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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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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 LAND AND COLONIZATION COMPANY

by RICHARD J. AMUNDSON

THE FLORIDA LAND and Colonization Company, Limited, came into being as a result of Henry S. Sanford's desire to make his Florida real estate holdings pay bigger dividends. In the years following the Civil War, Sanford, then minister to Belgium, had invested in the South - a cotton plantation in South Carolina, a sugar plantation in Louisiana, and a large block (approximately 23,000 acres) of undeveloped land on Lake Monroe in Florida, the so-called Sanford Grant. Sanford proposed to turn a portion of his land in Florida into a model orange grove and sell the remainder to others who he hoped would emulate him.

In his attempt to lure large numbers of people to Florida, Sanford took the lead in founding and improving a town-Sanford, Florida. He built and operated a general store, hotel, slaughterhouse, cotton gin, wharf, and telegraph station, besides Belair, his plantation. He had streets constructed in the town and through his property the roads were graded. Town-building proved expensive; Sanford watched it eat all the profits from his many ventures. In addition, General Sanford, a Connecticut Yankee, found native Floridians less than friendly. Several Florida courts decided against him in land controversies.<sup>1</sup> Sanford desired aid in his enterprise and sought to form a corporation which would not only take over, but expand his undertakings.

He attempted to interest northern capitalists in his speculation, but found the attitude of his long time friend Charles A. Amory of Boston typical: "Your scheme of forming a land company in Florida would be very good if you could be guaranteed from all interference of their Legislatures and Courts. The people of the South are bad enough individually, but when it comes to the legislature and courts, what can be worse?"<sup>2</sup> When it seemed

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1. Sanford was made an honorary major general of the Minnesota militia during the Civil War. For the Court decision see especially: *Orange County High School v. Sanford*, 22 Florida Reports 120 (1881); *Sanford v. Cloud*, 22 Florida Reports 532 (1881); *H. S. Sanford v. St. Clair Abrams*, 24 Florida Reports 181 (1888).

2. Charles A. Amory to H. S. Sanford, September 1, 1879, Sanford Papers, Box 46, folder 8.

likely that he would not be able to lure enough American capital, Sanford turned to his European friends for help.<sup>3</sup>

In February 1876, Sanford contacted Dr. Jules Levita about a Florida land company. Levita was a close friend who had helped Sanford sell the bonds of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad in the late 1860s.<sup>4</sup> Levita's circle of friends, drawn from his twenty-five years' experience as counsel to the Austrian Embassy in Paris, included many French and European capitalists.<sup>5</sup> In 1876 he told Sanford that he did not think Europeans were ready for a new plunge into American securities: "The state of affairs in the States must improve before Europeans, after their sad experience of the last years, invest new money. . . ." <sup>6</sup> In spite of a bearish market, Sanford commissioned Levita to draw up articles of incorporation and asked him to mention the proposal to his friends. It was not until the summer of 1879, however, that the idea attracted serious consideration abroad.

The key individual in bringing about the successful formation of a land company was Sir William MacKinnon, a Scotch capitalist whose fortune was based on Indian tea plantations. "I shall be willing to invest some money in it [the company] myself," he declared, "not because I have any desire to go into any new thing or get a better return for my money, but because I should like to assist if I can in promoting a scheme which I believe has in it the elements of commercial success and one in which my help may be useful to you."<sup>7</sup> Levita and MacKinnon then combined to draw in business associates - Levita worked on the Continent, MacKinnon in Britain. A new prospectus of the company was prepared. On the basis of that and MacKinnon's reputation, W. C. Gray and Edwyn Sandys Dawes, partners in the London banking and investment house of Gray-Dawes and Company, Limited, joined

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3. For health reasons Sanford had gone to Europe in his early twenties and spent the greater part of his life there, including twelve years in the United States diplomatic corps.

4. In 1848 Levita had tutored Sanford in law while Sanford was studying at Heidelberg. Sanford to Edmund T. Dana, September 13, 1849, H. S. Sanford Letterbook No. 2, Sanford Papers, Box 97, folder 1 and Box 124, folders 5 and 6, *passim*.

5. Jules Levita to Sanford, February 15, 1876, Sanford Papers, Box 124, folder 10.

6. *Ibid.* Levita is referring to the Panic of 1873.

7. W. MacKinnon to Sanford, July 29, 1879, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 2.

the adventure.<sup>8</sup> The stature of Gray-Dawes in financial circles pulled many into the fold including Russell Sturgis of the Baring Brothers Bank.<sup>9</sup>

The new prospectus called for twenty capitalists or groups of capitalists, each group purchasing a 5,000 pound share. Sanford's Florida land holdings would entitle him to ten shares amounting to a 50,000 pound investment. In addition, once the syndicate was fully subscribed, Sanford was to receive some cash for his improvements.<sup>10</sup>

In May 1880 the Florida Land and Colonization Company, Limited, was formally organized under British law by its directors, Edwyn Sandys Dawes, Alexander Fraser, Anthony Norris, George A. Thomson, and Eli Lee. Sanford was named president and chairman of the board. The company's offices were located at 13 Austin Friars, London.<sup>11</sup>

From the beginning there was friction between Sanford and his English board of directors. George A. Thomson informed Sanford that "the Gentlemen who had undertaken the duties of Directors of the Florida Coy [*sic*] would only accept the responsibilities of the position with the understanding of the business being conducted with thorough system." Thomson said he realized Sanford's displeasure with their procedures, but added, "I assure you our course is essential for the conduct of the affairs of the Coy [*sic*] according to our ideas of business."<sup>12</sup> Arguments ranged from which bookkeeping methods to use, to the man who should represent the company in Florida. The London board, Thomson declared, had confidence in Gerald Waller, but not in James E. Ingraham who was Sanford's general agent in Florida. "The

8. MacKinnon to Sanford, December 19, 1879, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 2.
9. MacKinnon to Sanford, January 12, 1880, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 3. Sturgis subsequently sold his 5,000 pound share.
10. Sanford's shares were largely non-voting stocks. MacKinnon to Sanford, January 27, 1880, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 3. In 1881 Sanford was given 10,000 pounds. Gerald Waller to Sanford, March 15, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 19.
11. MacKinnon to Sanford, March 24 and May 11, 1880, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 3. One of the original investors was Henry's cousin, Stephen Sanford of the Sanford Carpet Company. He invested \$5,000 which was entered in the name of Mrs. Gertrude Sanford's Episcopal Church in Sanford, Florida. All proceeds from the investment were to go to it with Mrs. Sanford acting as trustee. S. Sanford to Sanford, April 29, 1880, Sanford Papers, Box 67, folder 17.
12. G. A. Thomson to Sanford, October 2, 1880, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 16.

Board trusts our friend Mr. Waller," he asserted, "from his already acquired knowledge of the affairs, & from his being well known to us all, will be the best man in the position as Representative & we hope his appointment will be agreeable to you."<sup>13</sup> It was not. Sanford defended Ingraham and insisted that he remain in charge in Florida.

A compromise was reached by which Gerald Waller was to be co-agent with Ingraham whenever lands were to be purchased, but all land sales were to be handled by Ingraham. Waller was to take an inventory of company property and determine the value of the Sanford Grant lands and any additional property acquired.<sup>14</sup> William Beardall of London was appointed assistant manager at the Sanford office.<sup>15</sup> From Waller's reports the board of directors would decide how to raise the money needed for an elaborate expansion program.

Sanford had proposed taking advantage of the sale of state lands recently given to Florida by the federal government for the purpose of financing public works. These lands, under the jurisdiction of the Florida Internal Improvement Fund, could be purchased for very little. A shrewd agent was needed, however, to select and buy the most valuable tracts of land.<sup>16</sup> Waller after an inspection tour recommended that some land be purchased, but he did not think the company should or would entertain Sanford's bold counter-recommendation. Sanford, who disliked the procrastination and delay of the cautious and conservative Englishmen, had gone ahead on his own with negotiations to obtain state lands. Hugh A. Corley of the office of the Commissioner of Lands and Immigration agreed to give Sanford a ninety-day option to select in blocks of not less than 640 acres. This offer was altered somewhat in March 1881, and Corley extended the option for an indefinite period.<sup>17</sup>

Acting upon this option, Ingraham wrote Waller, who had returned to London, that he was selecting additional lands. He

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13. *Ibid.*

14. MacKinnon to Sanford, May 11, 1880, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 3.

15. *Ibid.*, October 7, 1880, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 3.

16. Sanford to MacKinnon, December 27, 1879, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 10.

17. H. A. Corley to Sanford, December 10, 1880 and March 28, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 5.



noted also that many good bargains could be found in Washington. The government had given Civil War veterans a bonus in the form of scrip which could be used to buy federal land. Ingraham remarked that scrip could be purchased at a tremendous discount, fifty to sixty cents on the dollar. It was worth 100 cents at the land office.<sup>18</sup> By September, Ingraham had obtained several thousand acres of what he termed "choice lands," including the so-called Trafford Tract on the line of the South Florida Railroad near the city of Bartow which contained about 40,000 acres.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile, cheer and good fellowship remained absent from 13 Austin Friars. Ashurst, Norris, Crisp & Company had been authorized to sell Florida Land and Colonization Company stock over the counter.<sup>20</sup> They proceeded cautiously. General Sanford wanted bold action, but got only delay. The board of directors refused to move with dispatch in acquiring any more new lands or approving those purchased until additional funds had been invested. As a result, Sanford threatened to withdraw. "I have announced my determination to withdraw myself & my name from any further connection with it [the company]," he told Sir William MacKinnon, "if the conduct of our business there [Sanford] is to be further muddled & snarled by unnecessary interference from the London office."<sup>21</sup>

Director Dawes asked Sanford to be patient and admitted, "it has, I am aware, been a disappointment to you that the operations of the company have not been extended, but the business being new to us and available funds being limited we have felt ourselves constrained to act with caution." In answer to Sanford's threat to withdraw, he asserted, "we are in the company because of Mr. MacKinnon's desire to assist you, but if others were ready and able to release us of the duties we would be willing to part with all shares & retire." He emphasized the desire of all

18. J. E. Ingraham to Sanford, July 22, 1887, Sanford Papers, Box 50, folder 6.

19. *Ibid.*, September 7 and 14, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 50, folder 6. Shortly after this purchase, Ingraham stepped down and E. R. Trafford became general agent of the land company.

20. Ashurst, Norris, Crisp & Company to J. J. Daniel, September 10, 1880, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 5. Each of these partners had taken shares themselves.

21. Sanford to MacKinnon, December 3, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 10.

to promote the success of the venture, but said: "In England we move slowly and with more caution than you are accustomed to in America & whilst no doubt you better understand your countrymen, English shareholders will be more influenced in favor of pushing the business by our mode of working & hence let us & them feel that the company is on a solid basis and doing a good business & money will come freely forward. To ensure this however we must insist upon controlling finance, keeping strict accounts & having careful accounts." <sup>22</sup> It was, however, because of MacKinnon's persuasion that Sanford remained with the concern. Throughout the history of the land company, MacKinnon stayed friendly with all factions and served as peacemaker. He persuaded the board of directors to approve the land transactions. <sup>23</sup>

Sanford, who had agreed to the formation of the land company because he was too hard pressed to build a city by himself, confessed to his wife, "The relief I have from the hard pressure of these years past by comparative ease in money matters is very great & gives my mind freedom to act in other matters than the struggle 'to finance.' " <sup>24</sup> The acclaim, however, which was showered upon him in Florida may have inflated his ego. In the letter to his wife, he wrote, "It is curious to see how all Florida now is agog over my 'wonderful success' & how admiringly, not to say enthusiastically, all sides are speaking of my 'great work' &c. People who were seeking a few years ago to tear me to pieces are now trying to get favors." <sup>25</sup>

It may be that he had never intended to transfer decision-making to others, or it may be that the hearty congratulations he received in Florida caused him to believe that he knew better than the London directors. At any rate, Sanford attempted to exert more than normal control over the affairs of the company. He wanted the land company to provide the city of Sanford with streets and a new water system. Of the latter, George Thomson, speaking for the directors, said, "as to the water works, we quite realize the importance of this work, but if the Citizens & Town

22. E. S. Dawes to Sanford, December 8, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 7.

23. MacKinnon to Sanford, July 27, August 5, 6, and December 6, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 4.

24. Sanford to G. E. Sanford, January 5, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 83, folder 5.

25. *Ibid.*

authorities are not equally alive to its importance we see no other course than to wait until they are." He added that such an undertaking "is not the legitimate footing for such business."<sup>26</sup> In March, Thomson candidly informed Sanford that "the Directors are not in a position as yet to undertake construction works such as Canals & Railways & any calculations you may be making for such enterprize [*sic*] are sure to be disappointed."<sup>27</sup>

In October, Thomson again speaking for all the directors, was critical of Sanford's plan to clear land, plant orange trees on it, and sell it as groves. "You appear to have spent a good deal of money in starting Groves at different places which have been allowed to go to waste," he noted. "The Coy [*sic*] would never sanction any venture of the kind with such risk. What we decide to put our hand to is meant to be carried out to a successful result," he said, and added, "by careful & judicious management."<sup>28</sup> It is understandable that given these two points of view, one or the other side had to back down. Sanford, who controlled five-sevenths of the stock, but could not vote that amount, felt he should be able to determine policy and the directors could supervise carrying it out. "I think my wishes & views are entitled to quite as much consideration as the feelings of Mr. Thomson," he asserted, "who in his desire to prove himself valuable to you, is really working mischief. . . ." <sup>29</sup> Writing to MacKinnon, Sanford seems to have stretched the truth as he stated his position:

I do know about this business, & have hitherto been most successful & among a people who esteem & respect me. I have made, as you are aware, repeated concessions & sacrifices to accomplish the result of a Co. with capital to carry out my plans, wh [*sic*] late events have demonstrated the feasibility & great advantage of. In all these two years & more I have been treated with distrust, I may say suspicion, as tho' [*sic*] I were an enemy rather than a friend. <sup>30</sup>

Sanford sought control of the company and declared he would produce bigger profits at smaller operating costs. E. R. Trafford,

26. Thomson to Sanford, February 5, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 16.

27. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 16.

28. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 16.

29. Sanford to MacKinnon, July 12, 1882, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 10.

30. *Ibid.*

the new agent in Sanford, was, in Sanford's estimation, guilty of "bad & ignorant management. . . ," and he wanted him replaced. He felt more authority should be given to another agent, however, as it was unwise to leave "an unknown man 6,000 miles off practically sole control of our business. . . ." <sup>31</sup>

It was precisely because of Sanford's lack of control over E. R. Trafford that the London board approved of him and defended him so tenaciously. George Thomson claimed that "while it is a pity Mr. Trafford has not had more general experience he shows a capacity in the manner in which he treats all questions . . . which impresses the board with confidence that he will act with good judgment." Thomson asked Sanford not to interfere through his "numerous disconnected notes" to Trafford but rather to join the board in submitting "periodical minutes. . . ." <sup>32</sup> Thomson led a move, which the directors approved, to block Sanford in his attempt to go to Florida and act temporarily as supervisor. When Sanford objected, he was told there "was no justice in your complaint." <sup>33</sup> "I would be greatly pleased to cooperate cordially with you," he told Sanford, "but your persistent complaints . . . makes [*sic*] it most difficult to adapt ones [*sic*] efforts to the good of the business with your approval." <sup>34</sup>

In the spring of 1884, Sanford forced a showdown for control of the company. At a meeting of the shareholders where his voting power would be most effective, he hoped to make changes on the board of directors. The key control lay with the one who controlled Sir William MacKinnon's shares, and Sanford had been led to believe he would. In October 1883 MacKinnon had writ-

31. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1883, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 10. W. S. Webb, quoting from the *Tropical Paradise*, described the offices of the Florida Land and Colonization Company as "a handsome two-story building of the Queen Anne style. . . . The material is Florida pine. The general office is a large airy room on the first floor. It is neatly and tastefully furnished. The business office is enclosed by a large counter extending across the room with glass front. The desks in this office are made of real Florida cedar, beautifully polished. . . . On the second floor will be found the surveying department and draught-rooms. The entire building is supplied throughout with water and lighted by gas." Wanton S. Webb (ed.), *Webb's Historical, Industrial And Biographical Florida* (New York, 1885), 88.

32. Thomson to Sanford, September 3, 1883, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 17.

33. *Ibid.*, September 24 and October 3, 1883, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 17.

34. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1884, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 17.

ten Sanford, "I did my best to impress on Dawes my desire that every one should stretch a point to meet your wishes." But, he added, "I hope all around there will be a disposition to mutually 'give & take' & I hope you will endeavour as far as possible to accept the modifications the board may impose."<sup>35</sup>

MacKinnon, however, hoping to steer a course between his friends, refused to give his proxy to Sanford, declaring that his shares would not be voted at this meeting.<sup>36</sup> With Sir William's stock not voted, Sanford influenced fifty per cent of the remaining stock. Jules Levita was commissioned to spearhead Sanford's movement for control.<sup>37</sup> The board, fearing a Sanford victory, called upon MacKinnon to stand by them lest Sanford wrest control and dictate policy. MacKinnon, in this delicate situation, negotiated directly with Levita, pointing out to him all the many factors that needed consideration. His most telling argument was that the company had steady sales and was paying a dividend -albeit a small one-and Sanford's plans for expansion offered no guarantee of success.<sup>38</sup> Levita went to London to meet with MacKinnon at 13 Austin Friars to, as he informed Sanford, "create a proper *modus vivendi* between you and the Board."<sup>39</sup> In London Levita was told that "it is a great pity these differences had arisen, but the board believe their views if followed will lead to better results than could be attained if Mr. Sanford had controlling management."<sup>40</sup> MacKinnon re-emphasized that his friends had joined the company as a favor to him and he as a favor to Sanford. He also mentioned that all the cash in the venture had been put in by others.

Edwyn Sandys Dawes stated the position of the board clearly. "Mr. Sanford lays too much stress upon his large interests as shareholder," he asseverated, "overlooking the fact that if anything went wrong with the company, the shares would be of little value." Concerning the firm's financial condition, he said, "The company

35. MacKinnon to Sanford, October 20, 1883, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 5.

36. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1883, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 5.

37. J. Levita to Sanford, March 19 and April 4, 8, 1884, Sanford Papers, Box 125, folder 4.

38. MacKinnon to Levita, April 8, 1884, Sanford Papers, Box 125, folder 4.

39. Levita to Sanford, April 10, 1884, Sanford Papers, Box 125, folder 4.

40. MacKinnon to Levita, April 14, 1884, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 5.

is indebted 6,600 [pounds] to my firm and a similar amount to Mr. MacKinnon. There are also debentures issued at an excessive amount compared with the share capital." He believed that these advances "should be evidence to Mr. Sanford of our good will towards him . . . and should show him the necessity of extreme caution." Dawes professed to believe that if Sanford would only "be more patient and allow the business to be conducted with care & caution the company would become prosperous at no distant date."<sup>41</sup> The advances and the debentures had been needed to pay for the land which the company had obtained. Levita was converted to the board's viewpoint. At the meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Land and Colonization Company, all of Sanford's propositions were voted down, even his offer to purchase at par value the stock of the company.<sup>42</sup>

Once the board had shown its power, it authorized sending Sanford to Florida to inspect the operation of its business and called E. R. Trafford, the Florida general agent, back to London.<sup>43</sup> With this defeat Sanford turned his attention more and more to Africa and less to Florida.<sup>44</sup> He formed the High Congo Company and sent the Sanford Exploring Expedition up the Congo River. His concern over the land company and over his other holdings in Florida, most notably Belair, caused him to come to a *rapprochement* with the London board. Later his financial indebtedness to Edwyn Dawes and William MacKinnon precluded any attempt on his part to forcibly take control.

The Florida portion of the history of the land and colonization company is as interesting as the struggle for control. The Florida company had three successive general managers, each of whom was competent and had the best interests of the firm at heart. James E. Ingraham, E. R. Trafford, and Frederic H. Rand

41. Dawes to Levita, April 15, 1884, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 7.

42. Levita to Sanford, April 23, 1884, Sanford Papers, Box 125, folder 4.

43. "Annual Report, Florida Land and Colonization Company," October 8, 1884, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2. In January 1885 F. R. Shelton, Sanford's cousin and a banker in Philadelphia, was appointed as a director. "Annual Report, Florida Land and Colonization Company," October 28, 1885, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2.

44. Gertrude Sanford protested to Sir William MacKinnon of the humiliations her husband had suffered. She accused the board of showing "how much he is valued by the Co. by being rude & aggressive to us in such ways as only the vulgar are capable of." G. E. Sanford to MacKinnon, September 26, 1884, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 10.

served successively in Sanford. Ingraham favored the best interests of General Sanford over those of the company and communicated with the general as fully as he did with London. Except for brief reports of financial transactions, E. R. Trafford communicated with Sanford only at widely separated intervals.<sup>45</sup> Frederic Rand, although an appointee of General Sanford, gradually transferred his first loyalty to London.<sup>46</sup> British-born William Beardall, the assistant agent under each of the managers, received repeated commendations from the board of directors for his services.<sup>47</sup>

The total capitalization of the company was 83,115 pounds, fourteen shillings, six pence.<sup>48</sup> On this capital, profits of 5,355 pounds, sixteen shillings, thirteen pence, nearly seven per cent, were earned in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1882 - the first full year of operation.<sup>49</sup> While the bulk of its income was made through the sale of town lots in the city of Sanford, holdings of the company were widespread and included 14,000 acres in Hernando County, 5,000 acres in Brevard, 15,000 in Alachua, 10,000 in Hillsborough, 14,000 in Sumter, 10,000 in Manatee, 25,000 in Polk, 6,000 in Marion, and the Sanford Grant in Orange County.<sup>50</sup>

An advertising pamphlet prepared by the Florida Land and Colonization Company spoke of its development of several small towns in Florida. Anclote in Hernando County, thirty miles north of Tampa Bay and sixty miles from Cedar Key, was described as "charmingly situated on the north bank of the river of the same

45. E. R. Trafford to Sanford, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 18, *passim*.

46. Sanford to G. E. Sanford, January 3, 1887, Sanford Papers, Box 86, folder 5. Rand was born in Boston, July 19, 1846. He was educated at Norwich University and served in the Civil War as captain of the Fourth Massachusetts Cavalry. After the war, Frederic Rand went west to California as assistant superintendent of the Nieswander Mining Company, but eventually returned to New England. After several attempts at business, he went to Florida in 1876 and became an active promoter of railroads. His success attracted Sanford's attention. William F. Blackman, *History of Orange County Florida* (DeLand, 1927), Part 2, 166-67.

47. "Annual Report, Florida Land and Colonization Company," Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2, *passim*.

48. "Annual Report, Florida Land and Colonization Company," June 30, 1882, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 1.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.* From time to time the company purchased additional state lands to replace those sold.

name about one mile above its mouth.”<sup>51</sup> Lauding the location, the advertisement prophesied:

The land being high and with a beautiful, unobstructed view of the Gulf, it is destined to be the St. Augustine of the Gulf-coast, and will be the resort of the northerner during the winter on account of its southern location and natural attractiveness, and during the summer the Floridian from the interior will resort hither to et the refreshing sea breezes. Even now each year, large numbers of the residents of the interior bring their families and ‘camp out’ on the shores of the Anclote River and the Gulf during ‘the heated term.’<sup>52</sup>

The town of MacKinnon, named after Sir William MacKinnon, was developed along the line of the South Florida Railroad. It was described as having a store, sawmill, and a post office. Forty-seven orange groves were in the process of development.<sup>53</sup> The Florida company boasted of land it had for sale on Fort Gardinier Island on the Kissimmee River and of the Arredondo Grant in Alachua County-described as “some of the choicest lands. . . .”<sup>54</sup>

In an editorial, the *Daily Florida Union* of Jacksonville, spoke flatteringly of the Florida Land and Colonization Company and of its advertising throughout the nation. “This company,” the paper stated, “is the one in which General Sanford is connected.” Their advertising, it declared, set forth “the advantages of the State . . . in a very clear, but by no means extravagant manner. Gen. Sanford has done and is yet doing much to build up our State.”<sup>55</sup> Beginning December 2, 1881, the *Daily Florida Union* carried advertisements of the land company.<sup>56</sup>

In the 1884 annual report sales were reported totaling \$106,804.17; profits were listed at 5,269 pounds, two shillings, eleven pence.<sup>57</sup> From this amount a dividend of five per cent, or 3,645 pounds, was divided among the shareholders. For 1885 sales slumped to less than half of the previous year’s total, but a

51. “Sanford and Beyond” (Sanford, n.d.), 8. The company budgeted \$1,000 per year on advertisements. “Advertisements,” Florida Land and Colonization Company, Sanford Papers, Box 56, folder 1, *passim*.  
52. “Sanford and Beyond,” 9.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, November 30, 1881.

56. *Ibid.*, December 2, 3, 1881.

57. “Annual Report, Florida Land and Colonization Company,” October 8, 1884, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2.



four per cent dividend was paid.<sup>58</sup> The annual report for 1885 declared that the "general depression of business, which has been so severe in the United States, has checked sales of the Company's lands." The report noted, however, that E. R. Trafford believed the future "never looked brighter than at present."<sup>59</sup> Trafford proved to be wrong; sales for 1886 dropped to 7,530 pounds sterling.<sup>60</sup> This decline was again laid at the door of depressed business conditions generally.

The town of Sanford continued to provide the bulk of the sales. The annual report for the year ending June 30, 1886, noted that the town of Sanford had increased in population from 300 in 1880 to over 2,500 in 1886.<sup>61</sup> Six railroads connected with the city. "Sanford and Beyond," an advertising brochure of the colonization company, spoke of Sanford as having "three large wharves with warehouses attached, constantly filled and often over-crowded with goods." Describing the business in the thriving community, it averred there were:

large orange packing establishments, machine shops, wagon factories, cistern factory, steam saw and planing mills, steam shingle mills, car and repair shops for railroads centering here, fertilizer factory and warehouses, first-class banking house, two steam printing establishments employing fifty hands, opera house, three newspapers, Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist churches; the Catholics have secured a lot and will shortly erect a church; there are also four churches for colored people.<sup>62</sup>

Gas lights and street improvements had been approved by the citizens and contracts had been let to provide these.<sup>63</sup> This could

58. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1885, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2.

59. *Ibid.* Trafford reported that he had acquired 19,761 acres of land in Polk, Manatee, Hillsborough, Hernando, Monroe, and Orange counties. He expected the Polk County lands, especially those near Bartow, to sell at high prices as the South Florida Railroad had just been extended to that community.

60. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1886, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2.

61. *Ibid.*

62. "Sanford and Beyond," 3-4.

63. Sanford wrote his wife on the 15th of January, 1887, "last night the town was lighted with gas-an unnecessary & expensive luxury-but it makes the town very pretty at night, & is exciting a lively quarrel. 'Tuckertown' & 'Georgetown' (W of the Ave) the little negro suburb only getting 2 of the 60 lamps while paying  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the taxes." Sanford believed the city had been foolish to surrender one-fourth of its taxes for lights when so many other things needed doing. Sanford to G. E. Sanford, January 15, 1887, Sanford Papers, Box 86, folder 6.

only aid the company by increasing land values and sales. The agent's report suggested that prices be advanced fifty per cent and the board followed the recommendation.<sup>64</sup>

When Henry Sanford visited the town he had carved out of the wilderness, he found a large delegation waiting for him. The mayor of Sanford welcomed him and escorted him to the town hall where official ceremonies took place. His role in the development of South Florida was given official recognition.<sup>65</sup> Privately, he wrote his wife a different account of the people:

I am very much disgusted with the people here. All have made what they have mostly through me [*sic*] very liberalities here. All have speculated in lots & made money. Yet all hold back for me or the Co. to provide for faster expansion. Manufacturers coming here need encouragement, but they dont [*sic*] seem disposed to give it. They are not united & they lack public spirit. I am hoping now to get a palmetto fibre & paper mill here that will bring 2 or 300 hands, also some Railroad car works employing 150 hands, but there is no spirit to back me in offering inducements & its [*sic*] disheartening. The best part of the town is now occupied by these men whose interests as a whole are greater than ours as a Co. The town is growing rapidly, it is now over run by Railroads. You would scarcely know it. Think of it, 100 houses built in the last 12 months! & many very nice ones.<sup>66</sup>

The fiscal year 1887 saw the fortunes of the Florida Land and Colonization Company continuing to decline. While sales rose to 9,418 pounds sterling, due largely to 160 lots sold in Sanford, profits fell to less than 500 pounds. The reasons listed in the annual report of 1887 were repairs to the Sanford House and to the sawmill. The Sanford Water Works, which the company had constructed in 1883, needed a general overhaul which absorbed much money.<sup>67</sup> In fiscal 1888, sales fell to 5,961 pounds and to 4,333 pounds in 1889. For the latter year this figure repre-

64. "Annual Report, Florida Land and Colonization Company," November 10, 1886, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2.

65. Sanford to G. E. Sanford, December 8, 1886, Sanford Papers, Box 86, folder 3.

66. *Ibid.*, December 22, 1886, Sanford Papers, Box 86, folder 4. Sanford mentioned in January 1887, that the town had a "Lyceum" where he saw "a good . . . dramatic performance [with] . . . some really talented actors." *Ibid.*, January 9, 1887, Sanford Papers, Box 86, folder 5.

67. "Annual Report, Florida Land and Colonization Company," November 3, 1887, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2.

sented a loss.<sup>68</sup> The depressed condition was attributed to the yellow fever epidemic which had raged in northeast Florida the previous year and the scare which had swept over the state, and to the failure of the Clermont Improvement Company which owed a large sum of money to the Florida land company. Frederic Rand authorized re-buying the land from this company by returning the amount that had been paid, rather than lose the land and the amount due.<sup>69</sup> The falling prosperity of the company had prompted Edwyn S. Dawes, one of the London directors, to say, "Our manager appears from his correspondence to be a practical man but he does [not] fare as freely as Trafford did."<sup>70</sup>

Dawes' remarks may have been unjust. The city of Sanford was swept by a severe fire which destroyed nearly three square blocks. The blaze, which was discovered early in the morning of September 20, 1887, sustained itself for two days. Between Magnolia and Sanford avenues and Second and First streets, little was left standing. The block between Commercial and First and Palmetto and Sanford avenues was partially levelled. While the colonization company suffered little loss - \$400 in damages to the Sanford House - a great deal of capital was required to rebuild the damaged area.<sup>71</sup> Inadequate fire lighting equipment stymied efforts to quench the conflagration. The Sanford Water Works, which the Florida Land and Colonization Company owned and operated, had not been designed to afford fire protection. The volunteer fire department of Sanford was not adequate, and it pressed the adoption of more sound fire fighting methods, including a water system.<sup>72</sup>

A business up-swing occurred in 1890. The discovery of phosphate on lands primarily in Polk and Alachua counties caused sales to boom in those areas. Rand's sales there totaled 14,157 pounds.<sup>73</sup> Over-all expenditures were still large, however, and

68. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1889, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2. Among the sales was one giving 233 acres for a college at Winter Haven, Florida, for \$5,000.

69. *Ibid.*

70. Dawes to Sanford, July 27, 1888, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 8.

71. F. H. Rand to the board of directors, September 21, 1887, Sanford Papers, Box 56, folder 9.

72. Rand to Sanford, November 26, 1887, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 9.

73. "Annual Report, Florida Land and Colonization Company," November 21, 1890, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2.

the company voted against a dividend for the fourth consecutive year.<sup>74</sup> Sanford, in dire need of money, was dissatisfied with the results.<sup>75</sup> Jules Levita, the largest French shareholder and Sanford's warm friend, had earlier declared, "I regret the non-frequency of dividends of Florida shares. . . . Under the present circumstances a dividend would have been more appreciated and required."<sup>76</sup> Henry Sanford died in May 1891. The debts owed to MacKinnon and Dawes were liquidated by a transfer of some of his stock in the Florida Land and Colonization Company and the Sanford Congo Company to them.<sup>77</sup> Mrs. Sanford handled this transaction.

The Florida company sorely missed Sanford's presence. While many of his suggestions had been ignored, and despite his ill temper and bad manners, he was the person who had held the company together. Without him the London directors had no desire to carry on, and at a special meeting held September 15, 1892 in London, the necessary legal steps to dissolve the company were taken.<sup>78</sup> The company's assets, including approximately 65,000 acres of land in Florida, were divided among the share and debenture holders. The records available do not indicate Mrs. Sanford's share.<sup>79</sup>

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74. *Ibid.*

75. So hard pressed was Henry Sanford for money that he was forced to mortgage Belair to Sir William MacKinnon. By August 1, 1889, Sanford was in debt 16,345 pounds to MacKinnon and Edwyn S. Dawes. Sanford to G. E. Sanford, February 17, 1888, Sanford Papers, Box 87, folder 2. Dawes to Sanford, August 1, 1889, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 9.

76. Levita to Sanford, September 30, 1887, Sanford Papers, Box 125, folder 8.

77. MacKinnon to G. E. Sanford, December 11, 1891, Sanford Papers, Box 127, folder 9.

78. A. W. MacFarlane to G. E. Sanford, August 24, 1892, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 6.

79. "Annual Report, Florida Land and Colonization Company," November 21, 1890, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 2. MacFarlane to G. E. Sanford, December 3, 1892, Sanford Papers, Box 54, folder 6.

## THE FLORIDA PRESS AND THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY OF 1912

by GEORGE N. GREEN

TWO NORTHERN GUBERNATORIAL elections in 1910 brought to the fore potential presidential candidates for the Democratic Party. These two men were Judson Harmon, the mustachioed professional politician and governor of Ohio, and Woodrow Wilson, the austere history professor and president of Princeton University and the governor of New Jersey. Florida and Georgia were the only two southern states where Democratic primaries would determine who would receive the states' delegation vote at the Democratic national convention in July 1912. This was the first presidential primary in Florida's history.<sup>1</sup>

As governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson had rebuked the Democratic political bosses who had helped elect him in 1908, and he had energetically pushed progressive reforms in his state which had alarmed conservatives throughout the nation. Most of Florida's newspapers, overwhelmingly conservative, opposed Wilson's reforming program and veered away from his presidential boom. As a result, his prospects of capturing Florida's Democratic delegation declined under the fusilades of the state press in the winter and spring of 1912.

When the Pensacola Evening News learned that Wilson had once applied for a Carnegie retirement grant, it charged that these pensions were being financed by "Andrew Carnegie's gold," the fruit of Republican tariff protection. The paper described it as "gold gathered in the blood and tears of the Homestead strike, when children starved, women wept, and workmen were shot to death on their doorsteps."<sup>2</sup> The Carnegie grant matter was men-

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1. Arthur S. Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1945), 38, 55, 308. See also *Laws of Florida* (1901), 160-65. The presidential primary law of 1901 was apparently interpreted as being optional and was ignored for a decade. In 1911 a joint committee of the Florida legislature recommended that the state's primary laws be thoroughly examined and the following year the Democratic state committee provided for a presidential preference primary. This primary became mandatory in 1913. See *Laws of Florida* (1913), 254.
  2. *Pensacola Evening News*, January 16, 1912, quoted in Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," 91.

tioned several times during the pre-convention campaign, although little notice was taken of the fact that at the time he applied for the grant Wilson was an unemployed professor without visible means of support and without any clear political future.<sup>3</sup>

Wilson admitted voting the "Gold" Democratic ticket in 1896, as the only alternative between William Jennings Bryan and William McKinley, but he insisted that he had faithfully supported the regular Democratic ticket ever since. The *Pensacola Evening News* printed a letter from one of the governor's political enemies in New Jersey, claiming that Wilson had not even bothered to vote in 1908. The *News* added its own vitriolic opinions on the subject, and ignored Wilson's written denials. Finally in March 1912, Wilson was moved to comment to Frank Mayes, editor of the *Pensacola Journal*, the city's other newspaper, on the extraordinary persistence of long-lived lies.<sup>4</sup> The charges were finally refuted when seven members of the election board of Wilson's New Jersey ward sent an affidavit to the *News*, testifying that the governor had voted in 1908.<sup>5</sup> This affidavit, however, did not restrain the anti-Wilson papers in Florida from printing "revelations" that the governor had rarely, if ever, voted the Democratic ticket.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the opposition of all but seventeen Florida papers, Wilson's Florida campaign was from the beginning a strong movement. United States Senator Nathan P. Bryan, together with several other prominent Floridians, endorsed Wilson. These Democrats included W. P. Watson, labor leader and member of the state democratic executive committee from Orlando; Secretary of State H. Clay Crawford of Tallahassee; J. F. C. Griggs, a lawyer from Appalachicola; and Dr. John Stagg, a Presbyterian minister from Orlando, who claimed that Wilson was chosen by God for the deliverance of the American people.<sup>7</sup> Several small town newspapers also announced their support for Wilson.

Woodrow Wilson clubs were organized in Jacksonville, Pensacola, Miami, St. Augustine, and Tampa. Students at the Uni-

3. Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," 90.

4. Mayes was editor of the *Pensacola Journal*, the leading pro-Wilson paper in Florida.

5. Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," 98-99.

6. See, for example, the Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, March 12, 1912, and the *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 6, 1912.

7. Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," 308-09.

versity of Florida organized one of the first chapters of the Woodrow Wilson League of College Men. The clubs were designed to raise funds and sponsor rallies, but since they functioned in only a few cities, they were unable to exert much real effect on the outcome of the primary.<sup>8</sup>

Two nationally prominent Democrats stumped the state for Wilson. Dudley Field Malone, city attorney of New York and famous trial lawyer, spoke at the Hillsborough County Courthouse, February 23, 1912, and outlined Wilson's political philosophy. Branding the Republicans as long-time pawns of the moneyed interests, he insisted that Wilson was free of entanglements with the old Democratic party bosses. He had once spurned a gift of \$1,500 for Princeton University, Mr. Malone recalled, because it had been proffered by someone who wanted to further certain non-democratic ideas. The Tampa audience, according to a local news account, responded cordially to Malone's speech.<sup>9</sup>

A crucial factor affecting the outcome of the primary was the intervention of William Jennings Bryan, the Nebraskan who had thrice received the Democratic nomination but who had carried his party down to defeat on each occasion. Bryan in the spring of 1912 was not yet committed to any candidate, and he insisted that he was neutral. It was believed, however, that he favored a progressive. If so, this would eliminate all potential candidates except Wilson and himself. For several months Bryan had been receiving letters from various parts of the country warning him that the other candidates might combine to defeat Woodrow Wilson. Such warnings might be construed as attempts to sway the avowedly neutral Bryan into a pro-Wilson position. For instance, Colonel Edward House, leader of the Wilson forces in Texas, informed Bryan in December 1911, that financier J. P. Morgan was violently opposed to Wilson, and that ultra-conservative William Randolph Hearst seemed to be favoring conservative Alabama Congressman Oscar Underwood.<sup>10</sup> Bryan became obsessed with the idea that Oscar Underwood was "a reactionary lackey of Wall

8. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 12, 17 and February 28, 1912; Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," 345-46.

9. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 29, 1912.

10. William Jennings Bryan and Mary Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Philadelphia, 1925), 159; M. R. Werner, *Bryan* (New York, 1929), 168-69.

Street" and therefore had to be crushed in his apparent darkhorse bid for the Democratic nomination. Bryan was determined to hold the whip hand in the Florida primary, the first that pitted the progressive Wilson against Congressman Underwood. His objective was to stymie Underwood at all costs, but at the same time he did not want to endorse Wilson.

Bryan acted hastily in his efforts to achieve these goals. He did not seem to realize the extent to which his personal prestige was being damaged in the South because of his verbal assaults on Underwood, whose leadership and integrity were widely hailed in Florida. Most Florida newspapers deeply resented Bryan's attacks.<sup>11</sup> The conservative press reminded its readers that the only time the Democrats had elected a president since Bryan became politically active was in 1892 when Bryan opposed the party's nominee.<sup>12</sup> The conservatives openly wondered, with some justification, how Bryan, a delegate to the national convention, could insist that primaries should instruct their delegation and yet, at the same time, proclaim that he would vote for neither Harmon nor Underwood no matter who won the Nebraska primary.<sup>13</sup>

Wilson's Florida managers may have realized that, given the power of the state's press and politicians, Bryan's support was of questionable value, but there was little they could do about it. How does one refuse the support of the titular head of the party if he proposes to campaign for one's candidate? How could the champions of a progressive aspirant for the presidency afford to rebuke the man who had led the liberal wing of the party for almost a generation?

Wilson himself appeared on the Florida scene shortly before Bryan. He spoke to a packed house at the Duval Theater in Jacksonville on April 18, 1912. Some 2,200 persons applauded his speech, which endorsed a low tariff, the popular primary, and the blocking of special privilege legislation.<sup>14</sup> But this was his only Florida appearance; he continued his Georgia speaking tour the next day. He did not speak again in the state before the primary.

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11. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 27, 1912; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, April 27, 1912.

12. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 15, 1912.

13. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, quoted in *ibid.*, March 29, 1912.

14. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, April 19, 1912.



Bryan meanwhile arrived at Jacksonville on April 26, where he charged that both Underwood and Harmon were reactionaries, which he defined as persons wanting to see America under the oppressive yoke of Wall Street. At Tampa and Orlando Bryan labeled Underwood the "candidate of Wall Street."<sup>15</sup> His effect on the Florida primary, however, judging from his reception in the press and the outcome of the voting, was somewhat negative. His rash and extravagant accusations probably cost Wilson more votes than were gained.<sup>16</sup>

In the winter of 1911-1912, before the primary campaign was underway, it appeared that Governor Judson Harmon would be Wilson's major Florida opponent. He opposed virtually every facet of progressivism: popular election of senators, shorter working hours for women, corrupt practices legislation, regulation of public utility corporations, and even the enforcement of current corporation taxes. Harmon's idea of reform was to slash federal spending to the point where it would cost no more than a dollar per person to support the federal government.<sup>17</sup>

Albert W. Gilchrist, outgoing governor of Florida, endorsed Harmon early in February 1912. The governor strenuously supported the convict lease system which he considered humanitarian, and his political machine had been identified with eastern finance capital and reactionary politics. Gilchrist did not relish having to make a specific political commitment, but as governor he could hardly avoid endorsing someone for president during the campaign. He had no particular praise for Harmon, and claimed that he was seeking only the most available candidate. He believed, or said he believed, that Harmon was the only Democratic candidate who could carry Ohio and New York, and that anyone who carried Ohio automatically swept New Jersey, Connecticut, and Delaware.<sup>18</sup>

15. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1912.

16. Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," 312.

17. "Judson Harmon-His Record and His Views," *Outlook*, C (January 27, 1912), 175-83; Burton J. Hendrick, "Judson Harmon: Progressive Candidate," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVIII (April 1912), 619-24.

18. Sister Mary E. Staid, "Albert Waller Gilchrist, Florida's Middle of the Road Governor" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1950), 31, 34, 36, 64, 81, 84, 87, 98; Tallahassee *Weekly True Democrat*, February 9, 1912; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 477.

Florida's conservative press, in the meantime, had lined up behind Governor Harmon's candidacy. The *Key West Journal*, *Arcadia Enterprise*, *Clay County Times*, *Sanford Herald*, and *Tampa Morning Tribune* announced that they were setting aside sentimental preference for Wilson, a Southerner, and would support the man who had the best chance of winning.<sup>19</sup> At the time, however, Woodrow Wilson was clearly the strongest Democratic candidate so far as the whole country was concerned.

The *Tampa Morning Tribune* announced that it would support Harmon because Florida was not being flooded with his literature. The paper claimed that this lack of propaganda indicated that Harmon's candidacy was a case of "the honor seeking the man" rather than the machine-tainted opposite.<sup>20</sup> The Tampa paper never mentioned this reason again; perhaps the editors came to regard it as too banal. The *Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat* printed the endorsement of Governor Harmon by Samuel Pasco, former United States Senator from Florida and former Grand High Priest of the Royal Arch Masons. Senator Pasco claimed that Harmon was both progressive and conservative and was, therefore, the man to nominate.<sup>21</sup> Whether the senator and the Tallahassee paper really believed that anyone could be both conservative and progressive is debatable; Harmon's views were certainly not progressive. The editor of the *True Democrat* described Harmon as "a conservative of conservatives."<sup>22</sup> A few days later, however, this editor wrote that he favored Harmon because he was progressive!<sup>23</sup> Perhaps Wilson's popularity in Florida had been called to his attention.

The *Key West Citizen* claimed that Harmon was favored by most Floridians, including the leading statesmen and citizens, although there is no evidence to warrant such an assumption.<sup>24</sup> In the extant Florida papers there are no pro-Harmon letters to the editor, no accounts of Harmon clubs, and no announcements

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19. These papers are quoted in the *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 14, 17, 1912; *Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat*, March 8, 1912.

20. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, quoted in *Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat*, February 9, 1912.

21. *Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat*, February 23, 1912.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1912.

24. *Key West Citizen*, quoted in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 19, 1912.

of Harmon support from anyone except newspaper editors and a few politicians.

The *Florida Times-Union* in Jacksonville insisted that the nation's greatest need, beside tariff reform, was rigid and impartial enforcement of the law as written. The *Times-Union* believed that Harmon had proved himself on this issue when, as attorney general under President Cleveland in the 1890s, he had been ordered by the president to bypass an indictment aimed at a cabinet member. Harmon, said the *Florida Times-Union*, had courageously refused to obey.<sup>25</sup> Actually, Harmon had not refused to obey, he had merely withdrawn from the case, apparently without even protesting.<sup>26</sup>

The *Tampa Morning Tribune* was impressed with Harmon's fiscal ideas, especially his advocacy of a curtailment of administrative duties so as to lower the cost of government to a dollar per person per year. Apparently the government during the Taft administration was costing eleven dollars per head.<sup>27</sup> Historians, however, have never classified Taft as a free-wheeling spender plagued by a wasteful bureaucracy. In any case, Harmon lacked qualifications for claiming politico-financial wizardry. His plan for better tax administration had been defeated by his own party in Ohio, and Harmon had not even fought for it.<sup>28</sup>

During March the conservative press in Florida continuously denied the charges that it planned to transfer allegiance from Harmon to Oscar Underwood. Underwood's Congressional Ways and Means Committee had decisive influence in framing money bills and in selecting the members of other important House committees. His successful leadership from this post in 1911, notably his role in drafting a tariff reform bill, easily thrust him into a favorite-son movement in the state of Alabama.

Senator John Bankhead of Alabama had assumed leadership of the Underwood campaign by October 1911. He mass produced collections of articles containing endorsements of Underwood, tariff information, and descriptions of Underwood's activities in

25. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, quoted in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 20, 1912.

26. Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. (New York, 1932), VIII, 277.

27. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 21, 1912.

28. "Governor Harmon and his Legislature," *World's Work*, XXII (July 1911), 145-53.

Congress. Newspapers circulating these collections were granted financial compensation, ranging from ten dollars to papers having a circulation of less than a 1,000 to fifteen dollars to papers with a circulation of more than 1,500. In February 1912, Bankhead insisted that papers publishing supplementary articles were not committing themselves to Underwood's cause. Wilson's manager argued, however, that the transactions constituted unethical journalism. Ethical or not, the articles were a master stroke. Hundreds of Florida farmers, who doted on their country weeklies, learned about Oscar Underwood for the first time.<sup>29</sup>

The *Tampa Morning Tribune* illustrates the tortured path followed by the conservative Florida press as it switched allegiance from Harmon to Underwood. In February, for instance, the *Tribune* was clearly in the Harmon camp. Its editorial page was crowded with homilies and political slogans: "Harmon for Harmony," "Oscar Underwood seems to be everybody's second choice for the nomination-that is to say, everybody outside of Alabama," and "Wilson is determined that the Democratic party shall be neither Bryanized nor Ryanized, but he can't avoid its being Harmonized."<sup>30</sup> Then suddenly in March the *Tribune* began devoting much space to the activities of Underwood in Congress, and it endorsed him for vice-president. At the same time it also noted, quite inaccurately, considering later events, that Harmon's strength was increasing every day.<sup>31</sup> The *Tribune* denied the charges made by Wilson's supporters that eastern financiers were backing Underwood in Florida for the express purpose of blocking Wilson's nomination.<sup>32</sup> The *Tribune* did not say how Underwood's campaign was being financed, although earlier, Bankhead had said that Underwood clubs in Alabama were providing the necessary cash. Later, it was discovered that financier Thomas

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29. Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," 360-61. The *Daytona Gazette-News*, which had not discussed anything as remote from Daytona Beach as the presidency all year, on March 16, 1912, suddenly blanketed four of its ten pages with Underwood propaganda. As seemed to be the custom then in Florida papers, national political issues were largely avoided. Endorsements favored Underwood because he was a "real man" or "faithful in his friendships."

30. These teachings appeared in the *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 16, 17, 18, 1912.

31. *Ibid.*, March 2, 7, 11, 1912.

32. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1912.

Ryan had donated \$35,000 for Underwood's southern campaign.<sup>33</sup>

Early in April, the *Tribune* reprinted an article from the *Florida Times-Union* which reported that someone in Wilson's Washington campaign headquarters had charged that Governor Harmon and Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives and himself a leading contender for the nomination, would not be included on Florida's primary ballot. Almost buried in the article was the assertion that there was really no need to remove Harmon and Clark from the ballot; however, neither had campaigned in Florida and both knew they could not win in the state.<sup>34</sup> This last phrase was written in the past tense, and by the end of the article the *Tribune* had convinced itself that neither Harmon nor Clark were on the ballot, and that the man the paper had been endorsing for weeks as a sure winner suddenly had no chance of winning. Considering the serious nature of this accusation, and considering that the *Tribune* had scoffed at every other utterance from the Wilson men, it seems incredible that the newspaper would so readily believe, let alone endorse this charge, unless the *Tampa Tribune* already knew that the accusation was true. The next day, after Frank Mayes accused the Tampa paper of apostasy, the *Tribune* denied that it was deserting Harmon.<sup>35</sup> But on the following day, the Tampa paper printed the names of prospective delegates to the national convention who would vote not just for Harmon, but for either Harmon or Underwood. And on the bottom line of the editorial page, buried in the corner, was the announcement that Harmon's name would not appear on the ballot in Florida.<sup>36</sup>

The next few days the *Tribune* indulged in general praise of Harmon, claiming, for instance, that he had refused to become a self-seeking partisan like Woodrow Wilson.<sup>37</sup> This support of Harmon, however, was buried under an avalanche of Underwood endorsements from the *Miami Herald*, *Summerfield Chronicle*,

33. Evans C. Johnson, "Oscar W. Underwood: the Development of a National Statesman, 1894-1915" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1953), 258-59.

34. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, quoted in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 2, 1912.

35. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 3, 1912.

36. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1912.

37. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1912.

*Key West Journal*, *Starke Telegraph*, *Live Oak Democrat*, and the *Pensacola News*. There was also the *Miami Herald's* explanation that the opposition to Wilson had never centered on one candidate, and the confession from the *Pensacola News* that Harmon had never had much strength in Florida.<sup>38</sup>

Underwood and Wilson were the only contenders in the presidential primary after Senator Bankhead held a conference the first week of April with Will Price, chairman of the Florida Democratic executive committee. Price, without consulting the members of his committee, ordered Harmon's and Clark's names struck off the official party ballot. This action was not only presumptuous, but it was also a violation of the resolution of the state Democratic committee to print the names of all known Democratic presidential candidates on the ballot.<sup>39</sup>

By early April the Underwood movement was well organized. Oscar Underwood clubs sprang up overnight, the rest of the conservative press leaped on the bandwagon, and Florida was inundated by political haranguers. Senator Bankhead and Congressman Tom Heflin of Alabama joined Governor Gilchrist and Florida politicians and newspaper editors in stumping the state for Underwood.<sup>40</sup>

United States Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, former mayor of Jacksonville, was probably the most prominent Floridian refusing to take part in the campaign. Fletcher was presiding over the Southern Commercial Congress in Chattanooga during most of April, and he seemed reluctant to participate in the Florida primary. The senator made no effort, however, to restrain his law partner, James Dodge of Jacksonville, from campaigning for Underwood. In a letter to Dodge, Senator Bankhead wrote from Washington: "We cannot afford to lose Florida, so keep the boys whooped up and let us know from time to time how things are going."<sup>41</sup> Then, just three days before election day, Fletcher's Washington office issued a very brief statement describing Under-

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38. *Ibid.*, April 4-22, 1912.

39. *Pensacola Journal*, April 12, 25, 1912, quoted in Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," 366-77; Johnson, "Oscar W. Underwood: the Development of a National Statesman, 1894-1915," 286-87.

40. Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," 311-12.

41. John Bankhead to James Dodge, Bankhead Papers, 1912, State Archives, Montgomery, Alabama.

wood as a statesman and a patriot and announcing the senator's support of his candidacy.<sup>42</sup>

Florida's conservative press charged that Wilson "smelled" of socialism, and claimed that he was anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Jeffersonian, and anti-Jacksonian. He cared more for smooth speech than for party success these papers insisted, and they reiterated again the false charge that he had voted the Democratic ticket only once in his lifetime. The initiative, referendum, and recall, which Wilson espoused, were bluntly described as "a retrogression toward Greek mobocracy," "a heresy on the constitution," and "traitorous."<sup>43</sup> Even the writings of Georgia's Tom Watson were quoted to show that Wilson in his early articles and books had slighted the South by failing to mention such outstanding men in its history as the Alamo martyr "Fanning" [*sic*].<sup>44</sup> Watson, according to a Tallahassee paper, hated Wilson because the latter had expressed sympathy for Booker T. Washington after that "black coon was caught at a white woman's bed room door and was deservedly beaten for it."<sup>45</sup> Some Florida papers claimed that Wilson had left the South as soon as he was able, probably feeling that the region was not good enough for him. Underwood was the only true Southern candidate.<sup>46</sup>

With only two candidates now in the race, the campaign united conservative Floridians behind the "safe" candidate and urban progressives behind Wilson. Probably a great many of the agrarian progressives, the Populist remnants, could not accept the urban leadership of the Democratic progressive movement, as expressed in Wilson's academic phraseology. These men, political malcontents since the 1890s, were more easily led by rural demagogues, such as Tom Watson and Tom Heflin.<sup>47</sup> In any case, Underwood swept rural Florida, but lost Miami, Jacksonville,

42. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 27, 1912; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 27, 1912.

43. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 1, 1912; *Ocala Banner*, quoted in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 12, 1912; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, April 2, 12, 1912.

44. Tallahassee *Weekly True Democrat*, April 23, 1912. The "Fanning" referred to by Watson was James W. Fannin and he was not among the Alamo martyrs.

45. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1912.

46. *Ibid.*; Jasper *News*, April 19, 26, 1912; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly True Democrat*, April 12, 26, 1912.

47. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 477.

Pensacola, Daytona Beach, Ft. Lauderdale, and Panama City. He carried Orlando by only a handful of votes, and Hillsborough County, which in 1912 included both Tampa and St. Petersburg, by five votes. Underwood won the Florida primary by a vote of 28,343 to 20,482.<sup>48</sup>

Another dichotomy in the voting occurs in regard to the press. In six of the nine counties that Wilson carried, he received the support of the local press. The press in seven other counties also endorsed him but this did not help him at the polls. Wilson had spoken only once in Florida during the campaign and the burden of his political activity fell upon the newspaper editors who supported him, notably the eloquent and fiery Frank Mayes. The only congressional district in which Wilson triumphed was the one in which Mayes and his *Pensacola Journal* were located. But over the rest of the state the conservative press held sway. By and large it seems that Florida's editors drummed up the "issues" in a futile attempt to block Wilson's road to the White House. The Florida delegates to the Democratic convention in Baltimore, half of whom were journalists, voted time after time for Underwood, but on the forty-fifth ballot it was their man who withdrew, throwing the Democratic nomination for president of the United States to Woodrow Wilson.

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48. However, except for the final count, which may be found in the Charlotte, North Carolina *Daily Observer*, May 10, 1912, election returns are largely incomplete. See the *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 3, 1912, and the *Pensacola Journal*, May 4, 1912.



## MARCELLUS L. STEARNS, FLORIDA'S LAST RECONSTRUCTION GOVERNOR

by CLAUDE R. FLORY

MARCELLUS LOVEJOY STEARNS, Florida's eleventh governor and its last Republican governor, is easily remembered for certain indisputable distinctions. He was the only speaker of the Florida House of Representatives to preside over seven sessions of the legislature-including extra sessions.<sup>1</sup> At thirty-four, he was Florida's youngest governor and the only native of Maine ever to become governor of this state. Interestingly enough, he was succeeded by George F. Drew, a native of New Hampshire, who was born only fifty miles from Stearns' birthplace.<sup>2</sup>

Marcellus Stearns was born at Center Lovell, Maine, April 29, 1839.<sup>3</sup> He came from a distinguished New England family and was a descendant of a Revolutionary War patriot, Major Benjamin Russell, whose portrait hangs in Faneuil Hall and who published *The Colombian Sentinel*, sometimes called Boston's first newspaper. According to members of his family, Stearns resembled in appearance the pictures of his distinguished Revolutionary ancestor, who counted among his friends Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and John Hancock.<sup>4</sup>

Stearns prepared for Waterville College (now Colby) at Waterville Academy. One of his instructors was the Reverend Mr. Isaac Hambleton, who exerted great intellectual influence on his life.<sup>5</sup> Stearns entered Colby in the fall of 1859. The registrar incorrectly listed his name as Marcellus *Lovewell* Stearns, a

1. Allen Morris, *The Florida Handbook*, 1963-1964 (Tallahassee, 1963), 76.

2. *Ibid.*, 3-27.

3. Personal interview with Mrs. Alice Stearns Dowell, niece of the governor, and eldest member of the family still living at the Lovell homestead, August 28, 1963. Other given names in the family included Aretus, Rensalaer, and Granville. Mrs. Dowell told this writer: "I have no idea where their mother got those names."

4. Ellen W. Stearns, "Governor M. L. Stearns," 1, original sketch cited in Rollins College Union Catalogue of Floridiana; Sophia A. Walker, "Notes on the Life of Governor Marcellus L. Stearns," 5, Stearns file, Colbiana Room, Colby College Library.

5. Charles A. Merrill, "The Honorable Marcellus L. Stearns," *Delta Upsilon Quarterly*, X (May 1892), 178, cited in Rollins College Union Catalogue of Floridiana.

mistake probably arising from confusion with his hometown of Lovell. The Colby College Library still perpetuates this incorrect middle name in its listings of Stearns material. His enrollment card lists his fraternity as Delta Upsilon, an affiliation and interest which lasted throughout his life.<sup>6</sup>

Stearns was popular with his fellow students. According to one, he was "not brilliant but faithful;"<sup>7</sup> another described him as "one of those frank, cordial, genial, open-hearted, whole-souled fellows whom everybody likes to meet—a man of integrity always ready for honest work."<sup>8</sup> He was remembered as being "especially proficient in the study of language and literature." Milton was "his favorite poet and, he could repeat page after page of 'Paradise Lost.'"<sup>9</sup>

Stearns left college in the fall of his junior year, and, on October 7, 1861, he enlisted as a private in Company E, Twelfth Maine Volunteer Infantry.<sup>10</sup> At the time of regimental organization he was made orderly sergeant, and the following June he was promoted to second lieutenant. At the conclusion of his training he was assigned to the Department of the Gulf, and, for a short time, he commanded the Federal schooner *Hortense* on Lake Ponchartrain.<sup>11</sup>

Stearns volunteered for a military mission against Port Hudson. He was not wounded in this engagement, but when he was transferred to fighting in northern Virginia, he was not so fortunate. At the Battle of Winchester, when his superiors were badly hurt, Stearns, now a first lieutenant, led his unit in a series of charges in which he was severely wounded. Four days after the engagement a fellow officer reported to Stearns' father:

I write to inform you that on the 19th inst. your son was wounded in a charge upon the enemy near this place. He received a musket shot in the right arm, just above the elbow,

6. *Ibid.*

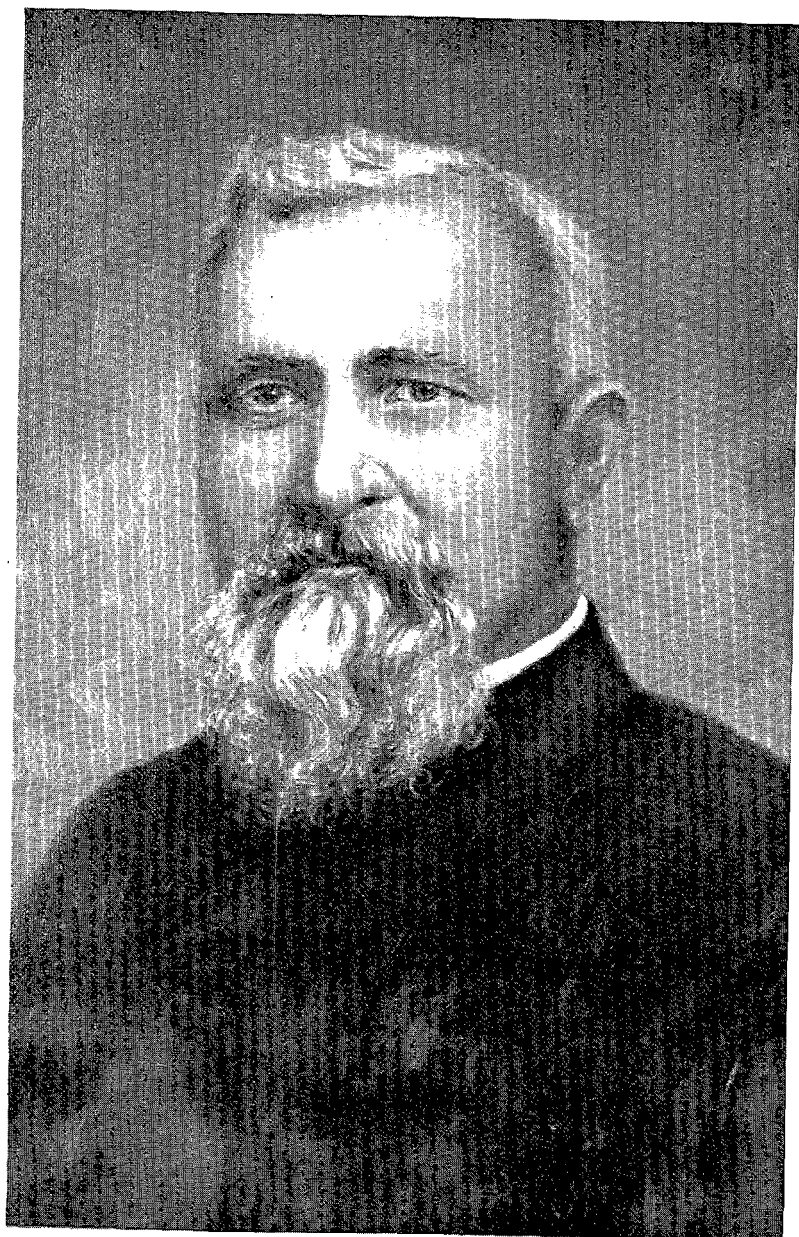
7. The Reverend C. N. Emery, mss. of address in Stearns file, Colbiana Room, Colby College Library.

8. Merrill, "The Honorable Marcellus L. Stearns," 178.

9. *Ibid.*

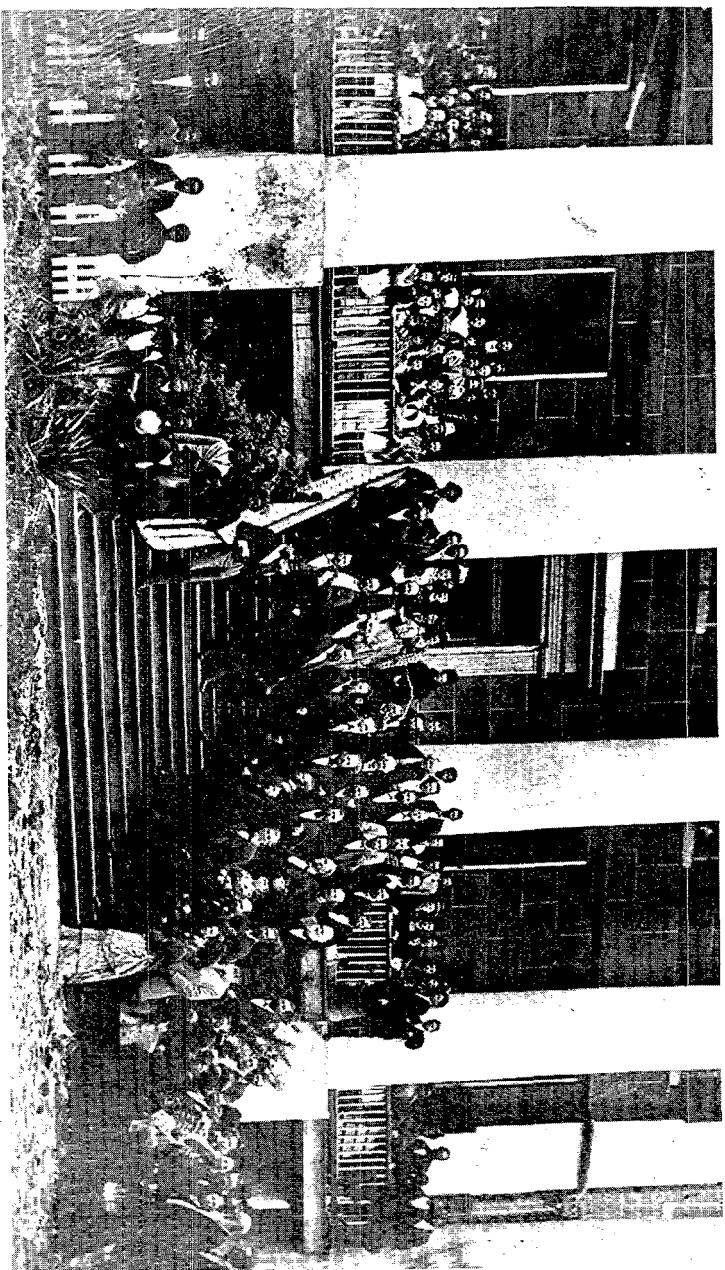
10. Stearns, "Governor M. L. Stearns," 3; Merrill, "The Honorable Marcellus L. Stearns," 178. Apparently in recognition of his subsequent study of law and his achievements as speaker of the house and governor of Florida, Stearns' alma mater awarded him an honorary bachelor of arts degree in 1877.

11. Merrill, "The Honorable Marcellus L. Stearns," 179.



*Acting Governor Marcellus L. Stearns for a Portrait at the Capitol*

*Governor Stearns Greeting Harriet Beecher Stowe on the Capitol Steps, 1874*



which necessitated amputation of the arm near the shoulder. He also received another wound in the left wrist with a musket ball. The bone of the right arm was badly shattered, but no bone was hit in the wrist. The charge was a most desperate one. None more so has occurred during the present war and our brigade was in the advance and in the very hottest part of it. Lieutenant Stearns had his sword wrenched from his hand by a musket ball while bravely urging his men forward in the charge, and, a moment after its return by a sergeant, the above-mentioned wounds were received. . . .<sup>12</sup>

After his release from the hospital, Stearns was assigned to the Twentieth Regiment Veterans Reserve Corps. During this stand-by status he began the study of law in the office of Judge Josiah H. Drummond in Portland, Maine, and continued these activities until he was transferred to the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in Wheeling, West Virginia.<sup>13</sup> Shortly afterwards, Stearns was appointed director of the Freedmen's Bureau office at Quincy, Florida. He was still officially in service when he arrived in Florida and was not mustered out of the military until January 1, 1868. Six months later, on June 11, 1868, he was admitted to the Florida bar at Quincy.

Marcellus Stearns threw himself energetically into the work of the bureau. He also became very active in Florida political circles. As a delegate to the first state-wide Republican convention which met in Tallahassee on July 11, 1867, Stearns helped organize the party in Florida.<sup>14</sup> In January 1868, Stearns and William T. Purman, another Freedmen's Bureau agent, were delegates to the Florida Constitutional Convention that convened

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12. *Ibid.*

13. Howard was head of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands for seven years following its establishment May 12, 1865. See J. C. Stinchfield, *History of the Town of Leeds* (Lewiston, Maine, 1901), 182-87. Although the present generation of the Stearns family have no documentary evidence that General Howard's acquaintance with Stearns was responsible for the latter's appointment to the Freedmen's Bureau, their neighboring origin and common experience make it seem possible. They were born in nearby Maine towns, Oxford and Leeds; they attended neighboring colleges, Waterville (Colby) and Bowdoin; each lost an arm in the war. General Howard, it should be noted, had a special awareness of Florida because he had served as a young officer at Fort Brooke and against the Seminoles in the Everglades in 1856-57. See O. O. Howard, *My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians* (Hartford, 1907), 73-95.

14. Merrill, "The Honorable Marcellus L. Stearns," 179.

in Tallahassee.<sup>15</sup> A few weeks later he was elected, at the age of twenty-nine, to the legislature from Gadsden County,<sup>16</sup> and was named speaker of the House of Representatives the following year. He held this important political office through the extra session of the 1872 legislature. In 1869 President Grant appointed him United States Surveyor General of Florida, and he also served in this capacity until 1873.<sup>17</sup>

To consolidate his offices and to administer them more efficiently, Stearns moved the surveyor general's office from St. Augustine to Tallahassee. This seems to have caused no protest in St. Augustine. In fact, the editor of the *St. Augustine Examiner* called "Major M. L. Stearns [*sic*]," a "distinguished" visitor, and wrote: "Altho: we cannot agree with the Major upon political matters, yet we are not so prejudiced, as not to accord to him the praise due to his personal merits as a gentleman and as a brave and meritorious officer, albeit his service was in the opposing ranks. . . . We trust to see more of the Major in the future. He has left a pleasant impression among those of our people who were so fortunate as to make his acquaintance."<sup>18</sup>

Stearns was nominated lieutenant-governor at the Republican state convention which met in Tallahassee on August 7, 1872. According to John Wallace in his *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*,<sup>19</sup>

15. George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (Philadelphia, 1955), 191. A letter published in the Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, February 20, 1868, was signed by Stearns as a convention delegate. He was seated as a delegate supporting the moderate group at the convention after the radicals had been ousted from control. See George R. Bentley, "The Political Activity of the Freedmen's Bureau in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII (July 1949), 35.
16. Stearns was a Freedmen's Bureau agent when he attended the legislature in 1869. His leave of absence from the bureau was approved by Florida Assistant Bureau Commissioner John T. Sprague. See Sprague's special orders number 40, June 7, 1868, in Records of the Bureau of Refugees Freedmen and Abandoned Lands: Florida, *Special Orders and Circulars* (National Archives, War Records Division), 297.
17. *Ibid.*, 80.
18. *St. Augustine Examiner*, July 24, 1869.
19. John Wallace, a former slave from North Carolina and a Union Army veteran, was a member of the Florida legislature and had been employed by William D. Bloxham, later governor of Florida, as a teacher for Negro children on his Leon County plantation. Wallace's book, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, was published by a Jacksonville printer in 1888. The extent of Bloxham's authorship of the volume is unknown. Allan Nevins in his introduction to the facsimile reproduction of the book (Gainesville, 1964), xxiv, says: "At times we are tempted to see Bloxham holding the pen, or at least strongly directing it."

Stearns, after a great deal of uproar and turmoil in the convention, won the gubernatorial nomination, but when he saw how this was threatening the unity of the Republican Party, he withdrew. Ossian B. Hart, a Jacksonville attorney and a Republican Party moderate, was then declared the nominee for governor, and Stearns, eulogized by many as a party martyr, was nominated for lieutenant-governor.<sup>20</sup> John Wallace claims, without documentation to substantiate his charge, that Stearns and his "ring" friends had planned from the outset to force Mart to campaign beyond his frail physical strength "for the express purpose of incapacitating him for the exercise of his official authority if elected."<sup>21</sup>

An analysis of the relationship of Marcellus Stearns and John Wallace is both pertinent and revealing. Wallace cites many villains in Florida's Reconstruction decade, but for him none is so evil as Stearns. Present-day historians discount the reliability of Wallace's history of the Reconstruction period at many points; there certainly seems little doubt but that his record of Stearns is premeditated personal disparagement rather than unbiased history.<sup>22</sup> The ground-work of this obvious malice must have lain in a complete personality clash between Stearns and Wallace. Stearns in pursuing his own political ambitions made use of William U. Saunders,<sup>23</sup> Frederick Hill,<sup>24</sup> Josiah T. Walls,<sup>25</sup> and other Negro

20. John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888), 215.

See also William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 638-39.

21. *Ibid.*, 225.

22. Caroline Mays Bevard, *A History of Florida from the Treaty of 1763 to Our Own Times*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1924) devotes several pages to the Stearns' decade in Florida politics. The footnotes cite Wallace as supporting or sole authority for the statements made-with no hint that he was not an objective, dependable witness. William Watson Davis, although occasionally skeptical of Wallace's testimony, notes Bloxham's admission that he "aided Wallace in the compilation of his work (*The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 625fn). However, Davis never offers an observation on the unfairness of judging Stearns by what Wallace says. Allan Nevins in his introduction to *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* leaves the Stearns portrait without a single editorial note on Wallace's prejudice against the Reconstruction governor.

23. Saunders was a Negro who arrived in Florida in 1867 from Maryland. He helped organize Urban Leagues among Negroes and was instrumental in the establishment of the radical wing of the Florida Republican Party.

24. Hill was a Negro who represented Gadsden County in the 1868 constitutional convention. Wallace in *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 105, refers to him as one of "Stearns' submissive tools."

25. Walls, a Negro, was born in Virginia and operated a truck farm before he became active in Florida politics after the Civil War. He served as state senator from 1869-1872, and as congressman from Florida from 1871-1876.

politicians. Could it be that Wallace badly wanted to be the member of his race next to the throne, and, rejected from the desired preferment, became a dark-skinned Iago bent upon the destruction of his general? It seems probable that he, thinking himself to be the best of the "Publicans," was bitter at Stearns for using Hill and Saunders instead of himself in controlling the freedmen's votes in Leon and Gadsden counties. Stearns had never revealed any real enthusiasm for Negroes in public office. W. W. Hicks, campaigning for Stearns, told a rally in Quincy that the Negro freedman was not yet ready to hold political office and that too many had already been appointed.<sup>26</sup> In the fall of 1876, at the height of Stearns' political power, there was only one Negro, "Bishop" Pearce, on the Republican state ticket and he was only a presidential elector.<sup>27</sup>

Wallace described Stearns as "the most rotten piece of gubernatorial timber that was ever placed at the helm of government,"<sup>28</sup> and insisted that "there was no crime so great, no act so low but that he was capable of committing it."<sup>29</sup> Stearns was accused by Wallace of selling freedmen's provisions at Quincy for his personal profit,<sup>30</sup> and of trying to "get possession" of the Jacksonville, Pensacola, & Mobile Railroad, "the earnings of which were to be exclusively used, as far as possible to force his election to the United States Senate."<sup>31</sup> Stearns was allegedly determined to "sail in the great ship of state to the verdant fields of plunder."<sup>32</sup>

The charges that Stearns stole thousands of dollars from his fellow citizens and tried to steal millions through the railroad promotion during the Reconstruction era in Florida can be neither documented nor substantiated by available financial data and

26. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 11, 1876, quoted in Jarrel H. Shofner, "The Presidential Election of 1876 in Florida" (unpublished Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1961), 91.

27. Shofner, "The Presidential Election of 1876 in Florida," 91. Charles H. Pearce was a Negro Methodist who represented Leon County in the state senate.

28. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 290.

29. *Ibid.*, 325.

30. *Ibid.*, 41, 336. "Stearns was publicly charged" by C. H. Pearce and the Reverend W. G. Stewart, another Negro preacher-politician, "with the wholesale disposition of pork and flour, and evidence was produced to convict him of receiving and attempting to force collection of a mortgage for \$750 received in payment for provisions; but the officers of the Federal Court refused to entertain the case."

31. *Ibid.*, 226.

32. *Ibid.*, 181.



statistics. Stearns' family was middle class, neither rich nor poor. After the Civil War he was never without a dependable source of income: his salary from the Freedmen's Bureau, his earnings as an attorney, his salary as surveyor-general of Florida, as lieutenant-governor, and as governor, and later his income as United States commissioner in Arkansas and as a representative of the Department of the Interior in Florida. In 1887 Stearns moved to Atlantic, Iowa, to become president of the Atlantic National Bank and there he continued his law practice.<sup>33</sup> If we credit Stearns with having earned a reasonably good living through these years of employment, what then was his financial status at the end of his life? In his will, made December 20, 1890, less than a year before his death, he bequeathed \$12,000 to his wife Ellen, \$2,000 to his mother, \$100 to each of his four brothers, Timothy, Eckley, Rensalaer, and Granville, and \$250 to his nephew. The remainder of the estate, if any, would go to his wife.<sup>34</sup> Even by the standards of 1892, this was not a large sum of money, certainly not the financial record of a man who supposedly had filched thousands of dollars through fraud and political graft. There is no hint anywhere that Stearns ever indulged in speculation or unwise investments, nor is there any indication of concealed assets. Stearns or his estate is listed as grantor of ten deeds on file in the Gadsden County courthouse. Most of these cover small plots of unimproved property in or near Quincy. The only property of significant value was the Stearns home in Quincy that was sold for \$5,000.<sup>35</sup> This financial record indicates that allegations of large-scale graft on Stearns' part during the time that he held political power in Florida or afterwards have no foundation in fact.

After the Florida legislative session of 1874, Governor Hart, whose health had been precarious ever since the election campaign of 1872, went north in search of medical aid. Lieutenant-Governor Stearns capably assumed the governor's duties during

33. Stearns, "Governor M. L. Stearns," 4-6.

34. See copy of Marcellus L. Stearns' will in Gadsden County courthouse, Quincy, Florida, Deed Book K, 192. The will stipulates that if the total amount of the bequests is not realized then the brothers and nephew are to share proportionally according to the amounts stated for each. The will was admitted to probate at Palatine, Montgomery County, New York, March 21, 1892.

35. Stearns apparently purchased this property early in 1868. See Stearns, "Governor M. L. Stearns," 4, and Gadsden County Deed Book M, 58.

the three months that Hart was out of the state. Hart died at his Jacksonville farm on March 18, 1874, and Stearns, under the provisions of the state convention, became acting governor.<sup>36</sup>

Realizing that education was the key to Florida's freedmen becoming useful citizens, Governor Stearns was a moving spirit in the establishment of Lincoln Academy in Tallahassee. Housed in a structure costing \$4,375, it contained desks for 220 pupils ranging in age from eight to twenty-one years. The *Tallahassee Sentinel* called the academy the finest school facility in Florida. Participating in its dedication, Governor Stearns declared: "The event we are here to hail and celebrate would inspire anyone who loves his country and the cause of education to thought and speech. The State of Florida is waking up and moving grandly forward in the cause of education. In no state of the South I believe, according to our means is the common school system more highly prized or more efficiently administered. This school-house is a landmark of your progress - a proof that your educational acquirements and advancement are such as to demand increased facilities. It is indeed gratifying to me that these things have been accomplished and such progress made during the time I have had the honor to administer the Government of our beloved State."<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the most memorable social event of Governor Stearns' administration was his reception for Harriet Beecher Stowe in Tallahassee in the spring of 1874. Mrs. Stowe, who was living at Mandarin on the St. Johns River, had travelled to Tallahassee with a group of friends, to visit her brother, the Reverend Charles Beecher, state superintendent of agriculture and public instruction. Tallahassee made an occasion of Mrs. Stowe's visit. She was shown the sights of the city, and was the guest of honor at an official dinner and a public reception.<sup>38</sup>

During the time that Stearns served as Florida's chief executive, his policy seemed to be one of sectional reconciliation. Although he lost his own right arm during the Civil War, and saw

36. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 290; Morris, *The Florida Handbook*, 1963-1964, 78.

37. Walker, "Notes on the Life of Governor Marcellus L. Stearns," 4.

38. Mary B. Graff, *Mandarin on the St. Johns* (Gainesville, 1953), 60. A picture of this reception is in the Stearns home at Center Lovell, Maine, and is reproduced in Allen Morris, *The Florida Handbook*, 1955, 192.

his favorite brother, Timothy, almost destroyed as a prisoner at Andersonville, Georgia,<sup>39</sup> Stearns did not reveal himself to be a revengeful man. In his first gubernatorial message to the Florida legislature, January 16, 1875, he asserted, "slavery and secession are things of the past, buried beyond the possibility of resurrection . . . all the States are restored to their Constitutional relations with the General government, and a true and lasting peace has come."<sup>40</sup> After his defeat in 1876, Stearns clear-sightedly recognized a practical political reconciliation between Tallahassee and Washington that was to put a very final end to his own role in Florida affairs. "We may," he wrote to former United States Senator Thomas W. Osborn, "look for the warm loving embrace of southern whites by the next administration."<sup>41</sup>

In 1876 Stearns ran for governor of Florida and was defeated by the Democratic candidate, George F. Drew, in one of the most tumultuous election campaigns in Florida's political history. In his "History of the Election in Florida in 1876," Stearns charged the Democrats with major frauds in both the 1872 and 1876 elections.<sup>42</sup> In 1872 he claimed that in Jackson County the figure "1" was erased from in front of the Republican total and placed before the Democratic total. This, according to Stearns, meant a net swing of 2,000 votes in favor of the Democrats which thus enabled them to elect their entire ticket by a 421 vote majority. However, the canvassing board recounted the votes in Jackson County and declared for the Republicans.<sup>43</sup>

Stearns was initially very confident of victory in 1876: "On the 8th [that is the day after the election] up to the time the in-

39. Personal interview with Mrs. Alice Stearns Dowell, August 28, 1963.

40. *Florida Senate Journal* (1875), 41.

41. Stearns to Osborn, February 21, 1877, in Hayes Papers, quoted in Shofner, "The Presidential Election of 1876 in Florida," 143. The belief that many southern white conservatives-former Whigs, Douglas Democrats, Constitutional Unionists-could be won over to the Republican Party was held by important elements in the party. See C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction* (Boston, 1951), 22-50.

42. Marcellus L. Stearns, "The Election of 1876 in Florida," edited by Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (October, 1953), 83-91. The typewritten copy of the text in the Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, is sometimes at variance in paragraphing, punctuation, and spelling with the texts at Rollins and Colby Colleges. The original manuscript went at Stearns' death to his nephew, Aretus E. Stearns of Rumford, Maine.

43. *Ibid.*, 85.

formation was received that the National Election would turn on the result in Florida - about 4 p.m. the State was conceded to the Republicans-as a candidate of that party for the office of Governor, I received many congratulations from prominent Democrats upon my election. There was no serious doubt felt about it by prominent men of either party. The reports of the election from the different counties were coming in very favorable to the Republicans."<sup>44</sup> Then, Stearns claimed, there were political manipulations, and when the final results were announced the Florida Democratic Party had scored a victory, their first since 1865, and George Drew was the newly elected governor of the state. Stearns' account of the election of 1876, which closed the Reconstruction era for the nation, concurs in the opinion of William E. Chandler, New Hampshire national republican committeeman, who came to Florida at the time of the election controversy to help further the party's cause: "The eyes of the whole world are upon us and it would be better to lose the election by unfair means than to have the country think we had attained it by unfair means. . . ." <sup>45</sup> In the final canvass, Stearns received 23,984 votes, and Drew, 24,179. <sup>46</sup>

Stearns' statements regarding his defeat are in striking contrast with the accounts of William D. Bloxham and John Wallace which implied that Stearns had planned at first to employ a force of arms if necessary to keep his post as governor, but that he was frightened by the threat of militant democratic opposition. Recalling these days of tempestuous political change, Bloxham reported that a committee of Tallahassee citizens called on Stearns: "The Governor met us in the cabinet room and asked what he could do for us. Colonel Gamble replied, 'We have come sir, to put you on notice that if a single white man is killed in Leon County on election day, there are three hundred of us who have sworn that your life shall pay for it.' We retired leaving Stearns white as a sheet." <sup>47</sup>

"The day before Drew was to be inaugurated," wrote Wallace, "Stearns saw many strange faces in Tallahassee among the whites,

44. *Ibid.*, 83.

45. *Ibid.*, 89.

46. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 734.

47. Albert Hubbard Roberts, "Florida and Leon County in the Election of 1876," *Tallahassee Historical Society Annual*, IV (1939), 90.

and he began to grow pale and talk weak." On inauguration day "between three and five hundred men, armed with repeating rifles," concealed themselves "in an old cotton storehouse close by the capital [*sic*] - determined to see that Stearns was not inaugurated."<sup>48</sup> As it happened, Drew was peacefully sworn into office at noon, January 2, 1877.

Shortly after leaving office, Stearns was appointed by President Hayes as United States Commissioner at Hot Springs, Arkansas.<sup>49</sup> The following year, on December 12, 1878, Stearns married Ellen Austin Walker, a distant relative and the daughter of the Reverend Horace D. Walker. The wedding took place in the home town of the bride, Bridgewater, Massachusetts. At the conclusion of his Arkansas commissionership, in 1880, Governor and Mrs. Stearns made an extended tour of the Pacific states. Returning East, he was invited by the Department of the Interior to "tour Florida and report upon improvements which the United States Government had in contemplation in various parts of the state."<sup>50</sup> His previous experience as surveyor-general eminently qualified him for this assignment.

In 1886 Governor and Mrs. Stearns toured Europe. In August 1887, they moved from Quincy, Florida, to Atlantic, Iowa, where Stearns had accepted the position of president of the Atlantic National Bank. He actively participated in the operations of the bank and in his law practice until he was forced by serious ill health in 1890 to relinquish his business interests. On January 4, 1890, he suffered a severe stroke which for a time completely paralyzed his left side. Having recovered somewhat he decided to go to Hot Springs for the baths, but while enroute he was involved in a train wreck and his right shoulder was seriously fractured. Afterwards, Stearns moved to Palatine Bridge, New York, where Mrs. Stearns' father was a minister. The final summer of Stearns' life was spent at his childhood home at Center Lovell, Maine.<sup>51</sup> According to Mrs. Stearns, her husband, who had kept their home

48. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 343-44. The "repeating rifle" was not adopted as equipment for the United States Army until 1892 ["Small Arms," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XX (Chicago, 1962), 808], although it could be purchased from private dealers. The repeating rifle had been used against the Indians and was a great favorite with troops during the Civil War.

49. Merrill, "The Honorable Marcellus L. Stearns," 182.

50. *Ibid.*, 183.

51. *Ibid.*

in Quincy, Florida, was "on his way south for the winter, when he suddenly expired" at Palatine Bridge on December 8, 1891.<sup>52</sup> He was buried at Center Lovell, Maine, with military honors.<sup>53</sup>

At the funeral, the Reverend William Sandbrook spoke on the theme that "a man reveals his character by the things he loves." He eulogized Stearns as a man who had always "sympathized with the weak and heavy laden;" loved young people, and "desired their physical, social and religious well-being."<sup>54</sup>

Governor Stearns was buried in the Congregational Church yard at Center Lovell. The memorial inscription on the tombstone reads:

Marcellus L. Stearns  
1839-1891  
1st Lt. 12th Reg. Me. VI  
2nd Lt. 20th Reg. VRC  
US Com Hot Springs Ark  
US Surv-Gen, Lieut-Gov  
Governor of Florida

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52. Stearns, "Governor M. L. Stearns," 8.

53. Merrill, "The Honorable Marcellus L. Stearns," 183.

54. William Sandbrook, "Discourse at the Funeral Services of Marcellus L. Stearns," 1. Mss. cited in Rollins College Union Catalogue of Floridiana.

## THE SIEGE OF PENSACOLA: AN ORDER OF BATTLE

by ALBERT W. HAARMANN

THE SIEGE OF PENSACOLA by the Spanish in 1781 has been generally ignored in most military histories of the American Revolution. In some accounts brief reference is made to it, but by and large, it is part of a forgotten theater of that war. Admittedly it is easy to observe that Continental or Patriot forces were not involved and therefore this campaign cannot properly be considered within the scope of our Revolution. On the other hand, we cannot ignore a campaign that involved approximately 10,000 combatants and the outcome of which gave us a relatively peaceful neighbor on our southern borders.

This article is not intended to be a narrative of the siege but rather to bring into focus the size and composition of the forces involved in this two-months campaign.<sup>1</sup> Each major element-Spanish, French, and British-will be examined separately. The British garrison, which ultimately numbered some 2,000 defenders, was besieged by a combined Spanish-French force that amounted to about 8,000 men. The siege itself lasted from March 9, 1781, when the first Spanish squadron arrived off Santa Rosa Island at the entrance to Pensacola Bay, until May 10, 1781, when the garrison marched out and laid down its arms.

Pensacola in 1781 had about 200 frame houses and a few government buildings. It was defended by Fort George which overlooked the town itself. Two outworks, known as the Queen's and the Prince of Wales' Redoubts, defended the high ground that rose above the fort. In addition to these works, there was another fortification known as the Red Cliffs Fort, on the heights that dominated the entrance to Pensacola Bay.<sup>2</sup>

The Spanish forces that took part in the siege consisted of several different contingents. The first, numbering 1,519 officers

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1. For a more detailed account of the siege, see Albert W. Haarmann, "The Spanish Conquest of British West Florida, 1779-1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (October 1960), 103-34.

2. For a more precise description of Pensacola's defenses, see Stanley Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications of Pensacola, 1781-1821," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX (January 1942), 277-92.

and men, sailed from Havana on February 28, 1781.<sup>3</sup> That same day, another group, a mixed force of regulars and militiamen totalling 1,697 officers and men, sailed from New Orleans.<sup>4</sup> A third group marched overland from Mobile to Pensacola with a strength of approximately 900 men.<sup>5</sup> The first three contingents attempted to conduct a proper siege but were making little real headway. The Spanish command at Havana, concerned over the possible outcome of this campaign, dispatched another 1,604 officers and men, all regulars, on April 10, 1781.<sup>6</sup> This fourth contingent arrived off Pensacola on April 19. In addition to the regulars, 1,504 men were drawn from the ships and detailed to service ashore.<sup>7</sup> Altogether the Spanish forces numbered some 7,224 officers and men.

The following is a detailed examination, unit by unit, of the Spanish corps that were known to have participated in the siege. The figures in parenthesis after the name of each corps represents the number of officers and enlisted men, respectively, known to have been in each unit.

	Total
<i>Inmemorial del Rey</i> (13+258)	271
<i>Principe</i> (4+123)	127
<i>Soria</i> (26+590)	616
<i>Guadalajara</i> (19+422)	441
<i>Espana</i> (5+128)	133
<i>Toledo</i>	unknown <sup>8</sup>
<i>Mallorca</i>	unknown <sup>9</sup>

3. *Yearbook of the Sons of the American Revolution*, Louisiana Society, 1920, 80.

4. Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794 Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 4 vols. (Washington, 1949), II, 421-22.

5. Bernardo de Galvez, "Diary of the Operations Against Pensacola," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I (January 1917), 51.

6. "Noticia de los Sres. Oficiales y Tropa del Exercito embarcado en los Navios de Guerra, . . . que manda el Mariscal de Campo Dn. Juan Manuel de Cagigal," Havana, April 10, 1781. Mss. is in the *Papeles de Cuba*, Legajo 1319; copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida.

7. Donald E. Worcester, "Miranda's [Francisco de Miranda] Diary of the Siege of Pensacola, 1781" (translated from the Spanish), *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (January 1951), 176.

8. Although it is known that elements of this regiment took part in the siege, their numbers are unknown.

9. The strength of this regiment at Pensacola is unknown. According to Conde de Clonard, *Historia Organica de las Armas de Infanteria y Caballeria Espanolas*, 16 vols. (Madrid, 1851-1859), X, 102, four fusilier companies, of the first battalion and the two grenadier companies of this regiment took part in the siege.



<i>Navarra</i> (14+344) <sup>10</sup>	358
<i>Hibernia</i> , an Irish regiment (22+558) <sup>11</sup>	580
<i>Aragon</i> (27+697)	724
<i>Segundo Voluntaries de Cataluna</i> (12+335)	347
<i>Flandes</i> , a Walloonian regiment (7+186) <sup>12</sup>	193
Royal Artillery (5+218)	223
<i>Fijo de la Habana</i> (3+59) <sup>13</sup>	62
<i>Fijo de la Luisiana</i> (10+125) <sup>14</sup>	135
<i>Dragones de America</i> (3+82) <sup>15</sup>	85
<i>Dragones de Luisiana</i> (3+40) <sup>16</sup>	43
Carabiniers <sup>17</sup>	11
Mulatto companies of militia from Louisiana (5+130)	135
Negro companies of militia from Louisiana (5+134)	139
Naval forces serving ashore, organized into three battalions of infantry, plus some artillery. <sup>18</sup>	1,504

This tabulation takes into account all Spanish troops on which there is an exact return. The strengths of the *Toledo* and *Mallorca* regiments during this campaign can not be ascertained. The composition of the force that marched overland from Mobile is also unknown, although a casualty report concerning the defense of La Aldea, an outpost near Mobile, on January 7, 1781, makes reference to elements of the infantry regiments *Principe*, *Espana*, *Navarra*, and *Fijo de la Habana*, in addition to some

10. The *Inmemorial del Rey*, *Principe*, *Soria*, *Guadalajara*, *Espana*, *Toledo*, *Mallorca*, and *Navarra* are regular infantry regiments from Spain.
11. For more details on this regiment during the siege of Pensacola, see W. S. Murphy, "The Irish Brigade of Spain at the Capture of Pensacola, 1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (January 1960), 216-25.
12. The *Aragon*, *Segundo Voluntarios de Cataluna*, and *Flandes* are regular infantry regiments.
13. A regular garrison regiment stationed in Cuba.
14. A regular garrison regiment stationed in the province of Louisiana.
15. A cavalry corps, probably a regular formation from the island of Cuba.
16. A regular corps of calvary stationed in the province of Louisiana.
17. A cavalry corps of undetermined status from the province of Louisiana.
18. Mss. attributed to Don Josef Solano entitled "Diario del ataque y conquista de Panzacola, Abril y Mayo 1781," Archivo General de Simancas, Seccion Marina, Legajo 422, Apartado 1. A photostat copy of this diary is in the manuscripts division, Library of Congress. Information relative to the organization of Don Solano's landing parties will be found under the entry for April 21, 1781.

Louisiana militia.<sup>19</sup> It would be reasonable to presume that these same corps participated in the siege of Pensacola, which took place a few months later. During the course of the siege the victorious Spanish suffered almost 300 casualties. The army had seventy-five killed and 198 wounded, the navy lost twenty-one killed and four wounded.<sup>20</sup>

A French squadron, with troops aboard, accompanied the Spanish naval force that brought reinforcements to the attacking army of Governor Bernardo de Galvez. These ships arrived off Pensacola on April 19, 1781, and the troops landed shortly thereafter. According to the diary of one of the participants, the French force numbered some 725 men.<sup>21</sup> Although no documents have been found concerning the numerical strength of the various French corps involved, there is an awards recommendations list signed by the Spanish commander on May 26, 1781 that provides some clue as to the composition of this small contingent.<sup>22</sup> This list gives the names and corps affiliation for thirty-one officers and cadets. Cited were members of the navy, the Royal Corps of Artillery, and detachments from the following regular infantry regiments: *Agenois*, including the Chasseur Company, *Gatinois*, *Cambresis*, *Poitou*, and *Orleans*, plus the colonial *Regiment du Cap*.<sup>23</sup> The scant information available on the French troops does not reveal their losses during this brief campaign. It is believed, however, that the Spanish commander's recapitulation of casualties suffered during the siege did include the French element.

The besieged garrison was as diversified as any British force that fought in North America during the Revolutionary War. There were men from the Royal Navy, the regular army, Germans from the tiny principality of Waldeck, American provincials and

19. "Relacion de los muertos heridos y prisioneros en el ataque del destacamento de la Aldea el dia 7 de enero de 1781." Mss. in Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra, Legajo 6912; a copy of this report is in the manuscripts division, Library of Congress.

20. Galvez, "Diary of the Operations Against Pensacola," 75.

21. Worcester, "Miranda's Diary of the Siege of Pensacola, 1781," 176.

22. This recommendation, signed by Bernardo de Galvez, Pensacola, May 26, 1781, is in the Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra, Legajo 6913, Document No. 103. A photostat copy of this document is in the manuscripts division, Library of Congress.

23. According to the *Etat Militaire de France pour l'Annee 1781* (Paris, 1781) the regiments *Agenois*, *Gatinois*, and *Cambresis* were stationed in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, present-day Haiti, on the island of Hispanola. The *Regiment du Cap* was from the same place.

militiamen, and Indian auxiliaries. There were about 2,000 engaged in the defense of Pensacola. A fair estimate is quoted from the diary kept by Galvez, the Spanish commander: "The total number of prisoners reaches the sum of 1,113 men, who added to the 105 blown up in the crescent, 56 deserters that had presented themselves during the siege, and 300 who whilst the capitulation was being drawn up retired to Georgia, shows that the garrison was composed of about 1,600 men, without counting the many negroes that helped in its defense, the dead they had before, and the multitude of Indians that inundated the woods and country."<sup>24</sup> The Spanish return of prisoners does give the figure of 1,113, and the diary of Robert Farmar, one of the garrison's defenders, more or less confirms the figure of 105 men killed when the Queen's Redoubt was ripped by the explosion of its magazine and the subsequent events of that day, May 8.<sup>25</sup> The same diary reveals that eleven were killed prior to May 8. These figures, plus the fifty-six deserters noted by the Spanish commander, gives the garrison a force of 1,285. To this must be added the 300 who traveled overland to Georgia, the Negroes, and over 300 Indians.

A close examination of the return of prisoners reveals that the garrison consisted of the following corps:<sup>26</sup>

	Total
General staff, commissaries, etc.	69
British 16th Regiment of Foot (3+107)	110
British 3rd Battalion, 60th (Royal Americans)	133
Regiment of Foot (4+129)	
British Royal Artillery (2+34)	36
British Royal Navy & related services (7+239)	246
German 3rd Regiment of Waldeck (9+294)	303
Provincial Pennsylvania Loyalists (8+54)	62
Provincial Maryland Loyalists (12+123)	135
Provincial Cavalry (2+17)	19
	<hr/> 1,113

24. Galvez, "Diary of the Operations Against Pensacola," 75.

25. Buckingham Smith, ed., "Robert Farmar's Journal of the Siege of Pensacola," *Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries* (June 1860), 171. Farmar was an ensign, comparable to a second lieutenant today, in the 3rd Battalion, 60th Foot.

26. The return of prisoners will be found in a report by Bernardo de Galvez, Pensacola, May 26, 1781, in the Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra, Legajo 6913, Document No. 64. A photostat copy of this document is in the manuscripts division, Library of Congress.

It is difficult to determine the regimental affiliation of the deserters or the casualties suffered during the siege, but it is known that most of the men killed on May 8 were from the Royal Navy, the 60th Foot, and the Pennsylvania Loyalists.

It is also difficult to count the number of Indians involved in the defense of Pensacola, although the Farmar diary gives considerable information on the Indians and their involvement during the siege. A March 26 entry refers to 250 Indians being sent out to oppose a Spanish landing within Pensacola Bay. Subsequent entries refer to the arrival of seventy Creeks on April 9, about ninety Choctaws on April 15, and fifty-four Chickasaws on April 27.<sup>27</sup> The Indians were very useful in harassing the Spanish; it is estimated that they inflicted about one-third of the casualties suffered by the Spanish.

Although Governor Galvez took note of the fact that Negroes participated in the defense of Pensacola, he went no further than that. The Farmar diary reveals they were actively employed. One entry, for March 30, 1781, refers to a detachment of fifty Negroes being sent out to support some advanced parties; a subsequent entry refers to a small Negro outpost taking a Spanish prisoner.

The role of the inhabitants of Pensacola is undetermined. It would be reasonable to presume that some did take part in the defense of the town, serving in the usual militia. The April 22 entry in Farmar's diary refers to a skirmish with the Spanish: "some cracks and Indians pursued them."<sup>28</sup> The term "cracks" is used only this single time, and one wonders if it is referring to some of the local populace as *crackers*.<sup>29</sup> We have been given the figure of 300 who fled overland to Georgia. It would appear likely that these were inhabitants and militiamen and not regular soldiers.

All elements of the polygot garrison have been considered and by any reasonable count it can be stated that Pensacola's defenders numbered almost 2,000 men-regulars, militiamen, and Indians. Upon the successful conclusion of the siege, most of the Spanish

27. Smith, "Robert Farmar's Journal of the Siege of Pensacola," 167-69.

28. Robert Farmar, "Robert Farmar's Journal," Mss. in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; typed copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville.

29. Buckingham Smith in editing "Farmar's Journal" for the *Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries* did not follow Farmar and changed the word "cracks" to "crackers."

and French troops re-embarked on their transports and were soon engaged in other campaigns. Some of the Spanish regiments took part in the seizure of the Bahamas in 1782. The detachments of the French regiments of *Agenois* and *Gatinois* rejoined their corps in time for the siege of Yorktown. The captive English garrison was transported to the then British occupied city of New York, where they awaited exchange. These troops saw little active service in the succeeding months, and generally performed the routine duties associated with military life in a large garrison town on a wartime footing.

## NOTES ON THE BAREFOOT MAILMAN \*

by THEODORE PRATT

THE THREE QUESTIONS most asked of me about the barefoot mailman are these: Was he real or did you just make him up? Why did he walk barefoot? How much was he paid?

The mailman was very real, and perhaps he was the most unique mail carrier of all time. The reason for his existence was very simple. Back in the early eighties if someone in the trading post village of Miami wanted to send a letter to the lighthouse community of Jupiter about ninety miles up the coast, the letter was first sent by the mail schooner to Key West and then taken to Cuba, where it went by steamer to New York and finally back down to Jupiter by train and Indian River boat. It worked the other way, too, and sometimes took up to six weeks, even two months, travelling about an even three thousand miles to get less than one hundred.

So the government started the famous barefoot mailman route, first between Jupiter and Miami. The only road then in existence was the ocean beach and along this the mail carrier walked. The reason he walked barefoot was that it is easier walking barefoot on sand than it is with shoes. Additionally, the hardest part of the beach, making it the best for walking, is down where the surf washes the beach, so he took off his shoes and slung them over his shoulders in order not to get them wet.

There was not one barefoot mailman, but quite a number over the approximately ten years the mail was carried in this manner. The post office department made contracts with the men. Their pay during the first part of the period was \$300 per year, later it was raised to double that. The post office department has no record of their own barefoot mailmen. In fact, when I was researching the material for my novel, *The Barefoot Mailman*, in the early thirties, I asked the department in Washington to let me have the information on them, but the officials had never even heard of their own barefoot mailmen. The officials became rather tired of me after my third inquiry and finally confessed the records had been lost or destroyed, but they were appreciative when I sent them a copy of my book, their only record now.

\* All rights to this article are vested in the author.

After the mail had been carried on foot in this way for some years from Jupiter south, a narrow gauge railroad was built in 1887 from Jupiter down to the head of Lake Worth. It was called the "Celestial Railroad" because its stations were Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Juno, and it carried the mail on that short leg. From the head of the lake the mail was carried to what was first Palm City, later named Palm Beach. From here it was walked on foot to Miami for a time. Still later, during the last years of the route's operation, it was carried from Hypoluxo at the south end of Lake Worth.

It took the carriers three days each way to walk the sixty-six miles between the Palm Beaches and Miami. They walked nearly 7,000 miles each year; in less than four years it was the equivalent of an around the earth journey at the equator. These mailmen walked under broiling sun, sometimes in cold rain, occasionally through hurricanes.

They carried matches and a small fry pan with them in which they cooked potatoes, salt pork, grits, and the few other things they took along. Mostly they lived off the land, fishing, finding turtle eggs in season, gathering oysters which were profuse in those days. They picked wild fruit and husked coconuts for their drinking milk and meat. Sometimes, when they caught more fish than they could eat at the moment, they carried the extra fish in the mail sack. If people complained that their letters stank, the mailmen were not very impressed.

When he came to rivers and inlets, the mailman had a skiff cached in the dense jungle growth in which he rowed across. When he reached Miami Beach he rowed or sailed across the bay to the south point of the Miami River mouth at Brickel Point where the Brickel family had a general store in which the post office was housed. Here he stayed overnight before starting back the next day. To inform the community that the mailman had arrived, a conch shell was blown.

Sometimes people at either end accompanied the mailman on his route. They were called "foot passengers" and at first paid him three, then five dollars which included the passenger's food, such as it was along the way. The bed provided was the softer dry sand on the higher part of the beach. On occasion, overnight stops were made at the houses of refuge the federal government

had built along the beach which acted also as weather observation stations and whose crews sometimes rescued and fed shipwrecked sailors. One of these was located at what is now Delray Beach, another at Fort Lauderdale, and a third on Miami Beach. A fourth is still preserved at Stuart and can be visited.

One passenger who was disgruntled at the mailman because of the rugged conditions of the trip secured revenge by sending money to a friend in Miami to mail him, during the hottest part of the summer, four heavy coconuts. The mailman dutifully toted these all the way along his route, even though the regular mail weighed quite a few pounds. Later this same man developed an interest in geology and had some heavy coquina rocks shipped to him. Then he went in for horticulture and ordered some small trees. At this the mailman rebelled and complained to Washington, which decreed that heavy mail had to be sent by way of Cuba. Before that, another mailman named Bell simply quit when someone sent an iron stove lid and heavy packages of seed.

The mail was carried in this way up until the early nineties. When crude limestone and shell roads were built, notably from Fort Lauderdale south to Miami, the mail began to be transported part of the way by wagon and coach. In the middle nineties, Henry Flagler extended his railroad all the way into Miami and the era of the barefoot mailman came to a close.

When I was writing my book in the thirties, several of the real barefoot mailmen were still living and I talked extensively with them. The late Charles Pierce of West Palm Beach, father of Chuck Pierce of Fort Lauderdale, was one of the barefoot mailmen, and Chuck was generous in letting me read his father's journal as part of my research. Another real barefoot mailman who died many years ago was Dan McCarley of Lantana. From him I learned the exact technique of beach-walking the mail. He showed me his special way to keep his legs springy and to prevent them from tiring. There is, of course, a slant to the beach and walking on a slant is tiring, so the mailman when walking south made his stride on the right leg, toward the higher part of the beach, just a little quicker than the left, so that the steps were equalized. When going north, he reversed the process. When a carrier or a foot passenger had mastered this technique, he was called a good beach "walkist."



Almost nothing could stop these exceptional mailmen. One thing that did once was a Spanish wine ship wrecked on the coast. When the wine casks were washed ashore, the entire population, including the mailman, sampled the contents so enthusiastically that the mail didn't get through that trip. Something stopped the most famous of all the barefoot mailmen, James E. Hamilton, who lost his life carrying the mail. Like most South Florida folk of that time-and also the present day - Hamilton was not a native of the state. He came from Cadiz in Kentucky. In a hand-written account kept by the Roy Garnett family of Hypoluxo, he is described: "Born and reared away from the evils of any large city, Ed Hamilton, 32 yrs., strong, active, and above all honest, was ready to undertake any honorable purpose at any hazard."

In my novel I use the factual incident of his final hazard. On October 11, 1887, Hamilton, with his mail pouch slung over his shoulder, arrived at Hillsborough Inlet at what is now Pompano Beach. He looked for his skiff but found that someone had taken it to the other side of the stream. The river was in flood after heavy fall rains. Yet Hamilton had to cross; the mail must go through. He hung his mail pouch on the branch of a tree and then stripped and entered the swift-flowing stream to swim across to get his boat and return for the mail. He never reached the other side. His mail pouch and clothes were found a few days later, but it has never been known exactly what happened to Hamilton. He may have been carried out to sea and drowned by the swift current, or he may have suffered a cramp or even a heart attack. Alligators or possibly sharks may have attacked him. There is a bronze plaque in his memory on the grounds of the lighthouse at Pompano which reads: "In memory of James E. Hamilton, U. S. mail carrier, who lost his life here in line of duty."

One of the many extraordinary coincidences of my life occurred a few years ago when quite by accident I met several descendants of Hamilton, who, unknown to me, happened to be visiting the area that day at that particular hour. They were James and Robert Hamilton of Miami, the former being named after his great-uncle, and James Hamilton's great-niece, Mrs. Garland Armstrong from Cadiz, Kentucky, where Florida's most famous barefoot mailman was born. Mrs. Armstrong sent me a photograph of the monument in Kentucky put up to James Hamilton,

which I have added to my collection of material I am presenting to Florida Atlantic University.

The barefoot mailman has now become part of the Florida legend. At Hypoluxo, where I have my fictional characters settle down at the end of the book, there are roadside signs along U. S. 1, identifying it as the "Home of the Barefoot Mailman." The Kiwanis Club of nearby Lantana has adopted the same motto. Several gift shops in the Miami area are named after the title of the book, as well as a hotel at Pompano Beach. The murals in the post-office at West Palm Beach depict scenes of the barefoot mailman carrying the mail along the Florida beach. The artist Steven Dohanos used the figure of Charles Pierce for his model. The Columbia color movie *The Barefoot Mailman* is still being shown on television, and the book has been translated into many languages throughout the world.

The best accolade I ever received about it was a letter from a Florida army lieutenant during the Korean War. After being in the dreadful retreat there, he reached a rescue ship, badly wounded, dispirited, and more dead than alive. On the ship there happened to be a copy of my book, which he read. He wrote to me that it brought back his home in Florida to him and the thought of some day returning there, which gave him something to look forward to and live. That letter was worth more to me than the best review any of my thirty-three books has ever received. Another letter was dropped in a post box in Ohio addressed "The Barefoot Mailman, Florida," and the letter reached me. I am proud to be known sometimes and called "The Barefoot Mailman," and to the real courageous, and colorful Florida barefoot mailman I take off not only my hat but my shoes as well.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST FLORIDA CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

by HENRY S. MARKS

FLORIDA WAS ADMITTED to the Union on March 3, 1845, 2nd after much effort the new state's first congressional delegation was selected. David Levy Yulee and James D. Westcott were named to the Senate and William Henry Brockenbrough to the House of Representatives. Florida's first congressman was actually Edward C. Cabell of Tallahassee, but his election was successfully contested by Brockenbrough, also of Tallahassee, who took his seat in the Congress on January 24, 1846.

David Levy Yulee<sup>1</sup> was probably the most popular man in Florida's Democratic Party.<sup>2</sup> Born on the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies in 1810, he came to the United States with his father, Moses Elias Levy. David and his older brother lived first with family friends in Norfolk, Virginia, and then, in 1824, he moved to his father's plantation in Alachua County. In 1829-1830, he served as deputy clerk for Alachua.<sup>3</sup> After studying law in St. Augustine he was admitted to the bar in 1836. The following year he was elected to represent St. Johns County in the territorial legislature,<sup>4</sup> 2nd in 1838 he was a delegate to Florida's first constitutional convention which met at St. Joseph.<sup>5</sup> Then in 1841 he was elected territorial delegate to Congress 2nd served during the twenty-seventh 2nd twenty-eighth sessions, from March 4, 1841 to March 3, 1845.<sup>6</sup>

1. David Levy added the Yulee to his name which was recognized as being legal by the Florida legislature. It was also recognized by the United States Senate when he explained that Yulee was "his patronymic, dropped by his father" prior to the birth. *Congressional Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 1845-1847, XV, 181.
2. Dorothy Dodd, *Florida Becomes A State* (Tallahassee, 1945), 88.
3. Arthur W. Thompson, "David Yulee: A Study of Nineteenth Century American Thought and Enterprise" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1954), 7.
4. *Ibid.*, 8.
5. Mills M. Lord, Jr., "David Levy Yulee, Statesman and Railroad Builder" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1940), 18-19.
6. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949*, House Document No. 607, 81st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1950, 2056.

James Diamant Westcott of Tallahassee, Florida's junior senator, was one of the organizers of the Democratic Party in Florida.<sup>7</sup> He was born in Virginia, but lived most of his early life in New Jersey. He became secretary of the Florida territory in 1830 during the administration of Governor William P. Duval. On one occasion when the governor was away from Tallahassee, Westcott served as acting governor. For two years he was United States attorney for the Middle Judicial District of Florida. He was also a delegate to the St. Joseph's Constitutional Convention of 1838. Westcott, after retiring from politics, left Florida for New York. In 1862 he moved to Canada, and lived there until his death in 1880.<sup>8</sup>

William Henry Brockenbrough was also a Virginian by birth, but during early adulthood, he moved to Tallahassee, where he was admitted to the legal profession. He became a member of the territorial legislature in 1837, served in the territorial senate from 1840 to 1844, and was president of that body in 1842. He died, at the age of thirty-seven, in 1850.<sup>9</sup>

The protection and development of Florida were the major interests of Florida's first congressional delegation, even when matters of national scope were being considered. Of major concern to the members of the first session of the twenty-ninth congress were Manifest Destiny and national defense, problems inseparably linked together. America's western frontier was being threatened with possible and probable armed conflict with Great Britain and Mexico. War with either of these countries, and most particularly with England, would command the total attention of the United States. In the event of open hostilities, Florida's long, exposed coastline would be vulnerable to armed invasion and harassment, especially by England, the world's leading seapower. Thus, the Florida delegation was extremely wary of any action by the United States that might involve the country in war.

On April 14, 1846, in a speech delivered on the floor of the Senate, Westcott stated that, after extensive study, he had concluded "that the title of the United States all along the coast of Oregon was clear and indisputable from 42° to 54°40'," and that joint occupancy of the Oregon territory by Great Britain and the

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7. Dodd, *Florida Becomes A State*, 92.

8. *Biographical Directory*, 19.

9. *Ibid.*, 891-92.

United States would be hardly more than "an American giveaway." On the other hand, he was equally positive that if the United States attempted to occupy the Oregon territory, the result would be war, because Great Britain would not peacefully accept such action by this country. War between the United States and Great Britain would be disastrous, Senator Westcott realized. America was not prepared to engage the world's greatest military force, and Great Britain would likely attack the United States, utilizing perhaps a sea invasion through Florida. Westcott advised that because Florida was so "miserably unprotected," the United States should postpone action on the Oregon question. He supported a compromise agreement, but insisted that a division of the territory below the forty-ninth parallel would not constitute an acceptable agreement.<sup>10</sup>

Senators Westcott and Yulee were also wary of the likelihood that Great Britain might become offended if Congress decided to increase the size and efficiency of the American armed forces. The two Florida senators staunchly opposed linking the Oregon question to building up the military defenses of the eastern seaboard.<sup>11</sup> The measure then before the Senate calling for an increase in the size of the American navy, Yulee argued, would be associated by Great Britain with the whole Oregon issue.<sup>12</sup> He agreed that protection of the country's east coast, including all of Florida's coastline, must be an accomplished fact before the United States would be ready for a showdown with England. Both Yulee and Westcott supported the Navy act, but claimed they wanted the fleet utilized for peaceful purposes only.<sup>13</sup> Senator Yulee called for the construction of ten iron-constructed, steam-propelled ships,<sup>14</sup> which he claimed would last "for a hundred years." His plan was not accepted by the Senate, and iron-clads did not become a reality for the United States until the Civil War.

Yulee also lost in his efforts to increase the number of naval personnel to more than 7,500 men.<sup>15</sup> He did report on a bill that would transfer the navy of the late Republic of Texas, which

10. *Congressional Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 1845-1847, 667-68.

11. *Ibid.*, 228.

12. *Ibid.*, 226, 232-33.

13. *Ibid.*, 226, 276, 337.

14. *Ibid.*, 226-27.

15. *Ibid.*, 828.

for all practical military purposes consisted of one vessel, to the United States Navy.<sup>16</sup>

The Florida delegation exerted their legislative efforts toward developing the coastal defenses and the military fortifications of the state. Yulee presented a resolution to the Senate in February 1846, calling for a report from the Secretary of War on the progress of military construction at Key West and at other points in the Florida Keys.<sup>17</sup> During June of the same year, Senators Yulee and Westcott presented to the Congress memorials from citizens of West Florida which deplored the lack of military protection along the Gulf coast, and they urged that attention be paid to this area.<sup>18</sup>

Senator Yulee was interested in every aspect of Manifest Destiny, and strongly supported American acquisition of the island of Cuba, just ninety miles south of the Florida peninsula. He offered a resolution proposing this action, but then on December 27, 1845, deferring "to the superior experience and wisdom" and "wishes" of his colleagues, he withdrew the resolution.<sup>19</sup> During April 1846, he again revealed his interest in American annexation of Cuba, and urged that it be made a state in the Union.<sup>20</sup> Yulee continued to support his southern colleagues in their unsuccessful efforts to bring about annexation.

Another matter of national importance was the general question of land claims. Since this was a matter so closely related to Florida interests, the states' delegation actively participated in congressional discussion of the various aspects of these claims. Senator Yulee presented a resolution to Congress in June 1846, calling for an inquiry into the expediency of granting alternate sections of the public lands to the several states for purposes of improving river navigation and developing public works systems.<sup>21</sup> Westcott also supported attempts to settle all suspended pre-emption claims.<sup>22</sup> It was Senator Yulee, however, who as a member of the Committee on Private Land Claims, reported a bill which would have provided for an adjustment of all suspended pre-emp-

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16. *Ibid.*, 350.

17. *Ibid.*, 310.

18. *Ibid.*, 996.

19. *Ibid.*, 96.

20. *Ibid.*, 695.

21. *Ibid.*, 942.

22. *Ibid.*, 74, 762.

tion claims.<sup>23</sup> On July 10, 1846, Congressman Brockenbrough supported in the house a graduated public land sale bill.<sup>24</sup> The primary purpose of this land measure was to reduce the price of lands already offered for sale over a ten-year period by the government and to offer the right of pre-emption at graduated prices. Such land, according to the bill, would be reduced in price to one dollar per acre beginning March 1, 1847. If the land still remained unsold, the price would then drop twenty-five cents per acre every three years, until a base price of twenty-five cents per acre would be reached by March 1, 1856. The obvious intent of this bill, as far as the state of Florida was concerned, was to attract settlers to a pioneer region. The bill was tabled, however, and it failed to reach the house floor during this session of Congress.

The members of the Florida delegation frequently showed an interest in the increasing cost of operating the federal government. In March 1846, Senator Yulee called for a treasury report showing the total amount spent by the government from its creation in 1789 until 1846. He particularly wanted a breakdown on the amounts spent for Indian relations, the military, and the executive branch of the government. Furthermore, he wanted to know the average annual expenses of the military departments, the agencies responsible for Indian affairs, and the agencies responsible for the development and sale of public lands.<sup>25</sup> Although they were not quite as insistent as Yulee in attempting to discover where and how federal monies were being spent, Senator Westcott and Congressman Brockenbrough were also interested in the government's fiscal affairs.

The Florida delegation, quite naturally concerned itself with matters relating to Florida. Numerous petitions from Florida citizens were presented and their adoption was urged by the delegates. Westcott and Yulee had printed for Congressional distribution a resolution adopted by the Florida legislature which asked for federal aid for citizens who were growing and marketing tropical fruits and vegetables.<sup>26</sup> The records indicate that Senator Yulee was possibly more active in supporting Florida's interests than his colleagues, but none of the three were at all negligent in

23. *Ibid.*, 225.

24. *Ibid.*, 1076-77.

25. *Ibid.*, 500.

26. *Ibid.*, 274.

their responsibilities to the Florida electorate. Yulee presented a resolution in March 1846, asking that Florida receive a "ratable share" of the surplus revenue distributed to the states under the Congressional Act of June 1836.<sup>27</sup> He also pressed for an exploration of the Everglades sponsored and financed by the federal government. He believed that this would be the initial step in the development of southern Florida.<sup>28</sup> In addition, Senator Yulee urged the appropriation of funds for internal improvements in Florida and for the repair and preservation of federal property in the state, including the army fortifications at St. Augustine, Key West, and Pensacola, and the Pensacola Navy Yard.<sup>29</sup> Brockenbrough wanted a tri-monthly mail service established on both Florida coasts, but his request was denied on the grounds of insufficient traffic.<sup>30</sup> Congressman Brockenbrough also wanted to open to public sale and use all properties in Florida reserved for the Navy as timber acquisition sites.<sup>31</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

Florida's first congressional delegation was composed of men who had performed important political service for the state and who had also staunchly supported the Democratic Party. They were men of political experience and skill; all had served in some political capacity at the territorial level before holding national office. They worked to advance the best interest of Florida, they had supported statehood, and had resisted all attempts to divide the Florida territory into two or more parts.

The members of the delegation represented a frontier wilderness area, one just beginning in the 1840s to develop economic and population strength. They attempted to attract new population to Florida by making it easier and less costly for settlers to obtain land. Senators Yulee and Westcott tried to adjust suspended pre-emption claims, and Brockenbrough's graduated public land

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27. *Ibid.*, 546.

28. *Ibid.*, 108.

29. *Ibid.*; 257.

30. *Ibid.*, 1207-09. The disagreement centered on the location of routes to be established in Florida, not over service to Florida itself. After defeating Brockenbrough's proposal, the House immediately passed an alternate measure specifying different routes in Florida.

31. *Ibid.*, 413.



sale bill not only would have attracted more settlers to Florida, but it would have induced more of them to develop marginal and submarginal acreage. Yulee hoped to broaden the economic base of the state by developing the production of tropical commodities, and if his efforts to have the Everglades explored by the federal government had been successful, that area and all of South Florida might have been opened for settlement before the Civil War.

Yulee, Westcott, and Brockenbrough's efforts to maintain peaceful relations with Great Britain in the Oregon controversy would mean that Florida could develop without the threat of danger to her almost defenseless coasts. The delegation constantly urged Florida's protection. Yulee's efforts to create an American navy that would have incorporated the newest technical advances would have given Floridians greater security. The delegation's efforts to strengthen Florida's coastal defenses were not totally unsuccessful. The Navy Yard at Pensacola continued to grow, and the army explored the possibility of increasing the military fortifications along both the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. From these points of view, Florida's delegates to Congress performed many valuable services in the first session of the twenty-ninth Congress.

## THE ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 22-24, 1965 MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS MEETING

THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS of the Florida Historical Society met in the Board Room of the Ponce de Leon Hotel in St. Augustine at 8:30 p.m., April 22, 1965, with President James R. Knott presiding. Board members present were William Goza, Rembert W. Patrick, Thelma Peters, Margaret Chapman, Merlin G. Cox, James C. Craig, Mrs. Ralph Davis, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Mrs. John DuBois, Walter R. Hellier, Jay I. Kisslak, Morris White, Frank B. Sessa, and Samuel Proctor.

Mr. Goza, chairman of the constitution committee, recommended three changes to the charter and by-laws (appended). The first would increase a director's term to three years (the change to be staggered over the next two years so that by 1967 all directors elected in that and future years would serve for three years. Approximately one-third of the seven directors to be elected this year will serve for three years, one-third will have a two-year term, and one-third a one-year term.) The second change provides for the five regional vice presidents, to be selected from the board of directors, to supervise the work and business of the society and to promote the objectives of the society in the five geographical districts. The third proposal changes the title of "corresponding secretary and librarian" to "executive secretary and librarian." Upon motion by Mr. Goza, the board approved these amendments for submission to the membership.

Mr. Craig, chairman of the publicity committee, reported that stories of the annual meeting had been sent to twenty-eight state newspapers. News releases on the essay contest were sent to the hometown papers of the winners.

Mr. Goza reported a total of 835 individuals, 241 libraries, and twenty-eight societies, for a total of 1,104 paying members, the largest in the history of the Florida Historical Society. During the year 176 new members were added, two reinstated, and eighty-three were dropped for a net gain of ninety-live. Miss Chapman reported that 1,198 copies of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are being mailed including fifty-two exchanges. The *Quarterly* goes to forty-two foreign countries.

Judge Knott appointed Dr. Merlin Cox to serve as chairman of the resolutions committee to prepare resolutions to be presented at the business meeting. Upon Mr. Goza's motion, the board recommended a resolution urging the Florida Development Commission to expand its activities in publicizing early Florida history, showing its relationship to American history. Judge Knott noted that he had discussed with Governor Farris Bryant the advantages of having an historical coordinator to unify the work of the various state agencies officially concerned with Florida history. Judge Knott expressed the hope that such a position would be created in the present gubernatorial administration.

Dr. Proctor announced that a complete report on the plans for the Julien Yonge Fund would be made at the winter board meeting. Dr. Proctor said informally that his committee felt the fund should be allowed to accumulate until it is more substantial, and that thereafter only the interest should be utilized.

Miss Chapman and Mrs. DuBois, who are trying to increase the number of school libraries subscribing to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, reported. A tear sheet describing the *Quarterly* was sent to about 450 Florida high schools in the same envelopes which carried the essay contest announcement. This method of advertising seems to have been successful and will be tried again. Dr. Sessa had discussed with school librarians at the Florida Library Association meeting the advantages of joining the Florida Historical Society. It was decided not to reduce Society memberships for libraries and that one price of \$5.00 should remain. Judge Knott encouraged donors to present subscriptions to school libraries.

Mr. Hellier, a member of the committee appointed to study the leasing of submerged land and the licensing of treasure-hunters, reported for Walter P. Fuller, the chairman. Mr. Hellier, Judge Knott, and Adam G. Adams met in Miami with Ralph Odum of the attorney general's office. A bill is being prepared for legislative action which provides for supervision of salvage and the preservation of historical artifacts. Judge Knott said that a permanent commission would be established, composed of the state archeologist, chairman of the State Library and Historical Commission, state geologist, and others.

Dr. Proctor said he had had many requests from private firms for reprinting back issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

After discussion it was decided to take no immediate action on the offers but to explore other ways of reprinting the *Quarterly*.

Miss Chapman distributed copies of the treasurer's report (appended) which, after some clarification of expenditures, was accepted as presented. Mrs. Ann Davis was appointed as assistant executive-secretary with authorization to sign checks.

A resolution was passed recommending to the membership that it confirm the board in its action in awarding a life membership to Father Jerome of St. Leo's Abbey.

Mr. Hellier described the museum opened by the St. Lucie County Historical Society in February and the exhibit of Spanish gold coins loaned by the Internal Improvement Board and the State Historical Commission. The exhibit has attracted more than 7,000 viewers.

Judge Knott announced the following winners of the essay contest and expressed appreciation for the work done by David Forshay of the Palm Beach Junior College and chairman of the contest committee:

Anne Goza, "Acquisition of Florida" (Clearwater High School)

Martha Ann Johnson, "Fort Caroline, the Progenitor of St. Augustine" (Coral Gables High School)

Elliot Jones, "Amelia Island: An Early History" (Fernandina Beach High School)

On Dr. Proctor's motion the third prize this year was raised from \$5.00 to \$10.00, and on motion of Dr. Cox after this year, first prize will be \$50.00 cash, second prize \$25.00, and third prize \$15.00.

As a matter of information for the board Judge Knott told of the efforts being made to preserve the Palm Beach estate of Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post.

The board of directors then adjourned.

## MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The membership of the Florida Historical Society met for its annual business session in the Billiard Room of the Ponce de Leon Hotel, St. Augustine, at 9:00 a.m., April 24, 1965. President James R. Knott presided.

Mr. William Goza, chairman of the constitution committee, presented the report of his committee. Other members of the committee are Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, Dr. Samuel Proctor, and Miss Margaret Chapman. The committee recommended changes in both the charter and the by-laws to (1) provide a three-year term for directors, (2) create five regional vice-presidents from among the directors, and (3) change the title of "corresponding secretary and librarian" to "executive secretary and librarian." The changes have already been approved by the board of directors.

On motion of Dr. John E. Johns the reading of the resolutions was waived, and the resolutions were duly adopted.

Judge Knott expressed his appreciation to Mr. James C. Craig and to Miss Dena Snodgrass for their efforts in gaining publicity for the Society. He then acknowledged the presence of Dr. Charles Thrift, president of Florida Southern College, and remarked that he wished more college presidents would attend our annual meetings.

The president commended Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, for the continued high quality of that publication. Dr. Proctor announced that the next issue of the *Quarterly* would be a double one and would commemorate Florida's Quadricentennial.

The president announced that Mr. N. E. Bill Miller was trying to coordinate the efforts of the various historical state agencies, societies, and commissions. It is hoped that a coordinator will be appointed by the state to handle this function officially, perhaps under the office of the Florida Development Commission.

Dr. Merlin Cox, chairman of the resolutions committee, presented the following resolutions on behalf of his committee, Mrs. Marion Moulds and Miss Chapman:

RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society recommend to the Florida Development Commission that it expand its activities to emphasize the early history of Florida in its relationship to the early history of the United States. While United States history now emphasizes the settlements at Roanoke Island, Jamestown, and Plymouth Rock, Florida in fact was the first area on the eastern seaboard to be settled.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society highly commend Mr. Adam G. Adams for his service as Chairman of both the Civil War Centennial Commission and

the Florida Library and Historical Commission. *Florida One Hundred Years Ago* and other publications have done much to further interest in Florida history.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society commend the action of the Officers and Directors in awarding to Father Jerome, O.S.B., of St. Leo Abbey, an honorary life membership on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, March 18, for his outstanding contributions to Florida History.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society express gratitude to the St. Augustine Historical Society and to the local arrangements committee for their part in making this conference a pleasant and successful meeting.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society extend deepest sympathy to our president, Judge James R. Knott, and to other members of his family on the loss of his distinguished father and mother in recent weeks.

BE IT RESOLVED that the Florida Historical Society thank the *Florida Times-Union* for the centennial edition made available to members of the Society on the occasion of its annual meeting.

#### IN MEMORIAM

RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society express its regrets on the death of the following active and long-time members:

Mrs. Louise Chadwick .....	Fernandina Beach, Florida
Miss E. Ellington Chaires .....	Jacksonville, Florida
Mr. H. J. Doherty, Sr. ....	Jacksonville, Florida
Miss Marguerite Drennen .....	Daytona Beach, Florida
Judge David Ross Dunham .....	St. Augustine, Florida
Mr. Henry O. Havemeyer .....	Mahwah, New Jersey
Mr. W. V. Knott .....	Tallahassee, Florida
Mrs. W. V. Knott .....	Tallahassee, Florida
Mrs. Cary D. Landis .....	Tallahassee, Florida
Mrs. C. A. (Lucy Spencer) Lock .....	Dade City, Florida
Mr. A. B. Michael .....	Wabasso, Florida
Mrs. G. W. Pettengill .....	Mattawamkeag, Maine
Mr. G. G. Ware .....	Leesburg, Florida
Mrs. Reginald White .....	St. Augustine, Florida

The resolutions were duly approved.

The president announced the three winners of the annual essay contest. Two of the winners were present and were introduced to the Society: Elliot Jones of Fernandina Beach High School, whose paper, "Amelia Island: An Early History," won third prize, and Miss Martha Ann Johnson of Coral Gables High

School, whose paper, "Fort Caroline, the Progenitor of St. Augustine," won second prize. First prize went to Miss Anne Goza of Clearwater High School, who wrote on the "Acquisition of Florida." Judge Knott expressed his appreciation to Mr. David Forshay of the Palm Beach Junior College and chairman of the contest committee and to the members of his committee.

In the absence of the chairman of the nominating committee, Dr. Frank B. Sessa submitted the committee's report. Other members of the committee are Dr. Gilbert Lycan, Mr. J. Ryan Beiser and Mrs. E. S. Manning. The report is as follows:

#### Officers - 1965-1966

President .....	Judge James R. Knott, West Palm Beach
First vice-president .....	Mr. William M. Goza, Clearwater
Second vice-president .....	Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, Gainesville
Honorary vice-president .....	Mr. Lucius S. Ruder, Clearwater
Executive secretary and treasurer .....	Miss Margaret Chapman, Tampa
Recording secretary .....	Mrs. Ralph Davis, Sarasota

#### Board of Directors

District 1, Miss Mary Turner Rule, Pensacola .....	1 year term
District 3, Mr. Leonard Ursina, Miami .....	3 year term
District 5, Mr. Frank Laumer, Dade City .....	2 year term
District 7, Mr. Allen C. Crowley, Sarasota .....	1 year term
District 9, William Warren Rogers, Tallahassee .....	2 year term
District 11, Mr. C. O. Andrews, Winter Park .....	3 year term
At Large, Dr. John E. Johns, DeLand .....	3 year term

#### Nominations Committee, 1965-1966

Mr. Adam G. Adams, chairman, Coral Gables  
 Dr. Charles Thrift, Lakeland  
 Mr. Frank H. Elmore, Jacksonville  
 Dr. Gilbert Lycan, DeLand  
 Dr. Frank B. Sessa, Coconut Grove

Mr. Jay I. Kislak moved that the nominations be closed. Mr. Justin Havee seconded the motion and it carried. The president then declared the slate presented by the nominating committee to be the elected officers and directors for 1965-66.

Dr. Patrick reported that the Julien Yonge Fund amounts to \$7,500, and he said he would be glad to accept contributions for the fund - any sum from one dollar to \$10,000.

Judge Knott thanked all the members and guests for coming and expressed his gratitude to our hosts in St. Augustine: the St.

Augustine Historical Society, the Restoration Commission, the National Park Service, Albert Manucy, chairman of the program committee, and J. Carver Harris, chairman of local arrangements. He extended an invitation to all to attend the annual meeting in Clearwater next year.

The meeting was then adjourned.

## RESOLUTION

BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society recommends to the membership that the by-laws of the Florida Historical Society be amended as follows:

1. That Section 5 of Article IV of the by-laws be amended to read as follows:

“5. *THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS* - The Board of Directors shall consist of the President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Executive Secretary and Librarian, Treasurer, Regional Vice-Presidents as hereinafter set forth, three directors chosen from the State at large, and one from each Congressional District of the State of Florida, as now or hereinafter constituted. The officers named herein shall be elected annually. Vacancies in the office of Director, occurring by reason of expiration of term of office, shall be filled in the following manner:

(a) *Terms expiring at annual meeting, 1965:* Approximately one-third of the vacancies, the exact number to be set by the President, shall be elected for a three-year term; approximately one-third (determined as aforesaid) shall be elected for a two-year term; and the remaining vacancies shall be filled by Directors elected for a one-year term.

(b) *Terms expiring at the annual meeting, 1966:* Approximately one-third, the exact number to be set by the President, shall be elected for a three-year term; approximately one-third (determined as aforesaid) shall be elected for a two-year term; and the remaining vacancies shall be filled by Directors elected for a one-year term.

(c) Vacancies in the Board of Directors occurring by reason of expiration of term of office, including those vacancies occurring at the intervals set forth in (a) and (b) hereinabove, shall thereafter be filled by election of members thereof to a full three-year term.



The Board of Directors shall designate from time to time five Regional Vice-Presidents from their own number, whose place of residence shall be located respectively in the Northwestern, Northeastern, Central, Southeastern, and Southwestern portions of the State of Florida.

No Director (other than an ex-officio member of the Board) shall be eligible to re-election until one year shall have elapsed after the expiration of the term for which such Director was elected. Vacancies in any office may be filled by appointment by the President until the next meeting of the Board of Directors, or of the Society, whichever shall first be held. In the event a meeting of the Board of Directors is first held, they shall make appointments to fill such vacancy or vacancies, until the next meeting of the Society. Such Board of Directors shall have the direction and supervision of the work and business of the Society and take such action and adopt such means as will best promote the objects of the Society. Five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for each meeting. There shall be an Executive Committee of five members of the Board of Directors, three of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The President and Recording Secretary shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee and the other three members of the Committee shall be appointed by the President from the other members of the Board of Directors."

2. That the following Section be added to Article IV of the by-laws:

"6. *REGIONAL VICE-PRESIDENTS* - The Regional Vice-Presidents shall, within the geographic boundaries defined from time to time by the Board of Directors, act under the direction of the President as liaison between the Board of Directors and the members of the Society; promote membership and activities of the Society; and represent the President and Vice-Presidents of the Society in their absence at any appropriate occasion."

3. That Section 3 of Article IV of the by-laws be amended to read as follows:

"3. *EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN* - The Executive Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, keeping a record of letters written and those received, and shall conduct investigations and research into all matters pertaining to Florida history, as desired by members and correspondents; shall be custodian of the library and collections of the Florida

Historical Society, and shall supervise their proper care, cataloguing, listing, and general use by members of the Society and the public; shall make an annual report to the Society at its annual meeting; shall have supervision of the repairing of manuscripts, binding of books and documents, photocopying of rare material, and such other duties as are generally assigned to the librarian of a similar collection; and shall, when authorized by the Board of Directors, make such loans of materials to students and scholars as may be required."

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
TREASURER'S REPORT  
APRIL 1, 1964-MARCH 31, 1965

Balance, April 1, 1964 .....	14,500.38
Location of Balance:	
Florida National Bank at Gainesville .....	1,239.60
First National Bank of Tampa .....	1,093.22
First Federal Savings and Loan .....	6,895.64
Guaranty Federal Savings and Loan .....	4,996.72
United Gas Corporation (Par Value) .....	200.00
U. S. F. Account #9028 .....	75.20
	<hr/>
	14,500.38
Receipts :	
Memberships :	
Annual .....	3,949.50
Fellow .....	680.00
Student .....	21.00
Life .....	100.00
Library .....	1,140.40
Institutional .....	150.00
Sponsor .....	40.00
	<hr/>
Other Receipts :	
Quarterlies .....	387.64
Reprints (Individual) .....	13.55
First Federal Savings Dividends .....	296.45
Xerox .....	1.60
Stock:	
Middle South Utilities .....	126.75
Florida Growth Fund .....	105.75
Yonge Fund:	
Individual Contributions .....	820.00
Guaranty Federal Dividends .....	221.35
United Gas Dividends .....	34.00
Middle South Dividends .....	2.67
Florida Growth Fund Dividends ....	5.25
Royalties:	
"Aristocrat in Uniform" .....	395.10
"Osceola" Issue of Quarterly .....	5.77
	<hr/>
Total Receipts .....	22,997.16

## Disbursements:

## Quarterlies:

Printing (5 issues) .....	5,240.73		
Copyrights .....	16.00		
Editing Expense (Dr. Proctor) .....	300.00		
Telephone & Postage			
Dr. Proctor .....	23.82		
Postmaster .....	15.98		
Postmaster (Tampa Deposit) .....	50.00		
Stationery (Dr. Proctor) .....	34.92		
Envelopes .....	107.47	5,788.92	

Petty Cash .....	195.48		
U. S. F. Account #9028 .....	428.67		
Bank Charges .....	6.06		

## Newsletter:

September .....	129.29		
March .....	145.10	274.39	

R. E. A. Express .....	3.65		
Cap & Gown (Miss Snodgrass) .....	3.25		
Office Supplies .....	19.20		

## Annual Meeting Programs:

1964 .....	46.35		
1965 .....	58.71	105.06	
Books and Binding .....		121.16	

Re-Incorporation .....	12.00		
Income Tax Report (C. P. Saclarides)....	25.00		

## Property Tax:

Volusia County .....	.91		
St. John's County .....	2.76	3.67	

Insurance .....	15.00		
Travel Expenses (Judge Knott) .....	100.00		

Annual Essay Contest .....	57.50		
Life Membership Certificate .....	7.00		

Yonge Fund .....	5.00	1,382.09	7,171.01
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15,826.15

## Balance: March 31, 1965

## Location of Balance:

Florida National Bank at Gainesville	1,469.94		
First National Bank of Tampa .....	144.71		
First Federal Savings and Loan .....	7,200.59		
U. S. F. Account #9028 .....	96.53		
Petty Cash .....	4.52		

## Yonge Fund:

Guaranty Federal Savings and Loan	6,477.36		
United Gas Corporation 20 shares			
(Par Value) .....	200.00		
Middle South Utilities 3 shares .....	126.75		
Florida Growth Fund 15 shares .....	105.75		

15,826.15

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
NEW MEMBERS  
APRIL 1, 1964 - MARCH 31, 1965

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Edgar Ross	801 West End Avenue	New York, New York
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Mrs. John Sawaya	406 S. Newberry Avenue	Ocala, Florida
Mrs. Earl Sumner	801 Ohio Avenue	Fort Pierce, Florida
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Mrs. Anna Minear	P. O. Box 217	Jupiter, Florida
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Hampton Dunn	10610 Carrollwood Drive	Tampa, Florida 33618
Mr. & Mrs. Judson Freeman	4217 Fairway Drive	Jacksonville, Florida 32210

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Mrs. Carlos V. Arjona	420 Golf Boulevard	Daytona Beach, Florida 32018
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Dr. Robert H. Spiro	Jacksonville University	Jacksonville, Florida
James D. Simmons	1009 N. W. 36th Drive	Gainesville, Florida
Robert J. Lynn	Route 1 Box 310	Ocala, Florida
Van McKenzie	Route 1 Box 356-A	Ocala, Florida
Billy DeVore	P. O. Box 175	Reddick, Florida
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Harris H. Mullen	87 Martinique	Tampa, Florida
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Mr. & Mrs. Paul Mowrer	1961 Bayou Grande Blvd.	St. Petersburg, Florida
Robert C. McMullen	P. O. Box 324	Largo, Florida
Paul Conover	81 Northwest 189th Terrace	Miami, Florida
Mrs. Lyle Roberts	2600 Columbus Blvd.	Miami, Florida 33134
Rodger Elgar	11320 Carrollwood Drive	Tampa, Florida 33618
Lincoln Bogue	210 Home Federal Bldg.	St. Petersburg, Florida 33713
Charles J. Clarke	311 Dunbar Road	Palm Beach, Florida
G. Lawrence Salley	1810 Golf Terrace	Tallahassee, Florida
Mrs. James S. Lawson	2446 Bayshore Blvd.	Dunedin, Florida 33528
	P. O. Box 433	
Almon K. Roche	1701 Cypress Avenue	Clearwater, Florida
Herb Schwartz	904 South San Remo	Clearwater, Florida
Malcolm Johnson	<i>Tallahassee Democrat</i>	Tallahassee, Florida
Mrs. Paul Fearington	P. O. Box 34	DeLand, Florida

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Thomas E. Martin	365 Sabal Avenue	Merritt Island, Florida
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Mrs. George H. Franklin	1231 Hoverhill	West Palm Beach, Florida
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Robert H. Levison	425 S. Garden Avenue	Clearwater, Florida
Mrs. A. M. Horner	432 N. Kentucky Ave.	DeLand, Florida
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Thomas Mickler	"Florida Breezes"	Chuluota, Florida
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Chester Handleman	Harbour House Apt. 12-19	Bal Harbour, Florida
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Joseph K. Turner, Sr.	301 Lotus Path	Clearwater, Florida
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	Junior College of Broward County	Fort Lauderdale, Florida
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Lawrence E. Breeze	Jacksonville University	Jacksonville, Florida
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W. E. Culbreath, Jr.	1892 Nevada Avenue	St. Petersburg, Florida 33703
Gayle Norton	Florida Education Assn. 208 West Pensacola St.	Tallahassee, Florida 32304
Dr. William W. Rogers	Dept. of History Florida State University	Tallahassee, Florida 32306
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Mrs. Merriweather Post	1100 South Ocean Boulevard	Palm Beach, Florida
Mrs. Nelda DeVlieger	13439 Wade	Detroit, Michigan 48213
William A. Buckley	722 El Dorado Street	Tallahassee, Florida
Mrs. H. B. Williams	Route 4 Box 273	Gainesville, Florida 32601
Polk County Historical Commission Library		Bartow, Florida
The FICUS Library		St. Petersburg, Florida
Port St. Joe High School Library		Port St. Joe, Florida
Chipola Junior College Library		Marianna, Florida
Nova High School Library		Ft. Lauderdale, Florida
Satellite High School Library		Eau Gallie, Florida
Volusia County Public Libraries		Daytona Beach, Florida
Clearlake Junior High School Library		Cocoa, Florida
Miami Junior College		Miami, Florida
Southside Junior High School Library		Jacksonville, Florida
University of Southwestern Louisiana Library		Lafayette, Louisiana
Nieders, Staats and University Bibliothek		Gottingen, Germany
University of Arizona Library		Tucson, Arizona
South Broward High School Library		Hollywood, Florida
Sanders Park Elementary School Library		Pompano Beach, Florida
University of Houston Libraries		Houston, Texas
Ransom High School Library		Cantonment, Florida
Ransom School Library		Coconut Grove, Miami, Florida
Largo Junior High School Library		Largo, Florida
Wedgewood Junior-Senior High School Library		Pensacola, Florida

J. M. Tate High School Library	Gonzalez, Florida
Englewood Charlotte Public Library	Englewood, Florida
D. Hiden Ramsey Library	Asheville, North Carolina
Asheville-Biltmore College	
Polk Junior College Library	Bartow, Florida
Hawley Library	
State University of New York	Albany, New York
Florida Atlantic University Bookstore	Boca Raton, Florida
Bay County High School Library	Panama City, Florida
Jere Whitson Memorial Library	Cookeville, Tennessee
Tennessee Polytechnic Institute	
Andrew Jackson High School Library	Jacksonville, Florida
Melbourne High School Library	Melbourne, Florida
National Library of Australia	Canberra Act., Australia
Bibliotheque, Ecole des HEC	Montreal, Quebec, Canada
Okaloosa-Walton Junior College Library	Valparaiso, Florida
Brevard Engineering College Library	Melbourne, Florida
Oak Ridge Junior-Senior High School Library	Orlando, Florida
J. H. Workman Junior High School Library	Pensacola, Florida
Bennette Elementary School Library	Fort Lauderdale, Florida
J. S. Rickards Junior High School Library	Fort Lauderdale, Florida
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Stranahan High School Library	Fort Lauderdale, Florida
Sunset Elementary School Library	Fort Lauderdale, Florida



## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Governorship of Spanish Florida: 1700-1763.* By John Jay TePaske. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964. viii, 248 pp. Preface, appendix, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

Eighteenth-century Florida was an impoverished and unloved outpost of the Spanish Empire. "Despite its strategic importance, no name was more repugnant in Cuba or New Spain than *La Florida*," writes Professor TePaske in summing up its institutional history over sixty years. It was poor in resources and harbors; its Spanish population was at best a few hundred people-officials, soldiers, priests, and apparently very few settlers. In its weakness it was an easy prey for attacks by unfriendly Indians and by white invaders from the vigorous, expansionist British colonies of South Carolina and Georgia. It was also a victim of the clash of rival empires in the New World. In 1702 St. Augustine was sacked by Governor Moore's expedition from South Carolina. Though Fort San Marcos stood firm, Moore laid waste more than a score of villages in the Apalache region and massacred many Indians. The Spanish counter-offensive against Charleston in 1706 was a failure. In the War of Jenkins' Ear this story was repeated: Oglethorpe laid siege to St. Augustine in 1740, but retired after a spirited sally had caught his men unprepared at Mosa and relief ships had arrived from Cuba; the Spanish offensive against Georgia was turned back at the skirmish at Bloody Marsh near Frederica, in 1742. In the end, after a war in which the Florida-Georgia border remained at peace, Florida was surrendered to Great Britain without a blow, part of a distant diplomatic settlement.

Professor TePaske has told his story well, and has documented it heavily from the Spanish sources. He admits the disadvantage of the topical organization he has adopted - and, indeed, he might have been wiser to have written a narrative history of these years, as he does (in effect) for the province's military history in his two chapters on defense. He succeeds, certainly, in his main object: to show the governor's powers in administration, justice, economic affairs, ecclesiastical matters, and Indian policy. The devices peculiar to the Spanish Empire by which governors were held to account, the *visita* (visitation), the *pesquisa* (secret investigation), and the *residencia* (judicial review), are clearly described and

illustrated. Like the British province which succeeded it, Spanish Florida was dependent for its governmental expenses - and even, it seems, for bare subsistence-on an official subsidy, the *situado*; though, unlike the British subsidy, it was seldom received in full, even when the responsibility for it was given to the Bishop of Puebla in Mexico (surely a curious arrangement). The governor appears to have had much more military authority than his British successor, but he lacked, except for the occasional junta, the advice of a council. Civil officials were much more numerous in the British administration. The long delays, sometimes years, between a governor's promotion and his actual departure are another surprise to the student of British colonial government.

There would seem to be two weaknesses in TePaske's method of presentation. It is hard to judge the capacity and achievements of individual governors; for example, one gains the impression that Governor Moral, hastily recalled in 1737, was guilty only of excessive zeal in strengthening the colony's defenses and obtaining supplies (even from Charleston). And though the supervision exercised by the Council of the Indies in Spain is frequently illustrated, the relations between the government in Florida and the governor in Cuba and the viceroy in Mexico remain rather shadowy. A minor point is an occasional misuse of words, but none of these things seriously detract from the careful pioneering work by which Professor TePaske has enriched the history both of Florida and of the Spanish Empire.

CHARLES L. MOWAT

*University College of North Wales, Bangor*

*Florida Trails to Turnpikes: 1914-1964.* By Baynard Kendrick.  
(Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964. xv, 297 pp.  
Illustrations, supplement, sources, index, glossary. \$8.00.)

Baynard Kendrick, noted Florida author, has written this definitive history of the State Road Department. His fact-filled tome, 297 pages of pictures and text, begins in 1915 when the State Road Department was created by the Florida legislature, and it ends in 1964. It reviews road building in all the gubernatorial administrations from Governor Park Trammel to Governor Haydon

Burns. Mr. Kendrick points out that the total funds available for the State Road Department during its first fiscal year (October 1, 1915, through September 30, 1916) was only \$16,410.54, while its total budget for the fiscal year 1963-64 was \$433,000,000. This fascinating fifty-year history of the State Road Department shows that the growth of Florida parallels the growth of road building-perhaps the prime cause of Florida's progress since 1915.

John W. Martin was elected governor in 1924 on a promise to "take Florida out of the mud," and he did. His administration pioneered construction of hard-surfaced roads on a massive scale in Florida. It may be immodest - yet, truthful - for this reviewer, to acknowledge that Baynard Kendrick's *Trails to Turnpikes* shows that Florida's most phenomenal progress, road-wise and bridge-wise, was achieved by the administration (1949-53) that gave this state "fifty years of progress in four." Started during this era were (1) Florida's first secondary road program, primarily benefiting rural areas, (2) the Sunshine Skyway, (3) the Florida Turnpike, (4) the Jacksonville Expressway, and other lesser monuments of progress.

Baynard Kendrick and his collaborators have rendered an enduring service to Florida by preparing and publishing *Florida Trails to Turnpikes*.

FULLER WARREN

*Miami, Florida*

*The Judicial Sayings of Justice Glenn Terrell*. Compiled by M. Lewis Hall. (Atlanta: The Harrison Company, 1964. x, 171 pp. Illustration, prologue, tribute by fellow justices, illustrative excerpts from opinions, index. \$8.00.)

The late Justice Glenn Terrell graced the bench of the Supreme Court of Florida for nearly forty-one years. It is estimated that during his tenure he authored more than 2,500 opinions. Mr. Hall has compiled a collection of enjoyable excerpts from 100 carefully selected "Terrellisms." The judge would probably describe the compilation as a "kernel" or "nubbin" of his more extensive total product.

In the Terrell style there was a suggestion of the imaginative creativeness of the fiction writer injected into the solution of a limited problem, necessarily circumscribed by the applicable law and the facts of a particular case. It appealed to the lay reader primarily because of a masterful employment of the simile and metaphor. To Judge Terrell the elderly man was not old, he was one "who had turned the yellow leaf of life"; the good lawyer was one "who had decorated the profession like an ornament on a Christmas tree." The illustrative excerpts in the forepart of Mr. Hall's book are delectable little hors d'oeuvres that whet the reader's appetite for a full course meal.

The concluding index of subjects, comprehended by the quoted cases, suggests that the book has some value as a legal research facility. This aspect is present but it is not a major contribution of the work.

The cases were obviously chosen because of their special human interest appeal. For this reason the book will be an interesting addition to libraries of laymen and lawyers alike. There is no theme or continuity. One can open the book casually to any page and find a little gem of wisdom, humor, or just plain common sense. This is no technical thesis on some obscure or lifeless legalistic concept. It is a collection of lively judicial comments on situations which might well involve the reader or his family or his next-door neighbor.

The Terrell opinion was rather Lincolnesque in its expressiveness, characterized by its homey, down-to-earth descriptive diction. For evidence, refer to the prologue, written by the judge himself. His description of an "oldtimer" is alone worth the price of the book.

By some sort of selective process which the judge might describe as "blowing the froth off the evidence," Lew Hall has exposed in this little book a rich body of the law, adorned by the decorative language of an expert in the craftsmanship of fashioning judicial opinions.

Shortly after I came to the court, I called at Judge Terrell's office to discuss a pending case. I apologized for interrupting his reading. His response was typical. "Don't apologize," he said, "Come in and sit down. I learned a long time ago that when your wife or another judge comes calling, you lay down whatever

you're doing and start listening." To paraphrase, whenever this little book comes across your desk, prepare to lay down whatever you are doing and start reading. You will enjoy it immensely.

CAMPBELL THORNAL

*Tallahassee, Florida*

*The History of Tarpon Springs.* By R. F. Pent. (St. Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Co., 1964. 111 pp. Illustrations. \$1.00.)

In a slim volume R. F. Pent has written a history of Tarpon Springs and the Anclote River settlements which cannot fail to awaken nostalgic memories in the hearts of "old timers" and their descendants. For those not fortunate enough to rate as such, he portrays vividly and truthfully the story of that coast of West Florida "as it was in the beginning."

There is no one better fitted than Mr. Pent to undertake the task. Born in 1878 on the north bank of the Anclote River, he saw his birthplace - Anclote - grow from two families (his was the second) to a miniature hub of civilization, boasting a store, a post-office, and a community hall which served as church, school, and for all public purposes. When he was seven his family moved to Spring Bayou at the head of the river. The scars of the Civil War were healing and financial interests had their eyes on the South. In 1882 the agent for the mighty Disston empire had plotted a town. From the lovely waters of the bayou, where tarpon rolled and played, back into the wilderness the streets marched, marked only by surveyor's posts, while the denizens of the forest, from alligator to panther and wolf went on their age-old way, unmolested save for an occasional hunter who killed for his larder. But, for the animals, time was running out. In 1887, with only fifty-two residents, the new city was incorporated and named Tarpon Springs.

Mr. Pent shares with us the growing pains and joys of the new city. We swim, we hunt, and we race sailing boats up and down the Gulf - sometimes dangerously, occasionally tragically, but always exuberantly. Then the seamen came from Key West, from the Bahamas, from the British West Indies, and life took on a faster tempo.

A sawmill was built and the first trees were felled to make homes for the newcomers and the inevitable businesses that followed. Unpaved streets were opened and foreign tongues were heard on the boardwalks. For these men were spongers and had discovered the incredibly rich banks which stretched from the Anclote to Cedar Key. We sail with them in their strange boats and peer through their glass-bottomed buckets at the incredible, multi-colored gardens on the Gulf floor as they hook the living sponges with their forty and fifty-foot poles. Later, to harvest the finest sponge of all, growing too deep for the hook and glass bucket man, skilled divers come from the far off Dodecanese Islands of Greece, and with them Tarpon Springs becomes the largest sponge exchange in the world.

In the city itself, we see people from the North settle down with people whom they fought but a few years before, and different faiths live side by side, respected and admired. We see people of foreign birth painlessly assimilated into a harmonious whole sharing their joys, their sorrows, their skills, and their rich cultures.

MARY MCRAE

*Homosassa, Florida*

*They Lived in the Park.* By Charlton W. Tebeau. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1963. xiii, 142 pp. Illustrations, foreword. \$2.50, paperback \$1.50.)

It is impossible to visit the Everglades National Park without being conscious of human history. The park was set aside for its natural values, and those are the ones which impress themselves upon the visitor most immediately and markedly. But, for at least two thousand years, man has been a part of the scene as well. He has made his influence felt upon the environment, and in turn, sometimes subtly and sometimes not so subtly, it has had its effect on him. In this book, Dr. Tebeau has undertaken to unfold this story for all to read.

It was not an easy book to write. Most popular works of history are strictly secondary distillations of more exhaustive books and studies, with a minimum use of primary sources. In this instance,

if the author had followed this approach he would have ended with a very thin manuscript indeed. He chose instead to pick and delve, to correspond and interview, to gather the little details which give the work its intimacy and charm, as well as its value.

After setting the stage with a description of the varied environments within the park boundaries, Dr. Tebeau moves on to a chapter in which the Indian occupation of the area, both pre-historic and historic, is simply and accurately told. The following chapter deals with the sporadic contacts of colonial times, the penetration of the area during the Second and Third Seminole Wars, and the increasing knowledge of the later part of the nineteenth century. Four chapters are then devoted to the local history of four geographic sections within the present park. Here is where we meet the early settlers in their everyday pursuits of fishing, hunting, farming, or cutting buttonwood. Here they are too, poaching egret plumes, running off some Cape Sable Auger dent, or engaging in a little bit of smuggling. Here is the legendary badman Ed Watson meeting his end at the hands of more law-abiding citizens, and the martyred Guy Bradley giving his life for the conservation movement. A final chapter traces the history of Everglades National Park from the earliest suggestions that there was something worth saving to the realization of the dream.

Because of his liberal use of unrecorded information, Dr. Tebeau has done more than write a readable popular history. He has, by recounting these facts and memories, actually recorded history. Through his book, he has made available another dimension - the human dimension - of the story of Everglades National Park.

JOHN W. GRIFFIN

*Richmond, Virginia*

*The Everglades: Florida Wonderland.* By Thomas Helm. (New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1963. 63 pp. Illustrations, index. \$3.00.)

*Land of Beauty and Enchantment: Stories and Photographs of the Florida Everglades.* By William C. Emerson. (New York: Exposition Press, 1963. 143 pp. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

Publications on the Florida Everglades and the closely related Seminole Indians are always welcome, but neither of these books, both by Floridians, add anything really new to the story of the region. Their value is in the photographs they include. Thomas Helm's work is largely a vehicle for the publication of almost three dozen beautifully reproduced photographs of Everglades scenes, principally of wild life and nature. A color photo of an Everglades scene by Dade Thornton on the dust jacket adds to the beauty of the publication. The text is too brief to evaluate except as a setting for the illustrations.

Dr. Emerson, a physician born in Kansas, grew up in Florida and retains a deep sentimental interest in its history and people. The subtitle of his book is less descriptive than is usual, for the subject matter includes far more than the Everglades. There are, for example, chapters on Naples, Florida, Roy Ozmer the hermit, and the shrimp fishermen in the Gulf of Mexico. It is something of a travelogue with some seventy photographs by the author which are neither as good nor as well reproduced as those in the Helm volume. Dr. Emerson makes no pretense of originality or critical scholarship in the narrative and it should be judged on that basis. He makes South Carolina the original home of the Seminoles, and most anthropologists would disagree that the Calusa Indians came to Florida from South America. Nor were the Everglades' lands all deeded to Florida in 1903; they were granted to the state under the Swamp and Overflowed Lands Act of 1850, though patents for some tracts were not made until the twentieth century. The narrative is, of course, too brief to expect a full treatment of the subjects introduced.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

*University of Miami*

*Mary McLeod Bethune: A Biography.* By Rackham Holt. (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1964. 306 pp. Illustrations, bibliographical data, index. \$4.95.)

This biography of an outstanding Negro woman should be of interest to Florida history buffs. When Mary McLeod Bethune, age twenty-nine, stepped off a train in Daytona Beach in 1904,



she was stubbornly committed to one purpose, that of founding a school for Negro girls. But the long-range goal of this indomitable, dedicated woman was to lead and to prod the members of her race on an ever upward course. In doing this, she would run ahead and open the doors for them whenever she could.

Mrs. Bethune's school began in a rented house in a Negro ghetto. There were five students who paid a small tuition in cash or kind. From the beginning, the school was subsidized through the ingenuity of its founder who was adept at putting the touch on every white visitor who settled down to rock on a hotel veranda at the nearby resorts. Nor were the extracted contributions grudgingly given. Mrs. Bethune's zeal, the emotional quality of her resonant voice, her proud insistence on her use of the front door and of the title of "Mrs.," won her both respect and support. One winter visitor in particular, Thomas H. White of sewing machine fame, took a continuing interest in the school, helped to expand its buildings, and willed a sum of \$79,000 to the institution. The John D. Rockefellers, senior and junior, and James M. Gamble of Procter and Gamble, were also among the school's illustrious benefactors.

Through the years the school evolved into a four-year co-educational, liberal arts college and established an enviable reputation among the institutions of higher learning in Florida. In 1954, after fifty years, Bethune-Cookman College had a campus of thirty-six acres, nineteen buildings, and a student body of 1,300.

The most interesting part of this book tells of Mrs. Bethune's early struggles to get the school on its feet. We see her riding about Daytona Beach on a second hand bicycle trying to find enough money for the week's groceries. She took her "children" to sing at the winter hotels and passed the hat with a sharp eye. At the Rockefeller estate, "The Casements," her students sang the oil magnate's favorites, "Comin' Through the Rye" and "Rock of Ages," and Mrs. Bethune, with an unerring blandishment in dealing with white people, called John D. Rockefeller "her Rock of Ages." Once when a cake arrived from "The Casements" for one of her many ice cream socials, she auctioned it off for \$300.

By the 1930s Mrs. Bethune had become a national figure. She was invited to the White House by President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and she helped administer the Office of Minority Affairs

under the National Youth Administration. She founded the National Council of Negro Women, and served over the years on countless humanitarian committees. Her skill and fervor in conducting a money drive, when the cause appealed to her, never diminished, and in her late seventies she helped launch a new project for raising an endowment for her beloved college. "God will shake money out of the trees," was her oft-repeated statement.

Mrs. Bethune was a good speaker, an inspired and inspiring woman, when she kept to the path she had chosen for herself. Admittedly this path was somewhat narrow. Mrs. Bethune was in no sense a professional educator and was certainly not an intellectual. She developed a taste for Paris clothes but had little knowledge of the art, music, or the literature of contemporary society.

Mrs. Holt, author of this biography and that of another famous Negro, George Washington Carver, was a friend and an admirer of Mrs. Bethune. While her research is thorough and her writing skill is adequate, it is not impeccable. In the latter part of the book the human side of Mrs. Bethune gets smothered under a recital of all the various honors and offices which came to her. While her achievements were impressive and certainly worthy of record we rather wish the author had not gone into such detail. The author's style, like her subject's personality, is sincere, serious, and totally lacking in humor.

THELMA PETERS

*Miami-Dade Junior College*

*We Remember John: A Biography of John W. Branscomb, First Bishop elected from Florida Methodism.* By Richard E. Blanchard. (Lakeland: Florida Conference of the Methodist Church, 1964. vii, 104 pp. Illustrations, introduction, acknowledgments. \$2.00.)

This interesting biography provides the reader with an adequate treatment of the facts that portray the life story of Bishop John W. Branscomb. Although it is much more than a mere chronological recital of events or a catalog of significant achievements, these essential elements of any meritorious biography are

developed in sufficient detail. As the title suggests, the biographical materials are vitalized by the orderly presentation of many statements by friends who have expressed their appreciation of Dr. Branscomb. These deal with day-to-day incidents and experiences which reflect the breadth of interest in people, the warmth of concern for those in need, the depth and the simplicity of religious conviction that characterized this great Christian minister. One might be inclined to suppose that a recital of remembrances by one's friends would tend to be overly sentimental. However, this is not the case. Dr. Blanchard has presented words of appreciation carefully gleaned from statements that have been made by close friends and acquaintances through the years.

Although this reviewer was fairly well acquainted with Bishop Branscomb, he has the feeling that if he had not known him, this book would provide a remarkable basis for acquaintance and appreciation. This is by way of saying that the writer's appraisal of Dr. Branscomb has been confirmed by the testimony of those who knew him best.

There is no doubt that this minister of the gospel made a lasting contribution to the people of Florida and to the great religious body that he served with distinction. One is led to feel that the Methodist Episcopal Church did itself honor by electing him to the high office of bishop, the first to be elected from Florida.

Dr. Blanchard has provided a readable, inspiring story which deserves a permanent place in the archives of this era.

DOAK S. CAMPBELL

*Florida State University*

*Millstones and Milestones: Florida's Public Health from 1889.*

By Albert V. Hardy and May Pynchon. (Jacksonville: Florida State Board of Health Monograph No. 7. viii, 170 pp. Foreword, illustrations.)

A recounting of much of the medical history of Florida during the past seventy-five years is to be found within the covers of this monograph. Since its inception in 1889 the State Board of Health has vigorously battled epidemics such as yellow fever, dengue,

malaria, and even the plague. Less spectacular, perhaps, but equally rewarding have been its struggles with hook worm disease, dental decay, anemia in children, maternal and infant mortality, tuberculosis, venereal disease, encephalitis, and recently the leading chronic diseases-heart disease, cancer, diabetes, and glaucoma. Even less well known are its successful conquests of hog cholera, cattle ticks, and other economically disastrous farm animal diseases. Often taken for granted is the State Board of Health's contribution to the state's growth and welfare by supervising such activities as sewerage and waste disposal, and recently, control of air pollution.

Scattered here and there are human interest stories such as the dismay of the Health personnel when, after diligently teaching citizens to screen their houses against mosquitoes, they found that these same citizens were propping the screen door open to allow better ventilation. Another choice vignette is the story of the tubercular mother rocking placidly upon her porch while her children are locked in the Burr Portable Isolation Cottage erected by the State Board of Health for her own isolation. Still another choice tale of yesteryear is the surprise of the State Board of Health worker when she opened the door of such an isolation cottage only to learn that the patient had died a few days prior and the family had converted the building into a smoke house.

Those who find comfort in or have need of dates and other statistics will find this monograph most helpful. Here within a few pages are data one would lose many hours seeking individually. One might wish for more of the human interest stories, less duplication of information, and certainly better binding. This reviewer's copy fell apart as he was reading it. To this writer, the authors of the monograph seem naive when they assure us with apparent confidence that in the future "a recognized birthright of every child will be conception in response to parental planning."

Dr. Hardy and Mrs. Pyncheon are to be commended for their industry in assembling and verifying the numerous data to be found in this monograph. Those interested in the medical history of Florida will find it an indispensable item for their study.

WILLIAM M. STRAIGHT

*Miami, Florida*

*Indian and Spanish Selected Writings.* By John M. Goggin.  
(Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1964. 329 pp.  
Illustrations, preface, references, bibliography. \$5.50.)

This publication, edited by Charles H. Fairbanks, Irving Rouse, and William C. Sturtevant, is a memorial volume to Dr. John M. Goggin that "was prepared to emphasize the importance of his career as an anthropologist and to make a representative selection from his publications more easily accessible." The introduction gives a background to Goggin-the man, how his work developed, and the orientation of the papers.

Because of his many and varied interests, the articles have a wide geographical range, although over half of the book deals with Florida. Since Professor Goggin was the first to organize and synthesize much of the anthropological materials of Florida and other areas, this volume is an excellent source-book. Its value will grow over the years.

The diversified articles in the first part reflect the broad anthropological approach of the author. It includes a "Calendar of Eastern Pueblo Ceremonies," "A Note on Cheyenne Peyote," and "Plaited Basketry in the New World." Of special interest to Floridians are two articles: "The Indians and History of Matecumbe Region" and "Beaded Shoulder Pouches of the Florida Seminole." "Style Areas in Historic Southeastern Art" concludes this part. The collection of articles that have served as the basis for the development of Florida archaeological areas and periods makes up the second part of this volume. Historically, the two most important are "A Preliminary Definition of Archaeological Areas and Periods in Florida" and "Cultural Traditions in Florida Prehistory." Part Three deals with archaeological areas of study including Spanish olive jars, underwater archaeology, and an archaeological survey in Michoacan Mexico. It also has papers on the Seminole Negroes of Andros Island, Bahamas, and the Mexican Kickapoo Indians.

HALE G. SMITH

*Florida State University*

*The Yankee Peddlers of Early America.* By J. R. Dolan. (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1964. 270 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. \$7.50.)

Dolan's "affectionate history" is obviously a labor of love. Perhaps from experience in collecting antiques, Dolan developed an interest in the peddler and his relation to the growth of American commerce, industry, and transportation. Pursuing his curiosity through a modest list of printed volumes-fifty-one are cited in the bibliography-, the author has collected a wide assortment of facts and anecdotes, which he relates with relish and delight. He tells how the peddler traveled and how he lived upon the road, what the peddler sold both as to wares and as to skills, and how some peddlers climbed the economic ladder into the ranks of major business leadership. Dolan's manuscript has been translated into a fine example of bookmaking art, beautifully designed and attractively illustrated.

But this book is in no sense a work of scholarship. The research is casual and shallow. The generalizations are sweeping and impressionistic. To judge by the section on patent medicines, in which the reviewer is most competent, the facts are often very wrong. There are neither notes nor index. The style is rambling and undisciplined, with many excursions into topics of only the most indirect relevance to the book's main theme. The tone, indeed, is rather like that of an extended one-way conversation, with many personal asides. So, despite the author's pleasure in his task and despite the handsome bookmanship, neither the student seeking sober narrative and analysis, nor the general reader seeking a sound popularization of the peddler's progress, will find this book of value.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

*Emory University*

*Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy.* By Paul H. Smith. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1964. xii, 199 pp. Preface, appendix, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

It is a disappointment to find a mediocre book published by the Institute of Early American History and Culture. There are several things wrong with this book, but the basic one seems to be that the author never made up his mind what the book should be about. Granted that the basic military outline of the war is necessary as a framework to hang the Loyalists participation on, this book goes too far with the military and not far enough with the Loyalists. It seems to this reviewer that the book would be much better if it concentrated on Loyalists and their place in the war. Policy at best is a nebulous thing, and guide lines of what is to be included need to be much better drawn than they were for this book, which is a strange mixture of policy and military operations.

The easiest way to sum up the place of Loyalists in British policy is to say that they were never very important. They never occupied a fixed, well-understood place. Imagined Loyalist strength led the British to underestimate their task, and plans for the use of Loyalists often dissipated military resources to no avail. The most consistent use of Loyalists by the British seems to have been to furnish arguments to the ministry as to why the American War could not be abandoned.

In the early years of the war the initiative in the use of Loyalists was always taken by the Loyalists. The British military apparently believed that Loyalists were not needed by the army. Military commanders did not become interested in Loyalists until after Saratoga, by which time it was obvious the necessary troops to win the war would not come from Europe. There were always insurmountable "technical" problems in the way of using Loyalists, the greatest problem seemed to be the unwillingness of regular officers to allow provincials equal status. This helps to explain why so few Loyalists went into the army and why so few good field officers could be found.

Once the British army showed more interest in Loyalists, fewer of them were interested. This came because of their doubt that the British could win the war and the fact that Loyalists who had rallied to the king's colors (together with their families and property) had often been abandoned for purely military purposes. The British never seemed to understand that Loyalists were Americans and had a stake in the area.

Several campaigns were ostensibly planned upon the idea that once the area was captured, the Loyalists there could take over and the British troops would be relieved for operations elsewhere. The final southern campaign was planned on this basis. The South was supposed to have more Loyalists than the other colonies. After the fall of Charleston, Clinton forced Southerners to take sides in the war, the worst thing which he could have done. Any hopes of success in the South depended upon actions in the back country. With Clinton's action and the failure of British militia units, the die was cast. There were not, and probably never had been, enough Loyalists in the South to do what was contemplated.

The book, despite its lack of a clear organizational pattern, makes clear the British failure in inadequate use of Loyalists and the whole attempt to fight a limited war-no easier in the eighteenth century than in the twentieth.

KENNETH COLEMAN

*University of Georgia*

*Castlereagh and Adams: England and the United States, 1812-1823.* By Bradford Perkins. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964. x, 364 pp. Illustration, preface, notes, index. \$7.95.)

Bradford Perkins, in the preface to this final volume "of a trilogy devoted to Anglo-American relations for three decades after 1795," states that he has "not attempted either an entirely American, purely diplomatic, or all encompassing history." Instead he has written what could be called an essay in social Freudianism that "tells the story of America's search for true independence and recognition as a sovereign power, with the political, economic, and psychological implications that accompany independence and sovereignty."

This search began in 1775, with "the rattle of musketry at Lexington," and ended in 1823, when, "in the dialogue preceding promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, . . . the administration decided to proclaim isolation from Europe and at the same time to act independently of Great Britain in facing the challenge of Latin America." Monroe's message to the Congress on December



2, 1823, according to Mr. Perkins, "completed the work of the Declaration of Independence," for until this event Americans did not believe they were "an independent people capable of following their own destiny without European assistance." They were weak, cautious and lacking confidence"; they "leaned first upon France and then upon England to preserve a precarious existence"; and "no European power considered . . . [them] more than an upstart, perhaps transitory nation."

The author himself does not fully accept this neat, precise psychological portrait of an adolescent, dependent nation becoming a mature adult in a period of fifty years. In his earlier volumes he carefully distinguishes between the intelligence and realism of Federalist policy as demonstrated by the negotiation of the Jay Treaty and "the nearly ruinous . . . assertion of unattainable rights" by Jefferson and Madison, and also, at the beginning of this final study, he correctly states that the Republicans, "baffled by their own incompetence and by foreign intransigence," were "forced to commit the United States to war in 1812." These are adult judgments about adult actions, and if Mr. Perkins had been willing to concentrate his attention on events at this level he would have written a more valuable and convincing book.

THOMAS P. GOVAN

*New York University*

*The Civil War: A Narrative: Fredericksburg to Meridian.* By Shelby Foote. (New York: Random House, 1963. 988 pp. Maps, bibliographical note, index. \$12.50.)

*The Civil War: A Narrative: Fredericksburg to Meridian* is volume two of Shelby Foote's projected trilogy on the bloody conflict of the sixties. It covers the period from December 1862 to March 1864 when Grant was brought east to take command of all the Union armies. During this sixteen-month period some of the great battles of the war took place: Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Murfreesboro, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, and Missionary Ridge.

Although accounts of these various engagements number in the hundreds, few writers have described them more vividly or

more in detail than has Foote. *Fredericksburg to Meridian* is 988 pages in length and contains over half a million words. However, the author, a novelist turned historian, is a skillful writer and never lets the narrative drag. His primary concern is telling a good story, not settling historical points. Yet this lack of interpretation detracts but little from the value of the book. Foote is at his best when describing southern heroes, and he usually views a battle from the Confederate side of the line. This is not to say that he has a southern bias but rather a southern interest.

He devotes comparatively little space to matters other than the military. In all probability not more than a hundred pages are given to politics, diplomacy, and public opinion, and even less to social and intellectual developments. On the other hand, the accounts of Gettysburg and Vicksburg are complete enough to make sizeable monographs. Even minor engagements receive meticulous attention from the author. This volume is not apt to change any interpretations of the war and the absence of documentation lessens its value to the serious student. Still it is a basically sound, clear, and immensely readable account of military affairs during the middle year of the war.

JOHN G. BARRETT

*The Virginia Military Institute*

*Refugee Life in the Confederacy.* By Mary Elizabeth Massey. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. x, 327 pp. Illustrations, foreword, bibliography, notes, index. \$8.00.)

An interesting aspect of recent studies of the Confederacy has been the examination of social and economic results of that disastrous period. *Refugee Life in the Confederacy* falls in this class. Everyone knew something of the southern civilians who fled before oncoming battle and Union occupation but Dr. Massey has painted many new facets. In the beginning of her research she hoped to cover a comprehensive account of refugeeism as a whole. However, the size of the task and the mounting pile of material forced more selective treatment. The theme has lost little by this necessity.

Most civilians who voluntarily left their homes expected a brief absence. Inconceivable to them was the chance that Confederate arms would not shortly recover areas of battle. Forced evacuation by Union generals was even more unimagined. Thus, many of the refugees became wanderers for the duration of hostilities, moving from place to place according to the tide of battle.

Results of the migration were not limited to personal loneliness, frustration, and confusion. In many instances deserted properties were subjected to greater looting and devastation than would have taken place had they remained occupied. Wagons, loaded with household treasures, and family carriages clogged the roads and wore them out. Movements of troops and equipment suffered. Space on the overcrowded and none too numerous transportation vehicles was frequently diverted to move civilians, and even to permit relatives to visit kinsmen at the front.

Despite the fact that all Southerners were theoretically united to form a new nation, residents of one section were not always sympathetic to people of another. As the period of exile lengthened and resources of money and food, not to mention Confederate-held territory, dwindled, tempers shortened. There were extensive efforts to raise funds for refugee relief and a willingness to share what availed, but there was also profiteering. Experiences of refugees were not uniform. Some migrated once and found a welcome with friends or relatives; others wandered about suffering increasing privations. One cannot help thinking that both the refugees and the war effort would have benefited by the civilians remaining at home except in cases of enforced evacuation. This idea occurred to the refugees themselves; a few did go home and others considered it even though it entailed acceptance of Yankee regulations.

When the ordeal ended in 1865, all Confederates experienced shock and discouragement but the refugees were also stranded far from home. As Dr. Massey phrases it, "Tens of thousands of unprepared, unguided, and undisciplined Southerners voluntarily displaced themselves and floundered around the contracting Confederacy for months and years." Americans living through World War II heard much of the tragedies of displaced persons. Probably few of them realized that similar tragedies existed in this country a century ago. Dr. Massey has contributed to our self-

knowledge and has told a story to which scant attention has been paid.

KATHRYN ABBEY HANNA

*Winter Park, Florida*

*Matthew Fontaine Maury, Scientist of the Sea.* By Frances Leigh Williams. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1963. xix, 720 pp. Preface, bibliography, notes, index. \$10.00.)

This is a good book. Frances Leigh Williams has dedicated it, in part, to the late Douglas Southall Freeman, "who introduced me to the joys and disciplines of historical research." This biography is so carefully researched that I can think of no reason why the factual events of Maury's life should ever need to be rewritten. This book is recommended without reservation. *Matthew Fontaine Maury, Scientist of the Sea* should be within the next few years the source of a dozen doctoral dissertations. If there is any way in which to fault Miss Williams, it is for her timorous treatment of the U. S. Navy. She is much too well informed to make anything like that necessary.

*The Physical Geography of the Sea* by Maury is our first and in many respects our best book upon oceanography. C. Alphonso Smith claimed that it was "the first book to embrace the entire sea as its theme and thus to bring three-fourths of the world into the domain of recognized and intelligent principle." Three quarters of a century after Maury had written his text, a modern handbook of oceanography, edited for Britain's famed Challenger Society by G. Herbert Fowler, described it as "a book which is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of scientific research and marked by the boundless enthusiasm of its auditor . . . it remains a model for writers of popular science."

"Popular science" was the forte of Matthew Fontaine Maury, who had no formal education in sciences. It is not surprising to us that his work was treated as not-invented-here by Dr. Alexander Dallas Bache and Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institution. Much of the central section of Miss Williams' tome is given over to the feuding between these two groups, the first represented by Maury, the other by the learned R. Bache and his protege, Joseph Henry.

Following a preliminary meeting at Brussels, Maury worked hard for the establishment of a weather bureau. What he had in mind became eventually the United States Weather Bureau, but for the time being it was knocked in the head by R. Bache and Joseph Henry and the Civil War.

The last chapters are devoted to Matthew Maury, the Confederate. Maury decided to go with his own and his wife's kith and kin of Virginia in the footsteps of Robert E. Lee instead of the footsteps of the other Southerner, David Glasgow Farragut. His career is traced through the development of the electric mine (then called torpedo) fired in the James River. The author describes Maury's activities in England and after the war in Mexico, and his subsequent return to the United States.

H. O. WERNER

*U. S. Naval Academy*

*The Idea of the South: Pursuit of a Central Theme.* Edited by Frank E. Vandiver. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964. 82 pp. Introduction. \$3.95.)

Contending that the South was different from the rest of the United States, historians have long searched for a "central theme" in the section's past, a theme that will somehow explain the dissimilarity. This interesting volume continues the quest for a constant in southern history but does little to clarify the issue.

The book presents the varying ideas of seven distinguished Southerners. George B. Tindall relates the numerous myths about the South, suggesting that the "central theme" might be discovered through a close investigation of mythology, since it has played a major role in unifying society, developing a sense of community, and making the section aware of its distinctiveness. The self-consciousness of the South which had been building up during the ante-bellum period and was permanently fixed upon it by the Civil War is emphasized by Richard B. Harwell. This self-consciousness, intensified by post-Civil War literature stressing the apartness of the former Confederate States, caused the region to be more southern than American.

Louis D. Rubin, Jr. attributes the flowering of southern literature after World War I to a social revolution. Many Southerners, less perceptive than their artists, continue to fight a rear-guard action against change, but Rubin sees hope if the South will listen to its novelists and poets who have been saying: each man is a human being and must be so treated regardless of color or wealth.

Violence and extremism are characterized by Frank E. Vandiver as the main currents flowing through southern history. The social and economic behavior of the South, Vandiver says, can be explained by southern response to challenge, especially to the challenges of federalism, abolition, and integration. Nullification, secession, and lynchings are indicative of extremist reaction. T. Harry Williams traces the trend in southern politics toward realism and urges the region to abandon its "garrison psychology." A stance of defense against every criticism from the North is unnecessary. What the South needs, Williams insists, is more informed internal criticism.

One of the most interesting essays in the volume is the late Walter Prescott Webb's discussion of the future prospect of the South. Professor Webb, who for years enthusiastically "sold" the South, pointed out the dramatic alteration of the economic position of the region since 1930. He saw bright prospects for the South, primarily in new industry, if only it would grasp the opportunity. The three obstacles to progress, he said, are opposition to change, over-concern with the racial issue, and a deficiency in education. Agreeing with Webb, Hugh Patterson, Jr., calls for a "healthy atmosphere of discontent with things as they are," a southwide conference to promote a southern renaissance, and, above all else, "fully responsible, political leadership."

Not surprisingly, these essays lack unity, but they do contain one persistent theme: the South is always changing and is full of diversity. Perhaps the many faces of the South indicate that the search for a "central theme" is not only intriguing, but it is also hopeless.

JOE N. RICHARDSON

*Florida State University*

*The American South In The 1960's.* Edited by Avery Leiserson.  
(New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964. viii, 242 pp.  
Notes. \$6.00.)

This volume is a collection of eleven objective essays by fifteen noted scholars which probes into important aspects of southern public affairs. Appearing originally in the February 1964 issue of the *Journal of Politics*, these essays review the social, economic, and political realities and myths of southern life over the last two decades, show pertinent relationships to the past, and indicate salient trends which are manifesting themselves in the rapidly changing South.

Seen at the basis of the South's many problems is the race question, a theme which flows prolifically throughout the entire volume. The essayists apparently give much credence to V. O. Key's widely used statement: "Whatever the phase of the southern political process one seeks to understand, sooner or later the trail of inquiry leads to the Negro." In examining the changing mind of the South, Leslie Dunbar asserts that the more rapid changes of the last decade came because Negroes "converted the political issues of equality into the Constitutional issues of equal rights." By using constitutional arguments, even for "direct action" movements, he contends that the Negro has tested not only the customs and morality of southern communities, but also their understanding of and affection for the constitution. Alexander Heard's well-developed introduction to the volume lists the six major organizations for Negro action (NAACP, Urban League, Black Muslims, CORE, SCLC, and SNCC) which have enabled the Negro to steadily assume leadership in his own behalf during this new and changing period.

On regional economic development, William Nichols outlines effectively the transition from a tradition-bound rural society to an urban-industrial complex, while Lawrence Durisch cites facts and figures to show the extensive growth of public employment over the last two decades and to emphasize the South's need for more intensive planning in order to meet the economic advantages it possesses. Samuel Cook, contending that the "ultimate tragedy of southern political history is racism," traces the development of political movements and organizations. Several other essayists present excellent, detailed studies of political attitudes and political behavior in the South and the uneven movement toward a two-party system. George Spicer reminds us that the federal judiciary, through its numerous decisions, has been the foremost agen-

cy in effecting public change. On the state level, Malcolm Jewell sees stable legislative patterns undergoing change induced by four interrelated factors: "Population trends to urban areas, judicially induced reapportionment, the growth of Republican strength in national and state elections, and the rising tide of Negro votes."

As might be expected in a collection of essays, the discourse is not always smooth, transitions are sometimes abrupt, and several are a bit repetitious. Although inconsistent page margins detract from the appearance of the book, this mechanical defect is overshadowed by the high quality and ample documentation of most of the essays and the new approaches to studying southern problems which several of them suggest. This interesting and thought-provoking volume makes a worthwhile contribution to the understanding of the South and its problems; however, it calls attention to the need for continuous and more varied research in the South as it faces the changes ahead.

LEEDELL W. NEYLAND

*Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University*

*Mississippi: The Closed Society.* By James W. Silver. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964. xxii, 250 pp. Map, illustration, appendix, index. \$4.75.)

At eight o'clock on the night of September 30, 1962, President John F. Kennedy urged Mississippians to respect the court-ordered enrollment of James Howard Meredith at the University of Mississippi. While the President was appearing on television screens, federal marshals were firing tear gas into an unruly crowd on the university's campus. Students and the outsiders who outnumbered them became a cursing, brick-throwing, flame-throwing mob in rebellion against their government. Historian Silver, who lived about half a mile from the university's administration building, wrote this book "to tell the truth, to relate in plain fashion what" took place at the University of Mississippi and to place the events in their historical perspective.

The author views the insurrection as the inevitable response to the American dream of equality under law by some captives of a closed society. For more than a century white Southerners



have permitted no more than mild criticism of orthodox racial points of view. When the basic tenets of white supremacy-slavery in the nineteenth and the caste system in the twentieth century-were seriously challenged, the closed society rejected reason, relied on prejudice, and justified legal and extra-legal means to uphold the established order. In crises the architects and supporters of the closed society reiterate their prejudice in speech, press, radio, and television; they silence the voices of dissent; and they convince their deluded advocates of anachronistic institutions into believing that public opinion supports them. In 1861 the captives of a southern closed society rebelled against their country and brought many hardships to their region. Encouraged by the mouthings of elected officials and the bias of irresponsible editors, Mississippians rose in insurrection against their government in 1962.

The author's account of what transpired on the campus at Oxford deserves reading and pondering. Like Lucius Q. C. Lamar of another century, Professor Silver writes to uphold the ideas that truth is "better than falsehood, honesty better than policy, courage better than cowardice." One hundred and four pages of this volume describe the historical background of the closed society in Mississippi and the quelling of the mob at Oxford on September 30. The larger portion of the book analyzes registration procedures in Mississippi, presents some voices of dissent, and reproduces the author's letters to editors, members of his family, and other individuals.

Captives of any closed society, whether they live in Mississippi or Florida, will find no comfort in this support for the legitimate aspirations of a minority for first-class citizenship. The author admires the "manly bearing of the hastily gathered marshals fighting for their lives" against the mob and believes "the exemplary conduct of the Mississippi National Guardsmen and the regular soldiers are matters for great American pride." He is pessimistic, unduly pessimistic, I believe, in view of recent indications that an increasing number of white Mississippians are placing a greater value on traditional American ideals than on local prejudice.

REMBERT W. PATRICK

*University of Florida*

*Southern History in the Making: Pioneer Historians of the South.*

By Wendell Holmes Stephenson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. ix, 294 pp. Introduction, notes, index. \$7.50.)

For the historical profession a fortuitous circumstance occurred in 1939. In that year Professor Wendell Holmes Stephenson received a copy of the published correspondence of Herbert Baxter Adams, pioneer seminar director in America, with former Johns Hopkins students holding professorships and promoting history in the South. Before Stephenson put down the volume he had conceived the idea of writing the history of history in the South, with biographical sketches of its writers, teachers, and collectors, as well as their struggle to incorporate history courses into the curricula of southern colleges. He pursued the subject for a quarter-century, visiting manuscript-depositories and interviewing historians. The project, written in charming and felicitous prose, and illuminated by a mature wit and understanding, made him the nation's foremost authority on southern historiography. This book is the rewarding product of his study. It is a collection of essays, all but two of which appeared as articles in scattered journals, on early historians of and in the South.

Professor Stephenson chose to emphasize the personalities and problems rather than the bibliographies of his subjects. The result is an engrossing series of vignettes deftly inserted into a larger account of historians at work. There is, for example, young graduate student J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton angrily leaping over a seminar table to do battle in defense of his beloved Confederacy; the eminent Professor William A. Dunning explaining of a thrombosis "that if it had located in my head instead of my leg, it would have made a noise like Woodrow Wilson"; John Spencer Bassett wisely avoiding speculation in his investments; and Charles W. Ramsdell incredulously responding, "My God! Has it come to that?" when referred to as the "Dean of Southern Historians." These were real people as well as historical pioneers, and Professor Stephenson has succeeded in depicting them as such.

Rut along with the fun there is meaning in the book. Perhaps most valuable are Stephenson's insights into the nature of history and the problems of its craftsmen. In his introduction he de-

scribes the essential characteristic of "graduate-mindedness," and in a concluding chapter on American historical scholarship he makes a plea for well-written, imaginative, meaningful history. These two segments should be required reading in all graduate schools.

For today's student of the past, surrounded by strong traditions which the pioneers had to create, aided by rich storehouses of resource materials they had to collect, and by the miracle of microphotography and the largesse of foundation grants unknown to them, it is an awesome and humbling experience to re-live the problems of those who blazed the trails along the frontiers of history in America. Apathy, a dearth of elementary library holdings, low budgets, occasional outbursts of intolerance, or physical disabilities did not prevent such men as William Garrott Brown, William P. Trent, George Petrie, Ulrich B. Phillips, and Thomas M. Owen from teaching, writing, and collecting history. If present-day students can see farther than the pioneers saw, it is only because they can stand upon the shoulders of giants. With glints of rich humor and flashes of real insight, Professor Stephenson has told an important story of the foundations of historical scholarship in the South.

DAVID E. SMILEY

*Wake Forest College*

*Joseph Vallence Bevan, Georgia's First Official Historian.* By E. Merton Coulter. *Wormsloe Foundations Publications*, No. 7. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1964. xvii, 157 pp. Illustrations, foreword, introduction, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

In the early nineteenth century many records for the colonial period of American history lay in remote European archives. Although for Florida the most important records were in Spain, for other states comparable materials were in England. Joseph V. Bevan of Georgia was one of the first to recognize this fact, and he attempted to obtain for his state copies of the pertinent documents in London.

Professor Coulter's biography of Bevan, which at last brings recognition to this obscure historian, is necessarily episodic, for

the available sources do not permit a full and continuous account of his life. Extensive research, however, has yielded sufficient material for the portrayal of a personable young intellectual whose career, frustrated by financial difficulties and ill health, ended at the age of thirty-two.

Born in Ireland in 1798, Bevan while very young was brought to Georgia where his father became a planter and merchant. As a youth he attended the University of Georgia and the College of South Carolina. He edited newspapers in Augusta and Savannah. Between his journalistic efforts he undertook the practice of law. He also rendered service to his state as its historian, as secretary to the commissioners establishing the western boundary, and as a member of the legislature.

Of more than usual interest is the brief period when Bevan, after his graduation from college, studied in England and made the acquaintance of the famed philosopher and writer William Godwin, whose *Letter of Advice to a Young American* was originally written to the Georgian.

Of greatest interest for American history is Bevan's activity as Georgia's official historian. Governor Troup secured the appointment of the young man as historiographer, to arrange, collate, and publish the state's documents. Bevan proceeded to enlarge the project, collecting materials wherever he could. He planned a full history of the state that would undoubtedly have surpassed the then recent work by Hugh M'Call. One great obstacle was the lack of colonial records and Bevan, working through the state department, obtained from the British authorities permission to utilize their archives. Lack of financial support prevented his making use of the opportunity, but his failure to obtain the British documents and to complete his history does not erase his contribution as a pioneer in the movement to acquire from abroad the source materials that were essential to the writing of colonial history.

A very useful epilogue to this biographical study traces the disastrous dispersion and loss of the materials that Bevan had succeeded in assembling and the long delay before Georgia finally obtained its colonial records from London.

RAY E. HELD

*University of California, Berkeley*

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### *The Annual Meeting*

The 1966 annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held in Clearwater on Friday and Saturday, May 6 and 7. The Board of Directors will meet on the evening of May 5. Dr. James W. Covington, Department of History, University of Tampa, is program chairman, and anyone interested in presenting a paper is asked to communicate with Dr. Covington. William M. Goza of Clearwater, vice-president of the Society, is chairman of local arrangements.

### *Dr. Dorothy Dodd Retires*

Dr. Dorothy Dodd retired October 1, 1965, after twenty-four years with the Florida State Library, thirteen of which she served as State Librarian. Dr. Dodd, a graduate of the University of Chicago, has served as Director of the Florida Historical Society and is nationally known as one of Florida's, and the South's outstanding historians. Under her guidance, the Florida State Library has developed into one of the largest and most important in the Southeast. Because of her interest and through her research activities, countless numbers of public documents and records, which might otherwise have been lost or destroyed, were added to the state's archives. The Florida Collection at the State Library is now one of the best available and a great deal of credit for this belongs to Dr. Dodd.

She is the author of many articles on a wide variety of Florida subjects which have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. She is also the author of *Florida Becomes A State* and a history of Florida during the Civil War which appeared in the *Florida Handbook*. Dr. Dodd's father, the late Dr. William George Dodd, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Florida State University, was also interested in Florida history. He was the author of *History of West Florida Seminary*.

The new State Librarian is F. William Summers, a native of Jacksonville and a graduate of Florida State University. After serving in the public libraries of Jacksonville and Cocoa, Florida,

he became Associate Librarian of the Providence Rhode Island Public Library and lecturer at the University of Rhode Island Library School.

*Henry M. Flagler Month*

To honor the memory of Henry Morrison Flagler, financier, philanthropist, and one of Florida's greatest promoters, the city of St. Augustine has proclaimed January 1966 as Henry M. Flagler Month. Mr. Flagler was born in Hopewell, New York, on January 2, 1830. He came to Florida for the first time in the late 1870s, hoping that the sunshine and warm climate would restore his wife's health. He visited the state again in 1883, and in 1885 he decided to make Florida his home. During his lifetime here, he built the Florida East Coast Railroad from Jacksonville south to Key West, and a chain of luxury hotels, including the Ponce de Leon in St. Augustine, the Ormond Beach Hotel, and the Royal Poinciana in Palm Beach. He pioneered in the development of the citrus industry and in the growing of tropical fruits and vegetables. The establishment and growth of Palm Beach, West Palm Beach, and Miami are closely associated with Henry Flagler.

Many events important to Flagler occurred during the month of January. It was in January 1885 that he took over active management of the Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Halifax River Railroad which ran from South Jacksonville to St. Augustine. On January 10, 1888, the Ponce de Leon Hotel opened in St. Augustine with an air of celebration and gaiety. Five days later, January 15, the \$84,000 Grace Methodist Church, which Flagler had helped build, was dedicated in St. Augustine. On January 20, 1890, the first all-steel railbridge across the St. Johns River was opened for traffic, which meant that through trains could be operated for the first time between New York and St. Augustine. Flagler's final achievement, the construction of the Florida East Coast Railroad into Key West, was completed at 10:45 a.m., January 22, 1912. Thousands of people turned out to greet the decorated cars, and many of the natives saw a passenger train for the first time in their lives. On the train were a number of notables, including representatives from foreign embassies and legations. Florida Governor Albert W. Gilchrist was present, as was

the famed Cuban hero, Jose Marti. The *Miami Herald* described the railroad extension into Key West as the "Eighth Wonder of the World."

*Local and Area Societies and Commissions*

*Alachua County Historical Commission:* Mrs. Helen Ellerbe, librarian of Westwood Junior High School, has been appointed to the Alachua County Historical Commission filling the vacancy created by the death of Mrs. Sanford Goin. The Commission announces the placing of a historical marker in Waldo, Florida, noting the final Civil War encampment of Captain John J. Dickison and the place where baggage belonging to Jefferson Davis and the Confederate government was captured in the spring of 1865.

*Delray Beach Historical Society:* This newly formed historical society, whose board meets monthly, has already launched a large program of historical activities. The Society is planning to publish a book on "Delray-as it was then-as it is Today." It will contain the history of Delray Beach from 1895 to the present. Jack Kabler is chairman of the Society's archives committee, and he is anxious to secure pictures, documents, and any other data relating to Delray Beach and the surrounding area.

*Gulf County Historical Commission:* The Commission announces that preliminary studies for a monument to be erected at the Ft. Crevocoeur site on U. S. 98 are underway. The historical display that was used at the celebration honoring Congressman Robert L. Sikes, Jr., formerly a member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society, and Governor Haydon Burns was the work of members of the Commission and the St. Joseph Historical Society.

The Commission, together with the members and officers of the St. Joseph Historical Society and the Advisory Council to the Constitution Park Museum, have been the major supporters in the efforts to establish the St. Joseph Peninsular State Park.

*Jacksonville Historical Society:* Dr. Lawrence E. Breeze, professor of history at Jacksonville University, spoke at the program

meeting of the Society in the Friday Musicale Auditorium on the evening of November 10. Dr. Breeze's topic was "London Looks at North Florida," and he utilized material from his article "The Battle of Olustee: Its Meaning for the British" which appeared in a recent issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Philip S. May, Jr. is president of the Jacksonville Historical Society.

*Key West Art and Historical Society*: Volume II (1965) of *Martello*, the publication of the Key West Art and Historical Society, has appeared. Included in the magazine are short articles on the theater in Key West, salt making in Key West, and biographical sketches of Dr. J. Y. Porter and Governor William Marvin. The purposes and activities of the Old Island Restoration Foundation are also explained in a short article. The Key West Art and Historical Society reports a membership of 300.

*Marion County Historical Commission*: At its mid-summer luncheon meeting the Commission heard Harvey Benson, assistant ranger for the United States Forest Service, describe the proposed plan to identify old trails and sites in the Ocala National Forest and to erect descriptive markers. Chairman J. Ed Blocker appointed Wilbur A. Willis and Mrs. John Rogers of Lynne to assist with this valuable project. W. L. Tomlinson was appointed to represent the Board of Marion County Commissioners on the Historical Commission. Miss Sara Ferguson and Mrs. John H. Norman are also new additions to the Historical Commission's board. Miss Ferguson and Mrs. Norman are working with John P. Chazal, Sr. on the records committee. Mr. Chazal's genealogical research has turned up valuable data on pioneer residents of Ocala and Marion County. The records committee is trying to secure the names and other pertinent data from gravestones in private cemeteries, many dating back to the nineteenth century, in the area.

The Commission continues to publish its interesting and valuable Bulletin twice a year. Mrs. Roy V. Ott of Oklawaha is editor.

*Martin County Historical Society*: Congressman Paul G. Rogers spoke at the annual meeting of the Martin County Historical Society on November 11, 1965. His topic was "Legislation to Sup-



port United States Research in Oceanography." He was introduced by Commissioner Frank Wacha. The Historical Society, the Elliot Museum, and the House of Refuge Museum continues its active and varied cultural, social, and historically oriented programs. These include art exhibits and films. A variety of exhibits attract a steady stream of visitors and school children to the museums.

*Peace River Valley Historical Society:* The Society has held several interesting program meetings recently. In September, Vernon Peebles of Punta Gorda described the exciting activities of the Sarasota Vigilantes in the 1880s to the members at a meeting in Wauchula. At the October 26 meeting in Bartow, William M. Goza, vice president of the Florida Historical Society, described his recent "pathfinding" expedition of the route taken by Major Francis L. Dade's command in December 1835 from Fort Brooke to the site of the Dade Massacre near the Wahoo Swamp. Joe M. Larned, an amateur archaeologist from Bradley Junction, described some of his unusual finds at the November meeting in Fort Meade on November 23.

Colonel Read B. Harding, secretary of the Society, reports a total of seventy-six members who represent fifteen different communities. Miss Louise Johnson, librarian at the DeSoto County High School in Arcadia, is also librarian for the Peace River Historical Society.

*Pensacola Civil War Round Table:* The Civil War Round Table of Pensacola held its sixty-seventh regular meeting at the Pensacola Public Library on the evening of September 24, 1965. Earle Bowden, president of the organization, discussed Jefferson Davis as a statesman and a soldier. There was no lull in the Round Table's activities during the past summer. In July, New Orleans author and newspaper columnist Charles L. Dufour gave an interesting talk on the Red River campaign, and in August, William Roberson described the land campaigns involving the Mobile and Pensacola areas during the Civil War.

The Pensacola Civil War Round Table is supporting the efforts to get Pensacola officials to designate Seville Square as an historic district. The Round Table is celebrating its sixth year of operation, and although the Civil War Centennial is ended, the

members plan to continue the organization. In the fall issue of its newsletter there is a listing of the sixty-seven speakers and programs it has presented.

*Pensacola Historical Museum:* The Pensacola Historical Museum celebrated its fifth anniversary in August 1965. Located in Old Christ Episcopal Church, one of Pensacola's most historic and architecturally important structures, the Museum is a valuable storehouse of relics, remnants, and lore of Pensacola's past. Miss Lelia Abercrombie is curator and Gordon M. Simons is assistant curator. They report that the Historical Museum attracts some 15,000 visitors a year and is used by students, researchers, and scholars studying Pensacola's history. Old Christ Episcopal Church is 133 years old and was used during the Civil War as a hospital.

*Pinellas County Historical Commission:* The Commission meets monthly at the Courthouse in Clearwater. At its September 15, 1965 meeting, William M. Goza, vice president of the Florida Historical Society, was introduced as a new member of the Commission. Walter P. Fuller, vice-chairman and formerly a member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society, informed the Commission members of his efforts to reconstruct the activities of Hernando de Soto who is believed to have established a supply or base camp on Tampa Bay near the site of what is now known as the Del Oro Groves subdivision.

The Pinellas Board of County Commissioners has adopted a resolution requesting that persons finding artifacts on county property will turn them over to the Historical Commission for preservation. At the October meeting of the Historical Commission, Ralph D. Reid, executive director of the Museum, reported the most recent acquisitions. He noted that a large number of school children and adults are visiting the Museum.

*Safety Harbor Historical Society:* This newest of Florida's local historical societies was organized recently by a group of Safety Harbor citizens. Mayor George McGonegal is president; Victor Sellers, vice-president; Gustave Nelson, treasurer; and Betty White, secretary. These officers together with Fred Campbell

constitute the Society's board of directors. The organization plans to mark the various historical sites in the area, to encourage the collection of Indian and European artifacts, and to develop an annual historical pageant based on the visit to the area by Pedro Menendez de Aviles in February and March 1567.

*St. Augustine Historical Society:* The fall business and program meeting of the St. Augustine Historical Society was held at the Art Center on the evening of October 12, 1965. Two new St. Augustine Society publications have been released, and Albert Manucy's biography of Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles, *Florida's Menendez*, was reviewed by its author. The other is a reprint of the article "Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763" by Charles W. Arnade that was published originally by *Agricultural History*.

Otis E. Barnes, treasurer of the Society for forty-four years, died in August, and his son, Roy O. Barnes, has been elected to serve his father's term as treasurer. Mrs. Charles E. Walker is a new member of the Society's board of directors.

*St. Lucie County Historical Society:* With the cooperation of the St. Lucie Arts Council which was organized recently, an effort is being made to establish an historical museum in Ft. Pierce. Walter R. Hellier, member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society and author of the recently published *Indian River: Florida's Treasure Coast*, is active in the Arts Council and the St. Lucie County Historical Society. Largely through his efforts the Society organized an exhibit of Spanish gold and artifacts discovered in the Atlantic Ocean off Ft. Pierce, and they have been displayed in a temporary museum in the Public Utilities Building. Thousands of persons, including many classes from the public schools, have visited the exhibit. It also includes St. Lucie County historical artifacts.

*Volusia County Historical Commission:* The first number of the Volusia County Record, published by the Volusia County Historical Commission, was issued in September 1965. This four-page leaflet includes historical news and short articles and genealogical material relating to Volusia County. The authors of the articles in this first number are Blanche Fearington, Vermeille H. Galbreath,

Alice Strickland, Natalie Lamb, Ianthe Bond Hebel, Eileen H. Butts, and Zelia Sweett.

The Volusia County Historical Commission has voted to give \$1,000 for one of the historical mural panels to be placed in the new DeLand Post Office. The Junior Woman's Club of DeLand is sponsoring this project of placing eight murals depicting the history of the area in the new building. The Historical Commission is advising on the historical events to be portrayed in the murals. The Commission is erecting a bronze marker on the site of the former home of Harrison G. Rhodes, editor, dramatist, and author, on South Beach Street in Daytona Beach. Mrs. Ianthe Bond Hebel has been named historian-emeritus because of her many contributions to Volusia County, and a plaque is being placed in her honor in the Volusia County Courthouse.

#### *Florida Public Relations - Hall of Fame*

The Hall of Fame Commission of the Florida Public Relations Association has elected Henry B. Plant, founder of the Plant system, and Baron G. Collier, Sr. to its Public Relations Hall of Fame. At a luncheon meeting in Jacksonville on December 2, there was public recognition of these two Florida pioneers. Their portraits will be placed in the State Chamber of Commerce Building in Jacksonville.

#### *Crystal River Indian Mounds Museum*

The Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials dedicated the new Crystal River Indian Mounds Museum at Crystal River on Saturday afternoon, November 20, 1965. Members of the Park Board, public officials, and members of local and state historical societies were present for the ceremonies. Representative A. R. Strickland, who spearheaded the fight in the legislature to have the burial mounds preserved, was master of ceremonies. Representative George Stone of Escambia County made the dedicatory address. The museum will house artifacts and relics uncovered from the eighteen acres constituting the museum site.

*Extraordinary Congress, International Council of Archives*

The International Council of Archives will hold an Extraordinary Congress in Washington, D. C., May 10-13, 1966. The overall theme of the conference is "Archives for Scholarship: Encouraging Greater Ease of Access." Four working sessions are to be devoted to the following aspects of the theme: liberalization of restrictions on access to archives; national documentary publication programming; microreproduction of archives for reference and publication purposes; and international cooperation in facilitating access to archives. A final session will consider and decide on resolutions for concrete action growing out of the working sessions.

With the U.S. National Archives and Records Service as host, and in cooperation with the Society of American Archivists, some 125 national archivists and other leading figures of the world archival community will participate as official delegates. The widespread interest of archivists and historians generally in the theme of the Congress, however, has led the organizing committee to develop plans to accommodate a substantial but limited number of observers. The observers would have seats at the Congress and access to the simultaneous translation facilities, but they would not participate in the deliberations.

Persons wishing to attend the Extraordinary Congress as observers should apply to Robert H. Bahmer, Chairman, ICA Extraordinary Congress Organizing Committee, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C. 20408. Seats will be allocated, as long as they are available, in the order of receipt of the applications.

## CONTRIBUTORS

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ALBERT W. HAARMANN is a technical sergeant in the United States Air Force and is presently stationed in Europe.

THEODORE PRATT is a well-known novelist, playwright, and screenwriter, living at Delray Beach, Florida. He has recently presented his collection of books, research notes, manuscripts, and papers to Florida Atlantic University.

HENRY S. MARKS is instructor in history at the University of Alabama, Huntsville Campus.

# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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SAMUEL PROCTOR, *Editor*

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