryland's Far Eastern Division and Professor Robert F. Smylie. Professor Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., former editor of the *Quarterly*, J. B. Smallwood, George C. Osborn, David Chalmers, and Rembert W. Patrick attended the Southern Historical Association meeting. Dr. Doherty is on the membership committee of the association and Dr. Patrick is a past president of the organization.

*University of Miami:* Dr. Ione S. Wright is editor of the *Journal of Inter-American Affairs* which has recently moved its editorial offices from the University of Florida to the University of Miami. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, chairman of the department of history and a member of the *Florida Historical Quarterly's* editorial board, spoke recently on the Whitewater Forum Summer Lecture Series in Contemporary American Thought at Wisconsin State University.

*University of South Florida:* Robert Heywood, and Robert Goldstein are conducting a weekly radio series entitled "The Present in Perspective." William B. George has completed his study "The Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales." Two new members have been added to the faculty of the history department this past fall: Thomas V. DiBacco from American University and Dr. James M. Swanson from University of Indiana.

Dr. Charles Arnade, former member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, has left for Spain to study on a Fulbright grant. Dr. Arnade was vice chairman in charge of the Latin American history section on the program committee for the Southern Historical Association's meeting this past November.

*University of Tampa:* After three years service as dean of the University's evening division, Dr. James W. Covington, a former member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, has returned to full teaching duties as professor of history.

## MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA

December 5, 1964

The board of directors of the Florida Historical Society met in the library of the University of South Florida, December 5, 1964, at 10:00 a.m. with James Knott, president, presiding. Present were Adams G. Adams (representing the Florida Library and Historical Commission), E. M. Covington, William Goza, Margaret Chapman, Mrs. Ralph Davis, Ben C. Willis, Herbert J. Doherty, Morris White, Walter R. Hellier, Mrs. John R. DuBois, Jay I. Kislak, James R. Knott, Merlin G. Cox, David Forshay, Lucius S. Ruder, Charles Arnade (chairman of the Committee for Investigation of Historical Claims), Walter P. Fuller, Samuel Proctor, and Thelma Peters.

Judge Knott announced that David Forshay would serve as chairman of the committee judging the essay contest conducted annually by the Society in the secondary schools of the state.

Miss Chapman moved that the president appoint a public relations committee. Dr. Arnade seconded the motion and it carried. The two persons suggested as chairman of the committee were Allen Morris and Dena Snodgrass. Adam G. Adams reported that Dr. Dorothy Dodd, state librarian, would retire in the summer of 1965 after many years of long and valued service to the state. The legislature will need to appropriate sufficient funds to fill Dr. Dodd's position and other positions in the archival field. A building to house state archives is vitally needed also. Mr. Adams spoke of the value of cooperation between the Florida Library and Historical Commission and the Florida Historical Society.

Mr. Covington read and moved the adoption of a resolution commending Dr. Samuel Proctor for his publication of "Florida A Hundred Years Ago." Mr. Goza seconded the motion and the resolution was adopted by acclamation.

Judge Knott and Mrs. DuBois reported on their investigation

of the status and authenticity of a proposed marine museum for Jupiter that is being planned by Charles Harnett of Orlando, if he can secure sufficient financial backing. It was decided that an endorsement of the museum should be postponed for the time being and made a continuing order of business at the next meeting. Mr. Fuller described some of the artifacts have been recovered from treasure ships sunk off the Florida coasts. He pointed out that the state needed experts to evaluate the finds and to make certain that Florida acquired these valuable relics.

The Florida Anthropological Society, according to Dr. Arnade, is also interested in making sure the state properly preserves its share of treasure. Judge Willis moved that the president appoint a committee, composed of members of the Florida Historical Society who are also members of the Florida Anthropological Society, to look into proper methods of supervising the recovery of treasure and of determining the state's share. Mr. White seconded the motion and it carried. Judge Knott named Mr. Fuller chairman and Mr. Goza and Mr. Hellier as members of this committee.

Mr. Adams, a member of the nominating committee, asked for and received suggestions for nominations for the offices that will be filled at the annual meeting in April. Miss Chapman said directors are to be elected from congressional districts one, three, five, six, seven, and nine.

Dr. Doherty moved that the constitution committee draw up an amendment to the constitution extending the term of director to three years, the three-year term to be applicable only to those elected in 1965 or in subsequent years. Dr. Cox seconded the motion and it passed. Judge Knott asked Mr. Goza, chairman of the constitution committee, to prepare such an amendment for the annual meeting.

Judge Knott announced that the newsletter had been well received and would continue to be prepared and distributed. Subsequent issues, however, will be distributed under bulk mail rates to hold down the costs.

Judge Knott read a letter which he had received from Mrs. John T. Bills (Jeanne Bellamy). Mrs. Bills' letter criticised the *Quarterly* because it contained articles and book reviews written by non-Floridians and persons who "had addresses outside Flor-



ida," that it reviewed "non-Florida books" and "books only marginally about Florida," and that, in some instances, it published articles and books which "focused on racism." Mr. Goza made a strong defense of the *Quarterly's* present policies and objectives and moved that the board refer the letter to the editor and his board without comment. Dr. Cox seconded the motion. Mr. Covington offered as an amendment to the motion the addition of the following words: and that the board of directors express its utmost confidence in the editor." The motion as amended was passed unanimously.

Dr. Proctor thanked the board for its vote of confidence. He pointed out that many Florida specialists do not live or teach in Florida and that often authors who have an out-of-state address are really natives of Florida. The *Quarterly's* policy is to review books dealing with Florida, the South, and the nation, if the latter describe problems affecting Florida and Floridians. He stated that the editorial policy of the *Quarterly* compares favorably with the best historical journals in the South and throughout the nation and increased circulation is an indication that it is being well received. He expressed thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Davis for reproducing pictures for the *Quarterly*. In celebration of the St. Augustine Quadricentennial, the *Quarterly* is planning a special double-issue and a number of leading authorities are contributing articles. The publications committee is still examining the matter of reprinting back issues of the *Quarterly* and it is likely that a printing contract will be shortly negotiated.

Judge Knott said there had been a suggestion made that the *Quarterly* include a section on genealogy. Dr. Proctor said he would be glad to include genealogy articles if they met the standards of the *Quarterly* and if they made a contribution to Florida history. Genealogical studies as such, Dr. Proctor felt, should be left to other media, specifically to the many excellent genealogy monthlies and quarterlies which are published.

Mr. Hellier asked the possibility of receiving some financial help from the Julien Yonge Fund for the publication of a book that he has written on the history of the Indian River area. Dr. Doherty also described the Bemrose Diary, an important piece of source material on the Seminole War, which has been edited by Dr. John Mahon of the University of Florida. Dr. Mahon would

like to receive some help from the Yonge Fund to support publication. Judge Knott said that no policy has been established for using the Julien Yonge Fund. Miss Chapman reported that there is presently \$5,677.27 in the Yonge Fund, that the accumulated interest is \$309.52. Judge Willis moved that the president appoint a committee to lay down ground rules for the use of the interest from the Fund. Mr. Fuller seconded the motion and it carried. It was suggested that the publications committee - Dr. Proctor (chairman), Dr. Doherty, Dr. Patrick, and Miss Chapman - draw up rules.

Dr. Arnade reported for the Committee for Investigation of Historical Claims, of which he is chairman. The committee recommends the establishment of a Code of Ethics for attractions, the strict observance of which will entitle the attraction, upon application and approval by the Society, to display a "Seal of Approval" It is suggested that the "Code of Ethics" be available only to attractions making historical claims, and should embrace standards along the following lines:

- (a) No false or misleading claims should be made for an attraction which cannot be reasonably sustained.
- (b) Admission charges either should cover the entire cost of visiting the attraction, or the fact that other costs may be involved should be made clear in solicitation and advertising.
- (c) All gifts and artifacts sold in connection with the attraction should not be represented as authentic, unless such is the case.
- (d) The attraction shall be operated in such a way as to comply with ethical and generally accepted moral standards of business conduct.

Mr. Forshay moved that the board adopt the report and that the committee continue its work as suggested. The motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Arnade announced that he was leaving for Spain on a Fulbright grant to search for Florida material in that country's archives and that he would be glad to be of service to Society members in searching out Spanish records.

Miss Chapman introduced the assistant executive-secretary Mrs. Anita Geiger. Miss Chapman explained that contrary to ru-

mor, neither she nor Mrs. Geiger, nor any other member of her staff receives any compensation from the Society. The business of the Society is conducted in addition to their regular duties under the terms of the arrangement offered the Society by President John S. Allen of the University of Florida. Mr. Covington offered a resolution thanking Miss Chapman, Mrs. Geiger, and the University of South Florida for their valuable assistance to the Society. The resolution passed by acclamation.

Mr. Goza reported that the Fort King Road marker had been properly re-located, and that a number of artifacts-military buttons, gun shells, and teeth-had been dug from the Dade battlefield site and had been placed in the Florida State Museum.

Judge Knott asked Miss Chapman and Mrs. DuBois to continue working on the project of getting the *Quarterly* into all Florida school libraries.

Upon the suggestion of Dr. Proctor, Judge Knott asked Miss Chapman to write a letter of condolence to the family of Judge David L. Dunham. Judge Knott thanked everyone for coming and announced that the board would meet again at the annual meeting which is scheduled for St. Augustine, April 22-24, 1965.

Respectively submitted,

Thelma Peters

Recording Secretary

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SAMUEL PROCTOR, *Editor*

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